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B. H. CHAMBERLAIN, LAFCADIO HEARN, AND THE AOKI-KIMBERLEY TREATY OF 1894: ASSESSMENTS OF THE END OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY BY TWO ENGLISH INTERPRETERS OF MEIJI JAPAN

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ABSTRACT

Basil Hall Chamberlain and Lafcadio Hearn were two of the best known western interpreters of Meiji Japan. In their correspondence as well as published writings, they commented on the conclusion of the Aoki-Kimberley treaty of 1894 and the subsequent end of the "unequal treaties" and the treaty port system in Japan. Chamberlain, a resident in Tokyo for over two decades, was most concerned with the fate of foreigners in Japan who would be adversely affected by the end of extraterritoriality and the favourable commercial privileges which they had enjoyed since 1858. He was critical of the jingoism of the nationalistic reaction which developed during the course of treaty negotiations. Hearn, in contrast, praised this national or "racial" spirit and credited it with Japan's success at the negotiation table. Partial to ideas of racial difference and conflict, Hearn viewed the new treaty as evidence of the resurgence of an oriental race against the forces of western imperialism.

RÉSUMÉ

Basil Hall Chamberlain et Lafcadio Hearn étaient deux des meilleurs interprètes occidentaux du régime japonais Meiji. Ils ont apporté, autant dans leur correspondance que dans leurs écrits publics, des commentaires sur la conclusion du traité Aoki-Kimberley de 1894 et sur la fin subséquente des traités inégaux et du traité du système portuaire au Japon. Chamberlain, qui a résidé à Tokyo pendant deux décennies, s'intéressait surtout au sort des étrangers au Japon qui seraient affectés défavorablement par la fin de l'extraterritorialité et des privilèges commerciaux favorables dont ils jouissaient depuis 1858. Il critiqua le chauvinisme de la réaction nationaliste qui se développa lors des négociations du traité. En contraste, Hearn louangea cet esprit national ou "racial" et l'imputa au succès du Japon à la table de négociations. Partial quant aux idées des différences et des conflits raciaux, Hearn considéra le nouveau traité comme une évidence de la réapparition d'une race orientale contre les forces de l'impérialisme occidental.

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Romy Bowers
Montreal, July 21, 1996.

INTRODUCTION

Basil Hall Chamberlain and Lafcadio Hearn achieved fame as writers of books on Meiji culture and society. They came to Japan at different times in their lives, Chamberlain as a young man in 1873 and Hearn as a middle-aged journalist in 1890. The different understandings and sympathies these two Englishmen displayed toward Japan are revealed in their reactions to a specific political issue, which was treated at some length in their correspondence and later published works. The issue was the revision of the unequal treaties, in particular the conclusion of the Aoki-Kimberley treaty by the Japanese and British governments in the summer of 1894. Chamberlain and Hearn commented on matters related to the treaties in their letters, and later in their published writings. The majority of the correspondence is to be found in the Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn Including the Japanese Letters,[1] edited by Hearn's American friend Elizabeth Bisland, and in two collections compiled by Hearn's son Koizumi Kazuo,[2] Letters from B.H. Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn[3] and More Letters from B.H. Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn.[4] Chamberlain and Hearn also referred specifically to the Aoki-Kimberley treaty in "Treaties with Foreign Powers" in Things Japanese and in "Jiujutsu" in Out of the East.

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[1] Elizabeth Bisland, ed., Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn Including the Japanese Letters (Boston and New York: Houghton, 1923). Hereafter referred to as Life and Letters. Letters to correspondents other than Chamberlain will be indicated in the notes.

[2] Japanese personal names are given in the usual Japanese order, family name followed by given name (e.g. Koizumi Kazuo, where Koizumi is the family name).

[3] Koizumi Kazuo, comp., Letters from Basil Hall Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1936). Hereafter referred to as Letters. All letters cited from this collection are from Chamberlain to Hearn.

[4] Koizumi Kazuo, comp., More Letters from Basil Hall Chamberlain and Letters from M. Toyama, Y. Tsubouchi and Others (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1937). Hereafter referred to as More Letters. All letters cited from this collection are from Chamberlain to Hearn.

Ian Nish in Japanese Foreign Policy, 1869-1942 has described treaty revision as being the "most popular" issue of the Meiji period.[5] Treaty revision gave rise to intensely nationalistic emotions among Japanese politicians and intellectuals as well as among the general population.[6] These emotions manifested themselves on the Diet floor as well as on the street toward foreigners. The Meiji government advocated the slogan *joyaku kaisei* (revise the treaties) as part of its long term strategy of achieving equality with the West.[7] The primary goal of Japanese foreign policy prior to 1894 was to achieve a position of equality in the international system by revising the unequal treaties.[8] The Aoki-Kimberley treaty, signed in London on July 17, 1894, marked the beginning of the end of these unequal treaties which had been imposed on the Tokugawa regime by the Great Powers in the 1850s. By signing the treaty, England indicated that Japan had made the necessary reforms needed to join the family of western nations. The British government[9] ignored the vocal opposition to treaty revision raised by the foreign community in the treaty ports, and thereby acknowledged that consular jurisdiction was no longer necessary to protect its citizens from "the tyranny of oriental laws".[10] The treaty was a great

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5 Ian Nish, Japanese Foreign Policy 1869-1942: Kasumigaseki to Miyakezaka (London: Routledge, 1977) 29.

6 Delmer Brown, Nationalism in Japan: An Introductory Historical Analysis (Berkeley and Los Angeles, U of California P, 1955) 125-126, 137.

7 Hirakawa Sukehiro, "Japan's Turn to the West," The Cambridge History of Japan: The Nineteenth Century, ed. Marius B.Jansen, Vol.5 (Cambridge UP, 1989) 467. The other slogans Hirakawa notes are *fukoku kyohei* (enrich the country, strengthen the army) and *bummei kaika* (civilization and enlightenment).

8 Kenneth B. Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," The Nineteenth Century, 688.

9 Nish makes the point that the revision of the treaties was a "small issue" for the British government. The Aoki-Kimberley treaty was "regarded as a technical matter which required the cabinet's blessing rather than policy issue which required cabinet sanction." Ian Nish, "Japan Reverses the Unequal Treaties," Journal of Oriental Studies 8.2 (1975) : 137,141.

10 For the change in the British government's support of extraterritoriality, see Nish, Japanese Foreign Policy 30.

diplomatic victory for Japan because Britain had long been perceived by Japanese politicians as being intransigent in relinquishing the privileges that accrued from the 1858 treaty.[11] The reactions of Lafcadio Hearn and Basil Hall Chamberlain to the treaty provide interesting insights into their views of Japanese nationalism and the future of the foreign community and foreign influence in Japan.

Chamberlain in his initial reaction to the news of the revision expressed the view that Britain and the treaty port residents had suffered a defeat. He made what can be interpreted as disparaging comments about the nature of Japanese modernization and the readiness of Japan to be treated as an equal on the international stage. He was critical of the British Foreign Office for not adequately defending the rights of English residents in Japan. Neither in his correspondence nor in "Treaties with Foreign Powers" did Chamberlain emphasize the place that the unequal treaties occupied in the context of western imperialism in the East or the presence of the treaty ports as an infringement on Japanese sovereignty. In Things Japanese he moderated his criticism and assumed a more conciliatory role, congratulating the Japanese on their diplomatic skills. Yet, he continued to have a negative view of the popular nationalist reaction that treaty revision had brought to the forefront. He tended toward being a champion of the treaty port system and the rights of foreign residents to regulate their own affairs in Japan. He did not indicate when the appropriate time would come for the treaties to be revised and what compromises would be necessary to satisfy Japanese nationalist feeling as well as the interests of the long time residents of the treaty ports. Instead, Chamberlain focused on the difficult position that foreign residents in Japan

11 H.J. Jones, Live Machines: Hired Foreigners and Meiji Japan, (Vancouver: U of British Columbia P, 1980) 47.

faced as a result of the hasty conclusion of the treaty.

Hearn, in contrast, was less sympathetic to the fate of foreign residents in Japan. He linked the treaty revision issue with the development of nationalist sentiment in Japan. Hearn's comments implied that the existence of the treaty ports was a violation of Japanese sovereignty and that the merchants were an expression of western imperialism in the East. He made numerous references to the battle that he thought was being waged in the late nineteenth century between the occidental and oriental races. He viewed the treaty ports and the treaty revision process as yet another venue for the clash between East and West.

Chamberlain and Hearn are two of the best known exponents of two very different late nineteenth-century responses to Japan -- the reserved-rational and the aesthetic-mystical. Chamberlain's view of Japan was founded on his belief that an understanding of Meiji society derived from a competent knowledge of Japanese language and Japanese history. Through long years of diligent study and residence in Tokyo, he developed a sophisticated understanding of Japan unmatched by Hearn, an enthusiastic amateur and recent arrival in Japan. Chamberlain was very reluctant to make uninformed generalizations about Japan or the Japanese and his writings are notable for their reserved and considered commentary. In contrast, Hearn liked to think himself an artist and the literary vignettes he composed about Japan were highly subjective and impressionistic. His writings derived from a fascination with the exotic Orient and explored concepts of racial memory and racial difference.

The contrasting responses of Chamberlain and Hearn to the Aoki-Kimberley treaty reflect the different ways in which they interpreted Japan for

their western readers. Chamberlain was concerned with the practical details of the treaty and its impact on the livelihoods of the merchants in the treaty ports. He recognized that the revision of the unequal treaties was an important milestone in Japan's modernization program. Yet he believed that the interests of the foreign community, which had been in existence for over three decades, had been overlooked by politicians and officials responsible for the negotiations. In contrast, Hearn regarded the treaty as a great victory for the Japanese race. He linked the success of treaty revision to the predictions made by late Victorian writers that the oriental races were emerging triumphant over western imperialism. The news of the successful revision confirmed Hearn's preconceived notions about the battle for survival between the races. He did make some valid observations about the conservative nationalist reaction of the late Meiji period. However, it was characteristic of Hearn's style of interpretation to describe the emergence of this new nationalism in a dramatic and exaggerated manner without an informed understanding of the intellectual and political currents of the time. It is likely that Chamberlain and Hearn learned about the details of the treaty from the English-language Yokohama newspapers to which they both subscribed. Their responses to the treaty can be placed in a wider context by looking at the immediate, day-to-day point-of-view of the Yokohama trading community on the subject of treaty revision.

CHAPTER 1 -- Background

Basil Hall Chamberlain and Lafcadio Hearn were Englishmen born in 1850: Chamberlain to an English father and a Scottish mother in Southsea, England and Hearn to a Greek mother and an Anglo-Irish father on the Ionian Islands. Chamberlain and Hearn were eldest sons born into relatively affluent families and both achieved fame as writers on Japanese subjects. Yet their lives were quite different.

Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935)

Chamberlain was born into a family whose menfolk served in the British navy and worked as officials in the British colonies.[12] After his mother's death when he was six, Chamberlain and his two younger brothers were raised by their paternal grandmother at Versailles. He was raised and educated on the Continent and became fluent in French and "was at home with German, Spanish, Latin and Greek by his late teens".[13] Chamberlain, in a letter to Hearn, stated "I was born a cosmopolitan, began to travel and to learn foreign languages at the age of [two-and-a-half], and now feel at home in no country but an amused guest in all."[14] He had aspirations to go to Oxford. However, possibly due to financial circumstances or because of his weak health, he could

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[12] For details of the occupations of Chamberlain's immediate ancestors see Ota Yuzo, B.H. Chamberlain: Nichi-O kan no ofuku undo ni ikita sekaijin (Tokyo: Libro-port, 1990) 44-45, 47-48, 51-52. Hereafter referred to as B.H. Chamberlain.

[13] Richard Bowring, "An Amused Guest in All: Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935)," Britain and Japan 1859-1991: Themes and Personalities, eds. Hugh Cortazzi and Gordon Daniels (London and New York: Routledge, 1991) 128.

[14] October 22,1893, More Letters, 108.

not attend the university[15] and in 1869 he entered employment at Baring's bank in London. Illness forced him to resign his position at Baring's, and in November 1872 his family sent him on a recuperative cruise to the East. He arrived in the treaty port of Yokohama in May 1873 and decided to make a life for himself in Japan.

Between 1874 and 1885, Chamberlain taught English and other subjects to students at the Naval Academy in Tokyo. Immediately upon arriving in Japan, Chamberlain began his study of the Japanese language. In a moment of nostalgia, he recounted that his first Japanese teacher was an old samurai who, at first, arrived for lessons sporting two swords at his side.[16] His interest in literature extended, quite naturally, to Japanese classical literature and he soon began to translate selections from the classical canon into English.[17] He was an active participant in the Asiatic Society of Japan, which was founded in 1872, the year before he arrived in Japan. Members of the Society, which was composed of missionaries, some merchants, foreign employees of the Japanese government, and most significantly, officers in the British consular service, were pioneer Japanologists, exploring many aspects of Japanese society and culture.[18] Chamberlain contributed numerous papers to the Asiatic

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15 For a discussion of the possible circumstances that prevented Chamberlain from going to Oxford, see Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 89-91. Ota concludes that the exact circumstances are unknown. However, he doubts that ill health could be a factor because it did not prevent Chamberlain from accepting employment at Baring's. Moreover, the rich inheritance the Chamberlain brothers received after their father's death would indicate that straightened family finances was also not a factor.

16 Basil Hall Chamberlain, "Publishers' Note," Things Japanese, 6th ed. (1939: reprinted as part of the "complete edition" of Things Japanese, Tokyo: Meicho Fukyu Kai, 1985) xii, cited in Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 112. Unless otherwise indicated Things Japanese refers to the sixth edition as reprinted in the complete edition.

17 Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 112-113, 121-122.

18 For a brief yet informative discussion of the Asiatic Society during Chamberlain's time see Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 100-110.

Society on a wide range of literary and linguistic topics.[19] In a letter to Hearn, Chamberlain recalled the youthful energy he possessed during his early years in Japan:

> But alas! for the verve of those early days, when one could study all day and amuse oneself half the night, travel without luggage, fear no weather, be followed by no letters, above all be pestered by no globe-trotters![20]

Within three years of his arrival in Yokohama, Chamberlain was publishing his translations in the Cornhill Magazine.[21] In 1880, he published his first book, The Classical Poetry of the Japanese, and in 1883 the first English translation of the "Kojiki", or "Records of Ancient Matters," under the auspices of the Asiatic Society. He became renowned as a linguist, and in 1886 was offered a position as a Professor of Japanese and Philology at the Imperial University in Tokyo. He retired from the Imperial University in 1890 due to ill health. Despite the short length of tenure at the university, Chamberlain, through his lectures and his relationship with his students, was said to have had a significant impact on the "Japanese vision of themselves and their language."[22] He lectured on linguistic theory, which was in its infancy, and introduced his students to the principles of comparative grammar and philology, stressing scientific comparisons between the Japanese, Korean and Ainu languages.

After leaving the university in 1890, Chamberlain continued to pursue his

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19 Kusuya Shigetoshi, Nezumi wa mada ikiteiru: Chamberlain no denki (Tokyo: Yushodo, 1986) 721-730. Kusuya provides a complete list of Chamberlain's published works.

20 May 16, 1893, More Letters, 66. A portion of this letter is cited in Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 114. Ota notes that Chamberlain's natural scholarly talents and this youthful energy contributed to his rapid development as a Japanologist.

21 Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 113. In 1887, he published "Jitsu-go-kiyo. The Teaching of the Words of Truth" and "The Death-Stone: A Lyric Drama from the Japanese" in the Cornhill Magazine (Vol.34).

22 Bowring 130. For evidence of the high esteem with which his Japanese students regarded their former teacher see Hirakawa Sukehiro, Yabureta yujo -- Hearn to Chamberlain no Nihon rikai (Tokyo: Shinchosha,1987) 21.

scholarly investigations on the language and customs of the Ryukyus. However, his focus shifted to literary work aimed at a general rather than specialized readership.[23] Chamberlain began to make preparations for the third edition of A Handbook for Travellers in Japan with his good friend W.B. Mason and contributed to the next five editions of this guidebook. Such guidebooks became popular and necessary after July 1874, when a passport system was established in Japan allowing foreigners (residents as well as globe-trotters) to travel beyond the treaty port limits for reasons of "health, scientific investigation, or urgent business".[24] Chamberlain had taken advantage of many opportunities to travel into the interior and these experiences, combined with his scholarly knowledge and meticulous work habits, qualified him as a worthy successor to the diplomat Ernest Satow, the co-author of the second edition of the guidebook. Moreover, he continued to update and expand Things Japanese, an eclectic guide written for the newly arrived foreign resident or thoughtful traveller in Japan.[25] Ota Yuzo, the author of a critical biography of Chamberlain, considers Things Japanese to be his greatest achievement -- a work that provides a synthesis of Chamberlain's extensive knowledge of

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[23] Chamberlain was a pioneer in his chosen field of linguistics but his interests were not limited by the boundaries of his discipline. His decision, during the second half of his stay in Japan, to concentrate his efforts on books aimed for a more general audience demonstrated his desire to work beyond the narrow limits of a specific academic discipline. However, his decision was also influenced by economic factors, Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 120-122, 203-204.

[24] James E. Hoare, Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: The Uninvited Guests, 1858-1899 (Folkestone, Kent: Japan Library, 1994) 47.

[25] Things Japanese was first published in 1890 and reprinted in 1891, 1898, 1902, 1905 and 1927. In a letter to Hearn dated December 11, 1891, Chamberlain expressed the hope that future editions of Things Japanese would "approximate to the status of a good vade-mecum for persons who like Japan but cannot devote much time to it...Moreover, the book must not become too bulky, and above all things, not dull. That would kill it." See December 11, 1891, More Letters, 38. Chamberlain recommended Things Japanese to the "traveller who desires to travel intelligently- to do more than merely wander from hotel to hotel," in Basil Hall Chamberlain and W.B. Mason, A Handbook for Travellers in Japan (London: John Murray; Tokyo: K. Ogawa, 1894) 2.

Japanese culture.[26]

Chamberlain stayed in Japan until 1911, going back to Europe for periodic visits. Chamberlain's first trip back home was in 1880 but it was in the last half of his residence in Japan (1892-1911) that he made most (i.e. 5) of his trips to Europe. During the period of his active correspondence with Hearn, Chamberlain made two such trips. After leaving Yokohama in January 1892, during what was to be his second trip to Europe, Chamberlain continued his correspondence with Hearn. However, by March 1896, when Chamberlain embarked on his third trip, the friendship between the two men was in serious decline and their correspondence had almost come to an end.

Patrick Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904)

Hearn's father, Charles Bush Hearn, was a surgeon and officer in the British Army. He was stationed in the Ionian Islands, then a protectorate of Britain. There he met and married a local Greek woman named Rosa Antonia Cassimati.[27] In 1852 Charles Hearn brought his wife and young son to Dublin where his family lived. Rosa could not assimilate into middle-class Dublin society and returned to Greece leaving behind her husband and four-year-old son. Hearn was raised by a childless and widowed paternal great aunt who intended to make her nephew heir. His early life (until the age 17 or 18) was comfortable materially, albeit lacking in maternal and familial love. He attended Catholic boarding schools in England and for a brief time in France. Aunt Brenane was a devout Catholic and attempted to instill her religious values in

[26] Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 137-139. The entire third chapter, "Nihonkan no sogo -- Nihon jibutsushi," makes the argument that Things Japanese was Chamberlain's masterpiece (137-176).

[27] As an adult Hearn remembered his mother with great fondness and at times made reference to his Greek heritage, claiming that as a member "of a meridional race myself, a Greek, I *feel* rather with the Latin race than with the Anglo-Saxon." Letter to John Albee, 1883, Life and Letters, Vol.I, 269-270. Also see Ota, Lafcadio Hearn: kyozo to jitsuzo (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1994) 23-24.

her young charge.[28] However, from a very young age Hearn had a somewhat iconoclastic attitude toward religion and in Japan developed a great antipathy toward the missionaries in the treaty ports. When he was a boy, he had injured his eye in a school game called 'Giant's Stride' and had lost sight in that eye.[29] This disfigurement made him feel very self-conscious and may have contributed to the sense of isolation and exile that he experienced throughout his life.[30] In 1867-68, Hearn's aunt lost her fortune to an unscrupulous financial adviser. Hearn was unable to complete his schooling and was forced to survive on his own on the streets of London. Hearn later recalled the great hardship he faced as a penniless and friendless boy in London.[31]

At age nineteen Hearn made his way to America and and settled in Cincinnati. Here an English printer named Henry Watkins befriended him and took him in as an assistant in his shop. He became interested in writing, in newspaper reporting, and made a career for himself by working for several Cincinnati newspapers and some weekly journals.[32] After eight years in Cincinnati, having created a relatively comfortable life for himself there, he decided to go to New Orleans. His decision to leave Cincinnati may have been due in part to the termination of what was considered a scandalous marriage to a mulatto woman named Mattie Foley.[33] However, it was also due to his desire to escape from the harsh Cincinnati winters into the semi-tropical New Orleans

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28 Jonathan Cott, Wandering Ghost (New York: Knopf, 1991) 18-19.

29 Cott 28-29.

30 Carl Dawson, Lafcadio Hearn and the Vision of Japan (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1992) 8.

31 Cott 29.

32 Hearn worked for The Cincinnati Trade List, The Cincinnati Enquirer and The Commercial, contributed articles to the weekly Boston Investigator and founded the short-lived weekly of humour, Ye Giglampz.

33 Dawson 10; Louis Allen, "Introduction," in Lafcadio Hearn: Japan's Great Interpreter, eds. Louis Allen and Jean Wilson (Folkestone, Kent: Japan Library, 1992) 7.

environment. Hearn, in attempting to compensate for his interrupted education, had begun a program of intensive reading at the Cincinnati library.[34] He had developed an interest in descriptions of exotic lands. Thus, his decision to immerse himself in the Creole culture and the semi-Latin environment of New Orleans was perhaps part of his literary goal to find "the Orient at home" in America.[35]

For Hearn, his first years in New Orleans were a struggle. Again, he drew on his talents as a newspaperman and in January 1882 he became the literary editor of the New Orleans Times Democrat. However, after several years, he tired of newspaper work and wanted to have the leisure to pursue his own literary ambitions.[36] He admired French writers such as Gauthier, Flaubert, Nerval and translated some of those works into English. Hearn's collection of Gauthier's stories, One of Cleopatra's Nights and Other Fantastic Romances, was published in April 1882. His translation of The Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard by Anatole France was published in January 1890. Hearn aspired to be a writer of fiction and he wrote two novels, Chita and Youma, which were published by Harper and Brothers in 1889 and 1890. He was not satisfied with these efforts and believed that he did not have the imaginative powers to create a sustained work of literature.[37] His talent lay in being what he termed "a literary Columbus".[38] He wanted to travel to "exotic" locales and write books based on

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[34] Robert A. Rosenstone, Mirror in the Shrine: American Encounters with Meiji Japan (Cambridge and London: Harvard UP, 1988) 74.

[35] Letter to W.D. O'Connor,1883, Life and Letters, Vol.I, 285; Letter to Elizabeth Bisland, April 7 and 14, 1887, Life and Letters, Vol.II, 12.

[36] Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 25-27.

[37] Dawson xix. "He could write fine short pieces, anecdotes and vignettes, but he could not, in his longer fiction, bring together his rigorous journalistic training with more self-conscious and evocative prose (12)."

[38] Letter to his friend H.E. Krehbiel, December 1883, Life and Letters, Vol.I, 289. See Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 24-26.

his observations of the life and the peoples there.[39] He left New Orleans for a sojourn in the Caribbean in July 1887.

He spent almost two years on Martinique and wrote a book entitled Two Years in the French West Indies. Hearn had long been interested in the "Orient" and in Japan.[40] He refashioned Oriental stories that he had culled from various sources and presented them in books entitled Stray Leaves from Strange Literatures (June 1884) and Some Chinese Ghosts (February 1887). He reported on the Japanese exhibition at the World Industrial Exposition in New Orleans for Harper's Bazaar in December 1884 and met there a Japanese official named Hattori Ichizo. After finishing his West Indies book in late 1889, he decided to go to Japan, ostensibly as a reporter for Harper and Brothers. He left New York on March 8, 1890 and arrived in Yokohama on April 4.

Hearn had an informal arrangement with Harper's to provide articles about Japan for its magazine. However, after arriving in Yokohama, he grew frustrated with Harper's for not offering him a publishing contract. He accused his publishers of non-payment of a portion of his earnings[41] and decided to sever all relations with Harper's.[42] Thus, he was again in a strange city and country without any money or friends, as he had been in America and the West Indies.[43] He had letters of introduction through Harper's to Basil Hall Chamberlain, who was then teaching at the Imperial University, and Mitchell

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[39] Ota argues that Hearn's mixed heritage and his unsettled upbringing contributed to his interest in foreign cultures, Lafcadio Hearn, 20-23.

[40] Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 57-58.

[41] Cott 260.

[42] Letter to Elizabeth Bisland, 1890, Life and Letters, Vol.II, 104.

[43] Dawson xiii. "Sudden and apparently overwhelming crises were for Lafcadio Hearn signs of a recurrent pattern of loss and abandonment, as predictable as they were self-made. He had been destitute before; as a boy in London, as a teenager in New York and Cincinnati, and as a man in New Orleans and Martinique. Hearn's previous beginnings had all offered a new life, along with escape from unwanted people, lost illusions, or unbearable tedium." Also see 7.

McDonald, a paymaster for the American navy. He contacted Chamberlain to seek assistance in finding a teaching position as a private tutor with a Japanese family. Hearn believed that by obtaining such employment he would be able to stay in Japan for the time necessary to collect materials for a book similar to Two Years in the French West Indies. After only a short time in Yokohama, he learned that there were positions available in the Japanese educational system for English language teachers.[44] Chamberlain helped Hearn contact the appropriate officials and Hearn eventually signed a contract to teach in a Middle School in Matsue, Shimane Prefecture, a provincial city in western Japan.

Chamberlain and Hearn arrived in Japan at very different times in the Meiji period.[45] Chamberlain arrived at a time when the new government, which had come to power in 1867, had just begun its modernization and westernization programs. Many foreign experts, from engineers to teachers, were in demand to assist in the Meiji experiment. Had Chamberlain lacked the appropriate education, family background and social connections, he still would have found it relatively simple to gain employment in Japan. Chamberlain, because he worked as a language instructor at the Imperial Naval School and then as a professor of linguistics at the Imperial University, can be called an *oyatoi gaikokujin*, a foreigner employed by the Japanese government to assist in the wide-ranging goals of modernization and westernization. By the 1880s, the Meiji government had begun to cut back on foreign help because their salaries placed too great a strain on government finances. Moreover, by the 1890's, as Japanese students trained abroad began to return home, the dependence on foreign help further decreased and the foreigners were

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[44] April 4, 1890 and April 6, 1890, Life and Letters, Vol.I, 321-323.

[45] Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 78-80. According to Ota, Hearn arrived at a time of reaction against westernization and a time of heightened anti-foreignism and nationalism.

released from government service.[46] It was considerably more difficult for a man like Hearn, arriving as he did in 1890, to find a job, especially in view of the anti-foreign reaction that had arisen as a result of the slow pace and the frustrating delays in the treaty revision negotiations. Even with his letter of introduction to Chamberlain and his connection to Hattori Ichizo, who was now an official in the Education Ministry, Hearn could only manage to get a teaching position at a middle school in the interior -- far from Tokyo and the treaty ports.[47]

Because of the harsh winters in Matsue,[48] Hearn decided to move to the more southerly Kumamoto in November 1891 with his wife Koizumi Setsu, a Japanese woman who had nursed him through an illness during his first winter in Matsue.[49] He stayed in Kumamoto until October of 1894, when he moved to Kobe to take up a position as co-editor of the Kobe Chronicle, an English-language treaty port newspaper established by Robert Young in reaction to the anti-Japanese Kobe Herald. He had to resign the editorship after a few months because of his bad health and bad eyesight. In September 1896, Hearn moved to Tokyo with his family to take up the position of lecturer in English literature at the Imperial University, a position which he held for six years. In Kumamoto, he finished writing his first Japanese book, Glimpses of an Unfamiliar Japan, which was published in September 1894. His second book, Out of the East, was published in March 1895 and Kokoro, his third, in March 1896. Between 1897

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46 H.J. Jones 47-48; Kusuya 388-389.

47 Rosenstone 31-32.

48 In his novelistic treatment of Hearn, Rosenstone suggests that there were more complex psychological and literary reasons for Hearn's move to Kumamoto. "To turn Matsue -- his Japan, after all -- into a work of art, Hearn knows that he must be living elsewhere (119-120)."

49 By February 1891, Hearn and Setsu were living as a married couple. In 1896, Hearn became naturalized as a Japanese citizen and took Setsu's family name, Koizumi, and the personal name, Yakumo. Hearn and Setsu had four children, three sons and a daughter. Kazuo, the eldest, was born in Kumamoto. His other sons, Iwao and Kiyoshi, and his daughter Suzuko were born in Tokyo. Hearn Society, ed., Gleanings of the Writings of Lafcadio Hearn, Vol.II The Letters (Tokyo:Yushodo, 1991) 326-328. Hereafter referred to as Gleanings.

and 1904, he published seven further books on Japanese topics: Gleanings in Buddha-Fields (1897); Exotics and Retrospectives (1898); In Ghostly Japan (1899); Shadowings (1900); A Japanese Miscellany (1901); Kotto (1902); and Kwaidan (1904). Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation was published posthumously in 1904.

B.H. Chamberlain and Lafcadio Hearn: Western Interpreters of Japan

Chamberlain and Hearn observed and wrote about Japan in very different ways. Chamberlain's vocation was that of a scholar, a gentleman-scholar at that, and the studies that he produced for the Asiatic Society resulted from his detailed linguistic study of Japanese literature. His non-scholarly books, such as Things Japanese and Murray's Handbook, were intended for a more general audience and reflected Chamberlain's belief that a knowledge of Japanese culture developed from a thorough factual understanding of Japanese language and history. Ota believes that Things Japanese is so valuable because within it Chamberlain incorporated objective matters of research as well as more subjective and contentious matters of opinion. However, it is also true that these elements of subjectivity were embedded within a larger body of competent, objective reporting. Things Japanese does reflect Chamberlain's idiosyncratic interests, sense of humour and point of view. Nonetheless, it is primarily based on Chamberlain's own scholarly expertise and familiarity with the reigning authorities in various sub-fields of Japanese studies.[50] Chamberlain, because of his scholarship and long residence in Japan, had a deeper understanding of Japan and the Japanese than Hearn could ever have achieved.

[50] Ota. B.H. Chamberlain, 139-140.

Under "Siebold" in Things Japanese, Chamberlain criticized the great German Japanologists of the past, such as Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) and Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), for an "insufficiency of the critical faculty in questions of history and language." He emphasized that it was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century that scholars of the "English school," such as Ernest Satow, W.G. Aston and James Murdoch, explored "the language with scientific exactness" and proved "step by step, that the so-called history, which Kaempfer and his followers had taken on trust, was a mass of old wives' tales."[51] In the introduction to his translation of the Kojiki, Chamberlain lent his support to those Japanese scholars who questioned the credibility of historical descriptions in the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki. He criticized contemporary European scholars for accepting at face value the 'history' of Jimmu Tenno and the early emperors. He explained to his readers that Japanese historical sources became credible only in the fifth century A.D., about 1000 years after Jimmu was said to have acceded to the throne.[52] Chamberlain's criticism of the historicity of Japan's founding myths was also evident in Things Japanese under the headings "Abdication," "Bushido," "History and Mythology" and "Mikado." As a result of Chamberlain's critical approach, Things Japanese was not translated into Japanese until after the Second World War. In fact, in 1939, when the sixth (English language) edition of Things Japanese appeared in Japan, the government censors took exception to its potentially subversive contents and partially deleted "History and Mythology" and completely deleted

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51 "Siebold," Things Japanese, 457 cited in Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 133.

52 "Introduction," "A Translation of the 'Ko-ji-ki,' or 'Records of Ancient Matters,' "Transaction of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1883, Vol.10 Supplement, reprinted as "Translator's Introduction," The Kojiki: Records of Ancient Matters (Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1982) xxx, lxix-lxxii, cited in Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 129-130.

"Abdication," "Bushido" and "Mikado." [53]

In contrast, Hearn's work was translated into Japanese and began to appeal to a broad readership during the early part of the Showa period. Hearn's romanticized accounts of "Old Japan" and his belief in Japan's racial uniqueness did not elicit objections from government officials.[54] Unlike Chamberlain, Hearn did not come close to mastering the Japanese language. His proficiency, even toward the end of his fourteen year stay in Japan, was that of an elementary school student.[55] He attempted to learn Japanese during the early years of his stay but could only manage to acquire sufficient proficiency to communicate with his family in a pidgin Japanese that he referred to as the "Hearnian dialect".[56] For his literary work, he had to rely on his experiences of living in the interior and whatever materials his students, family or other assistants collected and were able to convey to him. As a result of Hearn's linguistic inadequacies and his unschooled understanding of Japanese society and culture, there are many inaccuracies in his books that startle and offend Japan experts. However, having said this, there are also many remarkably evocative and memorable sketches that somehow manage to capture an aspect of Meiji popular culture and that continue to appeal to western and Japanese

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53 Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 164-167.Ota notes that the the fifth edition (1905; reprinted 1927) was not subject to such censorship. The fate of the sixth edition reflects the tighter controls over freedom of expression exercised at that time by the Japanese government.

54 Hearn's collected works were translated into Japanese in 1927, just as the "Taisho democracy" was coming to an end and Japan was turning inward from the world. Hearn's belief in the uniqueness of Japanese culture and his criticism of westernization and individualism appealed to Japanese readers of the 1930s. See Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 15-16, 189-190.

55 Ota Yuzo, "Lafcadio Hearn: Japan's Problematic Interpreter," Talk given at the Staff-Student Seminar of the Department History of McGill University, Montreal, February 15, 1995, 2. Also see Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 3-5.

56 Letter to Ellwood Hendrick, January 1892, Life and Letters, Vol.II, 187. Hearn explained that his project to study Buddhism was "indefinitely delayed" by the "barrier of language". "For the deeper mysteries of Buddhism cannot be explained in the Hearnian dialect."

readers alike.[57] Carl Dawson, an American literary critic, notes that,

> Other writers might have fuller knowledge or translate better or write more coherent books; no one else gave quite the same assurance of being there....it was not linguistic accuracy that persuaded readers but, rather, Hearn's sympathetic trespass, his authority as a complete witness.[58]

Hearn tried to compensate for his linguistic failings by choosing to write about the "emotional" aspect of the Japanese experience.[59] In a foreword to Kokoro, Hearn wrote that

> [t]he papers composing this volume treat of the inner rather than the outer life of Japan, -- for which reason they have been grouped under the title *Kokoro* (heart). Written with the above character, this word signifies also the mind, in the emotional sense; spirit, courage; resolve; sentiment; affection; and inner meaning, -- just as we say in English, 'the heart of things'.[60]

Hearn liked to collect and fashion sketches about Japan that appealed to his sense of "the Odd, the Queer, the Strange, the Exotic, the Monstrous."[61] All his books about Japan, with the exception of the posthumously published Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation, consist of literary vignettes or sketches on various

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[57] Marcel Robert, after listing Hearn's numerous faults as an interpreter of Japan, adds that: "Still there is something in Hearn's books, his best books, that Time has left intact and as fresh as ever, his style, and, by style, I do not only mean skill in arranging words, but the gold extracted from the ore, the most exquisite and durable part of the man disengaged from the rubble of daily life, his dream of Beauty and Love realized at last, his Paradise regained," in "Lafcadio Hearn," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, December 1948, Third Series, Vol.I, 63.

[58] Dawson xiv. Dawson adds that "Without ever coming close to Chamberlain's knowledge of Japanese, he learned to live in Japan with an informed intuition of its ways, its people and its arts (5)". Ota argues against such a view.

[59] "I have confined myself strictly to the most emotional phases of Japanese life- popular religion and popular imagination." See letter to Chamberlain written in 1891, Life and Letters, Vol.II,137.

[60] The foreword is dated September 15, 1895. Kokoro (Boston and New York: Houghton, 1896. Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1972)

[61] Hearn chose these words to describe his literary interests during his New Orleans days. He continued to pursue similar interests in Japan. Letter to W.D. O'Connor, June 29, 1884, Life and Letters, Vol.I, 322. Also see Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 29-30. Ota argues that Hearn's depiction of "mysterious" Japan harmonized with preconceived nineteenth century images of a 'singular' and 'exotic' Japan. Ota refers to Yokoyama Toshio's analysis of Japan in the mid-nineteenth century Victorian periodical press, Japan in the Victorian Mind.

Japanese topics.[62] In his Japanese writings, there is no sustained thesis, but common themes and topics do arise.[63] Chamberlain listed the subjects of Hearn's writings in the following manner:

> Japanese life, manners, thoughts, aspirations, the student class, the singing-girls, the politicians, the delightful country-folk of the secluded hamlets who still bow down before ancestral gods, Japan's attitudes in times of war, Buddhist funeral services chanted by priestly choirs in vestments gold-embroidered, not men only, but ghosts and folklore fancies, the scenery of remote islands which Lafcadio alone among Europeans had ever trod....[64]

Hearn was fascinated by the customs and folk tales of the common people. In particular Kusuya Shigetoshi cites those customs associated with the emperor system that Hearn observed around him which he presumed to be of ancient origin. Hearn, unlike Chamberlain, did not examine these customs closely to determine their history and their role in Meiji society. He accepted and affirmed the Japanese life that he observed around him and, in general, did not approach Japan in a critical manner. Chamberlain, in contrast, was a linguist interested in empirical studies of Japanese literature and the history of cultural borrowing.[65] His astute awareness of Japanese history informed his considered observations about the Meiji period. Chamberlain was able to perceive that the generalizations that many foreign writers made about Japan were based on their ignorance of the Japanese historical context.[66]

The contrasting styles of interpretation adopted by Hearn and

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62 Dawson 60-61. Dawson adds that "Hearn himself rarely sustains his essay reveries, which are almost always alive with powerful images while apparently unfinished as sustained work. He polishes loosely connected fragments, leaving the whole to be interpreted by his readers (75)."

63 Rosenstone 267.

64 "Lafcadio Hearn," Things Japanese, 297.

65 Kusuya 468-469.

66 Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 159-160. Ota provides an example in Things Japanese of Chamberlain's awareness of the points of continuity between the past and the tumultuous events of the Meiji period.

Chamberlain are evident in their discussions of Japanese nationalism.[67] In "Jiujutsu," Hearn wrote that Japanese nationalism was unlike its western equivalent. Among Japanese people, the sense of nation was stronger than the sense of personal identity. Unlike westerners, the Japanese had "one mind" in regard to national duty and were willing to die for the Emperor and to make sacrifices for the sake of national strength and independence.[68] It was impressive to hear the ancient songs of loyalty and modern songs of war sung in the schools where he taught. He could hear the "heart of Old Japan" in every word, and in this instance commended government efforts for keeping alive feelings of loyalty for and love of the country. He was critical of western society for encouraging individualism at the expense of such strong national identity.[69] He liked to believe that the nationalism that he observed among his students was inborn, especially their feeling of loyalty to the emperor. In a letter he wrote to Chamberlain while he was still in Matsue, he described Shinto in this manner:

> It is not all a belief, nor all a religion; it is a thing....indefinable as an ancestral impulse. It is part of the Soul of the Race. It means loyalty of the nation to its sovereigns, the devotion of retainers to princes, the respect to sacred things....the whole of what an Englishman would call sense of duty; but that this sense seems to be hereditary and inborn. I think a baby is Shinto from the time its eyes can see.[70]

This belief in the concept of racial memory appealed to Hearn's sense of romanticism and he believed that it captured an important truth about Japanese culture.

In a letter written from Kumamoto in October 1893, Hearn criticized the

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67 Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 130-133.

68 "Jiujutsu," Out of the East: Reveries and Studies in New Japan (Boston and New York: Houghton, 1897. Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1972) 224.

69 "Jiujutsu," Out of the East, 224-225.

70 April 1891, Life and Letters, Vol.II, 128.

"ignorant, blind indifference" of educational officials for failing "to nourish the old love of country and love of the Emperor."[71] Chamberlain doubted that nationalism could be inherited and pointed to the role the government played in fostering nationalist sentiment among Hearn's students. Referring to the anti-foreign stance of some Japanese Christians, he wrote:

> Patriotism comes before everything, -- before Christianity, before [humility], before even fair play and truth. I don't agree with you that the Govt does nothing to foster patriotism and the old military spirit....[omission by editor] To my mind there is far too much jingo patriotism in this country. But then I confess that patriotism, anywhere, is a thing altogether distasteful to my mind.... Amiel says somewhere that the principles of 1789 are 'une haine qui veut se faire passer pour un amour'. Is not patriotism much the same? It grows from ignorance, and is nurtured by prejudice. [72]

Hearn was partially convinced by arguments such as this and conceded that the more artificial loyalty of his Kumamoto students (as opposed to the pure sense of loyalty espoused by his Matsue students) could result from government indoctrination.[73] However, as becomes clear from reading his published writings, he continued to write that Japanese nationalism was unique, transmitted by racial memory.

Unlike Hearn, Chamberlain was very reluctant to generalize about the Japanese national or racial character.[74] For instance, Chamberlain dismissed Hearn's musings on the Japanese smile:[75] "How hard all appreciations of

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[71] October 11, 1893, Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 52.

[72] October 22, 1893, More Letters, 108-109. In another of Chamberlain's letters dated March 27, 1895, Chamberlain encouraged Hearn to make a finer distinction between the supposedly "inherited martial spirit" of Japanese boys and the western military customs that the Japanese had adopted in the Meiji era, More Letters, 160-161.

[73] October 13, 1893, Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 57. Also see the postscript of a letter dated April 1895, Life and Letters, Vol.II, 363.

[74] See "Japanese People," Things Japanese, 270. Instead of defining the character of Japanese people, Chamberlain quoted the sometimes humorous observations made by other westerners intent on making such generalizations.

[75] January 17, 1893, Life and Letters, Vol.III, 355-359.

national character are, -- almost as hard as appreciations of individual character."[76] In his 1933 collection of essays, Encore est vive la Souris, he declared that "race" was an abstract concept, almost impossible to define. The "ghost-like" quality of the races could be easily manipulated by those intent on advocating a variety of racial theories.[77] In regard to the sense of loyalty which Hearn, at times, regarded as innate to the Japanese race, Chamberlain had made the following observations in Things Japanese:

> For our own part, we cannot but feel surprise at the way in which, like sheep jumping over a fence, one writer after another has enlarged on certain traits as characteristic of the Japanese nation, which history shows to be characteristic merely of the stage through which the nation is now passing. Their modern favour of loyalty is a good case in point: -- Europe manifested exactly the same symptom on her emergence from feudalism.[78]

Chamberlain, who had been in Japan since 1873, had witnessed government efforts to instill nationalism among the populace and develop an imperial institution in keeping with government objectives.[79]

Critical Studies of Chamberlain and Hearn

There are no detailed studies of either Chamberlain or Hearn in English by scholars of Japanese history. Some scholars, in exploring the lives of westerners in Meiji Japan, have made passing reference to Chamberlain and Hearn and used quotations from their writings to illustrate a point in a more

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[76] January 23, 1893, More Letters, 55.

[77] Encore est vive la Souris: Pensées et réflexions (Paris: Payot, 1933) 91 cited in Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 217-218.

[78] "Japanese People," Things Japanese, 282-283.

[79] Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 82-84.

general discussion of the Meiji period.[80] A number of Hearn's books as well as Chamberlain's Things Japanese and "Kojiki" continue to be reprinted and remain of interest as examples of late Victorian interpretations of Meiji Japan. Among western Japan specialists, Chamberlain receives a passing but often respectful mention as one of the great Japanologists of the nineteenth century. His linguistic ability and his pioneering efforts in the study of Japanese language and literature are acknowledged but have not as yet been made subject of extensive study.[81] Less sympathetically, a few scholars use excerpts from his writings, often out of context, to illustrate orientalist or imperialist assumptions of the western resident in Meiji Japan.[82] Kusuya, in a section of his book analyzing Chamberlain's relationship with Hearn, notes that western Japan specialists value Chamberlain highly but do not give Hearn much consideration.[83] Hirakawa Sukehiro, a Japanese academic known as a defender of Hearn, accuses western Japanologists of completely ignoring Hearn's life in Japan and his insights into Meiji society. Hirakawa regrets the belief widespread among North American scholars that Hearn, because of his

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80 For example, see Kenneth B. Pyle, The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895 (Stanford U P, 1969) 20, 86 for Chamberlain and 3,16-17 for Hearn. For Chamberlain, see Ardath W. Burks, "The Yatoi Phenomenon: An Early Experiment in Technical Assistance," and Richard Rubinger "Science and Civilization in Early Meiji Japan: The 'Autobiographical Notes' of Thomas C. Mendenhall," Foreign Employees in Nineteenth -Century Japan, eds., Edward R. Beauchamp and Akira Iriye (Boulder: Westview Press,1990) 10, 12, 50. References to Chamberlain by western Japanologists are more numerous. For example, the index entry "Chamberlain" in H.J. Jones (205) has numerous references. However, Jones has only one indirect reference to Hearn (168n). Hirakawa Sukehiro describes the reluctance of western Japan specialists to use Hearn's works in "Lafcadio Hearn's 'At a Railway Station': A Case of Sympathetic Understanding of the Inner Life of Japan," Lafcadio Hearn: Japan's Great Interpreter, eds. Louis Allen and Jean Wilson, 283.

81 Professor Ota is preparing an English translation of his critical biography B.H. Chamberlain.

82 Richard H. Minear, "Orientalism and the Study of Japan," Journal of Asian Studies 39:3 (May 1980) : 508-510. Minear concludes that Chamberlain was an "academic Orientalist". According to Minear, the three aspects of academic Orientalism are the following: "its use of abstractions 'Oriental' and 'European', its prejudice in favor of the latter, and the relation in Orientalist thinking between past 'Oriental' greatness and present 'Oriental' degradation (507)." Also see Hoare 103.

83 Kusuya 478.

linguistic failings, is "an example not to be followed by serious students of Japan".[84] Kusuya counters Hirakawa's criticism of this reticence toward Hearn by pointing to Hearn's glorification of the Meiji emperor system and Japanese militarism.[85]

It should be noted that Lafcadio Hearn has attracted the interest of a number of American literary critics and biographers who, in general, have drawn a positive portrayal of a "civilized nomad"[86] who was isolated from western society and found solace in exotic Japan.[87] The critical reception of Hearn's work by these western literary scholars and biographers has been of value when confined to a description of the literary influences on Hearn's writing and to an exploration of his experiences prior to his arrival in Japan. However, when these writers attempt to analyze Hearn's impressions of Japan they often reveal their lack of understanding of Japanese history and culture. A recent book, Lafcadio Hearn and the Vision of Japan, by Carl Dawson, is interesting in that it places Hearn within the milieu of nineteenth-century travel writing, and discusses Hearn's idealization of and disillusionment with Japan in the context of the current academic debates over what Edward Said refers to as "orientalism". Like Dawson's work, Robert Rosenstone's novelistic history of Lafcadio Hearn is informed by the author's own experiences as a visiting professor at a Japanese university. Rosenstone's Mirror in the Shrine serves as

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84 Hirakawa, "Lafcadio Hearn's," 282-283.

85 Kusuya, 478.

86 Hearn used the term "civilized nomad" in an article he wrote for Harper's Magazine in 1889. A portion of this article is quoted in Dawson 91.

87 Minear notes that Hearn has been the subject of critical scholarship due "to factors largely extraneous to the field of Japanese studies (516)."

a good introduction to the encounters three Americans[88] had with nineteenth-century Japan. However, it is noteworthy that Rosenstone all but confesses to succumbing "to the gossamer world of Hearn's Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan" and admits "to a distinctly unfashionable taste for the precious, the exotic, the anachronistic, the Orientalistic." [89] Mirror in the Shrine and other English language works on Hearn are insufficiently grounded in the world of Meiji Japan and thus are of limited value for students of Japanese history.

It is in Japan, among Japanese academics, that the life and writings of Hearn and Chamberlain have generated industrious scholarship. Japanese scholars have been extremely thorough in collecting relevant historical materials and more successful in placing Chamberlain and Hearn within the historical context of Meiji Japan.[90] The evaluation of Chamberlain and Hearn by Japanese academics is marked by controversy. Hirakawa prefers Hearn to Chamberlain as an interpreter of Japan because Hearn tried to understand Japan with his heart, in contrast to Chamblerlain who tried to understand Japan with his intellect. There are scholars, such as Ota and Kusuya, who believe that Hearn's popular reception is unwarranted and that Chamberlain has been undervalued. They charge that Hearn espoused racialist and Social Darwinist beliefs and that, despite his popular image as a great lover of Japan, Hearn was at times very unsympathetic to Japan and the Japanese and had ambivalent feelings about Japanese society. Ota and Kusuya argue that Chamberlain had

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88 Rosenstone considers Hearn an American because of Hearn's long residence in Cincinnati and New Orleans before going to Japan. E.S. Morse and William E. Griffis are the two other Americans discussed in Rosenstone's book. Rosenstone acknowledges Hearn's troubled personality and the limitations of his vision of Japan. Despite this, he has more sympathy for Hearn as an interpreter of Japan than he does for Morse or Griffis.

89 Rosenstone xi.

90 Kusuya, however, is critical of the fact that Japanese scholars have engaged in literary rather than historical studies of Hearn and Chamberlain, 479.

a deeper and more informed understanding of Japan. He did not idealize Japan as Hearn did and was more critical of the anti-democratic and jingoistic aspects of Meiji culture. Because of the latter, Chamberlain's popularity has suffered in contrast to the less critical and less informed Hearn. Kusuya regards the Japanese undervaluation of Chamberlain and overvaluation of Hearn as a highly abnormal state of affairs.[91]

Ota is critical of Hearn's anti-democratic beliefs. In his writings Hearn was, on occasion, very critical of western individualism and concerned about its adverse influence on Japanese youth. In contrast, he was uncritical of the chauvinist feelings that he saw developing in Japan at the turn of the century and in fact he encouraged xenophobic sentiments and emperor worship among his students.[92] He claimed on several occasions that military autocracy, not democracy, was most suitable for Japanese society. Ota provides evidence of Hearn's belief that it was impossible to overcome the barrier of race and achieve true understanding between the races.[93] Hearn claimed that he could not communicate with Japanese people, whose souls were of a different colour than his own.[94] Ota criticizes Hearn because he, unlike other western interpreters of Japan, such as William Griffis or Edward Morse, did not subscribe to a view of the homogeneity of the human race.[95] Hearn has the reputation of someone who had great sympathy with Japan but his honeymoon with

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91 Kusuya, 478.

92 Ota, "Lafcadio Hearn: Japan's Problematic Interpreter," 9. Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 124-129.

93 Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 12-14, 33-35, 43-47, 133, 207-209.

94 Letter to his Matsue friend Nishida Sentaro, October 23, 1894, Some New Letters and Writings of Lafcadio Hearn, cited in Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 33.

95 Ota, "Lafcadio Hearn: Japan's Problematic Interpreter," 14, 17. Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 99, 206-207. Ota, "Western Interpreters of Japan and their Visions," Proceedings of the XIIIth Congress of the International Comparative Literature, Vol.6 (Tokyo: 1995) 389-390. Also see chapter 4 of Ota's E.S. Morse: "Furuki Nihon" o tsutaeta shinnichi kagakusha (Tokyo: Libro-port, 1988).

Japanese society was in fact rather short-lived.[96] He grew disillusioned with Japan even while he was in Matsue and came to regret the enthusiastic things that he first wrote about Japan.[97] Yet, despite all this there is the mistaken belief among Japanese people that he understood their country better than any other westerner in the Meiji period. Ota argues that Japanese people hold this opinion because Hearn's reputation has been idealized by his former students and the less savoury side of his character deleted from his writings.[98] Moreover, Hearn's interest in aspects of "Old Japan"[99] continues to appeal to the Japanese sense of nostalgia[100] and his emphasis on the uniqueness of the Japanese race appeals to the belief still held by many Japanese of their exceptionalism.[101] His observations support their belief that certain aspects of the culture are essentially opaque to western understanding.[102] Western

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96 Kusuya believes that initially Hearn in his literary work and letters demonstrated a love for "Old Japan" and was critical of westernization and modernization. However, by 1895, when his correspondence with Chamberlain was nearing its end, his warm attitude toward Japan had cooled significantly and he began to reevaluate his initial enthusiasm for Japan and his renunciation of the West (462). Also see Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 99-101. Ota explains that Hearn's initial enthusiasm and disillusionment with Japan were similar to his previous pattern of behaviour in New Orleans as well as in Martinique.

97 Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 30-32, 102-106.

98 Ota, "Lafcadio Hearn: Japan's Problematic Interpreter," 11. Kusuya also refers to the deletions made by Japan's prewar censors of sections of Hearn's and Chamberlain's correspondence, resulting in an incomplete and untrustworthy historical record (479).

99 Ota argues that Hearn used the term "Old Japan" to refer to his idealized image of Japan, Lafcadio Hearn, 112.

100 Ota, "Lafcadio Hearn: Japan's Problematic Interpreter," 6-8. Ota points out that until the mid-1920's, relatively few Japanese were interested in Hearn's work because the "Old Japan" which Hearn attempted to capture in his writings was not exotic to Japanese readers. Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 15, 186-190. Hearn's work became popular among Japanese only after modernization, industrialization and urbanization had destroyed "Old Japan" (specifically, after the Kanto earthquake of 1923 erased the vestiges of old Edo).

101 For a discussion of the nihonjinron phenomenon in contemporary Japan see Yoshino Kosaku, Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: A Sociological Inquiry (London and New York: Routledge, 1992). According to Yoshino, the "*nihonjinron*, which literally means 'discussions of the Japanese', refer to the vast array of literature which thinking elites have produced to define the uniqueness of Japanese culture, society and national character (2)."

102 Ota, "Lafcadio Hearn: Japan's Problematic Interpreter," 19.

readers of Hearn's books remain unaware of Hearn's disillusionment because he chose to conceal his personal unhappiness in his published writings -- an unhappiness that he readily disclosed in letters to his friends in Japan and America. Ota argues as well that Hearn was very deceptive in the ways in which he concealed from his readership his inability to read or write Japanese.[103]

There are Japanese critics whose views of Hearn vary considerably from those of Ota and Kusuya. For instance, Hirakawa contends that Hearn in choosing to interpret Japan in an emotional manner captured an aspect of Japanese culture that someone like Chamberlain who was interested in empirical observations of Japan was never able to convey. Hirakawa, in his 1978 address at the "Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars" of the Smithsonian Institution, describes the rather awkward place, from the academic perspective, that Hearn occupies as neither full-fledged literary artist nor scholarly Japan specialist.[104] Hirakawa acknowledges that factual errors occur in Hearn's work. But, despite such errors and despite Hearn's inability to read Japanese, Hirakawa regards his insights into Meiji Japan as valuable. He points to Hearn's enduring popularity in Japan and in the West and suggests that Hearn's artful way of presenting his insights may have relevance for North American scholars whose works are competent and informative but have virtually no impact in furthering understanding of Japan among the general population.[105] Hirakawa does not regard as problematic the poetic licence Hearn employed in altering materials he collected about Meiji Japan. This is

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103 Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 5, 12-16.

104 Hirakawa, "Lafcadio Hearn's," 286

105 Hirakawa Sukehiro,"Supplementary Comment on the Lafcadio Hearn Paper," Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, July 19, 1978, Lafcadio Hearn: Japan's Great Interpreter, 303.

because in general terms, despite the changes made to heighten dramatic effect, Hearn still managed to convey an essential "truth" about Japanese society. Hirakawa claims that Hearn was "gifted at seeing through the eyes of others"[106] and cites the "Japanese Smile" from Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan and "At a Railway Station"[107] from Kokoro as examples where his "penetrating analysis" is evident.

> We can recognise in Hearn's writings two dominant strains: that of stylistic artistry and that of cultural interpretation. Sometimes he sacrifices the accuracy of the latter for the sake of his aesthetic need. This tendency must be particularly repugnant to the Japan specialists of the later generations. But Hearn at his best is superb: his mastery of illustration serves remarkably well as a tool of cultural interpretation. Hearn should not be judged separately as a literary artist without inventive capacity or as a Japan interpreter without scientific discipline. He should be evaluated on his own terms.[108]

For Hirakawa it is not important that Hearn could not read and write Japanese. What is important is the fact that he lived amongst Japanese and that he was able to communicate with his family even if it was in the most elementary "pidgin Japanese".[109]

Although Hirakawa makes the qualification that his praise is for selected aspects of Hearn's writings, his tendency is to gloss over the contentious issue of the untrustworthiness of Hearn's depictions of Meiji society. Hirakawa may be correct in concluding that Hearn's use of poetic license in "At a Railway Station" does not affect the general truth of the insightful observations that Hearn made about Japanese attitudes toward crime. However, Ota, in his critical biography

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106 Hirakawa, "Lafcadio Hearn's," 286, 293.

107 See Ota's criticism of Hearn's distortion of the actual events that inspired "At a Railway Station," Lafcadio Hearn, 137-141. Ota points out that Hearn used his distorted version of events to emphasize the differences between eastern and western behaviour (140).

108 Hirakawa, "Lafcadio Hearn's," 286.

109 Hirakawa, "Lafcadio Hearn's," 290.

of Hearn, provides other instances where Hearn's artistic liberties do create misleading impressions of Japanese society.[110] The titles of Hearn's books suggest that he was aware of the limitations in his understanding of Japan. Dawson makes the following observation:

> [The titles] announce parts and pieces: 'glimpses,' 'miscellanies,' 'attempts,' 'gleanings.' There are repeated 'shadowings'....shadowings imply at once limited sight on the one hand and stylistic or mnemonic shading on the other.[111]

Yet, despite the use of such tentative-sounding titles, Hearn often assumed an authoritative stance and, as Ota successfully argues, made numerous uninformed, false statements about Japan.[112] In regard to Hearn's racialist beliefs, Ota's criticism of Hearn's reliance on unscientific concepts of heredity could be blunted somewhat by considering the extent to which such beliefs were held by other Victorian writers.[113] Dawson notes that:

> Hearn's commitment to ideas of collective and racial memories, his linking of memory with evolutionary principles, and his fascination with divided personalities recalled George Moore and Samuel Butler, Edmund Gosse and William Butler Yeats, writers as different from one another as they were from Hearn but who shared a profound interest in the ways we remember.[114]

However, Ota makes the valid observation that Hearn used these racialist beliefs to accentuate the differences between Japan and the West and thus he contributed to furthering the stereotyped images that western readers had of

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110 See Ota's criticism of Hearn's fictionalized accounts of his Japanese students and teaching experiences, Lafcadio Hearn, 143-148.

111 Dawson 61; Allen 11.

112 For instance, Ota examines evidence in "The Eternal Feminine" (Out of the East) of Hearn's lack of knowledge about Japanese literature. Hearn criticized western literature for its preoccupation with romantic love. He made the false generalization that romantic themes, with the exception of love for courtesans, were absent in Japanese literature. See Ota, Lafcadio Hearn, 122-123.

113 Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 33-38.

114 Dawson xiv

Japan.[115]

Ota and Kusuya champion Chamberlain as the most competent and admirable nineteenth-century interpreter of Meiji Japan. They praise not only his learning but also the human qualities that made Chamberlain such a gentleman and a true benefactor of Japan. The memorial tributes that were written after Chamberlain's death reveal the love and respect that many Japanese held for him. Ota counters the claim made by Hirakawa that Chamberlain approached Japan in a cold, analytical manner while Hearn approached Japan emotionally, with his heart. Chamberlain, Ota argues, had a more deep-rooted and steadfast love for Japan than did Hearn and was also very much attached to Japan in an emotional way. Even after he left Japan in 1911 to retire in Geneva, Chamberlain told a Japanese man, whose education at Oxford he supported, that he felt "an endless home-sickness for Japan". The commonly held view is that in deciding to retire to Geneva at the end of his life Chamberlain demonstrated his physical and emotional return to Europe.[116] Ota argues that throughout his life Chamberlain was drawn both to Europe and Japan. Until his final decision to return to Europe, he entertained thoughts of retiring in Japan. His decision to leave Japan was made, in part, because advancing age and infirmity made travelling between Europe and Japan increasingly difficult. Ota commends Chamberlain's love for two cultures. Chamberlain did not reject western culture completely and embrace Japanese culture, as Hearn is thought to have done, nor did he close himself to Japanese culture and retreat into western culture, as did some of the western residents in the Japanese treaty ports. He took both cultures as the foundation of his

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[115] Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 34-35, 37.

[116] Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 9-11, 24; Kusuya 424.

being.[117]

Ota argues that critics have often been too quick to label Chamberlain a believer in western superiority or typically English in his thinking. Ota concedes that while there is evidence in Chamberlain's writings of a belief in the superiority of England and the West, there are also many instances where Chamberlain countered the prevailing nineteenth-century Euro-centrism. Among members of his family, he was known as "the Japanese" because of his pro-Japanese sympathies, and he was critical of racist comments that his brother, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, made about the "'soulless yellow peoples'". In Ota's view, Chamberlain possessed cosmopolitan sensibilities and democratic values. He was a liberal who despised authoritarianism of any form.[118] Nevertheless, Chamberlain is now regarded by some Japanese scholars as a person who believed in the superiority of the West and looked down upon Japan. Ota contends that in the papers that Chamberlain presented to the Asiatic Society and in the discussions which followed, his fundamental values regarding Japanese culture and Japan emerge. He defended Japanese classical literature at a time when the Japanese themselves placed little value on it. For instance, at the January 24, 1877 meeting of the Asiatic Society he argued that "Our canons of taste are not necessarily canons of universal application" and "Each literature must be a law unto itself". In Ota's view, contemporary critics who compare Chamberlain's evaluation of Japanese literature with late twentieth century evaluations and on this basis go on to declare that he was a believer in western superiority distort the true nature of his

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[117] Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 24-35, 239-248. Ota clarifies the misconceptions regarding Chamberlain's decision to retire in Geneva.

[118] Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 14-15,168-169, 246-248. His decision to leave Japan and retire in Geneva was also influenced by his disillusionment with the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910 and the execution of Kotoku Denjiro and his fellow anarchists in 1911.

feelings for Japan.[119]

Chamberlain and Hearn's Friendship

Hearn wrote to Chamberlain on April 4, 1890 immediately after his arrival in Japan. This was the beginning of a correspondence that lasted until about 1896,[120] the year when Hearn came to Tokyo to take up a position as a lecturer in English literature at the Imperial University. Initially, Hearn wrote the letters in a very formal way addressing Chamberlain as "Professor Chamberlain." He described his experiences in Matsue and his changing perceptions of Japan as he moved to another teaching position at the Fifth Higher Middle School in Kumamoto in November 1891 and then to Kobe in October 1894. A close epistolary friendship developed between the two men over these years. Hearn wrote the lengthier letters, while Chamberlain was a faithful if more succinct correspondent. Hearn was isolated in Kumamoto and Matsue and his letters to his friends were his only link to the English-speaking world. He expressed his thoughts in great detail to Chamberlain and his other correspondents. As a consequence these letters serve as a good barometer of Hearn's experiences in Japan. Hearn confessed to Chamberlain the frustrations he experienced in Japan and the conflicts and misunderstandings that arose between himself and

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119 Ota, B.H. Chamberlain, 122-127.

120 The last letter to Chamberlain included in Life and Letters was written in September 1895, Vol.II, 388-389. Chamberlain's letters dated December 16, 1895 and January 17, 1896 indicate that Hearn continued to write to Chamberlain after September 1895, More Letters, 178-179 and Letters, 146-148. Some of these letters can be found in Gleanings, 202-211 (December 9, 1895), 212-215 (December 15, 1895), 220-223 (January 12, 1896) and 230-345 (July 8, 1896). There is no indication in these letters that a break in Hearn's and Chamberlain's friendship was imminent. Chamberlain embarked on a trip to Europe in January 1896 and wrote to Hearn from Germany on May 24, 1896, Letters, 149-151. According to Kusuya (470), there survive letters from Chamberlain to Hearn written on January 29, 1898 and in 1902. Gleanings includes two brief letters from Hearn to Chamberlain written on January 29 and January 31, 1898, 266-268. The first is a letter of introduction for a French journalist and the other a letter of thanks for some reading material sent by Chamberlain.

the educational officials in Kumamoto. Chamberlain was a very sympathetic listener, although there are some indications that he believed that Hearn brought a lot of grief upon himself.[121]

In his letters, Chamberlain attempted to correct many of Hearn's rash assumptions about Japan, and to dispel Hearn's ignorance of many aspects of Japanese life.[122] Despite the contrast between Chamberlain's great erudition on Japanese matters, derived from many years in Japan, and Hearn's enthusiastic amateurism and recent arrival in Japan, a degree of mutual exploration of Japanese subjects occurred in their correspondence. Hearn was eager to tell Chamberlain about the quaint and exotic things that he observed in the isolated western interior and to share the ideas that he was developing in his books. In Matsue, Hearn was always eager to collect information that Chamberlain needed for his work on the guidebook and to forward the *ofuda* and other religious objects that he thought Chamberlain (or Chamberlain's acquaintance, the Oxford anthropologist, Dr. Edward Tyler) would find of interest.[123] Chamberlain shared some of Hearn's literary interests and claimed that he enjoyed Hearn's insights into literature as well as Japanese culture. However, on deeper cultural questions, their disagreement was pronounced.

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[121] May 16, 1893, More Letters, 65-66. This is a reply by Chamberlain to Hearn's letter written on May 12, 1893, Life and Letters, Vol.III, 418-423; in particular see 423. When Hearn expressed his disillusionment with his Japanese experience, Chamberlain wrote the following words of encouragement: "You have been under the spell, and are now disillusioned, and yet not so disillusioned as not to retain much love for that which no longer seems divine. Write another book, and call it 'Illusion and Disillusion,' and give us *all* Japan," July 17, 1894, More Letters, 142. A letter dated March 18, 1895 reveals Chamberlain's irritation with Hearn's sweeping condemnation of Japanese officials. He reminded Hearn that there were some in Matsue whom Hearn liked, see Letters, 127.

[122] See letter of August 13, 1891, More Letters, 21-22, where Chamberlain informs Hearn of the Confucian and Buddhist influences on Shinto rituals and the recent Christian influence in the development of Shinto marriage ceremonies. Hearn's reluctance to accept such an explanation, which took away from the purity of the Japanese religion, is evident in his August 1891 letter in Life and Letters, Vol.II, 162-163.

[123] September 1890, October 1890, Life and Letters, Vol.II, 112, 113.

Chamberlain became exasperated with the quick generalizations that Hearn made about the Japanese race based on a limited experience of Japan and despite his inability to speak and read the Japanese language. Moreover, Chamberlain found it difficult to understand Hearn's devotion to Herbert Spencer and Hearn's purportedly scientific assertions about racial memory and racial characteristics.[124] Hearn, in turn, felt that Chamberlain, living among foreigners in Tokyo, did not understand the common people as well as he did, living as he did in the interior with a Japanese wife and family.[125] Their friendship ended abruptly sometime in 1896 and their rich correspondence ceased.

Chamberlain, after Hearn's death, tried to explain to Elizabeth Bisland, Hearn's first biographer and editor of the first collection of his letters, why the relationship ended.[126] Chamberlain claimed that he held no ill will toward Hearn and stated that Hearn had a rather idealistic view of friendship and consequently could not maintain friendship if he felt betrayed in any way. According to Chamberlain's entry in Things Japanese, Hearn decided to end the friendship when he learned that Chamberlain had not read the works by Herbert Spencer that had been forwarded to him. Hearn was an ardent disciple of Spencer and could not forgive his friend after being thus "deceived".[127] Kusuya believes that this is at best an incomplete explanation. He cites a letter sent to Hearn's family after his death in which Chamberlain suggests that Hearn's desire to concentrate on his writing resulted in the severing of ties.

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[124] For Chamberlain's reply to Hearn's belief in racial memory see March 23, 1895, Letters, 134-135.

[125] September 12, 1894, Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 261.

[126] Chamberlain's letter is quoted in a chapter of Elizabeth Bisland biography of Hearn, "The Artist's Apprenticeship," Life and Letters, Vol.I, 52-53.

[127] "Lafcadio Hearn," Things Japanese, 296-297.

Kusuya's view is that it was the fundamental differences in their views of Japan and their methods of interpreting Japan for their western readership that ended their relationship.[128]

It should be noted that in rejecting Chamberlain after several years of close friendship Hearn was in fact repeating a characteristic pattern, especially marked with those friends who were his intellectual equals.[129] As he grew older Hearn found it increasingly difficult to sustain relationships and consequently his feelings of isolation grew, as did his sense of paranoia.[130] Chamberlain himself, at times, appeared a little overwhelmed by the avalanche of correspondence that he was receiving from Hearn and apologized for not replying to all the points that Hearn had raised in his letters. He was a busy man with many social and work obligations. Moreover, he suffered from poor health which impaired his letter writing at times. Hearn looked up to Chamberlain and greatly prized his friendship. He looked with child-like eagerness to Chamberlain's brief visit to his family in Kumamoto. Chamberlain was very generous to Hearn, helping him find his job in Matsue, offering the use of his house when Hearn made summer trips to Tokyo, encouraging him to persevere

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128 Kusuya, 462-474, in particular 464, 468-470.

129 Rosenstone 81. Dawson notes that Hearn "ended friendships as spontaneously as he changed places (xviii)" and that Hearn's pattern of friendships...moved predictably from a kind of adulation to irritation or even bitterness and ended with Hearn's pointed silence (18)."

130 Segments of Hearn's correspondence which emphasized his sense of paranoia were excised by Elizabeth Bisland in Life and Letters. Some of these letters have been republished in their entirety in Veiled Letters from Lafcadio Hearn Preserved by Shunzo Kuwabura, ed. Sekita Kaoru (Tokyo: Yushodo, 1991). See for example his letter to Mrs. Wetmore (Elizabeth Bisland) dated February 2, 1903 in which Hearn confided that his good Yokohama friend Mitchell McDonald, who later became a protector of the Hearn family after Hearn's death, could no longer be trusted (76). In a March 3, 1903 letter Hearn told Bisland that there were influential people in Yokohama who conspired against him (177). Chamberlain in his letter to Elizabeth Bisland noted that it was difficult for Hearn "to retain old ties of friendship except with a few men who he met on the plane of every-day life apart from the higher intellectual interests." Quoted in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Artist's Apprentice," Life and Letters, Vol.I, 23. Ota discusses the development of Hearn's persecution complex during his three year stay in Kumamoto, Lafcadio Hearn, 109-111.

in his isolation and recommending him when the President of the Imperial University became interested in Hearn as a lecturer in English literature. However, there was a certain reserve on Chamberlain's part in regard to Hearn. It is possible that it was this reserve that ultimately unsettled Hearn.

CHAPTER 2 -- The Treaty Port System and Treaty Revision

The Treaty Port System in Japan

The growth in the nineteenth century of western commercial, military and political influence in the Far East is linked to the establishment of the treaty port system in Japan and China. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, Russian ships began to enter Japanese waters and pressured the Tokugawa Shogunate to abandon its policy of seclusion. The Russian ships were followed, in the first half of the nineteenth century, by those of Great Britain, the United States and France.[1] The Opium War (1839-1842) opened the China coast to western traders and their governments had the necessary military power to support expeditions to Japan. The arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry in July 1853 marked the "opening" of Japan to the West. The American Treaty of Friendship of 1854 and similar conventions signed by Britain and Russia in 1854 and 1855 were far from the full commercial treaties hoped for by the western merchants. The treaties did not give westerners full trading rights and western ships and residents were confined to the isolated and minor ports of Hakodate and Shimoda. As a result, more comprehensive treaties of "Friendship, Commerce and Navigation" were signed with the European powers between 1858 and 1869.[2] Although these treaties did not cede land to the western powers, they placed Japan in "an 'unequal,' or semicolonial position" by extending the treaty port system to her shores.[3] The Japanese government lost control over tariffs, which, for imported foreign goods, were set at five percent *ad valorem*; Kanagawa (Yokohama) and Nagasaki were

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1 F.G. Notehelfer, "Sketch of the Life of Francis Hall," Japan through American Eyes: The Journal of Francis Hall of Kanagawa and Yokohama, 1859-1866 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992) 22.

2 Hoare 3-5.

3 Notehelfer, "Sketch of the Life of Francis Hall," 23.

declared open ports and within them foreign settlements were established; and a system of extraterritoriality guaranteed that foreigners living in Japan escaped the jurisdiction of Japanese law. Additional open ports and cities were to be opened starting in 1860 and running through 1863. However, given the severe domestic turmoil that crippled the Tokugawa Shogunate, the western powers agreed in 1862 to postpone the opening for another six years. In 1868, the continuing political turmoil within Japan resulted in a further year's postponement in the opening of Edo (Tokyo) and Niigata, although Osaka and Hyogo (Kobe) opened on schedule. It was in 1869 that Japan's pattern of foreign settlements was complete. Until 1899, foreigners in Japan were confined to such settlements.[4]

In Tokyo, a portion of land at Tsukiji was opened for foreign residence in 1869. Yet in 1890 when Hearn arrived in Japan, Chamberlain was living outside the settlement at 19 Akasaka Daimachi. Tsukiji did not develop as anticipated into a full fledged foreign settlement. By 1869 the merchants of Yokohama had reduced their expectations of the fortunes to be made in Japan and were reluctant to incur the extra expense of moving their trading operations to Tokyo.[5] The Japanese government, after the turbulent restoration years had passed, was willing to allow foreigners to live in designated areas in Tokyo, and eventually, in most other parts of the city.[6] Moreover, the foreign employees in the Tokyo area had also contributed to the demise of the Tsukiji by insisting that they be allowed to live in residential areas closer to their work.[7] Chamberlain, as professor at the Imperial University, was a government employee and thus

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[4] Hoare xiii, 4, 6. Also see Notehelfer, "Sketch of the Life of Francis Hall," 23.

[5] Harold S. Williams, Tales of the Foreign Settlements in Japan (Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1958)100-101.

[6] Hoare 19-20

[7] H.J. Jones 58.

had the right to live outside of the treaty ports. Similarly, Hearn, as a language instructor at Middle and Higher Middle schools, was able to live in Matsue and in Kumamoto, two cities far from the foreign settlements. Regardless of where they lived, both men were subject to extraterritoriality because, in theory at least, extraterritoriality governed all foreign residents whether they lived in the foreign settlements or not. However, foreign employees living outside treaty limits were subject to local Japanese police, court and tax regulations.[8]

According to W.G. Beasley, "Britain entered upon treaty relations with Japan with certain fixed ideas -- belief in the 'treaty port' system, extraterritoriality and tariff control being chief among them -- which owed nothing of their development to the situation in which they were to be applied."[9] Britain extended the treaty port system from China to Japan without much thought to the differences between the Chinese and Japanese historical and political situations. Because the Japanese were 'Orientals,' it was presumed that they possessed a legal system as uncivilized and savage as that of China. Thus the foreign residents needed similar guarantees of consular jurisdiction. Under extraterritoriality, foreigners in Japan were responsible not to Japanese authorities but rather to their consular authorities. This meant that foreign powers assumed legal and commercial jurisdiction within the territory of a sovereign nation. The British treaty of 1858 was first in establishing a comprehensive system of extraterritoriality in Japan. Lord Elgin's instructions for concluding a treaty laid down that any provision for extraterritoriality was to be "clear, easily enforceable, and [must] not give the same privileges to Japanese subjects in England." Elgin's treaty stipulated that in all criminal matters,

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8 H.J. Jones 59. Jones describes the attempts made by the Japanese government to formally place foreign employees under Japanese jurisdiction, 62.

9 W.G. Beasley, Great Britain and the Opening of Japan 1834-1858 (London: Luzac, 1951) 202.

including those involving Japanese or other foreigners living in Japan, British citizens were to be tried by their consular authorities in Japan. These authorities were to deal with all questions involving the personal status of British citizens. Civil cases between Japanese and British citizens were to be arranged by consultation between the officials of the two countries. No provision was made for civil cases between British subjects and those of other foreign powers. Subsequent treaties with other foreign powers did not add anything substantial to the British treaty. The unequal treaties made it clear that extraterritoriality would be administered by consuls, and that in cases of doubt, the court to hear a case was that of the defendant. Appeals of the decisions handed down by the British consular courts were heard at the Supreme Court at Shanghai.[10]

The treaty port system was a system for managing foreign affairs imported from the China coast. After the Opium War, a series of treaty port communities had been established in China.

> These had their own newspapers, local municipal councils, chamber of commerce and other trappings of the mid-Victorian world recognized as civilization....they were noted for their common features; 'The anchorage, the bund, the club, the cemetery, the consulate, the race course, all can be regarded as integral manifestations of an early 'treaty port culture', which in ethnographical terms may be said to have been closely affiliated to the British-Indian culture of the day.'[11]

The China coast pattern of treaty port life soon emerged in the Japanese treaty ports. The first treaty port newspapers in Japan were established in 1861.[12] The first Christian church opened in Yokohama in 1862. Hospitals, chambers of commerce, clubs, race tracks quickly followed. In 1868, there were 1000

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[10] Hoare 56.

[11] Hoare 5. Hoare quotes J.K. Fairbank, Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842-1854, 157.

[12] The first newspaper was the Nagasaki Shipping List and Advertiser. Within the first year of operation, the owner decided to move his operations to Yokohama, where he perceived the prospects to be brighter. The newspaper was renamed The Japan Herald. See Hoare 7.

foreigners in Yokohama, Nagasaki and Hakodate. By 1875, the total foreign population in Osaka, Kobe, Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagasaki, Hakodate and Niigata had reached 5000. In 1885, there were 6800 foreigners and in 1894, 9800. Yokohama remained the chief place of foreign residence throughout the treaty period. In 1894, the western population of Yokohama was 2400, and this remained constant until the 1923 earthquake. The British formed the majority of foreign residents in Japan. In 1885, 1200 of the 2600 westerners in Japan were British. In 1896, 1750 of the 4700 were British. After the British, most numerous were the Americans, French and Germans. By 1899, there were a large number of foreign residents who had spent anything from 10 to 40 years in Japan.[13]

According to Hoare, the attitudes that were held by the foreigners in the Chinese treaty ports were transmitted to Japan as well. Westerners wanted to bring to the Japanese the modern ideas of commerce and civilization. These treaty port communities in China "were convinced of two things; their own superiority to the Chinese and the immense potential profits to be made in the China trade".[14] Many of the residents of the Japanese treaty ports came from China and newcomers to Japan adopted similar views. Hoare does not give a very sympathetic account of the attitudes of the treaty port residents toward the Japanese and he portrays the community as very insular and bigoted. "While they thought of themselves as being the representatives of a superior society, their background was also made up of 'years of opium smuggling and ruffianism.'" These men were interested in making money and leading a comfortable life. They did not concern themselves with cultivating their knowledge of Japan. Associations like the Asiatic Society, whose aim was "the collection of information and the investigation of subjects" relating to Japan, and

[13] Hoare 8, 21-23.
[14] Hoare 5.

of which Chamberlain was a member, were only tolerated and were anomalous to the treaty port mentality. Foreign visitors often referred to the similarities between the Japanese foreign settlements and the European colonial towns in Asia. The presence of French and British troops in Yokohama between 1863 to 1875 and the foreign naval presence in Japanese waters helped to create the illusion that the Japanese treaty port was a colonial possession.[15] Visitors to Japan noted the prevalence of colonial attitudes in the Japanese treaty ports. The notice erected at one Yokohama race meeting stated, "No NATIVES will be admitted within the enclosure," while the foreign banks refused to cash cheques presented by Japanese. Visitors were shocked by the vehemence of the anti-Japanese sentiment expressed in the treaty port press. Hoare notes that Yokohama had the worst reputation of all the settlements in its relations with the Japanese.[16]

In his study of the nineteenth-century missionary and teacher Captain L.L. Janes, F.G. Notehelfer acknowledges that Yokohama, especially in the early 1870s was indeed the "Wild West of the Far East" filled with adventurers in search of their "Eldorado". The missionary criticism of immorality and license of the foreign community was in large part justified.[17] However, in a review of Hoare's Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements,[18] Notehelfer argues that

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15 Hoare 14, 24, 26, 44-45.

16 Hoare 28-29. Contemporary newspaper accounts lapsed into the use of the words "colony" or "colonial" in their discussions of the treaty ports in Japan. For instance, see "The New Treaty with Japan", Supplement to the London and China Telegraph, September 24, 1894, 7. The Japan Weekly Mail took exception to such usage, declaring it inappropriate to describe the Japanese treaty ports.

17 F.G. Notehelfer, American Samurai: Captain L.L. Janes and Japan (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985) 111-113.

18 Notehelfer makes the interesting point that "there is no single study that adequately traces the history of foreign settlements (404)." Hoare's book attempts to fill this void. Notehelfer acknowledges that Hoare provides some important information but fails in his attempt. See Notehelfer's review of Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: The Uninvited Guests, 1858-1899, by J.E. Hoare, Monumenta Nipponica 50 (1995) 403-406.

> [m]any of the merchants such as Francis Hall, Dr. George R. Hall, Rudolph Lindau, John Greer, and Robert Walsh (to name only a few) were educated and sophisticated traders, cultured men, who can hardly be discarded as ruffians. Men such as Hall, Lindau, and Eugene Van Reed knew how to speak, and even read and write Japanese.

Notehelfer suggests that Hoare's negative portrayal of the treaty port community is due to his dependence on British official documents which are "filled with their own prejudices, [and] do not serve us well to uncover the more resourceful members of the [treaty port] community."[19] He points to the diary of the American merchant Francis Hall for examples of foreign merchants who, even in the 1860s when anti-foreign violence was indeed a threat, socialized with Japanese and attempted to deepen their understanding of Japanese culture.[20] The anti-Japanese sentiment of the treaty port merchants was perhaps not as pervasive as Hoare suggests.

Chamberlain, Hearn, and the Treaty Ports

In general, Chamberlain had a favourable impression of treaty port life. He contrasted the convention-filled, intrigue-laden lives of the government employees in Tokyo unfavourably with the honest, down-to-earth lives of the residents in the treaty ports. In a letter to Hearn written on May 14, 1894, Chamberlain countered Hearn's low evaluation of the treaty ports:

> I shall fall dreadfully in your estimation; but the atmosphere of an 'open port', -- at any rate of Yokohama and Kobe, -- is infinitely more congenial to my taste. I will grant you that the men there know comparatively little. I will grant you all sorts of other things concerning them. But they are men, and genuine, and I can breathe freely in those healthy, if limited surroundings, where democracy is absolute, each man being taken for exactly what he is worth, without any arrière-pensée, as in this hotbed [i.e. Tokyo] of petty intrigue, of jealousies anent invitations to Imperial Garden Parties, overhearing by officials of what is actually said at the

[19] Notehelfer, rev. of Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements, 404.

[20] Notehelfer, "A Sketch of the Life of Francis Hall," 38-40.

Club, etc., etc.

When Chamberlain arrived in Japan in 1873, the treaty port of Yokohama had been in existence for about fourteen years. Chamberlain became a part of the Yokohama community even though his residence was in Tokyo. He knew the residents, socialized, worked and vacationed with them, and he observed and participated in the development of the community. Chamberlain told Hearn that it was by force of habit that he continued to live in Tokyo and that this situation was tolerable only because he spent so much time travelling in the interior. He predicted that one day he would settle in one of the open ports, where there was "any amount of sterling good fellowship and of genuine amusement." [21] Chamberlain's use of the collective "we" in his discussion of treaty revision is further evidence of the emotional attachment he felt toward the treaty port community.

Hearn, unlike Chamberlain, perceived himself as an outsider to the foreign community,[22] partly because of his late arrival in Japan in 1890, 31 years after the foreign settlement had been established at Yokohama and partly because of the sense of alienation he felt from all human communities, in the West as well as in Japan. He stayed in Yokohama only for a brief period before going to Matsue and then Kumamoto. Hearn felt isolated in Kumamoto and he looked forward to his summer visits to Yokohama and then to his move to Kobe in 1894, where he planned to help edit the Kobe Chronicle. However, these brief periods of enthusiasm for treaty port life quickly waned and in general he was critical of the foreign residents for many of the faults catalogued by Hoare.

In contrast to Chamberlain, who praised the atmosphere of the treaty port

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[21] May 12, 1894 and May 14. 1894, Letters,98-99.

[22] Letter to Chamberlain, July 8, 1896, Gleanings, 237. He wrote, "In Kobé I have been living in absolute solitude -- there are no attractions for me in the foreign elements there."

as being free and vibrant, Hearn complained that the treaty ports were ruled by bourgeois convention and anti-Japanese prejudice. He wrote to Chamberlain on March 4, 1894:

> I suppose, after all, that the populations of the open Ports of the Far East must be much afflicted with bourgeoisme (if I can coin such a word) than any others, -- partly because composed almost exclusively of the mercantile middle-classes, and partly because of the conventions themselves, transplanted to an exotic soil, must there obtain a savage vigour unknown in the mother country. Ideas and opinions must be petrified; 'it has been suggested'; 'it is hoped'; 'it is the opinion of the community'; -- must be phrases of enormous weight there.

Hearn regarded the open port as "a community regulated by lawyers, codes, contracts, and opinions dry and tough as Mexican jerked beef." He told Chamberlain that he disliked mercantile people of all countries: "[H]ow can men, trained from childhood to watch for and to take all possible advantage of human weakness, remain a morally superior class[?]"[23] Treaty port merchants, and thus most treaty port residents, discriminated against Japanese people on the assumption that all Japanese were "tricksters" and could not be trusted. "No foreigner would purchase anything until it had long been in his hands to be examined and reexamined and 'exhaustively' examined, -- or accept any order for imports unless the order were accompanied by 'a substantial payment of bargain money'". Hearn described the foreign merchants as "foreign invaders" with the "insolence of conquerors". The Japanese resented the presence of these foreigners and only tolerated them in order to learn things which would be of use to Japan. The Japanese goal was to "regain possession of all the concessions, to bring about the abolishment of consular jurisdiction, to leave

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23 April 1895, Life and Letters, Vol.II, 361. This letter was written while Hearn was living in Kobe. Hearn also pointed out that "In old Japan the merchant ranked below the common peasant," "A Glimpse of Tendencies," Kokoro, 125.

nothing under foreign control within the Empire."[24]

In Kokoro, which was published in 1896 but written in 1894 and 1895, Hearn wrote that the gap separating the foreign settlement from the the native town was as wide as the Pacific, "which is much less wide than the difference between the races". He claimed that the antagonism between the Japanese and the foreign residents was "racial" and thus "natural":

> The barriers of racial feeling, of emotional differentiation, of language, of manners and beliefs, are likely to remain insurmountable for centuries....the foreigner, as a general rule, understands the Japanese quite as little as the Japanese understands him....Under no ordinary circumstances need he be expected to be treated like a Japanese; and this is not merely because he has more money at his command but because of his race.

He explained to his readers that this "race-feeling" resulted in the high rates charged by Japanese merchants, artisans, clerks and innkeepers for services rendered to foreign residents.[25] In Murray's Handbook, Chamberlain explained this phenomenon differently:

> It is but fair that foreigners should pay more than natives, both for accommodation and for jinrickishas. They usually weigh more, they almost always want to travel more quickly, they give infinitely more trouble at an inn with their demand for separate rooms, fresh water in the bath, the occupation of a portion of the kitchen to cook their European food in, and a dozen other such requirements....[26]

Hearn told Chamberlain that he preferred the "freedom," "laissez-faire," "softness," "indifference" and "lonesomeness" of life in the Japanese interior to life in the treaty ports and claimed that his life in Matsue and Kumamoto had

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[24] "A Glimpse of Tendencies," Kokoro, 124-125, 145. Elsewhere, he wrote about a group of Jack Tars in Yokohama cruelly taunting some Japanese jinrickisha drivers. Chamberlain claimed that he had never witnessed such cruel behaviour and in fact it was often the drivers who taunted the sailors. See Chamberlain's letter dated June 1, 1893, More Letters, 69. Hearn claimed that his portrait of the sailors was based on police reports in the Japan Mail. See Hearn's letter to Chamberlain, June 5, 1893, Life and Letters, Vol.III, 429.

[25] "A Glimpse of Tendencies," Kokoro, 123, 134-138.

[26] Basil Hall Chamberlain and W.B. Mason, A Handbook for Travellers in Japan, 7.

spoiled him for any other. Hearn dismissed the idea of living in Tokyo because he wanted to avoid unpleasant contacts with other foreigners and also to escape the social conventions that regulated life in the Tokyo foreign community.[27] In reply, Chamberlain very sensibly pointed out that "the natural tendency [was] to think alien societies freer than they are" because the resident foreigner could not fully understand alien conventions and generally was not bound by them. The freedom that Hearn praised was "in the eyes of us who look at them and may....play at being one of them, much more than in the life itself."[28] In his replies dated March 13 and March 14, Hearn did not directly address Chamberlain's observations.[29] Nevertheless, Chamberlain's comments reveal an important truth about Hearn's dislike of the treaty ports and the foreign residents and his preference for "Japanese" life.[30] Dawson, in his Lafcadio Hearn and the Vision of Japan, confirms Chamberlain's insights:

> Japan provided Hearn with the comfort of adequate money and the opportunity for almost total independence. These in turn allowed him a kind of weightless exile, an exile within the larger exile of a changing Japan, free from responsibilities or obligations beyond the absolute necessary.[31]

A brief summary of Chamberlain's and Hearn's comments regarding the Yokohama newspapers, The Japan Mail, The Japan Herald, and The Japan Gazette, provides further insight into their attitudes toward the treaty port community. In general, the Mail was perceived to support the Japanese government, the British Legation and treaty revision. The Gazette and the

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[27] March 4, 1894, Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 134.

[28] March 9, 1894, Letters, 81-83.

[29] March 13, 1894 and March 14, 1894, Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 159-161.

[30] Hearn, in a later letter, claimed that if he lived in Tokyo, he would keep away from the foreign community in order to preserve the seclusion and quiet he needed for his literary work, July 21, 1894, Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 231-232.

[31] Dawson 29.

Herald were perceived as critical of the Japanese government and treaty revision and as defenders of residents' rights.[32] H.J. Jones notes that the Japan Mail "began with a Japanese government subsidy, and....provided a vehicle by which the Japanese government viewpoint could be presented to the foreign community."[33] Rival journalists and some residents distrusted the close relationship that Captain Frank Brinkley, the editor of the Mail, had with the Japanese government and claimed that he was a "Japanese flunky" and "an infamous and cowardly liar and slanderer". However, there was also the belief among residents that it was Brinkley's contacts, his ability to speak Japanese and his open marriage to a Japanese woman, which contributed to the Mail's "sympathetic and generally positive view of Japan".[34]

Chamberlain was critical of the Mail and accused Brinkley of "sycophancy of the Japanese".[35] Chamberlain claimed that he often dissented from the opinions expressed by the Mail and "always resent[ed] its paternal government way of doling out what news it chooses and excluding other things as too racy for little boys."[36] After the signing of the Aoki-Kimberley treaty, Chamberlain complained that, with the extension of Japanese censorship laws to the treaty port press, there would be no more papers "except the 'Japan Mail.'"[37] In the passing comments he made to Hearn on the subject of the treaty port press, Chamberlain's sympathies appear to have been with the Gazette

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[32] Hoare 148-152.

[33] H.J. Jones 75. The Mail was not the only paper to receive funds from the Japanese government. Government officials believed that subsidizing the treaty port press was the best way to curb anti-Japanese sentiment and to encourage the spread of pro-Japanese views to the world, Hoare 154.

[34] Hoare 157-158, 141.

[35] May 14, 1894, Letters, 98.

[36] August 27, 1893. More Letters, 97.

[37] September 8, 1894, Letters, 113.

and the Herald. He urged Hearn to subscribe to the Gazette, which, unlike the other treaty port newspapers, was "run by professionals". On another occasion, Chamberlain referred to reports in the Herald to support his arguments on the injustice of Japanese criticism of missionary-owned land.[38]

In contrast, Hearn, on one occasion, expressed his dislike of all the treaty port papers. He asked Chamberlain how he could "read the Yokohama papers without going mad."

> The 'Herald' you sent spoiled two meals for me. The extracts were all right, but the comments. I never open the 'Mail' any more; I am afraid to. It only spoils my temper and my work.[39]

Despite this declaration, it would appear from his published writings that Hearn had some sympathy for the Mail, while he remained hostile to the Gazette and Herald, which represented the interests of treaty port residents and which provided evidence of the "mutual dislike of Oriental and Occidental".

> If the 'anti-Japanese' newspapers did not actually represent -- as I believe they did -- an absolute majority in sentiments, they represented at least the weight of foreign capital, and the preponderant influences of the settlements. The English 'pro-Japanese' newspapers, though conducted by shrewd men, and distinguished by journalistic abilities of no common order, could not appease the powerful resentment provoked by the language of their contemporaries. The charges of barbarism and immorality printed in English were promptly answered by the publication in Japanese dailies of the scandals of the open ports.... [40]

Treaty Revision, the Foreign Residents, and the British Government

In the 1860s and 1870s, the merchants, who made up a large percentage of the population in the treaty ports, wanted to revise the treaties in order to gain access to the interior. However, this demand was dropped in the

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[38] August 27, 1893 and October 22, 1893, More Letters, 97, 108.

[39] October 31, 1893, Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 58.

[40] "A Glimpse of Tendencies," Kokoro, 131-132.

course of the 1870s when the residents realized that the Japanese wanted to rid themselves of the unequal treaties entirely. Hoare condemns the foreign residents for their intransigence over treaty revision. By the 1890s, the residents were no longer the "brave pioneers of Western civilization in the Far East", as some liked to believe, but instead had become "dull and respectable citizens in a westernized country." In particular, some of the long term residents, who had experienced the anti-foreign violence of the pre-Meiji years immediately following the establishment of the treaty ports, continued to insist that their lives and property were not secure without extraterritoriality. The number of foreigners killed or wounded in Japan after the opening of the ports was relatively small. Moreover, the Meiji government made it clear that anti-foreign violence would not be tolerated, and as early as 1872 the British Chargé d'Affaires was convinced that troops in Yokohama were unnecessary. However, some residents continued to arm themselves and insist that the open ports in China and Japan be protected by naval vessels. After the death of the German consul in Hakodate in 1874, there were no further fatal attacks against another foreigner until the 1890s. Nevertheless, the contemporary histories and travel books listed the casualties of anti-foreign violence in great detail.[41]

The residents of the treaty ports did not regard the unequal treaties as an insult to Japanese sovereignty. F.C. Jones presents the view enunciated by Sir Harry Parkes' biographer F.V. Dickins as the position of many of the treaty port residents:

> In some thirty or forty millions of Japanese, this exiguous amount of half-exception, accorded to a few aliens residing in three or four open ports, could scarcely be a matter of material concern -- aliens who might not wander a foot beyond a strictly guarded frontier, drawn at a few miles beyond a strictly guarded frontier, drawn at a few miles from their ports, save under a rigid passport system which forbade....even a verbal

[41] Hoare 25, 51, 40, 97-98.

> contract of purchase or sale being made beyond the boundary. Neither in China nor anywhere else, in modern times, has so severe a system of isolation ever been enforced against foreigners.[42]

However, most of the advantages which foreigners enjoyed in Japan resulted from extraterritoriality. For the residents, extraterritoriality was vital to preserve their special status and privileges. They defended its continued existence even when it came to work against further expansion of trade -- the primary reason for the opening of Japan in the 1850s. In order to preserve extraterritoriality, the merchants were willing to forsake the commercial advantages of having greater access to the interior.[43]

There was acknowledgement in international law, as early as 1877, that Great Britain had no right to exempt its citizens from Japanese jurisdiction beyond what was specified by treaty.[44] Even the rather intransigent Harry Parkes, who initially opposed Japanese requests for treaty revision, came to recognize by the late 1870s that consular jurisdiction was at best makeshift and had to be abandoned once Japanese judicial reforms were complete.[45] Parkes, however, believed that extraterritoriality should be removed gradually and, in general, lacked confidence in the Japanese legal reforms. During Parkes' tenure at the legation in Tokyo, there was criticism within the legation of Parkes' hard line on treaty revision. Ernest Satow, secretary at the legation and future minister to Japan, wrote that Britain had

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42 F.V. Dickins, The Life of Sir Harry Parkes (2 vols, 1894).(Vol.II [Japan], 270-271). Quoted by F.C. Jones 102.

43 Hoare xv, 100. Also see Nish, Japanese Foreign Policy, 30.

44 J.E. Hoare, "The 'Bankoku Shimbun' Affair: Foreigners, the Japanese Press and Extraterritoriality in Early Meiji Japan," Modern Asian Studies, 9 (1975), 301-302. In September 1877, the British Law Officers of the Crown concluded that British citizens were "bound to obey Japanese laws, unless specifically exempted from them by Treaty." This judgment went against Parkes' claim that the Japanese jurisdiction could not be extended to foreigners without the sanction of the western powers.

45 Hoare 95-96; F.C. Jones 95.

> made a great mistake here in pursuing an unfriendly, harsh policy towards the government, the knowledge of which has come to the ears of the common people, and has caused them to look on foreigners in general, and Sir Harry Parkes in particular, as their enemy.[46]

After Parkes left Japan in 1883, Britain adopted a more conciliatory stance in negotiations for treaty revision. For Britain, the question was no longer if but rather when the unequal treaties would be revised.[47] It gradually became clear to the governments and business communities of Britain and America that it was not possible to have both the continuation of the treaty port system and increased trade and access to the Japanese interior. By the 1890s, a divergence of opinion had developed between western residents in Japan, most of whom were extremely protective of extraterritorial rights, and British observers outside of Japan, who recognized the great progress Meiji Japan had achieved and consequently regarded extraterritoriality as unnecessary.[48]

The Liberal ministries of W.E. Gladstone (1892-1894) and Lord Rosebery (1894-1895) were both involved in the negotiation of the the Aoki-Kimberley treaty. These ministries were sympathetic to treaty revision although the issue was not a major concern to them. Members of the Foreign Office staff steered the treaty through the revision process and Kimberley himself did not take part in the negotiations.[49] By 1893-1894, treaty revision was "regarded as a technical matter which required the cabinet's blessing rather than a policy issue which required cabinet sanction." However, when anti-foreign demonstrations took place in Japan in December 1893, Rosebery told Aoki that talks could not

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46 Satow Papers (Public Records Office), E.M. Satow to F.V. Dickins, October 18, 1881. Quoted in Nish, "Japan Reverses the Unequal Treaties," 138.

47 F.C. Jones 100, 108.

48 Hoare xv, 51.

49 Foreign Office staff who participated in the London negotiations, Francis Bertie, Hugh Fraser, Maurice De Bunsen and J.H. Gubbins, were Japan-hands working or on leave in London in 1894.

proceed while such protests continued. In January 1894, officials in the Foreign Office discussed the advisability of revising the treaties in face of this anti-foreignism and it was after much deliberation that they decided to continue with the talks. This decision was made on the grounds that British reluctance to continue with the negotiations would only unite the anti-foreign forces in Japan. Furthermore, in the longer view, Britain's interests would be served by winning the support of the Ito Ministry to help maintain the balance of power in East Asia against the growing Russian presence there.[50] Nish, in summarizing British motivations in the final months before the signing of the Aoki-Kimberley treaty, concludes that Britain "acted from a sense of justice and out of a spirit of goodwill to the New Japan but had a shrewd notion of its own political advantage." Influential Foreign Office officials regarded a new treaty as inevitable and believed that by taking the leadership role among western powers, Britain could more effectively shape the course of treaty revision. However, there were officials and informed British citizens who were skeptical of the treaty.[51]

Treaty Revision and the Japanese Government

The Meiji leaders realized very quickly the disadvantageous position into which the "unequal treaties" placed their nation. The existence of the treaty ports and the presence of foreign residents who lived outside the jurisdiction of

50 Nish, "Japan Reverses the Unequal Treaties," 137-141. Francis Bertie, assistant under-secretary at the Foreign Office, wrote that "the great object which Japan and China have in common and which is also an English interest is to keep Russia out of Korea (140)."

51 For instance, the Foreign Office legal adviser was opposed to immediate ratification, and the members of British Legation in Tokyo as it was constituted in August 1894 were all against the new treaty. See Nish, "Japan Reverses the Unequal Treaties," 142-143.

Japanese law were regarded as an infringement on Japanese sovereignty.[52] The historian Kenneth Pyle suggests that the treaties gave rise to feelings of national shame. It was thought that underlying the treaties was the presumption that "Japan's traditional society and its supporting values were incapable of meeting the foreign challenge."[53] The stationing of French and British troops in Yokohama until 1875 and the similarities in the pattern of treaty port life between China and Japan did not augur well for an independent Japan. Legally, the Japanese government had the right to ask for a revision of treaties in 1872. However, the Meiji leaders recognized that the western powers would require substantial reform of Japan's legal and political structure before considering treaty revision. They quickly embarked on a program of legal reform, investing large amounts of money in foreign advisers to help them navigate the complicated processes of western law. In the 1870s and the 1880s, the Japanese received "moral support and practical advice" from their foreign legal advisers. The government closely examined the treaty port system in the light of basic concepts of international law, and Japanese leaders became fully aware of Japan's rights as a nation. The yatoi adviser Henry W. Denison, a former United States consular officer, explained to the Japanese that if the foreigners wanted access to the interior, they could not maintain the system of extraterritoriality.[54]

There had not been any widespread expression of public opinion about treaty revision in the 1870s. There were some anti-foreign incidents but these

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52 Soejima Taneomi explained that Japan had "asserted that a great national wrong had been done her by the Powers....She alleged that it was prejudicial to the dignity of an independent and civilized state to have foreign law-courts sitting within its dominion." Fifty Years of New Japan, compiled by Count Okuma, Vol.I, 103. Quoted by F.C. Jones 47.

53 Pyle, The New Generation in Meiji Japan, 109.

54 H.J. Jones 42-48.

were directed generally at the foreign presence in Japan, not specifically at the unequal treaties.[55] However, with the growth of the press in the 1880s and the opening of the Diet in 1890, treaty revision became a very emotional popular issue and strong nationalist sentiments began to assert themselves. When Chamberlain arrived in Japan in the 1870s, negotiations could take place without any thought to public reaction. However, by the 1880s, public opinion and intense political opposition to the government could have a very dramatic impact on the course of negotiations.

Popular dissatisfaction, fueled by the perception that Japan was giving away too much, erupted in 1887 when Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru's proposal for revision was leaked to the public.[56] Inoue's draft treaty conceded the use of foreign judges on the Japanese bench, the reform of legal codes "according to western principles" and the right of all foreigners to live and trade in the interior. Conservative politicians, such as Tani Kanjo, objected to the government's willingness to reform Japanese laws to suit the wishes of the foreign powers. Tani believed that appointing foreign judges to the Japanese Bench would only perpetuate the 'disgrace' of the unequal treaties. In a dramatic gesture of protest, he resigned as Inoue's Minister of Commerce and Agriculture and became a leader of liberals and conservatives opposed to the draft proposal.[57] Inoue countered this political opposition by claiming that Japan "must become 'a civilized state' and adopt a more open policy toward the world."[58] However,

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55 Hoare 64.

56 Brown, in Nationalism in Japan, notes that this reaction was deeply felt and widespread among the populace. He refers to this upsurge in popular feeling as "the beginning of modern nationalism in Japan (112)." The reaction "was associated with a revulsion against Western thought and with a new interest in traditional Japanese ideals (113)."

57 Students throughout Japan were affected by Tani's opposition to treaty revision. They took the lead in circulating publications and petitions. Pyle, The New Generation in Meiji Japan, 101-105.

58 Nish, Japanese Foreign Policy, 31.

the continuing protests forced Inoue to call off the negotiations and resign as Foreign Minister.

The Okuma draft of 1889 granted fewer concessions to the western powers than the Inoue draft of 1886. However, the new draft still did not provide unconditional jurisdiction over western residents demanded by opponents of the draft treaties. It made provisions for the use of foreign judges in Japan's Supreme Court and opened the interior to foreign trade and residence. Japan would gain tariff autonomy only after twelve years and extraterritoriality would end after five years. There was a public outcry in May 1889 when these proposals were leaked to the Japanese press. Petitions, public meetings and ad hoc committees were organized in opposition to the draft treaty in many parts of the country.[59] The articulate public asked why Japan had to give any concessions to the foreign powers, since Japan was asking for the rights that all western nations exercised over their own territory. F.C. Jones summarizes the public reaction as observed by British consular officers:

> The demand for conditions and guarantees [was] regarded as a sign that Japan was not fit to be trusted by the Powers, that her people were not able enough to administer justice fairly or efficiently on occidental lines, that, in short, the Japanese were an inferior race. In a blaze of resentment at this [the nationalist] refused to listen to all arguments for temporizing or concessions, and turned with savage fury even at his own leaders and statesmen at the slightest sign of what he considered weak and unpatriotic conduct.[60]

Okuma continued to negotiate despite the protest and it appeared that a treaty would be concluded. However, on October 18, 1889, an assassination attempt on Okuma's life was made by a member of a right-wing group and the negotiations were again called off and the Kuroda Ministry resigned.[61]

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59 Pyle, The New Generation in Meiji Japan, 108-109, 114.

60 F.C. Jones, 126.

61 F.C. Jones 124.

Okuma believed that it was reasonable to include foreigners on the Japanese Bench because it was unprecedented for a western nation to allow a non-western one to exercise jurisdiction over its subjects. Foreign judges would be useful during the transition period as Japan prepared for the end of extraterritorial jurisdiction.[62] Taguchi Ukichi, economist, founder of the Tokyo keizai zasshi (Tokyo economic magazine) and proponent of the treaty, argued that mixed residence would be beneficial to Japan's progress and would stimulate trade and economic development. Yano Fumio, the editor of the Tokyo Yubin hochi newspaper and close associate of Okuma, believed that the new treaty proposal was an improvement over existing treaties and that better terms could not be gained at this point in Japan's development. In contrast, opponents of the draft treaty such as the conservative intellectual Kuga Katsunan asserted that Japan could not rid itself of the shame of the earlier treaties if revision did not occur on a basis of total equality. He stated that "[n]ow that Japan is emerging in the world for the first time, her present and future status will be determined by treaty revision. If we tolerate interference, we shall be classed with Turkey and Egypt." In Kuga's view, the appointment of foreign judges and the revision of codes based on too strict an adherence to western models were tantamount to interference. Mixed residence (residence and trade in the interior) had to be opposed because it would interfere with the development of a national identity. "So long as Japanese remained uncertain of their own abilities and indifferent to their own cultural inheritance, mixed residence would only add to the existing social and moral disruption."[63]

The growing opposition to government efforts at treaty revision in the late 1880s and early 1890s is described by Pyle with reference to the rise of

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[62] F.C. Jones 126-127.

[63] Pyle, The New Generation in Meiji Japan, 112-117.

"moderate" conservatism among young Japanese intellectuals.[64] This new conservatism was a reaction to the *bummei kaika* values of the early Meiji period. The leaders of this new movement had received a western education and had a sophisticated understanding of western society. Unlike the conservatives of the early 1880s, they did not make a sweeping defense of traditional Japanese culture or advocate the rebirth of Chinese learning.[65] Instead, they proposed a more organic and selective approach to westernization and reform -- one that took into consideration the distinctive values and realities of Japanese society. According to the journalist Yamaji Aizan,

> [t]hey absorbed the spirit of European nationalist movements, and regarded the attempt to make Japan over into a western state as a most dangerous tendency. They observed that Western powers, through their language, literature, and customs, strove to preserve their nationality.[66]

They pointed to the differences that existed within the nations of the West and questioned the civilization and enlightenment model of a "universal civilization toward which all nations were progressing." They believed that the treaty revision issue "brought into focus the relationship between cultural borrowing from the West and the establishment of national self-esteem and pride."[67] The conflicts with the western powers which arose during the course of treaty negotiations provided support for the conservative case that the preservation of cultural autonomy was essential for maintaining the strength of the Japanese nation. They were vehement in their criticism of Inoue and Okuma for adopting foreign legal institutions to satisfy the demands of western treaty powers. These

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64 Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 688-696. Pyle specifically refers to Kuga Katsunan and Miyake Setsurei as the leaders of this new conservative movement.

65 For an analysis of these early Meiji conservatives see Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 679-688.

66 Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 695.

67 Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 690.

new conservative intellectuals had ties to older conservative political leaders, such as Tani and Torio Koyata, and together with the old guard they were instrumental in forestalling the government's efforts at treaty revision.

After 1890, the opposition parties in the Diet upset two schemes for treaty revision. The parties used the treaty revision issue in the Diet to attack the policies of the government and on the street to arouse nationalist sentiment against what they perceived were excessive concessions to foreigners. In its negotiations, the government had to steer a middle course between the demands of the opposition parties and those of the foreign negotiators. The government could not follow the dictates of the opposition parties because this would be unacceptable to the foreigners and yet it could not acquiesce to foreign demands because bitter domestic opposition would result.[68] Aoki, Foreign Minister (1889-1891) after Okuma, accepted the fact that the Japanese populace and the anti-government forces would not tolerate foreign judges and withdrew this concession from the draft treaty that he forwarded to Lord Salisbury in 1890. Salisbury was willing, albeit with provisions, to agree to this new proposal and forwarded a counter draft treaty. When the proposals were presented to the Diet, there was great protest against foreigners being allowed to hold real property in the interior. This set of negotiations was annulled by the attack on the Tsarevitch (later Tsar Nicholas II) in May 1891 and the subsequent resignation of the Yamagata Cabinet. The Diet's opposition to the Matsukata government's reform of the Commercial and Civil Codes helped nullify the next set of negotiations and the anti-foreign elements in the Diet further delayed the new negotiations by the Ito Ministry. Mutsu Munemitsu, Foreign Minister (1892-1896) in the Ito Cabinet, complained of "the foolish opinion that it was better to

[68] Nish, "Japan Reverses the Unequal Treaties," 137.

prohibit mixed residence in the Interior and retain the existing treaties." Anti-government politicians and nationalist groups opposed this concession on the grounds that the presence of foreign residents and foreign capital in the Japanese interior threatened Japanese sovereignty.[69]

When Mutsu became Foreign Minister in 1892, he was determined to prevent the treaty negotiations from being interrupted by anti-foreign protests provoked by opposition politicians. He acknowledged that previous negotiations had been unsuccessful not because of the reluctance of the western powers but because of protests mounted within Japan. Thus he proposed to conduct the negotiations in foreign capitals, despite the additional administrative problems this created. Mutsu also decided to negotiate in the greatest secrecy with individual western powers. Despite his precautions, there were further outbursts of anti-foreign feeling fueled by the perception that the government was not enforcing the existing treaties adequately. The government was accused of being "easy-going toward foreigners," but "harsh" towards its own nationals. There were calls in the Diet for the treaties to be unilaterally renounced and for Japan to resume control of its tariffs. In December 1893 and May 1894, the Ito Ministry suspended the Diet to insure that the negotiations with Britain would continue.[70]

Mutsu obtained the approval of the Cabinet for his draft treaty in July 1893. Lord Salisbury's draft treaty of 1890 already had conceded the eventual surrender of Britain's extraterritorial privileges in Japan and Mutsu's draft took this as the starting point. The new draft stipulated that the treaty would come into effect only after the revision of legal codes was completed and the new codes

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69 F.C. Jones 131-145.

70 F.C. Jones 145-146. Also see Nish, "Japan Reverses the Unequal Treaties," 138-140, 144 and Nish, Japanese Foreign Policy, 29, 32.

were fully introduced. It was at that time that consular jurisdiction and foreign settlements would be abolished. Aoki Shuzo, then minister to Germany, made an unsuccessful initial approach to the German government but the new draft treaty was not warmly received in Berlin. Aoki went to visit Britain in September 1893 for private talks with Hugh Fraser, the British minister to Japan who was on furlough in London. In November 1893, Aoki was appointed Minister to London and preliminary talks continued. The formal talks began in April 1894 and proceeded slowly. The British took exception to reports that Mutsu and Ito were considering renouncing the treaties unilaterally if Japan could not obtain satisfactory revision. Sufficient progress was made in the talks, however, that by July 1894 Mutsu could insist that, in view of the looming Korean crisis, Japan should conclude the treaty as quickly as possible. The British responded to Japan's urgency and the treaty was signed in London on July 16, 1894. Ratifications were exchanged in Japan on August 25, 1894.[71]

It had taken more than two decades of effort for the Meiji leaders to accomplish treaty revision and the signing of the treaty in August 1894 was an important milestone in the Japanese modernization program. (In fact, it might be said that the treaty port system had indirectly spurred Japan's modernization. Modernization efforts had as one of their tangible goals the ending of extraterritoriality.) The new treaty was completely equal. It provided for the rights of Japanese in Britain as much as for the rights of Englishmen in Japan. It made arrangements for the end of extraterritoriality in Japan. Foreigners, after a transition period during which the new legal codes and judicial system came into effect, would be under Japanese jurisdiction. The treaty ports were to be incorporated into Japanese Communes.

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[71] Nish, Japanese Foreign Policy, 32-33. Nish, "Japan Reverses the Unequal Treaties," 139-140.

In general, the Japanese government leaders were pleased with the new treaty. Aoki told Mutsu that, "We may congratulate ourselves that we have at one stroke ended the humiliation of the last 30 years and with one stride entered into the 'Fellowship of Nations'".[72] In an Imperial Rescript issued by the Meiji Emperor on June 30, 1899, the Emperor stated:

> As to the revision of Treaties, Our long-cherished aspiration, exhaustive plans, and repeated negotiations have at last been crowned by a satisfactory settlement with the Treaty Powers. Now that the date assigned for the operation of the revised Treaties is drawing near, it is a matter of heartfelt joy and satisfaction that, while on one hand, the responsibilities devolving upon the country cannot but increase Our friendship with the Treaty Powers, on the other it has been placed on a foundation stronger than ever.[73]

However, there was criticism of the new treaty. Some officials criticized Aoki for not negotiating as rigorously as he could have done. More specifically, opposition politicians pointed to the treaty's shortcomings: Japan did not gain full tariff autonomy until 1911; foreigners continued to enjoy perpetual leases in the former treaty ports; and Britain continued to share in the carrying trade between the open ports.[74] Despite such shortcomings, the Aoki-Kimberley treaty served an important function in setting the pattern for Japan's subsequent negotiations with other western powers. The willingness of Britain, the nation with the largest commercial presence in Japan, to abandon the treaty port system encouraged other powers soon to do the same.[75]

Chamberlain, Hearn, and the Japanese Nationalist Reaction to Treaty Revision

Between May 1893 and August 1894, before the conclusion of the Aoki-

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[72] Nish, "Japan Reverses the Unequal Treaties," 144.

[73] This rescript is printed in full in F.C. Jones 161.

[74] Nish, "Japan Reverses the Unequal Treaties," 144.

[75] Nish, Japanese Foreign Policy, 33.

Kimberley treaty, Chamberlain and Hearn made reference in their correspondence to issues which concerned both proponents and opponents of treaty revision, issues such as mixed residence, the use of foreign judges on the Japanese bench, anti-foreignism and Japanese nationalism. After 1894, they made further comments on these matters in their published writings dealing with the unequal treaties.

In 1890, when Hearn arrived in Yokohama, the Meiji government had been attempting to revise the treaties for over two decades. In 1873, at the time of Chamberlain's arrival, the Japanese government had just begun the revision process.[76] Chamberlain had been able to observe, during the course of his long residence in Japan, the transformation of treaty revision into an emotionally charged nationalist issue. He was able to place the opposition to treaty revision in the wider context of the Meiji experience. In commenting on the popular protest against foreigners holding land in the Tokyo area, Chamberlain wrote: "The whole agitation seems to me a natural consequence of the wave of reaction and nationalism which we have been living through here since 1887."[77]

In a letter dated June 1893, Chamberlain agreed with Hearn regarding the "undesirableness" of mixed residence in Japan. He claimed that it "would entail the speedy overthrow of all that has made, and to some extent still makes, Japan a distinct individuality and a treasure to the world."[78] Here Chamberlain's concerns seems to have echoed those voiced by Japanese

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[76] One of the objectives of the Iwakura Mission of 1871-1873 had been to initiate informal talks on the subject of revision. In preparation, the Japanese Foreign Ministry had drafted proposals for revision, but these were not well received by officials in America and Europe. Nish, Japanese Foreign Policy, 20-21; Pyle, The New Generation in Meiji Japan, 100.

[77] June 11, 1893, More Letters, 73.

[78] May 7, 1893, Letters, 15.

conservatives opposed to government efforts at treaty revision. However, on the specific issue of mixed residence as well as the general question of treaty revision, he was unsympathetic to the Japanese nationalist reaction of the late 1880s and early 1890s. In Things Japanese, he described how the treaty revision process was interrupted by native fears that Japan "would be swamped by foreign immigration, her national customs would be destroyed, her mines, her industries would all come under foreign control, her very soil would, by lease or purchase, pass into foreign hands, her people would be practically enslaved, and independent Japan would exist no more". Chamberlain considered such fears unfounded. He derided the fickle nature of public opinion and pointed out that for many years the opening of the country was thought to be good for Japan, in that it would encourage foreign investment and greater westernization.[79]

Chamberlain also referred to the opposition that arose in the summer of 1887 against the proposed use of foreign judges "to assist the native bench during the first few years following on treaty revision".[80] He considered the proposal to use foreign judges reasonable and felt that it did not constitute a threat to Japanese sovereignty. He did not elaborate on the reasons why the proposal was offensive to Japanese national sentiment although he briefly stated that following the adoption of the new constitution some Japanese considered the use of foreign judges contrary to the spirit of this document.

The initial recommendation to use foreign jurists had been made by a British legal adviser to the Meiji government, J.R. Davidson, using the Egyptian mixed court system as a model. Davidson believed that the use of foreign jurists would be the fastest way of extending Japanese legal jurisdiction over foreign

79 "Treaties with Foreign Powers," Things Japanese, 520.
80 "Treaties with Foreign Powers," Things Japanese, 520.

residents. Inoue's 1887 proposal which embodied Davidson's recommendation provoked such strong nationalist feeling that by 1889 such a compromise was politically unfeasible and treaty revision was completed without the use of foreign jurists.[81] Emile Boissonade, the French legal adviser, echoed the sentiments of opposition politicians and some government officials.

> For the first time [in this treaty revision proposal] foreigners in Japan will engage in official work, that is they will exercise a part of government authority. In every country becoming a government official, exercising government power is a special right of the country's nationals; this is a public right. Judges are the most important government officials in a country and that duty is one of the most important operations of official rights. To entrust this official position to foreigners is improper.[82]

However, there were a few members of the Japanese government, even in the 1890s, who continued to believe that the use of foreign judges was a reasonable concession to facilitate treaty revision.

In his correspondence, Chamberlain disagreed with Hearn's claim that the anti-foreign reaction would never pass and was skeptical of Hearn's romantic view of Japanese patriotism and nationalist sentiment.[83] In his published works, Chamberlain described the nationalist reaction to Inoue's draft treaty as follows:

> Suddenly again, Japanese public opinion -- if that term may be employed, for want of a better, to denote the views of the comparatively small number of persons who in the Japan of those days thought and spoke on political subjects, -- Japanese public opinion, we say, veered round."

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81 H.J. Jones 47-48."After the nationalistic rejection of the Inoue proposal, major Cabinet and Foreign Ministry officials, on the recommendation of German advisers in the Cabinet, then considered the naturalization of foreign jurists as a means of cloaking them with constitutionality....Thus, when Okuma Shigenobu as Foreign Minister included in yet another new plan the proposal that foreign judges be naturalized as Japanese, the whole issue exploded again....The Okuma proposal was squelched almost solely because of opposition to the naturalization of foreign employees."

82 H.J. Jones 46.

83 October 22, 1893, More Letters, 107.

He accused the Japanese government of encouraging the rise of jingoistic nationalism and of making inaccurate claims as to its capacity to take action against the violent excesses of a nationalist reaction. He saw these factors as constituting a strategy on the part of the Japanese government to gain concessions from the Western powers.[84]

Yet, Chamberlain also praised the Japanese government for its "enlightenment" and for continuing the negotiations despite the public opposition to doing so. He attacked the fanaticism that resulted in the bomb attack on Count Okuma in the fall of 1889. According to Chamberlain, a few months after the assassination attempt on Okuma's life, the native press began to advocate "treaty revision on a footing of equality".

> This was a fair phrase; but on examination, it turned out to mean simply that the foreign powers should concede everything, and Japan nothing at all....The claim was preposterous; but -- for the impossible does sometimes come to pass- it actually was granted! Who knows? Perhaps Great Britain thought thereby to obtain the Japanese alliance; perhaps it was only that she wanted to patch up an old difference which had degenerated into a bore.[85]

Chamberlain's unfavourable impression of nationalist reaction to treaty revision may have resulted from his distaste for the reactionary views of politicians such as Tani Kanjo, Inoue's Minister of Commerce and Agriculture and a member of the older generation of conservatives. After returning from a trip to Europe in the summer of 1887, Tani resigned from cabinet protesting the direction of the government's treaty revision efforts and became a leader among politicians opposed to Inoue's draft treaty. Throughout his career, Tani was a staunch critic of the excesses of the government's policy of westernization. In 1881 he and a small group of generals petitioned the Emperor to bestow a

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84 "Treaties with Foreign Powers," Things Japanese, 520-521, 524.

85 "Treaties with Foreign Powers," Things Japanese, 521.

constitution reflecting Japan's traditional values, one that instituted "direct imperial rule with the advice of an appointive assembly." In regard to Tani and the conservative opposition to treaty revision, Chamberlain wrote:

> The English and German representatives led the way by making liberal concession; and all was progressing to general satisfaction, when suddenly, in July, 1887, on the return from abroad of certain Japanese politicians holding radical views, the Japanese plenipotentiaries shifted the basis of their demands, and the negotiations were consequently brought to a standstill....[86]

In contrast to late twentieth-century scholars of Meiji intellectual history, Chamberlain did not make a distinction between the various strains of conservatism in late Meiji Japan nor did he fully acknowledge the complexity of arguments presented in the Japanese press in opposition to the Inoue and Okuma draft treaties. The general emphasis of "Treaties with Foreign Powers" was not on Japanese nationalism and questions of national autonomy and sovereignty. Chamberlain did acknowledge that the "tacitly assumed basis" of the early treaties was the "unequal status of the two contracting parties, -- civilised white men on the one hand, Japan but just emerging from Asiatic semi-barbarism on the other." Moreover, he stated that the loss of legal and commercial privileges enjoyed by foreign residents involved "the extremely delicate question as to the fitness of Japan for admission into the family of Christian nations on equal terms." [87] Chamberlain was probably correct in his observation that only a small segment of Japanese society actively voiced their opposition to treaty revision and that the use of the term 'public opinion' was indeed a misnomer in discussions of the nationalist reaction. It is also important to remember that the space he had available to him in Things Japanese was

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86 "Treaties with Foreign Powers," Things Japanese, 519.

87 "Treaties with Foreign Powers," Things Japanese, 517.

limited. However, it is still significant that Chamberlain did not explore why these foreign assumptions of Japanese inferiority contributed to a heightened sense of nationalism in the late Meiji period. Nationalist objections to the continued existence of the treaty port system interfered with the progress of the negotiations.

In a letter dated May 2, 1893, Hearn criticized the Ito government's proposal to allow mixed residence in Japan and thereby expressed his sympathy with those Japanese who were opposed to mixed residence.[88] "The foreigners are working hard to get into country. If they do, -- before another generation, -- the ultimate result must be total disintegration [of the nation]".[89] He believed that Japanese leaders overestimated Japan's ability to resist the influence of foreign capital and foreign governments. For the sake of preserving the Japanese race, he thought it best that government leaders maintain a more conservative policy which prevented these foreign forces from dissolving the "vitals of their nationality". Hearn hoped that the "race instinct", presumably in the shape of the nationalist reaction which had so far succeeded in delaying treaty revision, would prevent the "pride and conceit" of the government politicians from committing the "monstrous crime" of fully opening the country to westerners.

According to Hearn, the fears that made the Japanese masses so reluctant to open the country to foreigners were similar to those which caused the American protest against oriental immigration to California.[90] The Americans feared the Chinese because "The Oriental can under-live the Occidental"; the Japanese feared foreigners because "The Occidental can over-

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88 May 2, 1893, Life and Letters, Vol.III, 417.

89 Letter to Nishida Sentaro, January 20, 1894, Gleanings, 118 (Hearn's emphases).

90 May 2, 1893, Life and Letters, Vol.III, 417.

live the Oriental under certain favourable circumstances". In the context of the nineteenth century international order, the Japanese recognized that the westerner was capable of using industrial, financial and political aggression against their nation. And this recognition served as the basis of their fear:

> It was enough to know that he might eventually find ways and means to master it, if not supplant, the native race; crushing opposition, paralyzing competition by enormous combinations of capital, monopolizing resources, and raising the standard of living above the native capacity. Elsewhere various weaker races had vanished or were vanishing under Anglo-Saxon domination....Doubtless Japan would never have to fear conquest by any single Western power: she could hold her own, on her own soil, against any one foreign nation....But she might reasonably fear that, by prematurely opening her interior to foreign settlement, she would condemn herself to the fate of Hawaii, -- that her land would pass into alien ownership, that her politics would be regulated by foreign influence, that her independence would become merely nominal, that her ancient empire would eventually become transformed into a sort of cosmopolitan republic.[91]

Hearn's use of images of racial conflict and concepts of racial survival in his discussion of mixed residence are similar to those used by Inoue Tetsujiro in his widely read polemic against the Okuma draft treaty. Inoue, a professor of philosophy at the Imperial University whom Hearn praised as a "champion of Japanese national conservatism,"[92] was influenced in his criticism of treaty revision, as Hearn was, by the philosophy of Herbert Spencer and ideas of Social Darwinism. In 1889, Inoue made the statement that Japanese race had not evolved to the point where it would safely survive competition against the superior western races. To support his argument, Inoue pointed to instances of population decline among Pacific islanders. He concluded that the influx of westerners into the interior would threaten the cultural unity of the Japanese nation. According to Pyle, "Inoue gave expression to fears that already

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91 "Jiujutsu," Out of the East, 219-221.

92 Letter to Ellwood Hendrick, October 1896, Life and Letters, Vol.III, 43.

tormented many Japanese."[93] Hearn was very much aware of the conservative opposition to this aspect of treaty revision. However, It is difficult to determine the extent to which his discussion of mixed residence and treaty revision was informed by an awareness the position of intellectuals such as Inoue. He did not refer specifically to any of the politicians or intellectuals who led the opposition nor did he demonstrate a sophisticated understanding of the discussions exchanged in the Diet and the press. It is possible that Hearn was able to glimpse these discussions and the public mood through translated articles from Japanese newspapers in the Japan Mail and through his family and Japanese literary assistants. To his western audience, Hearn conveyed the concerns held by Inoue and other conservative critics of mixed residence. However, it should also be noted that Hearn chose to emphasize a facet of the nationalist reaction which reflected his own ideas about racial conflict and the struggle for survival.

In a letter to Chamberlain written in June 1893, Hearn condoned the anti-foreign reaction by praising the xenophobic sentiments evident in the compositions of his Kumamoto students. "They frankly express their dislike of foreigners; -- they wish to see them swept from the country....Many compositions express a desire for war. Many others lament the slavery of the country to foreigners." Hearn told Chamberlain that he encouraged anti-foreign sentiments among his students because

> it is patriotic, because it is just, because it indicates national recuperation. What I always discourage are remarks as 'Japan is only a little country'.... All such notions I combat, and strongly criticize. I teach them respect for their own faiths, for the beliefs of the common people, and for their own country. I am practically a traitor to England (eh?) and a renegade. But in the eternal order of things I am right.[94]

If he indeed felt that Japan was enslaved to foreigners, Hearn may have

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[93] Pyle, The New Generation in Meiji Japan, 110-111.

[94] June 15, 1893, Life and Letters, Vol.III, 445.

believed that by encouraging the nationalist sentiment among his students, he was doing a service to the Japanese nation. Four months after penning the above lines, Hearn expressed himself even more dramatically on the response to foreign influence. He told Chamberlain that in a philosophical essay he was writing, he took the stance that "the reaction belongs to the deepest instincts of the race, and will never pass".[95]

Yet, in other letters, Hearn held more ambivalent attitudes towards the extreme manifestations of Japanese nationalism and anti-foreignism. Hearn appeared at times very much disturbed by anti-foreignism. In July 1893, Hearn linked "the spirit of insubordination, hostility to foreigners, disrespect to traditions, contempt for religion, and national vanity" with the the undesirable modern Japan he saw coming into being.[96] He suggested in this letter that military authority or a revolution was needed to quell these undesirable developments in the new Japan. In a January 1894 letter to Chamberlain, he wrote:

> I feel the power of the anti-foreign reaction. The sudden hiss of hatred with which I am greeted by passers-by sometimes, in unfamiliar districts, convinces me that foreigners in the interior would have an ugly time in case of political trouble of a very likely kind. The only hope for Japan is a return to autocracy.[97]

In February 1894, he described anti-foreignism "as a vague national consciousness of what must come" and quoted Isaiah, "'That which ye fear

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[95] October 13, 1893, Life and Letters, Vol. IV, 50.

[96] July 7, 1893, Life and Letters, Vol.III, 458.

[97] Undated letter which Elizabeth Bisland determined was written sometime in January 1894. See Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 97. In letters to his Matsue friend, Nishida Sentaro, Hearn claimed that Japan needed strong statesmen, not western parliamentary methods, at a time when anti-foreignism was so prevalent among the populace and when Parliament challenged the authority of the Cabinet. See letters to Nishida dated January 1, 1894 and January 20, 1894, Gleanings, 108-109, 118.

exceedingly, shall come upon you'".[98] Moreover, in January 1895, he predicted that:

> [In another twenty years]....A system of small persecutions will be inaugurated and maintained to drive away all the foreigners who can be driven away. After the war there will be a strong anti-foreign reaction- outrages- police-repressions....then a new crusade. Life will be made wretched for Occidentals...."[99]

Despite the fears of anti-foreign reaction expressed so dramatically in his correspondence, Hearn chose to romanticize in his published writings the nationalist sentiment he observed on the street and amongst his students. He claimed to sympathize with the Japanese "race instinct" and ignored its anti-democratic and xenophobic aspects. Hearn did not make clear the distinction made by Chamberlain between a patriotism that united "the scattered elements of national feeling" for the "attainment of national aims"[100] and a nationalism that was based on ignorance and prejudice. In Out of the East, Hearn wrote that anti-foreign violence embodied "the fullest assertion of national individuality" and he seemed to relish making the prediction that it would continue in the future. Hearn's support of anti-foreignism and this "racial" nationalism makes him a problematic champion of Japan against western imperialism. Hearn failed to detect the signs of growing ultranationalism which would eventually lead

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[98] February 12, 1894, Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 121.

[99] January 1895, Life and Letters, Vol.II, 312.

[100] "Bushido or the Invention of a New Religion," Things Japanese, 80-95. This article was originally published in pamphlet form under the title "The Invention of a New Religion" by London's Rationalist Press Association. The "Invention" was later incorporated into Things Japanese. Chamberlain made it clear that he admired the successes of modernization effected by this rejuvenated patriotism. However, he was also critical of the xenophobic, anti-democratic aspects of this new religion of patriotism and loyalty.

Japan into the dark years of the 1930s.[101]

On October 13, 1893, Hearn told Chamberlain that he was working on a philosophical essay entitled "Jiujutsu" which he hoped to send to his publishers in Boston by December. He asked Chamberlain to comment on the Japanese reaction against foreign influence. He wanted examples of dramatic incidents which exemplified the racial instinct of the Japanese.[102] Hearn was fascinated by jujutsu, a Japanese martial art that he observed students practising during his days as a teacher at the Kumamoto Higher Middle School. The jujutsu hall was the only building constructed in the Japanese style among all the modern, western-style school buildings at the Higher Middle School.[103] He believed that the presence of the jujutsu hall supported his observation that the indigenous heart of the Japanese nation remained pure despite the modernization and westernization efforts of the Meiji era.

> Despite her railroad and steamship lines, her telegraphs and telephones, her postal service and her express companies, her steel artillery and magazine-rifles, her universities and her technical schools, she remains as Oriental today as she was a thousand years ago. She has been able to remain herself, and to profit to the utmost possible limit by the strength of the enemy. She has been, and still is, defending herself by the most admirable system of intellectual-defense ever heard of, -- by a marvellous national jiujutsu.

He learned from the jujutsu master that strength was not the key to success in

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101 Kusuya criticizes Hearn for his failure to denounce emperor worship and other manifestations of ultranationalism in Meiji Japan. Kusuya points favorably to the example of Chamberlain, who, in his "Invention of a New Religion" published in 1912, voiced his criticism of the emperor system. However, in the context of the 1894 treaty revision issue, Hearn may not have been as blind to the seeds of ultranationalism as his critics charge. The emperor system, especially in these early years, had not the sinister associations it would acquire in the 1930s and 1940s. This is not to say that Chamberlain was not prescient in his criticism of extreme forms of Japanese nationalism.

102 October 13, 1893, Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 50. This is a postscript that Hearn appended to a longer letter written to Chamberlain on October 11, 1893, Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 45-50.

103 "Jiujutsu," Out of the East, 183. Professor Ota, in correcting this thesis, noted that the principal of the Higher Middle School was Kano Jigoro, who founded judo by synthesizing various schools of jujitsu.

martial combat. What was important was the strength of the opponent. The key to mastery of the arts of jujutsu was to turn the strength of the opponent against the opponent.[104] Hearn, with his fondness for Herbert Spencer and Social Darwinism and his recent interest in Charles Pearson's forecast that the Oriental races would overcome the Occidental races,[105] believed that this was an appropriate analogy to describe Japan's position vis-à-vis the West in the late nineteenth-century world. Japan was borrowing discriminately from the West so that it could defend itself from the aggression of the western powers. Hearn incorporated his discussion of treaty revision within "Jiujutsu" and in doing so made the point that the treaty revision process, wherein the Japanese would reform their laws to the satisfaction of the foreign governments and strike a hard bargain in negotiations, exemplified the "highest possible feat of jiujutsu in diplomacy."[106]

In his 1892 National Life and Character[107] the English historian Charles Pearson, whom John Tregenza, an Australian academic has described as the "professor of democracy", wrote that,

> The day will come, and is perhaps is not far distant, when the European observer will look around to see the globe girdled with a continuous zone of the black and yellow races, no longer too weak for aggression or under tutelage, but independent, or practically so, in government, monopolising the trade of their own regions, and circumscribing the industry of the European....The citizens of these countries will then be taken up into the social relations of the white races, will throng the

104 "Jiujutsu," Out of the East, 192-193,186-188.

105 For instance, see the letter Hearn wrote to his American friend Ellwood Hendrick in August 1893, Life and Letters, Vol.II, 245. Pearson's influence can be seen throughout "Jiujutsu". Hearn makes specific reference to "Dr. Pearson" and his "National Character" on 236-237.

106 "Jiujutsu," Out of the East, 188-193, 222.

107 Akira Iriye describes Pearson's book as providing the "point of departure for many writers" alarmed by the emergence of the yellow and black races as an aggressive force in the world. See Iriye's Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion, 1897-1911 (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard UP, 1972) 29-30, and "Japan's Drive to Great Power Status," The Nineteenth Century, 760.

> English turf, or the salons of Paris, and will be admitted to intermarriage. It is idle to say, that if all this should come to pass our pride of place will not be humiliated.[108]

Both Chamberlain and Hearn read Pearson's book and commented on it in their correspondence. However, only Hearn applied Pearson's ideas to issues of treaty revision.

Chamberlain was generally very hesitant to become involved in issues of racial conflict and racial character. Thus, although he conceded that Pearson's book was "interesting and suggestive," he questioned the validity of its predictions. "I hold no view on the [expansion of the oriental races], because feeling that I know too little to be able to form any trustworthy opinion one way or the other."[109] Chamberlain did not discuss treaty revision with reference to the racialist ideas of an "alarmist" writer like Pearson[110] and he dismissed fears of the "Yellow Peril" in any discussion of Japan's accomplishments during the Meiji period.

> For no one fully cognisant of the events of the last half-century can allege that any Christian European nation could have shown itself readier to acknowledge its former errors, more teachable in all the arts of civilisation, franker and more moderate in diplomacy, more chivalrous and humane in war. If there be any 'Yellow Peril,' it must surely consist in Europe's own good qualities being surpassed by a higher grade of those same qualities in her new rivals. Such are the astonishing results of two generations of hard work on part of a whole nation, which saw itself in a bad way, and resolutely determined to mend it.[111]

Hearn, with his ambivalent attitude towards western society, took delight in his interpretation of Pearson's work that the "future [was] not to the white races" and

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108 Charles H. Pearson, National Life and Character: A Forecast (London: Macmillan, 1894) 84-85.

109 October 23, 1893, More Letters, 110; November 20, 1893, Letters, 51.

110 "Introductory Chapter," Things Japanese, 3rd ed. (London: John Murray; Tokyo: Shueisha, 1898) 10.

111 "History and Mythology," Things Japanese, 263.

that the conflict between the races would continue.[112] He incorporated Pearson into a lecture on "The Future of the Orient" which he delivered to his Kumamoto students in January 1894 and "Jiujutsu" which he began writing in October 1893. In the addendum to "Jiujutsu" which he wrote following Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War, Hearn emphasized his belief that the future belonged to the Orient and that the days of western world dominance were drawing to a close. Japan's victory, on top of the Aoki-Kimberley treaty and the wide accomplishments of the Meiji era, were evidence of the rejuvenation of the East in its struggle against the West.

[112] September 16, 1893, Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 33.

CHAPTER 3 -- Chamberlain and Hearn's Assessments of the Aoki-Kimberley Treaty

Chamberlain and Hearn: First Responses to the Treaty

In late August 1894, as the summer vacation drew to a close, Chamberlain was at the Fujiya hotel in Miyanoshita, Hakone where he frequently stayed, and Hearn was in Kumamoto, preparing to go back to the classroom at the Higher Middle School. It was Chamberlain who made the first comment on the signing of the treaty. He was shocked and indignant that a great power like England had accepted such unfavourable terms from a fledgling nation like Japan. He wrote to Hearn: "What do you think of the way in which Aoki has twisted the British lion's tail, -- every possible concession extracted, and nothing that is worth anything given in exchange? It is too shameful certainly, diplomacy is not the British forte."[1] Hearn responded soon thereafter and Chamberlain replied in turn in a letter dated September 8. Hearn's letter has been lost. However, this letter, which provoked Chamberlain to further develop his criticism of the new treaty, can be reconstructed partially by looking at Chamberlain's letter and Hearn's attitudes toward treaty revision in "Jiujutsu".

It is fair to surmise that Hearn was enthusiastic in his reception of the new treaty. He presumably praised Japanese officials for their skill in gaining this "victory" over the British. He did not have much sympathy for the merchants in the treaty ports who would suffer as a result of the end of the special concessions, especially that of extraterritoriality. It is very possible that Hearn discussed the treaty in terms of Spencerian notions of racial conflict and

[1] August 30, 1894, More Letters, 147-148.

Pearson's speculation that the races of the East were emerging as a formidable force in the world. He may have sympathized with the concern voiced by some Japanese that opening their country to foreign residence would expose it to the influx and dominance of foreign capital. The letter was likely written in dramatic fashion, presenting polarized viewpoints of the treaty issue, and not informed by a knowledge of the history of treaty negotiations or an accurate perception of the concerns of the foreign residents. Chamberlain reacted very emotionally to Hearn's support of the new treaty. He claimed that Hearn's defence of the treaty must be based on his mistaken assumption that a treaty unfavourable to Britain would preserve his romantic ideal of an "Old Japan".[2] From Hearn's previous correspondence and literary work, Chamberlain recognized Hearn's conviction that by keeping Japan closed to foreigners, "Old Japan" would remain intact. Undoubtedly, he was troubled by Hearn's ignorance of the political process which led to the conclusion of the treaty and also by his lack of concern for the costs of the treaty to foreign residents.

In his second letter from Miyanoshita, Chamberlain reiterated his claim that Japan had gained everything and Britain had lost everything in the negotiations. He stated that it was as if Britain had been defeated in war by Japan. Residents had to surrender extraterritoriality and the favourable commercial regulations that had governed them since 1858. Chamberlain made some reference to the inadequacies of the Meiji modernization program. He told Hearn that Japan "had taken little from the moral and intellectual grandeur of the West except a passing phase of materialism."[3] He described the treaty being concluded between the British state and "that two penny half-penny Brummagem imitation of one which those frock-coated officials have

[2] September 8, 1894, Letters, 112.

[3] September 8, 1894, Letters, 112.

made of Japan". Such comments can be viewed as indicative of a belief that, at present, modernization had not progressed to the point where Japan was prepared to join the ranks of the western powers. His dissatisfaction with the Japanese legal reform is to be seen in his remark that "British subjects are to be submitted entirely to the vagaries of Jape law (ask the merchants what it means to be half-submitted to it, as they already are in cases brought by them against natives)."[4] Chamberlain's comments echoed the original justification for the establishment of extraterritoriality, that westerners had to be protected from capricious oriental laws. He dismissed Hearn's fear that the Japanese interior would be overwhelmed by foreign traders: "it is rubbish, seeing that they [Englishmen] have so many nearer and richer places to go, where property is safer from caprice, and white men's lives and doings are not at the mercy of Oriental officials plus a Western veneer".[5] .

In his letter to Hearn, Chamberlain portrayed the treaty port community as equally under siege from the indifference of the British government and the incompetence of British diplomats. He was very critical of the diplomats' failure to protect the interests of foreign residents in Japan, some of whom had lived in Japan for thirty or forty years. Chamberlain portrayed the treaty port residents as victims and he saw their way of life endangered by the revision. He worried about the fate of the foreign community under Japanese jurisdiction. Strict censorship laws enforced in Japan would threaten the press freedoms previously enjoyed by the treaty port press. Although foreigners would now be allowed to live and trade in the interior, they could not own property anywhere in Japan and could hold leases, even in the old settlements, only according to Japanese practices. He feared that some Japanese would take advantage of

[4] September 8, 1894, Letters, 112.
[5] September 8, 1894, Letters, 113.

foreigners. For instance, according to Japanese leasing practices, a lease terminated with the lessor's death. A foreigner who had invested money in building a house on leased property could be forced to pay an exorbitant rent should the lessor die and his successor demand of him such a high rent on penalty of forfeiting the house. Chamberlain claimed that the treaty was worded in such a way as to allow Japan to choose when to put it into effect. As a consequence, British merchants were "absolutely in the dark....the Jape may seize any moment that appears to them most favourable to themselves and least so to us."[6]

On September 12 Hearn responded to Chamberlain's letter of September 8. This was the second (albeit first surviving) letter in which Hearn commented extensively on the issue of Japan's successful efforts at treaty revision. In this letter, he stated that Chamberlain viewed the treaty too pessimistically and that this was a natural reaction for somebody who had spent a generation in the treaty ports. However, in further commenting upon the new treaty, he indicated the importance of the concern held by some Japanese politicians and the Japanese public that mixed residence would endanger Japan's autonomy by inundating the nation with foreign capital and residents. He criticized Chamberlain for not having given much thought to "the supreme future power of invested foreign capital".[7] Under the revised treaty, Japan would be opened and mixed residence would become possible. Yet Hearn was delighted that the continued prohibition against foreign landownership would create a hostile environment which would drive foreign capital and foreign residents from Japan.[8] The Japanese had gained the upper hand over foreign

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[6] September 8, 1894, Letters, 113.

[7] September 12, 1894, Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 259.

[8] "A Glimpse of Tendencies," Kokoro, 145.

residents. "England, in fact, loses everything, and Japan gains all by this treaty."[9] In his correspondence as well as in his published writings, Hearn was often not as interested in conveying the facts of the situation as in creating a dramatic effect for his readers. On the subject of the new treaty, he was not concerned with the details of the treaty and revision process, as Chamberlain was, but with the larger emotional issues he believed to be at stake.

Hearn was unsympathetic to the plight of the treaty port residents whom he described as being "stupefied" by the news of revision and left believing themselves "betrayed" by England and "delivered into Oriental bondage".[10] He objected to the dismissive manner in which Japan and the Japanese were spoken of in the treaty port press.[11] He took the view that extreme opposition to treaty revision was representative of the majority of English residents. His description of the events leading to the end of extraterritoriality conveyed none of the sense of victimization that Chamberlain expressed as a member of the treaty port community. Hearn's personal sense of alienation from all human communities may have clouded his perceptions of treaty port life and may have contributed to his lack of sympathy for the concerns of the residents.

In contrast to Chamberlain, who commented rather harshly upon "Aoki's wiles,"[12] Hearn congratulated Aoki for his "shrewdness" in obtaining such a favourable treaty for Japan.[13] In his letter of September 8, Chamberlain had been critical of Hearn's praise of the Japanese negotiators. He believed that it was inconsistent for Hearn, who had always been so eager to criticize the allegedly arbitrary actions of Japanese officials, to take their side on this issue.

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9 "Jiujutsu," Out of the East, 222.

10 "Jiujutsu," Out of the East, 222.

11 "A Glimpse of Tendencies," Kokoro, 131-132.

12 September 8, 1894, Letters, 113.

13 "Jiujutsu," Out of the East, 221.

By praising the treaty, Hearn, or so Chamberlain believed, was under the mistaken impression that the treaty would protect and preserve the Old Japan that Hearn claimed to love so much.[14] Hearn countered Chamberlain's charge by saying that in fact he had very little sympathy for the Japanese officials. He was so happy about the news because the treaty revision signified a victory for the common people.

> No, I did not intend to take part with the officials. I did not even think of them. I thought emotionally of the common people only -- those who would suffer -- the fairy-folk who perform miracles on a diet of rice, with their 'pathetic pleasures' (Pater), their innocent faith, their love of the dead, their little shrines, their temples -- the antique world which has not yet vanished, nor been injured by the ridicule of shallow-pated missionaries. I thought of those toiling in stinking factories, under foreign employ; -- I thought of the utilitarian transformation and destruction (artistically) of the porcelain and lacquer industries; -- I thought of all the horrors of American industrial life forced into Japan....If the treaty could save this life intact, I should be glad.

However, Hearn then expressed his fear that the treaty might be of no avail in saving the Old Japan of his imagination.

> But I fear that the future demoralization of Japan is to be effected by Japanese in frock-coats and loud neckties. That will be infinitely worse".[15]

In his correspondence and in the segments concerning treaty revision in "Jiujutsu" from Out of the East, Hearn agreed with Chamberlain's claim that Japan had scored a victory against England and the treaty powers. However, unlike Chamberlain, Hearn chose to portray the existence of the treaty ports and the imperialistic actions of western powers in the East in a very negative light. He was more sympathetic to Japanese nationalist sentiment and less likely to dismiss it as a product of ignorance and prejudice. He captured the fear of many

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[14] September 8, 1894, Letters, 113.

[15] September 12, 1894, Life and Letters, Vol. IV, 260-261.

Japanese that their nation's autonomy had been compromised by the unequal treaties and the belief that the presence of the treaty ports was a national insult. Yet, despite his championing of Japan's achievements in treaty revision, there is also present a disturbing element in his vision of Japan's place in the world. Hearn saw a state of incessant conflict between the peoples of the East and West. In the dramatic style that he often favoured in his writing he claimed that the new treaty was a sign of the rejuvenation of the Orient and the conquest of the West by the East. By emphasizing the polarity of East and West and by predicting a continuing battle for survival between the races, Hearn did little in his role as interpreter of Japan to the West to foster greater sympathy for Japan among his readers.

The Aoki-Kimberley Treaty and the Treaty Port Press

Were all the residents opposed to treaty revision? Where did Chamberlain stand in relation to the opinions of other English residents? The Japan Mail divided the treaty port residents into two types, pro-revisionists and anti-revisionists. The Mail praised those Englishmen who supported treaty revision, had a broad outlook, appreciated Japanese modernization efforts and wanted to help Japan achieve her rightful place in the international order. In contrast, the Mail had limited sympathy for those Englishmen opposed to treaty revision. The Mail characterized the anti-revisionists as believing that only English legal and commercial institutions were acceptable in Japan. They held that any concession of worthiness to Japanese legal or commercial methods was an act of "unpatriotism", an insult to England. They refused to acknowledge the possibility that an "intelligent and conscientious" judiciary could ever exist in Japan and criticized Japanese law unfavourably and harshly. In order to delay

the day when they would be subject to Japanese law, the anti-revisionists sought to create a universal distrust of Japanese character and competence by drawing intemperate, unjust and uncharitable inferences about Japan from any unusual incidents.[16]

In his initial comments to Hearn and in Things Japanese, Chamberlain comes across as a defender of the treaty port system. Yet Chamberlain was far from being an insular or prejudiced person. He was very interested in Japanese culture and was sympathetic to Japan in many respects. It may be possible that, in this excerpt at least, the Mail presented an inaccurate view of the residents opposed to treaty revision. It did qualify its negative portrayal of the anti-revisionist camp by stating that the majority of residents had an essentially moderate view of treaty revision and that only a minority of the population were anti-revisionist. However, the Mail claimed that this was a vocal minority with journalists who backed their extreme views.[17] By examining the opinions of the treaty port newspapers, it is possible to gauge the reaction of the community at large and place Chamberlain's comments in context.

There was a range of opinions concerning treaty revision. The Mail was very enthusiastic about the news of the revision. It acknowledged that the continuation of extraterritoriality was no longer possible because it constituted an infringement on Japan's "Sovereign Rights" and autonomy. "One of the first essentials of a state's independence is that its jurisdiction should extend to every person within its territory". Japan had made "earnest and worthy efforts" in modernization and reform and thus treaty revision could no longer be denied.[18] The Mail believed that the continued existence of the treaties would only

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16 "The Foreign Community and the War," Japan Weekly Mail, August 14, 1894, 201-202.
17 "The Foreign Community and the War," Japan Weekly Mail, August 14, 1894, 202.
18 "The New Treaty," Japan Weekly Mail, October 13, 1894, 424.

exacerbate friction between the Japanese and the foreign community. It was very proud of the fact that Britain had set the precedent by successfully revising the treaty on an equilateral basis. This was an act of "justice" and "statesmanship" which would increase England's prestige within Japan.[19] Extraterritorial jurisdiction was a temporary privilege and the Mail was critical of foreign residents who clung to it and refused to recognize the changes that had occurred in Japan in the last thirty years.[20]

Had the treaty been concluded a decade earlier, the Mail continued, it might have been possible to ask for guarantees, such as the temporary use of foreign judges on the Japanese bench, the submission of new Japanese laws for foreign inspection or the full and satisfactory operation of the Civil and Commercial Code before the assumption of jurisdiction over foreigners.[21] However, the growth of the press and public opinion in Japan made this no longer possible. As time passed, educated people in Japan gained "a fuller sense of their international rights" and the Japanese nation came closer "to the possession of constitutional machinery for giving effect to the popular will". The public perceived any concessions to the foreign powers in treaty revision as further attacks on Japanese autonomy. The Mail believed that the only thing that could be asked of Japan was "an intelligible body of civil and commercial laws to be in operation before assuming jurisdiction over foreigners and a reasonable length of time before the changes were introduced". Both these concessions were granted to foreigners by the new treaty.[22]

The Mail criticized those opponents of the new treaty who refused to look

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19 "The New Treaty between England and Japan," Japan Weekly Mail, September 1, 1894, 263.
20 "The New Treaty," Japan Weekly Mail, October 13, 1894, 424-425.
21 "The New Treaty between England and Japan," Japan Weekly Mail, September 1, 1894, 263.
22 "The New Treaty," Japan Weekly Mail, October 13, 1894, 424.

at the real nature of Japanese law and who would deal only in generalities in their arguments against the treaty. These extreme elements engaged in "violent and recriminatory writing" which misled the public about the true nature of Japanese jurisdiction. The Mail was critical of such extreme elements among the treaty port residents who, represented by the Japan Herald and the Japan Gazette, refused to acknowledge the necessity of treaty revision. The Mail examined in detail the specific criticisms raised by the Gazette against the new treaty.[23]

The first criticism was that under the new treaty, foreigners were not allowed to own land. The Mail did not consider this much of a hardship because foreigners in effect could own land through long term leases and this was all that was needed for the purposes of residence and commerce. This lease system applied as well to Japanese residents and the prohibition on foreign ownership of property was common to many western nations. A second criticism was that the Japanese did not consider contract and private property inviolable, with the result that foreign property would not be safe. The Mail believed that this criticism was ludicrous. The spirit and letter of the Japanese Constitution, which stated that "except in cases provided for in the law, the house of no Japanese subject shall be entered or searched without his consent," were embodied in the fourth article of the treaty. There was no evidence to show that Japanese did not respect contract or property. The Mail was also took exception to the fear voiced by the Gazette that under Japanese jurisdiction foreign journalists would be persecuted and imprisoned and newspapers would be

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[23] "The New Treaty," Japan Weekly Mail, September 1, 1894, 263-264. This article refuted the following statements made by the Japan Gazette: "As a matter of fact a Britisher must not hold land."; "There is no stipulation as to a Commercial Code"; "There is no such thing as inviolability of contract or domicile."; "Women are mere chattels....They may be divorced for ill temper, talkativeness, and other cardinal crimes."; "But the Journalist most of all will suffer conviction. On trumpery allegations his newspaper may be suspended and himself imprisoned."

suppressed. It stated that no journalist in Japan could be imprisoned without resort to the courts and pointed to the particular political circumstances in Japan which made the stringent laws necessary. The Mail deemed the existing Japanese press laws harsh and did not wish to defend them. However, it was optimistic that the "rapid growth of public opinion in Japan and the strong tendency of the Diet to introduce liberal systems" would remove the objectionable features from the press laws before the treaty went into operation.[24]

The Mail also could not imagine England negotiating on anything but the restoration of "Judicial Autonomy". Objections against submitting to the laws of an oriental nation were merely "sentimental" and those who put forward these objections never attempted to support their case with evidence of problems in the Japanese judicial system. The same arguments in favour of extraterritoriality which had been used decades earlier were still being used by opponents of treaty revision in 1894. These "conservative" critics were not interested in finding out the real nature of Japanese tribunals. The Mail suggested that it would be better if critics made useful suggestions to ease the transition process, such as demanding greater clarity on the duration of the leases for commercial and manufacturing purposes and on the limitation of charges for property in the treaty ports.[25]

The August through October runs of the Gazette, which contain the anti-revisionist sentiments criticized by the Mail, are not available in North America, nor is the Herald. However, it is possible to derive some sense of the attitudes of

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24 "The New Treaty," Japan Weekly Mail, September 1, 1894, 264.

25 "The New Treaty," Japan Weekly Mail, October 13, 1894, 424-425. The writer for the Mail pointed out that previous treaties concluded in 1889 with Germany and the United States guaranteed Japan's judicial autonomy. (These treaties did not come into effect because of the assassination attempt on Okuma and the suspension of negotiations with England.) Also see "The China Association and the Foreign Office" on 425.

these "anti-Japanese" newspapers by looking at two alternative sources. The first of these is the response of the Yokohama foreign community in September 1890 to the rumour that Britain had signed a treaty with Japan with no provision for foreign judges. A mass meeting was organized by J.H. Brooke, owner of the Herald, by J.A. Fraser, a Yokohama businessman, and by J.F. Lowder, a former British consular officer and for twenty years a legal adviser to the Japanese government. "After a stormy discussion, the meeting resolved that it was too soon to end extraterritoriality, that the Japanese proposal not to allow aliens to hold land was unjust, and that a permanent committee should be established to advise on future action."[26] This committee sent copies of the resolutions to diplomatic bodies and to major chambers of commerce throughout the world. The text of the resolutions was published in the Mail on April 11, 1891 and it would appear fair to assume that the arguments advanced were similar to those advocated by residents opposed to the 1894 treaty and published at the time by the Herald and the Gazette.[27] The second alternate source is The China and London Telegraph. Between August and December 1894, excerpts from the Gazette and Herald on the topic of treaty revision were reprinted in it. The Telegraph claimed to represent the opinions of treaty port communities in the Far East[28] and looked unfavourably upon the new treaty. The Gazette and the Herald would have found little to object in the Telegraph's coverage of the

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[26] Hoare 102.

[27] In a letter of protest to Lord Kimberley, R.S. Gundry, Honourable Secretary of the China Association, enclosed a copy of the statement drawn up by "a Committee of the Yokohama Community, in December 1890, putting forward the grounds of their objection to the change then contemplated, and which is believed to represent the views of the community, with equal accuracy, at the present day". See Supplement to the London and China Telegraph, September 3, 1894, 2. The Supplement accompanied the Telegraph on a weekly basis.

[28] A letter to the Telegraph acknowledged that the paper was "the representative of foreign communities in the East." See "The Anglo-Japanese Treaty," October 22, 1894, 902.

conclusion of the Aoki-Kimberley treaty.[29]

The Yokohama committee in 1890 believed, as Hearn and Chamberlain did in 1894, that, from the residents' viewpoint, a great deal had been given to Japan and nothing was to be given to the foreign residents in return. Moreover, like Chamberlain, the committee believed that access to Japan's domestic markets and opportunities to make investments in the interior would yield little benefit to foreign residents. These concessions did not constitute "an equivalent for the unconditional surrender of consular jurisdiction." The members of the committee, although willing to grant some concessions to Japan in terms of recovering judicial and tariff autonomy, were entirely opposed to the plan to change the pattern of landholding within the settlements. They insisted that the land was granted on perpetual leases under the treaties. The residents had invested hundreds of thousands of pounds improving the properties, thus it would be a grave injustice if the Japanese government "confiscated" foreign-owned land for its own purposes. They also believed that the residents had every right to protect their interests and that the "unusual amount of excitement" among the Japanese populace against the foreign residents was unwarranted.[30] As with Chamberlain three years later, the Yokohama committee objected to the Mail's uncritically pro-Japanese stance accusing it of

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[29] Hoare states that the editorials in the Telegraph were "often critical of the treaty ports, and were frequently under attack in the Yokohama press" (144). An examination of the August to September 1894 editions shows that during this period the Telegraph was very favourably disposed to the Yokohama residents. The paper opposed the new treaty and supported the "well-reasoned" protests of the China Association against early revision ("The New Treaty with Japan," September 3, 1894, 740). The only positive evaluation of the treaty was in the reprinted segments from other British papers (i.e. Manchester Guardian, Times of London, Daily News, etc.) and the Japan Mail. (For example see Supplement to the London and China Telegraph, September 24, 1894, 6-7; "Summary of News from the Far East," London and China Telegraph, October 1, 1894, 818.) The opinions expressed in these articles seemed to have little impact on the Telegraph's editorial position.

[30] "Statement of the Citizens' Committee on the Treaty Revision," Japan Weekly Mail, April 11, 1891, 435-436.

"holding a brief from the Japanese government."[31]

In the summer of 1894, the Telegraph was particularly concerned with the commercial ramifications of the Aoki-Kimberley treaty. The editors agreed with the concession made by the Yokohama committee in 1890 that the tariff could be modified given certain precautions and that the exemption from dues previously enjoyed by foreign shipping firms could be revoked. However, the Telegraph was worried that granting Japan control over its tariffs would not be localized in its effects, but would lead to similar demands in other nations where Britain enjoyed commercial privileges. The Telegraph considered inadequate the treaty stipulation that Japan need give only a month's warning before implementing higher import tariffs:

> Take, for instance, the case of a British merchant importing Manchester cloth. The custom is to sell such goods to arrive, at a given price, import duty and all such charges included. Contracts in these terms exist commonly for six months ahead. An increase of duty, therefore, at a month's notice, would involve loss to the extent of increase on all account transactions, and might easily cost a single firm several thousands of pounds.[32]

The Yokohama committee in 1891 and the Telegraph in 1894 were also concerned with the extension of Japanese law to foreign residents which would come with the end of extraterritoriality. Both made the criticism that the law codes recently and hastily adopted by Japan were not "indigenous" but borrowed wholesale from the West for the purposes of revising the treaties.[33]

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31 "The Foreign Community and the War," Japan Weekly Mail, August 14, 1894, 201.

32 "The New Treaty with Japan," London and China Telegraph, September 3, 1894, 740. The China Association expressed a similar concern over higher import dues on British goods entering Japan, Supplement to the London and China Telegraph, September 3, 1894, 2-3

33 The Committee pointed to the recent bill of postponement passed by the Diet on the implementation of the new Commercial Code of Japan. The postponement was called for on the grounds that the Code was a foreign import and "totally opposed to the mercantile and business customs of the Japanese." See Japan Weekly Mail, April 11, 1891, 436. The Telegraph made a similar criticism in "The New British Treaty with Japan," London and China Telegraph, October 1, 1894, 830.

Neither the committee nor the Telegraph believed that Japanese judges were competent and had the necessary "education, knowledge or practice, either to understand or to administer the Codes of law".[34] The Telegraph cautioned that competent judges were not created within a generation and that it was impossible and not even desirable to predict when the Japanese judicial system would be adequate to warrant the end of extraterritoriality.[35] The western powers should adopt a wait and see attitude and secure necessary guarantees before abandoning consular jurisdiction. Once extraterritoriality was relinquished there was no turning back.[36]

It should be noted that neither the Telegraph nor the Yokohama committee rejected the eventual abolition of extraterritoriality. The Telegraph's lead story for September 3, 1894, although highly critical of the new treaty, acknowledged that extraterritoriality should eventually be surrendered [37] Moreover, the Yokohama committee was adamant in defending itself from the charge that it was anti-revisionist:

> [S]o far from being opposed to Revision, there is not an intelligent member of the community who does not admit that Japan is entitled to demand some relaxation of the terms of the present treaties. The progress she has made in various directions is recognised with sincerity and admiration, and her aspirations are regarded with sympathy; but the most persistent advocates of her cause are obliged to admit that she has not yet proved her right to claim unconditionally the promise of unrestricted judicial control over us, and it is an undoubted fact that there are many among the Japanese themselves who share this opinion.

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[34] "Statement of the Citizens' Committee on the Treaty Revision," Japan Weekly Mail, April 11, 1891, 436. An "old resident" explained in the Telegraph that in the past foreigners who had a grievance against a Japanese had to use the Japanese courts. He claimed that it was this experience that resulted in the residents' opposition to Japanese judges. See Supplement to the London and China Telegraph, September 24, 1894, 7.

[35] "The New Treaty with Japan," London and China Telegraph, September 3, 1894, 740.

[36] "Statement of the Citizens' Committee on the Treaty Revision," Japan Weekly Mail, April 11, 1891, 436.

[37] "The New Treaty with Japan," London and China Telegraph, September 3, 1894, 740.

The second edition of Things Japanese made reference to the September 1890 meeting organized by the Yokohama committee and emphasized that the protest was "not against revision in general, but against unconditional revision which [would] lightly surrender privileges of trade and jurisdiction obtained long ago and dearly prized."[38]

Among the generally moderate articles of the Telegraph a number of extreme or even racist views stand out conspicuously. From them it is not difficult to see how the paper could acquire an "anti-Japanese" reputation. This is well illustrated in the attention given at the time of treaty revision to the sinking of the Kowshing, a civilian vessel flying the British flag, which had been sunk by a Japanese man-of-war during the early days of the Sino-Japanese conflict.[39] The Telegraph described the sinking of the Kowshing as

> a hideous massacre worthy of the most barbarous times and the most savage peoples of Asia has been perpetrated by the Asiatic State which prides herself, and which has prided herself hitherto with a just pride, on standing in the van of Asiatic progress.[40]

Extreme anti-revisionists pointed to this incident as an example of Japan's barbaric behaviour and criticized the British government for their willingness to concede extraterritoriality in light of this event. In a letter from "Resident," on October 1, 1894, the point was made that:

> It would have been difficult, perhaps six weeks ago, to persuade people under the glamour of Japanese charm that the objection of their countrymen to be placed under Japanese law was well founded; but the

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38 "Treaties and Treaty Revision," Things Japanese, 2nd ed. (London: Kegan Paul; Tokyo: Shueisha, 1891) 449.

39 The Japanese government's perspective on the sinking of this vessel is presented in Mutsu Munemitsu's Kenkenroku: A Diplomatic Record of the Sino-Japanese War, 1894-1895, trans. and ed., Gordon Mark Berger (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982) 84-90. Mutsu claimed that the Naniwa, a Japanese man-of-war, was justified in firing on the Kowshing because Chinese officers aboard the Kowshing had repeatedly refused to comply with the right of a belligerent to search the transport. This position was supported by the Mail. See two articles entitled "The Kowshing Affair," Japan Weekly Mail, August 18 and December 8, 1894, 199, 643.

40 "The Sinking of the Kowshing," London and China Telegraph, August 8, 1894, 652.

> incidents connected with the sinking of the Kow Shing may place the motives of that objection in a clearer light....it seems unlikely that any such totally new light can be thrown on the episode as to deprive it of the characteristics of a ghastly massacre which one cannot conceive of occurrence in European war.[41]

Another letter to the editor stated that the Kowshing "massacre" seemed "to justify *pro tanto* the inference that, in hurrying to surrender the principle of extra-territoriality, our Government is mistaking veneer for civilization".[42] R.S. Gundry, the Secretary of the China Association,[43] in a letter of opposition to the signing of the treaty, referred to the Kowshing incident to emphasize the essentially "Oriental" character of the Japanese nation.

> Englishmen, it is well to remember, are accustomed to a degree of personal and political freedom remote from the conception of an Oriental Government or people. The circumstance of the recent sinking of the Kowshing may serve to illustrate the divergence between Eastern and Western ideas. The difference is not merely in code and technical provision, but in spirit and conception.[44]

The Telegraph echoed this view in a lead story on October 1, 1894:

> Notwithstanding the vast strides taken by Japan since she first signed treaties with the West, the fact is that she is still Oriental in most ways. The mind may be receptive and elastic but the whole ingrained method of thought cannot be changed, and in fact is not, on more than a portion of the nation.[45]

It should be noted that Chamberlain did not resort to this type of argument involving generalizations about "Oriental" character in his considered discussion of treaty revision.

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41 "The New Treaty with Japan," London and China Telegraph, August 13, 1894, 674. Also see letter from "Resident" in "Summary of News from the Far East," London and China Telegraph, October 1, 1894, 818.

42 London and China Telegraph, September 3, 1894, 739.

43 The Yokohama branch of the China Association organized a petition against the Aoki-Kimberley treaty and claimed to speak for all the foreign residents in Yokohama. Hoare 103, 150.

44 Letter from Gundry to Lord Kimberley dated August 24, 1894 printed in Supplement to the London and China Telegraph, September 3, 1894, 2.

45 "The New British Treaty with Japan," London and China Telegraph, October 1, 1894, 830.

The statement of the Yokohama committee and the pages of the Telegraph demonstrated condescending attitudes toward Japanese nationalism, modernization efforts and Japan's relationship with the treaty port community. This condescension was reflected, albeit in a more limited manner, in Chamberlain's initial, uncharacteristically intemperate comments to Hearn on the new treaty. In general, Chamberlain's position on treaty revision was closer to the stance taken by the Yokohama committee and the Telegraph[46] than it was to that of the Mail. However, in making such a comparison, it is important to note that the opponents to the treaty were not as uncompromisingly anti-Japanese as the Mail would lead their readers to expect. In analyzing Chamberlain's opposition to treaty revision, some important qualifications need to be made.

Chamberlain may have been exasperated with the veil of secrecy that hung over the negotiations.[47] The Herald referred to the "vicious course of secrecy" pursued by the British officials.[48] The Telegraph complained that the British Foreign Office neglected to consult the foreign residents. An editorial dated September 3, 1894 referred to:

> Lord Kimberley's refusal to give information until it is too late to be of use. There are, of course, occasions when diplomatic secrecy may still be wise....but there is....a wide difference between treaties involving matters of high international policy and treaties that bear upon conditions of residence and commerce. To subject British residents in Japan to native

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46 Thus, presumably, Chamberlain's stance was more similar to that of the Gazette and the Herald than to the Mail.

47 Nish in "Japan Reverses the Unequal Treaties" refers to the secrecy under which the negotiations took place after the foreign minister Mutsu Munemitsu took over negotiations in August 1892. The Ito government made no announcement regarding the negotiations (138). Secrecy was adopted by Japan "because of the danger of disturbances and demonstrations which might be sparked off by any leakages." Britain also maintained secrecy because "the subject was not of wide public interest and was of great technical complexity". Moreover, "Britain feared the storm which might blow up among the British community in Japan (142)."

48 Cited in "Summary of the News from the Far East," London and China Telegraph, October 1, 1894, 818, 880.

> jurisdiction and to admit tariff charges which may involve in them heavy loss, without giving them an inkling even of what is going on, savours more of autocracy than of popular legislation....[It has been]....customary to take the foreign community in China into confidence on matters regarding which they must necessarily be well informed. Secrecy, in fact, breeds suspicion; and the Governments concerned have only themselves to thank if the terms of the treaty prove to be less acceptable than the [China] Association is disposed to apprehend.[49]

Foreign residents may have been kept in the dark because of the antagonism that Hoare documents as having existed between the British diplomatic officials and the treaty port residents.[50] R.S. Gundry, writing to Lord Kimberley, claimed that the views of the Yokohama merchants must be heard before the final ratifications were exchanged. Lord Kimberley, replying through his Under-Secretary, dismissed such a claim. All this secrecy was unsettling to foreign residents whose futures seemed to hang in the balance.[51] The Times of London, although it considered the residents' fears "exaggerated," acknowledged that:

> Time can only show whether the Government or the residents are right, and, as the Government have refused to take the residents into their confidence while the negotiations were pending, their responsibility will be heavy if they have made a mistake.[52]

Chamberlain, elsewhere in his correspondence to Hearn, stated that he objected to the British diplomats' condescension and snobbery toward the foreign residents.[53] However, his essentially moderate criticism of the British

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49 "The New Treaty with Japan," London and China Telegraph, September 3, 1894, 740. Regarding the secrecy of the negotiations also see "The Japan Treaty Revised," London and China Telegraph, August 8, 1894, 653.

50 Hoare 13, 101.

51 Supplement to the London and China Telegraph, September 3, 1894, 1-2.

52 The Times article was reprinted in "The New Treaty with Japan," Supplement to the London and China Telegraph, September 24, 1894, 7. According to F.C. Jones,who also makes use of this quotation, these comments were taken from the leading article of the September 18, 1894 edition of the Times. See F.C. Jones 155.

53 May 14, 1894, Letters, 98.

negotiators paled in comparison to more impassioned criticism voiced in an anti-revision paper such as the Herald, which spoke, for example, of the "yielding imbecility of Lord Kimberley."[54]

Chamberlain, in Things Japanese, did acknowledge the progress that Japan had made in its program of modernization and westernization. In a statement similar to the one issued by the Yokohama committee, he remarked that "Japan's progress in Europeanization had been such, above all her honest eagerness to reform her laws and legal procedure had been so manifest, that it began to be acknowledged" that treaty revision was deserved. He did not hold the extreme opinion that extraterritoriality should never end but felt that the end of extraterritoriality should be postponed until a proven and competent system of law was in existence. In regard to legal reforms in Japan, Chamberlain pointed to specific cases which demonstrated problematic areas in the Japanese legal system as it then stood. For instance, deficiencies in copyright laws presented grave difficulties for foreign merchants.[55] He may have been referring to vexing copyright problems which arose during the transition period after 1894, when foreign merchants, because they were as yet unprotected by

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54 The Herald reprinted in "Summary of News from the Far East," London and China Telegraph, November 5, 1894, 942. A reader, quoting the letter of another reader, wrote to the Gazette: "'One person to whom we owe execration is Mr. Gubbins, and should he ever return to Japan we trust his services in this betrayal will not be forgotten.' Now we do owe a great deal to Mr. Gubbins, but we owe still more to his leader and ruler, Mr. Denison, of the Japanese Foreign Office....For myself I do not attach very much blame to Mr. Gubbins....I blame the Foreign Office for not having invalided and retired Mr. Gubbins....I think, also, we should give the Japanese every credit for the exceedingly masterly manner in which they have so completely hoodwinked and circumvented the purblind and effete officials of the English Foreign Office, both at home and in Japan. On their side they have gained everything they wanted, and given nothing in return." in "Summary of News from the Far East," London and China Telegraph, October 15, 1894, 870.

55 "Treaties with Foreign Powers," Things Japanese, 519, 521. "Such miscarriages of justice as the 'Kent case,' the 'Kobe water works case,' and the 'Clifford Wilkinson case' have not been calculated to reassure [the residents'] minds as to the superiority of Japanese to English law". In a note, Chamberlain briefly recounted the "grotesquely amusing" copyright infringements perpetrated by Japanese merchants on Clifford Wilkinson, a proprietor of a mineral spring near Kobe (525).

the new Japanese copyright laws, found their patents violated by some unscrupulous Japanese merchants.[56]

In Things Japanese, Chamberlain referred to the delays that hampered the process of Japanese legal reform and complained that the revised treaty had been promulgated in 1894 despite the fact that the new legal codes had not all been published.[57] (An example, cited by the Telegraph in September 1894 was the Commercial Code, promulgated in March 1890, scheduled for implementation in 1891, had been indefinitely postponed by a vote in the Diet because the laws involved "too violent a change of native customs".[58]) Because of the opposition of conservative politicians to western legal demands, which they believed did not reflect Japanese traditions, the promulgation and implementation of the new codes was delayed. Consequently, it was not until 1898 that all the legal codes begun in 1873 were finally published. Foreign residents had become very suspicious and frustrated with the legal confusion that resulted from such delays.[59] Chamberlain's opposition to the new treaty may have resulted, in part, from similar feelings in regard to the tardiness of legal reform.

After 1894, Chamberlain looked at the treaty ports and the residents with a certain degree of nostalgia. The end of extraterritoriality meant an end to a certain way of life that he had come to know during over two decades of residence in Japan. Writing in 1905, Chamberlain observed:

> Down to 1899, their settlements in Japan had formed -- as Shanghai still does to-day -- a sort of little republic, without political rights, it is true, but

[56] Hoare 85-86.

[57] "Treaties with Foreign Powers," Things Japanese, 521. Also see "Law," 302-303.

[58] "The New Treaty with Japan," London and China Telegraph, September 3, 1894, 740.

[59] Hoare 81-88; F.C. Jones 159. The first three books of the final version of the Civil Code were promulgated in 1896 and the remaining two in June 1898. The whole Civil Code came into force in July 1898. The final version of the Commercial Code was promulgated in March 1899 and came into force in July 1899.

> also without duties. They paid few taxes, carried on their business free of police inquisition, printed what they liked in their newspapers, and, generally, did what was right in their own eyes.[60]

The Mail had expressed such sentiments earlier in its discussion of the foreign residents' reaction to treaty revision: "Japan is the home, permanent or temporary, of many Europeans and Americans who have settled here." [61] Englishmen in Japan had become accustomed to consular jurisdiction and their trained consular officials and did not want to tamper with a system that functioned to their satisfaction.[62] But, the writer in the Mail cautioned, what some Englishmen failed to remember was that Japan was not part of the British empire.[63]

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60 "Treaties with Foreign Powers," Things Japanese, 525.

61 "The New Treaty," Japan Weekly Mail, October 13, 1894, 424.

62 Richard T. Chang in The Justice of the Western Consular Courts in Nineteenth-Century Japan (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood, 1984) argues that although there is no doubt as to the overall inequity of the consular system, the system provided "evenhanded justice" to Japanese litigants as well as serving the legal needs of the treaty port merchants.

63 "The Foreign Community and the War," Japan Weekly Mail, August 14, 1894, 201-202.

CONCLUSION -- Chamberlain and Hearn: Further Reflections on the Treaty

In his letters to Hearn in September 1894, Chamberlain voiced his strong opposition to the new treaty and made a number of derogatory comments about the Meiji modernization effort and Japanese nationalism. These letters stand in contrast to his later, more considered reaction, as expressed in his article on foreign treaties in Things Japanese. No longer under the initial shock of the conclusion of the treaty, Chamberlain acknowledged the important role that the unequal treaties played in the formulation of Japanese foreign policy. He believed that Japanese officials, in the first decade of the negotiation process, were aware that legal reform had not reached a point where Japan could offer suitable guarantees to foreign residents. He also pointed out that by the 1880s foreign diplomats and the foreign press (though not the treaty port residents) had accepted the fact that treaty revision was deserved because of the great efforts Japan had made in Europeanization and because of her "honest eagerness" to reform her laws.[1] Despite his lingering concerns about the inadequacies of Japanese law, Chamberlain congratulated the Japanese on their first rate diplomacy which enabled them to gain "a complete victory over their adversaries, and at last avenged on the West the violence which it had committed in breaking open Japan a generation before." Japan had gained this victory

> [b]y playing a waiting game, by letting loose Japanese public opinion when convenient, and then representing it as a much more potent factor than it actually is, by skillful management of the press, by adroitly causing the chief seat of the negotiations to be shifted from Tokyo, where some of the local diplomats possessed an adequate knowledge of the subject, to the European chanceries which possessed little or none, by talent,

[1] "Treaties with Foreign Powers," Things Japanese, 517-520.

perseverance, patience, tact exercised year after year.[2]

Chamberlain was concerned most of all with the practical details of the new treaty and its impact on the livelihood of merchants in the treaty ports. His main complaint was that Japan obtained the abolition of extraterritoriality, full judicial and partial tariff autonomy, the monopoly of coasting trade, and the exclusion of British subjects from the purchase of land, while in return Britain, in particular the British residents in Japan, did not receive any substantial concessions. Under the revised treaty, foreigners were now allowed to travel in the interior but this was not a new concession insomuch as such travel was already possible under the existing passport system established in 1874. Foreigners could now lease property in the interior for residential and commercial purposes. This, in Chamberlain's opinion, was of dubious value because it would entail for the merchants "the expense of keeping up establishments in various cities for the same trade which had hitherto more economically centred in the Open Ports".[3] Chamberlain's comment indicated that the establishment of businesses in the interior no longer held for the merchants its earlier appeal, likely due to the realization on the part of foreign merchants that they could not successfully compete with Japanese for control of the domestic trade.[4] He also described the great inconveniences and uncertainties that faced the foreign residents as the date for the full implementation of the treaty drew near. The British negotiators had not clarified

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2 "Treaties with Foreign Powers," Things Japanese, 523-524.

3 "Treaties with Foreign Powers," Things Japanese, 521-522.

4 The Citizens' Committee claimed that; "It is hardly to be supposed that foreign goods have not, in the course of the past thirty years, found their way to every part of the country, and it is precisely this work of distribution to consumers in the interior that can be done more economically, and to better purpose, by the native merchants or middlemen, than by any foreign traders, were the country thrown open to-morrow unrestrictedly." See "Statement of the Citizens' Committee on the Treaty Revision," Japan Weekly Mail, April 11, 1891, 437.

a wide variety of practical matters, such as press freedoms, the validity of foreigners' medical and legal qualifications, the status of leases in the treaty ports, and taxation, and so on. The interests of the English residents, "the class which possesses the best knowledge of the state of the case," had not been adequately represented by the British diplomats.

Looking back on the years that had passed since the end of extraterritoriality,[5] Chamberlain congratulated the residents on their efforts to accommodate themselves to less favourable conditions and to accept the many new legal complications in regard to taxation, copyright, press censorship and commercial regulations. However, his low opinion of the process of treaty revision, as undertaken by both parties, remained unchanged: "The conclusion would seem to be that neither the advocate of European official methods, nor (and the present writer avows himself one of them) [those] who love Japan but dislike jingoism, can find any source of edification in this page of modern history, on which so much pettiness and shiftiness are inscribed."[6]

Perhaps what is most significant in Chamberlain's "Treaties with Foreign Powers" is his focus on the plight of the treaty port residents rather than on the rise of Japanese nationalism, for which the unequal treaties bore a significant responsibility. In contrast to Hearn's "Jiujutsu," Chamberlain's discussion of treaty revision did not connect the emergence of Japanese nationalism with Japan's precarious position in a world dominated by western imperialism. However, this is not to say that Chamberlain was unaware of how Japanese foreign policy was influenced by the power and influence of the western powers in the East. Hearn was not alone in pointing to the threat that western

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[5] The article "Treaties with Foreign Powers," took its final form with the fifth edition published in 1905. However, the Preface of the fifth edition is dated "November, 1904." "Treaties with Foreign Powers" must have been written before this date.

[6] "Treaties with Foreign Powers," Things Japanese, 525.

imperialism posed to non-western societies. In the "Introductory Chapter" to the second edition (1891) of Things Japanese, Chamberlain wrote:

> They also know well enough -- for every Eastern nation knows it -- that our Christian and humanitarian professions are really nothing but bunkum. The history of India, of Egypt, of Turkey, is no secret to them. More familiar still is the sweet reasonableness of California's treatment of the Chinese. They would be blind indeed, did they not see their only chance of safety lies in the endeavour to be strong, and in the endeavour not to be too different from the rest of mankind; for the mob of Western nations will tolerate eccentricity of appearance no more than will a mob of roughs.[7]

In "Treaties with Foreign Powers," Chamberlain made reference to the nationalist reaction to which the revision process gave rise, but he believed that the government exaggerated its extent in order to further Japan's ends in the negotiations.

In contrast, Hearn placed great emphasis on the importance of the popular belief which called for a favourable revision of the treaties without any concessions to foreign powers. He was very sympathetic to public manifestations of Japanese nationalism, although at times he worried about the safety of foreigners in the interior (himself in particular) and on several occasions went so far as to advocate a return to martial law to keep anti-foreignism in check.[8] Yet in general, he praised Japanese nationalism and considered it necessary for the assertion of Japanese independence against western imperialism. Hearn credited Japan's successes in extracting the best possible terms from the foreign powers to the national sentiment which he called the "Race Instinct". He was critical of Japanese politicians who were too willing to make concessions to foreign negotiators.

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[7] "Introductory Chapter," Things Japanese, 2nd ed., 6.

[8] Postscript to undated letter to Chamberlain in Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 97. Elizabeth Bisland placed this letter between letters dated January 12 and January 22, 1894. Also see July 7, 1893, Life and Letters Vol.III, 458.

> The Government itself had never seemed inclined pursue a conservative policy, and had made various attempts to bring about such a revision of treaties as would have made Japan a new field for large investments of Western capital. Events, however, proved that the national course was not to be controlled by state craft only, but was to be directed by something much less liable to error, -- the Race Instinct.[9]

Hearn told Chamberlain that the new treaty confirmed the gist of the "Jiujutsu" article that he had written earlier that year.[10] He finished the article before August 1894 but revised it in response to the successful conclusion of treaty negotiations with Britain.[11] He attached an addendum on the eve of Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War.[12] In "Jiujutsu" Hearn emphasized the state of conflict that existed between East and West in the late nineteenth century. He described the new treaty as "the last grip of jiujutsu"[13] and as the "highest possible feat of jiujutsu in diplomacy". Hearn believed that Japan, by revising its laws according to western principles and by using western advisers, did what was necessary to extricate itself from the unequal treaties. Treaty revision was necessary to undo the disadvantages wrought by the unequal treaties and to revoke the privileges that had been conferred on foreigners. It was a means of breaking the "steady pressure" exerted by the hostile combination of the imperialist powers. The end of extraterritoriality was a significant challenge to western imperialism in the Far East.[14]

Hearn's enthusiasm for Japan's diplomatic "victory" mirrored the words of congratulation that filled the pages of the Mail in September 1894. However,

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9 "Jiujutsu," Out of the East, 216.

10 September 12, 1894, Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 260.

11 On July 20, 1894, he told Chamberlain that his second book Out of the East was mostly done. Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 223.

12 For the addendum see "Jiujutsu," Out of the East, 234-242.

13 September 12, 1894, Life and Letters, Vol.IV, 260.

14 "Jiujutsu," Out of the East, 220-221, 223.

Hearn, in "Jiujutsu" and other articles, chose to interpret treaty revision according to his Spencerian, Social Darwinist beliefs and his ideas of racial difference and conflict. The Mail, although it espoused pro-Japanese views on the subject of treaty revision, did not resort to using Hearn's often heated description of the conflict between western imperialism and Japanese nationalism. The Mail chose to see the new treaty as a progressive and just step toward establishing equilateral relations between Japan and the West.

In October 1894, the St James's Gazette, taking into consideration Japan's victories in the Sino-Japanese War and the recent conclusion of the Aoki-Kimberley treaty, speculated on Japan's future:

> The Oriental, with his power of retaining health under conditions under which no European could live, with his savage daring when roused, with his inborn cunning, lacks only the superior knowledge of civilization to be the equal of Europeans in warfare as well as in industry. In England, we do not realise that in a Japanese dynasty such civilization would exist; we have not yet learned to look upon the MIKADO as a civilized monarch, as we look upon the CZAR.... And under him the dreams of the supremacy of the Yellow Race in Europe, Asia, and even Africa, to which Dr. [Charles] Pearson and others have given expression, would be no longer mere nightmares. Instead of speculation as to whether England or Germany or Russia is to be the next world's ruler, we might have to learn that Japan was on its way to that position.[15]

Hearn did not fear the "Yellow Peril" as did the writer for the St. James Gazette.[16] However, there are similarities between Hearn and this alarmed observer of Japan's rising fortunes in their use of images of racial difference and racial conflict. What was unusual about Hearn's views on racial conflict was the almost perverse pleasure he took in his prediction that the West would ultimately face defeat against the combined powers of the oriental races. His

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[15] St. James's Gazette, October 6, 1894, 3.

[16] In an editorial in the Kobe Chronicle, Hearn stated that, on the whole, this article in the St. James's Gazette, with its reference to Pearson's book, had done a service to its readers in its astute observation of the rise of the oriental races. "Dr. Pearson's Real Views about China," Editorials from the Kobe Chronicle, ed. Sangu Makoto (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1960) 145-149.

ambivalence about and alienation from western society, his devotion to Herbert Spencer, his love of the dramatic and his unscientific and romantic belief in ideas of racial memory and racial uniqueness contributed to his viewing treaty revision in such a context.

EPILOGUE -- Chamberlain and Hearn and the Dual Nature of the Western Response to Meiji Japan

While the works of most other nineteenth-century Western interpreters of Japan gather dust in university libraries, the life and work of Chamberlain and Hearn endure and continue to interest writers and thinkers on both sides of the Pacific. Indeed, works by Chamberlain and Hearn continue to be read and have been republished in recent decades. The lasting Japanese interest in these two interpreters of Japan can perhaps be seen as a reflection of a split Japanese identity vis-à-vis the West and the modern world. In other words, these two figures are, in certain respects, representative of a sharp divergence in the way that the Japanese people have come to think of themselves in the twentieth century. Chamberlain's research can be seen as exemplifying the organized, rational, scientific approach to Japan that had to be developed if Japan was to be modern and competitive in a hostile world; Hearn's literature and commentary on the other hand is unique in the sense that it expresses the anxieties that these forces of modernization inevitably produced. Hearn 's writings speak to the intuitive, aesthetic, dreamy and unique past the Japanese believed they were losing.

This observation is perhaps not novel to present-day students of the Japanese adaptation to the West since Meiji times. However, it is significant that Chamberlain and Hearn embodied and expressed these lasting tensions in the Japanese experience at a very crucial and significant time in the history of modern Japan. Perhaps the continuing western interest in these two nineteenth-century interpreters of Japan derives from the fact that Chamberlain's rational and scientific approach and Hearn's literary and

aesthetic approach to Japanese culture and society epitomize two very distinctive patterns of western encounter with Japan and the Orient.

The duality of Chamberlain's and Hearn's responses and their respective appeal to nineteenth-century readers are evident in two contemporary reviews of Hearn's Out of the East. A reviewer in Atlantic Monthly wrote in the June 1895 edition:

> [Mr. Hearn] refers frequently to his learned friend Professor Chamberlain, who, after twenty-five years of study, produced a misleading book, Things Japanese, which, as a storehouse of facts, is the exact antipodes of Mr. Hearn's writings....If truth is merely what appears to the average analytic, then poetry is a lie, Mr. Hearn is a dreamer, and love and fancy are unimportant human phenomena....[Mr. Hearn] is conscious of the deadness of that brain which dissolves the facts of the soul, and finds a precipitate of utilities.[1]

Another commentator in the August 24, 1895 Athenaeum, less favourably disposed to Hearn's style of interpretation, classed him with other writers of the "globe-trotting" variety:

> The odd thing about writers of this kind....is that probably not one of them is capable of reading a single line of Japanese, and that consequently the whole of Japanese literature, mediaeval and modern, is a sealed book to them....[In their books] what we miss is what the Germans call "Objectivät."....But surely in these days of abundance of interpreters, it would be possible to penetrate a little below the surface of things, and tell us what the Japanese think and say about themselves.[2]

The lasting fascination of Chamberlain and Hearn lies in their contrasting yet complementary visions of Japan.

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[1] "Recent books on Japan," review of Out of the East by Lafcadio Hearn (and two other books), Atlantic Monthly June 1895: 832-833.

[2] "Three books on Japan," review of Out of the East by Lafcadio Hearn (and two other books), Athenaeum August 24, 1895: 250.

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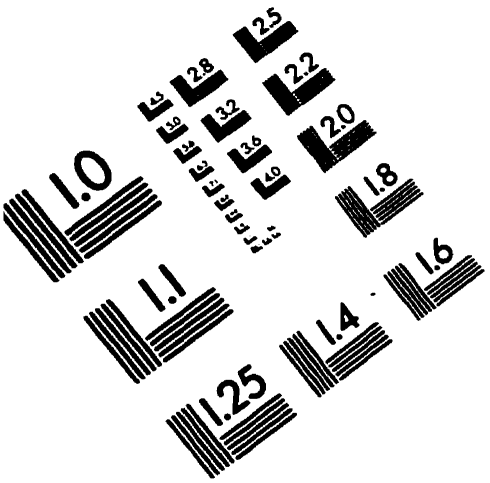

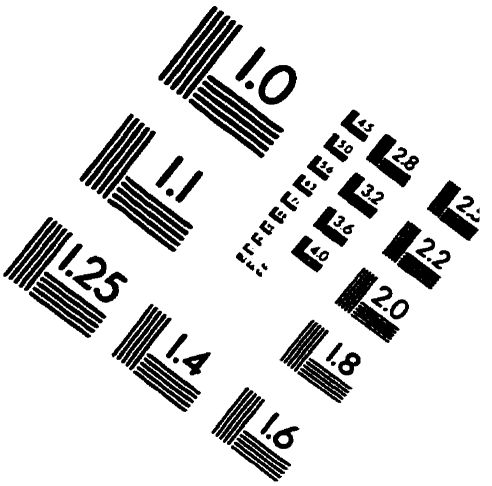

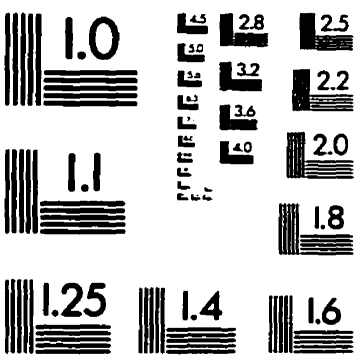

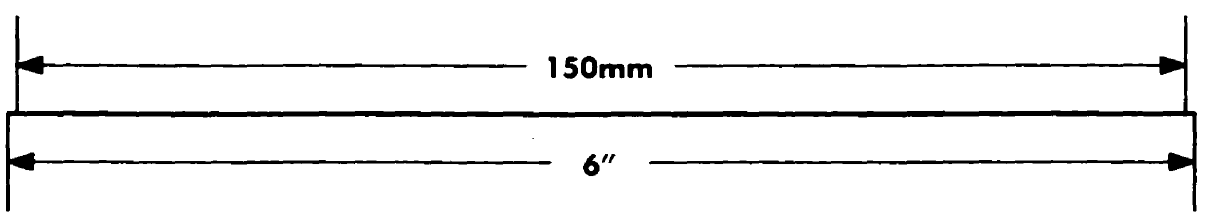

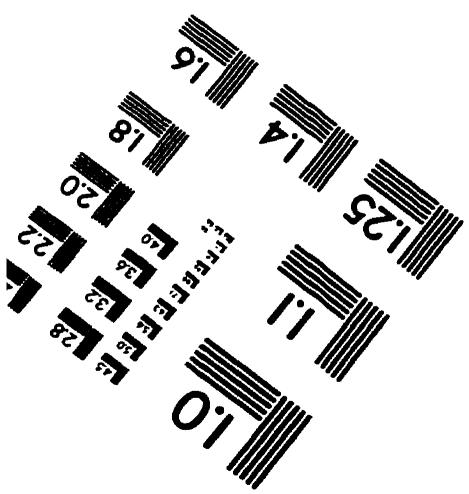

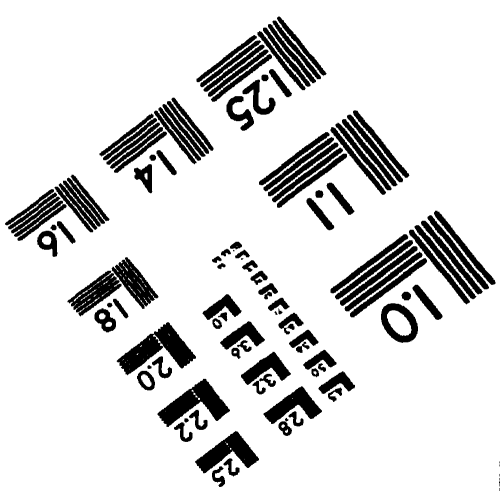

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