

Seigaku tōzen to Chūgoku jijō: 'zassho sakki'

西学東漸と中国事情：雑書札記

[The Eastern Spread of Western Learning and Conditions in China: Notes on "Various Books"] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1979), pp. 81-100.

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PART 4

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12. Satō Nobuhiro's Kairiku senbō roku and Son-Ka zateki ron

There is a "work entitled Kairiku senbō roku 海陸戦防録 [An Account of Military Defenses on Sea and Land] by Satō Chin'en 佐藤 椿園 " mentioned in Katsu Kaishū's 勝海舟 Kaikoku kigen 開國起原 [Origins of the Opening of the Country] (preface dated 1891, copyrighted by the Imperial Household Ministry) as an "outline of the uprising in China." In it as well the story of the capture of the English princess is recorded. I have not seen an original edition (or even a manuscript copy) of this work and know of it only through Katsu's work. The author, Satō Chin'en is best known as Satō Nobuhiro 佐藤 信淵 (1769-1850), Chin'en being his style. In the bakumatsu years, a variety of fragmentary news about the Opium War circulated [in Japan], but Satō's work was probably noted in the Kaikoku kigen because it was seen as a relatively coherent chronicle of information and perhaps a representative work.

The chronicle begins: "In the seventeenth year of the Daoguang reign period [1837], the English transported 27,000 chests of opium [to China]... Huang Juewen 黃爵文, a civil official of Shandong province, memorialized requesting that it be banned." Lin Zexu 林則徐 (1785-1850) henceforth proceeded to his new appointment in Guangdong, had the English opium brought before him, and burned it entirely. It goes on to note that in the end war broke out between the two countries, and it records the movements in the battle situations by month and year. It concludes that in Daoguang 22 or 1842 a "peace treaty was concluded" in Nanjing and a celebration banquet was held aboard an English vessel to commemorate the conclusion of the

fūsetsugaki, we find it rendered "Yansēkian" ヤンセーキアン, but from that point forward it would seem that "Yangzijiang" is rendered phonetically (in the local dialect). Perhaps, the Kairiku senbō roku mistakenly transcribed a kana syllabary n as a tsu.

Furthermore, the Kairiku senbō roku notes that "the Dutch for Zhenjiang fu" 鎮江府 is "Shinkyanfuoi" シンキアンフイ. This is merely [a Japanese rendition of] the Chinese pronunciation of Zhenjiang fu, though "Dutch" should probably be altered to "Dutch pronunciation." Yet, in saying that it is "the Dutch for" the Chinese term, this indicates that they used as a historical resource the fūsetsugaki which were translated from the Dutch.

By the same token, though, in describing Chen Huacheng 陳化成, the text reads: "The English heard of his renown and did not recklessly approach Shanghai. Hence the English had the expression, 'Do not fear a million troops in Jiangnan, Fear only Chen Huacheng in Wusong.'" Elsewhere it notes: "When the English attacked Dinghai [a second time], they exchanged the princess for land returned to the Qing." The latter instance would indicate literal use having been made of reports from the Qing. Later in the text, we read: "Imperial Commissioner Yuqian 裕謙 [1793-1841] died a martyr and lost the territory under his command, and the English acquired the walled city of 'Teinhei' テインヘイ." Earlier the text used the Chinese characters for Dinghai 定海, and here only a short while later it employs kana "Teinhei" (hei is the local pronunciation for standard Chinese hai 海). This would seem to indicate the use of the historical sources as raw resources. Also, the placename Ciqi 慈谿 appears in Chinese characters and sometimes it is rendered--apparently phonetically--as "Tsēkē" ツェーケー.

This point would indicate that the content itself, irrespective of whether it is accurate (this being a problem, in any event, of the sources upon which it is based), is at least related overall to the Kanbun text in descriptive phrasing, though one may say that the Ahen shimatsu is better composed.

Satō Nobuhiro was a vigorous scholar of astounding breadth. From the years of the Tenmei 天明 reign [1781-89] through the early years of the Kaei 嘉永 period [1848-54] (it is generally held that he died in 1850 at the age of 81, but there are other theories), he published an extraordinary number of works: 205 different pieces in all, filling 563 traditional volumes, remain extant.<sup>2</sup> Numerous works are extensions or rewritings of others, and hence there is much re-duplication of content. There are other works he claimed as his own

peace negotiations.

There is no mention in the Kairiku senbō roku as to when it recorded these events, and thus we do not know precisely when it was written. It occasionally makes use of the same phraseology as does the Ahen shimatsu 鴉片始末 [The Opium War from Beginning to End]--for example, both works in describing the tale of the English princess's fighting refer to her as "brave and superb" (gyōyū zetsurin 驍勇絶倫)--but one is in Japanese and the other in Kanbun, and there is a difference in the manner in which the same sorts of things are expressed in the respective texts. Although we do not know which of the two was composed first, possibly Satō's wrote his work with the Ahen shimatsu as a referent. His work merely notes: "This woman general was the younger sister of the English king, and she docked at Ningbo."

Early in the text, it mentions that "Huang Juewen, a civil official of Shandong province, memorialized" the throne to ban opium; the Ahen shimatsu reads that "Huang Juezhi 黃爵之, a civil official of Shandong, memorialized." This would seem merely to be a copyist's error as the characters wen 文 and zhi 之 are similar. However, both wen and zhi are errors; it should be Huang Juezi 黃爵滋 [1793-1853, jinshi of 1823]. Inasmuch as Huang hailed from Guangxi province, it is interesting that the text mentions "Shandong." Reference to him as "a civil official of Shandong" probably indicates the time when he served as the presiding official at the Shandong provincial examinations in 1837. Yet, the appointment as provincial examiner was a temporary post, and were the text to mention the name of his position it should have referred to him as honglu si qing 鴻臚寺卿 "Chief Minister of the Court of State Ceremonials."<sup>1</sup>

In terms of size, the Kairiku senbō roku is a slightly longer work; that is, when comparing the aforementioned Japanese edition of the Ahen shimatsu with it, not comparing the Kanbun text of the latter with the Japanese Kairiku senbō roku. Satō work, of necessity, combines pieces from the Dutch fūsetsugaki or official "reports" as well as Qing government sources, and there is no uniformity in style or prose through the text; indeed, there is a manufactured quality about the work. For example, there are occasional conflicting ways of writing the same term: Shanghai is occasionally produces in kana as "Sanhai" サンハイ and sometimes in Chinese characters; the Yangzi River (Yangzijiang) is rendered both in Chinese characters as 揚子江 and sometimes phonetically in kana as "Yassekian" ヤッセキアン. "Yassekian" may be a error on the part of the original Dutch translator, but it remains unclear how such an error arose. In other Dutch

that are of dubious authenticity. Some seriously doubt that such a massive number of writings could have been the work of his pen alone.<sup>3</sup>

Shionoya Tōin wrote in a preface to Satō's Keizai yōroku 經濟要録 [The Essence of Economics]:

The venerable Satō Yūzai 融齋 [a style of his] handed down to us works of many sorts. He made a particularly detailed study of mathematics, did penetrating research in agricultural administration, water utilization, military systems, and artillery. As a young man, he travelled about the realm and tried to examine things closely in person. Later, he was invited by several feudal lords to help plan their domainal affairs. He was always a man for results, never for empty chatter.

He seems to have been quite a specialist in matters concerning agriculture, as indicated by such works as Keizai yōroku.

As the basis for agricultural management, he studied the "Yu gong" 禹貢 [Tribute of {King} Yu], a chapter from the ancient Chinese text, Shu jing 書經 [Classic of Documents], and he penned a two-volume work in literary Chinese entitled U kō shūran 禹貢集覽 [Collected Views on the "Yu gong"] (with an explanatory preface dated Bunsei 文政 12 [1829]). He prepared this work by putting together the commentaries by past Chinese scholars concerning the phraseology of the "Yu gong." Inasmuch as there were many such works in China before Satō's, there is no doubt that he made use of them and copied material directly from them.

In his work, Suitō hiroku 垂統秘録 [Confidential Memoir on Social Control], he also offered his own distinctive methods for ploughing the land and utilizing water resources, and he made a study of the qualities of the soil. His principal attention was focused on raising production and enabling their smooth circulation. To do so, he proposed an administrative reform program which called for the division of all domestic administration into six bureaus or fu 府, each with its own responsibilities. He proposed as well a social plan which would set up at various locales elementary schools, beneficent societies, clinics, orphanages, factories for itinerant children, and other educational facilities.

In his Bukka yoron 物価余論 [My Views on Commodity Prices], he stressed a financial policy in which the government supervised merchants and took control over commodity prices. In addition, he wrote pieces on astronomy and calendrical science and on artillery strategy, but these were probably the result of his use of Western scien-

tific techniques based in Dutch Learning.

As concerned financial policy, he referred frequently to King Yu, Yiyin 伊尹, and Guang Zhong 管仲, from citations in the Chinese classics, and he demonstrated enthusiasm for Western astronomy as it was transmitted more recently from Holland; furthermore, in 1805 he copied out by hand in Nagasaki the Rangaku daidō hen 蘭学大道編 [On the Great Way of Dutch Learning] by Shiba Kōkan 司馬江漢 (1738-1818). A copy of the latter replete with his "genuine autograph" was anastatically printed in 1920 by the Hōkō gikai 報効義会. I own a copy of this work, and on it one can already see explanatory charts for Copernicus's heliocentric theory and sunspots. Apparently these were the sources by which he acquired such knowledge, and he would often make public his knowledge of Western astronomy--the sun at the center nurturing all things and forming the basis for agricultural administration--in such works as Tenchū ki 天柱記 [Record of the Pillar of Heaven] and Yōzō kaiku ron 容造化育論 [Essays on Creation and Cultivation].

This formed one part of Satō's research in Dutch Learning. Either by virtue of his studying with the specialist in Dutch Learning Udagawa Kaien 宇田川槐園 [Genzui 玄隋, 1755-97] or by making use of Yamamura Shōei's 山村昌永 (1770-1807) work Seiyō zakki 西洋雜記 [Accounts of the West], he wrote the Seiyō rekkoku shiryaku 西洋列国史略 [A Brief History of the Western Powers] (preface dated Bunka 文化 5 [1808] in Japanese; my edition is a manuscript edition in three string-bound volumes, dated Tenpō 8 [1837], and bearing the inscription "Matsuura 松浦 Library"). Inasmuch as Ōkubo Toshiaki 大久保利謙 has given a detailed explanation of the formation and content of the Seiyō rekkoku shiryaku in his Sakoku jidai Nihonjin no kaigai chishiki: sekai chiri, Seiyō shi ni kansuru bunken kaidai 鎖国時代日本人の海外知識: 世界地理西洋史に關する文献解題 [The Overseas Knowledge of the Japanese During the Period of the Exclusion Policy: Explanation of Documents Concerning World Geography and Western History] (Tokyo: Kangensha, 1953), I shall not do so here, but I should just say at this point that it is of epochal importance if only because it was the earliest comprehensive history of the West written by a Japanese, earlier even than the Banshi 蕃史 [History of Foreign Lands of Saitō Chikudō 斎藤竹堂].

In the Son-Ka zateki ron (kan 1), Satō wrote: "Since I have no knowledge of Dutch Learning, I cannot read Dutch books." Yet, in his own introductory remarks to the Seiyō rekkoku shiryaku, he noted: "I once studied under [the Dutch Learning scholar] Udagawa Kaien, and together with the late [scholar of Dutch Learning], Mr. Yamamura

shōei, I learned of various histories of the West. Thus, the Seiyō rekkoku shiryaku was clearly written after Satō learned of the contents of various Dutch and Japanese works on Western history from Udagawa and Yamamura. However, just as Saitō Chikudō, author of the Ahen shimatsu, wrote the Ban shi, Satō wrote the Kairiku senbō roku and Son-Ka zateki ron (see below) on the basis of reports about the Opium War, and he wrote the Seiyō rekkoku shiryaku [i.e., each wrote works on East Asia and on the West]. In short, he had acquired a fair amount of information about conditions in Western lands at that time, and he keenly felt that the Western powers--with a mighty naval force of artillery and gunboats (as proven by the Opium War) were gradually invading East Asia.

Satō's work, Son-Ka zateki ron 存華挫狄論 in five kan, carries an introduction dated Kaei 2 or 1849. It was said to be only rarely circulated in manuscript form, and I have not seen a manuscript of it. It is, though, included both in the last volume [of three] of Satō Nobuhiro kagaku zenshū 佐藤信淵家学全集 [Collected Works of Satō Nobuhiro and His Family] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1927), edited by Takimoto Seiichi 瀧本誠一 (1857-1932), and in the first volume of Nihon bugaku taikei 22: Satō Nobuhiro bugaku shū 日本武学大系22: 佐藤信淵武学集 [Compendium on Japanese Military Science, Volume 22: Collection on Satō Nobuhiro's Military Science] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1942). In explanatory texts appended to each of these two collections, it is hypothesized that the Son-Ka zateki ron was the ultimate result, first, of Satō's response to an inquiry of the lord of the Tsu domain in Ise, Tōdō Izumi no kami 藤堂和泉守, to propose a plan for coastal defense, which he subsequently revised and wrote up. The form of the text is questions and answers, though in content the prose style is distinctively Satō's.

The title of the work simply means "enable the [Central] Efflorescence to continue its existence and crush the barbarians." China had been defeated in the Opium War, he noted at the end of the work, and:

it brought grave pain to the hearts and minds of the Qing dynasty's sovereign and subjects and afflicted their thoughts, while they offered alms for the poor and mourned the dead, with all classes suffering equally in these regards. When they have trained troops for a number of years, then they can raise a righteous army of revenge, subjugate the English barbarians, and finally eliminate without remnant all of them from East Asia. This should long serve as a

western wall for our land [Japan]. Such was my principal aim in writing Son-Ka zateki ron.

The fourth and fifth volumes of this work are largely comprised of a chronicle of the Opium War, and they discuss the events of the war from the outset, the peace negotiations, Canton residents after the conclusion of the peace treaty, and the anti-English movement of the masses at Dinghai. At the very end of this account, though, he wrote: "The foregoing text is based on reports acquired from Dutch vessels that have entered port this year." By "this year," he probably meant Kaei 2 (1849), the year of the introduction, which may mean that it was actually written earlier.

In the fourth volume of Son-Ka zateki ron, there is a section, almost identical to its presentation in Kairiku senbō roku, describing the capture of the English king's younger sister. "They had among them a woman general who was brave and superb, who could bring down four or five men and fight off seven or eight swords. The Chinese came forward and bowed to her one after the next, until finally she was captured alive... She was the younger sister of the English king and was imprisoned at Ningbo. Details of these events can be found in [my] Suiriku senpō roku 水陸戦法録 [An Account of Military Strategies on Sea and Land]." He had written the Suiriku senpō roku prior to this, and therein clarified the point here made.

Furthermore, in his Bōkai yoron 防海余論 [My Views on Naval Defenses] (published in Kōka 弘化 4 [1847], included in Satō Nobuhiro kagaku zenshū) as well, he touches on the events of the Opium War, and notes: "The details of this military confrontation can be found in my Suiriku senpō roku." In the "list of works" used for the Bōkai yoron, he lists the Suiriku senpō roku (in seven volumes) and adds his own explanation:

Because there has been no military conflicts between the Japanese and the Western barbarians, we do not know who is superior. From the eleventh year of the Tenpō reign [1840], however, the Chinese engaged them several dozen times and incurred great defeats every time, incapable of being their match. In the final analysis, they paid them tribute, ceded land, begged for peace, and just barely eluded ultimate disaster. I have chronicled the numerous Chinese and English strategies at land and sea [in the battles of the Opium War] and detailed them here.

The Suiriku senpō roku was not transcribed into the Satō Nobuhiro kagaku zenshū, perhaps because "the author compiled this collection by his own hand, and certain military texts were left out

of it." Yet, among the works "left out of...this collection," the author lists the Suiriku senbō roku, printed in eight string-bound volumes. "Printed" here probably indicates woodblock printing.<sup>4</sup>

Although not in the Kairiku senbō roku, in the Son-Ka zateki ron we find, after the story of the capture of the king's sister, a comment that begins "Mr. Chin'en remarks." He conceded that "this princess was an extraordinary curiosity," but he condemned the fact that the Chinese did not use such a hostage to good advantage during the peace talks, and that the "base official" Yilibu 伊里布 (d. 1843), not even waiting for his sovereign's orders, unilaterally released her.

One work by Satō has been praised to the sky, especially during the war, was Udai kondō hisaku 宇内混同秘策 [A Confidential Plan for World Unification]. The expression "udai kondō" carries the meaning of "world unity." In a piece entitled Kondō tairon 混同大論 [Greater Treatise on Unity] which serves effectively as an introduction to this work, he argued that: "Our great and glorious land was the first created in the world and the foundation for all countries of the world. Thus, to govern this foundation well, we must make all of the rest of the world into our districts and prefectures and the sovereigns of all these lands into our servants." In this way he developed his views on a "secret" plan for world unification.

In order to attain world unification, he argued: "The very first thing we must do is annex the land of China (Shina koku 支那国)... Therefore, this work will initially detail a plan for how we should take China." And, he proceeded to a discussion of a concrete plan for the invasion of the Chinese mainland. Modeling his plan on the proven example of the Qing which had arisen in Manchuria and rapidly swept down to consolidate its control over China, Satō's first premise was a Japanese invasion of Manchuria. A naval force was to set out with alacrity from Aomori, and an attack force would hit Heilongjiang [in Manchuria] from the northern reaches of Sakhalin; similarly, naval forces were to assemble and set sail from Nuttari 沼垂 (along the coast in Echigo) and Kanazawa, cross the sea, and seize by storm various prefectures along the southern coastal region of Manchuria. A separate army was to land on the Korean peninsula, link up with other forces in Liaoyang, and attack Beijing. In addition, a march was to commence from the ports of Kyūshū and lay siege to Jiangnan and Zhejiang. A self-acknowledged expert on military tactics and strategy, he vigorously developed these wild notions for this process of invasion and conquest on paper with great detail giving it plausibility.



This fantasy invasion of the mainland was consistent with the idea of hakkō ichiu 八紘一宇 ["the whole world under one roof," a common expression during the years of World War Two, used as justification for Japan's imperialist adventures], and Satō was loudly praised during the war years by one group of scholars affiliated with the Kōdō 皇道 (Imperial Way) party as a sublime, pioneer "thinker." The explanatory essays appended to Satō Nobuhiro shū 佐藤信淵集 [Writings of Satō Nobuhiro] (one volume Kokugaku taikai 国学大系 [Compendium on Nativism] series), is probably representative of this tendency.

By chance, I happened across a book some years ago in a used book store entitled Satō Nobuhiro no shisō 佐藤信淵の思想. [The Thought of Satō Nobuhiro] by Nakajima Kurō 中島九郎 (Tokyo: Hokkai shuppansha, 1943). It bears a private library seal that reads: "Tokyo Preventive Detention Center." According to the Kōjien 広辞苑 dictionary [Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1976, p. 2289], "preventive detention" means: "A measure, for the purpose of preventing crime, to continue the confinement of someone who after the completion of a term of imprisonment has shown no sign of repentance. During the Pacific War, it was used for thought criminals." During the Shōwa period, though, in the place that these "thought criminals" would have read such a book, they were not likely to do anything with the thought of Satō Nobuhiro. It stands as a monument to the circumstances surrounding political thought during the war years.

The major idea of the Udai kondō hisaku was, as we noted with reference to Son-Ka zateki ron, that once the Chinese, having been defeated in the Opium War, "had trained troops for a number of years, then they can raise a righteous army of revenge, subjugate the English barbarians, and finally eliminate without remnant all of them from East Asia. This should long serve as a western wall for our land" [emphasis Masuda's]. Thus, the idea that the first step in the process toward world unification was the conquest of China would seem to have retrogressed rather dramatically here where the emphasis is on son-Ka or aiding China's existence and the expectation is for China "long serving as the western wall for" Japan.

At the very end of the Udai kondō hisaku, the date Bunsei 文政 6 or 1823 is given, and the Son-Ka zateki ron was written in Kaei 2 or 1849. In that period of 26 years, the real historical experiences of the Opium War would seem to have caused a major and sudden turnabout in Satō's divinely-inspired delusions about the conquest of China. The transformation was doubtless the result of the changing temporal background, as the lessons of the Opium War and the arrival in Japan

of foreign gunboats during the Kōka and Kaei periods (1844-54) led Japanese to be startlingly awakened to reality from the peaceful slumber and foolish dreams of the Bunka and Bunsei reign periods (1804-30).

### 13. Strange Tales of the Opium War

Stories of the capture of the English king's sister were, needless to say, based on information emanating from the Qing side in the conflict. However, the exact foundation for such stories (be they written documents or in the form of fūsetsugaki) I have yet to determine. Thus, they may be based upon reports of the time, and these reports may have come from essays of writers of the late-Qing period. In the Qingchao shiliao 清朝史料 [Historical Materials on the Qing Dynasty], which comprises volume four of the Qingchao yeshi daguan 清朝野史大觀 [Overviews of Unofficial Histories of the Qing Dynasty],<sup>a</sup> there is a section entitled "Ying nǚ beiqin" 英女被擒 [English woman captured]. It reads in part as follows:

The Chusan Archipelago is the doorway onto the coast of Zhejiang province. In the twentieth year of the Daoguang reign [1840], English troops seized it [i.e., the Chusan Islands]. A warship took refuge in the port and raced eventually as far as Yuyao county. It became stuck in the sand there and was unable to continue. The local militia was called together, attacked it, and captured one English woman. Upon questioning, it was learned that she was the third sister of the King of England.

The author of the text goes on at this point to add his own view; namely, had the officials on the scene at the time used her as a means of attaining peace, insured that she was well treated even as she was losing face, and thereafter made use of her [as a hostage] in the transactions of the peace talks, then the Chinese would probably not have invited losses such as local sovereignty in the aftermath, but the local officials did not take such considerations into account. This position is precisely the same that we saw articulated in "Chin'en shi iwaku" in the Son-Ka zateki ron.

The Qingchao yeshi daguan cites numerous historical materials and anecdotes as well as incidental jottings. It was compiled in the Republican period, and many of references are given at the beginning of each of the volumes. Each and every note is not, however, clearly cited with a reference. Thus, we cannot say for certain upon what

source this story is based. Perhaps, works that collected such tales came to Japan at the same time, for both the Ahen shimatsu and the Kairiku senbō roku (as well as the Son-Ka zateki ron) are based on such works.

The story of the capture in Yuyao of a princess in the English military seems to have become a subject of discussion early on in Qing circles. We find it even in the Zhong-Xi jishi 中西紀事 [Accounts of China and the West] by Xia Xie 夏燮 (1799-1875) which is cited often as a historical document on the Opium War.<sup>b</sup> The Zhong-Xi jishi in 24 juan was apparently compiled over a fairly long period of time; my edition of this text is a woodblock printing, designated a "definitive edition" (dingben 定本) and dated Tongzhi 7 (1868); it carries an "initial preface" (yuanxu 原序) dated Daoguang 30 (1850), a "secondary preface" (cixu 次叙) dated Xianfeng 9 (1859), and an explanatory preface (third in order) to the dingben dated Tongzhi 4 (1865).

As the "initial preface" notes, "I have excerpted here [materials from] the Peking Gazette and other official dispatches. I have also consulted the newspapers, transcribed material, and placed it here." The work was thus composed by gathering together evidence from a variety of intelligence sources, and while limited its overall historical value is still quite high. The author Xia Xie was an official--he subsequently became a county administrative clerk in Jiangxi--who at the time probably found it convenient to collect these sorts of information. In his explanatory preface to the "definitive edition," he mentions the Haiguo tuzhi 海國圖志 [Illustrated Gazetteer of the Sea Kingdoms] of Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794-1856) and notes that he is "the same year as Wei Moshen 魏默深." This would mean that he and Wei were contemporaries who had passed the provincial examinations and become juren 舉人 in "the same year." As had been the case with Wei, he put this work together, because he "was filled with anger as he glared with great fury" on the English invasion of China.

In juan five of the Zhong-Xi jishi, we read the following passage:

During the time that Bremer [Bomai 伯麥, commander-in-chief of the English naval unit that invaded Dinghai] held control over Dinghai, he put a ceasefire into effect, and Western vessels were permitted to sail about and enjoy themselves. Coming to Yuyao, one such pleasure party encountered local people, was enticed by the large five-masted ships, and ran

aground on a sandbar. They [i.e., the locals] seized several white barbarians, among whom was one barbarian woman who was exceedingly decked out in dress and make-up. It was reported that she was a Western princess. Imperial Commissioner Yilibu heard this report and issued a written appeal to Yuyao county. He formed a welcoming committee and escorted it as it entered Guangdong.

We have here a "barbarian woman" who is "reported" to be a foreign princess. The text only notes that Imperial Commissioner Yilibu "escorted" the party to Guangdong, though it says not a word to the effect that she was the commander of the English navy there or in what manner she had conducted a battle. Furthermore, it does note that the commander of the naval forces at the time was Bremer. Thus, it would seem that there were rumors at the time of the capture of a princess, and gradually these were padded with exaggeration.

In fact, this "barbarian woman" was the wife of Lieutenant Douglas, captain of the Kite, an armed English freighter, and details of her capture can be found in Duncan MacPherson's book, Two Years in China.<sup>c</sup> Also, the story of the English vessel running aground, as well as tales of raids on them by local Chinese militias and their seizing of prisoners from among the passengers, have been examined in considerable detail in the aforementioned Yapian zhanzheng shishi kao 鴉片戰爭史實考 [A Study of the Historical Facts of the Opium War] (Shanghai: Xin zhishi chubanshe, 1955) by Yao Wei yuan 姚微元, as well as in the Chouban yiwu shimo 籌辦夷務始末 [The Management of Barbarian Affairs from Beginning to End] and works by foreigners.

During the second decade of the Meiji period (1877-87), a number of histories of the Qing dynasty were written by Kangakusha in literary Chinese, such as: Shinshi ran'yō 清史纂要 [An Overview of the History of the Qing] (Tokyo: Bessho heishichi, 1887) in six volumes by Masuda Mitsugu 増田貢 (Gakuyō 岳陽, fl. 1877) and Shinchō shiryaku 清朝史略 [Brief History of the Qing Dynasty] (Kōfu: Naitō Tsutauemon, 1881) in 12 volumes by Satō Sozai 佐藤楚材 (Bokuzan 牧山, 1801-91).<sup>d</sup> Where they described the Opium War, just as in Saitō Chikudō's Ahen shimatsu, they wrote as well of the live capturing of a English princess.

The style of the Shinshi ran'yō is less one ordered by a rigid chronology than it is one in which the years give order to the events. The author first names a time period and then records the events that took place during the years of that period. Under Daoguang 20 in volume four, the text first lists Chen Huacheng becom-

ing military commander of Jiangnan, and then under this heading it offers a detailed description of Chen Huacheng's efforts to defend the coastline. Next, it lists: "The English besieged Ningbo, and General [sic.] Yilibu battled them there, capturing a female chief." Under this heading, the text describes in considerable detail the circumstances leading up to the capture of this female chief. "A English vessel became stuck in the sand" at Yuyao, and

the local militia gathered and attacked it. A female chief stepped forward bravely to launch the battle and killed several people with her bare hands. One of the local militiamen brandishing a spear attacked her from behind and wounded the female chief. Thereupon the assembled group [of militiamen] took her prisoner, along with over twenty others. The female chief was the third daughter of the king of her country...

The English commander presented a document to the Yuyao provincial magistrate. It said that, if the princess was returned, he would obey the order to return the invaded and occupied terrain [to the Chinese] and leave Guangdong. She was not returned. Ultimately, he went to the imperial capital to sue for peace. The emperor ordered Imperial Commissioner Qishan 琦善 [d. 1854] to proceed to Guangdong and bring the matter to deliberations.

At the very end of the Ahen shimatsu, Yilibu and Qishan enter into negotiations with "barbarian officials" (bankan 蕃官), memorialize for the release [of the princess], and await orders, but before their orders arrive they go ahead and release her. Although this portion of the story is different [from that given in the Shinshi ran'yō account], the general point is virtually the same.

In the Shinchō shiryaku, the general story of the capture of the king's younger sister in battle is taken over directly in large measure, with a few differences in character usage, from the appropriate chapter of the Ahen shimatsu. Inasmuch as the Shinchō shiryaku lists the names of cited texts right at the beginning and among them is Saitō Chikudō's Ahen shimatsu, the author clearly made use of it. In the margin to the text, one finds the following notation: "It was said that the capture of the princess may have been an erroneous story." This too, it would seem, was taken directly from a line in the Ahen shimatsu that goes against the thrust of the main body of the text: "It was said that perhaps she was not really the younger sister of the English king."

In addition to the printed works already mentioned, I also have in my possession a manuscript entitled Kanshi enryaku 漢史沿革略

[Brief History of China], written in Kanbun, which gives an outline account of Chinese history. My edition is missing the first and second string-bound volumes, and I thus have only volumes three (on the Tang and Song) and four (on the Yuan, Ming, and Qing). At the very end of the fourth volume, the text concludes: "The son of the Emperor's younger brother Prince Chun 醇, Zaitian 載湉 [1871-1908], inherited the throne, and changed the reign period name to Guangxu."

It is thus a history of China through the Guangxu emperor's accession to the throne (in 1875). It is written in brush on ruled-line paper on which is printed "Tōkyō shihan gakkō" 東京師範学校 (Tokyo Normal School); reading punctuation and suffixed syllabaries needed to read a Kanbun text in Japanese have been added in red; and simple headings giving an overview of the content have been placed in the margins. Here and there through the text, labels have been pasted in and removed and the text emended, indicating that it was a rough draft. With every era, the name of the emperor is given first and then follows a simple chronicle not so much of the most important events that transpired under that emperor, but of topical pieces.

The pattern then is one in which events are detailed within the reign of a given emperor. For example, at the end of the "Chronicle of the Qing," the text reads: "Emperor Xuanzong 宣宗, Mianning 錦寧, changed the era name to Daoguang." The text then immediately follows with: "Wei Yuan was a drafter in the secretariat. The emperor saw his examination paper and endorsed it with great praise." In the margin beside the text at this point is the heading, "Praise for Wei Yuan." Within the Daoguang section of the text can be found another marginal heading which reads "Capture of Beautiful Woman." The main text here reads:

The English attacked and took Ningbo. General [sic.] Yilibu went to offer assistance. By chance, while withdrawing, a English vessel ran aground in the sand. Local militiaman Shen Zhen 沈貞 and others captured a female chief of theirs, and they requested the return of the English princess. An order went out to Imperial Commissioner Qishan to proceed to Guangdong, consult with Yilibu, and have the princess returned. The English had not yet retreated, and two officials were cashiered while the peace talks broke down.

This portion of the work is almost identical to the record given in the Ahen shimatsu, though the latter does not explicitly name the local militiaman Shen Zhen. Nor is this name to be found in either the Shinshi ran'yō or the Shinchō shiryaku. Hence the text must have been based on some other source.

As noted above, I have only the third and fourth volumes of this work, and since I have not seen the first volume, I cannot say who the author of the Kanshi enryaku was. It ends with the accession of the Guangxu emperor in 1875. According to Ishii Kendō's 石井研堂 Meiji jibutsu kigen 明治事物起原 [The Origin of Things in the Meiji Era] (rev. ed., Tokyo: Shun'yōdō, 1936, 1944), the Tokyo Normal School was founded in the aftermath of the Shōheikō; it in was placed a "Compilation Office" (henseikyoku 編成局) where textbooks were to be edited. Perhaps this work was a draft of just such a textbook done at Tokyo Normal. It too would then be a work of roughly the second decade of the Meiji period.

In the third decade of the Meiji period (1887-97), the tale of the capture of the English king's younger sister apparently ceased to be believed. I have a work in one string-bound volume entitled Shin-Ei Ahen no sōran 清英阿片之騷亂 [The Sino-English Opium Disturbance] (edited and published in Tokyo by Shimizu Ichijirō 清水市次郎), printed on movable type in 1888 with a thick cardboard cover. It is taken almost entirely (over 99%) from Kaikai shinwa 海外新話 [New Stories from Overseas] (five volumes, woodblock printed) by Mineta Fūkō 嶺田楓江 (1817-83) which it rewrote in novel form on the basis of the Yifei fangjing lu 夷匪犯境錄 [A Record of the Invasion of the Barbarians]. Inasmuch as the story of the capture of the sister of the English king is absent from both Kaikai shinwa and Yifei fangjing lu, it does not appear in Shin-Ei Ahen no sōran either.

The Ei-Shin Ahen sen shi 英清鴉片戰史 [History of the Sino-English Opium War] (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1994, one string-bound volume) by Matsui Kōkichi 松井広吉 (Hakken 柏軒, 1866-1937) is a work of history, not of fiction. It has links as well with material based on English sources, and reads at one point:

The Queen originally had no younger sister. Had she had one, there would have been no reason for her to go recklessly into battle and be taken prisoner... Some among our Kangakusha (such as Satō Sozai) have believed this story, and in works by them on the history of the Qing they have quite cleared recounted it. Thus, I offer a description of this tale in its simplest details, with a smile on my face.

With this, he then introduced and translated into Japanese Saitō Chikudō's Ahen shimatsu. Afterward, he concluded: "Although I have rewritten Saitō Kaoru's Ahen shimatsu from Kanbun into Japanese, there are now a variety of other books that describe these events at

great length. Many even insert a diagram of the scene of the capture. In the final analysis, the story has no basis in truth; it is completely false."<sup>5</sup>

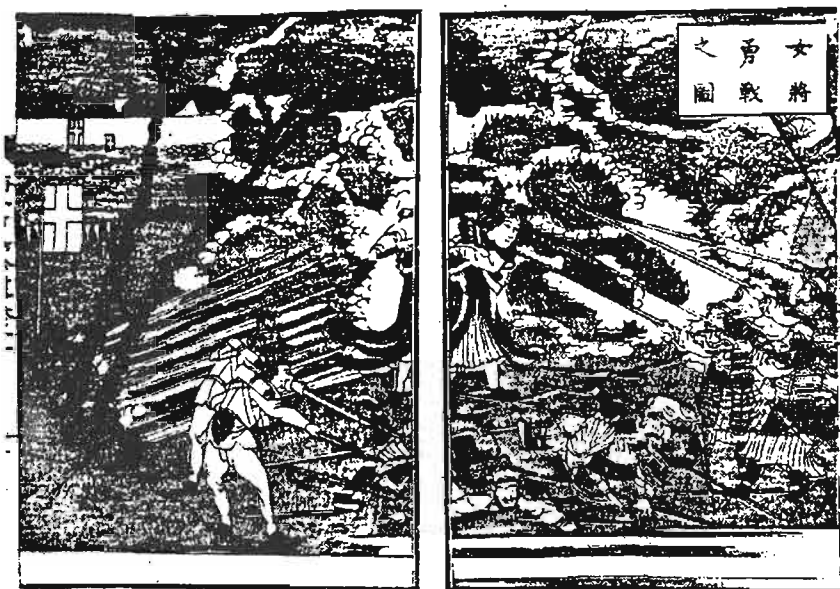
Matsui Hakken noted that "many [works] even insert a diagram of the scene of the capture," and in the novelistic account entitled Shin-Ei kinsei dan 清嘆近世談 [Recent Tales of China and England] (woodblock printing, five volumes, Edo, Kaei 3 [1850]) by Hayano Kei 早野恵, where the author recounts the story of the battle with the king's sister, one finds a double-page chart entitled "Depiction of Chen Huacheng's Capture of the Princess General" inserted into the text at that point. Of course, the appearance of Chen Huacheng at this juncture is pure fiction, but it recounts how Chen led an ambush attack on the princess at Yuyao, the two fought, the planks of her ship were destroyed, and both of them fell overboard. Soldiers fell upon her and took her prisoner. They sent her to Shanghai under a guard of several hundred troops, and she was placed in prison. Since this was a novel, the author, having located the story probably in the Ahen shimatsu, took it and made it even more interesting, recasting it in a dramatic form.

The Kaigai shinwa shūi 海外新話拾遺 [Gleanings from the New Stories from Overseas] in five kan in one string-bound volume (Shusai 種葉翁, Kaei 2 [1849]) is a similar sort of fictional account which describes the heroic battles of the valiant princess who "could undergo countless miraculous changes and just for fun cleverly transform herself into a spring iris or flutter in the autumn breeze... In the end, she was taken prisoner by the Qing military." A two-page insert, entitled "Diagram of the Woman Warrior Putting Up a Valiant Fight," is also to be found in this text. [See below].

The "introductory notes" to the Kaigai shinwa shūi read [in part]: "Although the events depicted in Kaigai shinwa, written by Mr. Mineta Fūkō, were all taken from such work as Yifei fanjing lu and Shinpan jiryaku 侵犯事略 [Brief Account of the Invasion] and reorganized, there were still to be sure omissions of various and sundry import. He thus wrote this work after gathering up such omissions." This might lead us to the conclusion that inasmuch as the Kaigai shinwa shūi was a novelistic account full of happy news, it took the shocking story of the princess's capture, which is missing from Kaigai shinwa, probably from Ahen shimatsu.

In this connection, Samura Hachirō 佐村八郎, in his Kokusho kaidai 国書解題 [Descriptions of Japanese Books] (Tokyo: Rikugōkan, 1900), mentions only the Kaigai shinwa shūi in his discussion of novelistic treatments of the Opium War published in Japan at that





From the Kaigai shinwa shūi, held in Kansai University Library.

time. He argues: "It chronicled the arrival [sic.] on Chinese soil of the English and French and facts surrounding the opening of various relations. However, in his Kaigai shinwa, Mineta Fūkō wrote a full account of Sino-English relations using the Yifei fanjing lu and the Shinpan jiryaku, and this work was thus an effort to gather together that which had been left out of his account. The [Kaigai shinwa] shūi was published in 1849." This was a perfunctory explanation, to say the least, especially the first half which makes no sense. The latter half was taken directly from the "introductory notes."

The Kaigai yowa 海外余話 [Additional Stories from Overseas] in five woodblock printed volumes (by "Suimu chijin" 酔來夢痴人 [Crazy man in a drunken sleep], Kaei 4 [1851]) is written in a mixture of Chinese characters and katakana syllabaries, though without diagrams. Transposed into hiragana syllabaries and with the addition of diagrams at the beginning of the text and interspersed within, as its compiler apparently saw in other works, it was retitled Kaigai jitsuroku 海外実録 [True Stories from Overseas], five woodblock printed volumes (Ansei 1 [1854], with a preface by the lay monk Baikon 売柑 dated Ansei 2 [1855]).<sup>e</sup> On the frontispiece to this work is a diagram entitled "Atai, Younger Sister of the King of

England." The name Atai 阿岱 is appended here, and she is given as the commander-in-chief of the English military. "I am Atai," it reads, "the second ruler of England in the Atlantic Ocean. I received orders to correct the treacherous crimes being committed in Guangdong recently and then return home." The fiction grows more and more curious. In the end, this Commander Atai together with Vice-Commander Elliott (a real historical personage) are taken alive by Lin Zexu, but both are forgiven by the Daoguang emperor and enabled to return to their home country.

The text concludes that England "struck the deep sympathies of the Daoguang emperor and became an eternal dependency of the Qing. Year after year the English brought tribute to China, and they were invigorated by the great majesty of China far and near. The reign of the Qing dynasty remained its essence for many, many years."

The theme that runs through these fictional accounts is that, in the final analysis, the barbarian bandits were no match for the Chinese.

### Notes

1. There are biographies of Huang Juezi in Qing shi gao 清史稿 [Draft History of the Qing Dynasty], "liezhuan" 列伝 [biographies], 165; and Qing shi liezhuan 清史列伝 [Biographies in Qing History], zhuan 41, "Dachen zhuan xu" 大臣伝続 [Biographies of high officials, continued], section 6.

2. Yasuzu Motohiko 安津素彦, "Kaisetsu" 解説 [Explanatory Essays], in Satō Hirobumi shū 佐藤信淵集, in Kokugaku taikei 国学大系 [Compendium on Nativism] (Tokyo: Chiheisha, 1943).

3. Mori Senzō 森銑三, Satō Nobuhiro, gimon no jinbutsu 佐藤信淵 疑問の人物 [Satō Nobuhiro, Dubious Personage] (Tokyo: Konnichichi no mondaisha, 1942).

4. Perhaps because many of Satō's writings were published during the Meiji period, little detail is now known about them. I have a manuscript copy of this work which I believe is from the bakumatsu era. It is printed on Mino paper in eight kan and four string-bound volumes, and it covers the Opium War in considerable detail. It has a preface dated the second month of Kōka 2 (1845) and the final

(eighth) kan includes both "military strategy at sea" and "military strategy on land." At the very end, it reads: "Fifth day, fifth month, first year of Kaei [1848]. Chin'en Satō Nobuhiro." Thus, it would seem that the work was completed in 1848. It has been reprinted in the Nihon bugaku taikēi 23: Satō Nobuhiro bugaku shū (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1943).

In comparing the Kairiku senbō roku which is included in Kaikoku kigen with Suiriku senpō roku, one can readily see that the gist of the former has been condensed in the latter. However, Suiriku senpō roku contains rather long commentaries under the aegis of "Chin'en shi iwaku" 椿園氏曰 [Mr. Chin'en (i.e., Satō Nobuhiro) comments] at the end of each section of the text; these are comments of a "military strategic" nature. All of these commentaries are absent in the Kairiku senbō roku.

The Kairiku senbō roku is missing from the list of Satō's writings. This would seem to indicate that it was composed by someone else extracting the essentials of the Suiriku senpō roku and taking out the commentary passages.

a. The editor of the original is given as the proprietor of the "Xiaoheng xiangshi" 小橫香室 (Shanghai: Zhonghua yuanyin sanbanben, 1917); (Shanghai reprint: Zhonghua shuju, 1921); (Shanghai reprint: Shanghai shudian, 1981, three volumes). Masuda cites the second of these three; Harvard-Yenching Library has the first and third in its collection.

b. In addition to the 1868 edition cited by Masuda, Harvard-Yenching Library also has two Taipei reprints by Wenhai chubanshe (1962 and 1967). Xia Xie wrote under the pseudonym Jiangshang Qiansou 江上蹇叟.

c. The full title of Duncan MacPherson's work is: Two Years in China, Narrative of the Chinese Expedition, from its formation in April, 1840, to Aug., 1842. With an appendix, containing the most important of the general orders and despatches published... (London: Saunders and Otle, 1843).

d. Both can be found in the collection of the Harvard-Yenching Library.

5. In this connection, let me note in advance that the Ei-Shin ahen sen shi was translated in an abridged edition and published by

the Datong yishuju in Shanghai in lithograph form by Tang Rui 湯睿又 (Tang Juedun 湯覺頓, a man from Fanyu 番禺, Guangdong) in eight juan during the Guangxu era; it appeared with the title Yingren qiangmai yapian ji 英人強賣鴉片記 [Account of the Forced Sale of Opium by the English]. I have not seen the work myself, but it is held in the Guangdong Provincial Library according to a note in volume six of Yapian zhanzheng 鴉片戰爭 [The Opium War], ed. Zhongguo shixuehui (Shanghai: Shenzhou guoguangshe, 1954) which transcribes the text. Except for the notice "written by a Japanese," there is no mention that the author was Masuda Kōkichi. When we compare the translation with the Ei-Shin ahen sen shi, we can see that it was a translation of this work into Chinese.

An explanatory note in the Yingren qiangmai yapian ji reads as follows:

This work was originally written by a Japanese whose name is now unknown. The translation is extremely poor. In particular, the names of foreigners were first translated from English into Japanese and then from Japanese into Chinese; as such, they have traveled from from their original pronunciation and in many cases cases may be inrecgnizable. For example, [the Chinese translator] rendered the English King Kyōchi 喬治 [Ch., Qiaozhi, or George] as Qiyaoqi 其搖其; and the English Consul Giritu 義律 [Ch., Yilü, or Elliott] as Xianliyazi 賢利啞茲. In content, it makes use of English accounts, and thus there is considerable detail on the actions of the English side. The assistance rendered to the Chinese in the war by the Russians, which is described in this work, is material not to be found in other books. There are numerous errors in the chronicling in this work. One especially egregious [error], for example, can be found in the reference to the fact that the Daoguang emperor took refuge in Fengtian because he was defeated in the war. My view of the author's argument is that it demonstrates the attitudes of one group of Japanese in the late Qing who worked with great intensity to bring about the reform [of China] as early as possible.

e. The Kaigai shinwa (Edo, 1849), the Kaigai shinwa shūi (1949), the Kaigai yowa (n.p., Ansei 2 [1855]), and the Kaigai jitsuroku (1854 preface) can all be found in the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library. Only the Kaigai yowa is a different edition than that mentioned by Masuda whose copy predates the Harvard-Yenching edition.