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**Abstract:** In this third part, Liu focuses on two individuals who contributed to the establishment of the “Shanghai informational network,” and the opening of Japan. Otokichi, or “Nippon Otokichi,” a Japanese castaway who, after a failed attempt at repatriation, eventually came to work as a company clerk for the British company Dent and Company, and, working out of Shanghai, served on several occasions as interpreter between Great Britain and the Japanese shogunate. A second figure considered is Thomas Glover who served the Jardine Matheson company in Shanghai and as an agent for them in Nagasaki. Glover would engage in a number of activities in Japan representing western interests and sought to connect Japan to the “Far Eastern trading” network with Shanghai as its hub.

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

Translated by Joshua A Fogel

Shanghai and the Opening of Japan (Part 3)

Two “Shanghai Men” Who Accelerated the Opening of Japan

A “Model” of Modern Capitalism

Thus far we have examined the “Shanghai informational network” by looking primarily at the Chinese-language translations by missionaries of Western writings and in particular a string of journals they produced. This “informational network” which contributed greatly to the opening of Japan, however, was not formed by the circulation of these writings alone. In fact, the movements of a number of people contributed mightily to the establishment of the “Shanghai informational network,” despite the fact that these movements did not flow as far as the spread of books.

These people were comprised of a number of castaways with a variety of “Western experience” who, by virtue of typhoons, found themselves blown off course to the United States, Hong Kong, and Shanghai, among other places, and adventurous Westerners who, anxiously awaiting the opening of Japan, swiftly moved the base of their operations from Shanghai when the port of Nagasaki opened its doors. An example from the former group would be “Nippon Otokichi” にっぽん音吉 (1819-67) who is well known from the incident surrounding the ship *Morrison*, and of the latter group would be Thomas Glover (1838-1911), widely known from his residence in Nagasaki, the “Glover Mansion.”

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<sup>1</sup> *Mato Shanhai: Nihon chishikijin no “kindai” taiken* 魔都上海：日本知識人の「近代」体験 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000), pp. 128-39. See also the Chinese translation by Gan Huijie, *Modu Shanghai: Riben zhishiren de “jindai” tiyan* 魔都上海：日本知识人的“近代”体验 (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), pp. 61-66.



Otokichi



Thomas Glover

In a certain sense, as respective incarnations of the real “West,” by remaining in Shanghai (Otokichi) and by setting sail for Nagasaki (Glover), they each stimulated the opening of Japan and contributed to launching its modernization. The former undertook to act as a mediator between Japan and the West when he served as an interpreter aboard a warship visiting Japan, and the latter served as a “model” of modern capitalism in Japan by virtue of his actions. Their efforts themselves worked in tandem with the spread of books to support an informational and trading network centered on Shanghai.

### Permanent “Castaway”

Let me now introduce the ties between these two quasi-Shangainese and Japan. At about the same time as the aforementioned Chinese-language translations of Western works were coming aboard ship to Japan in the transportation network surrounding Shanghai, a solitary Japanese was working in the capacity of a “company clerk” for the major British commercial establishment, Dent and Company (C. Baoshun yanghang 寶順洋行) along the Bund less than a kilometer from the Mohai shuguan, the site of those works’ transmission. He was generally known as “Nippon Otokichi” (Otokichi of Japan).

As one of those persons involved in the incident concerning the *Morrison*, he later came to the attention of the shogunate. Bearing the destiny of a lifelong castaway, he did not immediately choose to return to Japan, but transforming himself into a man of the “West” he kept a close watch on Japan which was soon to open and stood on the front lines of negotiations to that effect. In an important sense, nothing more realistically symbolized the bond between Japan and the “Shanghai informational network” of the time than Otokichi. His activities following his castaway experiences at sea and especially after moving to Shanghai gave explicit physical form to a story of the opening of Japan.

The Hōjunmaru 寶順丸, a small cargo vessel out of Owari 尾張 domain carrying a crew of seventeen men including Otokichi, ran into a storm near Enshū 遠州 and was set adrift at sea in December 1832. They remained castaways for “fourteen months” from this point until landing on the West Coast of the United States roughly in February 1834. Only Otokichi, the youngest of the seventeen, and his two brothers, Iwakichi 岩吉 and Kyūichi 久吉 survived the ordeal. They were initially captured by locals for a time

but were luckily rescued by the Hudson Bay Company, and were then transported by a Company ship to London, England. In December 1835, three years after their castaway experience had begun, they were escorted to Macao, the only route possible at the time for them to return home.

In Macao the three of them were cared for by the aforementioned missionary, Karl Gützlaff who, while working as a missionary, was simultaneously serving as a Chinese-language interpreter for the British superintendent of trade. Otokichi taught him Japanese and helped with a Japanese translation of the *New Testament*, while waiting in vain for an opportunity to return home.

During these years, another group of four Japanese from Kyushu—Harada Shōzō 原田庄藏, Jusaburō 壽三郎, Kumatarō 熊太郎, and Rikimatsu 力松—having been castaways to the island of Luzon in the Philippines about eighteen months earlier, was escorted to Macao aboard a Spanish vessel in March 1837. The entire group unexpectedly met Otokichi and his brothers there at Gützlaff's home.

The incident involving the *Morrison* ran as follows. On the pretext of repatriating these seven castaways who had come together in Macao, and with a view toward trying to open negotiations with Japan, the American merchant vessel *Morrison* sailed first to Uruga Bay and then to Kagoshima and in both instances was shelled by the shogunate under the “Order to Repel Alien Ships” in July 1837. Ultimately, it had no choice but to abandon its hope for negotiations. Having failed to return home, with great reluctance the seven Japanese returned to Macao and, as permanent “castaways” in an alien land, each of them perforce sought ways to make a living.

### The Seven Men's Subsequent Fates

Of the seven Japanese now compelled to support themselves in Macao, Iwakichi and Kyūkichi from Owari domain remained with Gützlaff and continued their work helping with the Japan translation of the *New Testament*. With Gützlaff's help, these two men later worked from the British superintendent of trade as interpreters. After the Opium War broke out, they worked with him for a time in occupied Zhoushan. Iwakichi apparently met an untimely death in 1852, while Kyūkichi was still alive in Fuzhou in 1863, though we have no hard evidence for either of these pieces of information.

Three of the four men from Kyushu including Shōzō were hired by S. Wells Williams, one of those involved in the *Morrison* incident and who later came to Japan as a Japanese interpreter at the time of Perry's arrival. As noted earlier, Williams was at this time editing the *Chinese Repository* (C. *Zhongguo congbao* 中國叢報), and he had taken over operations for running the printing of materials for American missionaries abroad. They undoubtedly volunteered to help him with the acquisition of the Japanese language.

Of these three men, though, Kumatarō and Jusaburō seem to have died at a fairly early stage, while Shōzō alone worked independently as a “tailor” (*shitateya* 仕立屋). In Hong Kong he would later live healthily helping other Japanese shipwreck victims make their way back home. We know only that he lived at least through 1855.

The last remaining Japanese were the youngest, Otokichi of Owari, and Rikimatsu of Kyushu. After traveling to the United States for a short period of time, Otokichi returned to China in the early 1840s. Together with the advance into China of Dent and Company, which he probably entered at about this time, he took up residence in this

“new terrain” from about 1844. Either Rikimatsu also traveled to the United States for a short while, or after studying at a school in Macao with Williams’s help, he joined Williams on a trip to America in 1845. Later, he left Williams’s care and was working for a newspaper or print shop in Hong Kong in 1855.

### “Guide”

Unfortunately, no primary materials that directly record Otokichi’s activities after moving to Shanghai ostensibly remain extant. It is thus nearly impossible to gain knowledge of his concrete activities in Shanghai. Happily, though, he does appear on several occasions as an interpreter in the important negotiations between Great Britain and the Japanese shogunate, and from this indirect source we gain a glimpse of his subsequent life.

He first visited Japan after the *Morrison* incident on May 29, 1849 when he served as an interpreter aboard the *Mariner*, a British warship that visited Japan with the aim of surveying Edo Bay and Shimoda Bay. On this occasion, he claimed he was a Chinese bearing the name Lin Aduo 林阿多. In response to a question from an official in Uruga, he said he was a Chinese from Shanghai presently in the employ of the British.

Until the *Mariner* left Japan on June 7, however, he was tenaciously prevented from coming on land by the shogunal authorities. As nothing resembling negotiations between the two sides could take place, no record of anything substantive or out of the ordinary concerning interpreter Otokichi was left. In this brief period of interaction, though, he seems to have been sensitive throughout to his mediating role between the Powers and Japan. Frequently, his words indicate that he saw his position as somehow trying to vindicate himself as a “guide.” Paradoxically, these words and deeds indicate the unique position and importance to a string of “interactions” of this “Japanese man” who came from Shanghai.

### “Denigrating View of Japan”

Otokichi again visited Nagasaki with Britain’s Far Eastern fleet in September 1854. The arrival of the Far Eastern fleet under the command of Admiral James Stirling (1791-1865) was aimed at observing the movement of the vessels under Admiral Yevfimy Vasilyevich Putyatin (1808-83) of Russia, against whose country his was fighting in the Crimean War (1853-56) and at seeking Japan’s neutrality in the war. Due to a misunderstanding on the part of the shogunate, negotiations soon ensued over commerce and opening the country with the ultimate conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Friendship Treaty.

Standing between the two sides throughout and undertaking his mediating role was Otokichi who had been hired from Shanghai. On this occasion, though, he revealed his origins as a Japanese, and with an extremely self-conscious attitude as an “interpreter,” he is said to have behaved until the very end as a member of the “British side.” For example, in reply to a question from a shogunal official, he replied that he was the “son of Moemon of the back alleys of Nagoya in Owari” (尾州名護屋裏町茂右衛門 倅); for a time after the *Morrison* incident, he added, he traveled around to many places in the United States, but he had now been working for a “British commercial concern” in

China for ten years. When offered the opportunity to return to Japan, he is said to have resolutely rejected the proposal, saying: “My wife and children are living in Shanghai, and I feel it is better to be protected under the British flag.”<sup>2</sup>

Such a firm attitude on Otokichi’s part belied a strong distrust of the Japan side and gives the impression that, “while he may be a Japanese, he’s working for foreigners” with his “denigrating view of Japan.” However, changing abruptly from his earlier stance, Otokichi countered such a “reputation” and remained composed throughout, offering not a single word of justification for his role as a “guide.”

### Requiting a Favor

Otokichi’s self-confident position was based, of course, on an “international sensibility” gained through working for the previous decade for a British commercial firm. By the same token, he seems to have been starting to discern his own role clearly in the “informational network” surrounding Shanghai. Although employed for a period of time, perhaps in his heart of hearts was born, one way or another, the recognition that he would bring his homeland Japan into the sole network created by the “West.”

In this sense, the firm words and deeds exhibited by Otokichi as he continued to behave as an “underling” of Westerners acquired for him an “existential value” within the modern network formed in East Asia. He was at the forefront of it, a pioneer who had left Japan. And, because he refused to return home and lived abroad throughout his career, he was perforce a castaway who was nonetheless consciously “requiting the favor” of his homeland.

This awareness can be seen as well in Rikimatsu, his acquaintance who lived in Hong Kong and who similarly worked as an interpreter to the British raiding fleet commanded by Admiral Charles Elliott (1801-75) as well as to Admiral Stirling’s fleet during the exchange of instruments of ratification of the Anglo-Japanese Friendship Treaty. Rikimatsu traveled to Japan twice—to Hakone and Nagasaki—and demonstrated the self-confidence of a certain “willfulness” as we have seen with Otokichi.



James Stirling



Charles Elliott

<sup>2</sup> See Haruna Akira 春名徹, *Nippon Otokichi hyōryūki* にっぽん音吉漂流記 (An account of the castaway Otokichi of Japan) (Tokyo: Shōbunsha, 1979). I have additionally learned a great deal about Otokichi’s activities in China from a series of other studies by Haruna.

## **Pursuing “Far Eastern Trade” in Shanghai: Thomas Glover**

While Otokichi worked as a “company clerk” for Dent and Company and retained his desire to see Japan opened, there was another, large-scale British commercial enterprise located along the same Shanghai Bund, Jardine, Matheson and Co. (C. Yihe yanghang 怡和洋行). A young Scotsman there, working in roughly the same capacity at Otokichi, was then engaged in company affairs. This was none other than Thomas Glover whose name, as a weapons merchant, would later become well known in Japan.

After leaving his home in Scotland with the aim of “launching out overseas,” Glover was only about twenty years of age when he arrived on East Asian soil in May or June 1858. He initially began work for Jardine Matheson, a trading firm boasting the largest scale of the entire commercial sector at the time there, and there he acquired the rudiments of “Far Eastern trade.”

Jardine, Matheson and Co. was originally established by two Scottish merchants, William Jardine (1784-1843) and James Matheson (1796-1878) in Guangzhou in 1832. At first it was primarily engaged in trading opium and tea between India and China. After the Opium War, Jardine, Matheson and Co. decided to place its base of operations in Hong Kong, but before it was determined whether Shanghai would be opening its port, he quickly moved to open a branch there and continued trading in commercial products as before. Slowly but surely, he moved into ship-building, textiles, transportation, and insurance, with production in the circulation and service sectors. For a time he was even known as “king of the company,” and throughout the nineteenth century he remained a prototypical figure in British capitalism in Shanghai and thus China.

Glover worked for two years at the Shanghai branch of Jardine Matheson in the standard, daily business of a large commercial enterprise, primarily in copying “correspondence” and composing “freight certificates.” From the subsequent expansion of the business, though, he does not seem simply to have amassed experience in these years involved in general trading business of the company, but in fact it would seem that he was mastering the essence of Jardine Matheson’s company management directions and the “spirit of enterprise.”

## **Toward a “New Market”**

Unfortunately, no records remain extant, so far as we know, that record Glover’s actual activities while he was living in Shanghai. There can, however, be little doubt that he amply displayed the temperament of a “Far Eastern trading merchant” from this time and that he acquired an estimable reputation within the company for his work. Had that not been the case, it is unlikely that Jardine Matheson would have sent him, a lad of only twenty-one years of age in 1859, as the company’s Nagasaki agent (initially, assistant agent) to pioneer the “new market” of Japan.

Glover carried with him to Japan his Shanghai background in many senses. For example, in 1861 after establishing his independence as a trader he received a large loan from the Shanghai branch of Jardine Matheson over a long period of time. Also, his dealings with the shogunate and various domains in weaponry and the importation of

warships were carried out either through the Shanghai branch of Jardine Matheson or with other companies located in Shanghai.

Although he had established his base of operations in Japan, Glover never forgot the “stage” from which he had launched his career in Shanghai. In his fifth year in Japan, 1864, he established a Shanghai branch of his own company, known as Jialuohua yanghang 加羅花洋行 (Glover and Co.). Through this branch he began the Union Steam Navigation Company, now contesting the Russell Steam Navigation Company which at the time had a virtual monopoly on Yangzi River trade routes.

Why he may have used the “cover” of Shanghai for all these ventures was not only his “Far Eastern trading” methods of importing gunboats and weaponry. He also proffered loans to Satsuma domain, served as an agent for the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, managed real estate, took part in insurance ventures, kept dogs, and participated in the opening of the Takashima coal mines. All of these endeavors—that is, the various companies with which he worked in Shanghai—afford the impression of being “copies” or “miniatures” of the Shanghai branch of Jardine Matheson, which stood at the top of the list. The “memory” of his Shanghai years was thus profound for Glover.

He pressed Nagasaki—and thus Japan—to join the “Far Eastern trading” network which had taken shape around Shanghai in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and his vigorous engagement in business undertakings offered a model of a single company involved in the activities of the Kaientai 海援隊 [a private navy and trading company] founded by Sakamoto Ryōma 坂本龍馬 (1836-67). In these ways, he influenced the fate of Japan in the late-Edo period. Considering that he imported a great deal of weapons to the two domains of Satsuma and Chōshū through Shanghai, the activities of this man who arrived in Japan, a young merchant who had amassed his business experience in Shanghai, constitute an “event” in and of themselves in the late Edo years.