

Nakai Hiromu's, *A Travel Sketch of the West*  
—*A New Account of Crossing the Seas, Book Two:*  
An Annotated Translation

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概 要

本稿は薩摩藩士の中井弘（なかい・ひろむ、1838–1894）の航海日記の第二部を英訳したものであり、第一部は愛知県立大学外国語学部紀要（地域研究・国際学編）第45号（2013）に掲載された。

中井弘は1866年10月15日（旧暦）に日本を出て、約二ヶ月間の船旅を経てイギリスに到着した。約四ヶ月間イギリスに滞在し、その後はフランスのパリやマルセイユを經由して日本に帰った。旅の途中で日記を執筆し、帰国後、1868年に『目見耳聞—西洋紀行』、そして1870年に『西洋紀行—航海新説』として出版された。本日記は当時の西洋事情を中井弘が説明されたものであるが、中井自身は英語能力がないため説明が浅いと思われることがある。とはいえ、一人の侍としての個人体験なので大変珍しい大切な史料なのである。本稿の翻訳者が執筆した博士論文（*Nakai Hiromu: Meiji Statesman and Hero of Anglo-Japanese Relations*, 京都大学、2012）の付録のため初めて『西洋紀行—航海新説』の第一部と第二部は完全英訳され、これもまた大切な研究成果の一つといえる。

本稿は『西洋紀行—航海新説』の下巻のみである。上巻では船旅の説明が主であるが、下巻では中井はイギリス本国に到着し、ロンドン、リバプール、マンチェスターやドーバーなどで何を見たか、何を体験したかが説明されている。但し船旅の途中で毎日必ず日記を書いていたが、イギリスに到着してから毎日記述はしてない。更に第二部の最後の部分はロンドンニュースの説明が多く、日記と異なる形式になっている。第一部と同じ様に第二部には漢詩がいくつか書かれているが、イギリスに着いてからは漢詩を書いていない。中井は土佐藩士の結城幸安と共に旅していたが、イギリスに着いてから他の薩摩藩士などと会ったことが日記に書かれた。

中井は日本に帰る途中、パリで行われていた万博を訪れた。その時、幕府のパビリオンそして薩摩藩のパビリオンが展示されていた。当時はまだ日本という国というより幕府と各藩の意識の方が強かったことを証明する。しか

しその後中井も含めて日本から出た侍たちは徐々に日本という国を意識し始めた。中井の日記にもその故を見ることができる。日本という国はまさに転換期を経験している時に中井弘は本旅日記を書いていたので重要な史料である。

キーワード (Keywords)

Travel writing, diary writing, 19th century sea travel, Bakumatsu Japan, Victorian Britain

### Translator's Foreword and Introduction

Nakai Hiromu (1838–1894) was a Satsuma born samurai, the eldest son of Yokoyama Eisuke. He played a key, yet now little-known role in Japan's early modernisation. Despite his lack of English linguistic skills, he was sent to Britain at the end of 1866. He stayed in Britain for almost four months before stopping in Paris for the Paris Expo and then returning to Japan in early 1867. It is believed that he was sent to Britain by Gotō Shōjirō (1838–1897) a samurai retainer of the Tosa domain and the well-known Tosa samurai of lower rank Sakamoto Ryōma (1835–1867). He travelled to Britain with another Tosa man called Yūki Yukiyasu (dates unknown).

As can be seen from the travel diary, upon his arrival in Britain, Nakai soon met up with some fellow Satsuma men who had earlier travelled to Britain in 1865. However, Nakai had travelled under the auspices of the Tosa domain. He had abandoned his own domain of Satsuma and was working with the men from Tosa. This explains why Nakai is not commemorated in the monument that now stands outside Kagoshima city's Chuo Station which was erected in 1982 to celebrate the lives of the Satsuma men who travelled to Britain in 1865. In *Book Two* of his travel journal, he describes meeting, among others, Matsuki Kōan (later known as Terashima Munenori, the first Minister for Education in the Meiji government) and Godai Tomoatsu, who later became the founder of the Osaka Chamber of Commerce.

This is the first time that Nakai Hiromu's *Seiyō Kikō Kōkai Shinsetsu* (*A Travel Sketch of the West—A New Account of Crossing the Seas*) has been translated in full and published in English. The original work is published in

two books. This paper provides a translation of *Book Two*. A translation of *Book One* was published in volume number 45 of *The Journal of the School of Foreign Studies, Aichi Prefectural University*<sup>1</sup>.

*Book Two* of Nakai's journal has a slightly different feel to *Book One*. In *Book Two* Nakai arrives in Britain during the cold winter months. For the first few days in London, Nakai describes visiting Crystal Palace, London Bridge, a cathedral (though he does not specify which one); he goes to a hospital he calls St. John's and sees other places in London and around Britain. Then suddenly his daily diary entries stop and he writes a long section describing various aspects of his experience, including observing Queen Victoria travelling through the streets of London with the crowds cheering her on. Nakai is struck with surprise because it is a very different reception to what a *daimyo* or the *Shogun* would receive in Japan where the crowds are expected to prostrate themselves on the ground in silence and not look at their superior passing by.

Following that section, Nakai then gives a subheading, "London News" and gives a detailed explanation of what he has learned from the London newspapers, although he does not explain which newspapers.

In both *Book One* and *Book Two*, there are several short pieces of commentary throughout the text by Chinese poetry experts Washizu Kidō<sup>2</sup> and Ōnuma Chinzan<sup>3</sup>, both of whom appear to have been on familiar terms with Nakai. As with the translation of *Book One*, these sections of commentary have been given in italics. Again, Nakai's own pieces of poetry have been centre-aligned. Any underlined sections of the translation are those which Nakai himself underlines in the original text, indicative of his intention to stress their meaning or significance.

Some sections or phrases within the journal have been difficult to translate in terms of the meaning of the original Japanese. Therefore, where a section of the translation, or the reading of a word, for example, is unclear, a footnote provides explanation. Any remaining mistakes are however, solely the responsibility of this author/translator, and it is hoped that improved versions created in future will clarify any errors.

Finally, it should also be noted that in his last paragraph of the journal,

Nakai notes that it was not originally his intention to publish the journal and this explains its somewhat haphazard nature, perhaps particularly in the final sections where he stops giving dates for his daily activities. He explains that he only wished for his friends and colleagues to see it in case they could use it as a reference in their own experiences in travelling abroad. He notes that he does not believe his writings will be of “any benefit to the world at large”. Therefore, by rendering the journal into English and giving an English-speaking audience the opportunity to examine his experiences, it is this translator’s hope that he has not been done a disservice. Indeed, by allowing broader opportunities for more people to understand his experiences during his travels, there may be a possibility for greater understanding of Japan and its connection with the wider world.

Eleanor Robinson  
Aichi, October 2013

## **A Travel Sketch of the West—A New Account of Crossing the Seas, Book Two<sup>4</sup>**

**By Nakai Hiromu**

### **12.1<sup>5</sup>**

The waves are very high today. The ship was tossed about greatly and I went to feel sick.

### **12.2**

There were strong winds and a blizzard of snowfall covered the deck of the ship. The ship seemed to race between the huge waves like an arrow, making me feel like we were falling into the stream of a deep mountain valley.

### **12.3**

From Alexandria to the island of Malta; 819 leagues.

At 12 o’clock, our ship dropped anchor at Malta. I dashed off with two British men in a small boat we had hired and went on land. Along the coast

of the island, there are gunning batteries set up and the place is like a great fort. Inside the city gates, all along the length and breadth of the city roads, there are buildings about three stories high. The roads are all clean and paved with stone, displaying the mastery of manpower. I took a horse-drawn carriage around the town, and soon after, went to have lunch within the walls of the city. The outskirts of the city are full of clear, open land and there are no trees for miles. There are only a handful of fields, a few square-yards in size, which are full of barley plants. There was a house with a garden, and in the garden, there were many fruit-bearing trees growing like a forest. I took a rest here and for the first time was able to relax from the exhausting sea journey. On the way back, I climbed up to the gunning battery on the coast and enjoyed the view. At the waterside, docked in the large bay, there are three warships. The gunning battery is built into three levels; its durability is beyond comparison with Japanese gunning batteries. In addition, there are barracks for British soldiers in each area. I was told that the soldiers practice every day with small firearms. I bought some coral pearls and sea sponge, and then returned to the steamship. I wrote letters to Godai and Gotō<sup>6</sup> and took them to a British express delivery post office to send off.

#### 12.4

Last night at 6 o'clock, the ship's ropes were untied from the dock and this morning until about 12 o'clock we could still see the mountains and hills of Africa sticking out from the ocean in the distance. Also, I could see the sails of some twenty-odd trading ships. The sails looked like pregnant women in the wind as the ships sailed back and forth. It was such a rare scene for me I can hardly describe it.

On this day, the waves were calm and the wind was light, so I strolled around the deck of our ship. On the express ship that I am on, the captain has his wife aboard, but I have not met her yet. She is the only woman onboard, and she is very beautiful. They are always walking around the deck together, and they sleep, wake, eat and drink together. There are three classes of upper, middle and lower on the express ships, which Westerners take to travel to various countries. To rent an upper class cabin costs one hundred and twenty-

two English pounds. There is a very big difference in the service provided. Those who buy tickets for the very lower class of cabin must suffer a terrible humiliation. They have no freedom, and it is a real effort for them all living together, hemmed in as they are. There are many passengers crowding the rooms and even the sailors and the captain show their contempt for them. I bought a first class cabin ticket and therefore avoided bringing such shame upon myself.

## 12.5

Last night, one of the English men died. He was given a burial at sea. He had been living in Calcutta in India and had become ill, so he wanted to return to his country in order to get better, but he died on the way. It is a truly miserable state of affairs. In the morning there was a strong wind blowing in from the west. The huge waves roared angrily and crashed onto the decks of the ship. Then suddenly a strong wind began to blow. I really do not like ships. Often, before, when I sailed through the dangerous waters between Naruto and Genkai<sup>7</sup>, even though the wind and waves were only slight, I still went to feel sick. Today as I sail many thousand leagues across the great ocean and I see the effects of the strong winds and waves, I recall the waves of the seas of Japan and realise they are merely the ripples of a small garden pond. I hear that when the seasons are changing over from summer to autumn, in Hong Kong and Singapore there are very strong winds, and this is dangerous for Western ships, so they try to avoid such times. Thus, when it comes to the art of navigation, the Japanese experts have no experience in such waters. They are simply all full of talk, deceiving and deluding each other and everyone else. They cannot even begin to imagine what it is really like.

Su Shi<sup>8</sup> says that without truly seeing and hearing things for oneself, one cannot truly be certain of the existence of things.

Indeed, this is so.

*Kidō: These words are certainly true. His words demonstrate the need for proof that some things are really not exaggerated.*

## 12.6

Clear skies and the wind is still roaring, although compared with last night  
it is much calmer.

Life Aboard Ship Described in a Selection of Poems

Seeing the huge wild waves with my own eyes,  
It feels like a mountain of snow is collapsing all around me.  
My being a thousand miles away in Western seas,  
Seems to have happened overnight.  
It is laughable to think that Xu Fu<sup>9</sup>,  
On his search for the Elixir of Life,  
Only got as far as Japan in his poor vessel.

*Kidō: It is not like him to express such ridicule.*

I do not want for any earthly glory.  
Many years I have spent just drifting through life.  
Simply happy with the abundance of lucky coincidences I've had,  
I am travelling around three continents<sup>10</sup> of the globe.

Now there is much intercourse between nations,  
Across the four corners of the globe; many advocating peace.  
It is time to stop the cries of “Rich nation, Strong army”.  
As a man, my top priority is to open my heart to the world,  
And so I have raced across the many thousands of leagues to see the West.

*Chinzan: These days, people believe that with only the teachings of Confucianism we will turn into uneducated fools, but two thousand years ago Zou Yan<sup>11</sup> said that outside of the nine lands, there are another nine lands. In other words, outside of the world we know, there are another three large continents. These Confucian ideas are perhaps not so foolish after all.*

## 12.7

An Englishman brought a book to show me. In it there were maps of

Osaka and Hyōgo. I was surprised to see that they were very detailed. Also in the book, the customs and characters of the Japanese people were described. I cannot understand Western writings, and I could only listen to the Englishman's explanation and get the gist of what the book said.

The wind is a westerly one going against us, making our progress even more slow. We are sailing between Spain and Africa. Tomorrow at 4 o'clock, we should reach Gibraltar. Tonight, I heard that there is an Australian trade ship going in the opposite direction against the wind. Such an extraordinary feat of steering truly demonstrates the height of man's skills in engineering.

I was told that the capital of Turkey is Constantinople. There we can find the entrance to the Black Sea. The great bay of the Black Sea spreads out wide over many thousand miles and is an important route to Russia, where the strategic point of the Crimean Peninsula juts out into the Black Sea like a great island. In previous years, the three nations of France, Britain and Turkey formed an alliance and fought a war against Russia at the coastal city of Sevastopol<sup>12</sup> that lasted almost three years. Today I listened to the explanation of an Englishman. He said that in recent years Russia's strength has become great and they have built great forts along the coast and developed excellent naval defence policies. Nevertheless, the Mediterranean Sea is well protected by the British and French, and the Russians would never be able to take over the Mediterranean Sea area. Like the Japanese situation in Ezo<sup>13</sup>, it is clear that the Russians freely intend to overrun and develop the area around the Amur River.

*Kidō: The Emperor has already spoken about this, saying it is good for the nation<sup>14</sup>. This is very good.*

In this way, in associating with foreign countries we must make our intentions for war or peace clear. It is necessary that we do not lose the good relations and trust we now have with Britain, France, Russia and each of the other nations. Now suddenly, the Japanese people are being required to follow Western ways and this has not been favourable; instead it brings only unnecessary chaos. Today, Western nations have overrun the four seas. Over many hundreds of years of history and development, their peoples have settled into peaceful and sufficiently prosperous nations. They did not

develop instantaneously.

*Kidō: We have reached an important point. This is a truly pertinent subject*<sup>15</sup>.

In the case of Japan, we have a feudal system with the Emperor and the Shogun. In addition to all the daimyo, there are many other things that are different about the politics, law and order. Each of these areas are all very confused, with those in charge sticking to their old ways of doing things. They value birth right and show contempt for the lower samurai and common people. Not only that, but they are also unjust regarding the teachings of the gods and Buddha. Each country, each province is independent and power throughout Japan is scattered to each area. They show contempt for creating harmony among the people of the nation and nobody has their eyes open to this.

If our nation, Japan, were wealthy and strong, we would not have to suffer the contempt of foreign nations.

On the ship I happened to see a Japanese newspaper that said the Shogun, Tokugawa Iemochi, had died<sup>16</sup> suddenly when he led his troops to battle against Choshu troops at Osaka Castle. The article said that Iemochi was to be replaced by Hitotsubashi Keiki<sup>17</sup>.

How much Japan has changed in recent years,  
First peace, then chaos,  
Naturally there is good reason for this  
But just who has the power,  
To get through this mountain of chaos?  
To take the horse by its reins and control,  
The provinces of our Emperor?

## 12.8

From Malta to Gibraltar; 981 leagues.

We came across two British ships. At 12 o'clock, a cold rain fell and the sky was cloudy. The air is extremely cold and my hands and feet are freezing. Then the clouds cleared for a brief moment. There is one mountain jutting out of the sea; it has a steep cliff face that I could sometimes just see briefly

through the clouds. The ship had soon reached the coast. There were houses closely lined up on the hillside and a gunning battery along the coast which ran on for some distance. It was very precipitous and quite comparable to the gunning battery at Malta. On one corner of the rock, there was a lighthouse. The British flag flew in the wind and several hundred ships were anchored in the bay. It is a very important strategic port with strong natural defences. There was a French ship anchored there and it was extremely large. I wanted to go ashore, but it was raining heavily. After 6 o'clock, we departed from this place. The British had voiced their hopes about this area being an important strategic point and swiftly sent their troops to the Mediterranean Sea with the idea of controlling the area. They fought a war with Spain and managed to obtain the land, and now there are constantly several thousand British troops stationed here, guarding the batteries. Once we leave this area, we will sail out into the Atlantic Ocean.

Ahead of us is a narrow throat,  
That refuses to open to its enemies.  
Numberless houses cling to the rock's face.  
A foreigner in a foreign place,  
I try to suppress my amazement.  
But all hours of the day and night,  
Numberless soldiers guard their stations.

*Chinzan talking about the British: Using the steep cliff of Gibraltar to protect their own country seems like a good idea. If you see the Rock of Gibraltar for yourself, you may understand how Western studies come from the same ideas as the I Ching of Eastern studies.*

In Spain, there were countless houses on the shore, but because of the fog and rain, I could not see them clearly at all.

## 12.9

As we sailed out into the Atlantic Ocean, the winds became particularly strong and the waves were very rough.

### 12.10

We sailed several leagues past Portugal, and today the steam engine broke down. Suddenly, steam began to leak, causing a lack of steam necessary for the engines to work, and the power had to be supplemented. During that time, the ship rocked a lot and I went to feel seasick again.

### 12.11

Recently, the wind and waves are very rough, making the running of the ship very difficult. Again, the engine broke down, so we lost a lot of steam, and this made the progress of the ship much slower. Today, the waves were very rough, crashing upon the decks of the ship; a cold wind blew and sleet fell from the sky.

### 12.12

The wind stopped and the surface of the sea became calm. I came out of my cabin and strolled around the decks of the ship. The freezing cold air got right under my skin, so I went to sit on the deck of the ship next to the funnels of the ship to get warm.

Tonight the moon is shining faintly in the sky and I am thinking of friends.

Wintry clouds envelop the moon,

The sea stretches out far into the distance,

My ship has reached Europe.

The nights grow ever colder.

I wonder whether my good friends at home in Kyoto are safe.

I wait for your letters letting me know that you are fine<sup>18</sup>.

There was a Westerner talking about the opening of the port at Hyogo, so I wrote the following poem.

Looking toward Japan far away in the East,

The ceaseless waves continue.

It has been another year,

Since the demands of the West<sup>19</sup>.

How many decisive men are there,

Who can fight a bloody battle,  
And, next to the grave of the great Lord Kusunoki<sup>20</sup>,  
Smash the Western ships?

*Chinzan: Nowadays, students talk a lot about “jōi” (expelling the barbarians). However, nobody takes any firm action. They are just making a lot of useless noise. Lord Kusunoki would not want this at all. Sagami Tarō<sup>21</sup> would not want it either. Oh dear!*

Since Western ships started coming to Yokohama,  
Crossing many thousands of leagues of waves,  
It has been as though Japan and foreign nations are close neighbours.  
And now I too am sailing off alone far across the seas.  
I suppose I will be roaming around Europe for a long time.

### 12.13<sup>22</sup>

From the ship, we can see Portugal behind us and we are travelling up, alongside Spain and France. Tomorrow at 12 o'clock, we should reach the port of Southampton in Britain.

### 12.14

I woke early for breakfast, organised my luggage and paid my expenses. Then I went out on deck to sit and get warm next to the steam funnels. This morning was terribly cold. I just wanted to pull in my hands and feet like a turtle. At 12 o'clock, we neared the river mouth of Southampton. I could see a lighthouse on the coast in the distance. On the east coast, there were many houses and halfway up the river there was a gunning battery, which looked extremely well-built. These days the weather is terribly cold. The white snow piled up on the hills is very beautiful. At 2 o'clock, we dropped anchor in the port. This port is an important area for Britain. Many ships carrying a variety of goods travelling to different European countries come through the port at all times of the day and night. Along the coast there are many ship building facilities. They are immensely vast. This was the first time for me to see the sheer height of one of those great steam ships and I was completely taken

aback. Nowadays, Japan yearns to follow the ways of Western countries and walk the path of a strong and wealthy nation. Therefore, scholar-bureaucrats often go to the open ports to receive Western visitors every day. They spend lots of money on buying large and small weapons as well as trading steamships or sailing to Shanghai to see the success of trade there. They do much to fulfil the aims of making Japan a wealthy nation. They also do their utmost to rid Japan of any stubborn bias against this necessary path. They should be truly applauded. Today, I have arrived in Britain to witness the manners and customs for myself with an open-mind, and on seeing the tremendous scale of wealth and strength here, I find myself frequently looking up to the heavens deploringly.

Finally, at 3 o'clock we were able to land and a customs officer checked through our baggage. Then at 4 o'clock, we boarded a steam train. Our friend Mr. Hooper<sup>23</sup> from London, whose house we will be staying at, had sent a man to be our guide and he was waiting for us, so he was able to help us with many things. We arrived in London at 8 o'clock. Then we changed onto a horse-drawn carriage, and then onto a train. We travelled about six miles from London to Mr. Hooper's place at Forest Hill<sup>24</sup> together with our guide. Three ladies came out to welcome Yukiyasu and I. They showed us to our rooms and congratulated us on getting there safely. They had some drinks ready, waiting for us, and then Yukiyasu and I went to bed. I have actually managed to travel thousands of miles over the huge rough waves of the sea. I have arrived safely on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, and I am thankfully still in one piece. For that, I am truly grateful, and overjoyed that I have been so blessed by the heavens!

Under the warm blankets of my bed, I fell into a dream-filled sleep. In the night, there was much snowfall and an icy wind clattered at the windows.

## 12.15

When morning came I opened the window and saw that much snow had piled up outside. Today, many of the family members came to welcome Yukiyasu and myself and then left. It was a truly pleasant surprise. I wanted to visit Machida Minbu<sup>25</sup>, Yoshida<sup>26</sup>, Mori<sup>27</sup>, Sameshima<sup>28</sup> and the others, but

all my clothes were dirty from the journey, so I thought it best to wait until my new clothes are ready.

### 12.16

With it being a Sunday<sup>29</sup>, everything stops and everybody worships God. I went to visit an Englishman living nearby and together we went for a walk and spent the day enjoying ourselves.

### 12.17

Today, I went by train over London Bridge<sup>30</sup> to buy clothes with the lady of the house.

### 12.18

Again, we went to London and went to an artillery factory. I examined four small guns and then went off to visit Machida. He has just come back from Paris. Therefore, Yoshida and three others also visited and we passed the time talking, after which, I went straight back to my lodgings.

### 12.19

The Satsuma men had promised to visit me. Sugiura Kōzō<sup>31</sup>, Sawai<sup>32</sup>, Matsumura<sup>33</sup> and Nagai<sup>34</sup> all came to visit me at my lodgings. A British man called Mr. Martin (phonetic)<sup>35</sup> also came to visit me. We spent many hours talking about various things. Being thousands of miles across the sea in a foreign land, and yet coming across these men from my homeland was truly a happy encounter. At 7 o'clock, we parted company, planning to meet again.

*Kidō: Being many thousands of miles away in a foreign land and meeting one's fellow countrymen, anyone would be happy.*

### 12.20

Accompanied by the lady of the house<sup>36</sup>, I went to the huge glass construction that is the Crystal Palace. Today was warm and the snow melted, but the muddy roads slowed our progress. I took a horse-drawn carriage with the sister of the master of the house and went to visit the house of one

of her friends where we rested for a while. Then we went to the (Crystal Palace). There are a variety of stalls there selling various things. There was also a very thrilling theatre performance. Many creatures from India were exhibited in different places, and there were also very many species of birds. I sat down in a chair for a little break and enjoyed viewing the many flowers and other plants from all over the world. After sometime, I met up again with the sister's friend, and we walked around the gardens, watched some of the theatre performance and took a rest at a teashop where I had coffee and sweets. Then I bought a train ticket and went back to my lodgings.

#### 12.21

I went with Mrs. Harney<sup>37</sup> to Mr. Hooper's company office near London Bridge. After some time Sugiura Kōzō came to visit. We chatted for a while; then together we went to a grill house<sup>38</sup>. Also, we visited a photographer's studio with Mrs. Harney and Mrs. Martin, where Sugiura and I had our photographs taken together. It was truly a very full and busy day. On the way back, we stopped to eat at a teashop, then we said our goodbyes promising to meet again, and I returned to my lodgings by tram.

#### 12.22

I went with Yukiyasu to a house for the hungry. At 2 o'clock, I visited Mr. Hooper's house with Yukiyasu. Three days from now Yukiyasu will join a school, so from today he will live at Mr. Hooper's house. At 10 o'clock, I went back to my lodgings with Mrs. Harney.

#### 12.23

I visited Sugiura's place with an Englishman. Matsumura was also there and we spent time talking. At 10 o'clock at night, I went to the "station" at London Bridge and discovered that the last steam train had already left, so I took a horse and carriage back.

#### 12.24

I went to a cathedral<sup>39</sup>. I cannot express the sheer scale of the place. The

ceiling is several hundred feet high and there are many arches for people to pass through. The statues in the cathedral are all hundreds of years old.

I went with two Englishmen to a barracks for cavalry and visited a friend. Cavalrymen are very tall and many are about seven feet tall. In the army too, the requirements are very specific.

*Kidō: It is only natural that they be so tall.*

At 12 o'clock at night I returned by steam train. On the way, I went to see a comedy drama performed by military swordsmen.

## 12.25

We had made arrangements to meet, but Sugiura could not come.

## 12.26

I went to the Hooper factory with some members of the family. I went and met with Sugiura and Matsumura, and finally took a horse-drawn carriage with them from London Bridge straight to St. John's hospital<sup>40</sup> where we saw patients being cured. Medicine is a truly incredible art. A woman of about 30 years old had an injured left leg. They gave her some drugs, had her lie down on a gurney, and then took her to another room. There were many people watching, lined up to the left and right. They were student doctors, and they watched the operation with great earnest. Then suddenly, with great force, the doctor cut the afflicted area and removed a whole section of flesh. The people watching the scene let out cries of wonder at the incredibly refined skills of the doctor. One patient, who was just three years old, had fallen from some high place. His hip bone at the top of his leg had slipped out of place. They had the child lie down on a gurney, and one of the nurses held him so that he could not move. The doctor took a knife and cut the damaged section of the child's body, fixed the bone completely and then bound the wound tightly with a cloth bandage. They made the child drink some milk; he stopped crying and seemed back to normal. Then there was another patient, a fat woman with a so-called "cancer of the breast". They gave her medicine and then cut out a whole section of flesh from the afflicted area. The patient let out a huge cry of pain. They gave her more medicine until she had passed out

and then they sewed up the area they had cut and bound it tightly with a cloth bandage. They cleaned up the blood with cold water and then the patient was almost completely back to normal.

At four o'clock, I went with the doctor to one large room where to the left and right I could see many human bones and numerous bits of innards in glass bottles.

If only the young doctors of Japan could see this, it would be of great merit and experience to them. I do not understand the skills of doctors; therefore, it is a most regrettable fact that it is impossible for me to write down the details of what I saw. At five o'clock, I went to eat at a teashop and returned to my lodgings by steam train. It rained heavily.

The Paris Exposition is next month. Many rare products from all over the world will be exhibited, and it is expected to encourage trade and commerce across the four seas of the world. A general outline of the recently constructed exhibition hall is described in the newspapers and it is reported as being a success.

The poor working-classes in London have formed a Labour Union and last year a petition was presented to the government. Again this year, they have come together once more to present another petition to the government.

My friend Matsumura Junzō and I went to a pet shop. We saw a line of poor people outside the government buildings. It was very crowded.

The parliament building is on the banks of the River Thames. Ever year, parliament opens on certain days and, beginning with the Queen herself and the princes, many members of the aristocracy turn up whereupon the methods of parliament are discussed most actively.

*Kidō*: *It seems they discuss various proceedings and their results. This is surely of great benefit to the nation.*

I wanted to see the royal procession, so I went with my friend Nagai to the area around parliament and I saw the Queen's horse-drawn carriage. I cannot describe how beautiful it was. The Queen's carriage drove close to the side of the road and the crowds raised their voices, took off their hats and cheered, "Long live the Queen!" The Queen and the Crown Prince<sup>41</sup> expressed their thanks in return. I felt very surprised at this.

Nowadays, high-class aristocrats tend to look down upon the lower classes. They do not know how to enjoy spending time with the populace. They consider themselves to be superior. They demand that people obey them. It is important to realise that these aristocrats who mimic the Queen's circumstances, feel no shame in their actions, neither do they show any repentance for what they do. It is a great pity.

I went together with Nagai, Yukiyasu, and Mr. Martin to a weapons factory. I cannot describe how prosperous it appeared to be. Here, they displayed guns like those used in India and China. In previous years, British ships have attacked and taken over India and China with these weapons. At the thought of this, I felt a cold sweat run down my back. Now, they are preparing the "Armstrong guns" to send to the exhibition in Paris. Then, I went with the four Satsuma men; Sugiura, Matsumura, Sawai and Nagai, to another exhibition. There, they displayed a variety of weapons from all over the world, from old times to the present day<sup>42</sup>. I saw people there making miniatures of the warships and gunning battery forts used in the Crimean War against Russia. There are swords, and bows and arrows from Japan here, and I could not stand to look at them. There were many small guns that were invented in Europe on display here too. Amongst those, the American invention, the "Snider Rifle"<sup>43</sup> was said to be very useful. I would like to go back to Japan with one of these recently invented small guns and show it to my friends and fellows there. I went with the two samurai, Sugiura and Matsumura, to see some statues of heroes both old and new<sup>44</sup>. Here, apart from the royalty of Britain, France and Russia of course, there were also statues of many modern, famous people of all kinds, both good and bad. There was the US president, Washington, the Russian, Peter the Great, the Frenchman, Bonaparte, the British naval commanders, Nelson and Wellington, the Italian, Garibaldi, the Prussian, Bismarck, and the leaders of the US during the American Civil War; the list is endless.

*Kidō: Our great leaders, such as the first emperor of unified China, Qin Shi Huang and Emperor Wu of Han should also be included here, but they are not because Westerners do not know about them.*

In one room, there were statues of heroes from old times and new, and they

looked very like the people they were supposed to be. Nearby there was a statue of the Chinese scholar Lin Zexu<sup>45</sup> and his wife, as well as the statue of a Chinese merchant. In the past, Western ships carried opium and threatened the area around Guangdong, pushing for an opium trade. At that time, Lin Zexu, with his clear will and determination, had great foresight in dealing with the Western barbarians. With the idea of expelling the barbarians, he gathered together a great army, burnt tens of thousands of boxes of opium that were brought in by Western ships, and his army fought strongly against Britain and France. After some time, the Western ships were defeated and the spirit of morale among the Chinese was greatly lifted. However, with time, the British came back again in full force and there was no one of the Manchu dynasty to carry on the will and determination of Lin Zexu, so the Chinese lost much territory to the Westerners<sup>46</sup>. Seeing Lin Zexu's statue here today it looked almost pointless. Even the British who put this statue here must be happy to accept that he serves as an example of genuine righteousness.

*Kidō: It seems almost impossible that they would put something like that there.*

The rise and fall of those in power is almost always akin to the shift in temperature from cold to hot. It is necessary to fully restore our manpower. Accordingly, the teachings of Confucianism call for the rule of government, but the people must also be involved. From old times, we have readily been taught the ways of truthfulness and sincerity, to consider carefully the human climate of each and every nation, to govern in a way that will create strength and prosperity, but there are few who have put these ideas to practical use. There has merely been a great deal of speculation and no real discussion. Mending our own ways and carrying out practical solutions is indeed a most difficult thing to do.

*Kidō: Not just a travel journal, this account also demonstrates some useful policies for the important work of government.*

By defining what is of practical use and carrying out practical solutions, the people of future generations will be able to unanimously follow a leader and that leader's actions will be fully transparent. What is good and what is bad should be determined in the eyes of the people. It can be intimidating to

have one's standing appraised in this way, and it is often said that a person's good or bad points should be discussed after their death. Indeed, this may be so, but in doing so, people tend to end up following trivial conventional practices and do not have any practical experience. They never experience the real world of trial and tribulation. In their hasty eagerness, they act only for the moment, arguing about the evils of the times. This is very dangerous and truly terrifying. First and foremost, in order for them to get a good sense of human empathy in the modern world, everybody must reach some level of dignity and wealth, and be in a state of riches and splendour. Then later, after a number of years, people will develop true sincerity and there will be no unrest. The people will come to feel a consensus of opinion and a sense of patriotism. In other words, they will all be able to be called true heroes. In this way, we shall be able to discern for the first time the calibre of a person and whether they are sincere or not. Surely this is the best way forward.

I want to go and have a look round the areas of Glasgow, Liverpool and Brighton and so on, and I plan to accompany Mr. Hooper to these places soon. I have not decided how long for yet. Today a letter came from Nagai<sup>47</sup>. Enclosed was the namecard of Nomura Sōshichi<sup>48</sup>. I felt so happy I could dance. I first encountered Sōshichi some years ago in Kyoto, and then again, we met each other at the port of Nagasaki. Now he is in Paris. Soon he will come to London for sure. It will truly be a rare opportunity to meet him. On Sunday, Matsumura and Sugiura promised to come and visit me, but they did not come. I received a letter today and learned the reason why. Earlier, an Englishman told me he saw a Japanese man at about 3 or 4 o'clock on Sunday going to the train station at London Bridge. When I asked what the man looked like, the Englishman said he had black hair that was parted in the middle and he had a round face. I think that perhaps it was Matsumura. However, the Englishman said he did not know where the Japanese man had gone.

Just where has my ship dropped anchor tonight?

The heat is getting to everybody,  
And a peaceful sleep is unobtainable.  
From early morning I went to sit,

On an exotic-looking lounge chair,  
And I look into the distance across the ocean,  
There I see countless foreign ships anchored in the bay,  
Each with their different national flags flying in the wind.

I wrote the poem above on the ship at Singapore, but I add it here in a revised form<sup>49</sup>.

I went for a get-together with Ueno, Noda and Sawai, and tonight, I slept in the same room as Nagai.

I visited Ueno and we talked late into the night, so I missed catching the last steam train and I had to sleep in the same bed as Ueno.

Mr. Kniffler has come from Prussia. He is staying at “The Charing Cross Hotel”. Today I accompanied him and we went to various places around the city. From tomorrow, Mr. Kniffler will travel to some of the nearby local districts in the country. He will travel for 17 days and will then return again to London, he told me.

I went with Sugiura and Matsumura to a photographer's studio and we took Japanese clothes with us. Sugiura will become a British soldier, so he is also carrying his uniform. On this day, it rained a little bit and we were unprepared for it.

I went to a school with the lady of the house. It was a very big place, right in the centre of London. There are 500 pupils. On this particular evening, there was a music concert and food was provided for the pupils. There were many people to see.

### **London News**

Recent news reported about the Dutch dominion of Luxembourg, which has had a Prussian military barracks on its territory for many years. This was due to an agreement between Holland and Prussia. Recently however, the King of Prussia sold this land to France. Therefore, the French sent a delegate to the area in order to accept control of the area and request removal of the Prussian forces there. However, because Prussian forces have had a base there for many years, having to move will cause a great loss for the

Prussians. The papers say that because of this, the Prussians are lingering and being slow about moving. Furthermore, Bismarck himself has had to send a letter to the French. He explained that with the area being a strategic point for administering national power and building up forts, when his Prussian forces surrender the area to the French it will be a great loss to his country. So, when he suggested discussing the possibility for removing his troops at a later date, the French Emperor became furious and planned to mobilise his troops to force the immediate removal of the Prussians. Now, with the Paris Exposition being held, this incident has been put on hold until the exhibition has finished. Then, as soon as the exhibition is finished, the French troops will be quickly mobilised to remove the Prussian forces.

The popularity of the French Emperor therefore, has dropped considerably in Europe in a very short time. Last year, there was a war between Prussia and Austria and the Prussians obtained a great victory, thus gaining much Austrian territory. The French Emperor sent a letter to the Prussian leader Bismarck congratulating and praising him on his victory. Now though, the lid has been closed on that issue and the French are showing their ambitions toward Austria. In response, Bismarck said that no matter what language they use, he cannot understand them. The French were deeply humiliated by this, and thus bore a grudge against him. Now, because of the incident with the Dutch, there is a strong desire to fight between the two of them.

In addition, the French have sent many tens of thousands of troops to America and Mexico. Now, the momentum of the American Civil War is causing Europe to mobilise. Therefore, there is discussion about bringing the troops together. America, as a nation, is still unsettled and the country continues to absorb European peoples. The European nations cannot scorn the Americans for wanting to truly consolidate their military power now, and because of this it is necessary for the French army to return to France.

Today, the newspaper said that fifty to sixty thousand French troops returned from the United States and landed somewhere, but it did not say where. This demonstrates the success of the French strategy.

I went with the British merchant, Mr. Hooper, to Liverpool. From London, it is about 200 miles away. We boarded a steam train at 5 o'clock

and reached Liverpool at 10 o'clock. On the way, I could see there has been much development of the roads and transport systems. I was surprised at the amount of prosperous trade there was there. The railroads go in all directions, and this appears to be of great benefit to the people. Where the rail track comes to a mountain, a hole has been cut into the side of the mountain, and the train travels through it, through miles of tunnels. Liverpool is on the coast. I went from my hotel down to the coast and saw a steel ship. I cannot express in words how very well-built it looked. This area is very prosperous in trade and many people come here from all over Europe and America. Steam ships transport a variety of goods and products from here to the rest of the globe and now I understand a little bit about it.

After a few days, I parted from Mr. Hooper and went alone by train to Manchester. It is only about 50 miles away. This is a cotton manufacturing area. Tens of thousands of people have gathered to live and work here. The prosperity of this city is no different to that of London. The next day I travelled alone, some 200 miles, back to London. I then went with Mr. Martin to one of the forts. There are many soldiers there carrying out their training. Within the fort, there is a very tall, grand building where there is a statue of the British monarch. There are also some old weapons kept there. They even had some weapons from India, Africa, China and Japan in there. In one building, there are some 6,050 "Snider" rifles stored. These are the latest firearms and they are said to be very useful. Most weapons, like these small guns, are kept here for soldiers to use for their training.

About ninety miles from London there is a place called Dover, which is on the coast facing France. Here, there is a large scale training camp. It is a flourishing place. Many people from nearby countries come to see it. I went there by steam train with Mr. Martin. My four friends, Noda<sup>50</sup>, Nagai, Matsumura<sup>51</sup> and Sugiura<sup>52</sup> went there with their British military corps. Dover Castle is on a steep hill facing the sea and there is a gunning battery.

I went to a small area where I could observe infantry soldiers carrying small arms in a very large field that went on for several miles in all directions. Each of the troops positioned themselves and divided, length and breadth, into ranks. They then began shooting at each other. It was almost like

watching a real war. The cannons at the castle fired on the warships in the sea and the noise from that seemed to shake the earth. I lost Mr. Martin in the process of all this, and great chaos ensued. By chance however, I came across the Chōshū man Minami Teisuke<sup>53</sup> in the fields. Together, we applauded the energy of the soldiers training. When the training demonstration had finished, we went to a hotel and had a drink. I then parted ways with Minami and got on the steam train. I had fallen asleep, and when I woke, the train had already arrived in London.

It is very difficult to get about in London. Someone like me who cannot understand the writing system and does not speak the language, really should not set one foot in the place. For long journeys, there are steam trains and horse-drawn carriages. On the left and right sides of the streets, there are footpaths that are elevated and slightly higher than the roads for people to walk along. The middle of the street is lower and this is for the horse-drawn carriages to travel along. If by mistake you walk in the middle of the road, it would be of great danger to your personal safety because the horse-drawn carriages race along there to the left and right at great speeds. On the left and right sides of the streets, there are gas lamps. They light up the roads.

There are also police patrolling the streets. Throughout the city there are thieves and other criminals. Police guards are on patrol to watch out for them at all hours of the day and night, patrolling all over the city. It is very dangerous. However, if even aristocrats of high-lineage commit a crime, they will be caught and stopped. Ordinary people are not allowed to carry small arms on their person. However, the police train day and night, so they are always prepared for any kind of trouble. Wherever there are masses of people in towns and cities, there are bound to be thieves who will steal things. They are not unlike the pickpockets in Japan. Every day in the newspapers there are reports of such loss and people looking for stolen items.

In small villages near London, in order to help the poor, teachers in the local area try to provide help for these people. Every morning, near churches and schools they serve the poor with gruel. I went with the master of the house to see this. I was truly surprised at the large numbers of poor people there were. However, the principle of giving aid to these people is the same

everywhere.

Even a nation as highly developed as this has many poor people. It is no different to nations all over the world. A scholar once said: “a nation’s strength depends on its people; the people’s strength depends on their hearts; strength of heart depends on the ability to pursue a deeper sense of meaning and principles through the individual discovery of our universe”. This really is true.

*Kidō: People are both hard working and lazy. There is happiness and woe. There is no balance between rich and poor. This is the way of the world. I have often heard that there are no poor people in the West, but I was strongly suspicious of such claims. Now, upon reading this, all doubts have been dispelled and I know those claims are not true.*

### **An Outline of the Journey Home**

Three men; Ichiki, Nomura and Yoshino<sup>54</sup> came to London. They, along with Ueno<sup>55</sup> and I, will return to Japan. Today, from the explanation of my friends, I understood that Nomura, along with the three men, Sawai, Nagai and Yoshino, will travel two hundred miles by train to visit Mr. Harrisful<sup>56</sup>. Ichiki will travel to France tonight with Yoshino. I will travel with Mr. Hooper by steam train from Cannon Street<sup>57</sup>, some seventy miles and then cross the sea to France. This morning before dawn, the two men: Ueno and Nomura left for France.

#### **1867.4.8<sup>58</sup>**

Tonight we reached Paris and went directly to where Ueno is staying. That is, he is staying at Mr. Iwamura’s<sup>59</sup> house, which is right on the banks of the River Seine. It is very near to the Emperor Napoleon’s palace. I chatted with the members of my company until night came and then I returned to my lodgings.

I went to the Exposition<sup>60</sup> with Ueno. I saw the Bakufu and Satsuma pavilions and went back to my lodgings.

On the topic of Parisian life, many wealthy Europeans, when they have

free time, come here to Paris often to avoid the heat of the summer days. They spend lots of money enjoying themselves here. In particular, many come here who are interested in study, or the arts. There are many soldiers, too, inundating the city. The French Emperor and his wife also came to the Paris Exposition. The Emperor Napoleon won political power in France a very long time ago.

My friend Kobayashi Shūhei<sup>61</sup> came to visit me. We talked briefly about old times and then I had to set off for Marseilles, so unfortunately, we did not talk much before I had to leave. Shuhei and Mr. Hooper came to the train station to see me off. Nomura, Ueno and Daiku Keisuke<sup>62</sup> were already on the train.

Tokugawa Minbu<sup>63</sup> is now in Paris with a large entourage. My friend Shibusawa Seien<sup>64</sup> is travelling with them. At the moment, Paris is full of people from all over the world. There are many people these days enjoying the fashionable trend of travelling the seas of the world for fun and spending lots of money. Lately, among many Western travellers, persons of some talent are chosen in their countries to become agents for foreign affairs. European people seem to admire such men. Contrary to expectations however, there are many who come and go who have no practical knowledge. They do no work, and are simply there enjoying themselves and showing off their talents. Not only do these people make a bad name for their country, they are greatly scorned by Europeans, and they tend to regret their actions for many years after.

*Kidō: The issue of students going to study abroad and ending up just playing around is a thorny one indeed. What harsh words!*

Now, a number of men from Japan have travelled here to Europe. They absolutely must find a strategy to make Japan a great and wealthy nation. Whatever happens, Western ships have and will continue to frequent the shores of Japan. Only repeated battles will discern whether our brave warriors can successfully use the Western techniques of warfare. However, the men who travel and study abroad may develop the skills and foresight necessary, in order that our nation is not annexed. However, I do not sense that they have enough foresight to control the rights of commercial law to

make sure we are not scorned like India and America.

*Kido: What a truly frightening thought; truly awful.*

In Nagasaki and Yokohama, without reason or purpose, some men buy rusty, old trading ships and make reckless trade agreements. They are often thus ridiculed by the foreign merchants. This will make the people very angry, and exhaust our stores of national wealth. It will bring discord between brothers, wives and children and will cause the break-up of families. We really must think very carefully about our situation. If those who are travelling abroad cause harm to the Japanese nation, we will be in a no-win situation. Some men become incredibly overwhelmed and surprised at the thriving prosperity of the highly developed machines and cargo ships. They see the cleanliness of the streets, the tall, grand buildings, the ship manufacturing and the cannons being used. Then they break into the nation's fortunes immediately to pay for all these things. Working together, they confuse the people and are praised greatly for all their efforts in their homelands. Although this brings great honour to those who want it, there is nothing worse for losing touch with the pulse of the nation. Great caution must be taken; supporting the nation is vital.<sup>65</sup>

Establishing a policy of wealth and strength is a trivial matter that even a small child knows how to do; so high level bureaucrats ought to know too; do they not? And yet, by no means do we see anybody instigating such policies, so how can we avoid the scorn of Westerners?

Mindlessly, everybody keeps watch only on their own local villages, towns and ports. Those in power are of the same mind. They are in great want of assistance. Like frogs in a well, their perspective is narrow. Those who run the country, regardless of social rank, or whether they are good or bad, must use their minds and think very carefully. They must be broadminded. They must make their choices with care. They must make allowances. They must use their skills in diplomacy and negotiation, and they must take the path of complete and constant balance. Why do they not wish for themselves to be worthy of their position and be more decisive?

For the Japanese people to live in harmony, we must base things on our own original path. We should drop our personal ideas and desires, and we

should value justice. We should give up our own personal honour and be more appreciative of simplicity. Then, we can build the foundations for our so-called one harmonious nation.

A naval department is what our country needs. We should build a navy, the likes of which the world has never seen before. We should build a number of schools for 10 to 18 year olds to attend, and each student should be chosen in accordance with their talents and abilities.

Ueno, Nomura, a number of other samurai and I, boarded an English ship on the coast of Marseilles. This port is one of the most important ports in France. There are countless houses here. Many travellers come and go, and a very large number of ships pass through here. It is about 700 miles from Paris and by steam train it takes one overnight journey to get to. Along the way, there are countless small villages and much infertile land.

Our ship landed and we stayed one night on the island of Malta. This is one of the islands of Italy and we could see the house of the famous military leader, Garibaldi<sup>66</sup>. With the chaos and break-up of his country, Garibaldi helped the King and subdued the rebels. His name is causing quite a stir throughout Europe. Even small children know of his heroics.

Next, we arrived at Alexandria and I went ashore straight away. I then boarded a train and went straight to Suez. When the night came, the moon was so bright it was almost like daytime, and the heat was tremendous. From Suez, the journey by ship was extremely hot for several days, and I really could not bear it. We dropped anchor at the island of Galle where I went ashore and stayed at a hotel. I spent time chatting with my friend Mr. Garāuru<sup>67</sup>, along with a man from Chōshū and a man from Echizen. Then we parted ways.

Every night I can see the Canopus Star<sup>68</sup> in the southern skies.

Onboard ship, one of the many things I heard about was the story of a so-called “Mutiny” that occurred in India in 1857. From listening to the talk of an Englishman, I got the gist of the story of what happened. Several hundred years ago, India was invaded and completely overwhelmed by the British and the French. To this day, Indians are under the command of the British, and everything, including the training for their institutional military discipline,

follows British regulations. However, the Indian people were looked down upon by the British, and there were many who felt ashamed, begrudging the acceptance of British authority. Eventually, many tens of thousands of the population grouped together and attacked the homes of the British. Hundreds of people, both men and women, were killed. Amongst the chaos, some of the British were captured and had their eyes gouged out, their noses cut off and their bones broken. Young girls were raped repeatedly in broad daylight and dead women lay in the streets. Thinking about it, India is a huge country to the south of the equator, and in all its long history, it had been independent. It was never the brunt of foreign scorn before. Recently however, because Westerners have taken over, the people are becoming so angry they cannot bear it, until at last they have resorted to such brutal action. The Englishman told me that several months after the rebellion had continued, more British soldiers arrived in warships. Observing the situation, they became furious and landed immediately. In one battle, they captured and rounded up hundreds of rebels. On one side they fired on the Indian artillery units, sending them up into smoke. Then later, the British attacked the palace, broke into the storehouses and stole many precious items. Now those captured weapons and other items are all displayed in the museums of London and it pleases the British public greatly to see them there. In recent times, India has developed dramatically. Their army is based on the British style, and with their discipline and training, they could easily beat the Chinese.

The disease syphilis has spread all over China, but very few people know of its origins. Today, I learned about it from the explanation of an Englishman. Several hundred years ago in Europe, tens of thousands of soldiers were sent out to countries all over the world. At that time, after several years had passed, the soldiers fell into debauchery and entered the houses of the local people, violating the women. Incredibly, they took female horses and violated them too. This caused poisonous swellings to break out on their bodies and there were many deaths. The disease spread amongst the local people, and then spread across the globe. I learned that in ancient times, such hideous abuses as these led to this debauchery, and people were truly comparable to the foulest of beasts.

Last night, the moon gave off a dim light, and I went to sit out on the deck of the ship, spending time chatting with two gentlemen. Tonight, I heard for the first time that our ship had left the southern seas of the Canopus Star some leagues behind us, and we are now nearing the Far East.

I do not like ships. Previously, on the journey to Europe by sea, I often went to feel sick, so on days when the ship was quiet, I would record my feelings at the time. Because of that, from beginning to end, there is no order to this work. My writing is very poor and will not avoid the ridicule of scholarly men. However, it was never my intention to make this travel journal a publication for the entire world to see. It was merely my fancy to have it printed so that people, such as myself, can see it. I am simply a student who has travelled to the West, and I have nothing of benefit other than this work. Whether it is of any benefit to any one, it is not of any benefit to the world at large. I am waiting, and hoping, for another day when somebody will write something more worthwhile.

Keio 4, Boshin, sixth month<sup>69</sup>.

—Ōshū, a student.

### Notes

- 1 Robinson, Eleanor, *Nakai Hiromu's, A Travel Sketch of the West—A New Account of Crossing the Seas, Book One: An Annotated Translation* in *The Journal of the Faculty of Foreign Studies Aichi Prefectural University*, No. 45 Area Studies (Aichi Prefectural University, 2013).
- 2 Washizu Kidō (1825–1882) was a well-known scholar of Chinese poetry from the Owari domain. He was born into a samurai family from the area now known as Ichinomiya City, Aichi Prefecture. Washizu's daughter, Tsune, married Nagai Kyūichirō and their son was the famous Japanese author and playwright, Nagai Kafū (1879–1959).
- 3 Ōnuma Chinzan (1818–1891) was a well-known scholar of Chinese poetry. He was born in Edo (present-day Tokyo) but had family in the Owari domain. He studied under his uncle Washizu Ekisai whose grandson was the Washizu Kidō noted above.
- 4 Published by Ouun Sanbō, Meiji 3 [1870] edition, reprinted in Meiji Bunka Kenkyū Kai, *Meiji Bunka Zenshū*, vol. 7, (Tokyo 1928).
- 5 As in the translation of *Book One*, the old Japanese lunar calendar has been

maintained in this English translation.

- 6 Godai is Godai Tomoatsu (1836–1886) who played a key role in Meiji politics and later became an entrepreneur; he founded the Osaka Chamber of Commerce and the Osaka Stock Exchange. Godai travelled to Britain with the Satsuma students in 1865 but he returned to Japan in early 1866, so he might have been a good source of information on Britain for Nakai. Other members of the Satsuma student delegation were still in Britain at the time Nakai arrived, and it may be possible that Godai put Nakai in touch with some of them. Gotō is Gotō Shōjirō (1838–1897) who also went on to play a key role in Meiji politics and was in charge of the Takeshima Coal Mine until he lost money and sold it on. Both men were very close friends of Nakai's, and Gotō in particular is believed to have instigated and arranged funding for this trip to Britain. Naturally then, Nakai would have needed to keep Gotō informed of his progress and perhaps this topic was covered in the letter sent.
- 7 Naruto (鳴門) and Genkai (玄海): Naruto is the name of the strait that runs between Awaji Island and Shikoku. A famous feature of the Naruto Strait is its whirlpools, or *uzushio*. Genkai is the sea area around the north-west of Kyushu.
- 8 Su Shi (1037–1101) was a Chinese poet and statesman of the Song Dynasty.
- 9 Xu Fu, born in 255 BC, on the Chinese Emperor's command, took a number of young men and women on a sea journey to find a medicine to stop the aging process and prevent death. According to the legend, they never found such medicine, but instead landed on the islands of Japan and populated the country. It has also been suggested that he gave Mount Fuji the name Mount Penglai.
- 10 The “three continents”, here refer to Asia, Africa and Europe despite the fact that nowadays Asia and Europe are considered to be one continent, Eurasia.
- 11 Zou Yan (305 BC–240 BC) was a thinker of the Daoist Yin and Yang School of Chinese philosophy.
- 12 The famous Siege of Sevastopol (1854–1855) was a major siege occurring during the Crimean War.
- 13 Ezo is the old name for the modern day region of Hokkaido, the northern-most main island of Japan.
- 14 The development of Ezo, now called Hokkaidō, was a major project encouraged by the Meiji government and supported by the Emperor.
- 15 In other words, Nakai has raised an important subject, one which was frequently debated among Meiji leaders. There was a sense of the need for constant push to hurry to catch up to Western standards.
- 16 Tokugawa Iemochi (1846–1866) was the 14th Shogun of Japan. His death is believed to have been caused by Beriberi, a nervous system disease caused by a lack

- of Vitamin B1. He died on the 20th day of the seventh month in the old Japanese lunar calendar, which was August 29th in the Western calendar, so although Nakai gives us no details of which particular newspaper he saw it in, the news appears to be some months old. It is not clear whether Nakai already knew about the death or whether this was his first knowledge of it, but it had occurred before he left Japan.
- 17 Hitotsubashi Keiki, more familiarly known as Tokugawa Yoshinobu (1837–1913), was the 15th and last Shogun of Japan.
  - 18 Here Nakai uses the Chinese character 汝, which includes the character for woman, 女, and it may be that he is writing about and waiting for letters from his friends, including his then wife, Fumiko who at the time would have been pregnant with their first child Ryūtarō.
  - 19 The “demands of the West” here refers to the demands of foreign nations such as Britain, the US, etc., for Japan to open to trade and the subsequent so-called, Unequal Treaties.
  - 20 Kusunoki Masashige (1294–1336) was considered to be a great hero by many of the Bakumatsu/Meiji period leaders. He was appreciated for his loyalty to the Emperor Go-Daigo. Evidence of this appreciation can still be seen in the statue of him near the Tokyo Imperial Palace which, still standing today, was erected in 1897 at the height of the Meiji government’s political power. Kusunoki fought against the Kamakura Bakufu in order to restore the Emperor to power. Therefore, many of the Bakumatsu/Meiji political reformers compared themselves to him in their restoring the Emperor Meiji to power over the Tokugawa Bakufu.
  - 21 Sagami Tarō is another name for Hojō Tokimune (1251–1284). The eighth regent of the Kamakura Shogunate, he defied the Mongol Invasion of Japan in the latter half of the 1200s. He also helped to spread Zen Buddhism throughout Japan, which encouraged the later teachings of Bushidō. Again, the comparison, as with Kusunoki, sees Sagami defying the attempted Mongol invasion (from which the term *kamikaze* derives) as Meiji reformers saw themselves initially as defying the Western invasion of Japanese soil.
  - 22 This is Thursday, January 24th, 1867 in the Western calendar.
  - 23 This Mr. Hooper is perhaps the same or a relation of the Mr. Hooper who according to Ernest Satow in his, *A Diplomat in Japan* (pp. 47–49) was a partner of Woodthorpe C. Clarke, one of the men upon whom an attack was made by Satsuma men in the Namamugi Incident in Yokohama in 1862.
  - 24 Forest Hill: on first consideration of the katakana used in Nakai’s Japanese text there was some uncertainty about the correct spelling of this place name; for example the spelling Horst Hill could also be a possibility. However, this translator has

concluded that it is likely Nakai is referring to the area of Forest Hill in the London Borough of Lewisham.

25 Machida Minbu is Machida Hisanari (1838–1897) who was in Britain with his younger brothers Shinshirō (1847–?) and Seijirō (1851–?) as part of the group of Satsuma students who had secretly travelled to Britain in 1865 to study on the orders of the Satsuma domain. Later in the text, Minbu also appears under his alias of Ueno Ryōtarō. On his return to Japan, he worked to establish the first museum in Japan now the National Museum of Tokyo in Ueno.

26 Here Nakai is using Yoshida's real surname but in other places, he uses his alias, Nagai. Nagai Iosuke, or, Yoshida Kiyonari (1845–1891) was one of the Satsuma students, in Britain, he studied naval techniques, finance and politics. Later, he also travelled to the US and became Japanese Ambassador there. He also went on to join the Brotherhood of the New Life, a spiritual religious group established by Thomas Lake Harris. A large number of Japanese students visiting countries abroad were influenced by and involved with this group. Their initial introduction to the group is believed to have been instigated by Laurence Oliphant who had been First Secretary of the British Legation under the Minister, Sir Rutherford Alcock. Oliphant had been wounded in the attack on the legation which, at the time, was housed at Tōzenji temple in Edo (now Tokyo).

Nakai's use of alternative names renders the document somewhat confusing to read. He does the same with the names of the British people he mentions too. He is not consistent with the transliteration of foreign names from the Japanese *katakana* script, a trait that is perhaps typical in writings of this period.

27 Here Nakai is using Mori's real name but in other places in the text, he uses his alias, Sawai. Sawai Tetsuba, or, Mori Arinori (1847–1889) was another of the Satsuma students, he later became the Japanese Ambassador to Britain and the first Japanese Minister for Education. In 1872, he published "Religious Freedom in Japan" and in 1873, "Education in Japan". He was assassinated on February 11th, 1889, the day of the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution.

28 Sameshima, referred to here, is Sameshima Naonobu (1845–1880). He used the alias Noda Chūhei. He later went on to become the Japanese Minister to France.

29 This is Sunday, January 27th, 1867 in the Western calendar.

30 Kobayashi Kaoru, in the *Meiji Bunka* series' introduction (p. 18) informs us that in an earlier edition of this publication Nakai calls this bridge "London Bridge", which makes more sense from a geographical perspective. In the later edition from which I have created this translation Nakai calls the bridge "Runcorn(?) Bridge" (ロンコリンブレジ, ronkorin bureji). Runcorn Bridge is not in London but in the northwest where

- it crosses over the River Mersey running from Runcorn to Widnes. It is also known as the Runcorn Railway Bridge or the Silver Jubilee Bridge. Construction on this bridge began in 1864 and it was not completed until 1868. Nakai was in Britain in 1866–67, so the bridge would have still been under construction at the time he was there. He might have seen it, however, because he also visited Liverpool on this journey.
- 31 Sugiura Kōzō is the alias for Hatakeyama Yoshinari (1843–1876). He accompanied the famous Iwakura Mission in later years. He died onboard ship whilst returning from the US after participating in the Philadelphia Expo of 1876.
- 32 Sawai Tetsuba is the alias for Mori Arinori (1847–1889).
- 33 Matsumura is Matsumura Junzō. His real name was Ichiki Kanjūrō (1842–1919) and he was another of the Satsuma students. Later, he also travelled to Russia and the US with Mori Arinori. He kept the name Matsumura Junzō, and went on to become an admiral in the Japanese Imperial Navy. He was also a member of the Brotherhood of the New Life for a time.
- 34 This is the alias of Yoshida Kiyonari (1844–1891).
- 35 The spelling of the name “Martin” here is uncertain. Another possibility might be “Merton”. Here in this particular section the *katakana* transliteration is マートン (Māton). However, later in the text, the *katakana* transliteration frequently becomes マーチン (Māchin), which is closer to the English name Martin, and therefore this translator has chosen to use this spelling throughout the translation.
- 36 He seems to spend a lot of time with British women going about London. While the men are working, Nakai is left to be looked after by the women.
- 37 Mrs. Harney; again the correct spelling of the surname here is uncertain.
- 38 For the word ‘grill house’ used here in the original Japanese text, Nakai uses the Chinese characters 炮店. It appears to be a word that he has created to describe the place he went to as there seems to have been no equivalent in Japan at the time. The Chinese character 炮 means “to grill”, “to fry”, “to roast” or “to toast” etc, and therefore this translator has chosen to maintain the direct meaning to suggest that Nakai went to a grill shop or a grill house perhaps serving grilled meat. Another possibility is that he went to a coffee house where coffee beans are “roasted”, however, later the same day, in other places in the text, to describe a cafe he uses the expression 茶店 “teahouse” or “teashop”. Certainly, another possibility is that he is defining the two types of cafes into coffee shop and tea shop.
- 39 Unfortunately, Nakai does not give the name of the cathedral. It could be St. Paul’s Cathedral, or perhaps Westminster Cathedral. It is possible he went to one of the major cathedrals in London.
- 40 This is possibly St. John’s Hospice, which is part of the Hospital of St. John, and

- St. Elizabeth, which was founded in 1856 by the Sisters of Mercy, an order of nuns who worked with Florence Nightingale during the Crimean war. The hospital was originally situated next to the church of St John in Great Ormond Street in the centre of London.
- 41 The Crown Prince noted here is the future King Edward VII. Queen Victoria's husband, Prince Albert had passed away in 1861. The Queen would have perhaps been wearing the black mourning dress she was famed to have worn until her death after the passing of her husband who died of typhoid at the age of 42.
- 42 This exhibition was possibly the Royal Artillery Museum in Woolwich, South East London.
- 43 The Snider-Enfield Rifle was invented by the American, Jacob Snider (sometimes "Synder"). The Snider-Enfield was introduced to British Army use in 1866; therefore, Nakai's mention of it here demonstrates how up-to-date with information he was.
- 44 It is possible that here Nakai is talking about a visit to Madame Tussauds waxwork museum, which was in the Baker Street Bazaar from 1835–84.
- 45 Lin Zexu is the famous "Commissioner Lin" who led the Chinese people on moral grounds in their fight against the sale of opium in China. His actions are believed to be a prime catalyst for the First Opium War of 1839–1842.
- 46 The first opium war occurred in 1839–42 and Commissioner Lin and his troops fought bravely, but Lin died in 1850 and was thus unable to do anything about the second opium war in 1856–8. As Nakai describes, there was no-one to follow in his footsteps as a great leader and China was eventually defeated.
- 47 Nagai is the alias of Yoshida Kiyonari (1844–1891).
- 48 Nomura Sōshichi (1831–1873) was a Satsuma samurai. He accompanied the Satsuma embassy to Paris for the Paris Exposition of 1867. Later, he became the prefectural governor of Nagasaki.
- 49 After this sentence, there is a long passage in the form of a letter, written by Ōnuma Chinzan, but it has been left it out of the translation because they are not the words of Nakai Hiromu. It is not absolutely necessary for this translation, but it may be pertinent to include it in later versions.
- 50 Noda is Sameshima Naonobu's alias.
- 51 Matsumura is Ichiki Kanjūrō's alias.
- 52 Sugiura is Hatakeyama Yoshinari's alias.
- 53 Minami Teisuke (1847–1915) was a Chōshū samurai, he was in Britain from 1865 to 1867. He later married a British woman called Liza Pitman and this is recognised as one of the first instances of an international marriage of a Japanese man with a Western woman. However, they divorced after 10 years of marriage.

- 54 Yoshino is Yoshino Sezaemon, or Yoshino Hironari, which was the alias of Nakamura Sōken (1843–1902), another of the Satsuma students. He also later travelled to the US and joined the Brotherhood of the New Life for a time. He joined the Iwakura Mission to the US and in later life became the first president of the Tokyo Kaisei School, which was where Tokyo University now stands.
- 55 Ueno is Ueno Ryōtarō, which is the alias of Machida Hisanari (or, Machida Minbu, as he is also known).
- 56 The Mr. Harrisful mentioned here is possibly Thomas Lake Harris (1823–1906), or someone connected to him. Thomas Lake Harris was the founder of the Brotherhood of the New Life, a religious spiritual group.
- 57 In Cannon Street, in the city of London, there is still a main railway station called Cannon Street Station.
- 58 This is Saturday, May 11th, 1867 in the Western calendar. In the Keiho Diary of Iwasaki Yatarō, we see that Nakai is back in Japan attending a meeting with Iwasaki himself, Sakamoto Ryōma, Gotō Shōjirō, William J. Alt and others on the 22nd day of the 5th month, 1867. He goes by the alias Tanaka Kōsuke, and Iwasaki informs us that Tanaka has just returned from Britain. Therefore, although we do not have an exact date for Nakai's return to Japan, we know that his return must have been sometime just before this meeting if not the very same day. The journey to Britain took about two months, and it appears that Nakai managed to return to Japan in just under that amount of time.
- Having been sent to Britain by Gotō Shōjirō and Sakamoto Ryōma, the meeting was possibly convened as a welcome home party and in order for them to hear about Nakai's experiences abroad. William J. Alt, the British merchant who had assisted with arranging a ship for Nakai to leave Japan, was also at the meeting, suggesting that this meeting was an opportunity for Nakai to report on his findings, although, Iwasaki does not go into such detail in his journal entry.
- 59 Iwamura: the exact identity of this person is uncertain.
- 60 The Paris Exposition of 1867 was the second expo to be held in Paris. It opened on 1st April 1867 and closed on 31st October 1867.
- 61 Kobayashi Shūhei; although this translator is yet to find any direct evidence, it has been suggested by some researchers that this is an alias of a man called Yoshida Jirō who went to the Paris Exposition in 1867 with the Satsuma representatives.
- 62 Daiku Keisuke: the exact identity of this person is uncertain.
- 63 Tokugawa Minbu is Tokugawa Akitake (1853–1910), the younger brother of the then Shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu (1837–1913). Despite being only 14 years old at the time, he led the Japanese Bakufu delegation for the Paris Exposition of 1867.

- The delegation left Japan on January 11th, 1867, a few months before the start of the exhibition on April 1st, 1867.
- 64 Shibusawa Seien is better known as Shibusawa Eiichi (1840–1931). He was an industrialist and recognised today as the “father of capitalism” in Japan. He was also instrumental in the foundation of a number of hospitals, schools and universities as well as the Japan Red Cross and many other organisations.
- 65 After this section, there is a somewhat long passage written by Washizu Kidō, but it has been left out for the purpose of this translation as the words are not Nakai's.
- 66 Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882) was a national hero in Italy. He was instrumental in bringing about the unification of Italy.
- 67 Garāuru: the exact spelling of this name and the identity/nationality of this person is uncertain. If it is a British surname, possible spellings might be Garrall, Gurrall, Gurrell or possibly even Garrold, as these are all known family names. There is, of course, the possibility that the person is of another nationality.
- 68 The Canopus Star is the second brightest star in the night sky after Sirius, and it can be seen in the southern hemisphere. The star has played a very important role in navigation particularly before the magnetic compass came into common use.
- 69 Keio 4 is 1868. This was the year that Nakai originally published this work. However, this English translation has been created from the 1870 edition reprinted in Meiji Bunka Kenkyū Kai, *Meiji Bunka Zenshū*, vol. 7 (Tokyo 1928). The sixth month noted here is sometime after the Nawate Incident in which Nakai Hiromu saved the lives of the British Minister and other representatives of the British Crown. The incident occurred on the last day of the second month in the Japanese lunar calendar, 23rd March 1868 in the Western calendar, and in it Nakai received a scalp wound. During his convalescence, he is believed to have worked on this journal for the purpose of publication.

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