

Contents

<i>A Note on Styles</i>	ix
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	x
<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
<i>List of Plates</i>	xii
<i>Fukuzawa Family Tree</i>	xiii
<i>Fukuzawa Chronology</i>	xiv
<i>Maps of Fukuzawa's Journeys to the USA and Europe</i>	xxi
<i>Preface</i>	xxiii
Part I The Fatherless Boy in Rebellious Japan, 1835–59	1
1 Nakatsu and Nagasaki: Feudal Lords and Dutch Interlopers	3
2 The Quest for Western Studies in Nagasaki and Osaka	18
3 A Schoolmaster Learning English in Edo – ‘His kimono pockets were always full of books’	29
Part II Exploring the West, 1860–67	35
4 <i>Kanrinmaru</i> : the First Japanese Journey across the Pacific, February to June 1860	37
5 London a Treasure Trove – ‘Enrich the country and strengthen the army’ – a Year in Europe, January 1862 to January 1863	45
6 On a Wild Goose Chase: a Mission to the USA, February to July 1867	55
Part III Educating the Japanese People, 1866–75	65
7 The Making of <i>Conditions in the West</i>	67
8 ‘I cannot work as a subordinate’ – Independence at <i>Keio Gijuku</i> , 1868, Tokyo (Edo)	78

9	A Scholarly Entrepreneur – a Change of Direction in the mid 1870s	87
Part IV ‘Learn and earn, earn and learn’ – the Entrepreneurial Businessman, 1869–93		97
10	Maruzen: a Joint Stock Experiment	99
11	The Yokohama Specie Bank: the Guardian of Japan’s Gold and Silver	108
12	Mitsubishi: the Three Diamonds and Yataro Iwasaki	120
13	‘The Mitsui matter is very delicate indeed’	130
Part V ‘The leader of the people’, 1879–1901		137
14	Scholar’s Division of Labour – ‘I am going to meet visitors in Kojunsha’	139
15	<i>Jiji shinpo</i> out of the Political Turbulence of 1881 – ‘Leave Asia’	149
16	The Rise and Rise of Keio Businessmen – ‘the genuine business method in civilization’	163
	<i>‘The Sage of Mita’</i>	173
	<i>Appendix</i> Directory of 50 Men Associated with Fukuzawa	182
	<i>Notes</i>	187
	<i>Bibliography</i>	217
	<i>Index</i>	238

Part I

The Fatherless Boy in Rebellious Japan, 1835–59

1

Nakatsu and Nagasaki: Feudal Lords and Dutch Interlopers

In the spring of 1855, Yukichi Fukuzawa's master, Iki Okudaira, dispatched Fukuzawa from Nagasaki, where he had assiduously been learning Dutch studies, back to Nakatsu, the castle town of Okudaira's domain. Fukuzawa, a rebellious twenty-year-old, furious over his removal from learning about European countries, joined his brother in Osaka rather than return to Nakatsu domain. He felt that he could not put up with living in feudal Nakatsu again. Perhaps Fukuzawa had a more positive motive for his rebellion. Now that he had sensed the wonders of the West through the open window at Nagasaki, he could not bear to be deprived of learning more. Was it only by doing something extraordinary like, say, going to the West, that he could distance himself from feudalism? Ambition was born in Fukuzawa and this gave him no choice but to defy his feudal master. This act of insubordination in Nagasaki set Fukuzawa apart from other lower ranking samurai. Fukuzawa's act of defiance was never punished and it became clear to him that the old rules and regulations which controlled old feudal Japan were no longer workable.¹

Yukichi Fukuzawa was born on 10 January 1835, to Ojun and Hyakusuke Fukuzawa. Yukichi's father was a lower class samurai receiving a stipend from the domain of 13 *koku* 2 men *buchi* yearly, the net income of which was about 8 *koku*.² Hyakusuke's marriage with Ojun was probably arranged in 1820 when his father, Hyozaemon, became ill. In 1822, Hyakusuke was sent to Osaka to serve as chief accountancy officer at the Nakatsu domain office to which a rice warehouse was attached. In the spring of 1826, he brought his wife Ojun to Osaka.³ Yukichi Fukuzawa, born in Osaka but raised in Nakatsu, came to maturity during the dying years of the old regime, a period of Tokugawa military ascendancy. The regime had imposed a system of hundreds of regulations, which, in

theory, kept everyone within a rigid system of social control. But, as Fukuzawa fully understood, as he grew up in Nakatsu, it was all pointless. At Fukuzawa's lowly samurai level, his family could not have even gateposts or a gate to protect their property. What did this matter?

What did matter was that Fukuzawa grew up in Kyushu, the southernmost island of Japan, which had access to exciting western ideas that reached Japan through the port of Nagasaki where a few Dutch traders, kept virtually imprisoned on the artificial island of *Deshima*, were allowed to trade. Through this one open port to the West, occidental knowledge of advanced technology and science crept into Japan. Because of this unique situation, Nagasaki became a Mecca for curious Japanese samurai infuriated by the ridiculous restriction of Edo-period life. Because of its location in Kyushu Island, nearly a month's travel by foot from Edo (now Tokyo), the Shogun's seat of power, Nagasaki was more easily accessible to ambitious Kyushu samurai than it was to those from other parts of Japan. In addition, there were no *sekisho*, or *bakufu* barriers, west of Osaka, and accordingly none on Kyushu Island. People could move around freely in western Japan. The only exceptions were heads of samurai families who had to report when they left their domains and duties. Nagasaki was undoubtedly the Achilles heel of the closed Tokugawa Japan.

What was equally important was that Kyushu Island was a home of several powerful clans, which were traditional enemies of the ruling Tokugawa family. *Tozama* daimyo, or the outer daimyo, were so named after the Sekigahara battle of 1600 where they took the side of the Toyotomi clan. As a result, the *tozama* daimyo remained outside the shogun's administration. Of some 230 clans existent under the late Tokugawa *bakufu* regime, 34 were in Kyushu. Among them were five formidable *tozama*, the Shimazu clan of Kagoshima, the Hosokawa of Kumamoto, the Kuroda of Chikuzen in Fukuoka, the Nabeshima of Saga and the Arima of Kurume.⁴ The aggregate rice production of the big five *tozama* clans amounted to nearly two-thirds of the total for Kyushu. These domains tried hard to gather information and accumulate knowledge of western science and technology through Nagasaki, particularly in the dying years of the Shogunate regime. They thus came to pose a potential threat to the *bakufu* well before the opening of the treaty ports in 1859. The combination of the availability of western ideas coming in through Nagasaki and the powerful non-conformist clans was to prove fatal to the *bakufu*. Adjourning these Kyushu *tozama*, Choshu clan, another powerful *tozama* on the extreme southwest of Honshu, benefited from Nagasaki.

Fukuzawa was a lower ranking samurai from the clan Okudaira, of Nakatsu, situated in northern Oita adjacent to Fukuoka to the west and facing the Setonaikai, or the Inland Sea in western Japan, to the north. The Nakatsu domain was one of Kyushu nine *fudai*, or hereditary vassals, who were so named because they were allies on the winning side, that is the Tokugawa clan in the battle of 1600. They, as *fudai* of the ruling regime, were deployed in Kyushu so that they could keep a watchful eye on the activities of the dangerous *tozama* daimyo. Nonetheless, even members of the Okudaira family, the guards of the Shogun in Kyushu, were not unaffected by the fever of ideas coming into Japan through Nagasaki. Iki Okudaira, head of one of the seven prestigious Okudaira families, assuaged his curiosity by removing himself to Nagasaki. Fortunately for Fukuzawa, and for Japan as a whole, Okudaira chose to take Yukichi Fukuzawa with him to Nagasaki as a young man. This extraordinary appointment was sufficient to launch Fukuzawa on to a career which was to benefit both Fukuzawa and Japan.

The Nakatsu domain was small, one of the minnows compared to the sharks of huge domains such as a Shimazu's. The rice production of the Nakatsu domain was 100 000 *koku*, less than one-seventh of Shimazu's, and the population was 79 704 in 1867, a little more than 8 per cent of Shimazu's, of whom some 1500 families were in the samurai class. But the Nakatsu domain was merely an average-sized clan of hereditary vassals under the Tokugawa regime, and thus in many ways represented the state of Japan in the middle of the nineteenth century. It had, for example, hundreds of rules and regulations affecting daimyo control over his own people, as could be seen elsewhere in Japan. Fukuzawa himself wrote a marvellous critique of his native Nakatsu domain life.⁵

The Nakatsu samurai hierarchy, based strictly on military practice, was composed of five classes, each of which was divided into three grades. Samurai in the first class were generals and senior commissioned officers. Samurai in the second class were lower ranking commissioned officers. Samurai in both classes were called *joshi*, or the upper class samurai. Domain ministers were appointed exclusively from those in the first grade of the first class. First grade samurai in the second class were termed *tomoban*, or followers, because they literally had to follow the lord and the first class samurai on *sankinkotai*, that is the periodic required attendance in Edo. All the high ranking officers in the domain administration were appointed from *tomoban* and they always sought promotion to the first class, which was not difficult. The rest of second class samurai worked under the direction of *tomoban*, and even these samurai could seek promotion to the first class. Although Confucian

and medical doctors were placed in the first and second grades of the third class, respectively, those who could attend to the upper samurai were included in the upper class. In Nakatsu the number of upper class samurai themselves, that is heads of upper ranking samurai families, amounted to fewer than 400.⁶

The rest of samurai in the domain, that is, the rest of Confucians and medical doctors in the third class and those in the fourth and fifth classes, were called *kashi*, or the lower class samurai, that is, heads of lower ranking samurai families, totalling more than 1,100. The fourth class samurai were non-commissioned officers and the fifth samurai were *ashigaru*, that is light infantry, the main body on the battlefield. These light infantry men had chance of being promoted to the fourth class. Furthermore, even sons of peasants could seek opportunities to find ways up to the fourth class. What was absolutely impossible was to surmount the barrier between upper and lower class samurai. In the case of the Nakatsu domain there were fewer than half a dozen samurai who were promoted from the lower to the upper class during the whole Edo period.

The rigidities of the system were reflected physically in the Nakatsu street plan. Nakatsu Castle, built along the right bank of Yamakuni River, was well situated to guard against an enemy approaching landward. It overlooked the town's four residential districts. Towards the south of the Castle, there were two moats, the inner and the outer, and in between them lived the upper class samurai. All the Nakatsu elite came from this part of the castle town. Towards the southeast beyond the inner moat, the merchants, craftsmen and shopkeepers had their homes. Two residential sections remained; one north of the townsmen residence and the other south of the outer moat. This was where the lower class samurai lived. Rusuicho, where the Fukuzawa family had their residence, was in the northern part of lower samurai district, near the townsmen's enclave.

The residential regulations were but one example of the class rigidities in Nakatsu and elsewhere in Japan. *Ashigaru* were obliged to sit barefoot, regardless of weather, and to prostrate themselves to express their obedience to any upper class samurai who passed them on the road. Relatively lower ranking samurai, when visiting the upper, could not proceed immediately into the room where his superiors were. They had to wait until they were told to enter, and then they had to leave their swords behind. The class differentials were also discernible in language. The four classes of people, that is, the upper samurai, the lower samurai, the merchants, and the peasants, spoke so differently that everyone could

easily identify by listening who belonged to which class. The severity of class discrimination was so strong that marriage between upper and lower samurai was strictly prohibited. The marriage prohibition, which lasted nearly three hundred years, resulted in a situation where 'there existed two separate human races in one domain', as Fukuzawa observed.⁷

The class discrimination had decisive economic effects upon the domains samurai households. The nominal rice production of 100 000 *koku* gave the Nakatsu domain a net income of 50 000 *koku*,⁸ of which 30 000 *koku* was appropriated by the lord and his family and domain's official expenses. Of the remaining 20 000 *koku*, ministers took 1,000 to 2,000 *koku* each and high officials from the upper class samurai took 100 to 250 *koku* each, leaving only a small portion to the lower class samurai of more than 1,100 households. The lower samurai and their families had no choice but to take on side jobs of every possible sort. All family members, male or female, so long as they were able to work, took on jobs, day and night, including weaving and craft work. As Fukuzawa concluded in his observations, the reality was that:

They pretended to do side jobs, but in fact they did it as their main jobs and regarded the official domain jobs as the side jobs. Therefore, they were not samurai but in a sense, artisans.⁹

What were the official duties of lower ranked samurai? Their basic duties were services on the battlefield as foot soldiers and guards for higher ranked samurai. But there was no serious rebellion or war in Kyushu Island or elsewhere in Japan after the Shimabara Uprising of 1638. The century-long peace totally changed the situation. The military duties were reduced to guard duty in and around the castle. Instead, lower samurai did all sorts of clerical tasks. The most important was accountancy, which the upper class samurai hated but to which they appointed talented and trustworthy samurai selected from the lower ranks. The upper class samurai nominally superintended the accounting business, but could never understand what was happening in their accountancy offices and could easily be deceived. Ordinary lower samurai were also engaged in miscellaneous duties including the supervision of horsemen, carpenters and shipwrights and even cooking for the upper class samurai in the castle.

Two entirely separate human races co-existed in the domain, as Fukuzawa rightly recognized. In his eyes, the upper class samurai were unproductive 'aristocrats' leaving all the dirty jobs to the lower class

samurai while devoting themselves to domain politics, fencing, riding and reading Chinese literature. In turn hard-working lower samurai created their own world outside the samurai society. As Fukuzawa noted:

In the last two to three decades, the so-called side jobs of lower samurai eventually started to prosper. Those who had made cabinets and trays from cedar bark and paper cords for tying hairs, gradually increased the varieties of their products. There were people making clogs and umbrellas, sticking papers on lanterns, adding value by lacquering plain wood cabinets, and making sliding doors and paper screens which were as good as those produced by professional carpenters. In addition lately, people have emerged who trade as well as manufacture. They build ships and buy goods to send them to Osaka, even going on board the ships themselves. Of course not all lower samurai were engaged in manufactures and commerce, but once some started to do so, their friends invested their funds too. No money was hoarded and money circulated quickly so that substantial profits resulted. Once commerce was prevalent among domain samurai the upper samurai could not overlook it, and in many cases invested their funds secretly. However, because of the nature of their educations they were poor in accounting and knew nothing about finance so that they had to rely on lower samurai in business and either had to lose money in vain or to be satisfied with the remnants of the profits.¹⁰

As Fukuzawa observed, the reality was that in its last days, during which the ancient regime was on the brink of collapse, the surge of a market economy was changing the lower samurai social class. It would be safe to say that the upper-ranked samurai in Nakatsu domain and perhaps in many other domains were losing out as the ruling class in the 1840s and 1850s.

The combination of the fading and failing upper samurai and the rising market economy had an inevitable repercussion on lower samurai families. Busy side jobs involved every member of the family, regardless of gender and age. Perhaps for the first time in the samurai society, the mother and women of a lower samurai family could attain earning status, which the head of the family could not ignore because their income was indispensable. The economic base inevitably enhanced the status of the mother who could even interfere in specific samurai matters. Fukuzawa's mother was typical in this.¹¹ In this way the lower

samurai family was in a sense increasingly 'modernized' towards the end of the early modern era.

Once the rice economy, to which the Shogunal system was so crucially tied, began to give way to the rising market economy, the balance by which the upper class samurai ruled the domain was lost. Fukuzawa described an amazing incident of 1863 that strikingly underlined the chaotic Nakatsu situations:

At that very moment, several dozen lower samurai, in the prime of manhood but out of work – they were not entirely out of work but were excluded from important domain jobs – secretly planned to assassinate a minister then in power. This was an unprecedented incident in the Nakatsu domain. If this had happened three decades earlier, there is no doubt that all parties would instantly have been arrested and killed. The situation in those days, however, obliged the administration not only to refrain from these executions but also to dismiss the minister in order to calm public opinion. This was the first revelation that 250 years of stable power was failing.¹²

The minister, the target of the attempted assassination, was Iki Okudaira.¹³ This Nakatsu rebellion reflected the unsettled political climate which hung over the dying regime in the early 1860s. Naosuke Ii, Great Councillor of the *bakufu*, was assassinated in March 1860. Senior Councillor Nobuyuki Ando was attacked in 1862. The Richardson Incident in September 1862 culminated in the British Bombardment of Kagoshima in August 1863. In September of that year, the coup at the Kyoto Court expelled a group of reformist aristocrats. Even remote Nakatsu could not remain unaffected by this changing atmosphere. Fukuzawa's earlier act of defiance of his master's order in Nagasaki in 1855 reflected this emerging rebellious atmosphere.

In the first half of 1830s, the Fukuzawa children were enjoying the urban atmosphere of Osaka, the most important commercial and financial centre of Tokugawa Japan. In the spring of 1831 with his ten-year tenure in Osaka about to end, Hyakusuke Fukuzawa, Yukichi's father and the domains chief accountancy officer there, requested a return to Nakatsu. This was refused. The clan ordered him to stay in the Osaka office for another year for which he received a bonus of three *ryo* in gold coins.¹⁴ In the spring of 1832, when the extra year was almost over, Hyakusuke's request to return to Nakatsu was again refused. Once again he was persuaded to continue his duties in Osaka for another year, with a bonus of 200 *monme* in silver coins, equivalent in value to 3 *ryo*.

Between the two requests to return to Nakatsu, Hyakusuke Fukuzawa recorded in his own family genealogy, which is *de facto* his *curriculum vitae*, the following passages:

While in Kyoto . . . , I received on 4 November [1831] an urgent order to return to Osaka and arrived back there in the evening of 5 November. Then I was told that I should immediately proceed to Edo at the request of two lords there. I left Osaka on 9 November arriving in Edo on 22. *The dear old master* himself kindly met and gave me his confidential business. In November I left Edo arriving back in Osaka.¹⁵

Hyakusuke's CV was highlighted by this extraordinary incident. The 'two lords' in Edo were undoubtedly the ruling Lord of Nakatsu domain and the retired Lord, both of whom resided in the Shogun's seat of power, Edo. *The dear old master* or *goinkyō sama*, the most respectful expression towards the retired lord, was also undoubtedly Masataka Okudaira, the fifth Lord of Nakatsu, who had retired in 1825. The former Lord Masataka obliged Hyakusuke to make a quick return journey to and from Edo which took four weeks on foot. What then was the important business?

Throughout the Tokugawa Shogunate regime, rice was the staple product of Japan. The importance of a feudal lord's domain was represented by the amount of rice which it could produce yearly. When rice was harvested in the autumn, it was brought to the market to be sold. Otherwise, feudal lords had no monetary income. There were rice markets all over Japan, but Osaka eclipsed the rest in size. It is said that some 3 million *koku* of rice were carried by ship to Osaka and traded on the Osaka rice market annually.¹⁶ This was huge when one considers that all 300 domains together on average produced some 18 million *koku* during the 1790s, and of that, only 40 per cent of the total was collected as tax rice by the feudal lords and their vassals.¹⁷ The rice trading centre, Osaka, naturally became the primary market for most other commodities, and more importantly as a financial centre in which even various sorts of derivative transactions took place. Merchants of all kinds became *ryōgae*, or exchange merchants or merchant bankers.¹⁸ *Ryōgae* were the richest merchants and ruled the commercial world of Osaka; they stood as the symbols of the commercial development of proto-industrialized Japan.

Many feudal domains, particularly those situated nearer to Osaka than to Edo, placed their warehouses in Osaka so that they could sell

rice and other products to Osaka *ryogae* and other merchants on this large market. At one time the number of clan warehouses there totalled 80.¹⁹ During the early years of the Tokugawa era in the seventeenth century, both the administration of the warehouse in Osaka and the sale of rice and other products depended entirely on the duty of the lower ranking samurai. The samurai code developed in the early Tokugawa period placed the merchant class at the bottom of the social class structure with samurai at the top, peasants second and artisans third. This social order reflected the Confucian idea that any money-earning business and all pecuniary activities were to be despised as parasitical. But money was indispensable to the samurai, so the ruling upper ranking samurai obliged the lower ranking vassals to do the 'dirty' job of monetary business both within the domain and in Osaka, Edo, Kyoto and elsewhere.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Osaka *ryogae* and other merchants gradually took over this rice-selling business. Rice was usually forwarded from local domains to Osaka during the course of the spring or summer after it was harvested for sale, but increasingly clan lords needed money sooner because of fiscal urgency. Thus Osaka *ryogae* regularly advanced money to domains and in exchange started to superintend domain warehouses, becoming known as *kuramoto*, or warehouse agents. By the end of the century, almost all the domain warehouses in Osaka were under the control of warehouse agents, whose emergence reduced the lower samurai's Osaka duties to serving as mediators between *ryogae* and higher ranking domain officers. Hyakusuke Fukuzawa, as the chief accountancy officer for the Nakatsu domain was such a mediator, and his *ryogae* contacts were the merchant houses of Konoike and Kajima, both prestigious, rich merchants in Osaka.²⁰

Hyakusuke's most important mediating work was to negotiate with Konoike and Kajima to postpone repayment of the domain's debts to them. Yukichi Fukuzawa remembered his mother regularly saying that his father complained from time to time about long-drawn-out negotiations with *ryogae*. However tedious the jobs were, more than a decade's tenure in Osaka was the evidence that Hyakusuke was regarded as highly competent in his office and indispensable to Nakatsu domain. Masataka Okudaira, resident in Edo, undoubtedly heard of his reliability in the Osaka office, and confidentially called Hyakusuke to Edo to meet the lords. For a lower class samurai like Hyakusuke Fukuzawa, it was virtually impossible to meet personally even the retired lord. Nonetheless for Masataka, who indulged himself in an expensive hobby, that is Dutch studies and collections,²¹ there was no choice but to ask his

competent accountancy officer to engage himself in an important confidential business. The task that Masataka commissioned Hyakusuke to do was almost certainly to borrow additional funds for *the dear old master* of Nakatsu. Therefore, it is highly plausible that the business trip to Kyoto in the early 1832, shortly after this meeting and specially recorded in the family genealogy by Hyakusuke himself, was to make contact with and persuade *ryogae* who had their offices in Osaka, Kyoto and perhaps also in Edo, to lend Nakatsu domain money.²²

Hyakusuke's special service to *the dear old master* seemed to be successful. In the spring of 1834, he was called up to Edo and was given a promotion, together with an order to serve another five-year tenure in the Osaka office. When Hyakusuke Fukuzawa succeeded his father as the head of the family, he had been placed at the third grade of the fourth class, called *koyakunin*, or humble officer. After the satisfactory completion of the confidential business for *the dear old master* Masataka, Hyakusuke was promoted by two grades to the top of the fourth class, termed *chukosho*, or the guards on the battlefield. Shortly after this promotion, Hyakusuke was allowed a short leave to Nakatsu. The Fukuzawa family was allowed to return to Nakatsu for three months of holiday. At the beginning of 1836, when Yukichi was one year old, his father Hyakusuke was appointed acting caretaker of the Osaka office. This was in fact the position of deputy representative of the Nakatsu clan in Osaka. Furthermore he was *de facto* a financial aid to the Nakatsu Lord. This was a remarkable achievement for a lower class samurai like Hyakusuke Fukuzawa and was no doubt the zenith for the Fukuzawa family's success before 1868. Shortly thereafter Hyakusuke died on 31 July 1836 from a stroke, bringing to an end his family's life in Osaka.²³

Barely a month after Hyakusuke's sudden death, in September 1836, the Fukuzawa family returned to Nakatsu. For the children, except Yukichi, this was the second, sad journey to their parents' native province. The Fukuzawas settled down in a house in Rusuicho, where there were some thirty houses running along both sides of a narrow lane, some two metres wide and a hundred metres in length. The house, which had sat empty for fifteen years, was shabby and small; Yukichi had to sleep in a closet when guests visited in the evening. In Osaka the Fukuzawa family had had a male servant, but back in Nakatsu they could no longer afford help.²⁴ In the meantime, Sannosuke, Yukichi's older brother, became head of the family and continued to receive 13 *koku* 2 *men buchi* as a stipend, which meant that the net receipts of rice were a little above 8 *koku*. When Sannosuke married and a baby girl was born, the number of Fukuzawa family became eight. The Fukuzawa

household had to come terms with poverty, a poverty which, however, was common for every household of lower ranking samurai.²⁵ The death of Hyakusuke and the subsequent move back to Nakatsu were trying for the Fukuzawa family.

Shortly after his return to Nakatsu, Yukichi was adopted, nominally, by his uncle, Jutsuhei Nakamura, Hyakusuke's younger brother, but continued to live with his mother and siblings in Rusuicho.²⁶ The adoption was a formality. For practical purposes, Yukichi Fukuzawa grew up as a fatherless boy. What was life like for the Fukuzawa in Nakatsu domain?

Without doubt the Fukuzawa family suffered as strangers because they spoke Osaka dialect, entirely different from that of Nakatsu. As Fukuzawa wrote in the beginning of his autobiography, because of this difference, Yukichi and his sisters shied away from playing with other boys and girls in their neighbourhood, even with their cousins. Their Osaka accent was underlined by their style of living, for example, the way they wore their *kimono* and hair which their mother prepared for them entirely in Osaka style. In this sense the Fukuzawas were outsiders in their home province.²⁷ This isolation resulted in family closeness. Their mother talked often about their father. Mother's reminiscence of father must have been somewhat dramatized but Yukichi remembered them very well.²⁸ Fukuzawa's maxim that feudalism was their father's enemy was no doubt the chief result of his mother's stories.

Inside the family, Yukichi Fukuzawa could behave with freedom because he was the second son. Yukichi even expressed to Sannosuke his ambition to be rich. While playing in the house he once even stepped on papers on which the name *Daizen no Taifu Okudaira*, the official title of the Lord of Nakatsu, was written. These kinds of actions ran contrary to the samurai code and Confucian ideas. Sannosuke, loyal to his lords and masters, was vexed with Yukichi in both cases, but could not discipline his younger brother.²⁹ If Yukichi had behaved like this in front of his father, he certainly would have been reprimanded or even punished. The fatherless son, Yukichi Fukuzawa, could take risks which would otherwise have been impossible.

Perhaps what mattered most for the development of Yukichi's future career was that he began to learn Chinese literature at the age of 15, a late age in the 1840s and 1850s.³⁰ In general, young lower class samurai rarely had the opportunity to receive proper educations. The Nakatsu domain had an official school called *Shinshukan*, founded in 1796 by the powerful Lord Masataka Okudaira. In theory any young man in Nakatsu – without regard to his class, even if he was a peasant – could attend

classes in the school. But in practice it was almost impossible for boys, other than those in the upper samurai, to enrol at the school, which was situated in the middle of the upper class residential area. More importantly, as Fukuzawa himself wrote in his book *Old Domain*, lower class samurai sons could not afford to learn Chinese literature because their day jobs did not leave them time to do so. Many of them could not even spare time for fencing practice. Thus, there was no place for Yukichi to read Chinese literature until he was a teenager. Sannosuke, though nine years his senior, could not look after his brother because of his busy official tasks. But less time spent learning Chinese literature turned out to be advantageous to Yukichi. Before he left Nakatsu for Nagasaki in March 1854, Yukichi had spent less than half a decade learning Chinese literature. Although he proudly wrote that he was clever enough to read some Chinese literature very quickly,³¹ his brief engagement in the literature made it easier for him to move on to new subjects like Dutch when he came to see a bright future in them.

For Fukuzawa in Nakatsu, remote from the major urban areas, there seemed to be no access to Dutch studies. He wrote:

Western learning has been in urban areas for more than one hundred years, but in provincial areas like Nakatsu, there were neither alphabets nor western books.³²

But did Nakatsu domain really have nothing to do with western learning and Dutch studies? Or was it merely that Fukuzawa, as a lower class samurai, could not have access to circles where Dutch could be taught, even within his own domain, without going to Nagasaki?

There was in fact a tradition of Dutch studies in Nakatsu. The Okudaira clan had moved to Nakatsu, Kyushu, from Miyazu, north of Kyoto, in 1717, and ruled the domain through the rest of the Tokugawa period. Although it was a small clan, the Okudaira built an extraordinary tradition of Dutch studies beginning in the late eighteenth century. In 1770, the third Lord of Nakatsu, Masaka Okudaira, dispatched Ryotaku Maeno, a doctor in Chinese medicine, to Nagasaki to study Dutch medicine. A year after, in 1771, Maeno went up to Edo, where he collaborated with Gempaku Sugita and Hoshu Katsuragawa on translating *Ontleedkundige Tafelen*, the Dutch version of *Anatomische Tabellen* (1722) by Johan Adam Kulmus. The book's accurate portrait of the human body so impressed Maeno and Sugita that they published it as *Kaitai shinsho* or *New Book of Anatomy*, in 1774, a landmark work in Japan's long history of western learning.

The Okudairas' interest in Dutch studies persisted during the leadership of Masataka, the fifth Lord of Nakatsu. Masataka had an extraordinary family background. He was the second son of Lord Shimazu of Satsuma and was adopted, at the age of six, by the Okudairas who had no heir. Masataka's eldest sister, that is the daughter of Lord Shimazu, was the wife of Ienari Tokugawa, the eleventh Shogun, whose 50-year reign was the longest among the fifteen Tokugawa Shoguns. Masataka's younger brother was adopted by Lord Kuroda of Chikuzen (Fukuoka) and became Lord Nagahiro Kuroda in 1834. Raised in Edo, Masataka's enthusiasm for Dutch studies was kindled by Maeno who was now permanently resident in the Shogun's seat of power. Masataka moved down to Nakatsu in 1795 to succeed the late Lord of Nakatsu.

After the succession, Masataka's enthusiasm for Dutch studies seemed to gain strength. In the aftermath of the death of his teacher, Maeno, in 1803, Masataka took up his late teacher's work of editing a Japanese–Dutch dictionary, which was published in 1811 as *Rankgo yakusen*, or *Select Dictionary of Japanese–Dutch*. He then proceeded to edit a Dutch – Japanese dictionary, and this was published in 1822 as *Basutaruto jisho* or *Bastaardt Dictionary*. The two dictionaries, which together were called the Nakatsu dictionaries, contain more than 7,000 entries. Masataka's interest in editing the dictionaries was stimulated by his Dutch friend, Hendrik Doeff, 153rd Dutch Representative in *Deshima*, Nagasaki.³³ In the spring of 1826, Philip Franz von Siebold, who arrived in Nagasaki in 1823 and founded *Narutakijuku* or *Narutaki School*, joined the Dutch diplomatic company to pay a courtesy visit to Shogun Ienari. Masataka took this opportunity to speak personally to Siebold in Dutch. Masataka and his father Shigetake Shimazu, the father-in-law of the Shogun, welcomed Siebold and the Dutch company in Omori, on the east bank of River Tama, on 9 April 1826. Masataka himself then invited Siebold to the lower house³⁴ of the Nakatsu domain in Edo, situated in Shinagawa near Satuma's, and renovated as *Oranda yashiki* or Dutch-style house.³⁵

A year before the meeting with Siebold, Masataka retired from his position as Nakatsu Lord. He apparently did so because he wished to meet Siebold. To meet personally 'barbarians', to use the *bakufu's* word for westerners, while serving as a lord, was considered by Masataka to be unduly offensive to the *bakufu* in spite of his background as a member of the Shimazu family. Indeed, Shigetake had also retired before this event in 1826. Masataka's enthusiasm for things Dutch was definitely shared by other members of the Shimazu clan men like Shigetake and Nagahiro.³⁶

Masataka lived for thirty years in retirement. Although it is not known how strongly he exerted his influence over domain politics, one thing is quite clear: that he could do whatever he wanted. It is assumed that he lived in Edo for the rest of his life. His next two successors were his sons, Masanobu and Masamichi, whom he outlived. Masamoto, the eighth Lord of Nakatsu and a grandson of Masataka, succeeded his uncle as the Lord. No one in the domain could rival Masataka, *the dear old master* of Nakatsu, the father and grandfather of three successive lords, the brother of the Shogun's wife and a member of the influential Shimazu family. Masataka must have been the real power behind Nakatsu politics and responsible for all the affairs, particularly those related to things western, till his death in 1855.³⁷ For him the only problem was no doubt finding the monetary resources to support and satisfy his enthusiasm for Dutch and things western. Therefore it was most likely Masataka and Masamichi that Hyakusuke Fukuzawa met in Edo in 1834.

In 1850, fourteen Nakatsu samurai entered a school founded that year by Shozan Sakuma who learned gunnery from Tarozaemon Egawa, the *bakufu's* authority.³⁸ Sakuma was samurai of the Matsushiro domain (Nagano) and well known by that time as one of the best teachers of western gunnery in Japan. Sakuma not only admitted Nakatsu samurai to his school, but also came to the Nakatsu compound in Shinagawa to teach western gunnery and design field guns. He continued to teach Nakatsu students until April 1854, when he was arrested and imprisoned by the *bakufu* for his alleged involvement with the affairs of Shoin Yoshida, who tried to travel abroad by stowing away on Commodore M. C. Perry's flagship.³⁹ Thanks to Sakuma, the Nakatsu domain was able to build a new western style army, though on such a small scale that the regiment had no difficulties in drilling in the small Nakatsu domain compound in Shinagawa.⁴⁰ The military reform, together with the Dutch studies, can be ascribed to Masataka's enthusiasm for western science. Masataka's enthusiasm was not only confined to the genuine Dutch studies; his interests spread over just about everything western.⁴¹ He was a very energetic man; his mistresses gave birth to thirty-three children.⁴² But genuine Dutch studies, a western style army, things western and a large number of princes and princesses were a heavy financial burden for small Nakatsu domain. His spendthrift character overshadowed his accomplishments. This is borne out by the cool treatment of Masataka in the official history of the Nakatsu domain.⁴³

After the retirement of Masataka in 1825, Dutch studies and military reform were concentrated in the Dutch-style lower house in Edo, some 1,160 kilometres, or 725 miles away from Nakatsu. This physical

distance prevented any knowledge reaching remote Nakatsu. Penniless lower samurai like Fukuzawa were never able to benefit from what was happening in Edo. However it should be remembered that Hyakusuke helped Masataka raise money for his expensive Dutch studies that in turn allowed the retired lord to build a base for Dutch studies in the Nakatsu domain house in Edo. Probably without knowing of these activities Yukichi Fukuzawa embarked upon a long journey via Nagasaki and Osaka, and it was this base to which Fukuzawa was to reach in 1858. Fatherless son Yukichi Fukuzawa would eventually enjoy the father's legacy to his lord.

Index

- Abe, Taizo, 128, 144, 182
accountancy, 102–3, 110, 185
Aden, xxii, 46
Aichi, 53, 182, 186
Akita, 123, 166
Alaska, xvi, 57
Albert, Prince, 48
Alcock, Rutherford, 46, 48, 184, 195
Alexandria, xxii, 46, 47
American, 37, 46, 55–62, 71, 92–3, 105, 119, 165, 168, 182, 194, 197–9, 212
Ancona, 208
Ando, Nobumasa (Nobuyuki), 9, 50
Andrew, E. A., 104
Annapolis, xxi, 57–8
Ansei treaties of 1858, xv, 37–8, 45, 53, 68, 74, 150, 157, 176, 184, 190, 194, 200–1
 extraterritoriality stipulation, 68
 150, 157, 176
Appleton & Co., 58
Arima, House of, 4, 187
Asabuki, Eiji, 136, 145, 182, 208
Asahi shinbun, 214,
Ashimori, 185
Azumakan, 61

Baba, Tatsui, 80–2, 114, 122, 145, 182, 203, 208
bakufu, Tokugawa, xxv, 19–20, 30–3, 37–40, 43, 45–6, 50, 54–6, 58–9, 61, 63, 68–9, 73–5, 78, 81, 101, 110, 173, 183, 185, 189, 191, 195, 203
army, 78, 203, 205
Astronomical Observatory, 191
barrier (*sekisho*), 4
chamberlain, 38
councillor (*roju*), 9
financial commissioner, 19, 45, 193, 199
foreign commissioner, 31, 33, 43, 45, 48, 67, 193
great councillor, 9
Hakodate commissioner, 193
inspector, 54, 195
Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books, 33, 55
Institute of Western Medicine (Seiyō Igakusho), 23, 30, 192
junior councillor, 202
Kaiseijo, 56, 60, 81, 84, 199, 201
Kanagawa commissioner, 192, 199, 202
Nagasaki commissioner, 19, 202
Naval Academy, 38
naval commissioner, 38, 57
navy, 20, 38
reformist, 55
Seashore Villa, 39, 77
Senior councillor, 9, 50, 61, 76, 101
Shogunate regime, 4, 9–10, 48, 54–5, 61, 67, 73, 75, 78–9, 82, 173, 177, 180, 183, 187–9, 199, 202
spy system, 54, 195, 199
translation office, xxiv, 31, 33, 43, 45–6, 67, 79, 142, 182, 199–200
warship commissioner, 38
Bank of England, 119, 199
Bank of Japan, xix, xxviii, 109, 119, 136, 170–1, 175, 183–4, 186, 209–10, 215–16
10000 yen banknote, xxiii
silver convertible banknote xix, 119, 175
Bank of Tokyo, 119
Bankers' Magazine, The, 119
barbarian, 15, 39, 200
barbarism, 160
Bastiat, C.F., 105, 207
Beijin, 53
Berlin, xxii, 169
Berlin University, 169
Birmingham, 48
Black, J.R., 69
Blackstone, W., 52, 71

- Blind School, St. George's Field, 48
 Bombay, 108
 book trade, 62, 100
 Bordeaux, 57,
 Boston, 40
 Britain, 1, 45–7, 49, 67–71, 81, 186,
 195, 200–1
 colony, 46
 consul in Japan, 200
 Court of St James, 208
 general consul, 46
 legation in Japan, xv, 45, 48, 197,
 200
 Secretary of Foreign Office, 48
 Queen, xiv, xx, 48, 200
 British, 19, 46–9, 53, 55–6, 68–9, 74,
 87–8, 104, 121–4, 135, 184, 191,
 195, 197, 200–1, 208
 British Museum, 49
 Brooke, John M., 40–2, 182, 193–4
 Brown College, 168
 Bruce, Sir Frederick, 68
 Buchanan, James, 194
 Buckle, H.T., 52, 89, 91, 105, 207
 Burton, John Hill, 51–2, 72–3, 83, 90,
 95, 182, 196, 198, 201
- Cairo, xxii, 46
 California, 40
 Carlisle, 48
 Carrothers, Christopher, 204
 Ceylon, xxii, 46
 Chambers, Robert, xxiv, 48, 51, 72,
 182
 University of St Andrews, 51
 Chambers, W. & R., 51–2, 71–2, 88–9,
 104, 182
 'Charles', 59, 198
 see also Lancing
 Chilton, R.S., 198
 China, 40, 68, 119, 159–60, 177, 190
 Chinese, xx, 19, 45, 48, 50, 53, 88,
 159–61, 177, 194–5
 dictionary, 42–3
 indemnity, 184
 literature, 8, 13–14, 18, 20, 50, 69,
 172
 medicine, 14, 189
 Chuo University, 207
- Choshu (Yamaguchi) domain, xvi, 46,
 53, 55–6, 73–5, 78, 152–4, 175,
 183, 202
 army, 74, 208
 bakufu expedition, xv, xvi, 73–5, 201,
 203
 battery, xv, 69, 74
 extremist, 74, 78
 faction, 110, 118, 152–4
 Choshu Five, 55
 Christianity, 150–1
 Chugoku, 190
 Claridge's Hotel, London, 48, 51
 Clyde, 55
 Colorado, SS, 66
 Confucian(ism), xxv–xxvi, 5–6, 13, 41,
 91–2, 96, 171, 173, 180, 202
 copartnership, 102
 copartnery, 102
 copyright, 96
corvette type, 40, 56, 197
- Dai Nihon Sugar Refining, 136
 Daihyaku Bank, 109, 114
 Daiichi Bank, 119, 170–1
 Daiichi Fire & Insurance, 136
 Daiichi Kangyo Bank, 171
 Daimyo, 4–5, 74–5, 121, 201
 fudai (hereditary daimyo), 5
 'inside' clan, 173, 180
 'outside' clan, 173, 180
 tozama (outer daimyo), 4–5, 46,
 55–6, 187
 Dairoku Bank, 146–7
 Darwin, Charles, 51
 Derby, J.C., 198
Deshima, 4, 15, 19, 26, 40, 191
 Dickinson, John, 206
 Doeff, Hendrik, 15, 25–7, 189, 191–2
 Doi, Koka, 207
 dollar, 107, 111–13, 126, 198
 domain system, 99
 inner domain, 173, 180
 outer domain, 173, 180
 Droppers, G., 168–9, 182
 Dunbar, C.F., 169
 Dutch, 4, 14–7, 19–20, 22–33, 40–1, 43,
 45, 47, 49, 54, 67, 123, 180, 183–5,
 190–1, 194–5, 200

- Dutch, (*Cont.*)
 book, 14, 20, 24–8
 dictionary, 15, 25–7, 189–93
 interpreter, 19, 31, 37
 learning, 25–6
 legation, 195
 medicine, 14, 22, 30, 48, 189, 191
 teacher, 22, 26, 29–30
 Dutch Trading Representative, 15, 26, 40
- East Asia, 112, 151, 158–60, 191, 194
 Edinburgh, 51, 72, 182
 Edo (Tokyo), 4–5, 10–12, 15–17, 19, 21–2, 28–33, 39, 41, 44, 53, 55–8, 61, 67, 73, 78, 189, 191–2, 195, 198, 203, 206
 Edo Bay, 19, 40
 Edo Castle, 32, 78
- Ehime, 114
 Elgin, Earl of (Lord), xv, 31, 45, 68
 Eliot, C.W., 166, 168–9
 Ellis, W., 52, 201
 English, xxiv, 27, 140
 book, xxiv–xxv, 27, 42, 49–56, 58–62, 81–3, 100, 103–6, 182, 185, 201, 294, 208, 211
 book trade, 62
 dictionary, 33–4, 42–3, 59–60, 184
 interpreter, 31–4, 43, 48, 50, 57, 72, 182, 184, 198–9
 language, 31–4, 42–3, 47, 50, 54, 67, 69, 73, 81, 87, 96, 114, 122, 134, 171–3, 193, 196, 200–3, 206
 learning, 33, 39, 67, 78–9, 81, 208
 teacher, 32–3
 English Law School, 207
 Enomoto, Takeaki, 203
 Europe, xxii, xxiv, 40, 46–7, 50, 56, 67, 93, 115, 173, 180, 184–5, 192, 201, 205
 European, 47, 49, 54, 151, 191, 202
- Fennimore Cooper*, 40, 182
 feudalism, 21, 74, 99
 fief, 74
 First National Bank of Tokyo, 92, 109, 185
 Fisher, Colonel G.S., 198
- France, 45, 47, 49, 53, 57, 69, 71, 195
 Freedom and People's Rights Movement, xviii, 142, 144–5, 149, 175
 French, 31, 46–7, 49, 53, 69, 104, 158, 185, 202
 Fuji Bank, 109, 171
 Fuji Spinning, 136
 Fujimoto, Gentai, 21,
 Fujimoto, Hisakichi, 147,
 Fujimoto Bill Broker, 136
 Fujitagumi, 132
 Fujiwara, Ginjiro, 136
Fujiyama, 56
 Fujiyama, Raita, 136
 Fukuchi, Genichiro (Ochi), 32, 143, 150–1, 156, 182, 200, 213
 Fukuoka domain, 4, 18, 190, 192
 Fukuyama, 186
 Fukuzawa, Family of, 12–13, 23, 78, 178, 187–8, 199
 Hakusuke, xiii, xiv, 3, 9–13, 17, 24, 187, 191
 Hyozemon, xiii
 Ichitaro, xiii, xix, 166, 178–80, 182, 216: agriculture, 179; Cornell University, 180, 182; Oberlin College, 180; welcome party, 180
 Ojun, xiii, 3, 23
 Okin, xiii, 43, 77, 80, 178–9
 Sanpachi, xiii, 173, 183, 216: University of Glasgow, 178, 183, 216
 Sutejiro, xiii, xv, xix, 178–80, 183, 211, 216: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 180, 183; Oberlin College, 180; physics, 179; welcome party, 180
 Fukuzawa, Yukichi, xiii
 antagonism towards Korea and China, 151, 158–61, 175, 194
 attempted assassination, 208
bakufu allowance, 50, 52, 198
 bank customer, 128
Bookkeeping, xvii, 89, 92–3, 102–3, 106, 110
 brother, 12, 22–4, 50, 189

- Change of Calendar*, 87, 89
 children's biographical record, 178
Conditions in the West, xv–xvii,
 xxiv–xxv, 51, 67, 70–7, 79–80,
 90, 94–5, 101, 110, 160, 173–5,
 180, 182, 197
*Critique of Learning for Women & New
 Learning for Women*, 174
Currency, A Theory of, 110–12
Current Affairs, xviii, 151, 161
 CWYF, xx, 70–1, 75, 177
 daughter, 178
Details of the Seoul Incident, 214
Diary of the Third Year of Keio, 198
Diary of the West, 46–7, 51, 53, 71
Division of the Rights, xvii
 educator, 173–4
*Eleven Nations with which the Treaties
 are Negotiated*, 95
Encouragement of Learning, An, xvii,
 xxv, 87–92, 96, 139, 141–2, 151,
 174, 180
Enlarged Chinese–English Dictionary,
 xv, 42, 46
 entrepreneurship, 69, 85, 95, 117,
 173–4, 176
 family regulation, 179
 family size, 12–13, 166, 178
 father, xxiii–xxiv, 3, 13, 17, 24, 99,
 185
 finance, 79, 106–7, 112–13, 177,
 179–80, 204, 216
Genuine Businessmen, A Theory of xx,
 120, 127, 130–1, 171
 grandfather, xxiii, 12
Great Changes of Culture, 205
Guided Tour of the West, A, 62–3, 92,
 95, 128
How to Deal with Foreigners, 69–70
How to Learn Western Studies, 107
 illness, 23, 78, 85, 87, 148, 173, 179,
 190, 204, 214
 Instruction for Ichitaro and Sutejiro,
 179–80
Japanese Women, A Theory of, 202
Jiji shinpo, xix, xxv, 120, 130–3, 140,
 147–8, 155–62, 174, 177, 179,
 183, 202, 204: article, 120,
 156–61, 174; editor, 174, 214;
 editorial, xx, 156–61, 214;
 income from, 161–2; jingoism
 towards China and Korea,
 xix–xx, 158–61, 177; Korean
 campaign, xix; launching,
 155–6; launching, cost, 161;
 subscription, 156–7, 161, 177;
 suspension, 157–60
Leave Asia, xxv, 159–60, 214
 lecture, 82, 93
 ledger, 177
 'merchant of learning', xxvi, 177,
 186
 'Mita Political Party', 145
 mother, 3, 8, 13, 21–5, 192, 204
 Nakatsu domain Dutch school in
 Edo, xv, 17, 29–30, 43–4, 56,
 79–80, 100, 164, 185
Nation's Right, A Theory of, xviii, 212
 nationalism, 158, 214
 obituary, 32
Old Domain, 14, 22, 187–8
Opinion of 1877, 205
 outgoing letter, 177
Outline of a Theory of Civilization An,
 xvii, xxv, 87, 89–91, 93, 150,
 160, 174–5, 180
Parliament, 142, 144
People's Economics, xvii, 110
People's Rights, A Theory of, xviii, 212
*Petition on Pirated Editions of
 Translated Books*, 95
*Petition Regarding the Second
 Expedition to Choshu*, 73–5, 78,
 101
Pocket Diary of the West, 47, 51, 71
Presiding over Meetings, 139
 publishing business, xvi, 94–6, 175
 ranking in millionaires' list, 180,
 216
Real Courage, 203
*Relationships between Men and
 Women*, 202
 residence, 6, 12, 25, 82, 86, 173
 sister, 21
Scholar's Division of Labour, A, 141–2,
 144
 Sino-Japanese War, 160 fund raising
 campaign, xx, 160

- Fukuzawa, Yukichi, (*Cont.*)
 son, 77, 94, 160, 165–6, 178–9,
 182–3
 speech, 139
 stipend, 30, 67
Strange Girl, 87
 stroke, 148, 173, 214
 translation business, 69, 73, 79, 96,
 150, 185, 200
Western Clothes, Food and Housing, 82
YFA, xx, 13, 19–20, 22, 41, 79, 194
 wife, 77, 94, 178
 xenophobia, 151
- Ga, Reishi, 207
geisha, 179
 German, 103, 154, 158
 Germany, 71, 186
 Gifu, 183, 206
 Ginza, 140, 146–7, 157
 Glasgow, 55, 178, 183, 216
 Glover, T.B., xv, 122, 126
 Godai, Tomoatsu, 109, 126, 153
 gold, xx, 95, 107–12, 117–18, 166, 175
Golden Age, SS, 57
 Goto, Shojiro, xvii, 123–8, 183, 210
 gradualist, 153
 Great Exhibition of 1862, London,
 48–9, 51
 Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, 208
 Greenwich, 49
 Griffith, W. E., 168
 Guizot, F.P.G., 52, 71, 89, 91
Guardian, The, 214
- Hague, The, 214
 Hakodate, xv
 Battle of, 202
 Halma, François, 191–2
 Hamada, Hikojo (Joseph Heco), 37
 Hanabusa, Yoshimoto, 190
hansatsu, 62–3
 Hara, Rokuro, 109, 114–15
 Harley & Co., 103
 Harris, Townsend, xiv, 31, 45, 192
 Harvard College, 166–9, 182, 184, 215
 graduate, 166, 169
 President, 166
 Hashimoto, Sanai, 190
- Hastings, Warren, 105
 Hatano, Shogoro, 136
 Hawaii, 40, 43, 194
 Hay, Sir John, 46,
 Hayashi, Ken, 136
 Hayashi, Masaaki, 207
 Hayashi, Tadasu, 208
 Hayashi, Yuteki, 100–1, 106–7, 109–10,
 117, 144, 183, 206, 208, 210
 Hayashi Daigaku no Kami, 202
 Heusken, Henry, 45
 Hibi, Osuke, 136
 Higashi Honganji Temple, 133, 135
 Hihara, Shozo, 118
Himalaya, HMS, 46–7
 Hiraga, Satoshi, 136
 Hirose, Saihei, 109
 Hiroshima, 123, 132
 Hitotsubashi, House of, 76
 Hitotsubashi University, 170, 186
 Hizen, 46, 49
see also Saga domain
 Hokkaido Coal & Shipping, 136
Hokkaido Colonization Office Scandal
 xviii, 153
 Holland, 45, 47, 70–1, 191
 Hong Kong, xxii, 46, 108, 126
 Horaisha, 123
 Horen'in, 76–7, 202
 Horikoshi, Kakujiro, 109–10
 Hosokawa, House of, 4, 187
 Hyogo, 45, 53, 105, 131, 208
 Hyogo Trading Co., 101
- Ichikawa, Wataru, 195
 Ii, Naosuke, xv, 9, 38, 74
 Ikeda, Nariakira, 136
 Imaizumi, Mine, 30–1, 33, 77
 Imperial College of Technology, xviii,
 147, 190
 Imperial University, Tokyo, xvii, xix,
 xxiii, 85, 142, 164–6, 169–70, 215
 bureaucracy, 169
 graduate, 169–70
 Law School, 169
 President, 142, 165
 South School, 85, 114
 University of Tokyo, 164, 192, 200,
 215

- Imperial University of Kyoto, 215
 University of Kyoto, 215
- Incheon, 160
- indemnity money, 119
- India, 182, 208
- industry
 banking, 62, 130–1, 135–6, 169–71
 construction, 170
 commerce, 136, 169–70
 insurance, 128, 136, 169–70, 210
 machine manufacturing, 136, 170
 mining, 121, 122–8, 136, 166, 170, 175
 paper, 136
 printing, 170
 railway, 131–4, 169–70
 securities, 136, 169–70
 shipping, xvii, 121, 136, 169–70
 sugar refining, 136
 textile, 136, 170
 warehouse, 136
- inflation, xviii, 62–3, 107, 110–11, 125
- Inoue, Kaoru, xv, xviii, 115–16, 131–5, 149, 151–5, 163, 175–6, 183, 213
- Inoue, Kowashi, 154
- Inland Sea (Setonaikai), 5
- Inukai, Tsuyoshi, 154, 213
- Isahaya, 21, 190
- Ise Shrine, 147
- Ishikawa, Shichizai, 123–4, 126
- Italian, 184, 208
- Italy, 208
- Ito, Hirobumi, xviii, 149, 151–5, 163, 175–6, 183
- Ito, Shinzo, 190
- Iwakura, Tomomi, 92
- Iwakura Mission, xvii, 92, 142, 186, 208
- Iwasaki, House of, 120–8, 167, 175
 Atami, 127
 Hisaya, 122, 167, 183
Large Rock, 127
Small Rock, 127
 Yanosuke, 123–8, 167, 183
 Yataro, 109, 120–8, 131, 147, 155, 171, 176, 183, 185, 208–9
 Yushima, 124–5
- Izawa, Ryoritsu, 136
- Jackson, Andrew, 57
- Japan Daily Advertizer*, 174
- Japan Herald, The*, 68–9, 71, 75, 202
- Japan Times, The*, 174
- Japan's Red Cross, 190
- Japanese Legation
 Amsterdam, 146,
 assistant consul, 150
 London, 108, 118
 New York, 112, 150
 Rome, 146
 San Francisco, 150
 Secretary, 150
- Japanese Student Society, London, 114
- Jardine, Matheson Co., 123–4
 British No. 1, 124
- Jevons, W. S., 104
- Jitsugokyo*, 90, 205
- joint stock company, 101–2
- journalism, 151, 168
- Kagoshima, 4, 18, 68, 152, 154, 190
 British bombardment, xv, 9, 68–9
- Kajima, House of, 11, 99, 188
- Kanagawa, 32
- Kanda, Takahira, 142, 201
- Kanegafuchi Spinning, 136
- Kanrinmaru (Japan)*, xv, xxi, xxiv, 37–44, 46, 61, 178, 180, 182–4, 192, 194, 198, 200
- Kato, Hiroyuki, 142
- Katsu, Kaishu, 38, 41–2, 183, 189, 203
- Katsuragawa, House of, 30–1, 191
 Hoshu 4th, 14, 193
 Hoshu 7th, xv, 30–1, 33–4, 39–40, 77, 183, 193
- Kawada, Koichiro, 210
- Kawamura, Sumiyoshi, 159
- Keio College (Gijuku), xxiii, 67, 80–7, 93, 95, 99–100, 103–5, 113–14, 117, 121–2, 131, 140, 144–5, 147, 149, 154–7, 163–72, 180, 182–6, 203–5, 207, 214
 administration, 86, 93
Agreement for the Incorporation of Keio College, 86
 American teacher, 204
 branch school, xvi–xvii, 83–5, 122, 204

- Keio College (Gijuku), (*Cont.*)
 businessman, 93, 107, 110, 115,
 119, 122, 128, 133, 135–6, 164,
 169–72, 178, 181, 208, 210
Cause of Keio College, 80
 Corporation of, 166
 curriculum for western studies in
 English, 58, 82–3, 100
 Debating Hall, xvii, 139, 141, 147
 dormitory, 82–3
 economics, 83, 85, 115
 fee, 84, 86
 fee income, 86
 finance, 83–6, 163–6
 financial crisis, xviii, 207
 fund raising, 164–5
 graduate, xxiii, 140, 165, 169–72,
 204, 208
 junior school, 86, 122
 Keio Press, 156
 lecture hall, 82, 165
 medical school, 204
 Mita campus, 85–7, 94, 114, 139,
 145, 147, 157, 165–6, 169, 173,
 179, 206, 214
 Mita Debating Society, 139
 monitoring system, 81
 number of students, 82–5, 93, 163–5
 ownership of premises and estate,
 xix, 166–7
Plan for the Support of Keio
 College, 164
 publishing department, xvii, 93, 96,
 103, 112, 156
 regulation, 82
 Shinsenja campus, 80–3, 94
 Support Fund, xviii, 164–5
 teaching staff, 82–4, 86, 93, 144, 165
 textbooks in English, 81–4
 western-time regulation, 82
 Keio University, xxvi, 73, 115, 139,
 165–71, 173, 182, 184, 200–1, 206
 American professor, xx, 166–9, 182,
 215
 Arts Department, 167–9, 215
 businessman, 93, 169–72
 curriculum, 167
 economic policies, 169
 economics, 167–9, 182, 214
 Economics Department, 167–9, 215
 English, 167
 entrance examination, 167–8
 fee, 167
 fund raising, xix, 165–7
 graduate, 169–72
 inaugural ceremony, 168
 Law Department, 167–9, 215
 lecture in English, 167, 169
 Mita campus, 139
 modern economic history, 169
 number of students, 167–8
 President, 115, 166–7, 169
 professor, 166–9, 182–3
 public finance, 169
 Kido, Takayoshi, xv, 110, 150, 152
 Kim, Ok-kyun, 159, 214
 assassination, xx, 214
 Kimura, Matasuke, 39
 Kimura, Yoshitake, 38–9, 41–2, 61, 73,
 183, 194–5, 198, 200
 King's College, London, 48, 184, 208
 King's College Hospital, 48
 King's College School for Boys, London
 48, 80, 82
 Kirin Breweries, 128
 Knapp, A.M., 166–8, 184
 Kobe (Hyogo), 45, 95, 101, 105, 132,
 157
 Koeiji Temple, 19–21, 190
 Koide, Osamu, 136
 Koishikawa, 32–3
 Koizumi, Nobukichi, xvii, 108, 110,
 113–18, 128, 132–3, 145, 165–7,
 184, 208–9, 215
 Koizumi, Shinzo, 115
Kojunsha, xviii, 140, 144–8, 154, 157,
 164
 annual conference, 145, 151
 eighteenth-century English coffee
 house, 140, 146
 founding cost, 146
 free discussion meeting, 148
Kojun zasshi, 140, 154
 letter of invitation, 145–6
 membership, 145–6
 preparatory committee, 144–5
Private Proposal of the Constitution,
 154–5

- promoter, 144–5
 regulation, 145
 Komaki Mine, 166
 Kongoji Temple, 32
 Konoike, House of, 11, 99, 109, 123, 188
 Konoike, Zenemon, 109
 Korea, xix, 123, 132, 157–60, 177, 190
 coup of 1884, xix, 159
 government, 214
 mission to Japan, 159
 Korean, 157, 159–60, 194–5, 214
 Incident, 159, 214
 Kukai (Kobo daishi), 205
 Kuki, Takayoshi, 105
 Kumamoto, 123
 Kumamoto domain, 4
 Kume, Kunitake, 93
 Kuroda, House of, 4, 187
 Nagahiro, 15, 27, 189, 192
 Kuroda, Kiyotaka, 153–4, 163
 Kurume domain, 4
 Kusaka, Yoshio, 115
 Kusumoto, Masataka, 143
 Kyodo Fire Insurance, 136
 Kyogoku, Takaaki, 195
 Kyoto, xv, 9–12, 84–5, 92, 95, 103, 130
 Kyushu (Island), 4–5, 19, 45, 145, 151, 173, 178, 180, 187, 190

 Lancing, Charles B., 198
 see also ‘Charles’
 Lanman, C., 168
 Laughlin, J.L., 169
 league of clan lords, 75
 Levi, L., 104, 114–15, 184, 208
 Liaotong Peninsula, 158
 Lisbon, xxii
 Liscomb, W. S., 168
 Liverpool, 48, 208
 London, xvii, xxii, xxiv–xxv, 47–51, 53–4, 62, 73, 76, 80–1, 100, 103, 108–9, 114–16, 118–19, 122, 149, 179, 182, 184, 196, 202, 208–9, 216
 Longman, William, 51
 Lyons, xxii, 108

 McCulloch, J.R., 52, 71, 102, 104
 McDonald, John, 48
 McLeod, H. D., 104
 Machiavellianism, 151
 Maeno, Ryotaku, 14–15, 189
 Main Island (Honshu), Japan, 4, 19
 Malta, xxii, 46
 Marseilles, xxii, 47
 Maruzen, xxiii, 100–7, 110–12, 117, 122, 128, 144, 173, 175, 181, 183, 185, 207–8, 210
 auditing department, 103
 book, 100, 103–6
 branch, 103, 105–6, 116, 122
 catalogue, 104
 clothes, 103, 106
 company form, 100–2
 finance, 101, 106–7
 Maruya Zenpachi, 101
 life insurance scheme, 128
 pharmaceutical product, 103
 Prospectus, 101–2
 shareholder, 101, 106
 stationery, 103
 Maruya Bank, 107, 113,
 Masuda, Kosai, 196,
 see also Yamatov
 Masuda, Takashi, 109, 132–3, 184
 Matsudaira, Yasuhide, 195
 Matsukata, Masayoshi, xviii, 118, 209
 Matsuki, Koan (Munenori Terashima), 29, 46, 48, 52, 184, 192
 Matsumoto, Judayu, 56, 59–62, 199
 Medhurst, W.H., 52, 73, 197
 Meiji, 50, 92, 109, 173
 Bank Decree, 118
 bureaucracy, 79, 156, 169, 180
 bureaucrat, 153, 169
 cabinet, xix, 94, 123, 131, 152–4, 162–3, 175
 censorship, 96, 149, 157–61
 chamberlain of the Court, 153
 Charter Oath, xvi, 152
 Civil War (Boshin senso), xvi, 74, 78
 Constitution, xix, 153–5
 Diet, xx, 149, 151
 Educational Order, 142
 Educational System Decree, 84,

Meiji, (*Cont.*)

Emperor, xvi, 78, 149–50, 153–4, 168, 173

see also Mutsuhito government, 78–9, 84–5, 93, 96, 99–100, 107, 109, 113, 117–18, 121–2, 131, 133, 140–3, 146, 149–50, 157–63, 175, 177, 183, 187, 203
government newspaper, 113, 150–2, 175, 183

Hokkaido Colonization Office, xviii, 153–4

imperial army, xxiv, 78, 82, 132, 159–60, 205

Imperial Court, 153

Imperial House, 159

Imperial Household Agency, 167

Imperial Instructions for Soldiers and Sailors, xix, 142

Imperial Rescript for Education, xx, 142

Imperial Tour, 153–4

Japan's Mining Law, 122–3

Japan National Railway, 132

Tokaido line, 132

Libel Law, xvii, 149

Minister for Hokkaido Colonization Office, 163

Minister of Education, 142, 163, 184, 186

Minister of Finance, 104, 110, 112, 116, 118, 125, 127, 131, 185

Minister of Foreign Affairs, 176, 184

Minister of Navy, 159

Minister of the Right, 154

Ministry of Education (Monbusho), 84–5, 142–4, 182, 204, 212

Ministry of Finance, 92, 116, 127, 144, 163, 165, 176, 184–6

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, xxiv, 156

Ministry of Interior, 163

Ministry of Military, 203

Ministry of Works, 115, 163

Mutsuhito (Meiji Emperor), xvi, 78, 149–50, 153–4, 173

oligarch, 110, 126, 142, 149, 151, 157, 175, 177, 183, 185, 210

parliament, 149, 152

Prefectural Council Regulations, 142

prefectural system, 99

Press Ordinance, xvii, 149, 157

Prime Minister, 162

Private Railway Decree, 131

Publication Decree, 96

Restoration, xvi, xxiv–xxv, 71, 76–7, 82, 87, 109, 121, 123, 144, 163, 173, 183, 185, 187, 192, 205

salary of cabinet minister, 94

Senate, 115

Treasury, 113, 143

Meiji Fourteenth Year Political Crisis, xviii, 118, 131, 153–5, 165, 175–6

Meiji Gijuku, 207

Meiji Hall, xviii, 140, 147, 164, 212
construction cost, 147

Meiji Horitsu Gakko, 170

Meiji Life Insurance, xviii, 128, 182, 210

Meiji 6 Society, 139, 141–2, 184, 212

Meiji University, 170, 216

Metropolitan Hotel, New York, 57, 198

Mexican dollar, 58, 112–13, 116, 123, 198

Mexico, xxi, 40

Mill, J.S., 89, 91, 105, 169, 207

Milwaukee, 169

Mino, 206

Minomura, Risuke, 109, 134–5

Mito, 45, 78

Mitsubishi, xvii, xxiii, 109, 120–9, 131, 136, 153, 155, 171, 173, 175–6, 178, 181, 183–5, 208, 210
copper mine, 121

Mitsukawa Shokai, 121

Shanghai Yokohama line, xvii, 121

silk workshop, 121

steamship, 120–1

Three Diamonds, 121

Tsukumo Shokai, 121

Mitsubishi & Co., 122, 183

Mitsubishi Bank, 119, 128–9, 170–1

Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, 128

- Mitsubishi School of Commerce, xviii, 104, 122
 Mitsubishi Tokyo Bank, 171
 Mitsubishi Trust Bank, 128
 Mitsubishi Trading Co. (Shoji), 128
 Mitsui, House of, xx, xxiii, 109, 123, 130–6, 171, 173, 181–2, 188
 Board of Directors for Mitsui Business, 135
 Board of Directors for Mitsui Companies, 135
 Cathedral, 132–3
 crisis of 1890, 133
 Family Board, 135
 Mitsui Constitution, 135–6
 Shop, 130
 senior manager, 131, 133–6
 Takayuki, 134
 Mitsui Bank, xvii, 119, 128, 131, 133–5, 170–1, 184–5
 government business, 132–3, 135
 Nakamigawa Age, 134
 over-lending, 133, 135
 Mitsui Sumitomo Bank, 171
 Mitsui Trading Co. (Bussan), xvii, 131, 133, 184
 Mitsukoshi, 136
 Mitsukuri, Genpo, 191
 Mitsukuri, Rinsho, 199
 Mitsukuri, Shuhei, 46, 48, 53, 142, 184, 199
 monogamy, 76–7
 Montesquieu, C.L. de S., 105, 207
 Mori, House of, 74
 Mori, Arinori, xvii, 139–40, 184, 211
 assassination, 184, 211
 Morishita, Iwakusu, 144, 154
 Moriyama, Takichiro (Einosuke), xv, 32–3, 39, 48, 50, 53, 192–3, 200
 Morris, G.P., 102, 184
 Motoyama, Hikoichi, 132
 Muragaki, Norimasa, 38–9, 193
 Murakami, Gensui, 189
 Murakami, Hidetoshi, 199
 Murakami, Sadamu, 136
 Murray, David, 212
 Muto, Sanji, 136
 Nabeshima, House of, 4, 187
 Naohiro, 146
 Nagaoka, Moriyoshi, 146
 Nagasaki, xiv–xv, xxii, xxiv, 3–5, 9, 14, 17–23, 29, 31, 40, 46, 73, 121, 126, 130, 165, 173, 180, 183–6, 189–91, 193–5, 197, 203
 magistrate (*daikan*), 19
 Nagayo, Sensai, 190
 Nagoya, 103, 130, 206
 Nakahama, Manjiro (John Mung), 38, 40, 42, 184, 193, 198, 200
 Nakai, Hiroshi, 55
 Nakai, Yoshigusu, 119, 184, 204, 209
 Nakamigawa, Hikojiro, xvii, xix, xx, 93, 95, 114–16, 128, 131–6, 145, 154, 156, 165–7, 171, 176, 179, 184–5, 208, 211
 Nakamura, Masanao, 142
 Nakamura, Michita, 103, 107–8, 110, 116–17, 134, 156, 185
 Nakatsu domain, xxiv–xxv, 3–19, 21–5, 29, 33, 43, 49–50, 54, 73, 76, 79, 85, 90, 99, 105, 116, 173, 178, 182, 185, 187–9, 191, 201–2
 accountancy, 3, 7, 9, 99
 administration, 5–6
 castle, 3, 6–7, 18, 23–4
 Dutch-style house, 15
 Edo office, 5, 30, 50, 76–7, 80, 83, 194
 house elder, 18
 minister, 5, 9, 18–19, 29
 Osaka office, 3, 9–12, 18, 22–3, 99, 190
 rebellion, 9, 22
 samurai class structure, 5–9, 12
 samurai duty, 5, 23–4, 79
 samurai life, 6–9, 187
 samurai side job, 7–8, 14
 school, 13–14
 Shinshukan, 13
 Napoleon, Louis, 47
 Napoleonic Wars, 191
 Narutakijuku, 15, 189
 national bond, 74
 Netherlands Trading Society, 122–3
 New York, xxi, 40, 55–8, 62, 100, 108, 208

- New York SS*, 57
New York Times, The, 58–61
 Newcastle upon Tyne, 48
 Nihon Yusen, xix, 128, 183
 Nihonbashi, 157, 208
 Niigata, 45, 53, 116–17
Nine Chinese Classics, 172
 Nishi, Amane, 142
 Nishimatsu, Takashi, 136
 Nishimura, Teishiro, 134–5
 Noguchi, Torajiro, 136
- Obata, Einosuke, 95
 Obata, Tokujiro, 144–5, 185, 207
Oceanic, SS, 178
Odin, HMS, 46, 53
 Oe, Shunto, 189
 Ogasawara, Nagamichi, 202
 Ogata, Koan, 22–3, 25–8, 30, 185, 190, 192
 Ogata, Sessai, 23, 192
 Oguri, Tadamasu, 38
 Oita, 5, 19, 121, 185–6, 190
 Oji Paper Making, 136
 Okada, Setsuzo, 202
 Okadaya, 94–5
 Okami, Hikoza, 29, 44, 185, 192
 Okamoto, Shukichi, 192, 195
 Okayama, 184
 Okubo, Toshimichi, xvii–xviii, 110, 113, 140–1, 149, 152, 155, 185, 211
 Okudaira, House of, xxiv, 5, 43, 94, 99, 173, 185, 206
 Iki, house elder, 3, 5, 9, 18–21, 30, 185–6, 190
 Masahira (Yohei), house elder, 21
 Masaka, 3rd Lord, 14
 Masamichi, 7th Lord, 15
 Masamoto, 8th Lord, 15
 Masanobu, 6th Lord, 15, 76
 Masataka, 5th Lord, 10–13, 15–17, 21, 27, 44, 76, 185, 189, 192
 Okkotsu, Taruitsu, 199
 Okuma, Shigenobu, xviii–xix, 104, 110–13, 116–18, 125–7, 131, 149, 151–5, 163, 175–6, 185–6, 207–8
 Okura, Kihachiro, 109
 Okura Trading Co., 109
- Old University of Chicago, 204
 Omura, Masujiro, 190
 Ono, Gishin, 127
 Ono, Tomogoro, xvi, 56, 59–62, 183, 185, 199
 Ono, Tomojiro, 135,
 open port, 4, 18–21, 108, 173
 Oriental Bank, 118
 Osaka, xiv, 3–4, 9–12, 17, 21–8, 29–30, 33, 45, 53, 78–9, 84–5, 92–5, 99, 101, 103, 105–6, 109, 112, 116, 121–3, 130, 145, 156, 165, 185, 188, 195, 204
 rice market, 9–11
 warehouse agent, 11
 Osaka Chamber of Commerce, 109
 Ota, Sukeyoshi, 204
 Otokichi, 53, 197
 Otori, Keisuke, 190
 Otsuki, Yasutaro, 199
 Owara, Shindayu, 56, 69, 185, 197
 Owari, 186
 Ozaki, Yukio, 207
- Pacific Mail Steamship Co., 56
 Pacific Ocean, 40–1, 182, 194
 Palgrave, R.F.D., 105, 207
 Panama, xiv, xxi, 40, 57
 paper currency, 62, 95, 107–9, 111–12, 125–6
 Paris, xxii, 47, 202
 Parkes, Harry, xv
 Partnership, 101–2
 active partner, 101–2
 sleeping partner, 101–2
 Paternoster Row, London, 51–4, 71
 Perry, Matthew C, xiv, 18–19, 31
 Peter the Great, 194
Petition for the Foundation of a Parliament Elected by the People, xvii, 210
 Phaeton Incident, 191
 Philadelphia, 182
 Polygamy, 76
 Pompe van Meedervoort, J.L.C., 192
 Porter, Admiral D.D., 57
 Portugal, 45, 47, 71
Posadonik, 45
Powhatan, 37–8, 40, 57, 193–4

- Presbyterian, 204
 Prussia, 45, 47, 71
 Constitution, 154
 Prussian, 154
 Pruyn, Robert, 55–7, 62
 public school (*gijuku*), 80
 Putnam & Sons, G.P., 59–60
- radicalism, 153
 rice market, 10
 see also Osaka
 Richardson, Charles, 68
 Richardson (Namamugi) Incident, xv,
 9, 67–8, 197, 200
 Roesler, K.E.H., 154
 Roman & Co., 103
 Rosny, L.L.L.P. de, 47, 185, 195
 Russell, Earl, 48
 Russia, 45, 47, 71, 197
 Russian, xv, xx, 31, 45, 48, 53, 57,
 157–8, 195, 197
ryogae, 10–12, 92, 109, 130
 Ryukyū, xviii, 121
- Sado Island, 184
 Saeki, 186
 Saga domain, 4, 18, 110, 122, 175,
 190
 Saigo, Takamori, 205
 Saigo, Tsugumichi, 163
 St Andrews, 51
 St Mary's Hospital, London, 48
 St Paul's Cathedral, 49, 51
 St Petersburg, xxii, 47–8, 197
 Sairyūsha, 106
 Saitama, 185
 Sakhalin, 53
 Sakuma, Shozan, 16, 29, 189
 Samejima, Naonobu, 211
 Samejima, Takenosuke, 140
 Samurai, 20, 24, 26, 39, 80, 182–5,
 187–8, 191, 194, 201
 ashigaru, 6
 lower ranking samurai, xxiv, 3, 5–8,
 11, 14, 17–18, 22, 27, 37, 39, 43,
 90, 121, 173
 sword, 27, 48, 79, 203
 upper ranking samurai, xxiv, 5–8, 29,
 43–4, 123, 177
- San Francisco, xxi, xxiv, 40, 42–4,
 56–8, 103, 108, 185, 195
 Sanda domain, 105
 Sanjo, Sanetomi, 154
 Sano, Tsunetami, 190
 Sanyo Railway Co., xix, 131–3, 135,
 165, 176, 211
Sat-Cho faction (clique), 55, 110, 118,
 126–7, 131, 152, 175
 Satow, Ernest, 196
 Satsuma belt, 149
 Satsuma (Kagoshima) domain, xvi, 4,
 29, 46, 55–6, 68–75, 78, 126,
 152–4, 175, 184–5, 202
 faction, 110, 118, 126, 152–4, 175
 Satsuma Rebellion, xvii, 93, 107, 110,
 125, 163, 187, 205
 Schmoller, G. von, 169
 Scotland, 48, 51, 102, 216
 Seacombe, J., 47
 Seishoji Temple, 145
 Seki, Shinpachi, 57, 200
 Sendai domain, 56, 59, 67, 69, 185–6,
 194, 197
 Yokendo, 59, 194
 Seoul, 160
 Incident, 160
 Seward, W.H., 57, 198
 Shand, A.A., 92, 209
 Shanghai, 53, 108, 126
 Shiba, 44
 Shibata, Takenaka, 45–6, 50, 195–6
 Shibaura Manufacturing, 136
 Shibusawa, Eiichi, 109, 128, 132–3, 185
 Shiga, 103, 116
 Shikoku, 114, 121, 190, 204
 Shimabara domain, 85
 Shimabara Uprising, 7
 Shimazu, House of, 4, 5, 15, 68, 187
 Shigetake, 15, 192
 Shimazu, Suketaro, 49, 76, 196
 Shimoda, xiv, 40, 182
 Shimonoseki, xv, 74
 Shimonoseki Treaty, xx, 119
 Shinagawa, xxi, 16, 40, 45, 81, 180, 200
 Shinmi, Masaoki, 38, 193
 Shinsenza, xvi, 44, 77, 80–3, 85–6, 113,
 207
 Shioda, Saburo, 199

- Shoda, Heigoro, 92, 121–2, 124, 128,
131–2, 145, 167, 171, 185, 204,
209–10
- Siebold, Alexander, 195
- Siebold, Philip Franz von, 15, 189, 195
- silver, 95, 108–13, 117–18, 125, 175
- Simmons, B., 166
- Singapore, xxii, 46, 53
- sinking fund, 74
- Sino-Japanese War, xx, 119, 132, 160,
177, 184
- South Kensington Museum, 48
- Spencer, H., 105, 207
- specie (gold and silver), 95, 109–12,
118–19, 175
- stipend, 30, 67, 187
- stock exchange, 102
- Stonewall*, USS, 57, 61
- Suez, xxii, 46
- Sugi, Koji, 29, 190, 192
- Sugita, Genpaku, 14, 199
- Sugita, Genzui, 199
- Sumitomo, House of, 109, 188
- Sumitomo Bank, 119, 170–1
- Suzuki, Umeshiro, 136
- Taiheiki*, 91, 205
- Taiwan Expedition, xvii, 121
- Takabatake, Goro, 199
- Takagi, Saburo, 150
- Takagi, Sakuemon, 19, 190
- Takahashi, Korekiyo, 209
- Takahashi, Yoshio, 132–3
- Takamatsu, Ryoum, 190
- Takashima, Shuhan, 29
- Takashima Coal Mine, xvii–xviii,
122–8, 155, 175–6, 183, 210
coal price, 126
contingent account, 126
strike, 125
- Takeuchi, Yasunori, 45
- Tamamushi, Sadayu, 194
- Tanaka, Fujimaro, 142, 182, 185, 212
- Taussig, F.W., 169
- Tekijuku*, xiv–xv, 21–7, 29, 30, 33, 41,
79, 81, 93, 95, 185, 191–2, 208
- Teppozu, 30, 44
- Tezuka, Ritsuzo, 199
- Thames Tunnel, 49
- Thirty Third National Bank of Tokyo,
135
- Times, The*, 46
- Tojin Warehouse, 136
- Tojo, Reizo, 199
- Toki, Tarohachi, 43–4
- Tokio Marine, xviii, 128
- Tokugawa, House of, 3, 67, 73, 78, 81
Ienari, 11th Shogun, 15
Yoshinobu (Keiki), 15th Shogun,
76, 78
- Tokushima, 204
- Tokyo, 29, 45, 67, 85, 92–4, 100, 103,
106, 109, 112, 114, 121–3, 140,
143, 147, 156–7, 166–7, 180, 193,
196, 204, 208, 215
City Council, xviii, 143–4:
chairman, xviii, 143–4;
councillor, 143; election, 143–4;
vice-chairman, 143–4 Governor,
143
- Tokyo Academy, xviii, 142–4, 186, 212
Proceedings, 143
- Tokyo Publishers Association, 95
- Tokyo Mitsubishi Bank, 119, 171
- Tokyo nichinichi shinbun*, 143, 150, 156,
182
- Tokyo Senmon Gakko, xix, 170
- Tokyo Shogyo Gakko, 170
- Tokyo Trust Co., 136
- Tokyo Yokohama mainichi shinbun*, 151
- Tomita, Tetsunosuke, 112, 150, 185
- Tosa domain, 121–2, 152, 183–4, 202
- Tower of London, 49
- Toyohashi domain, 116, 182, 185
- Toyokawa, Ryuhei, 122
- Toyokuni Bank, 170
- Toyotomi, House of, 4
- Tozenji Incident, xv, 200
- Tozenji Temple, xv, 45, 53, 68, 200
- Trading Company Ltd, 208–9
- transpacific regular service, 56
- treaty of amity and trades, 31,
37–8, 53
- treaty port, xv, 4, 19, 37, 47, 53, 108,
130
- tripartite intervention, 157–8
- Trübner, Nicholas, 51
- Trübner & Co., 51

- Tsuda, Koji, 136
 Tsuda, Mamichi, 142
 Tsukiji, 30, 33, 77, 80
 Tsushima Island, xv, 45
 Tsuyama, 184
 Tycoon, 75
 see also bakufu
 Tycoon's monarchy, 202
- Ueno, 154
 Ueno Park, 124
 Ujina, 132
 Union Bank of London, 62
 Unitarianism, 166–8
 Unitarian Association in USA, 167
 Unitarian in Japan, 167
 Unitarian Mission to Japan, 166, 184
 United States of America, xxi, xxiv, 19,
 31, 37–40, 43, 55–62, 70, 167–8,
 173, 178–80, 182–3, 185, 193–4,
 196, 201
 Civil War, xv, 46, 55–7, 62, 110
 consul in Japan, 31, 45, 55–7, 198
 Dispatch Agent, 198,
 legation in Japan, 37, 58, 198, 200
 minister in Japan, 56
 Naval Academy, 57
 President, xv, 57, 194, 198
 Secretary of State, 57, 198
 Secretary of Treasury, 57
 State Department, 57–9, 198
 White House, 57, 194, 198
 University of St Andrews, 51
 University of Glasgow, 183
 University of South Dakota, 182
 Uraga, 40, 43
 Usuki domain, 121, 185
 Uwajima domain, 114
- Valkenburgh, General R.B. van, 56
 venereal disease, 100
 Victoria, Queen, xiv, xx, 48
 Vladivostok, 208
- Wada, Shinjiro, 94, 99–100, 106, 205
 Wada, Toyoji, 136
 Wagner, A.H.G., 169
 Wakayama domain, 56, 95, 113–14,
 184, 209, 215
- Wakiya, Usaburo, 199
 Walsh, Hall & Co., 58
 Waseda University, xix, 170, 193, 216
 Washington, xxi, 37–8, 40, 55–8, 61,
 193–4, 198
 Watanabe, Koki, 165
 Watanabe, Shujiro, 185
 Wayland, F., 52, 71, 81–2, 89–90, 101,
 196
 Webster, Noah, 42
Webster's Dictionary, 59–60
 western power, 31, 75
 western technology and science, 4, 16,
 20, 23–5, 27, 54, 87, 202
 arsenal, 49
 artillery, 18–20, 186
 dock, 41, 49
 gas lamp, 41
 gunnery, 16, 19–20, 25
 industry, 54
 medicine, 19
 military, 16, 24–5, 70–1, 79
 railway, 56–7
 rifle, 57
 shipbuilding, 41, 55–6
 steam engine, 41, 192
 steam locomotive, 192
 steamship, 38, 41, 56, 197
 telegraph station, 41, 49
 western gentlemanly code, 171
 westerner, 39, 45, 150, 160
 Wigmore, J.H., 168
 Woolwich, 49
- Yamada, Ryosaku, 105
 Yamaguchi, Ryozo, 56, 84, 95, 190, 208
 Yamagata, Aritomo, 131, 157
 Yamamoto, Monojiro, 19–21, 185, 190
 Yamamoto, Tatsuo, 119
 Yamanouchi, House of, 121
 Yamao, Yoza, 55
 Yamatov, 196
 see also Masuda, Kosai
 Yanagi, Sotaro, 136
 Yano, Fumio (Ryukei), 144, 154, 185,
 204, 207
 Yasuda, Zenjiro, 109
 Yasuda Bank, 109, 119, 170–1
yatoi, 126, 150, 154

- Yoda, Seki, 136
- Yokohama, xv, xxi, xxiv, 40, 44, 56,
58, 60–2, 68–9, 94, 100, 103, 108,
110–14, 119, 122–3, 168, 193,
198–9
- Yokohama Specie Bank, xviii, xxiii, 63,
107–19, 126, 133, 135, 155, 163,
165, 170–1, 173, 175–6, 181,
184–5, 204, 208–9, 215
- agency, 108
- banknote, 117
- capital, 108, 110, 117
- London branch, xix, 108, 118–19,
184, 204
- overseas branch, 108, 118
- Prospectus of the Foundation*, 117–18
- shareholder, 108–9
- specie (gold and silver), 108
- York, 48
- Yoshida, Shoin, 16, 29
- zaibatsu*, xxiii, 109, 122, 128, 136, 170,
181
- parent company, 170