

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. 321-50.

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PART 10

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Yamamoto Ken (Baigai)

Kansai University and Yamamoto Baigai. In the "Chronology" included in the Kansai daigaku shichijū nen shi 関西大学七十年史 [A Seventy-Year History of Kansai University] (Ōsaka: Kansai University, 1956), there is the following note under Meiji 28 [1895]: "A special course of study was instituted in September. It enabled there to be short training courses in reading texts, composition, mathematics, and foreign languages." In the main body of this work we also find: "We must take particular note of the creation of the special course of study... It would correspond in today's parlance to a general liberal arts curriculum. Yamamoto Ken 山本憲 was hired as a lecture to teach textual reading and composition as the basis for legal studies." There is also a note, entitled "Bekka setchi no jijō" 別科設置の事情 [Facts about the Establishment of the Special Course of Study], following this which reads in part:

At that time, Yamamoto Ken, who used the style Baigai 梅崖, was hired as a lecturer. He lectured here on Sanyō ikō 山陽遺稿 [The Literary Remains of Rai Sanyō (Ōsaka: En'ya Yoshihyōe)] and Kinsei meika bunshō 近世名家文鈔 [Selections from the Writings of Famous Modern Authors]. He had participated in the planning the Ōsaka Incident and was the patriotic man of will who drafted the famous "Declaration of Korean Independence" at the request of his leader Ōi Kentarō 大井憲太郎. At the time he lectured here he was 44 years of age (Japanese style).

Thus, Yamamoto Baigai was teaching there during the formative period of "Kansai Law School," the forerunner of Kansai University, but he was as well a man who must, of course, be mentioned in any

discussion of the history of modern Sino-Japanese relations. Indeed, the Tō-A senkaku shishi kiden 東亜先覚志士記伝 [Biographies of East Asian Pioneer Men of Will] (Volume 3, Tokyo: Kokuryūkai shuppanbu, 1936) [by Kuzuu Yoshihisa 葛生良久] has a rather extensive entry on him. He has a detailed, four-volume chronological autobiography, which he signed Ken shuroku 憲手録 [Personal Record of (Yamamoto) Ken]. It was typeset and printed (though not put on sale) by his students in 1931, after his death. Entitled Baigai sensei nenpu 梅崖先生年譜 [Chronological (Auto-)Biography of Master Baigai], it carries at the beginning a reminiscence and description by his student, the artist Suga Tatehiko 菅椿彦, of the "pursuit of knowledge" at Yamamoto's private academy. Yamamoto had opened a Kangaku or Chinese studies academy in Ōsaka, and he had many students there.

An entry for 1896 in this chronological autobiography reads as follows: "In the middle of August, I developed eye trouble and had to abandon reading and writing. From the previous year, I had been going to Kansai Law School to lecture on Wenzhang guifan 文章軌範 [Models of Literary Prose; by Xie Fangde 謝枋得 (1226-89)]. At this point I had to stop." This evidence leads us to the conclusion that Yamamoto taught in the special course at Kansai Law School from September 1895 until August 1896.

An Early Love of History. According to his chronological autobiography, Yamamoto was born in Takaoka, Kōchi prefecture in 1852 (Kaei 5), and he died at Ushimado, Okayama prefecture in 1928 at the age of 76. He was reading Chinese texts from his youth: "My young mind loved history [books] but did not enjoy the classics," reads the entry for his twelfth [Japanese style] year, "and I particularly liked reading the Zizhi tongjian 資治通鑑 [Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government]." ^a Already at age ten, "I had read through the Shiji 史記 [Records of the Grand Historian] and the Zuozhuan 左伝 [Commentary of Mr. Zuo], and I was reading the Twenty-One Dynastic Histories." ^b The chronological autobiography goes on to explain: "I could read unpunctuated Chinese texts well." At age thirteen, "I enjoyed discussing current events... I also derived special joy from gathering together and writing down material concerning the trends of the time from books." We see here an early proclivity toward history and the problems involving issues of the day. This youthful predilection for reading may have contained the sprouts of Yamamoto's later opposition to the government and struggles on behalf of freedom and popular rights.

At age fourteen, he was summoned to appear before the daimyo of Tosa domain, and he composed the following poem in Chinese:

The golden candle burns resplendently before your beautiful seat,

How can a mere child bow down before your countenance?

The next year his devotion to historical texts continued--"I reread the Zizhi tongjian for the sixth time this year"--and he completed his reading of the Twenty-Two Dynastic Histories.^b

By the same token, "Western Learning" was being taught in many of the domains, and according to his chronological autobiography Yamamoto, at age seventeen in the inaugural year of the Meiji period, studied English at the Kaiseikan 開成館 in Kōchi. "Studying English," though, "did not strike my fancy and I quit after about two weeks." At age nineteen in 1870, he became a student at the Shidōkan 致道館 in Kōchi; it was a school specializing in Kangaku and his father was a teacher there. He worked there as assistant to a teacher of punctuating Chinese texts. The following year, when the Shidōkan was closed as part of the policy to abolish the feudal domains and institute a nationwide system of prefectures, a call went out from the capital for the study of English, and it was requested that the teachers at the "Translation Bureaus" (perhaps under prefectural control) set up English departments. Some were even hired by Keiō University. He first studied the English grammar from the Kakken bosu 活賢勃斯, but "in less than ten days, I was studying by myself and reading geography and history." He was in fact confident enough to note: "I surpassed by fellow students."

A look at his Zōsho mokuroku 蔵書目録 [Book Listing] (edited by the Okayama Prefectural Library) reveals a large percentage of Chinese texts. At the very end, however, is a "Section of Western Books," which lists a total of eleven works including First Book in English Grammar, Longman's New Reader No. 4, New National Readers (1-5), Elementary History of the United States, New Physical Geography, and World We Live (Manry's Geographical Series), among others. The grammar, Kakken bosu, was this First Book in English Grammar.

When he was twenty in 1871, he departed for Tokyo where he entered the Ikuei 育英 Academy which stressed Western Studies and additionally offered instruction in Chinese Studies. While serving as an assistant in Kangaku, he studied Western Learning under the Dutchman T. H. Reich.^c The chronological autobiography mentions that he studied about England and Germany there, going on to note that "Reich particularly enjoyed geography and I did as well. He used geography in his classes every day. That I later knew the geography of the world and set my will on overseas affairs was surely a gift I received from him." In the aforementioned Zōsho mokuroku is a listing of the geography texts in English which, it would appear, he read

at this time.

No details are given concerning the extent to which he pursued his "studies of England," but "while I was in the academy, at Reich's request I translated into English a biography of Tokugawa Ieyasu, which he then touched up." Later, "when I was working in the Ministry of Public Works, at the request of Professor Malcolm, I translated an English novel into Japanese."

From Telegraph Operator to Newspaperman. In 1874 Yamamoto became a telegraph operator [a level of technical official below that of engineer--JAF]^d as a means of support. The following year he was sent on business to Ōsaka, and from that time forward his ties with the city of Ōsaka developed. There he went to work for the Kōraikyō Telegraph Office. "Ever since I was young," he wrote of this time, "I had always revered Toyotomi Hideyoshi. I thus set my heart on settling in Ōsaka, and at this time I came to Ōsaka. I heard that the grave of Kimura Nagato no kami 木村長門守 [the early Edo-period warrior Kimura Shigenari 木村重成] was in Wakae, and I went there immediately to pay my respects." The next year he brought his parents from Tosa to Ōsaka. They all took up residence in Ōsaka in a rented home in Minami-atsuto-chō where they lived together.

In 1877 the Sēinan War [namely, the rebellion of Saigō Takamori 西郷高盛] erupted, and Yamamoto was sent on business into the area of the fighting. After entering a site of particularly severe fighting near Taharazaka, he noted: "Bullets were whizzing by and the place was strewn with corpses." After his return from the war, Yamamoto worked for both the Kawaguchi and the Kōraikyō Telegraph Offices, but the following year, 1878, he quit his job as a telegraph operator for the Ministry of Public Works. As he wrote, "futilely I held this great goal in my heart, and I was waisting my efforts on spotty, poor workmanship. I thus quit my job." His "great goal" was to further the cause of the Popular Rights Movement, and to that end he became a newspaper reporter, for it seemed that he would thus be able to have recourse to public opinion through speech and action. After quitting his telegraphy position, he wrote: "I wanted to set up a newspaper office in Kyoto." Although he went to Kyoto many times, "it never got off the ground."

In 1879 Yamamoto joined the staff of the Ōsaka shinpō 大阪新報. The following year he married a woman from Tosa. That year (1880) he wrote his Kōgai yūkoku ron 慷慨愛國論 [On Indignant Patriotism], and he serialized a novel, Yaezakura matsunomidori 八重桜松乃縁 [Florid Cherry Blossoms: The Glory of Pine Green], in the Ōsaka shinpō. In his chronological autobiography, he noted: "It won great esteem, with

a professional teller of military tales recounting it."

Although the latter text is now nowhere to be found, the Kōgai yūkoku ron is held in the National Diet Library in Tokyo. It was published in 1880 by Nakao Shinsuke 中尾新助 of Ōsaka and is a small volume of some 150 pages. It is virtually overflowing with Yamamoto's passion and indignation on behalf of freedom and popular rights. His fellow provincial Ueki Emori 植木枝盛 (1857-92) contributed a preface and helped in the revisions. In his own "prefatory remarks," Yamamoto wrote: "I talked it over with my friend Emori, and I revised it several times in places where it was unsatisfactory." In Ueki's preface, he noted: "Although we had slight differences of opinion about this or that in the text, it was an excellent work for propagating popular rights. I thus rejoice on behalf of the country and celebrate on behalf of freedom." As for its contents, chapter one is an "Overview." Chapter two is entitled "The Origins of Popular Rights," and chapter three is "Limiting the Powers of the Government." The final chapter, fourteen, is entitled "Avoiding Violence." In his "prefatory remarks," Yamamoto noted that "this book is principally aimed at persuading villagers and woodcutters... I thus did not employ refined, elegant language, but worked to use ordinary prose. Anyone should be able to read it."

Yamamoto Baigai on People's Rights. In the first chapter, "Overview," Yamamoto argued that in the Asian countries of China, Turkey, and Persia, "people's rights were being taken away with each passing day, leaving them in a tragic state scarcely able to enjoy life." By contrast, "there were the petty barbarians, the Normans, the Saxons, and the Gauls of France and England." They "long ago sought popular rights and often fought against their government and armies over the past few centuries... Ultimately, legal institutions were established leading to their present wealth and strength." He also noted: "Although the United States of America, for example, was in fact populated by immigrants from the extremely poor people of Europe, it has now acquired wealth and strength surpassing the rest of the world. This is the major reason for it." Furthermore, "the ebb and flow of national rights is based on the ebb and flow of people's rights. If the people's rights do not grow, they will lack that by which to grow strong." This viewpoint appears to be drawn from the knowledge of world history which Yamamoto had acquired as a young man.

"The nation is not the sovereign's nation," he noted at one point in his second chapter. "It is the people's nation. The people are not the sovereign's people. They are the people of the realm."

The government is not the sovereign's government. It is the government of the people." Thus, in connection with the acquisition of popular rights, he argued that "popular rights are not something conferred by a sovereign. They should be restored to the people by the government which must quickly find a way to restore them to all people without distinction" (chapter two). Because popular rights are innate to the people, Yamamoto argued that they should with all alacrity be taken back from the sovereign and the government. He also vitriolically denounced the autocratic sovereign who oppressed the people:

Originally, autocratic government treated the people with oppression, a practice which became ordinary, and the people themselves fell into a state of servility and cowardice. Ultimately, they looked up to their sovereign as one deserving unlimited honor, and governments, taking advantage of this weakness, increasingly nurtured their own authority, degrading the people to the same level as oxen or horses... With supreme authority, the sovereign oppressed the people to the point of privatizing the realm.

And, at another point, he noted:

The prerogative to make laws and run an administration all reverted to the sovereign alone. In matters of the realm, the sovereign thus saw everything as a function of what was in his personal interest. This gradually bred a mood of lethargy... He entrusted his authority to a prime minister to administer the most important affairs of state... Without paying it any mind, he [the prime minister] increasingly entrenched his own position. As an exhibition of his power, he stood preeminent over all private individuals. With the most important matters of state within his ken,...his authority surpassed even that of the sovereign several fold, and the evil done by him was also much worse than the sovereign's.

Thus, he argued that if limitations were not placed on the power of a government that combined such a sovereign and sovereign power, there would be no happiness for the people. "Because of this, if we do not limit the power of government, we cannot hope to see people's rights prosper. The people will be deprived of happiness and will decline to a state in which they will be unable to enjoy their lives" (chapter three). He thus stressed the fact that people's rights were not something conferred upon them but were to be obtained when the people resisted their government and took back their rights. As he pointed out:

People's rights originally protected the people's freedom, and to that end brought them happiness and enabled them to live with security. Originally they were the mechanism by which the tyranny of government was destroyed and thereby the people's freedom could not be obliterated. In order to make use of this mechanism, the people must be outfitted with the tools sufficient to resist government. Without such tools, they will continue as always to yield all rights and be unable to extend their rights. [Chapter four]

Here we find the basic principles underlying the work of Yamamoto Baigai and contemporary activists in the Popular Rights Movement.

Off to Okayama. Chigo shinbun 稚児新聞 [Children's News] was inaugurated in Okayama in 1881. Yamamoto was invited to serve as editor-in-chief, and he moved to Okayama in March of that year. That winter, however, Chigo shinbun incurred the displeasure of the government and was temporarily shut down. It was closed down once again in the spring of the following year and was finally banned outright. That year Yamamoto met Kobayashi Kuzuo 小林樟雄 for the first time, and, as he notes in his chronological autobiography, "we vowed to devote our energies to the Jiyūtō 自由党 [Liberal Party] and discussed the idea of establishing another newspaper." Kobayashi later became a close friend of Yamamoto's, and when the former died in 1920 Yamamoto wrote his funerary inscription. Kobayashi came from Okayama and for many years had studied French with a Frenchman; he had also researched French law. He used his learning to protest the shackling of freedom and the repression of speech by Japan's clan-dominated government of that time. He called for the pressing need to open a parliament, and he presented to the authorities a written memorial on the establishment of a parliament and a petition on behalf of his fellow provincials. He was actively involved in the Popular Rights Movement.

After the closing of Chigo shinbun, Chūgoku nichinichi shinbun 中国日日新聞 [Daily News of Western Honshū] was founded with Yamamoto as editor. As he noted, however, "at that time, the government's oppression was becoming worse with each passing day, and many lecture societies and social gatherings were being broken up. In March several of us received punishments. I had to pay a fine of 10 yen." He also pointed out: "At an invitation, I went to Kasaoka in Bichū [in the southwest corner of present-day Okayama prefecture--JAF] to attend a gathering which was disbanded and fined 12 yen." We can thus see that the government's intervention and repression of speech and meetings were particularly severe. Chūgoku nichinichi shinbun

was banned less than a month after its first issue appeared. Yamamoto "planned its revival with Kobayashi and others but it never materialized."

In financial dire straits during this period, Yamamoto frequently had to move from one friend's home to another. As he noted: "My financial situation was becoming increasingly worse, as my opposition to the government grew increasingly more sharp. My hatred for the government's tyranny burned within me, but the privations I was suffering made it impossible for me to do anything about it." In his chronological autobiography, Yamamoto had the following to say:

After the Satsuma Rebellion came to an end, the government's despotism grew extreme. First, the Risshisha 立志社 [Set the Will Society] in Tosa domain arose, later becoming the Aikokusha 愛国社 [Patriotic Society]. They memorialized and petitioned for the creation and opening of a diet. At one point they formed a "Kokkai kisei dōmeikai" 国会期成同盟会 [Association for the Establishment of a Diet], and it became the Jiyūtō. At this time, the Kaishintō 改進黨 [Progressive Party] was formed, the Kyūshū kaishinto 九州進歩党 [Kyūshū Progressive Party] was formed, and the Kinki jiyūtō [Kinki Liberal Party] changed its name to the Rikken seitō 立憲政党 [Constitutionalist Party]. All opposed the government on the basis of their respective points of view. The government then proclaimed 1890 as the year in which a diet would convene, while restricting men of will with legal conditions placed on their assemblages. Its cruelty and despotism were felt everywhere. The obstructions to men of will were followed by fines. Such was the situation at that time.

In November of that year Yamamoto left Okayama and returned to Ōsaka. While he "still had no livelihood after returning to Ōsaka," Sugita Teiichi 杉田定一 (1851-1920) and others of the Echizen jiyūtō [Echizen Liberal Party] started up the Hokuriku jiyū shinbun 北陸自由新聞 [Liberal Newspaper of Hokuriku], and Yamamoto was invited to serve as assistant editor. He thus repaired to the city of Fukui. The next year the newspaper stopped publication due to exhaustion of funds, and Yamamoto once again returned to Ōsaka.

The Opening of a Kangaku Academy in Ōsaka. When Yamamoto was 31 in 1883, his chronological autobiography notes, he "divorced his wife on certain grounds," but the reasons are not indicated. At that time he went with his wife to her family home in Kōchi "to explain the situation and to obtain permission." He then returned from Kōchi to Ōsaka by himself, and "thereafter, I remained at home where I opened

a private academy to teach students. I had but to support one household." From that time forward, Yamamoto began work as the instructor of a Kangaku academy to support himself. He also "shut myself up to read and write, for half a year never stepping outside the door." It seems, though, that he had not fully relinquished his desires for political reform, and "when Prime Minister Itagaki 板垣 [the Jiyūtō prime minister] returned from Europe, he gave a speech at the Jiyū Pavilion in Nakanoshima. I went there to listen, but that's all." By "but that's all" he seemed to be implying activity on behalf of the Popular Rights Movement.

The following year, there was a fire and he moved to Morimura in the east of the city. For all his efforts, Yamamoto's proclivity to speak on behalf of the political movement could not be forestalled. Invited to join the staff of Rikken seitō shinbun 立憲政黨新聞 [Constitutionalist Party News], half the day he would work at the newspaper office, and half the day he taught students in his academy. When the cooperation between the Jiyūtō and the Rikken seitō fell apart, Yamamoto, as a member of the former, resigned from the newspaper staff. The Jiyūtō thereupon established in Ōsaka the Sōkikan 相輝館, and "I once again became involved [in the movement]." As before, "I was entrusted with party work," and he traveled to Tsuruga in Echizen. Subsequent travels took him to Bizen, Mimasaka, Hōki, Izumo, Iwami, Aki, and Bingo.

On the Eve of the Ōsaka Incident. At the tail end of his entry for Meiji 17 (1884) in his chronological autobiography, Yamamoto described the situation on the eve of the "Ōsaka Incident."

Kobayashi Kuzuo was in Tokyo and there frequently met with the French Minister from late summer and early autumn on. He was eventually introduced to Itagaki Taisuke 板垣退助 [1837-1919], and they reached an accord: a plan for the independence of Korea. They sought to get Gotō Shōjirō 後藤象次郎 to shoulder the movement in Korea. To this end, they requested from the French government a loan of one million francs and a battleship. At this time, the French had their own designs on Annam [to China's south] and were only too happy to stir up an incident between Japan and China to the north. News of Prime Minister Ferry's approval of the request arrived. Kobayashi then reported on circumstances to that point in detail. It seemed as though his principal aim was to use the uprising for independence in Korea to provoke violence between Japan and China, take advantage of the government's press of business, call for a

rebellion, and overthrow the government.

Thus, in order to construct in Japan a society with popular rights quickly, the radicals within the Jiyūtō had the following plan. By supporting a rebellion of the the Korean independence movement of Kim Ok-kyun 金玉均 (1851-94), they would induce a conflict with China, which saw Korea as a vassal state, and throw the Japanese government into turmoil, bringing it down. The French government together with Kobayashi established contact to facilitate the execution of this plan of action. "At this time," notes his chronological autobiography, "the whole affair was kept completely in secret, its details conveyed to no one. Letters to and from the French were all held by Kobayashi himself."

At the beginning of his entry for 1885 in his chronological autobiography, we read: "On January 5, I made a rare trip into the city. On behalf of the Korean movement, I did not return home, but boarded a vessel directly for Tosa and there consulted with party friends." That year [actually 1884--JAF] the Sino-French War erupted over Annam. "Troops from China and France engaged in battle over Vietnam. Kobayashi Kuzuo was in Tokyo, involved in plans with the French minister and exchanging letters with Admiral Courbet. Kobayashi often wrote me and told me what was transpiring," but Yamamoto does not offer any concrete details at this point. After Kobayashi urged him to come to Tokyo and there revealed to him a detailed plan for the rebellion in Korea, Yamamoto promptly offered support.

A letter from Kobayashi Kuzuo arrived summoning me to Tokyo post-haste... At dusk on [July] 7, I arrived in Yokohama and then proceeded immediately to Tokyo where I met Kobayashi. Kobayashi reported that several stalwart men had been sent to Korea to kill high-level officials and thus spark conflict with China. We would then take advantage of this opportunity and rise up in rebellion... I supported the rebellion. I further asked about the co-conspirators and was told they were Ōi Kentarō and Isoyama Seibee 磯山清兵衛. I also asked about the order of events in which the plan would be carried out. Kobayashi said: "Money has already been provided. We're waiting for the opportunity to present itself, and Isoyama [who was director of the Yūichikan 有一館, a boarding house in Tokyo where young Jiyūtō men of will gathered] will lead these brave men directly to Nagasaki where they will rent a ship and sail to Korea." I said: "That's great! Since there are only a few conspirators, there will be no leaks. When the opportunity

presents itself and the brave men are ready to depart, they will need vessels to take them from Yokohama to Nagasaki."... I drafted a manifesto for distribution to announce when the rebellion in Korea would commence and also discussed matters concerning funds. On the 18th I boarded the Shin-Tōkyōmaru, returning home on the 19th.

Yamamoto had mentioned to Kobayashi about sailing from Yokohama to Nagasaki, but in fact the leaders, having gathered in Ōsaka to head for Nagasaki, were arrested in Ōsaka. This became known as the "Ōsaka Incident." The manifesto composed by Yamamoto was entitled "Declaration of Korean Independence," and it is included in his chronological autobiography. It reads in part as follows [in literary Chinese--JAF]:

Righteous Japanese troops declare to all men of the world. The independent nation of Korea was a state founded and developed by the Yi 李 family. It never sought intervention by other states. The Qing used force to subjugate it and rendered it a vassal state, compelled it to pay tribute, destroyed its national authority, and divested it of freedom.

Funding Problems and Arrests. The circumstances surrounding the Ōsaka Incident are described in great detail in the following works: Ōsaka no goku 大阪の獄 [Jail in Ōsaka], which is included in Tōsui minken shi 東陞民権史 [History of Popular People's Rights along the Eastern Shore], ed. Sekido Kakuzō 関戸覚蔵 (Ibaraki: Yōyūkan, 1903); Itagaki Taisuke, gen. ed., Jiyūtō shi 自由党史 [History of the Liberal Party] (Tokyo: Gosharō, 1910 [Tokyo repr.: Iwanami shoten, 1957-58]), final volume, chapter 8, "Handō no higeki" 反動の悲劇 [The Tragedy of Reaction]; and the aforementioned Tō-A senkaku shishi kiden, first volume, section entitled "Ōi Kentarō ippa no Ōsaka jiken" 大井憲太郎一派の大阪事件 [The Ōsaka Incident of Ōi Kentarō and His Group]. I would like to cite here from the last of these works:

When they were at long last ready to begin the uprising in Korea, they first needed to prepare an elegant manifesto to win over the people's hearts. They had to rely on someone who was especially talented at composition in literary Chinese, and they thus called upon the Ōsaka scholar of Chinese studies, Yamamoto Ken, styled Baigai, revealing their plans to him and asking him to write it... He was extremely encouraged and readily consented. Content in his simple life of celibacy and vegetarianism, he always rejected eating meat. In spite of this, he said, "I need strength to write this manifesto. First, it'll be wine; next, I'll

order a meal of octopus and crab. Sure, I'm a vegetarian, but you can tell from the Chinese characters that we write them in that 'octopus' and 'crab' are insects [because they each contain the radical for insect--JAF]. Eating insects should be no problem for a vegetarian." While drinking wine from a large cup with octopus and crab, he pondered what he would write, and then he composed the profoundly vigorous piece below.

The text then quotes the declaration Yamamoto wrote, adding: "This declaration was then translated into English and French by Kobayashi who had made arrangements to send it to various foreign newspapers." The Tō-A senkaku shishi kiden then continues:

The declaration came about in this manner. The death-defying men rallied together under Isoyama and others. They were able to produce explosives, and gradually their weaponry was prepared... Energetic political figures helped out in the plans both publicly and privately. The number of participants soon exceeded 80.

When their plans were on the verge of being put into action, essential funding did not materialize as desired. Both Ōi and Kobayashi were busily and excitedly involved in every manner of affair, but the activities of the Jiyūtō politicians were constantly under government scrutiny, and every little move they made was closely observed by the watchdogs of the authorities. That meant, of course, that they had to be extremely careful in carrying out their aims, and they were unsuccessful in explaining the content of their plans in order to appeal to the anger and chivalrous spirit of the nation. Thus, they fell into worse financial straits, and it became clearer with each passing day that their expectations of ever succeeding were seriously in doubt.

The procurement of funds proved disappointing, and decisive action could only be undertaken when it would already be too late. As the final means at their disposal, "they had no choice but to adopt emergency measures, for they were performing a great task on behalf of the state": they began plundering, as in Kanagawa prefecture and elsewhere. "The funds obtained through this means of seizure were collected by Ōi." Carrying the money in their hands, the first, second, and third group of conspirators massed in Ōsaka with their explosives, the cans in which they were placed, and their swords. The explosives brought by Kageyama [Eiko] 景山英子 of the second Ōsaka brigade were placed in Yamamoto's care. Thus, "Ōi still

remained in Tokyo to collect funds, but Kobayashi, Isoyama, and other leaders made their way to Ōsaka one after the next. Ōsaka became the base of operations for those who would carry out the job."

Unable to secure sufficient funds--Yamamoto's chronological autobiography notes that he approached his friends in Akō in Harima [present-day southwestern Hyōgo prefecture] for contributions--they attacked and robbed the Senjuin 千手院 Temple, which was well known for its wealth in Shigisan, Yamato [present-day Nara], a wealthy farmer in Takaichi, Yamato, and Okahashi Kiyoshi 岡橋清 . Isoyama concealed his whereabouts, and Arai Shōgo 新井章吾 took over his leadership position. One by one they traveled from Ōsaka to Nagasaki in preparation for the voyage overseas. According to his chronological autobiography, Yamamoto, Ōi, and Kobayashi sent off a group with Arai and Kageyama from Umeda train station [in Ōsaka].

While one group was preparing for the trip in Nagasaki, the entire plot was disclosed and arrests commenced. There are two possible sources of the disclosure: one group of conspirators involved in robbery as a means of securing funds throughout Ibaraki and Chiba was caught and confessed; or someone in the Jiyūtō office was in fact a spy, and his reports made it possible to know of the plot and make the wholesale arrests. First, Ōi and Kobayashi were picked up in Ōsaka, while Arai and Kageyama were taken in Nagasaki; in all 58 persons were incarcerated at one of two jails in Ōsaka, Nakanoshima and Horikawa. According to his chronological autobiography, when Yamamoto learned of the arrests of Ōi and Kobayashi, he surmised that "the police were certain to pay a visit" on him as well; he did not leave his home, but waited and continued teaching his students at his academy until the police did, in fact, arrive.

After a preliminary investigation lasting some eighteen months, a judicial judgment was reached on this incident in the fall of 1887. The three leaders, Ōi Kentarō, Kobayashi Kuzuo, and Isoyama Seibee, received the heaviest sentences, "six years of minor imprisonment." Arai received a term of "five years of minor imprisonment," while Yamamoto received one of "one year minor imprisonment and ten months of supervision." As his autobiography notes, "I was interrogated on the charge of causing foreign troubles and for violating the penal regulations concerning control over explosive substances."

Getting to Know Judge Inoue Misao 井上操 . Yamamoto discussed his life in prison in his chronological autobiography, and details of the court's decision can be found in Tō-A senkaku shishi kiden, though the defendants seem to have been treated rather magnanimously in view of the fact that they had committed acts of treason. Not

only was public opinion sympathetic to them, but, as is made clear in Yamamoto's chronological autobiography, both Appellate Court Judge Kojima Korekata 児島惟謙 [Iken, 1837-1908] and the presiding Judge Inoue Misao [d. 1905] opposed the government's intentions and wanted to hand down lenient sentences.

Originally, Kojima and Inoue both intended to judge on the charge of stirring up troubles overseas. I happened to hear that the government considered the violation of the penal regulations concerning control over explosive substances to be a particularly severe offense and sought to have it dealt with severely. Public opinion, however, was completely on the side of the men of valor [i.e., the defendants], seeking either a light term or a magnanimous sentence. On the evening of the 23rd, the judges met and prepared a written judgment before orders from the government had arrived. We waited all through the night, but they still had not finished... The judges probably were not in agreement with the government and thus wanted to offer a lenient judgment. They thus had to act before the government's orders arrived.

The presiding judge at the time was Inoue Misao. After he completed his term in prison and was parolled, Yamamoto seems to have become on intimate terms with Inoue and other penal officials. We know this from his chronological autobiography which notes: "I remained in contact with Judge Inoue Misao, the Horikawa Prison's head doctor Tamiya Yukiharu 田宮之春, and the head of general affairs at the prison, Kakuyama Rikichirō 隔山利吉郎, after leaving prison. Tamiya and Kakuyama later sent their sons to study with me." Judge Inoue with whom Yamamoto became friendly following his prison term is well known as one of the founders of Kansai Law School. It would appear that Yamamoto's invitation to teach at Kansai Law School was the result of Inoue's recommendation, but there is no mention whatsoever of this in his chronological autobiography.

The defense in the Ōsaka Incident was led by Hoshi Tōru 星亨 (1850-1901) and included as many as sixteen other attorneys. Among them several had subsequent ties with Kansai University: Shibukawa Chūjirō 渋川忠二郎 (an administrator), Sunagawa Yūshun 砂川雄峻 (a director), and Mori Sakutarō 森作太郎 (a trustee).

When he was released from prison, Yamamoto returned to running his academy. He also kept up a relationship with the press, as a writer for Aikoku shinbun 愛国新聞 [Patriots' Newspaper] which commenced publication in Kōbe in 1890 and as editor for Shinonome shinbun 東雲新聞 [Dawn News]. As he noted, though, "more often than not I didn't go into the office, but would draft an article and send it

in."

That year, 1890, the Imperial Diet convened for the first time. Yamamoto lamented: "Everyone is congratulating each other, because they've attained this without letting any blood... The throng dreads the sight of blood. How can they even speak of politics! The tyranny of clique government is still with us, with mediocre people dominating politics and current affairs worsening on a daily basis." With the amalgamation the following year of the Jiyūtō and the Kaishintō, Yamamoto noted: "I was strongly opposed to this... The comrades who had struggled" ten years earlier "to bring down clique government were nowhere to be found" in the [new] party now. "They had fallen over the course of time... I thus resolved to sever my connection to the party."

In 1894 Japan finally did commence hostilities with China over Korea. "Several times I sent the authorities position papers," he noted in his autobiography, but details of their contents are not mentioned. The following year he lectured on the Wenzhang guifan at Kansai Law School. In 1896 he had to cease reading and writing due to eye problems and discontinue his lectures.

Travel to China and Contacts with the Reformers. In the spring of 1897, his eye troubles healed, and that fall he set off for China. He boarded the Genkaimaru at Kōbe and arrived in Tianjin via Pusan and Inchon. From there he proceeded to Beijing. He then turned and proceeded from Shanghai up the Yangzi River, visiting Hankou via Suzhou. The return voyage downriver stopped at Nanjing before returning to Shanghai. In December he headed back for Japan. Yamamoto entitled his narrative of this voyage Enzan sosui kiyū 燕山楚水紀遊 [Travelogue of the Mountains of North China and the Rivers of South China] (two volumes, in literary Chinese); it was published in 1898 though not put up for sale. He took a camera with him during his travels and took photos of the scenery at the places he visited. After he returned to Japan, he asked a friend to use these photos as the basis for real-life paintings, and these he inserted here and there in the text of Enzan sosui kiyū with lithography.

Throughout his trip, Yamamoto persisted in wearing Japanese dress. As he viewed the famous ancient sites in China, he was filled with historical impressions, and he described their present state. In Shanghai he had particularly close contact with Chinese reformers active in journalism, and they spoke at length of current events.

Kojō Teikichi 古城貞吉 (1866-1949) and Fujita Toyohachi 藤田豊八 (Kenpō 劍峰, 1869-1929) were living in Shanghai at that time, translating into Chinese articles and editorials from the Japanese press

for, respectively, Shiwu bao 時務報 [Contemporary Affairs] and Nongxue bao 農學報 [Agronomy]. Through these two men he was able to meet Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866-1940) at Nongxue bao and Wang Kangnian 汪康年 (Rangqing 穰卿, 1860-1911) and Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (Rengong 任公, 1873-1929) at Shiwu bao. Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (Taiyan 太炎, 1869-1936) also paid a visit on him at this time, and Yamamoto went with Wang on one occasion to meet Zhang Jian 張謇 (1853-1926). Yamamoto exchanged an assortment of views with these men and indicated general agreement with their views.

For December of 1897, he noted in his chronological autobiography, "the Chinese Ji Kan 嵇侃, Wang Youling 汪有齡, and Kang Tongwen 康同文 paid me a visit. From that time forward many Chinese did so." From contacts made during his travels in China, Yamamoto became active on behalf of the reformers who fled to Japan the next year following the "Hundred Days Reform Movement." In an entry for 1898 in his chronological autobiography, he noted: "Last year I traveled in China, and my contacts with Chinese have become rather broad since"; "I have exchanged many letters with Wang Rangqing"; "I have translated a number of works for the Chinese Luo Zhenyu and sent them to Shanghai."

Furthermore, he wrote: "Kang Mengqing 康孟卿 came to visit. Mengqing, ming Youyi 有儀, is from Guangdong, an elder cousin of Kang Changsu 康長素. Changsu, ming Youwei 有為, is styled Nanhai 南海. He has served at the Qing court and worked for reform." He then went on to write:

On September 23, there was a report of a political change in China. The Empress Dowager was unhappy with the earnest reform efforts of the Qing emperor, and she finally placed the emperor under house arrest. She banished Minister of Works Zhang Yinhuan 張蔭桓 to Xinjiang and ordered beheaded six men, including Lin Xu 林旭, Tan Sitong 譚嗣同, and Kang Guangren 康廣仁 [Kang Youwei's younger brother]. Changsu, Liang Rengong, and Wang Shaoyun 王少雲 took refuge here in Japan. Rengong, ming Qichao, had the childhood name of Zhuoru 卓如. I got to know him in Shanghai. Shaoyun bears the ming of Chao 照.

Although Yamamoto said nothing here of whatever plans or schemes he may have had with respect to the 1898 Reform Movement, his chronological autobiography notes:

On September 27, I went to Tokyo because of the incident in China... On October 5, I returned to Ōsaka and formed a group which was called the Nis-Shin kyōwakai 日清協和会 [Sino-Japanese Cooperative Society]... At the end of Octob-

er, I heard that Kang Changsu, Wang Shaoyun, and Liang Rengong had gone to Tokyo. On the 29th, I went to Tokyo together with Kang Mengqing and met with all three men.

To help these men in their work, "on the 7th, I held a party at the Biichi Pavilion with Yamada Shunkei 山田俊卿, Izumida Jirō 泉田次郎, and Kajima Nobushige 加嶋信成, among others. I proposed the matter of the Nis-Shin kyōwakai. Many people were in attendance."

Qingyi bao 清議報 and the Datong 大同 School. It was not long thereafter that Liang Qichao and others began publication in 1898 of the thrice-monthly Qingyi bao (Journal of Pure Discussion), and when overseas Chinese living in Japan in 1899 established the Datong School, they contacted Yamamoto and sought his cooperation. In an entry for 1899 in his chronological autobiography, he noted: "In the winter of last year, Kang Mengqing went to Yokohama and began to publish Qingyi bao [nominally owned by Feng Jingru 馮鏡如 and edited by Liang Qichao--Masuda]. I was asked to write for it." A look at the full run of Qingyi bao now reveals that from the second number there was a column under the title "Lun Dong-Ya shiyi" 論東亞事宜 [On Conditions in East Asia], and these serial editorials were signed "Baigai Yamamoto Ken." Also from the second number, there was a space at the end of each issue for "places serving as agencies for the journal," and there one may find "Mr. Yamamoto, head of the Baiseisho 梅清所 Academy, No. 1 Tanimachi, Higashi-ku, Ōsaka." From the third number, though, the words "Mr. Yamamoto" were no longer printed. In other words, Yamamoto's academy served as an agency for the sale of Qingyi bao in Ōsaka.

Once again, his chronological autobiography went on to say: "People from Guangdong contributed funds and created the Datong School in Yokohama to teach Chinese students.^e Through Mengqing's introduction I was asked to serve as headmaster. I could not abandon my own academy and move, so I had to turn down the offer." The fact that Yamamoto would be invited to serve as headmaster for the Datong School, built by determined overseas Chinese for the purpose of educating their children, is an indication of the trust he had inspired in them.

In the tenth issue of Qingyi bao, there was an article entitled "Datong xuexiao kaixiao ji" 大同學校開校記 [Record of the Opening of the Datong School]. Similarly there is a detailed account of the school in the Geming yishi 革命逸史 [Unofficial History of the Revolution] (Changsha: Commercial Press, 1939) by Feng Ziyou 馮自由 who was a student in its first class. Kang Youwei's disciple, Xu Qin 徐勤 (Junmian 君勉) took up the post as the school's principal, though

former Minister of Education Inukai Ki 犬養毅 (1855-1932) was asked and accepted a place as honorary principal. According to the article in Qingyi bao, in addition to Inukai, the following Japanese attended the opening ceremonies of the school: Ōkuma Shigenobu 大隈重信 (former prime minister, 1838-1922), Takata Sanae 高田早苗 (1860-1933), Mochizuki Kotarō 望月小太郎 (1865-1927), Nakanishi Masaki 中西正樹, Kashiwabara Buntarō 柏原文太郎, Hirayama Shū 平山周, and Miyazaki Torazō 宮崎寅藏 (1870-1922), fifteen invited guests in all.

On March 14, 1899, Yamamoto received a telegram from Tokyo and left for the capital. Narahara Nobumasa 榎原陳政 (1863-1900), a secretary in the foreign ministry, acting on the position held by Foreign Minister Aoki Shūzō 青木周藏 (1844-1914), asked Yamamoto to get Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, and Wang Zhao 王照 (1859-1935) to leave Japan for the United States. The Foreign Minister considered it harmful for diplomatic relations with China to have these three men in Japan [the Qing government had made this request of the Japanese Foreign Ministry--Masuda], and in view of his close ties with Kang Mengqing, they sought to use Yamamoto to effect this plan. However, as he wrote, "a hunter cannot bare to enter the lair of a trapped bird and kill it," and Yamamoto refused the request of the Foreign Ministry. Through Kang Mengqing, Yamamoto revealed to the three men that the Japanese government intended to expel them. Glad to obtain this information from him, the three men then promised to proceed to the United States. Kang Youwei received 15,000 yen from the Foreign Ministry and set off first (to Canada), but Liang and Wang refused to leave because they felt that the amount of travel funds provided by the Japanese government was too small. This story is recounted in Yamamoto's chronological autobiography.

In 1900 the Boxer Uprising erupted in China, and troops sent from eight nations, including Japan, Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany, and Italy, entered Beijing from Tianjin. At the time Yamamoto wrote in his autobiography: "I wrote to Prime Minister Yamagata [Aritomo] 山形有朋 (1838-1922) and Foreign Minister Aoki, forcefully arguing for an overall plan to help the Chinese government," but concrete details of his "forceful argument" are not given.

In November 1901, he noted that "Liang Qichao has asked that I translate Seiji hanron 政治汎論 [Outline of Government]." It is unclear if this request ever materialized or, if so, whether he ever sent it to Liang. In February of the following year, Liang inaugurated his semi-monthly journal Xinmin congbao 新民叢報 [New People's Miscellany] in Yokohama, and published serially his famous essay "Xinmin shuo" 新民說 [On the New People]. Perhaps Liang needed a translation of Seiji hanron as a reference work for his writing. An

investigation of the early issues of Xinmin congbao does not turn up the name of this work in Yamamoto's translation.

Furthermore, the Yamamoto bunko tosho mokuroku 山本文庫圖書目錄 [Book List of the Holdings in the Yamamoto Collection] does indicate two works entitled Seiji hanron. The first is in one stringbound volume, published in 1895, "by Woodrow Wilson of the United States, translated by Takata Sanae." The second is in two stringbound volumes, published in 1883, "by George H. Eaman [?], translated by Kobayashi Eichi 小林営智 ."

A Quiet Life in Okayama. In 1904 Yamamoto moved to Ushimado in Okayama prefecture. "Ever since I bathed in waters off Ushimado again," he noted, "I wanted for three years to move there," and "Ushimado was in a remote area by the sea, an area good for nurturing mind and body." Thus, he selected this place and moved there largely for health reasons. One further reason may have been that, since the start of the Russo-Japanese War that year, "people's minds are unsettled. I unexpectedly sensed this among my new students."

As an "Afterward" to this year in his chronological autobiography, Yamamoto added: "My written and published work over the past few years include Enzan sosui kiyū, 'Dong-Ya shiyi,' and Riben wendian 日本文典 [Grammar of Japanese]... 'Dong-Ya shiyi' was published in the Yokohama journal Qingyi bao, and Riben wendian was published by a Chinese in Shanghai." He then went on to list the "foreigners who have visited me over the past few years... Among the Chinese were Jiang Shixing 蔣式惺, Song Shu 宋怒, Wang Kangnian, Luo Zhenyu, Li Jun 力均, Wang Zhao, and Liang Qichao. Among the Koreans were Yi Tuho 李斗鎬 and Cho Ŭiyŏn 趙義淵." This is an indication that Yamamoto's acquaintances of this period were linked with questions concerning East Asia.

According to his chronological autobiography, when Yamamoto was 66 in 1918, he visited Harbin via Korea, before settling back down in Ushimado. In the Hiroshima area, Shikoku, and the Kyoto area, he gave invited lectures at a host of places, attended meetings of poetry and tea ceremony groups, enjoyed fishing, and generally spent his last years in leisurely pursuits. The chronological autobiography ends in August 1927, probably because he became weak due to illness and "while sick my fingers trembled, I couldn't write." He died in Ushimado in September 1928 at the age of 76. According to his will, Yamamoto's books were donated to the Okayama Prefectural Library. Although we do now have the Yamamoto bunko tosho mokuroku, his entire collection is said to have been destroyed during the war.

Travelogue and Historical Poems. Today, two works by Yamamoto, a one-volume work entitled Enka manroku 煙霞漫録 [Travels amid Smoke and Mist] (printed in 1893 by Kubo Zaisaburō 久保財三郎) and Baiseisho eishi 梅清処詠史 [Historical Poems from the Baiseisho] (one volume, printed in 1929 by Watanabe Tokujirō 渡辺得次郎), are held in the Hakuen 泊園 Collection of Kansai University Library. The two printers were former students and friends of Yamamoto's, and while the former work appeared while he was living, the latter appeared a full year after his death.

Enka manroku is a short narrative (in literary Chinese), only fourteen leaves in length, of Yamamoto's travels in the cold, misty valleys of Sanuki and Shōdojima. In the margins of each page are short Chinese poems contributed by various literary men, such as Kubo Rakoku 久保羅谷 (the printer?). Also, at the end the impressions and comments of several men are added, and among them are such complimentary passages as that of [the Confucian scholar] Fujiwara Nangaku 藤原南岳 (1842-1920): "This piece of writing is meticulous in structure, vigorous in its language. It is worthy competition for Sangan 山顔 and Senshū 千秋 . It deserves our praise and appreciation." Perhaps Nangaku's last sentence was a consequence of his own origins in Sanuki. This connection, it would seem, was the means by which this thin volume ended up in the Hakuen Collection.

The Baiseisho eishi is a collection of poems by Yamamoto written in the seven-character line quatrain style, dealing with historical personages from Japan and China. Although titled "historical poems," they are more historical evaluations for which Yamamoto borrowed a poetic form. Many also have added to them impressions and comments in an apparent effort to explain the poems' contents. Chinese and Japanese historical figures, well over 100 in all, are taken up, from Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 , Kusunoki no Masashige 楠木正成 , Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 , Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 , Fang Xiaoru 方孝孺 , Lin Zexu 林則徐 , Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 , Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 , Nawa Nagatoshi 名和長年 , Ishida Mitsunari 石田三成 , Katō Kiyomasa 加藤清正 , and Yui Shōsetsu 由井正雪 to Saigō Takamori, Ōkubo Toshimichi 大久保利道 , Etō Shinpei 江藤新平 , and Soejima Taneomi 副島種臣 . He also has pieces in it not confined to a single individual, such as "Wakō" 倭寇 [Japanese Pirates], "Toku Hōjō kyūsei shi" 読北条九世史 [Reading the History of Nine Generations of the Hōjō Family], "Toku Fushimi sen ki" 読伏見戦記 [Reading the Chronicle of the Fushimi War], "Toku Saden" 読左伝 [Reading the Zuozhuan], "Toku Sanyō gaishi" 読山陽外史 [Reading (Rai) Sanyō's Unofficial History of Japan], "Hyō Tōbu hōchū" 評湯武放誅 [Comment on the Murders Carried out by Tang and Wu], "Toku kagaku jigen" 読下学選言 [Reading Elementary Learning and Simple

Language], "Hyō tōsō" 評党争 [Comment on Clique Fighting], "Hyō Seikan eki" 評征韓役 [Comment on the War against Korea], and "Hyō Yasokyō" 評耶穌教 [Comment on Christianity]. He also included poems on historical texts and historical facts. As a whole they amount to short pieces of intrepid historical criticism.

If we were to derive from this work characteristics of Yamamoto's view of history, we find his sense of values most plainly apparent in his own likes and dislikes which were rather different from general views of history. We can see here a kind of rebellious spirit at work. For example, in his poem about Tokugawa Ieyasu, he wrote: "Old friendships were ephemeral to him. How could one prolong them alone? In one's lifework one had only oneself. The most injurious approach one could take was to engrave slander on a bell. After first establishing a government, he wanted to keep it in his family forever." Similarly, another poem about Ieyasu is stinging: "His craft and deceit were like that of an old fox. He sought help and endured suffering, but always used deception. He planned his whole life only for his own family. Old friendships and new favors were not part of his vision."

Diametrically opposite is a poem he wrote for Ishida Mitsunari: "He summoned the men with whom he had established ties of obligation, and their might was a force to behold. The tide of fortune was against him, and he was soon killed. From times past, historians have frequently written falsely about him, saying he was deceitfully servile and slandered loyal officials." In his poem for Ōno Harunaga 大野治長, he wrote: "He sacrificed his own life in loyalty to his lord to repay a debt of gratitude. Who might grace his doorway now? There have been few such heroic figures ever. For whatever reason, historians have spread false tales about him." And, by way of explanation, he added: "Past historians have said that men of great fairness emerged in the Tokugawa era, but this is false."

In his poem about Katō Kiyomasa, he wrote: "To the old bandit's [Ieyasu] many schemes, he [Katō] added treachery. He willingly accepted restraint with hands tied. Sadly, good and bad were based on his partiality, and vainly he obtained a large fiefdom." To this Yamamoto added: "Kiyomasa and Masanori 正則 were both related by marriage to Hokuchō 北庁 [i.e., the Asano 浅野 family, Hideyoshi's wife], and throughout their lives submitted absolutely to the control of Ieyasu. They received large fiefdoms, which gave no advantage whatsoever to their lord [the Toyotomi house]. When their lord's family perished, his fiefs were seized as well. It was as if they were unaware of this dishonor."

Yamamoto noted in his chronological autobiography something that

can be seen in these historical poems as well: "Ever since I was young, I had always revered Toyotomi Hideyoshi. I thus set my heart on settling in Ōsaka." However, the hatred he felt for Tokugawa Ieyasu (in Yamamoto's words, he was as crafty as an old fox) who had seized Hideyoshi's position and replaced him appears repeatedly, and he expressed it with particular maliciousness. Whether or not this point of view is justified, it is a clear indication of Yamamoto's basic sense of human nature.

Commentary on the Nihon gaishi 日本外史 [Unofficial History of Japan] and on the Chinese Revolution. In his poem on the Nihon gaishi of Rai Sanyō 頼山陽 (1780-1832), Yamamoto offered a stinging evaluation: "When he described affairs, he generally wrote impressionistically, based on unfounded talk. His powerful pen in this piece was frequently deceptive, threatening the common run of men by indiscriminately showing off his talent." After this poem, he added a long note: "Ever since the Meiji Restoration, Sanyō's Nihon gaishi has become thought of as the best work of history. Shisei 子成 [Sanyō's style] used his wide knowledge and great talent, there not being a single standard history or popular account that had escaped his perusal. Still, Mr. Rai's Nihon gaishi is no more than a piece of fiction. It should not be regarded as a work of history."

Thus, Yamamoto argued, it was not a work of history, but historical fiction. The reason he offered is as follows:

The Kawagoe battle took place in broad daylight. One Honma 本間, with a lantern as his standard, fought with Daidōji 大導寺 and died. Shisei argued that since a work by one Hiratsuka 平塚 claimed that the lantern standard was extraordinary, the battle must have been fought at night. One cannot lose sight of the facts when depicting the events of history. Shisei thus, according to his own idea of things, changed daytime to night.

Similarly, at the battle of Tennōzan, Horio Mosuke 堀尾茂助 ascended first from the west, laid an ambush, and waited, and when the army of Matsuda Tarōzaemon 松田太郎左衛門 arrived from the east, his men fired at them all at once and wiped them out. Sanyō argued that both armies came along the same route. He claimed that because the enemy's archers and riflemen were lying in wait, it was an uninteresting battle, but his version of the story twisted the facts. At the battle of Shizugatake, Lake Yoko was about 2.5 miles in circumference, and Sakuma Morimasa 佐久間盛政 arrived in the evening by the northern edge of the lake. Nakagawa Kiyohide's 中川清秀 fort was located close by, to the east of the lake. "If he [Sakuma] followed

the lake around to the south, he would come to the foothills of the mountains by dawn." Even if they were to have gone slowly from north of the lake to the foothills, it would have taken no more than the time necessary to eat a meal. And if they set out at twilight to the south, who knows how far they might have gotten by dawn? After leveling this sort of cross-examination, Yamamoto took Sanyō to task: "His neglect of topography was like this as well."

Finally, the Nihon gaishi in its opening volume lamented the fact that the court's authority had fallen into the hands of the warrior class, and in his chronicles of the Tokugawa house, he forcefully extolled the shogunal government. This was a clear contradiction in the points being made: "Which of these is his judgment?" Yamamoto concluded: "People today all sing the praises of the Nihon gaishi. Ever since the Meiji Restoration, people have used this work to understand government. How strange!"

As noted earlier, Yamamoto was sympathetic to and worked on behalf of the late-Qing reform group of Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao. Inasmuch as Kang and Liang were struggling to protect the Qing emperor and institute reforms, they were no revolutionaries but just reformers. Irrespective of whether it was linked to this, Yamamoto was in agreement with those Chinese who wanted to overthrow the Manchu dynasty, and still he was opposed to republicanism after the revolution in favor of a monarchical form of government. Among his historical poems is one entitled "Hyō Shinkoku kakumei" 評清国革命 [Comment on the Chinese Revolution], and in it we find the following: "Heaven will help the Chinese people and overturn the Manchu Qing. A military encounter is brewing for some future day. Sadly they are recklessly intoxicated with republicanism, but they need a wise sovereign to secure the four borders." To this he added the following note:

That the Manchus run the government is the shame of the Chinese. This certainly makes sense. It would be best to select and install a wise ruler, for failing that, the present fighting will continue unabated. The present situation resembles the regional dominance of commanderies in the Tang dynasty. Nothing restrained them. This is much like the vain intoxication with republicanism: The sovereign lacks the virtue and influence to pacify them.

Although it appears as though this was a work of 1921, from our present perspective Yamamoto, nurtured by the old culture and with his "fervent belief in the way of Confucius," demonstrated certain temporal limitations about which there is nothing we can do.

Rongo shiken 論語私見 [My Views on the Analects]. Yamamoto noted that in his early years he enjoyed the histories more than the classics, but in his later years he devoted his heart and soul to his Rongo shiken (unpublished). According to an entry for October 1911 in his chronological autobiography, Yamamoto "began a second draft Rongo shiken" at that time, and the following year he noted: "I worked on a second draft of Rongo shiken from the spring on, and even the blistering hot days did not halt my brush." Under 1913, he wrote: "I completed a third draft of Rongo shikō 論語私考 [probably a misprint from Rongo shiken] this year." For November 1914, he wrote: "I began a fourth draft of Rongo shiken in the fall and I reorganized its structure." For 1915, "I completed a fifth draft of Rongo shiken on December 28"; for 1922, "I completed a seventh draft of Rongo shiken in the spring"; and for January 1923, "I have been at work editing and punctuating Rongo shiken, completed on the 26th." In a postface to his Baiseisho eishi of December 1923, we find: "I have not returned to my study to work on Rongo shiken." At that time serious stomach trouble prevented him from writing. These references indicate that after retiring to Ushimado, Yamamoto devoted a number of his last years to writing Rongo shiken, although he passed away before seeing it completed.

Although Yamamoto claimed to have enjoyed the histories more than the classics when he was young, it would seem that he came to devote himself to the task of writing an explanation of the Analects of Confucius because it was with this work that he ran his academy and instructed his students. In an entry for 1889, the year after his prison sentence was completed and he was released and returned home, his chronological autobiography noted: "I published some of my writing, and I noted the dates on them counting from the birth of the Sage [Confucius]." Also, for 1905, the year he moved to Ushimado: "Ever since I first gathered the academy students together in 1889 and carried out the ceremony of prayer to Confucius, I have always done so every year on the shangding 上丁 day in spring and autumn. I still do it here in Ushimado." These references indicate that since he opened his academy and began teaching students, particularly as the years passed following his release from prison, Yamamoto seemed to be becoming a Confucianist.

Poetry as the Avocation of the Confucian Scholar. The Baiseisho eishi has "Introductory Remarks" by Watanabe Tokujirō, one of Yamamoto's disciples, in which he offers an explanation of the distinctive character of Yamamoto's historical poetry. He argues that it is better to see them as the expression of a particular historical

perspective than as poems stressing such and such a meter or rhyme scheme. This may have been a general point of view shared by these men at the time. Yamamoto himself seems to have considered his poetry the work of a young hand, worthy of no praise at all. In an entry for 1895 in his chronological autobiography, he wrote as well:

I was unskillful in poetry and thus did not ordinarily write many [poems]... After being released from prison in 1888, I frequently went with my late father on journeys to the outskirts of the city or to a poetry club. Although I worked hard at composing poetry, few of them are worth reading. By the time my father passed away, I was still poor in the composition of poetry. For this reason I have written scarcely any poems over the past year.

Watanabe Tokujirō had the following to say in his "Introductory Remarks":

The master was born into a hereditary Confucian household in Sagawa domain of Tosa, continuing his grandfather's work. Although he lived by the classics and prose writing, early on he dedicated himself to a patriotic concern for the public welfare, and he traveled about the land to make contact with many men of will. The master was very much one of those men who used Confucianism to vehemently argue the issues of the day. His prose was thus particularly strong in historical analyses. Furthermore, the spiritual acuity of his insight and the preeminence of his argumentative skills gave rise to the idea that he surpassed his predecessors. Nevertheless, he himself called his poetry, which dared not even adhere to the rules of meter and style, the avocation of a Confucian scholar. Thus, while seen from the perspective of his poetry alone, there is much that might be suggested, one must never assess the master's poetry in comparison to that of poets. This collection should be read more with his historical analyses in mind. I for one cannot agree with aimlessly discussing it on the basis of the rules of meter and style...

His Self-Composed Epitaph and Inscription. On the back side of the page with Yamamoto's photo portrait at the beginning of the Baiseisho eishi, he included an epitaph and inscription that he wrote for himself. Carving his own epitaph, it was an autobiography which he wanted to leave for posterity. It is simple, and I would like to conclude this piece by introducing it in full.

The master's posthumous name was Ken, his azana was Ei-hitsu 永弼, his childhood name was Hantarō 繁太郎, and his style was Baigai. He was from Tosa domain. His late father's posthumous name was Ren 璉, and his mother's maiden name was Myōjin 明神. As a young man he devoted himself to concerns of the nation, and he was incarcerated for several years before being pardoned. He opened an academy in Ōsaka and in his later years moved to Ushimado. He was born on the twelfth day of the second month of Kaei 5 [1852]. He died on XXXXXXXX. His funeral was held at XXXXXX. The master believed fervently in the way of Confucius, and his worry on behalf of conditions of the day never flagged until his death. He despised Christianity. He behaved with honesty and integrity, and he did not go along with the mainstream. Inscription signed:

How insignificant this miniscule body
Buried beneath stone.
One thousand years from now,
Nay, will anyone appreciate me?

Inscription composed and executed by Yamamoto Ken himself.

For the former set of eight blank characters (XXXXXXX), it should read: September 6, 1928. For the latter six: "Ushimado, Okayama prefecture."

Three phrases in the text belie a certain conceit and self-praise on Yamamoto's part: "As a young man he devoted himself to concerns of the nation"; "his worry on behalf of conditions of the day never flagged until his death"; and "He acted with honesty and integrity, and he did not go along with the mainstream." Still, when the lines, "One thousand years from now, Nay, will anyone appreciate me?" reveal a tinge of loneliness contrary to his vanity. They strike one as the voice of an old political activist who has been disappointed.

Postface. There is a text entitled Tsuitōji 追悼辞 [Memorial Address] by Kokubo Kishichi 小久保喜七 which is owned by one of Yamamoto's descendents. In it one finds the following: "When the late Count Itagaki founded the Jiyūtō in 1881, Yamamoto joined together with other fellow locals. He was on particularly friendly terms with two of them, Kataoka Kenkichi 片岡健吉 and Nakae Chōmin 中江兆民." This would lead us to believe that Yamamoto joined the Jiyūtō from the very beginning.

Notes

a. The Zizhi tongjian was a comprehensive history of China by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-86), covering through the first reign of the Northern Song dynasty.

b. The number of histories included in this comprehensive term vary. The "Seventeen Dynastic Histories" include: Shiji, Han shu [History of the Han Dynsty], Hou Han shu [History of the Later Han Dynasty], Sanguo zhi [Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms], Jin shu [History of the Jin], Song shu [History of the Liu-Song], Nan Qi shu [History of the Southern Qi], Liang shu [History of the Liang], Chen shu [History of the Chen], Hou Wei Shu [History of the Later Wei], Bei Qi shu [History of the Northern Qi], Zhou shu [History of the (Later) Zhou], Sui shu [History of the Sui], Nan shi [History of the Southern Dynasties], Bei shi [History of the Northern Dynasties], Tang shi [History of the Tang], and Wudai shi [History of the Five Dynasties]. For the "Twenty-One Dynastic Histories," add Liao shi [History of the Liao], Jin shi [History of the Jin], Song shi [History of the Song], and Yuan shi [History of the Yuan]. For the "Twenty-Two Dynastic Histories," add Ming shi [History of the Ming]. For the "Twenty-Four Dynastic Histories," add Jiu Tang shi [Old History of the Tang] and Jiu Wudai shi [Old History of the Five Dynasties].

c. I am not sure of the spelling of this Dutch name inasmuch as the text gives it only in katakana as raihe ライヘ. Assistance from any readers would be much appreciated.

d. For the information in this parenthetical note and occasionally elsewhere, I would like to thank the Chinese translators of Masuda's book, You Qimin 由其民 and particularly Zhou Qiqian 周啓乾, Xixue dongjian yu Zhong-Ri wenhua jiaoliu 西学東漸与中日文化交流 [The Eastern Spread of Western Learning and Sino-Japanese Cultural Interaction] (Tianjian: Tianjin Academy of Social Sciences, 1993).

e. For more in English on the Yokohama Datong School, see Jung-pang Lo, trans. and ed., K'ang Yu-wei: A Biography and Symposium (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1967), pp. 178, 253-54.