

**Japanese Students at Cambridge University
in the Meiji Era, 1868-1912:
Pioneers for the Modernization of Japan**

By Noboru Koyama

Head of the Japanese Department

Cambridge University Library

Translated by Ian Ruxton

Department of Human Sciences

Kyushu Institute of Technology

With an Introduction by Sir John Boyd, K.C.M.G.

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The printed book is also available from www.amazon.com and all of the other amazon websites.

The translator can be e-mailed at ian_ruxton@hotmail.com

ISBN: 978-1-4116-1256-3 (paperback)

First published in paperback September 1, 2004

(This is a special edition to celebrate the 800th anniversary of the founding of Cambridge University in 2009.)

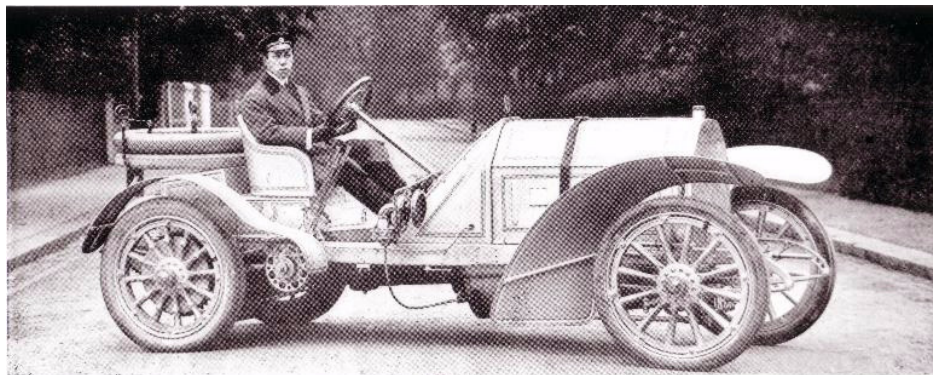


Kikuchi Dairoku (1855-1917) the ‘hero’ of this book
(Cambridge Antiquarian Society)

Among many other honours bestowed on him, Baron Kikuchi was a Cambridge wrangler (first class mathematician); Professor (1877-98), Dean of the Faculty of Science (1881-93) and President of the Imperial University of Tokyo (1898-1901); Minister of Education (1901-03); Principal of *Gakushūin*, The Peers’ School (1904-05) and third President of the Imperial University of Kyoto (1908-12).



Kikuchi Dairoku at Cambridge – his youthful intelligence is plain
(Cambridge Antiquarian Society)



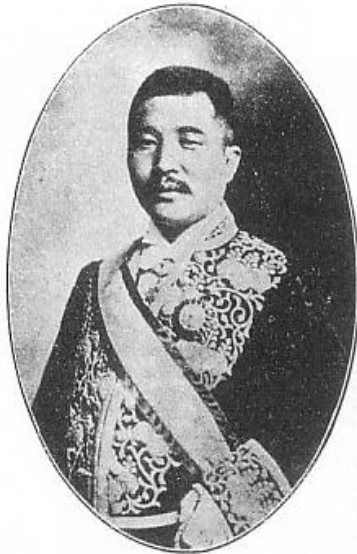
The first Japanese racing driver – Ōkura Kishichirō (1882-1963)
(The Autocar magazine, June 15, 1907)



Suematsu Kenchō D.Litt., LL.D. (1855-1920) in later life: journalist, translator, politician, statesman and historian – a genuine polymath, yet curiously almost a forgotten figure in Japan. (Courtesy of Tamae Hikotarō)



Suematsu Kenchō at the Japanese Legation in London in 1878-80 before entering Cambridge. The Minister Ueno Kagenori is in the centre of the front row. Tomita Tetsunosuke, later President of the Bank of Japan is in the front row, extreme right. Young Suematsu is in the back row, extreme right. (Courtesy of Tamae Hikotarō)

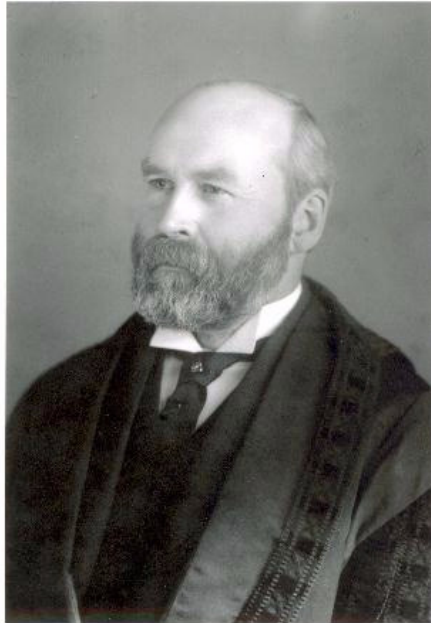


鄭次滿垣稻

Portrait of the scholar-diplomat Inagaki Manjirō (1861-1908) in ceremonial dress
(*Nagasaki Ken Jinbutsu Den*, 1919)



The oarsman C.L. Holthouse receives the Last Wooden Spoon at the graduation ceremony held at the Cambridge Senate House, 1909. (This photograph, courtesy of St. John's College archives, is taken in Senate House Passage just after the ceremony.)



Kikuchi's contemporary Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert (1854-1934). Of humble Gaelic-speaking origins, he rose via Liverpool Institute and Cambridge to Principal of Glasgow University (1907-29). (Cambridge Antiquarian Society)



Donald MacAlister the brilliant young mathematician – the Senior Wrangler of 1877 (The Graphic, February 1877; Cambridge Antiquarian Society)

Introduction by Sir John Boyd, KCMG

**(Master of Churchill College, Cambridge and
formerly British ambassador to Japan, 1992-96)**

I was delighted to be invited to contribute an introduction to this excellent study. Japan is a topic close to my heart. The fate of Japan can never be a matter of indifference to Britain. The Meiji Restoration remains a powerful theme for historians everywhere – and offers continuing lessons as Japan faces up to the need for extensive reform of her systems. And Cambridge, whether then or now, watches developments in Japan with particular interest and sympathy.

The challenge remains – ‘reform or die’. Mid 19th century Japan was resolute in grasping the challenge to her national and cultural survival posed by Western skills in firearms, infrastructure and, as then perceived, governance. The highly intelligent and motivated young Japanese who responded so enthusiastically remain heroes, as much in our culture as in Japan’s. No English reader can fail to be stirred, sometimes puzzled and often even a little embarrassed by Japan’s choice of Britain as a leading model for Meiji Japan’s reform – though Count Ōkuma’s reasons in his memoirs remain persuasive. At all events the personal persistence and ingenuity of those first young visitors to London, then Glasgow, Manchester, Newcastle and elsewhere, and their intense application in mastering British technology, building systems, engineering and navigation, still strike a chord.

But technology was not Britain’s only strength. This is where Cambridge comes in, with its particular leaning towards abstract ideas, underpinned by a distinct intellectual and collegiate style. The heart of the saga described so ably by Noboru Koyama unfolds beside the River Cam. Many of the Japanese students here in those years were remarkable, but it is no doubt right to focus on the outstandingly able, articulate, original and culturally confident Kikuchi Dairoku. The tribute such figures paid to late Victorian British society remains, to our eyes, something of a curiosity. But they certainly targeted the essential Cambridge – clear heads; skills in mathematics, physics and engineering; a free flow of ideas; a readiness to listen to others; and a high respect for evidence and proof. Through Kikuchi and his colleagues this essence passed effectively into the Japanese intellectual landscape.

The Cambridge link with Japan remains, I am glad to say, a major fact. Japan's standing in the University Library, in the Faculty, in the scientific laboratories, in artistic appreciation and social discourse continues to speak for itself. Cambridge these days offers a global rather than local platform, bringing value added for all concerned. Japan for its part has chosen to develop important professional partnerships in and around Cambridge, from advanced physics to cell-biology to cultural promotion. We see about us Japanese researchers, fellows of Colleges, visiting academics of all kinds, embedded laboratories, occasional Japanese orchestras and much else. At all levels Cambridge has confidence in Japan's long-term potential and welcomes signs of economic recovery.

It was a particular pleasure for the Cambridge community to be involved in the arrangements for Japan 2001. We were determined to express our strong and continuing interest in Japan and our support for new trends emerging from Japan. The 'photograph' that emerged was of a society still based on determination, vigour, subtlety and individual inspiration. Among many delights it was a particular satisfaction to host a touring exhibition of photographs of Anglo-Japanese contacts in the Meiji period. Behind the formal Victorian suits and top hats it was still easy to spot the curiosity, adaptability and courage – not to mention the youth – of those early visitors. They took up the British challenge with a will. One hundred or more years later they retain the capacity to impress.

April, 2004

John Boyd
Churchill College, Cambridge

Translator's Acknowledgements & Preface

The main purposes of this book are threefold: first, to promote Anglo-Japanese friendship; next, to enhance and increase mutual understanding between Japan and the United Kingdom; and lastly, to bind together even more closely and explicitly than hitherto two ancient entities, namely the University of Cambridge and the nation of Japan. Furthermore, this translation is dedicated respectfully to the Japanese students at the University – past, present and future – in the hope and expectation that the mutually beneficial process of academic and cultural exchanges which began with this story's central protagonist Kikuchi Dairoku in the mid-nineteenth century may be continued through the present 21st century – still in its infancy – and long beyond, in perpetuity.

The translator takes this opportunity to acknowledge the kindness of the author Mr. Noboru Koyama (or Koyama Noboru, to write his name in the Japanese order) for agreeing to the idea of an English translation which I first proposed to him in June 2002, and in various other matters, but especially his assistance with the trickier translations of classical Japanese (*kanbun*) to be found in Suematsu Kenchō's elegant letters to his powerful patron, the oligarch Itō Hirobumi (see Chapter Four); with some newspaper extracts of a similar level of difficulty in Chapter Five; and with the checking of names, facts and other data. He has also provided much additional material for the bibliography and most of the appendices, none of which were in the original Japanese book.

For his part, Mr. Koyama has asked that special mention be made here of the kind and helpful assistance he has received from Dr. Elisabeth Leedham-Green, a respected authority on the history of the University and the author of *A Concise History of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), both in the preparation of the original Japanese book and in the checking of this English version. The translator adds his thanks to her, to Sir John Boyd for his persuasive introduction and to the publishers for kindly agreeing to publish the book.

In addition the translator thanks his colleagues, Professors Gyōichi Nogami, Tetsutarō Yoshinaga and Robert Long of the Kyushu Institute of Technology, for their helpful ideas and professional comments; his friends Dr. Bert Edström, Mr. Martin J. Miles (M.A. Oxon.) and Mr. John. C. Evans (M.A., LL.M. Cantab.) for their objective views and encouragement; and as always his wife Asako for her support. Special thanks are also due to the St. John's College Archivist Mr. Malcolm Underwood for his comments (see Chapter

Three endnotes); the Assistant Librarian Jonathan Harrison for providing a photograph of the last Wooden Spoon; and the St. John's College Council for kindly permitting its reproduction in this book.

The Wooden Spoon is a quaint and venerable but now – since the publishing of tripos exam results alphabetically by class rather than score order began in 1910 – more or less defunct Cambridge custom. It apparently much impressed Kikuchi, whose account of it later allegedly influenced his students in Japan who alas misunderstood it, and not for the better (see Chapter Three). The term ‘wooden spoon’ survives in the English language, incidentally, to denote the position of the last-placed nation in what is now called the Six Nations Rugby Championship.

This book was first published in a paperback edition in October 1999, with the Japanese title *Hatenkō: 'Meiji Ryūgakusei' Retsuden – DaiEi Teikoku ni mananda Hitobito* (roughly translatable as “The Unprecedented Lives of Meiji Students Overseas: The people who learned from the British Empire”) by Kodansha Co. Ltd. of Tokyo (Kodansha Sensho Metier series no. 168). The present English title is considered to be a more accurate description of the contents of Mr. Koyama's research than the original Japanese one. All and any errors in this translation are the responsibility of the translator. Several endnotes, designated as translator's notes and intended to assist English readers, have been added to the endnotes in the original text.

This study has been translated into English by Ian C. Ruxton (M.A. Cantab.), who is an associate professor of English in the Department of Human Sciences, Kyushu Institute of Technology (K.I.T.), Kitakyushu, Japan. His main research interest is the career of the influential diplomat Sir Ernest Satow (1843-1929) who plays a not insignificant role in the intriguing story about to unfold in the following pages. (See Satow's recommendation in 1905 to Cambridge University regarding the examining of Chinese and Japanese students in classical Chinese in lieu of Latin and Greek, in Chapter Five and Appendices II and III; the extracts from Satow's diary at the beginning of Chapter Six; and the mention of his Japanese book collection in the Postscript.)

The translator respectfully wishes to remind readers that this book is in essence only a translation with added endnotes and appendices, and to record that he has attempted to achieve the delicate balance between preserving the essence of the Japanese original and paying due attention to readability in English. Wholesale rewriting for a Western audience would have turned the book into something quite new and different. It would no longer be a

translation in that case, and valuable data, of which there is a great deal, might have been lost in the process.

Japanese people frequently argue in an inductive way, e.g. the announcement of the judicial decision of the death penalty – subject to appeal – pronounced on the leader of the infamous Aum cult Shōkō Asahara (whose real name was Matsumoto Chizuo) on February 27, 2004 after a trial lasting almost eight years, was preceded by a lengthy exposition of the *reasons* for the death sentence. A similar tendency towards inductive reasoning may be found in this book. There is also a modest degree of self-acknowledged repetition, and in parts the text may read like a lecture transcript. But such is the nature of cultural differences, and the understanding and forbearance of readers is politely and humbly requested.

Preface

The underlying, yet also overarching, theme of this precious and informative scholarly work is the way in which the modernization of Japan – essential to preserve the country's independence from the real threat of colonization by one or more of the European Powers, notably France and Britain – was achieved in what the author interestingly calls ‘the extended Meiji period’ (1850-1914). This extension includes the dramatic and intense period of the so-called *Bakumatsu* (the end of the Tokugawa shogunate, 1853-67). Japan's modernization (i.e. Westernization) was accomplished with a speed and energy entirely unprecedented in world history.

Why and how was Japan able to modernize so rapidly? Part of the answer lies in the remarkable efforts of the students overseas, at Cambridge and elsewhere in Europe and the United States. The other side of the coin was the employment by the government and private concerns, at great cost and throughout the period, of more than 3,000 foreign professors and experts of various kinds in Japan itself. These were the so-called ‘hired foreigners’, or *o-yatoi gaikokujin*. (See the role of Captain Nathan Algren, the military adviser played by Tom Cruise in the recent film *Last Samurai* – loosely based on the life of the iconic Saigō Takamori - for a good, if fictitious, example.)

During the Tokugawa or Edo period (1603-1867) Japan was deliberately prevented from almost all diplomatic and commercial contacts with the rest of the world by the Tokugawa shogunate's ruthlessly enforced policy of *sakoku* (national seclusion, literally ‘chained country’). From 1641 nobody could leave or enter on pain of death. The only pinhole of

light shed onto the relative obscurity of a Japan developing in its own way and at its own pace, was from the Dutch East India Company's 'factory', a trading outpost on a tiny fan-shaped artificial island called Dejima (sometimes Deshima) in Nagasaki on the western part of the island of Kyushu. Western enlightenment – mainly technology and science, including medicine – was imported to Japan through the translation and study of texts from the Dutch language obtained at Nagasaki. This vital process of technology transfer was called *Rangaku* ("Dutch Studies").

It was during the *Bakumatsu* period (1853-67) that translations from Dutch into Japanese became obsolete. The country began to open up after the visits of the Black Ships of the American commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794-1858) in 1853 and 1854, and the first students went overseas to study about a decade later, sent by the ambitious Satsuma and Chōshū clans, and also the *Bakufu* (shogunate) in 1866 (see Chapter Two). This new process accelerated after the proclamation at the start of the Meiji ('enlightened rule') era of the five-article Charter Oath (*Gokajō no Seimon*) on March 14, 1868, signed by the boy Emperor (1852-1912), the last article of which read: "Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundation of Imperial Rule." (*Chishiki wo sekai ni motome, dai ni kōki wo shinki subeshi.*)

The immediate consequence of this bold and dramatic declaration of policy was the despatch of the diplomatic (and perforce investigative) Iwakura Mission to the United States and Europe (1871-73), which has recently been the subject of much academic research and discussion (see e.g. *The Iwakura Mission in America & Europe: A New Assessment*, ed. Ian Nish, Japan Library, 1998). The long-term result, however, was the sending of many young students overseas, as described in part here. And where better to send them than to one of the leading universities of Britain, then the chief imperialist Power and the greatest potential threat to Japan's national sovereignty?

It may only be a secondary theme, but this book also provokes reflection on the true nature and value of a Cambridge education, from both British and Japanese perspectives (see especially Chapter Six). The foundations are shown to rest solidly on Christianity, which presented a particular and unfamiliar challenge to Japanese students chiefly accustomed to Buddhism and Shintō. In addition, the perception that great emphasis is placed on the education of gentlemen is perhaps surprising, but certainly not every student entering Cambridge aims for a first class degree. There are various benefits derived from a Cambridge degree, many of which are clearly non-academic (e.g. a start in journalism,

acting, politics or even a sporting career) and learning the ways of a gentleman – the chief and explicitly stated aim of Inagaki Manjirō’s Japanese Club (see Appendix VI) – may indeed be one of them.

Some profound questions, such as the following, remain. Did the consolatory Wooden Spoon in fact reflect a very British undergraduate scepticism about academic ‘prizes’, wisely and generously tolerated by the academics themselves as a kind of end-of-term frolic, a chance to let off steam after the toil of preparing for the tripos examinations? In Japan there have never been wooden spoons for low achievement, but silver watches for outstanding ones (see Appendix I). Secondly, does not the happy reputation of Britain among the Japanese people as the country of gentlemen (*Shinshi no Kuni*), which persists to the present day, stem at least in part from the Japanese students at Cambridge, and what they themselves believed they had learned there? And lastly, why does Cambridge precede Oxford in the “Cambridge & Oxford Society, Tokyo”, known in Japanese as the *Kengyūkai* and celebrating its centenary in 2005? This last matter may in part be a neat illustration of the way in which almost all Things Western are subjected to some minor modification (usually an improvement, though Oxford men may demur in this case!) when they reach the shores of the Japanese archipelago.

Finally, if this book contributes in even a very small way to promoting the further development and recognition of the importance of East Asian Studies at the University of Cambridge in these times of severe economies and closures of similar departments elsewhere in Britain (e.g. at Durham in 2003), and also to debunking the myth that the University is solely for a pampered and well-to-do minority, the translator will feel that all his aims have been achieved. For the truth is that, in the single-minded pursuit of academic excellence, the University nowadays makes great efforts to cast its net as widely as possible to embrace the most talented individuals from all social strata and all races, as it has always done in the past. This dedication has made Cambridge into a world-class university, and will keep it at the forefront of the academic world in the centuries to come.

August, 2004

Ian Ruxton
Kyushu Institute of Technology

Supplementary Remarks for the 800th Anniversary Edition

In 2009 Cambridge University is celebrating its 800th anniversary. As this book shows in detail, Japanese students and academics have played their own distinguished part in this long history from the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In a June 2009 letter to 183,000 alumni and alumnae of the University, the Vice-Chancellor Professor Alison Richards M.A., Ph.D., D.L. noted that despite “tough economic circumstances” and a “poor job market” there was cause for optimism in the longer term, “for Cambridge has seen troubled times before. Pestilence and pandemics, the collapse of the South Sea Bubble in 1720, wars local and global: Cambridge has emerged from many storms with its flags flying, and will do so again.” Inviting the addressees to consider the case of Isaac Newton, born in 1642, she pointed out that his “family was of modest means, and he certainly could not have attended Cambridge without help. As a student at Trinity, he was a sizar, a student who received financial support from the College.”

There is much about sizars in this book, and indeed Donald MacAlister was one. The Japanese tended to be supported by other independent means and some were wealthy, but Cambridge’s proud record is that the University neither closed its doors to the less well off nor to these exotic overseas visitors from the Orient. The principle which Cambridge continues to uphold, with assistance from its alumni, is the vital one asserted by Professor Richards that “merit, not means, determines which students come to Cambridge.” One might add that merit has always been rightly preferred to ethnic background also.

Ian Ruxton
July 2009

Translator's notes on conventions used in the text:

- 1) Japanese names are presented in the Japanese way, i.e. family names first and given names second. Western names are presented in the Western (opposite) fashion.
- 2) Dates given according to Japanese imperial reign names (*nengō*) are as they appear in the original text, followed by the same dates according to the Western calendar, e.g. Meiji 16 (1883) or sometimes vice versa, e.g. 1883 (Meiji 16).
- 3) Further details not in the original text have occasionally been added in parentheses, e.g. the year of birth and death of certain well-known Japanese persons as given in the Kojien dictionary according to the Western calendar.
- 4) Romanization of Japanese words has been according to the Kenkyusha (modified Hepburn) form, e.g.. Shinbun (not Shimbun) for 'newspaper'; 'Monbushō' (not Mombushō) for the Japanese Ministry of Education etc.

Brief conversion chart for the Japanese and Western calendars:

<u>Meiji</u>			<u>Taishō</u>	
1	1868		1	1912
2	1869		5	1916
3	1870		10	1921
5	1872		15	1926
8	1875			
10	1877		<u>Shōwa</u>	
13	1880		1	1926
15	1882		5	1930
18	1885		10	1935
20	1887		20	1945
23	1890		30	1955
25	1892		40	1965
28	1895		50	1975
30	1897		60	1985
33	1900		64	1989
35	1902			
38	1905		<u>Heisei</u>	
40	1907		1	1989
43	1910		2	1990
45	1912		7	1995
			12	2000
			17	2005

Note: Emperor Kōmei ruled 1846-1866. The *nengō* during his reign were as follows:

1844-48	Kōka	1860-61	Man'en	1865-68	Keiō
1848-54	Kaei	1861-64	Bun'kyū		
1854-60	Ansei	1864-65	Genji		

Table of Contents

<u>Prologue</u>	1
<u>Chapter One – The Birth of a Legend</u>	5
<i>The Times</i> article: ‘Japan and English Universities’ Kikuchi Dairoku’s academic brilliance University College School (U.C.S.) and London University	
<u>Chapter Two – Study Overseas during the Bakumatsu and Meiji Periods</u>	24
Outline of Study Overseas Study Overseas in the Second Year of Keiō (1866)	
<u>Chapter Three – Kikuchi Dairoku at Cambridge</u>	41
St. John’s College Cambridge Mathematics Fellow Wranglers and the Tripos Exam The Incident of Meiji 16 (1883) and the British Association for the Advancement of Science	
<u>Chapter Four – Other Japanese Students at Cambridge – I</u>	72
Suematsu Kenchō Maeda Toshitake, Yasuhiro Banichirō, Kuroda Nagashige	
<u>Chapter Five – Other Japanese Students at Cambridge – II</u>	84
Inagaki Manjirō The Japanese Club at Cambridge Later Students Students who Suffered, Students who Enjoyed Life	

<u>Chapter Six – The Fruits of Study at Cambridge</u>	117
The Cambridge and Oxford Society (<i>Kengyūkai</i>)	
Kikuchi Dairoku - Educational Administrator	
“Japanese Education” and the Imperial State	
The Great Efforts of the Japanese Students	
<u>Epilogue</u>	136
<u>Postscript</u>	142
<u>Bibliography</u> (English & Japanese)	145
<u>Appendices</u>	152
I: Obituary Notice of Baron Kikuchi Dairoku	
II: Extracts from Cambridge University Reporter (1878-1906)	
III: Handwritten Correspondence in Foreign Office files	
IV: Chart of the Imperial University of Tokyo & its Predecessors	
V: Chronology relating to the Japanese students at Cambridge	
VI: Text of January 1905 Lecture by H.J. Edwards to the Japan Society	
VII: Mitsukuri and Kikuchi Family Tree	
<u>Endnotes</u>	189
<u>Index</u>	205

Prologue

The Legend of the Top Student

In Shōwa 42 (1967) Minobe Ryōkichi (1904-84) of the reform camp was elected Tokyo prefectural governor for the first time. The noted critic and biographer Kimura Ki (1894-1979) wrote an article entitled *Minobe Ryōkichi no Idai na Sofu* which introduced the “glorious career” of Minobe’s distinguished grandfather Kikuchi Dairoku (1855-1917), and was published in the July 1967 edition of *Bungei Shunjū* magazine. Kimura described Kikuchi’s activities at Cambridge as follows:

Top Student at Cambridge

It is not necessarily rare for teachers and students to stare in wonder at the genius of a Japanese student overseas. The pioneer was Kikuchi Dairoku, who after sufficient preparation entered Cambridge University and majored in mathematics, in no time at all surpassing his fellow students, coming top in all the examinations and never once conceding pole position to anyone.

His patriotic British classmates found this a regrettable affront to their John Bull pride, and plotted to recapture this honour from him.

Second in the class was a student called Brown, also a young man of prodigious academic ability. All the other British students encouraged him, saying ‘We are unable to contain our anger at that Asian student. But you are the only one who can beat him. So do your best, and put him in his place.’ Brown tried his hardest, but still he could not outshine Kikuchi. Then a heaven-sent opportunity came one winter: Kikuchi caught a cold, was hospitalised and could not attend classes.

His classmates, seeing this as an excellent opportunity to install Brown at the top of the class if only once, agreed between them that none of them would lend his lecture notes to Kikuchi while he was absent.

In due course Kikuchi left hospital and the term examinations were held. The British students were secretly preparing their song of victory as they awaited the results, but amazingly Kikuchi had not budged an inch from the top of the class. At this the British students admitted defeat. ‘That Japanese student is too much!’ they said. In fact while Kikuchi had been in hospital Brown had visited him frequently and lent him a clean copy of his notes so that he would not fall behind in his studies, and had thus secretly assisted him.

Until the end of his life Kikuchi never ceased to talk of Brown's gentlemanly conduct. 'I have never been so moved in my life. I owe deep debts of gratitude in my career to more people than my ten fingers can count, but it was Brown's great and unstinting generosity which affected me the most.'

A Glittering Career

So what kind of person was he, this Kikuchi Dairoku, this legendary man who achieved top marks at Cambridge? Kikuchi was active in the Meiji era as an overseas student in Britain, mathematician, university professor, educational administrator and politician. If we list the main posts he held, they amount to a glorious career: Professor and President of Tokyo Imperial University, Minister of Education, Baron, Principal of *Gakushūin* (the Peers' School), President of Kyoto Imperial University, member of the House of Peers, Principal of the Imperial Academy, Privy Councillor, and first Head of the Science Research Institute.

Kikuchi's degrees were as follows: B.A. and M.A. of Cambridge University, B.A. of London University, Doctor of Science (*Rigaku Hakase/Hakushi* awarded by Monbushō, the Japanese Ministry of Education), and in addition honorary law doctorates of Glasgow, Manchester and Rutgers universities. Kikuchi Dairoku was also at the centre of the most excellent family of scholars of modern Japan. His grandfather Mitsukuri Genpo (1799-1863) was a *rangakusha* (scholar of Dutch learning) at the end of the Tokugawa shogunate (*Bakumatsu*, 1853-67), and his father Mitsukuri Shūhei (1826-1889) was also famous as a scholar of Western learning and educator.

Mitsukuri Rinshō (1846-1897) the famous legal scholar of the Meiji era, was a cousin and elder brother-in-law of Kikuchi. The physicist and Tokyo Imperial University professor Nagaoka Hantarō (1865-1950) was Rinshō's son-in-law. The renowned statistician Kure Bunsō (1851-1918) and the psychopathologist Kure Shūzō (1865-1932) were Kikuchi Dairoku's cousins. The famous zoologist and professor of Tokyo Imperial University Mitsukuri Kakichi (1857-1909) and the scholar of Western history and professor of Tokyo Imperial University Mitsukuri Genpachi (1862-1919) were Kikuchi's younger brothers.

The anthropologist and Tokyo Imperial University professor Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863-1913) was the husband of a half-sister by a different mother. Mitsukuri Keigo (1852-1871) was Kikuchi's elder brother who accompanied him to study in London at the end of the Tokugawa shogunate (*Bakumatsu*). Keigo was said to be an even greater genius than Kikuchi, but unfortunately he died of a heart attack and drowned while swimming in Tokyo's Sumida River in Meiji 4 (1871).

Kikuchi Dairoku's children numbered in total four sons and eight daughters, of whom the eldest son seems to have died young (see Appendix VII). As befits a family of scholars, each of his daughters married an

eminent scholar. His third daughter married Minobe Tatsukichi (1873-1948), the legal scholar and professor of Tokyo Imperial University noted mainly for his theory of the Imperial role in the constitution (*Tennō kikanseisu*); his fourth daughter married Hatoyama Hideo (1884-1946), the authority on civil law and professor at Tokyo Imperial University; and the sixth daughter married Suehiro Izutarō (1888-1951), the authority on labour law and professor of Tokyo Imperial University. Minobe Ryōkichi who was the son of Tatsukichi was, as already stated above, the grandson of Kikuchi Dairoku and famous as the governor of Tokyo prefecture. Hatoyama Hideo was the younger brother of Hatoyama Ichirō, the former prime minister (1883-1959, prime minister 1954-56).

Kikuchi Dairoku's sons were also distinguished men. His second son Kikuchi Taiji, who became his heir, studied at Cambridge as his father had done after graduating top of the Physics course at Tokyo Imperial University. Kikuchi Dairoku's third son Kikuchi Kenzō was a professor of zoology at Tokyo Imperial University, and his fourth son Kikuchi Seishi (1902-1974) was a leading experimental physicist, whose achievements were recognised internationally as the person who discovered the "Kikuchi line". After the Second World War he became the first head of Tokyo University's atomic research institute, and also became chairman of the board of directors of the Japan Nuclear Power Institute and the President of Tokyo Science University (*Tōkyō Rika Daigaku*).

Kikuchi Dairoku, by virtue of his academic achievements, work and family connections became the very pivot of the university and educational systems in Meiji Japan. As befitted that position, his career was adorned with the highest honours which the academic world of the Meiji era could bestow. Probably few people could boast such a glittering career in the fields of university and other education as Kikuchi Dairoku.

The Realities and Meaning of Study in Britain

It is no exaggeration to say that Japan's modernization began with study overseas, and in the Meiji era many young people in search of models for modernization boldly travelled to Europe and America. Not all of them studied at universities, but in fact most of the Meiji students aimed at universities. Many Japanese chose British universities because the British Empire at the time was at its zenith.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (created in 1800 and made up until 1922 of England, Scotland, Wales and the whole of Ireland) had the following universities at the start of the Meiji period in 1868: Scotland had four (St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh); England, the main part of the country, also had only four (Oxford and Cambridge - commonly conflated to "Oxbridge" - London and Durham). Ireland (now the Republic of Ireland) had Trinity College in Dublin (Dublin University) but there were still no universities in Wales and Northern Ireland.

Of the English universities, Durham was at the time just a small theological college in the country, so at the point when Japan began to modernize in the early Meiji years the representative universities of England were Oxford, Cambridge and London. As this book will show in detail, Cambridge was overwhelmingly more important to the Japanese students than Oxford. Also in the nineteenth century London University was a purely exam-based institution, and Kikuchi Dairoku was the only Japanese to graduate from London before the 20th century.

This book will not attempt to be a general survey of all the Japanese students who studied in Britain, but will be centred on Kikuchi Dairoku, the first Japanese to graduate from Cambridge University and the only one to graduate from London University in the nineteenth century. The book will attempt to investigate the realities and meaning of study in Britain in the Meiji era, by focusing on Kikuchi Dairoku and the men who followed him (his *kōhai*), what they experienced and what kind of lives they lived.

Chapter One - The Birth of a Legend

1. The *Times* article: 'Japan and English Universities'

During the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) on November 4, 1904 (Meiji 37) the London *Times*, that distinguished newspaper of Japan's ally Britain, published an article titled 'Japan and English Universities'.¹ It was written by an unnamed special correspondent, and as we shall see later there were a few small errors. It is rather long, but here it is reproduced in full:

Considerable attention has been attracted lately to the higher education of Japan in general, and specially to the Imperial University of Tokio, its *personnel*, constitution, and work. It may be interesting at this moment to consider briefly how far the older Universities of our own country are represented in Japan, and how far English thought is guiding and illuminating the modern thought of Japan.

Since the early seventies [1870s], or thereabouts, when the first Japanese, Mr. Kikuchi, entered at Trinity, Cambridge, a continuous stream of young Japanese have passed through one or the other of our Universities, not a few distinguishing themselves in the Honours schools. Cambridge, with its mathematical bias and more practical training, seems to offer greater attractions to the Japanese intellect than classical and philosophic Oxford. At present there are some fifteen at Cambridge and five at Oxford.

A glance through the list of the Tokio Club reveals the very interesting fact that a number of the younger members are old Cambridge men, with one or two Oxonians. Among former Ministers of State are three Cambridge men – Baron Kikuchi [Dairoku], a Wrangler, Minister of Education; Baron Suyematsu [Kenchō], Minister of Communications, and afterwards Minister of the Interior; and Mr. Hamao [Arata], Minister of Education; while among the Vice-Ministers of State there are two, Mr. Yasuhiro [Ban'ichirō] and Mr. Soyeda [Juichi].

In the House of Lords [*Kizokuin*] Cambridge is ably represented by the Marquis Kuroda [Nagashige], the Vice-Speaker, Count Hirosawa [Kinjirō], and Baron Mori [Mōri Gorō], besides the Ministers mentioned above, who were nominated members of the House of Lords on their resignation. Turning to the Imperial Household [*Kunaishō*], the Masters of the Ceremonies, the Hon. Mr. Hachisuka [Masaaki], the Hon. Mr. Asano, and Viscount Inaba [Masanao], are all Cambridge men.

Among the diplomats are Mr. Inagaki [Manjirō], Resident Minister in Siam, and Count Matsu [Mutsu Hirokichi]. The name of the Japanese Minister in London, Viscount Hayashi [Tadasu], who is an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford and a L.L.D. of Cambridge, may be added. In Tokio University Cambridge was for some time represented by Baron Kikuchi, who was Professor of Mathematics, afterwards president of the Science Department, and then president of the University. His work in the University ceased with his appointment as Minister of Education. At present he is president of the Nobles' College [*Gakushūin*] attached to the Imperial Household. Mr. Soyeda, who is now president of a Government bank, holds a lectureship on political economy. Professors Fujisawa [Rikitarō] (mathematics) and Watagaki [Wadagaki Kenzō] (political economy) are Cambridge men. Two others, the Hon. Mr. Soyeshima [Soejima Michimasa] and Mr. Yoshida, are teaching in the Nobles' College. In banking circles are the names of G. Tanaka [Tanaka Ginnosuke], Imamura [Shigezō], and Hamaguchi [Tan], the latter now a member of the House of Representatives.

The list of prominent Japanese who are also old Oxford men is a much shorter one. Among their number are the Marquis Hachisuka [Mochiaki], sometime Minister of Education, and now a member of the Privy Council, Mr. Bunyu Nanjio [Nanjō Bunyū], formerly Professor of Sanscrit at Tokio University, who published several texts at Oxford, and two other graduates, Professor J. Takakusu [Takakusu Junjirō], who now holds the Chair of Sanscrit, and Baron Minamiwakura [Tomotake], who is a member of the House of Lords. It was only lately that Count Matsukata [Masayoshi], formerly Prime Minister, and more than once Minister of State, was made a D.C.L. of Oxford.

There exists in Tokio a Cambridge Club, to which all those who have been members of a college for three years are admitted. There is also an Oxford Society, which meets from time to time. Sir Claude MacDonald, the British Minister in Tokio ², started soon after the proclamation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance a social gathering called "The Oxford and Cambridge Dinner," to which he invites all members of the two Universities.

Amended Article and Corrections

Four days after this article was published another article also appeared in the *Times*, with corrections to the original article. The Cambridge correspondent of the *Times* had sent some corrections to the Editor. ³

What were the errors pointed out in the amended article? The first was that Kikuchi Dairoku did not enter Trinity College at Cambridge, but St. John's. Also Hamao Arata did not study at Cambridge, but in 1887

(Meiji 20) was awarded an honorary doctorate (Hon. LL.D.) by the University. Apart from these two errors there were other minor inaccuracies, such as that Fujisawa Rikitarō and the man called Asano⁴ were not Cambridge students. Again in the *Times* article the names of Soejima Michimasa and a certain Yoshida are given as teachers at Gakushūin. Yoshida is probably Yoshida Masao⁵ who entered Cambridge in 1894 (Meiji 27) and graduated in 1897 (Meiji 30). Furthermore the Cambridge Club constituted of Cambridge graduates, and the Oxford Society made up of Oxford graduates later united to create the Cambridge and Oxford Society, whose activities were suspended once during the Second World War but continues to function to this day as the Cambridge & Oxford Society, Tokyo, with a separate branch (chapter) in the Kansai area.

In Britain, Oxford and Cambridge when spoken of together are usually referred to as ‘Oxbridge’. The word ‘Camford’ does also exist, reversing the order of the two universities, but it is rarely used. In the same way in Japan we usually refer to Waseda and Keiō universities as ‘Sōkei’ rather than ‘Keisō’. But in the case of the Cambridge and Oxford Association (or Society), Cambridge was much the more influential, so the order of Cambridge preceding Oxford was insisted on. As both universities were written in kanji, as *Kenbashi* (or *Kenkyō*) and *Gyūtsu* (or *Gyūshin*) respectively, the association was referred to as the *Kengyūkai*, again insisting on the precedence of Cambridge over Oxford.⁶

George Lindsey-Renton’s letter to the *Times*

After-effects of the *Times* article ‘Japan and English Universities’ continued, and on November 19th a reader’s letter on the subject was published, about Kikuchi Dairoku. George Lindsey-Renton (hereafter ‘Renton’ as he was called in the school register) had read the original article and the correction, and wrote a letter dated November 8th recalling his time 31 years previously at University College School, the high school attached to University College (London University).

Kikuchi Dairoku graduated from University College School in 1873 (Meiji 6). Renton who was at the school at the time relates the following episode about Kikuchi. At that time the Case exhibition and the Cooks prize were awarded to pupils with outstanding results in the school exams. In 1873 there were only two strong candidates for these awards: Kikuchi Dairoku and the son of the headmaster of a well-known private school. Two or three weeks before the exams the son of the headmaster fell ill and was absent from classes. Hearing this, Kikuchi sent him his extensive notes.

At last, just before the long summer holidays the winners of the awards were announced. On that day the headmaster was away, so the deputy headmaster made the announcement to the pupils. It was welcomed with enthusiastic cheers. The governors had decided, in view of their results being equal and Kikuchi’s generous action, to award the Case and Cooks prizes to both boys. This episode left a lasting impression on the mind of

Renton and all the pupils present. In his letter to the *Times* Renton emphasises the following point.

Kikuchi Dairoku represented the first Japanese students who came to England from Japan 30 years previously. By his actions already mentioned Kikuchi gave a strong impression to his English fellow pupils of the high moral sense, strong spirit of self-denial and chivalry, which were now “acknowledged universally as attributes of his race.” Renton’s letter praising the “high code of honour” of the Japanese seems to have been intended to mobilise public support indirectly for the allied country of Japan then engaged in the Russo-Japanese War.

Kikuchi top of the class

When Renton’s reminiscences are checked against the actual records of University College School the following facts become clear. ⁷

First, the Case exhibition was formally known as the ‘Sixth Greek prize’ until 1873, and from 1874 it was called the Case exhibition. A similar award was known as the Case prize, which until 1873 was called the ‘Sixth Latin prize’. In the same way the Cooks prize was known as the ‘Sixth Maths prize’ until 1873.

‘Sixth prize’ is a term connected with the Sixth Form, the highest form in English secondary education. Graduating from the Sixth Form is equivalent in Japan to completing high school education. Therefore we can regard the ‘Sixth prize’ as one awarded on graduation from high school.

The Case exhibition (Greek) and the Case prize (Latin) commemorated W. A. Case who had been deputy headmaster, while the Cooks prize (Mathematics) commemorated the maths master W. Cook. At that time the three most important subjects for students aiming to enter university were Latin, Greek and Maths, and so prizes were awarded to the top exam students in these three subjects.

These ‘Sixth prizes’ were called the Case prize (Latin), Case exhibition (Greek) and Cooks prize (Maths) from 1874. These were the official names from that year, but they may have been unofficially called by these names prior to that. Of the three honours awarded in 1873 Kikuchi received the Cooks prize (Maths) and the Case prize (Latin).

The Case exhibition was awarded to a pupil called Marshall, and the Cooks prize was shared between Kikuchi and another boy called Sidney White, who was probably the headmaster’s son referred to in Renton’s letter.

	Case exhibition	Case prize	Cooks prize
Name till 1873	'Sixth Greek prize'	'Sixth Latin prize'	'Sixth Maths prize'
Title of recipient	Case exhibitioner	Case prizeman	Cooks prizeman
Subject	Greek	Latin	Mathematics
Awarded to	Top student in graduation exam	ditto	ditto
Recipient in 1873	Marshall	Kikuchi Dairoku	Kikuchi Dairoku & S. White

University College School prizes

In any case, Kikuchi was the top student in Latin and Mathematics, two of the three most important subjects, which of course made him the top student in his year.

Article in the *London and China Telegraph*

According to Renton's letter in the *Times* referred to above, the episode between Kikuchi and White ended with much praise being lavished on the former, but in fact a story also survives which reverses these facts.

The *London and China Telegraph* was a British newspaper which contained many articles relating to China and Japan at the end of the Tokugawa shogunate and in the early Meiji period. In its August 11, 1873 (Meiji 6) edition there was the following short article entitled 'Japanese Success at University College':

At the distribution of prizes at University College School, the head master announced that the Cook prize had been gained by Kikuchi, a Japanese, next to who came Mr. White, who, but for his unselfish conduct, would probably have been first. Kikuchi, having to go up for matriculation at London University, lost some lectures, and White, having attended them, placed his notes at the disposal of his competitor.

In this version the roles of Kikuchi and White are completely opposite to the ones given in Renton's letter. While Renton states that Kikuchi showed his spirit of fair play by lending his notes to White, in the *London and China Telegraph* article it is White who lends his notes to Kikuchi who has been absent from classes, to

help him pass the university entrance examination. I would like to believe Renton's version, but which is correct?

Kikuchi and White: who lent his notes to whom?

Rather than investigate which is the truth by whatever means it is probably best to examine the words of Kikuchi Dairoku himself.

In 1907 (Meiji 40) Kikuchi was invited to England to give a lecture about Japanese education at London University. During his visit he was able to meet his greatest rival of his time at University College School, Sidney White, in London after a 31-year interval.

White took the entrance examination for London University in the year after Kikuchi, and passed it with flying colours. On graduation he qualified and practised as a lawyer, and was later awarded an honorary doctorate of law (Hon. LL.D.) by London University. When he met Kikuchi again in 1907 White had his own law office, a wife and three children (two daughters and a son). He was comfortably off. Kikuchi describes their reunion thus:

On this day [February 9, 1907] at 7 pm I went on the underground to Finsbury Park station, to meet my old friend Sidney White. He was waiting there and we had dinner at his house. He was a classmate and my closest friend from University College School. We always competed and encouraged each other at school. On graduation the Cooks prize was awarded to the best student in mathematics. White and I secretly competed fiercely for the prize. And at one point I was obliged to miss two weeks of class to take the London University entrance examination. During this time I borrowed White's notes and copied them. Then when the exam results came it turned out that mine were slightly better than his, and I was to get the Cooks prize, which really was his. But because the difference was so small and in view of White's lending his notes to me, in the end we were both awarded the prize. This has never happened before or since at this school. ⁸

As can be seen from these memoirs, it was not the Japanese Kikuchi Dairoku who showed chivalry but the Englishman Sidney White. Unfortunately Renton's letter to the *Times* is incorrect, and the *London and China Telegraph* article is the true version.

Behind George Lindsey-Renton's letter to the *Times* containing his old school reminiscences which had been prompted by the article 'Japan and English Universities' was probably the thought that Britain's Asian ally Japan, having been victorious in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and then being engaged in a struggle

with the Great Power Russia (the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-05) was not receiving enough support from public opinion in Britain. Furthermore, it is clear from the above that Kimura Ki's story already quoted in the Prologue about Kikuchi's being the top student thanks to Brown is not a story from Kikuchi's time at Cambridge, but from his time at University College School.

2. Kikuchi Dairoku's academic brilliance

“Your (unworthy) son is in good health and studying hard”

That Kikuchi Dairoku was making remarkable progress in his studies in Britain was already being reported actively in Japanese newspapers before 1873 (Meiji 6). For example as early as November 1871 (October of Meiji 4 by the old calendar) the *Shinbun Zasshi* contained the article below.

In fact Kikuchi was enrolled at University College School twice, before and after the Meiji restoration. And he began to show his academic excellence during the second period of study, from 1870 (Meiji 3) to 1873 (Meiji 6). After graduating from University College School he studied at Cambridge and London universities.

The following article is a letter reporting the results of the first test held at the end of the academic year in June 1871 or thereabouts to Kikuchi's father Mitsukuri Shūhei. From the exam results we know that Kikuchi is making remarkable progress, and is working hard at his studies:

Mitsukuri Dairoku [Kikuchi Dairoku] has written a letter to his father Shūhei from London, in which he reports he is in good health and studying hard. Recently there have been tests at the school. His results in six subjects were as follows, and he won a prize. English, Mathematics, Geography: first class. Surveying: second class. Cartography and French: third class. He has not completed his studies in Latin or Greek, so cannot enter university yet. This is most regrettable, but with further effort from now he will study these two subjects, and next year he will enter university without fail. ⁹

In the exams of June 1871 Kikuchi achieved exceptional results in six subjects as described in the above article, and won a prize. But he was still unable to enter university because he had not completed his Latin and Greek studies. He would study them harder from then on and expected to enter university the following year. ¹⁰

Other Japanese in London

In the above-mentioned article from *Shinbun Zasshi* a letter of recommendation is quoted from Sannomiya Yoshitane (1844-1905) to Kikuchi Dairoku's father Mitsukuri Shūhei. Sannomiya was staying in London at the same time as Kikuchi. Sannomiya wrote: "One subject is hard enough, but six is wonderful. Your son 'Kikuchi Dairoku' is also much praised by his teachers. Once the news of his achievements appeared in the English newspapers." ¹¹

The reason why Sannomiya's letter is quoted is that Kikuchi and Sannomiya Yoshitane together followed the Imperial prince Higashi Fushimi no Miya Yoshiaki (from 1882 called Komatsu no Miya Akihito) to study in England in Meiji 3 (1870). In Kikuchi's case he followed Higashi Fushimi no Miya (1846-1903) to the English town of Warminster, where shortly afterwards he was released of his duty to escort the prince.¹² It can be imagined that Sannomiya was released from his duty as a follower at the same time, and that Kikuchi, Sannomiya and others went to London and lived in the same house.

Tōgō Heihachirō (1847-1934) ¹³ who leapt to fame as an admiral in the Russo-Japanese war also left Japan to study in England in February of Meiji 4 (1871) and seems to have stayed in the same house in London as Kikuchi, Sannomiya and Sonoda Kōkichi. ¹⁴

Sonoda Kōkichi (1848-1923) worked in London as a consul and banker. Sannomiya Yoshitane was appointed Second Secretary in the foreign office, Grand Secretary in the Imperial Household, and was Grand Master of Ceremonies (*Shikibuchōkan*) for ten years until his death in 1905. In Meiji 29 (1896) he received the title of Baron. Tōgō Heihachirō was Admiral of the Fleet. During the Russo-Japanese war he served as supreme commander of the combined Imperial Japanese Navy fleets and was made a Marquis in recognition of his distinguished deeds in naval engagements.

The reason that Tōgō Heihachirō lived with Kikuchi in London is probably because he was a pupil of Kikuchi's father Mitsukuri Shūhei at a school he founded for Western learning called Sansa Gakusha. Around the first year of Meiji, the Sansa school was ranked with Fukuzawa Yukichi's Keiō Gijuku as one of the two great schools of Western learning.

The examinations of 1872 (Meiji 5)

Let us return to the topic of Kikuchi Dairoku's studies. Kikuchi was very active in the exams of 1871 (Meiji 4), but his brilliant intellectual achievements were also reported in the following year by the *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun* of September 26, 1872 (Meiji 5). That article was an abridged translation of two reports which appeared in two English newspapers published in London. Every year it was customary for the deputy

headmaster of University College School to address invited guests, masters and pupils before the summer holidays for about two and a half hours, in the course of which he read out the list of prizes and those who had won them by virtue of their excellent results in the examinations. In this year (1872) a pupil called Morley was the top student, and Kikuchi Dairoku was narrowly beaten into second place. But Kikuchi was singled out for special praise by the deputy headmaster because he had won the greatest number of prizes, and had achieved outstanding results.¹⁵ The deputy head continued: “Furthermore Kikuchi who is now 18 came to study in England at the end of the year before last, and since enrolling at this school has become the top or second pupil among 518 English-born pupils. This brilliance is quite marvellous.”¹⁶

Thus Kikuchi’s achievement in only a year and a half since arriving in England of mixing with more than 500 English students and coming top or second was reported as an admirable feat.

The examinations of 1873 (Meiji 6)

Then in his third year (1873) Kikuchi became the top student in the episode already described. This was reported in the *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun* of October 13th in an abbreviated translation of the *Rondon Shinbun* [London Newspaper].¹⁷ In the article the annual prize-giving ceremony at University College School in Gower Street, London was described and Kikuchi Dairoku was introduced in the following way:

Among these students the one who has made the most progress is a young boy from Japan called Kikuchi. He was top in the school exams last year and has won the Cotter [i.e. Cook] prize, the most difficult maths prize and many other prizes. He received many books (awarded as prizes) and the room rang with cheers at his achievements. He has been made head of the school.¹⁸

Kikuchi Dairoku was auspiciously top of the school in 1873. In the above article ‘head of the school’ was probably ‘Head Boy’ in the original English. The term ‘Head Boy’ is still used in many English schools. Regarding the content of the prizes, as indicated in the article reference books were frequently given, and sometimes a financial reward. Including scholarships, prize money was frequently distributed in England at that time to excellent students. But legends of excellence are frequently dogged by exaggeration, and in Kikuchi’s case the *Shinbun Zasshi* reported on July 20, 1874 (Meiji 7) as follows:

Last winter in the entrance examination for the first-class university of Cambridge, he [Kikuchi] received a prize of several hundred dollars. The many books [bought with the money] would make oxen sweat with their weight and fill a building. This is the extent of his ability. Kikuchi then hired two wagons and brought the books home. In the streets men, women and children stopped and talked with each other at the spectacle. One man asked how many more students like Kikuchi there were in Japan, and was told several hundred. The Westerner was struck dumb. ¹⁹

First, as will be explained later, Kikuchi Dairoku did proceed to Cambridge, but he did not take an entrance examination at that time. In principle there were no entrance examinations for either Oxford or Cambridge. This will also be explained in detail below, but the entrance examination which Kikuchi sat was for London University. He came third in that examination, and was awarded a scholarship. And then the statement in the article that Kikuchi required two ox-carts to take the prize books home because there were so many of them is surely a slight exaggeration. As for the story of the Englishman asking the Japanese student how many more there were in Japan like Kikuchi and being told not less than several hundred, this is probably an exaggerated episode designed to engender pleasant feelings in Japanese readers.

3. University College School and London University

The connections between University College School and Cambridge

What kind of school was University College School (U.C.S.), from which Kikuchi graduated as the top student? Usually a British public school is a private junior high and high school for the children of the upper class with a boarding system as its special feature. But some public schools such as U.C.S. are for day pupils only. U.C.S. was unique in that it was (in those days) a public day school in central London.

The school was started for pupils to learn Latin, Greek and Mathematics with the intention of entering London University, which required no particular religious pledge or affiliation of would-be students. As a day school, religious education was left to families. The lack of any particular religious background was one of the special features of the school. Because U.C.S. was affiliated to University College (London University) it may be supposed that pupils tended to go from the school to London University, and to University College in particular. But the brightest pupils also went on to Oxford and Cambridge. As will be explained later, the school had a particularly strong reputation for producing many of the top students in the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos (i.e. the B.A. honours degree) examination. ²⁰

Two London Universities – University College and King’s College

Incidentally, I just stated that University College School was the affiliated high school of University College (London University), but in fact this connection was severed in 1905. Thereafter the school was an independent private school until today. This severing has a deep connection with the history of the University of London. An explanation of how and why this occurred requires a simple summary of the history of the University of London.

First, the present ‘University of London’ is a large-scale university by world standards. In fact rather than a university it is best described as a confederation of universities. In other words it is a kind of alliance of organizations, which would normally each in themselves constitute a university. It would be more fitting if it were called ‘London Confederated Universities’ rather than just ‘London University’. It was officially founded by the British government in 1836, but its history goes back before this.

London University, the forerunner of the present University College, was founded in 1826 with the legal status of a company limited by shares. As the self-styled ‘London University’ it was opened two years later in London’s Gower Street in 1828, and began recruiting students. At this stage it had not been granted a royal or government charter. This constitutes official recognition of the University by the monarch or government and is also called a ‘royal warrant’ or ‘letters patent’.

The special feature of London University was that it required no form of religious pledge whatever of entrants. There were four universities in Scotland at the time but in England there were only two, Oxford and Cambridge. The only people who were allowed to enter Oxford and Cambridge were adherents of the Church of England.

English Christians who were not Anglicans but Protestants or so-called Non-Conformists, Catholics and Jews were barred from an education at Oxford and Cambridge because of the religious pledge. It was London University which opened the door of university education to these people. London University was also nicknamed the ‘godless institution of Gower Street’. Supporters of the Church of England, on seeing the founding of the new University in the capital London for Non-Conformists and others, were seized with a kind of panic. So in 1829 they obtained a royal charter and founded King’s College in London in 1831. It is therefore strange but quite correct to state that there was then in the capital city an organization without a university charter called London University, and an organization with a university charter which nevertheless called itself a college, King’s College.

1826-28	The self-styled London University is founded as a limited company for the education of Non-Conformists in Gower Street, with no government licence.
1829	London University School (later U.C.S.) founded as a preparatory course.
1831	Royal charter obtained by Anglicans to establish a university (King's College)
1836	King's College is founded based on the royal charter obtained in 1829. British government establishes London University based on the two above organizations and including a medical school. The school formerly called London University has its name changed to University College. At the same time London University School is re-named University College School (U.C.S.).
1858	Apart from students of University College and King's College, any students who pass the exams are allowed to obtain a degree.
1900	University reform. Responding to criticism that universities should be places of research and education, the university becomes a confederation. In concert with this reform, the connection between University College and U.C.S. is severed. The school becomes a public school for day pupils.
1905	By the University College London Transfer Act, the property of University College is transferred to the University of London. U.C.S. is not transferred to the University and becomes independent.
1907	U.C.S. buildings are moved from Gower Street in central London to Frognal (Hampstead). Kikuchi Dairoku attends the opening ceremony after the move.

History of London University and University College School (U.C.S.)

The University of London – Birth (1836) and Reform (1900)

The British government created the University of London from the two organizations in 1836. Of course a proper charter was provided. Formally the new London University gave its charter to the previous one.

When the new London University was created, including King's College and the medical schools which developed based on a hospital, the former London University was re-named University College. The meaning of the new name was that the college was of the same scale as a university. The new University of London founded in 1836 was not so much an educational institution, rather it was an organization which conducted tests and awarded degrees. At first it simply set examinations for the students of University College and King's College, and awarded degrees to the successful students.

From 1858 onwards, however, the London University exams were no longer taken only by students of University and King's Colleges. In fact anybody was allowed to take the exams, and could be awarded a degree of the University if they passed them. In order to take the examinations from which degrees were awarded, it was first necessary to register as a student of the university. To do this it was necessary to take the entrance examination. Oxford and Cambridge in principle had no entrance examinations, but for the above reason London University had them.

Yet towards the end of the nineteenth century the criticism began to be heard that universities should not be merely organizations which administered tests but should be places where research and education are conducted. In order to answer such criticism London University was re-born in 1900 as a confederation of universities. Connections with University College and King's College which were indeed institutions conducting research and education were strengthened, and they were incorporated as constituent parts of the university. As a result of the 1900 reforms University College and other parts were brought onto the structure of London University. As a legal question this was symbolised by the property of University College becoming the property of London University.

University College School (U.C.S.)

Let us return to discussing University College School. This school started life as London University School in the days when University College was called London University. It was, as the name suggests, the preparatory school or affiliated school of London University. Then with the development of London University and the change of name to University College (from London University) the school also changed its name to University College School. Thereafter when London University was reformed in 1900, University College and University College School were separated. From being a preparatory or affiliated school it

became just a London independent day school (public school). To be precise the separation did not occur in 1900 but a bit later in 1905.

By the University College London Transfer Act of 1905 the property of University College was transferred to London University, but as an exception University College School was not transferred. The school passed out of the control of University College and became independent. But U.C.S. did not merely separate from University College. It also took the opportunity to move the school buildings to a new site. The school moved in 1907 (Meiji 40) from the University College campus on Gower Street in the centre of London to Frognal, a residential area in Hampstead. The opening ceremony for the new buildings was held on July 26, 1907.

Profound links of U.C.S. with the Japanese

The opportunity presented by the move from Gower Street to Hampstead (Frognal) was taken to produce a small volume of the school's history with the title *From Gower Street to Frognal* by F. W. Felkin.²¹ We can get a glimpse of the opening ceremony for the new buildings from this slim volume, as described below. The first striking thing is the large number of famous people who attended, beginning with the reigning monarch King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra. It can easily be understood from the list of those who attended that University College School was one of London's most famous schools.

A point of interest for Japanese is that, in his speech of welcome for King Edward representing the invited guests, Lord Monkswell on behalf of the school makes special reference to U.C.S. having educated several famous politicians from Britain's ally, the Japanese Empire. This greeting refers to the former Japanese ambassador to Britain Hayashi Tadasu, then foreign minister, the former minister of education Kikuchi Dairoku and others. The influence of Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War is here evident. In fact if we examine the school registers it turns out that many Japanese were educated there. It was probably the most popular English school for Japanese during the Meiji era.

Kikuchi visits U.C.S. again in 1907

On the day after the opening ceremony (July 27, 1907) the annual prize-giving ceremony was held before the summer holidays. Kikuchi Dairoku, who happened to be visiting London at the time, was invited to the first prize-giving ceremony at the new school buildings in Frognal. He represented those prizewinners who had received their prizes at the former school site in Gower Street.

As will be explained later, Kikuchi was in England to deliver a lecture at London University about education in Japan. This ‘inauguration lecture’ was given in two parts, one at King’s College and the other at University College. By an irony of fate, the place in which Kikuchi delivered his lecture at University College was the very hall in which the annual prize-giving ceremony of University College School had been held every year. As U.C.S. had moved to Frognal, the hall was now being used by University College as the Botanical Theatre. In the school history *From Gower Street to Frognal* it seems strange to discover that Kikuchi played (rugby) football ²², that he was chosen as a member of the Sports Committee, and that he took part in a ‘tourney’ on horseback. So Kikuchi also did his best in sports.

We shall now return the discussion from 1907 to 1873.

The visit of Narushima Ryūhoku

I have already mentioned that Kikuchi Dairoku lived in the same house as Tōgō Heihachirō who had been a pupil of his father Mitsukuri Shūhei. Narushima Ryūhoku (1837-1884) who was a friend of his father stayed for three weeks in London from the end of April 1873, and visited Kikuchi many times.

Narushima Ryūhoku and Mitsukuri Shūhei had first made each other’s acquaintance in the Katsuragawa house in Edo, famous as a place of Dutch learning (*Rangaku*). From Meiji 5 to 6 (1872-73) Narushima travelled to Europe and America in the suite of Gennyō Shōnin (real name Ōtani Kōei, 1852-1923) the chief priest of Higashi Honganji temple in Kyoto. The trip is recorded in detail in Narushima’s book *Kōsei Nichijō*, and the following is at the start of the book:

I set out on my journey without telling my family, relatives and friends since there were some reasons surrounding it. So nobody came to see us off. However, before our departure, I visited Mitsukuri Shūhei and told him of our journey secretly and left his home immediately. He was very surprised about it and blessed our adventure. ²³

When Narushima was leaving for Europe and America certain circumstances prevented him from revealing the truth about his journey to his wife, relatives and friends. He only told one person, Kikuchi’s father Mitsukuri Shūhei. This was probably the reason why when he was in London Narushima made a point of visiting Kikuchi who was Mitsukuri’s second son, and inquiring about his studies. At the time Narushima was 36 and Kikuchi was 18 years old. From the next entry in *Kōsei Nichijō* dated May 8th we know that Narushima visited Kikuchi’s school, U.C.S.:

I saw the University College [University College School]. The Vice-Master [the Second Master, Robert] Holson and Kikuchi showed me around. We went round classrooms of Latin, Greek, French, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Writing [Calligraphy], etc. There were a playground and a sports ground (where balls were thrown towards rock fences) in the School. ²⁴

Narushima was shown round the school by a 'Mr. Holson' and Kikuchi Dairoku. He saw all the classrooms and playing fields. It seems probable that 'Mr. Holson' was the then deputy headmaster or second master E. R. Horton. The noted headmaster T. H. Key who died in 1875 (Meiji 8) was of advanced years so probably Horton had assumed the actual control of the school as acting headmaster.

The letter of recommendation needed to enter Cambridge

Deputy headmaster Elias Robert Horton (1835-1884) who helped Kikuchi to show the school to Narushima Ryūhoku played an important role when the time came for Kikuchi to proceed to Cambridge. When Kikuchi applied to enter St. John's College, it was Horton who vouched for his character and ability to study in a letter dated March 26, 1873. Application to enter the college was identical to applying to enter the university. If he were admitted to the college, this meant that he was admitted to the university.

Horton was not only the deputy headmaster of U.C.S., but also a fellow of Peterhouse, one of the Cambridge colleges. His letter was decisive in securing Kikuchi's entry to St. John's College. The recommendation of such a person as Horton, who was not only the deputy head of a famous school but also a Cambridge fellow, probably represented the best-case scenario of entrance to Cambridge.

Apart from Horton's letter of recommendation Kikuchi also submitted a letter to Cambridge from a resident of Hampstead named Edward Maltby. The letter from Maltby dated March 29, 1873 guarantees his age and good character, and also reports the payment of money allotted to the college. Probably Kikuchi was living in Maltby's house at the time, and Maltby was 'in loco parentis' for Kikuchi. The letter would normally have been written by Kikuchi's father. (In fact the connection between Maltby and Kikuchi goes back to the pre-Restoration visit of Kikuchi to London, of which more will be said later.)

Two reasons for choosing Cambridge

Kikuchi Dairoku seems to have at first given consideration to entering London University, but there were two reasons why he later changed that to Cambridge (in fact he planned to enter both London and Cambridge,

as will be explained below).

One reason was that Kikuchi was good at mathematics. At that time the best mathematics pupils all went to Cambridge to take the famous mathematics tripos exam, and aimed for the highest results. As Kikuchi was the 1873 Cooks (mathematics) prizeman at U.C.S. he was probably encouraged to proceed to Cambridge. The second reason was related to religion. As already mentioned, until about the middle of the 19th century, with a few exceptions, it was impossible to enter or graduate from Oxford and Cambridge Universities if one was not of the Anglican faith.

To state the situation in more detail, there were some slight differences between Oxford and Cambridge, and between matriculation and graduation (the conferment of degrees). For example, there was a period when students were allowed to enter the universities but not to graduate. In any case, London University was founded for those who were unable to receive an education at Oxford and Cambridge because they were not Anglicans, but Protestants (i.e. Non-Conformists), Catholics or of other faiths.

The traditional and ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge came under pressure from the British government and parliament, and in the middle of the 19th century various reforms were carried out. As one of these, from 1854 Oxford and from 1856 Cambridge, decided to permit non-Anglicans to enter the university and receive degrees.

It was still, however, impossible to become a fellow of a college unless one was of the Anglican faith. The religious pledge to be taken on appointment as a fellow remained an obstacle. That last religious restriction was abolished in 1871. From 1872 onwards there were absolutely no religious hindrances to entering Cambridge University. So they had all gone when Kikuchi entered the university in 1873, and there was no need for him to avoid Cambridge for religious reasons.

Kikuchi comes third in London University's entrance exam

In the second half of the 19th century London University was purely an examination-based institution. There was no requirement to be a member of one of the colleges of London University. Anybody could take the university examinations and receive a degree so long as they passed the designated examinations. There was also no rule such as existed at Oxford and Cambridge requiring residence for a fixed period of time.

This may appear strange to us in modern days, but the best students were able to register as students of the University of London at the same time as they entered and studied at Cambridge and other universities. They were allowed to take the examinations and receive degrees from both universities. In order to register as a student at London University it was necessary to pass the entrance examination, and there were scholarships and prizes for the best students.

As will be mentioned later, Kikuchi Dairoku had already been permitted to enter St. John's College (i.e. to matriculate at Cambridge University) in May of 1873 (Meiji 6). Even though he had got in to Cambridge, he nevertheless wanted to take advantage of the convenient London University system which allowed him to receive a degree without any residence requirement, so he took the entrance test for London University in June 1873 and did well, coming third in the exam and receiving a scholarship.

For these reasons Kikuchi became a student of both Cambridge and London, though of course he actually lived as a student in Cambridge and only took the London University exams to receive a B.A. degree. The London University entrance exams were held twice a year, in January and June. They were open to anybody from the age of sixteen.

The six examination subjects when Kikuchi took the London exam in 1873 were: 1. Classics – Greek and Latin (including grammar, history and geography) ; 2. English, British history and modern geography ; 3. Mathematics ; 4. Natural Sciences ; 5. Chemistry ; 6. French or German. ²⁵ The tests lasted for five days from Monday to Friday afternoon. The total number of candidates for the examination in June 1873 was 553, of which 279 passed and 274 failed. ²⁶ In other words, about half passed.

The successful candidates were classified into the honours group, first class group and second class group, which was divided into three levels. There were only 27 in the honours group, and Kikuchi was one of them. The top three in the honours group received a scholarship for two years, while those who came 4th to 6th were awarded once-only prize money. The top candidate received £30 (pounds) per annum for two years, the second received £20 p.a. and the third received £15 p.a. The fourth received £10, and the fifth and sixth each received £5. ²⁷ Kikuchi was placed third in the honours group, and so was awarded a scholarship of £15 per annum for two years.

Donald MacAlister and Richard Charles Rowe

The candidate who was placed top in the London University entrance examination of June 1873 was called Donald MacAlister. Like Kikuchi he entered St. John's College, Cambridge in 1873 and took the same mathematics tripos as Kikuchi in 1877. Donald MacAlister (1854-1934) later became a fellow of St. John's College, and was positively involved in the Japanese Club at Cambridge. He was a person whose connections with the Japanese students were by no means shallow. In later years like Kikuchi Dairoku he became active in educational administration as Principal and Chancellor of Glasgow University. His life had many points in common with Kikuchi's.

There was also another student who had come top in the previous year's London University entrance examination of January 1872: Richard Charles Rowe (1853-1884). Rowe entered Cambridge University in 1873 along with Kikuchi and MacAlister, and like them took the mathematics tripos in 1877. Later he became a professor of pure mathematics at University College, but sadly he died young. Kikuchi describes Rowe in the following way: "Mr. Rowe graduated from the University of Cambridge in the same year as I did and later he became Professor of Mathematics at University College London. I have great respect for him." ²⁸

Kikuchi, MacAlister and Rowe all passed the London University entrance examination and entered Cambridge University. Later they all passed the London graduation exams and graduated from both Cambridge and London. The story of Kikuchi Dairoku at Cambridge will be resumed in Chapter 3. So why did Kikuchi choose University College School (London University) as the place for his second period of study in Britain? The reason is simple. During his first stay in Britain he attended classes at U.C.S., albeit for a short time. So it was a completely natural choice to return there for his second time.

In the next chapter we will investigate in detail why the students sent to Britain before the end of the Tokugawa shogunate (including Kikuchi) were enrolled at London University's University College School, together with general issues and problems arising from study overseas.

Chapter Two - Study Overseas during the Bakumatsu and Meiji Periods

1. Outline of Overseas Study

Sendan wa futaba yori kanbashi (Japanese saying. Figuratively: “Genius will reveal itself even in childhood”. Literally: “The budding sandalwood tree is fragrant”.)

Kikuchi Dairoku was born the second son of Mitsukuri Shūhei on January 29 of Ansei 2 (March 17, 1855 by the Western calendar) in the clan lodgings in Edo (later Tokyo) of the Tsuyama clan of Western Japan. Mitsukuri Shūhei (1826-1889) was the adopted son of Mitsukuri Genpo (1799-1863). Later Kikuchi Dairoku (Mitsukuri Dairoku) inherited the name of Kikuchi, which was his father’s family name before adoption. At the age of six Kikuchi entered the Institute for Investigating Barbarian Books (*Bansho-shirabesho*) founded by the Shogunate (*Bakufu*) in 1856, of which Mitsukuri Genpo was a professor, and began to study English. The *Bansho-shirabesho* changed its name in 1862 to the *Yōsho-shirabesho*, and then in 1863 to the *Kaiseijo*. The *Kaiseijo* was the forerunner of Tokyo University (see Appendix IV).

At the age of eight Kikuchi was ordered to teach at the *Kaiseijo* and at the age of nine became an assistant teacher of punctuation. At an age when most children would be hunting dragonflies and grasshoppers Kikuchi was teaching English to men of 25 to 26 years of age. Such was the pressing demand for English at the time. As we can see from this example, Kikuchi was a remarkably precocious child. As will be explained later, he went to study in England at the age of eleven during the end of the shogunate, and at the start of the Meiji era when he was barely fifteen he became a teacher at the *Daigaku Nankō* (formerly the *Kaiseijo*). And then after his second period of study in England he was appointed professor of Tokyo University immediately on his return to Japan at the age of 22. This was not so much because of his extraordinary precocity as the result of the urgent needs of the era in which Kikuchi lived.

Kikuchi Dairoku was born in Ansei 2, and died at the age of 62 (63 in calendar years) in the sixth year of Emperor Taishō’s reign (1917). His life span stretches almost from the second half of the nineteenth century to the end of the First World War. It encompasses the periods before and after the Meiji era. Kikuchi experienced the Meiji restoration at the age of 13 in England, and five years of the Taishō era, so he lived precisely through the time of Japan’s ‘modernization’. In this dramatic period his was a ‘glittering life’. The elements which made his life a glittering one were his two periods of study in England, in particular the second one when he studied at Cambridge. The role which his study in England played in establishing Kikuchi’s social position in Japan was very great.

Modernization and Study Abroad

At this point I should like to give an outline of study abroad during the end of the shogunate (Bakumatsu) and Meiji periods, focussing particularly on Kikuchi Dairoku's study at Cambridge in the Meiji era. The Meiji era (1868-1912) was a dramatic period of modernization in Japan. Yet if one considers the Meiji era or period and extends it to include the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the First World War, it is roughly during the same period that universities in Europe (especially Britain and Germany) and America carried out their own modernization. From the point of view of modernization, the rising nation of Japan and the universities of Europe and America share an "extended Meiji period".

It was very fortunate for Japan that her modernization coincided with the modernization of the universities of Europe and America. Thanks to that good timing, Japan managed to save a great deal of time in the modernization of academic research centred on her universities. It is a bold assertion, but one of the keys to the efficiency of Meiji Japan's modernization may be that it happened at the same time as the modernization of the European and American universities. And the vanguard of the country's modernization was constituted by the students who went overseas.

Study abroad in the Bakumatsu and early Meiji periods

The Tokugawa shogunate sent 14 students to study in Britain in the second year of Keiō (1866). In other words, the shogunate also recognised the importance of study overseas. One of the fourteen was Kikuchi Dairoku. This was the first time the shogunate had sent students to Britain since the relaxing of the prohibition on overseas travel, after they had previously sent students to the Netherlands in 1862 (Bunkyū 2) and Russia in 1865 (Keiō 1). Students were also sent to France in 1867 (Keiō 3). Kikuchi Dairoku was at the time he was sent to England for the first time just a boy of eleven years old, so his first experience of study overseas was at the youngest possible age.

After the Meiji Restoration many Japanese were sent abroad to America, Britain, Germany, France and other European countries, with the peak being reached in Meiji 4 (1871). The students were from various backgrounds: some were sent from the former clans, some had connections with the nobility or imperial families, and some were sent by the new government ministries.²⁹ From the former clans the selection of students to study overseas was made without regard to academic record and on the basis of personal partiality³⁰ which meant that some of the students were quite unsuited, and there was a real mixed bag of abilities. Of course the results were extremely varied in consequence.

The overseas students who came from the nobility were satirized in *Tōkyō Kaika Hanjō Shi* published in Meiji 7 (1874) as follows:

Young lords worked hard to prepare a large sum of expenditure for study abroad and went to the West. We had thought they would be appointed as high ranking officials after accomplishing their learning overseas and returning home. However, one person became a playboy in London and another became a gambler in Paris. Although they were well acquainted with foreign languages, they accomplished nothing, spent money from Japan wastefully and gave it to other countries. They only just barely managed to hold on to their caps with which they covered their faces. There were only a very few young nobles who were useful after returning home from the West. ³¹

Even though the young aristocrats spent huge amounts on study abroad they just became wastrels, the Narihira of London ³² or the Sukeroku ³³ of Paris. They may have learned to communicate in foreign languages, but did not accomplish anything in particular, scattering money around in other countries and becoming penniless. They only managed to hang on to their braided hats and on returning home few of them were of any use. In fact some of them were ordered to come back to Japan, like Higashikuze Michiteru who did no study and spent his days in debauchery. ³⁴

The Ministry of Education (*Monbushō*), concerned about the poor results of overseas study, decided to make returnees take a test to check their academic levels. Among the students who came home there were those like Higashikuze Michiteru who pleaded ‘lack of academic training’ and applied to be exempt from the test, and there were others who actually took the test with miserable results. For example in the case of Fuwa Yoshirō (aged 21) of Ishikawa prefecture he only managed one correct answer out of eight in arithmetic, and three out of twelve in algebra. His English competence, vital to a successful study in England, was marked by ‘poor pronunciation’ and consequently ‘poor speaking ability’. As he had made no preparations for other subjects he applied for one month’s postponement. ³⁵ It is not known what kind of a life Fuwa Yoshirō led thereafter, but in the case of Higashikuze Michiteru his study overseas definitely caused his life to take a turn for the worse. Higashikuze Michiteru was originally the fourth son of Koga Takemichi, but he was adopted by Higashikuze Michitomi (1834-1912), the Grand Chamberlain of the Imperial household. Perhaps as a result of his misdeeds while abroad and his ‘lack of academic training’ with the resulting disgrace, Michiteru was disowned by his adoptive father in April of Meiji 6 (1873), immediately after returning home to Japan. ³⁶

The Meiji government was more concerned about the cost of overseas study than the results. In particular with the abolition of clans and establishment of prefectures in Meiji 4 (1871) the government was obliged to take over the financial burden of overseas study which had until then been shouldered by individual clans. This was a great expense as there were so many overseas students at the time. So the government decided to reorganize the overseas students paid for by the public purse, and a decree went out from the *Dajōkan* (Grand Council of State, the collective name for the highest organ of the Japanese government 1868-85) at the end of Meiji 6 (1873) that all such students must return home.³⁷ One result of this decree was that the necessity for all returnees to take a test on coming back to Japan disappeared.

Continuing on from his studies at the end of the shogunate (*Bakumatsu*), Kikuchi went to study in England again in Meiji 3 (1870). His second period of overseas study was as a student paid out of public funds in the early Meiji period, and was part of a great wave of overseas study at the time. Of the mixed bag of gems and pebbles among the overseas students, Kikuchi was a real gem. The decree of Meiji 6 required Kikuchi to break off his overseas study but, as will be explained later, with the support of Hachisuka Mochiaki he was fortunately able to continue his study in England.

The chosen few overseas students

Naturally study overseas, in particular scholarship, research and higher education, was an essential condition for Japan's modernization, so the Meiji government was unable to stop such overseas study completely. In order to continue the study the Ministry of Education established a student loan system whereby the best students at the *Kaisei Gakkō* were carefully selected and sent to universities in America and Europe. Furthermore, the selection methods for overseas students were tightened up, and the chosen few only were sent to study overseas.

The first group sent abroad in Meiji 8 (1875) included Hatoyama Kazuo (1856-1911) who studied at Columbia University in America and Furuichi Kimitake (1854-1934) who studied at the *École Centrale* in France. Among the second group sent overseas in Meiji 9 (1876) were Hozumi Nobushige (1855-1926) who studied at the Middle Temple, one of the Inns of Court in London; Sakurai Jōji (1858-1939) who studied at University College (London University); and Sugiura Shigetake (1855-1924) who studied at Owens College, the forerunner of Manchester University.

The groups sent abroad under the student loan system were excellent students, and like Kikuchi Dairoku their genius was reported in Japanese newspapers. For example on January 17 of Meiji 11 (1878) the *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun* described Furuichi Kimitake, then studying in France, in these glowing terms:

A person called Furuichi Kimitake was sent in July of the year before last [1876] by the Ministry of Education as a student to France. He is now studying at the École Monge [founded by M. Monge, a graduate of the École Polytechnique, in 1869] in Paris and is said to be a man of exceptional talent. Last October he passed the entrance examination for the famous Paris university called the École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures. He passed with great distinction, being placed sixth out of 218 students.

According to the rules of this university the top eight students are elected class presidents, so Mr. Furuichi has been made one of them. The French students are all said to be speechless with admiration. ³⁸

Again in the *Asano Shinbun* of October 25, Meiji 11 (1878), the following letter from Hozumi Nobushige was published. Hozumi (then called Irie) came top of the Middle Temple common law exams and received a scholarship worth 100 guineas (£105) which was awarded to only one student annually:

In Britain there is an award called the ‘student honour prize’ [scholarship] awarded annually at the law schools and universities to the top student in the examinations...On the 17th [July, Meiji 11] a letter came from the law school. Hozumi Nobushige was awarded a prize of 100 guineas (one guinea is about 5 yen and 50 sen, therefore about 550 yen in Japanese money) for one year, and was summoned to come to the law school the following day. There the principal [Treasurer] of the law school, Mr. [John Bridge] Aspinall [1818-86] told Hozumi that because of his excellent results in the examination it had been decided that he would be given the prize, that this was a cause for great rejoicing, that he was the first Asian student to be honoured in this way, that he should continue to work hard and that he was to be congratulated. ³⁹

From the above newspaper articles about Furuichi and Hozumi it can be seen that there were many excellent students sent overseas under the Ministry of Education’s student loan system, and that the tradition of excellence was maintained after Kikuchi Dairoku.

Degrees or Research?

In the early Meiji period when great numbers of students in Kikuchi Dairoku’s generation were sent overseas to study, they did not receive any higher education in Japan. Their main objective was to obtain an undergraduate (or bachelor’s) degree at the place where they studied. But as the Japanese university system

became gradually more established and students obtained undergraduate degrees at Tokyo University, the Imperial University and so on, they were thereafter carefully selected and sent by the Ministry of Education to Europe and America with the main purpose of their study abroad being research. They had already been awarded degrees in Japan, so it was unnecessary to make that the purpose of their study. (Of course some students earned higher degrees such as doctorates through the results of their research, but even in those cases the real purpose of their study was the research itself.)

At the Imperial University and other universities, foreign professors were employed at great cost, and their newly graduated Japanese students were sent to study in Europe and America, to be employed themselves as professors on their return home. The Ministry of Education was keen to train Japanese professors in place of the expensive hired foreign professors (*o-yatoi gaikokujin*) who put pressure on finances. Study in Europe and America was the way they chose to do this.

For example, Fujisawa Rikitarō (1861-1933) was the first pupil in Kikuchi's specialist area of mathematics, and he became Kikuchi's successor. On the day after his graduation ceremony Kikuchi summoned him and ordered him to go to Europe to study. First Fujisawa went to study pure mathematics at University College (London University) under Kikuchi's friend Professor Richard Rowe, then he continued his mathematical studies at Strasbourg University (then in Germany) where he was awarded a doctorate. On his return to Japan he was immediately appointed professor of mathematics at the Imperial University.

The cases of students sent overseas by the Ministry of Education in the Meiji period were almost all like that of Fujisawa. The pattern was for students to obtain a degree from a Japanese university, then go to Europe or America with the purpose of research, and on returning to Japan they were appointed professors of Japanese universities. There were also university professors who were sent overseas to conduct research after their appointment. In either case the mainstream of overseas study in the Meiji era was for a university post to be guaranteed. The best-known example of study in Britain of this type is that of Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916).

Apart from overseas study instigated and financed by the Ministry of Education and other organizations out of public funds, there were many cases of students going abroad who were privately financed. The majority of these latter cases were with the aim of acquiring a degree (usually a bachelor's degree) from a foreign university. This was because many of the privately funded students had not completed a degree at a Japanese university.

In the case of the Meiji era Japanese students at Cambridge University many of them were the privately funded sons of noblemen and wealthy families, who in a sense had inherited the pedigree of the students sent in the early Meiji period by the former clans, and of the noble and imperial families who had travelled overseas. There were some worthless pebbles mixed in with the gems. As will be mentioned later there were

some who became ‘London Narihira’s (playboys). There was also at least one student at Cambridge who followed in the disreputable tradition of Higashikuze Michiteru. There were a few rare cases of students who did not graduate from Japanese universities and also did not aim to get a degree at a university abroad, but who simply went overseas to conduct research. This pattern is a special case, of which the prime example is the overseas study of Minakata Kumagusu (1867-1941).⁴⁰

From a theological college to an organization for research in the Arts and Sciences

To repeat once again, Kikuchi studied in Britain twice, once at the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1867-68) and once after the Meiji Restoration (1870-77). His second period of study in England was as one of the many students sent to Europe and America in the early years of the Meiji era, but in Kikuchi’s case he was not one of the government-funded students recalled to Japan all together at the end of Meiji 6 (1873). He was fortunately allowed to continue his studies without interruption. After obtaining bachelor degrees at Cambridge and London he returned immediately to be appointed professor at the University of Tokyo.

Yet even though Kikuchi achieved excellent academic results at both Cambridge and London, he seems not to have learned much about research methods at the universities. He has been highly evaluated as the person who introduced modern mathematics to Japan, but he did not leave any legacy of outstanding mathematical research. Moreover, in the case of other Japanese students at Cambridge apart from Kikuchi, their purpose was above all to obtain a bachelor’s degree. What was different between Kikuchi and most of the other students at Cambridge was that while Kikuchi’s study was financed by public funds, the great majority of the rest were privately funded. In short, the mainstream at Cambridge was privately financed study for the purposes of obtaining a degree.

There was some research, but it was very much a minority activity. Yet in later years together with the modernization of the University the number of Japanese students at Cambridge for research purposes also increased. Together with the university’s development the nature of the Japanese students also changed.

In the ‘extended Meiji period’ (1850-1914) the British universities including Cambridge also underwent a process of modernization. Cambridge was in the process of changing from a seminary (theological college) for the training of priests in the country to a modern institution of higher education, and further to an organization for research in the arts and sciences. It was a move from character building towards academic research based on the arts and sciences. This was reflected in the changes to the graduation exam (tripos) which shifted and evolved away from an emphasis on mathematics and classics and towards many subjects which required practical learning.

2 Study overseas in Keiō 2 (1866)

First experience of study in England at the age of eleven

Kikuchi Dairoku's study of the English language in his early childhood proved to be his good fortune, and at the age of eleven the Tokugawa shogunate sent him to London as one member of the group of fourteen in Keiō 2 (1866). Based on prior detailed research into the despatch of students to England at the end of the Shogunate ⁴¹ I would like to focus here on Kikuchi Dairoku and University College School.

First I should like to list the fourteen members of the group (including two supervisors), which included Kikuchi Dairoku (then called Mitsukuri Dairoku). The ages given in parentheses are calendar years.

Supervisors:

Kawaji Tarō (23) (literally “Head of Infantry”, group leader)
Nakamura Keisuke (35) Confucian scholar

Students:

Naruse Jōgorō (18)
Toyama Sutehachi (19)
Mitsukuri Keigo (15)
Fukuzawa Einosuke (20)
Hayashi Tōzaburō (17)
Itō Shōnosuke (20)
Okukawa Ichirō (19)
Yasui Shinpachirō (20)
Mitsukuri Dairoku (12)
Ichikawa Morisaburō (15)
Sugi Tokujirō (17)
Iwasa Genji (22)

Introduction of the group members

Of the 14 members above, Kawaji Tarō and Nakamura Keisuke were charged as supervisors with the role of overseeing the other twelve students. They were also older than the others. Kawaji Tarō (Kandō)

(1844-1927) was the grandson of Kawaji Toshiakira (1801-68) who was a distinguished vassal of the Shōgun and served in the late Edo era as a finance minister (*kanjō bugyō*) and foreign relations minister (*gaikoku bugyō*). Kawaji Tarō's son was the poet Kawaji Ryūkō (1888-1959).

Nakamura Keisuke (Masanao) (1832-1891) was an excellent scholar of Chinese classics who became a professor at the Confucian *Shōheikō* academy and a Confucian scholar of the *Bakufu*, but thereafter he studied Western learning (English) and became an educator of Eastern and Western scholarship. He was given the scholastic name (*gō*) of Keiu. Nakamura Masanao leapt to fame with the translation and publication [in 1870-71] of *Saigoku Risshihen*⁴² which became one of the best-selling books of the Meiji era along with Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Seiyō Jijō* [Conditions in the West]. The original text of *Saigoku Risshihen* was *Self-Help* by Samuel Smiles, which Nakamura had brought back to Japan from his period of study in England at the end of the Tokugawa shogunate (*Bakumatsu*).

Toyama Sutehachi is the same person as Toyama Masakazu (1848-1900) who studied at the Institute for Investigating Barbarian Books (*Bansho-shirabesho*) at the end of the shogunate. After he returned from England at the time of the Meiji Restoration he went overseas to study again, this time in America. On his return he was appointed professor of the *Kaisei Gakkō* and Tokyo University. Later he became president of the Imperial University (*Teikoku Daigaku*) and Minister of Education. In a sense he was Kikuchi Dairoku's senior (*senpai*) at Tokyo University, later the Imperial University.

Hayashi Tōzaburō was a diplomat in the Meiji era. Later his name changed and he became Hayashi Tadasu (1850-1913).⁴³ When he was Japan's minister in Britain (1900-05) he contributed to the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1902, and was appointed the first Japanese ambassador to Britain in 1905. Later he became foreign minister (1906-08 and again in 1911) and minister of communications (1911-12). He was Japan's minister in London during the Russo-Japanese war. Hayashi was also one of the eminent trio (*sanbagarasu* literally 'three ravens') of Japanese pupils of University College School, along with Kikuchi Dairoku and the head of Mitsui Bussan's London branch office, Komuro Sankichi (1863-1920).

Ichikawa Morisaburō (1852-1882) was the second son of Ichikawa Kanenori (1818-1899) the Western scholar in the *Bakumatsu* and Meiji Restoration periods. His elder brother was Ichikawa Bunkichi (1847-1927) who had studied in Russia during the *Bakumatsu*. In Meiji 8 (1875) he was adopted by Hiraoka Michiyoshi (1831-1917) and changed his name to Hiraoka Morisaburō. In Meiji 10 (1877) he went to study in England for the second time. He studied physics at Owens College, forerunner of the University of Manchester. On his return to Japan he was appointed professor of Tokyo University among other posts, but he died early at the age of 30 in 1882. Apart from his early death, the circumstances of Ichikawa Morisaburō (Hiraoka Morisaburō) and Kikuchi Dairoku seem to resemble each other the most closely. Both were born as the second son of a famous scholar of Western learning, and the elder brothers of both had studied overseas

(in Russia and Britain respectively). Both studied English at the *Yōsho-shirabesho* and studied twice in England. After their return they both were appointed professors at the faculty of science at Tokyo University.

A despatch from the British Minister Harry Parkes

Incidentally, among the mass of historical documents kept at the British Public Record Office (now part of the National Archives) there are some records regarding the students sent to England by the shogunate (*Bakufu*). One of these is a despatch sent from Yokohama to the British Foreign Office by the British minister Harry Parkes dated November 30, 1866 (October 24 of Keiō 2 by the Japanese calendar) about the 14 Japanese who had left Yokohama for study in England.⁴⁴ The despatch was sent with four enclosed documents related to the matter.⁴⁵ In the following I would like to give a more detailed explanation about the Japanese students sent to England using the despatch and the four enclosures.

As has already been mentioned in the list of the party above, Kawaji Tarō and Nakamura Keisuke as supervisors or directors were given the task of overseeing the other students, but in fact these two were both also students themselves. According to the British record already referred to, the *Bakufu* were unable to send a high official to supervise the students, so they asked the British minister to recommend a British official. Parkes recommended the British navy chaplain and instructor William Lloyd.⁴⁶ Lloyd's role was to accompany the Japanese students as a supervisor and educator on the journey to England. He continued in this role after they arrived at their destination.

To return to the despatch sent by Parkes to the British Foreign Office dated November 30, 1866, one of the attached documents is a memorandum about King's College and University College sent by Parkes to the *Bakufu*. It is clear from the memorandum that Parkes gave careful consideration to where the students should be sent, and decided on King's College and University College.⁴⁷

The reason why University College School was chosen

So why did Parkes choose London University (King's College and University College) as the appropriate place to send the students sponsored by the *Bakufu*? His first considerations were probably that London University was located in the capital city, and that there were no religious restrictions at the university. The next point in its favour was that University College had already successfully accepted students from the Satsuma and Chōshū clans.⁴⁸ In addition, a more important point was that London University had been founded by the British government in 1836. Thereafter the government had been closely involved in the university's finances and other matters.

The distinction used for Japanese universities of ‘national’ (*kokuritsu*) versus ‘private’ (*shiritsu* or *watakushiritsu*) is not entirely appropriate for British universities, but if the comparison is not pushed too far it is possible to classify London as a national university, whereas Oxford and Cambridge at the time did not receive any financial support from the government, so they could be described as private.

The despatch sent by Parkes dated November 30, 1866 and its enclosures reached the Foreign Office on January 30, 1867. Lord Stanley (Edward H. Stanley, later 15th Earl of Derby), the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, added a comment to Parkes’s despatch in which he clearly stated that the students sent by the Shogun’s government should not be sent to King’s College but University College. The reason was that Professor Alexander Williamson (1824-1904) who had already taken care of the Satsuma students was at University College. The British foreign secretary attached great importance to Professor Williamson’s past achievements in this area.

Lord Stanley’s comment was decisive in the future of the *Bakufu* students, including Kikuchi Dairoku, who would therefore be sent to University College. And it was a natural consequence that they should first attend University College School, affiliated to University College, in order to enter University College later. In a sense Lord Stanley’s comment can probably be regarded as the beginning of the connection between Cambridge University and the Japanese students in the Meiji era. It is thus the true starting point of this book.

Feeling as if he had entered Paradise

The *Bakufu* students left Yokohama as a group on December 1, 1866 (October 25th of Keiō 2) and arrived in Britain on February 2, 1867 (December 28th of Keiō 2). There is an article by Kikuchi Dairoku called *Meiryū Kugaku Dan* [“A Tale of Study in Adversity by Famous Men”] in which he describes his study in England at the end of the shogunate (*Bakumatsu*). It appeared as the first of a series of stories of hard and painful study under the title *Shinnen Daifuroku Meiryū Kugaku Dan* [“Big New Year Supplement of the Tales of Study in Adversity by Famous Men”] in a magazine called *Chūgaku Sekai* [Junior High School World] in the New Year edition (Volume 3, no. 1) of Meiji 33 (1900). In the article Kikuchi recalls his first impressions on his arrival in London as a feeling that he had entered Paradise: “On our arrival in London I found it so lively and so fascinating that to my child’s mind it seemed just as if I had entered Paradise. The pleasure was so great that I could neither compare it to anything, nor describe it.”⁴⁹

The students settled in to a large house at No. 16, Lancaster Gate on arrival in London. William Lloyd had purchased this house especially for the residence and education of the Japanese students, but he also lived there with his family. He hired a teacher called Edward Maltby who instructed the students daily for 3-4 hours in English, grammar, dictation and other subjects.

Regarding their residence in London, the students feared that if they continued to live all together their progress in English would be hindered and they wanted to live separately. On the other hand William Lloyd had been charged with their supervision and was trying also to make money from the business of looking after them, so this became a point of dispute between Lloyd and the students.⁵⁰ Once the Japanese students did manage to acquire a lodging separate from Lloyd, but they were brought back again to the house in Lancaster Gate. For a short time this process was repeated. Lloyd was trying to make his livelihood from the education of the students, so he could not easily concede the point about living separately.

The *Bakufu* sent Lloyd £ 250 per student, which was certainly not a trifling sum, as it was said to be the average cost of a year of study at Cambridge at that time. So the students were supported to the same extent as the annual cost of study at a university with an established reputation for excellence. At any rate the matter of whether the students should live together at Lloyd's house or separately remained the greatest unresolved question of the Japanese students sent to Britain at the end of the shogunate. The question was related to W. V. Lloyd's income and the students' study of English.

Living together or separately

At this point I should like to quote from Kikuchi Dairoku's *Meiryū Kugaku Dan* on the circumstances of his study overseas, including the residence question.

With regard to our studies, Lloyd employed a teacher to come and teach us at home for the time being, until we got used to the place. The teacher's name was [Mr.] Maltby, and he taught us together for three to four hours every day in one room. He taught English, grammar, dictation and various other subjects.

At that time Maltby was very young and taught us with great enthusiasm and kindness. (On my second trip to England it was Maltby who looked after me in various ways, and I stayed at his house for a long time. I used to go to school from his house. We are still exchanging letters now, and I hear he has become a member of the council of Margate city [sic]. He may soon become Mayor.)

Then I came to attend the school called 'University College School'. We all studied together for a while like this [under Maltby], but for us all to be in one place was not desirable. Everybody said that after we had come all this way across the oceans our efforts to study overseas would be wasted. In the end this became a real problem, and I remember Toyama [Sutehachi] in particular

kicked up a great fuss. A proposal was made to the British foreign minister, and Kawaji and Nakamura, our supervisors, had great discussions.

As a result Lloyd chose separate lodgings in various places for each individual student. But as for myself and Ichikawa Morisaburō (who later became a university professor but died young), we were kept at the original house, because we were the youngest. ⁵¹

Kikuchi writes here of attending University College School as if he did so before the problem of the students' residence was settled, but as will be explained later he attended the school after the problem was resolved. The government-funded students changed their residence from living together to living separately and then back together in a short time, but at least four of them stayed in William Lloyd's house throughout: Kikuchi Dairoku, the youngest; Ichikawa Morisaburō who had a weak constitution; and the two supervisors, Kawaji Tarō and Nakamura Masanao.

As already mentioned, it was the teacher Edward Maltby referred to in *Meiryū Kugaku Dan* who acted 'in loco parentis' (in the place of a parent) for Kikuchi during his second period of study in England. At that time Kikuchi stayed in Maltby's house together with Komuro Sankichi and others. The address was No. 3, Albion Road, Hampstead. The fact that Kikuchi and Komuro resided together at Maltby's house is mentioned in Kikuchi's *To Ei Dan* [Story of a Trip to England] which recounts Kikuchi's visit to England in 1907 (Meiji 40). Komuro who was by then the head of the London branch of Mitsui Bussan trading company went to see Kikuchi who had only just arrived at his hotel on January 29, 1907: "After six [p.m.] Komuro Sankichi kindly paid me a visit. When I had studied in England previously at the request of his father Nobuo he had shared my lodging and attended University College School with me. On this occasion he was very kind to me in many ways." ⁵²

Then about two weeks later on February 13th Komuro Sankichi took Kikuchi in his car to show him the Albion Road area in Hampstead where they had lived together so many years before. "As promised Komuro Sankichi came to pick me up in his car. So we went to Albion Road in the Hampstead area where we had lived together. In those days there had been many fields but now there were many rows of private houses. It looked very different from the old days." ⁵³

Maltby's teaching the 14 students funded by the *Bakufu* at the end of the shogunate at William Lloyd's request had proved to be an opportunity for Kikuchi who on his return to study again in England in Meiji 3 (1870) resided at Maltby's house. Maltby acted 'in loco parentis' and became Kikuchi's guardian in England. Both University College School and Edward Maltby whom he encountered on his first trip to England in the *Bakumatsu* period were for Kikuchi strong reasons to attract him back there for a second period of study in the early Meiji era.

Also in Meiji 7 (1874) when Keiō Gijuku sent Fukuzawa Yukichi's nephew Nakamigawa Hikojiro (1854-1901) and Koizumi Nobukichi (1849-1894) to study in England Kikuchi arranged that their first teacher when they arrived in London was Edward Maltby.⁵⁴

Studying at University College School

Let us return to discussing the students funded and sent by the *Bakufu*. They had lived apart for a while, but in about December 1867 they returned to Lloyd's house once more. The reason they did so was connected with their attending University College School.

In a letter to Parkes⁵⁵ dated December 10, 1867 Lloyd writes that he intends to send the Japanese students to University College School from the start of the next school term in January 1868. He adds that the problem of the failure of the group to make progress in their English ability because they were all living together, which had resulted in the demand that they be allowed to live separately, will be solved by sending them to University College School (U.C.S.) where they will be mixed in with young English boys of the same age. In addition Lloyd points out that University College School is not constituted as a boarding school, which means that the responsibility of supervising the study of pupils rests with the parent or guardian, and this requires them to live together at Lloyd's house so that he can fulfil this responsibility. In the end it seems that Lloyd contrived to oblige the Japanese students to return to live together in his house on the grounds of their attending University College School.

In fact in December of 1867 (Keiō 3) eleven of the Japanese students, excluding Kawaji Tarō, Nakamura Keisuke (Masanao) and Iwasa Genji, registered as students at University College School. The three who did not register probably did not do so because their age prevented them from doing so under the school regulations. In any case, Lloyd's plan of having the students return to live in his house by making them attend University College School succeeded.

School reports

Incidentally, at that time U.C.S. followed the practice of reporting once every four weeks to parents and guardians about their pupils' academic proficiency, conduct and attendance. As a result, three sets of reports on the eleven Japanese students are held in the archives of the Public Record Office, covering the period from January 14th to April 8, 1868.⁵⁶

These reports are a detailed record of one school term from the Christmas and New Year holidays to the Easter break, showing achievements and conduct in each school subject. The reports show the number of

absences from class, late attendances at class, and overall conduct, as well as the pupil's position in the class made up of 20-30 students, his attitude to studying and progress in the subject, and conduct in class.⁵⁷ The details of the reports are complicated, so here I will summarise them, but it is clear that in a short time the Japanese students achieved unexpectedly good results.⁵⁸ Their results in arithmetic and British history were particularly outstanding.

Kikuchi Dairoku wrote an article in the December 1905 (Meiji 38) edition of the school magazine *The Gower* entitled 'The Japanese at U.C.S.' in which he states: "I cannot now recollect exactly in what classes we were placed: I think myself I must have been in second or third classes in most subjects and we got on pretty well altogether."⁵⁹

Kikuchi's "we got on pretty well altogether" is a deeply emotional statement, which clearly reveals the commitment of this group of Japanese students funded by the *Bakufu*. Their excellent grades support Kikuchi's assertion.

Ordered to return to Japan by the *Bakufu* (Shogunate)

Meanwhile, around the time that the *Bakufu* students were starting to attend University College School, the Tokugawa shogunate's fate was about to be sealed. They learned the news of the Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu's report to the throne of the restoration of Imperial rule on January 28, 1868 (January 4th of Keiō 4), just two weeks after they had started to attend U.C.S. Probably the students were unable to settle down to concentrate on their studies out of concern for the situation in their native land. After that the order from the *Bakufu* to return home was conveyed to Paris on May 1, 1868 (April 9th of Keiō 4) and from there it was passed on to the students in London.

There was some confusion among the relevant parties as to how the fares for the journey home should be raised, but the students went via France, arriving in Paris on May 16, 1868 (April 24th of Keiō 4). They returned home together with government-funded students from other countries, accompanying the suite of Tokugawa Akitake (later the head of the Mito clan). The students who had studied in Europe arrived as one group back in Yokohama on August 13, 1868 (June 25 of Keiō 4).

Finally, a few remarks about the students sent by the *Bakufu* to England are appropriate. The greatest problem and discord that arose was between the students, who wanted to live separately for their English studies, and William Lloyd who had been asked to supervise and instruct them and bought a large house for the purpose at No. 16, Lancaster Gate where he tried to make his livelihood from them by making them all live there together.

Lloyd was given the chance to make money based on the assumption that the students would study at University College (London University) and its affiliated school, University College School, neither of which institutions had boarding facilities. It seems probable that there would have been no strife between Lloyd and the students about where they would live if it had been decided from the outset that they would study at Oxford or Cambridge which both had a system of residential colleges, and at public schools where boarding facilities were provided. The trouble which attended this group of students had its roots in the British university system.

Teacher at the age of 15 at the *Daigaku Nankō*

After Kikuchi Dairoku was obliged to break off his first period of study in England he entered the *Kaisei Gakkō* in January of Meiji 2 (1869) where he studied French. In September of the following year he ‘attended’ the *Daigaku Nankō*, and in October 1870 he was ordered to study in England, so in November he left Japan once more.⁶⁰ The *Daigaku Nankō* was the organization formerly called *Kaisei Gakkō*, and the forerunner of Tokyo University and the Imperial University. In the following, which was probably written in Meiji 3 (1870), Nozaki Samon, then the youngest student at *Daigaku Nankō* aged just 13 years, described Kikuchi Dairoku working as a teacher at the university. So in Kikuchi’s case ‘attendance’ at the *Daigaku Nankō* probably meant working as a teacher.

At that time Kikuchi Dairoku, who had already been appointed as a teacher may have found it burdensome, but he was the only teacher who wore Western clothes and spectacles, while the Japanese professors all wore Japanese clothes. The vision of his attire still remains in my mind.
61

From this statement we can clearly understand how, in his Western clothes and wearing glasses, Kikuchi Dairoku must have stood out from the other Japanese professors. He probably bought the glasses and clothes during his first period of study in London. But even though he was given the title of professor, Kikuchi was at this time a mere boy of fifteen. The youngest student was thirteen years old, so there was little difference between the teacher and his students.

Kikuchi only ‘attended’ the *Daigaku Nankō* as professor for a very short time, however, and as already mentioned he went back to England for his second period of study there at the end of Meiji 3 (1870). This time he went as an ordinary overseas student of the *Daigaku Nankō*, and escorting the Imperial Prince Higashi Fushimi no Miya Yoshiaki (later Komatsu no Miya Akihito).⁶² And so, after an interval of two

years and several months Kikuchi returned to the status of pupil at University College School. We have already discussed his time at U.C.S. in the previous chapter, so in the next one we will examine Kikuchi's period of study at Cambridge.

Chapter Three - Kikuchi Dairoku at Cambridge

1 St. John's College

Entering the College and University

There are three terms in the Cambridge University year. The academic year begins in October. The Michaelmas term runs from October to December, the Lent term from January to March and the Easter term from April to May. In Kikuchi's time the minimum requirement to obtain a degree was residence of nine terms duration. Kikuchi Dairoku entered St. John's College in October 1873 (Meiji 6). His application for admission had been accepted on May 29th of that year. In those days matriculation at Cambridge University meant either that a student had been admitted to one of the colleges, or that he had been registered as a 'non-collegiate student'. Of course the majority of students were members of a college.⁶³

In order to obtain permission to enter a college it was necessary to have a letter of recommendation ('testimonial'), which guaranteed good character and academic ability, but there were also colleges such as Trinity, which in the 1870s had its own written examination just *after* the chief period of admission in October. The St. John's College exams were held at Christmas and in June, and were similar checks for each year.⁶⁴ At that time there was a total of seventeen colleges at Cambridge. The oldest one was Peterhouse (founded in 1284) and the latest was Downing (founded in 1800). When Kikuchi entered Cambridge the biggest and most influential colleges were Trinity and St. John's. The courses at Cambridge which were traditionally the most important ones were mathematics and classics, in that order. Trinity College had a rather stronger reputation in classics, whereas St. John's was stronger in mathematics.⁶⁵

Status in the college

Kikuchi Dairoku was admitted as a pensioner to St. John's College, the college with an established reputation for mathematics, and he majored in that subject. A 'pensioner' pays his own tuition fees and bills associated with residing in the college. At that time the great majority of students were pensioners. In addition to pensioners there were sizars, scholars, fellow commoners etc. In the case of St. John's, those admitted to the university on November 10, 1873 numbered 104, of whom 83 were pensioners and 21 were sizars.

'Sizars' originally meant students who raised the funds for their education by working as waiters or servants in the college, but when Kikuchi entered the college it meant excellent students from impoverished

families who were in receipt of allowances for food, and for tuition and establishment charges.⁶⁶ ‘Fellow commoners’ were students from aristocratic and wealthy families who paid two or three times the usual rate for room and board, and so received treatment usually reserved for fellows. Fellows and fellow commoners dined at high table (a table at a higher level than others in the college dining hall where fellows ate) where they were waited on by sizars who were allowed to eat their left-overs, and those of the other students. While fellow commoners and sizars were both students (undergraduates), their treatment in the college was very different. Of course this was not the case when Kikuchi entered Cambridge.

‘Scholars’ were also awarded scholarships, but this word suggests a student with an excellent academic record. The situation varied between different colleges, but in the case of St. John’s scholarships were only awarded to undergraduates who achieved excellent results in the examinations at the end of their second or third years. Undergraduates in their first year were not eligible for these awards.

Whereas pensioners and fellow commoners paid their own fees (bed and board), in the case of scholars these were paid for by the college or university. ‘Exhibitioner’ is a similar word to scholar, but it denotes a lesser rank in the academic pecking order. Along with the Master and Fellows, scholars were a fundamental requisite to constitute a college. Such scholars had their costs covered by college funds. At all events an education received through the college (boarding) system at Cambridge was very costly which had caused the development in the past of a system – albeit a far from adequate one – of various kinds of financial support for the academically gifted sons of low-income families.

The problem of Kikuchi’s tuition fees

Kikuchi Dairoku entered St. John’s College as a pensioner paying his own college fees, and remained a pensioner until graduation. He never became a sizar or a scholar. It seems a little unfortunate that he was never elected a scholar despite his being an outstanding student.

So how in fact did Kikuchi manage to pay his college fees (tuition fees)? I should like to examine this question with reference mainly to Kikuchi’s personal history as recorded in *Sūmitsuin Kōtō Kōmonkan Rireki* (The Personal Histories of Higher Education Advisers in the Privy Council).⁶⁷

In September of Meiji 3 (1870) Kikuchi ‘attended the university’ (*Daigaku Nankō*) to work as a professor, but in October he was ordered to go to England to study. In this case ‘university’ does not merely mean the forerunner of Tokyo University, but may be thought to include Kikuchi’s work for the competent authorities (*Kantoku Kanchō*). On July 18 of Meiji 4 (1871) that university was abolished and *Monbushō* (the Ministry of Education) was established. Accordingly, Kikuchi became an employee of *Monbushō*. So when he attended University College School for the second time Kikuchi was doing so with the status of an employee of

Monbushō (and prior to that the *Daigaku Nankō* until its abolition). However, on July 14 of Meiji 6 (1873) Kikuchi was dismissed from the employment of *Monbushō*. At this time Kikuchi's admission to St. John's College was already decided and he was about to go up to Cambridge.

In Kikuchi's personal history as recorded in *Sūmitsuin Kōtō Kōmonkan Rireki* there is a statement to the effect that on March 17 of Meiji 7 (1874) 'foreign study excluded (Japanese legation in London)'. This means until that date Kikuchi was receiving financial support for his overseas study from the Japanese legation. Therefore we may presume that Kikuchi was supported by the legation in London from the time that he was dismissed by *Monbushō* in July 1873 until March of the following year, 1874. Thus Kikuchi was subsidised by the Japanese legation for a while during his early days at Cambridge University. His excellent results at University College School probably helped him to receive this support.

Support from Hachisuka Mochiaki

I have already mentioned (in Chapter Two) the decree issued by the *Dajōkan* at the end of Meiji 6 (1873) requiring all government-funded students to return to Japan. The order in more detail was for overseas students to return home within 60 days, with those who wished to continue studying to do so at their own expense.⁶⁸ The person who promoted the general return of the overseas students was Kuki Ryūichi, who is described as follows by Fujisawa Rikitarō, one of Kikuchi's pupils. "Baron Kuki himself went overseas to recall all the overseas students to Japan. At that time Professor Kikuchi remained at his studies in England."⁶⁹

In the end it seems that the above-mentioned entry dated March 17, 1874 in the *Sūmitsuin Kōtō Kōmonkan Rireki* that 'foreign study [is] excluded' refers to the general recall of government-funded students at the end of 1873. But Kikuchi was able to continue his studies despite the general recall. So how was Kikuchi able to raise the funds for his overseas study? Kikuchi's younger brother, the historian Mitsukuri Genpachi (1862-1919) explains: "However in the 7th year of Emperor Meiji [1874] all the students overseas were ordered to return home by the government. Kikuchi was also ordered to return to Japan, but felt it was extremely regrettable to interrupt his studies half way through, so he requested assistance from Marquis Hachisuka Mochiaki, who was also studying abroad at the time. So he was able to remain in England until Meiji 10 [1877]."⁷⁰

In other words, Kikuchi was able to continue his studies at Cambridge thanks to the support of Hachisuka Mochiaki, the former head of the Tokushima clan. The support given was probably financial, but it is not clear what kind of support it was. It was probably the personal support of Hachisuka Mochiaki, or support from the former Tokushima clan.

As is written in the *Times* article quoted at the beginning of Chapter 1 of this book, Hachisuka Mochiaki (1846-1918) studied at Oxford University in the early years of the Meiji era. But his son Hachisuka Masaaki (1871-1932) and grandson Hachisuka Masauji (1903-1953)⁷¹ both studied at Cambridge. It is possible that Hachisuka Mochiaki sent his son Masaaki to Cambridge through his connection with Kikuchi Dairoku. Again from the following statement by Mitsukuri Genpachi, it is clear that Kikuchi Dairoku's move from the academic work of university professor to the field of educational administrator was caused by Hachisuka Mochiaki's support of his study at Cambridge. "My elder brother's change of career from the honourable one of university professor to the humble one of Head of Technical Educational Affairs (*senmon gakumu kyokuchō*) at the Ministry of Education was not one he made willingly, but because he had incurred obligations to Marquis Hachisuka, and so could not refuse his demand that he make the change."⁷²

So Kikuchi was obligated to the then Minister of Education, Marquis Hachisuka, and this is why he accepted Hachisuka's demand that he take the 'humble post' at the *Monbushō*.

One more Japanese who entered Trinity College: Murakami Keijirō

I have stated above that there were no examinations for admission to the university, nor to many colleges, apart from the principal exception of Trinity College. I should now like to write about the Trinity entrance examination in connection with the person called Murakami Keijirō.

I (the author) had thought that Kikuchi Dairoku was the first Japanese to study at Cambridge University. This is still the case, but in fact there was one more who entered the university at the same time as Kikuchi, in November 1873 (Meiji 6). His name was Murakami Keijirō. Murakami was admitted to Trinity College in 1873, and to the University on November 10th, the same date as Kikuchi. He was a pensioner, as was Kikuchi. His tutor at Trinity was a man called Coutts Trotter (1837-1887), an important man in the field of natural sciences education at Cambridge. As we shall discover later, he was also connected with Donald MacAlister and the problems of the Japanese students at the university.

Murakami Keijirō (1853-1929) was originally a member of the Hiroshima clan. He was born in Kaei 6 (1853) on September 4th, and died in Shōwa 4 (1929). He was not quite two years older than Kikuchi. When he entered Cambridge he had just turned 20. Murakami went to study in England in Meiji 4 (1871). After that the facts of his situation are unclear, but at least in the period before he was admitted to Trinity College he was educated by a resident of Cambridge named Louis Borissow (1840-1917).⁷³ Therefore he was the first Japanese to reside in Cambridge.

Murakami returned very soon to Japan in 1874, the year after his admission to the university, so he did not stay long at Trinity College. There is also no record of his passing the Cambridge preliminary examination.

His sudden return to Japan probably had some connection with the decree issued by the *Dajōkan* at the end of 1873 (Meiji 6) requiring all government-funded students to come back to Japan. As already stated, this stipulated that all students must return within 60 days or continue their studies by their own private finances.

After returning to Japan Murakami became a teacher in an English language school in Hiroshima and did various other things before entering the Navy Ministry. At the time of the Russo-Japanese War he was Paymaster General of the Navy, and was made a Baron in recognition of his meritorious services. By a curious coincidence both Kikuchi and Murakami who entered Cambridge University at the same time in 1873 later achieved the rank of Baron. The reason why I did not know of Murakami until recently is that his name is not recorded in *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Cambridge University's list of graduates and students in residence during the 19th century.⁷⁴ However, his name is recorded in the lists of Trinity College.⁷⁵ But it is spelt 'Moorakami' rather than 'Murakami'.

Donald MacAlister (1854-1934) – an even greater genius than Kikuchi

As already mentioned at the end of Chapter One, Kikuchi Dairoku, Donald MacAlister and Richard Rowe all matriculated together at Cambridge in October 1873. They all chose to study mathematics. Kikuchi and MacAlister entered St. John's, while Richard Rowe was admitted to Trinity College. Whereas Kikuchi was a pensioner, MacAlister and Rowe were both awarded 'sizarships' at their respective colleges. In MacAlister's case he was offered scholarships from and granted admission to Balliol College and Worcester College, both at Oxford University, in addition to his awards at St. John's Cambridge and London University. But because he was particularly brilliant at mathematics he chose St. John's College, Cambridge over the more classical and historically oriented Oxford. I have already referred to Kikuchi Dairoku's genius which was first revealed at University College School, but Donald MacAlister was an even greater genius than Kikuchi. In later years MacAlister was to play an important role in the lives of the Japanese students, so I would like to give him a proper introduction here.

MacAlister was born in Scotland in 1854, and died in Cambridge in 1934 at the age of 79. Compared with Kikuchi, he was a year older and died 16 years later. Not only was MacAlister a Scotsman, but he was from the Highlands. His mother tongue was not English but Gaelic (one of the Celtic languages) and he was not a member of the Church of England but a Presbyterian, of which faith there are many adherents in Scotland. In the year after his death his widow Edith MacAlister published his biography.⁷⁶ Fortunately this book gives us an excellent insight into Donald MacAlister's life.

The first occasion on which MacAlister's genius came to be recognised was during his schooldays at the Liverpool Institute. The family had moved down from their native Scotland to Liverpool because of his

father's work. His father wanted Donald to have a career in business, so he enrolled him in the Commercial Department of Liverpool Institute. This is not the place to go into the complicated English examination system in detail, so I shall abbreviate and simply state that at that time the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, seeking to promote and improve the academic levels of secondary education, had begun to develop a nationwide system of examinations, usually referred to as 'Local Examinations'. They were the forerunner of the present G.C.S.E. (General Certificate of Secondary Education) and A-levels. In Japanese terms, the G.C.S.E. are equivalent to high school entrance exams, and the A-levels to university entrance exams.

MacAlister, who was almost unfailingly top of the Liverpool Institute Commercial Department, took the Oxford Local Examination at the age of 15, and was placed twelfth in the whole of England. The headmaster of the Liverpool Institute took note of MacAlister's fine results, and immediately transferred him up to the Sixth Form course of the school, where he was made to study Latin and Greek for university entrance. The Sixth Form is the highest level in English secondary education, and is the course for university entrance.

In the following year (1870) MacAlister took the Oxford Senior Local Examination, and was placed fifth in England. In 1871 at the age of seventeen he took the exam once more and at last, despite illness, was placed top in the whole of the country.⁷⁷ Regarding MacAlister's life, T. R. Glover⁷⁸ wrote the following in a book entitled *Cambridge Retrospect*:

Donald MacAlister was one of the ablest men in Cambridge two generations ago...The Saxons [English] were perplexed by MacAlister, and were made uneasy by his uncanny cleverness, by the ease with which he did things and by the range of his knowledge and his capacity...He was a medical man; but, incidentally he had been Senior Wrangler. Now it is not always realized today how serious a matter it was to be Senior Wrangler. There were men who could tell you the series of Senior Wranglers, dating them like Derby winners; the year was known by the Senior. Some Senior Wranglers never did anything at all, after achieving the degree; it was their high-water mark. With MacAlister, one felt it was a mere episode in a career that went far beyond it.⁷⁹

Professors at St. John's College: Bateson, Marshall, Parkinson, Sandys

Next it is appropriate to examine the situation of St. John's College when Kikuchi was admitted there in 1873. First, the college was centred on its constituent members, namely the Master, Fellows and students. The Master at that time was William Henry Bateson (1812-81). The Master was usually chosen from among the Fellows. Many of the college masters at the time were clergymen, and so was Bateson. The welfare of

students, including their financial solvency, was the responsibility of the tutor. Instruction was given by college lecturers, among whom tutors might figure, and by private coaches. In a small college there was usually only one tutor, but in a larger college like St. John's there were four. The students in the college attended lectures given by the college's own lecturers. The number of lecturers varied according to the subject. In the case of St. John's there were six lecturers in mathematics, and five in classics.

As the tripos examination subjects increased together with the development and modernization of the University, new lecturers were employed by the colleges to cover the new subjects, but when Kikuchi was in residence the overwhelming majority of St. John's College lecturers were in mathematics and classics. The lecturers apart from mathematics and classics were as follows: natural sciences (2), moral sciences (1), Hebrew (1), physics (1), law and history jointly (1). At that time economics was included in the moral sciences, and the sole moral sciences lecturer at St. John's was the renowned economist Alfred Marshall (1842-1924). Of the four college tutors I should like to focus on two, Stephen Parkinson (1823-89) and John Edwin Sandys (1844-1922). Parkinson was a mathematics lecturer, and Sandys lectured in classics. Parkinson was MacAlister's tutor, and Sandys was Kikuchi's. The reason that Kikuchi's tutor was not a mathematician but a classicist was probably that the deputy headmaster of U.C.S. Mr. Horton, a Peterhouse college fellow as we have seen, had been a classicist and so had chosen Sandys for Kikuchi. MacAlister's tutor Parkinson had become Senior Wrangler in the examinations of 1845, beating the famous physicist William Thomson (1824-1907) later Lord Kelvin, into second place.

College Life

Sometimes one discovers some very surprising records at Cambridge. One of these is the record of which students resided in which college rooms. Furthermore, in the case of St. John's College this information is published.

Kikuchi Dairoku lived on the second floor of F staircase in a corner of First Court, St. John's.⁸⁰ The building has three floors, but the third comprises attic rooms. Kikuchi might have been thought to have resided there from his matriculation in October 1873 until graduation in 1877, but another person's name is listed as the occupant from 1876 so Kikuchi must have either moved before graduation to another room in the college, or to lodgings outside the college. On the other hand Donald MacAlister spent his first year in lodgings outside college, and from the second year lived in the same court as Kikuchi in a third-floor attic room on G staircase.

The rooms that Kikuchi and MacAlister occupied are known, but what kind of life did students lead in college? When Kikuchi died his friend Tejima Seiichi (1850-1918) wrote: "Something which I still now

admire about him is that he unceasingly kept a journal of those days [at Cambridge] and sent the diaries home one by one. They became a report on his studies and also a record of his daily life.”⁸¹ Kikuchi’s diary may still exist, but unfortunately this writer has not seen it and has not heard that it has survived. So as a second best option I shall use Kikuchi’s classmate Donald MacAlister’s letters about his life to his family from his first term.⁸²

MacAlister entered the college as a sizar, and in 1875 he became a scholar. For his first year he did not live in college but in lodgings nearby. As already stated, he moved into the college for his second year. Although he was in lodgings they were very close to the college and he dined in the college hall in the evenings, so his life was probably very similar to that of undergraduates living in college.

MacAlister got up every morning at 6.30 am to attend matins in the college chapel at 7 am. At 7.30 am he returned to his lodgings for breakfast. Every morning there were mathematics lectures from 8 am to 9 am, and again from 11 am to midday, except on Fridays. There were two hours of mathematics lectures in the college every day. At 1.15 pm every day he went to his mathematics coach for one hour of study. After that he would take a walk until dinner served in the college hall from 4.30 pm to 5.30 pm. Then he would read and write letters etc. until about 7 pm, then have a cup of tea before studying for a further three or four hours before going to bed.

College Life at Cambridge in the 1840s: C.A. Bristed’s account

As a record of life in a Cambridge college, let us consider the experiences of an American who lived in college named Charles Astor Bristed (1820-1874).⁸³ His record is virtually identical to MacAlister’s, though it is from the 1840s. While from a different generation, the account is probably not very different in outline from the experiences of Kikuchi’s generation.

In the morning at about 6.30 a college manservant called a ‘gyp’ came to wake the students. ‘Matins’ or morning service, were held at 7 am. There was another kind of college servant called a ‘bedmaker’ or ‘bedder’, a lady charged with making the beds. The students came back to their rooms after matins at about 8 am, and the bedmakers had made the beds while they were out. Students ate breakfast in their rooms from 8 am. It usually consisted of bread rolls, butter and tea.

College classes began from 9 am and usually lasted till midday, though they sometimes finished at 10 am or 11 am. Before 1 pm the undergraduates would go out to study with their coaches. The time from 2 pm to 4 pm was generally reserved for sporting activities and walks. Dinner was from 4 pm. Cambridge students were required to eat one proper meal a day, and that was dinner. There was an evening service (evensong) in the college chapel at 6 pm. Students were required to attend eight services per week.

Cambridge undergraduates tended to study in the evenings, starting from about 7 pm. They studied assiduously for about four hours, with one or two breaks for tea. Occasionally they would have buttered bread with their tea. Some students would go out in the evening to see their coach. The daily life of Bristed and MacAlister as described above were probably typical of Cambridge student life at the time. The point which stands out in both accounts is the absence of any mention of lunch. It may be that at this time there was still no custom of having a proper lunch.

The evening dinner is held at 4.30 pm in MacAlister's account, but 4.00 pm in Bristed's. Before that, there was apparently a time when it was held at 3.30 pm. It was not merely the case in Cambridge colleges but also in British society as a whole that dinner time got later as the times changed. The thirty minutes difference between MacAlister's record and Bristed's seems to represent that between the 1870s and the 1840s. Probably Kikuchi Dairoku lived a similar undergraduate life in college. I shall have more to say later about the 'coach' who appeared in MacAlister's and Bristed's lives.

Boat clubs and debating societies

Now I should like to give a simple account of undergraduate recreations including sports. Chiefly the students enjoyed sports in the afternoon before dinner. In fact the majority of students seem to have spent the time in walking rather than sports. Rowing was a popular sport, as the River Cam flowed right through the centre of the city of Cambridge. But rowing was expensive, and though MacAlister was frequently invited to join the boat club of his college he always gave up the idea because as a sizar he could not afford it.

St. John's College's chief boat club was then and is now called Lady Margaret Club, though many others mushroomed for short periods, and Kikuchi Dairoku who was a pensioner according to one source became the club secretary and a cox.⁸⁴ Boat club secretary seems to have been quite a taxing position.⁸⁵ The so-called club activities at Cambridge were not limited to sports. Debating societies were one example of a non-sporting activity. Kikuchi proposed a motion just once in his college's debating society, "That the conduct of Englishmen in Japan is unworthy of their nationality" which was carried.⁸⁶ Kikuchi's motion was very nationalistic for such an excellent scholar as he was, but one can in some small way understand the complexity of his feelings as a Japanese towards British people from the wording.

Honours degrees and ordinary degrees

The Bachelor of Arts degree (B.A.) awarded at Cambridge on graduation was, until the end of the Second World War (1939-45), divided into two types, honours and ordinary. The ordinary degree was a very low

academic level, and all the Cambridge graduates of real academic ability were awarded honours degrees. After 1945 the ordinary degree was abolished as a course, although it can still be given to candidates performing poorly in honours examinations, and nowadays nearly all Cambridge degrees are of the honours variety. At Cambridge the B.A. and M.A. are almost the same thing. When a B.A. is awarded (whether honours or ordinary) it is possible to receive the M.A. two or three years later on payment of the modest registration fee. In order to obtain an honours degree at Cambridge, candidates were required to pass two university examinations. The first one was officially called the 'Previous Examination', but usually in Cambridge slang it was known as the 'Little-Go', in contrast to the final examination, or Great-Go, whose name survives as 'Greats' for the final classics examination at Oxford. Passing the Little-Go preliminary examination was also necessary to obtain an ordinary degree. It was an examination usually taken after entering the university, but functioned as a kind of entrance exam. It was not possible to proceed to a degree without clearing this hurdle.

To obtain an honours degree it was necessary to pass the second barrier called the tripos examination. The origin of the word 'tripos' goes back to a three-legged stool connected with the examination in the Middle Ages.⁸⁷ On the other hand, for the ordinary degree it was first necessary to pass the 'Little-Go' and then there were two further hurdles, called the General Examination and Special Examination, which must also be passed.

The General Examination was a more advanced version of the Little-Go, but the Special Examination was divided into specialist areas like the tripos. The levels of both examinations were much lower than the tripos exams. Even if a candidate failed the tripos exams he might be granted exemption from the General and Special examinations for the ordinary degree if he showed some good scores, or if he was rather less successful he still might be exempted from the General examination. In the former case the candidate would be immediately awarded an ordinary degree. In the latter case he would be awarded an ordinary degree if he passed the Special examination.

Of the undergraduates at Cambridge, about one-third passed the tripos examinations and were awarded an honours degree; one-third approximately were awarded ordinary degrees; and the remaining one-third were in residence for some time but were not awarded either degree. The ordinary degree was also called a 'poll degree', and a recipient was known as a 'poll man'.

	Honours Degree	Ordinary Degree
Minimum period of residence	9 terms (3 years)	
Previous examination (Little-Go)	Pass ↓ ↓	Pass ↓ ↓
General examination	↓ ↓	Pass ↓
Special examination	↓ ↓	Pass (degree awarded)
Tripes	Fail→→→→→ or Pass (degree awarded)	Awarded even if the candidate failed tripos, depending on scores. Or exemption granted from subjects in the general or special examination.
Detailed breakdown of successful tripos candidates	Senior Wrangler (top honour) Wrangler (first class) Senior Optime (second class) Junior Optime (third class)	
Smith prize	Mathematics examination held after tripos (top and second placed students only selected). The top student, called the Smiths prizeman, is considered equal in honour to Senior Wrangler.	
Master of Arts (M.A.)	Awarded automatically 2-3 years after the B.A. is awarded, on payment of the registration fee.	

Honours and Ordinary degrees at Cambridge University until 1945

2 Mathematics at Cambridge

The Mathematical Tripos and the Smith Prize

As I have already mentioned, the Cambridge graduation exam for the honours degree is called the tripos. Nowadays there are between 20 and 30 tripos subjects, but originally it was based on just two, mathematics and classics. The most famous tripos examination was the one in mathematics. Great emphasis was placed on mathematics at Cambridge, and those who did not pass the maths tripos were not even allowed to take the classics tripos. This rule was changed from 1850 to make it possible to take the classics tripos without first passing the mathematics exam. The Cambridge mathematical tripos was reorganized and improved in the 1850s into ‘mixed mathematics’ including mechanics, hydrodynamics, astronomy, planetary theory and optics.⁸⁸ This was not limited to mathematics in a narrow sense, but mathematical principles and physics were included.

Apart from Michael Faraday and James Joule, the physicists who represented Britain in the nineteenth century, for example George Green (1793-1841), George Stokes (1819-1903), William Thomson (later Lord Kelvin), James Clerk Maxwell and Joseph Larmor (1857-1942) and others all got first class degrees in the Cambridge mathematical tripos, and so were called wranglers. It was not until the 1890s that the path to becoming a physicist ceased to be the mathematical tripos and began to be centred on the natural sciences tripos.⁸⁹ In the natural sciences tripos emphasis was placed on experimental physics together with other scientific fields. It is probably fair to say that experimental physics was the basis of the development of physical science, which was later to be centred on the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge. After that it became for the first time less important for physicists to pass the mathematics tripos.

In the nineteenth century scientific subjects were not divided up to any great extent, and the Cambridge mathematical tripos was not merely the summit of achievement in mathematics but in all the sciences throughout England. Of course it was also the hardest set of examinations in the country. Tripos results (passes), including those for mathematics, were divided into three classes: first, second and third. In the mathematics tripos these were called wrangler, senior optime and junior optime respectively. The highest honour was to be a wrangler. Also within the classes each student was given a number according to the order in the class.

The head of the wranglers (first class) was called Senior Wrangler. In those days it was a very high honour, and who received that distinction was reported as news throughout England, to the extent that each year was named after the Senior Wrangler of that year. Another examination in mathematics was held immediately after the maths tripos, called the ‘Smith’s Prize’. Only those who had achieved high marks in the tripos were

allowed to sit the exam, which was a sterner test than the tripos.

The candidate who came top in this exam was called the ‘Smith’s Prizeman’. This honour was equal or perhaps second only to that of Senior Wrangler. The Smith’s prize was only awarded to the first and second-placed students. The man who came second was called the ‘Second Smith’s Prizeman’. There were occasions when the Senior Wrangler was also awarded the Smith’s Prize, and other times when they were awarded to different people.

I have mentioned above that Kikuchi Dairoku’s *alma mater* University College School produced many men in the highest ranks of the mathematical tripos. To state matters in more detail, over a 50-year period up to about 1890, four Senior Wranglers, two second wranglers, three third wranglers, two Smith’s Prizemen and four second Smith’s Prizemen. These were remarkable results for one private school.

Private tutors, also called ‘coaches’: E.J. Routh and W. Hopkins

The first of the four Senior Wranglers from University College School was Edward John Routh (1831-1907) in 1854. Routh together with William Hopkins was famous as a private tutor who coached many students to become Senior Wranglers. Private tutors were called ‘coaches’ at Cambridge. They had no connection whatever with the public system of the university, being merely private teachers, but they were very important within the mathematics tripos. In the third edition of *The Students’ Guide to the University of Cambridge* published in 1874 it states that “we may now remark that, for the majority of students, the aid of a private Tutor must be regarded as a matter of necessity.”⁹⁰

William Hopkins (1793-1866) was himself a seventh wrangler, but by 1849 he had coached almost 200 wranglers, of which 17 were Senior Wranglers and 44 were third wranglers.⁹¹ But an even more successful coach than W. Hopkins was E.J. Routh. The latter’s most proud boast was that he coached all the 22 Senior Wranglers in succession for every year from 1862 to 1882 (by a revision of the rules there were two Senior Wranglers in January and June 1882).⁹² This is a glorious and unprecedented coaching record. Furthermore Routh coached five more Senior Wranglers before and after his long winning streak, so his total was 27 Senior Wranglers.

In later years the harmful effect of the extremely competitive nature of the examinations was raised as an issue, and the list of wranglers was no longer published in the order of results but in alphabetical order. Routh who was proud of his coaching record is said to have commented that the authorities would no doubt like to have the horses at the Derby run in alphabetical order too!

E.J. Routh's rivalry with J.C. Maxwell

In the 1854 mathematics tripos Routh of Peterhouse's keenest rival for Senior Wrangler was the physicist James Clerk Maxwell (1831-1879) of Trinity College.⁹³ Maxwell, born in Edinburgh, was said to be the most outstanding student of that year, but unfortunately he had to be satisfied with second place.⁹⁴ Maxwell's coach was Hopkins, whereas Quebec-born Routh's coach was Isaac Todhunter, of whom more will be said later. Maxwell is very well-known for his significant contributions both to the study of electromagnetics in which he accomplished great things, and to research into the theory of the motion of gas particles. He is not as famous as Newton or Einstein, but his achievements rank a close second to theirs, or perhaps he might be said to have made an equal contribution to the development of physics. He became the first head of Cambridge University's Cavendish Laboratory. In the Smith's Prize exam held after the maths tripos Maxwell made great efforts and equalled Routh's scores, so they were awarded the Smith's Prize jointly.

Numa Hartog and Religious Reform

The second of the four Senior Wranglers from U.C.S. after E.J. Routh was Numa Edward Hartog (1846-1871) in 1869. Despite his great achievement in becoming Senior Wrangler Hartog was Jewish, which caused problems with regard to his attending the graduation ceremony to receive his degree and to his becoming a fellow. First it was the custom when the Senior Wrangler received his degree for him to kneel in front of the other students, and Numa Hartog refused to do this on religious grounds. But the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge took this into special consideration and Hartog was exempted from this custom by a special resolution passed unanimously by the governing body of the university.

Again in those days it was almost automatic for Senior Wranglers and those with equal achievements in the mathematics tripos to become fellows of their colleges. But when Hartog became Senior Wrangler in 1869 it was obligatory for those who were to be appointed fellows to take a religious oath in a Church of England ceremony. By that time almost all such requirements had been abolished at Oxford and Cambridge, but the religious vow on appointment as fellow was one of the last remnants of former days.

Numa Hartog was appointed fellow of his college, Trinity College. He was then required to sign a pledge⁹⁵ to abide by 39 essential doctrines of the Church of England. Hartog refused to do this as a member of the Jewish faith, and so he was not allowed to become a fellow of Trinity College. But the English parliament took up Hartog's case as an opportunity to abolish all religious pledges from Oxford and Cambridge and by the Universities' Religious Tests Act of 1871 the way was opened for Hartog to become a fellow.

Unfortunately, just three days after the bill had received the royal assent of Queen Victoria, Hartog died of smallpox. He was 25 years old on death. Numa Hartog had a younger brother named Philip who also graduated from U.C.S. When Kikuchi Dairoku gave his lectures on Japanese education at London University in 1907 (Meiji 40) it was Philip Joseph Hartog (1864-1947) who was in charge of the matter as academic registrar of London University from 1903.

Karl Pearson, a close friend of Kikuchi Dairoku

I have already referred to Edward John Routh and Numa Hartog as Senior Wranglers from U.C.S. but there is one more man who cannot be avoided when discussing Kikuchi Dairoku. His name is Karl Pearson.

Karl Pearson (1857-1936) was a contemporary of Kikuchi at U.C.S. and also studied mathematics at Cambridge. Kikuchi describes him as a close friend who attended the same high school and studied with him at Cambridge.⁹⁶ Pearson was an excellent mathematician, but his talents were various and did not stop there, as we shall see later.

Kikuchi and Pearson were contemporaries both at U.C.S. and Cambridge. Pearson was apparently a delicate youth. At the age of 16 in 1873 (which was the year when Kikuchi graduated from U.C.S.) Pearson left the school and began studying under a private tutor. His tutor was none other than the celebrated E. J. Routh. One year before Pearson matriculated at Cambridge he went there to study 'like an animal' under the guidance of Routh. He worked hard for a year, getting up at seven a.m. every morning. He then entered King's College two years after Kikuchi, becoming third wrangler in the maths tripos exam of 1879. Thereafter he studied philosophy and law in Germany at the universities of Heidelberg and Berlin. In the year after he graduated from Cambridge he was very soon appointed a fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

Pearson was a professor of applied mathematics at University College, London University from 1885 to 1911. In 1911 he was appointed the university's first professor of eugenics, a post which he held until 1933. His scholastic achievements spanned a variety of fields including applied mathematics, mathematical statistics, biological measurement, eugenics, the history of science etc. His most distinguished achievement was probably to begin the study of biological statistics. He was a pioneer in applying statistical methods derived from mathematics to the study of problems of animal genetics and evolution.

Who was Kikuchi's coach: E.J. Routh, Besant, Webb, Hudson or Isaac Todhunter?

So who in fact was Kikuchi's coach or private tutor? This is not clear to the author. As will be seen later, Kikuchi obtained a first class in the mathematical tripos, being placed 19th wrangler. It seems natural to

assume that he would have had a coach to achieve such a position. But hiring a coach was a private matter for individuals, and would not have been recorded in the university's official records. We know that in Donald MacAlister's case his tutor Stephen Parkinson recommended E. J. Routh to him: "Besant and Webb of St. John's both had high reputation as skilful mathematical teachers, 'but' said Parkinson, 'Routh will push you two or three places higher in the Tripos list'." ⁹⁷

In Kikuchi's case there seem to be three possible candidates as men who might have coached him. The first one is Routh, who had graduated from U.C.S. and was thus Kikuchi's 'great senior' (*daisenpai*). Of the 990 wranglers in the 27 years from 1862 to 1888, it is said that 480 were pupils of Routh.⁹⁸ So almost half of the total were taught by him, and thus there is a roughly 50% probability that Edward John Routh was also Kikuchi's tutor. While there is no hard evidence to contradict this hypothesis, the author feels that it is more likely that Kikuchi's coach was not Routh but one of the men referred to above in Parkinson's conversation with MacAlister, namely either Besant or Webb of St. John's College.

William Henry Besant (1828-1917) was Senior Wrangler and Smith's Prizeman in 1850, and taught mathematics as a lecturer at St. John's College for 35 years. He was an eminent maths coach. His younger brother was the novelist Walter Besant. Robert Rumsey Webb (1850-1936) like William Besant was a joint Senior Wrangler and Smith's Prizeman (in 1870), a lecturer for many years at St. John's and a coach of high reputation.

Kikuchi Dairoku's writings do not tell us much about his mathematics teachers at Cambridge, but in his *To Ei Dan* where he recounts his experiences when he came to London in 1907 (Meiji 40) to lecture on Japanese education he does mention that he was 'visited by a former teacher of mathematics at Cambridge called Hudson'.⁹⁹ William Henry Hoar Hudson (1838-1915) was appointed professor of mathematics while Kikuchi was studying at Cambridge. Later he became a professor of mathematics at King's College London (1882-1902) and Queen's College, London (1883-1905). Kikuchi's description of Hudson as 'teacher' (*sensei*) does not necessarily mean that Hudson was his coach, and probably just indicates that he took Hudson's classes in mathematics at St. John's College.

There is a very slight possibility that one more person was Kikuchi's coach: Isaac Todhunter (1820-1884). When Kikuchi entered St. John's College Todhunter was a college lecturer in mathematics. However, Todhunter had been E. J. Routh's coach, so he seems to have been a little too old to be Kikuchi's coach also.

The low status of university professors

The connection between private tutors and the tripos exams is as explained above. So what kind of role did university professors play at that time? Here follows a simple explanation of the role and status of

professors at the University of Cambridge at the time when Kikuchi was in residence.

It may appear unimaginable nowadays, but in those days the salaries of university professors were very low and they were not very important in the overall scheme of things. The environment in which they functioned was quite different from the one in which professors work at Japanese universities today. At that time (in the 19th century) the centre of education was not the university but the colleges, and faculties hardly existed. As we have already seen with London University, the main function of the university was to set exams and award degrees to the successful candidates. The university was not greatly involved in education or research *per se*. For students seeking honours degrees, almost all of their student life was devoted to preparation for the tripos exams. This greatly resembled the situation for high school pupils, whose high school lives were based on preparation for the university entrance exam. The preparations for the university tripos exams were made in the colleges.

On the other hand professorships were university posts, and the university was very poor compared with the colleges. Professors' salaries were very low and their classes were not directly connected with the tripos, which meant that attendance levels were very low. This situation led to the university developing a policy whereby students reading for ordinary degrees ('poll students') were treated differently from honours degree students. The former were required to attend lectures given by the professors. In other words the professors' lectures were ignored by the students, to such an extent that the poll students had to be forced to attend them. Professors began to assume more importance at Cambridge as the centre of education and research shifted from the colleges to the university. Modern-day Cambridge and the Cambridge of former days are very different.

Other Cambridge professors: G.G. Stokes, Arthur Cayley, Isaac Todhunter, J.C. Maxwell, J.C. Adams, G. Salmon, W.K. Clifford

Apart from his private maths tutor, what kind of mathematicians and physicists taught Kikuchi Dairoku at Cambridge? I should like to give a brief list of the kind of mathematicians and physicists that were at Cambridge while Kikuchi was in residence. According to the *Nihon no sūgaku 100 nen shi* (A centenary history of Japanese mathematics) Kikuchi was taught by the Lucasian professor G. G. Stokes (fluid mechanics), the Sadleirian professors of pure mathematics Arthur Cayley (1821-95) and I. Todhunter, the physicist J. C. Maxwell and the astronomer J. C. Adams.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand the science historian Nakayama Shigeru (1928-) states that 'Dairoku received the personal supervision of Todhunter, and it may be supposed that he was strongly influenced by him', and stresses the influence of Todhunter, also of St. John's College.¹⁰¹

The mathematician Ogura Kinnosuke (1885-1962) also mentions that Kikuchi was under the influence of Todhunter, Salmon, Clifford and others.¹⁰² George Salmon (1819-1904) was from Trinity College Dublin, Ireland and was a professor of mathematics and theology at that university. His connection with Cambridge was that he was awarded an honorary doctorate of law (Hon. LL.D.) in 1874. William Kingdon Clifford (1854-1879) was second wrangler and second Smith's prizeman in 1867. He was professor of applied mathematics at University College, London University from 1871 to 1879, but he died prematurely of tuberculosis. Kikuchi translated Clifford's 'The common sense of the exact science' and it was published as 'Sūri Shakugi' (Mathematical Commentaries).¹⁰³ Clifford's surviving manuscript was edited by his successor at University College London who was Professor Richard Rowe but it was completed by Rowe's colleague Karl Pearson after Rowe's untimely death. Kikuchi was a friend of both Rowe and Pearson, and he translated the work into Japanese.

3 Fellow Wranglers and the Tripos Examination

St. John's Wranglers: MacAlister, Parsons, Heath, Murton, Pendlebury, Tait and Kikuchi

In October 1873 (Meiji 6) a total of 104 undergraduate students entered St. John's College. I would like to concentrate on seven of these, including Kikuchi Dairoku. These seven constituted the top group of St. John's students in the mathematics tripos. They were: Donald MacAlister, Charles Parsons, Joseph Heath, Charles Murton, Charles Pendlebury, Thomas Slater Tait and Kikuchi Dairoku. Of these seven men MacAlister, Heath, Murton and Tait were sizars, while Parsons, Pendlebury and Kikuchi were pensioners. MacAlister was a typical sizar, as most sizars were relatively excellent students, and they tended to be found in large numbers at the bigger colleges, especially Trinity and St. John's.

I have already described scholars above, and these elite mathematicians at St. John's were all, with the exception of Kikuchi Dairoku, in receipt of scholarships. MacAlister, Parsons, Heath and Pendlebury were awarded scholarships in 1875, and the other two (Murton and Tait) received their awards the following year. Incidentally, the only one who became a fellow after graduation was MacAlister. Scholarships were awarded on the basis of the exam results, and from the fact that Kikuchi was not awarded one we may deduce that he was at the bottom of the elite group, as indicated by the order of wranglers (in which he was nineteenth).

Parsons and Pendlebury

Among the elite group of seven mathematicians at St. John's College who graduated and entered the wider society, the one who was the equal or superior of Donald MacAlister to whom we have already referred was Charles Parsons. Sir Charles Algernon Parsons (1854-1931) is famous as the inventor of the steam turbine called the 'Parson's turbine'. This is still used to this day in electric power stations and formerly as the propelling engine of many ships. The first vessel to use the steam turbine was the *Turbinia*, built in 1897. Like MacAlister a biography of Parsons was published after his death, entitled *Charles Parsons: his life and work*.¹⁰⁴ MacAlister was the possessor of great academic talent, but Parsons was probably something of a genius. As will be explained later, Parsons was 11th wrangler. According to his friends in the college this was not a fair reflection of his abilities, which were much higher.

MacAlister himself was defeated by Parsons in the solution of mathematical problems, but Parsons was said to be inferior in the study of text books.¹⁰⁵ This weak point probably brought Parsons down in the tripos order. The coach of both men was Routh, so MacAlister would have known of Parsons' strengths and weaknesses. Apart from MacAlister, Parsons and Kikuchi, the fourth man of the 'group of seven' mathematicians who entered St. John's College in 1873 who to a certain extent left his mark on posterity through his achievements was Pendlebury.¹⁰⁶

Charles Pendlebury (1854-1941) was for more than 30 years the head of mathematics at the famous public school called St. Paul's School in London, and a veteran mathematics teacher. When he had worked at the school for nine years in 1886 he published a book called 'Arithmetic'. This and his subsequent text books made him so famous that he apparently became a household name. Kikuchi also published a text book called *Kika* ('Geometry') and thus contributed to mathematical education in Japan, so in some respects the careers of Pendlebury and Kikuchi resemble each other.

Little-Go: the university preliminary examination

Students aiming to take the tripos had to take university and college exams in total about once every six months. There was usually a college exam to pass when there was no university exam. The college examinations just before the summer vacation in June were particularly important. Public announcements of the university were carried in the *Cambridge University Reporter*. In short this is the official gazette of the university. I would like to examine the movements of the elite group of seven from St. John's College, including Kikuchi, using this magazine.

It should be noted, however, that Parsons had entered Trinity College, Dublin before coming up to Cambridge, so he may have been exempted from various examinations or taken them at different times. Thus he was not a member of the group until the second academic year.

First, the St. John's College examination was held in December 1873. This was only two or three months after matriculation. This was probably a kind of practice exam for the university preliminary examination called Little-Go which was held shortly afterwards. The first class men in the college exam were Heath, Kikuchi, MacAlister, Pendlebury and Tait. Next the university examination called Little-Go was held, also in December 1873. The preliminary exam was one of two exams organised by the university, and was a necessary milestone to be passed on the way to the tripos. I should like to explain what kind of examination it was with reference to *The Student's Guide to the University of Cambridge*.¹⁰⁷

The preliminary examination was broadly divided into two parts. The first part was the Greek and Latin exam. Specifically there were questions on the Christian gospels in Greek, on selected Latin and Greek classics and on Latin and Greek grammar. The second part was composed of classics and mathematics. Specifically there were questions on *A View of the Evidences of Christianity*, a famous work by an English classical scholar called William Paley, geometrical problems from Books I to VI of Euclid's *Elements*, arithmetic and elementary algebra. The preliminary exam was composed of two parts, but undergraduates who went on to take the tripos for an honours degree were also required to be examined additionally in (1) algebra, (2) elementary trigonometry and (3) elementary mechanics.

Preliminary, college and tripos exam results

In the preliminary examination held in December 1873 Heath, Kikuchi, MacAlister, Murton, Pendlebury and Tait were awarded first classes. The results of this exam were divided into first and second class, but within the classes the listing was alphabetical rather than in score order. These six also passed the additional subjects (the tests in algebra, elementary trigonometry and elementary mechanics). The next examination taken by the top six St. John's men was the college exam held in June 1874 before the summer vacation. All six were awarded first class. This time the results were given in score order, which was: 1st Heath, 2nd MacAlister, 3rd Pendlebury, 4th Tait, 7th Kikuchi and 9th Murton.

In October 1874 Kikuchi and his classmates entered their second year, and thereafter took college exams twice a year, at Christmas and in June, until 1876. In these exams Kikuchi continued to be the last member of the group of seven, but he let the first class result slip. As a result the top six men were selected to be scholars, but Kikuchi was not made one.¹⁰⁸ Kikuchi's low scores at this time may have been the result of his preparations for London University's exams, which we will refer to in more detail later.

Then in January 1877 (Meiji 10) the tripos examination was held with the following results: 1st MacAlister, 2nd Parsons, 12th Heath, 15th Murton, 16th Pendlebury, 18th Tait and 19th Kikuchi. Considering his past college exam ‘practice’ results this was certainly not a bad result for Kikuchi. On the contrary, it may be said that Kikuchi did very well in the real thing, the mathematical tripos.

At last, the Mathematical Tripos

Next I would like to explain the Mathematical Tripos in detail, again with reference to *The Student’s Guide to the University of Cambridge*.¹⁰⁹ First, the tripos examination took nine days in all, divided into a first half of four days and a second half of five days. The second half was held about ten days after the first. The examination always began on the first Monday after December 29th. In the case of Kikuchi and his contemporaries it began on 1 January 1877. The exams were held every day in the morning from 9 am to midday, and in the afternoon from 1 pm to 4 pm. They were held in the Senate House where the University held its public deliberations and ceremonies.

In the first three days of the first half there were many elementary questions of mathematics and natural sciences, and on the fourth day some easier questions of the higher subjects were set. When the first half was completed, students who would be allowed to take the second half of the tripos exams were selected on the basis of results in the first three days. In other words the students with satisfactory results were allowed to proceed to the second half of the tripos and take an honours degree, whereas those whose results were not good enough were obliged to give up the tripos and the honours degree at that stage.

Of the group which had dropped out of the tripos, those with relatively good grades were awarded an ordinary degree at this stage, and those with lesser grades were exempted from the general examination required for the ordinary degree but not from the special examination. In other words they were able to receive the ordinary degree if they managed to pass the special examination only. In the second half of the tripos exam the following subjects were added in addition to higher mathematics: heat, electricity and magnetism. The tripos exam results were decided based on performance over the whole nine days. As already explained, the successful candidates were divided into three classes and listed in order of their results within their respective classes.

Announcement of Results: Calliphronas of Caius is the surprise 1874 winner

Regarding the announcement of mathematical tripos results Donald MacAlister, who became Senior Wrangler in 1877, recorded the situation in detail in 1874.¹¹⁰ Here I should like to explain based on that

record.

As the tripos results were announced at the Senate House at 9 am on Friday, the undergraduates assembled en masse at the Senate House and waited for the 9 am bell. The meeting place was packed with students and the mood was one of a riotous and joyous festival. Rumour held that the two main candidates for Senior Wrangler in that year were Barnard of St. John's and Ball of Trinity College. The maths coach E. J. Routh was also present at the scene, waiting for the results to be announced. It was a matter of the greatest importance to him who should become Senior Wrangler, for he had coached the previous sixteen Senior Wranglers in succession. If Barnard of St. John's should become Senior Wrangler, his coach was Besant, so that Routh's continuous winning record would be broken.

The result was quite unexpected. The man who became Senior Wrangler that year was one George Constantine Calliphronas (1852-1913) from Gonville and Caius College (usually called 'Caius'). His father was Greek, and he was a complete dark horse. Furthermore the highest position he had hoped for was third-place wrangler, and moreover Caius had not produced a Senior Wrangler for the past 23 years. Ball of Trinity was placed second, and the unfortunate Barnard of St. John's came an unexpectedly low 12th. But as Routh was Calliphronas's coach his coaching record was preserved and extended. The tripos results were printed on papers which were strewn about like confetti, and the students gathered at the Senate House fought over them as they were important and precious souvenirs for them. On the day after the tripos results were announced, the successful candidates were awarded the B.A. degree. This was their graduation ceremony as well. Calliphronas who had been awarded the honour of Senior Wrangler knelt before the Vice Chancellor of the University, uttered the pledge and received his degree. Thereafter all the other successful graduands received their degrees in the order of their tripos scores. This was the scene in January of 1874.

Kikuchi and MacAlister took the tripos examination in 1877, but the announcement of the results and the graduation ceremony were probably not much different from this. In 1877 it was MacAlister who became Senior Wrangler. The news was reported in the newspapers, and a telegram was delivered to his family home in Liverpool. There were great scenes of jubilation in that city at the triumph of the local lad who had shaken the world of academia with his genius.

Wranglers from other colleges: F. B. D. M. Gibbons, Richard Rowe and J.P. Smith

I have already recorded the order in the tripos of the seven men of St. John's College. Next we shall consider the higher class men from other colleges. The top three were all taught by Routh. As previously mentioned, MacAlister was the top student and Senior Wrangler. He also came top of the Smith's examination held after the tripos and so won the Smith's prize. The second wrangler was Frederick B.D.M. Gibbons

(1854? – 1924) who after a legal career was appointed a university professor in New Zealand. He was from Caius College. The third wrangler was MacAlister's friend Richard Rowe who had come top in the London University entrance exam in January 1872. His college was Trinity, the same as the man after him, the fourth wrangler James Parker Smith (1854-1929).

Smith first pursued a legal career, then entered politics and became a Member of Parliament. He was Joseph Chamberlain's secretary when the latter was Colonial Secretary, and was later the Headmaster of his alma mater, the famous public school called Winchester College. At the same time as MacAlister became Senior Wrangler and won the Smith's prize, Rowe and Smith became joint second Smith's prizemen. Only the first and second prize are awarded, but in 1877 there were two second prizewinners. Because they were from the same college and shared the same coach (E. J. Routh) the top three students were good friends.¹¹¹ Rowe died young, but the friendship of MacAlister and Smith continued until the latter's death.

The Wooden Spoon: a strange Cambridge custom ¹¹²

In the tripos list there used to be an "important" title, which was also a consolation "prize" or booby prize. It was called the Wooden Spoon, and it was awarded to the lowest person in the maths tripos list, which meant the lowest junior optime (i.e. third class). At first the spoon itself was a small one, but in latter years it became one or 1.5 metres long. When the last student on the tripos list received his degree at the graduation ceremony from the Vice Chancellor it was lowered slowly down from the upstairs gallery in the Senate House by students in residence. When the Spoon was received the students would get up to various kinds of mischief. I shall give details later. There are various stories surrounding the Wooden Spoon and I shall introduce two of them.¹¹³

The last time the Wooden Spoon was awarded was in 1909, the year before the tripos list changed from score order to alphabetical order, which took place in 1910. The last recipient was a student called Cuthbert L. Holthouse of St. John's College. Holthouse was a rower, and the handle of the Spoon was part of an oar. On the Spoon was a Greek inscription which, when translated, read as follows: "This wooden object is the last souvenir of the competitive examination in mathematics. Look upon it, and weep."¹¹⁴

One more story is connected with the famous English pottery called Wedgwood. In 1824 the fourth son of the founder of the Wedgwood pottery called Hensleigh Wedgwood (1803-1891) did well in the maths tripos in which he claimed eighth place, but after that he came bottom of the third class in the classical tripos. He then gave the bottom place in the classical tripos the title "Wooden Wedge", the name which was used thereafter.

In 1877 when Kikuchi and his friends took the mathematical tripos the Wooden Spoon was awarded to a student of St. John's College named Frederick Ridley. After graduating he became a schoolmaster and later a headmaster. This strange Cambridge custom was to cause unexpected problems for Kikuchi Dairoku after his return to Japan.

4 The Incident of Meiji 16 (1883) and the British Association for the Advancement of Science (B.A.A.S.)

London University Examinations for Degrees

In January 1877 (Meiji 10) Kikuchi Dairoku received his B.A. degree from Cambridge University and on March 31st left London, returning safely to Tokyo on May 21st.¹¹⁵ Thus did his period of more than six years of study overseas draw to a close. In fact before receiving his Cambridge degree Kikuchi had already received a B.A. degree from London University in 1875. In order to be awarded a degree from London University (B.A. or B.Sc. etc.) it was usually necessary to pass three examinations, as I shall now explain.

First, as already mentioned, Kikuchi won a prize and came third in the entrance examination of June 1873. Then he had to take the first and second exams. As Kikuchi was reading for the B.A. degree these exams were called the first B.A. exam¹¹⁶ (Intermediate Arts) and the second B.A. exam. If he had studied for a B.Sc. they would have been called the first B.Sc.¹¹⁷ (Intermediate Sciences) and second B.Sc. exams.

Kikuchi took the first B.A. exam in July 1874 and the second B.A. exam in October 1875. The contents of the first B.A. exam were mathematics, classics (Latin, the history of Rome, and Greek), English (English language, literature and history) and a foreign language (French or German). The second B.A. exam comprised mechanics and natural sciences, a foreign language (French or German), classics (Latin, the history of Rome, and Greek), moral philosophy and psychology. What complicated matters further was that the students who passed all the subjects in the first exam were allowed to take the first honours examination in each exam subject. For example, one of these was the first honours exam in mathematics.

Kikuchi, MacAlister and Rowe all took the first honours exam in mathematics in 1874. Kikuchi and Rowe had passed the first B.A. exam, whereas MacAlister had passed the first B.Sc. exam. Anyway, all three took the first honours exam in mathematics at the same time. As a result Rowe came top of the first class, MacAlister came second and Kikuchi came top of the third class. This was the first time that Rowe had surpassed his rival MacAlister.

The second exam was also followed, as might be expected, by the second honours exam. It is not clear

whether Kikuchi and MacAlister took this, but Rowe at least took the second mathematics honours exam and came top of the first class. Rowe went on to sit for the Hons. M.A. exam and once again came top, being awarded a degree in physical sciences. Rowe also went further and took the London University exam. Amazingly he came top in almost every examination. Even the great genius MacAlister, who admittedly had focused chiefly on medical subjects, was forced to admit defeat at the hands of Richard Charles Rowe in the London University examination.

Japanese students at London University in the 19th century: Kikuchi and Takagi Yoshihiro

As already described in Chapter One the organisation of London University changed greatly in 1900 (Meiji 33), and the examination system changed also. It was possible to say that the University of London in the 19th century was a purely exam-based institution. Leaving aside the 20th century, in the 19th century there were many Japanese who studied at London University, but to the author's knowledge there were only two who passed the entrance exam: Kikuchi Dairoku and Takagi Yoshihiro (1874-1953). However, the only Japanese person who has been confirmed as graduating from the university in the 19th century was Kikuchi Dairoku.

Takagi Yoshihiro who became Surgeon-General of the Japanese Navy was the eldest son of Takagi Kanehiro (1849-1920), the founder of the *Seikai kōshūjo* which later became the *Tōkyō Jikeikai Ika Daigaku* (Tokyo Charity Society Medical University). Takagi attended King's College School in London, and was permitted to enter London University in January of 1894 (Meiji 27). He graduated from London University's St. Thomas's medical school in 1899 (Meiji 32). It is not clear whether this meant that he acquired a degree from the University of London. As his name has not been found among the list of London University graduates it is impossible to say with certainty whether he graduated from the university in the 19th century. Kikuchi was the only Japanese who clearly did this by passing both the entrance exam and the graduation exam.

Kikuchi aged 22 as a Cambridge graduate returns to Japan in 1877 to become a professor at the newly created Tokyo University

Kikuchi Dairoku left London at the end of March in Meiji 10 (1877), arriving back in Tokyo on May 21st. About one month before Kikuchi returned home the *Tōkyō Kaisei Gakkō* had merged with *Tōkyō Igakkō* (Tokyo Medical School) to create Tokyo University. In Meiji 19 (1886) Tokyo University became the Imperial University (*Teikoku Daigaku*), and in Meiji 30 (1897) Tokyo Imperial University (*Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku*). After the Second World War a new system was created and the name reverted to Tokyo University.

This institution under various names has played a central role in Japanese university education in recent and present times (see Appendix IV).

Less than two weeks after Kikuchi's return to Japan on June 4, 1877 (Meiji 10) he was appointed professor, 4th grade, of Tokyo University's department of science. In August of the same year the '4th grade' title was removed and at the age of 22 he became a full professor of the science department of Tokyo University. At that time there were many foreign professors at the university, and almost all of the classes were held in English. But this was probably no problem at all for Kikuchi after his long period of study in England. Indeed he might have been less confident in Japanese.

In September 1877 Kikuchi joined with Kanda Takahira (1830-1898), Yanagi Narayoshi (1832-1891) and others to found the Tōkyō Sūgaku Kaisha ¹¹⁸ (Tokyo Mathematical Society). This was the start of the Nihon Sūgakkai (The Mathematical Society of Japan) and the Nihon Butsuri Gakkai (The Physical Society of Japan).

I have already mentioned in Chapter One that Kikuchi Dairoku was previously called Mitsukuri Dairoku. The official procedures for the change of name to Kikuchi were completed in 1877. Kikuchi (Mitsukuri) Dairoku was the second son of Mitsukuri Shūhei who was himself the adopted son of Mitsukuri Genpo. In that year Kikuchi Dairoku inherited the Kikuchi name, the family name of his father before adoption. Then in December 1877 Kikuchi Dairoku married the daughter of a *hatamoto* (vassal of the shogun) called Fukuda Tatsu (1863-?). ¹¹⁹ As he was a small man he apparently wanted to marry a larger lady. He had already used the Kikuchi family name during his second period of study in England, before the legal procedures confirmed his change of name. He must have decided to make the change official in his family register as a preliminary step towards marriage.

The Graduation Ceremony of Meiji 16 (1883)

In 1881 (Meiji 14) the administrative system of Tokyo University was established, with a president to oversee the whole organisation and deans of the four faculties: law, science, literature and medicine. Kikuchi was appointed dean of the faculty of science, at the age of 25. In the same year he was awarded the M.A. degree by Cambridge University. In 1883 (Meiji 16) there occurred an incident at Tokyo University which was in a sense indirectly connected with Cambridge University. This was the so-called 'Incident of Meiji 16', a disturbance which happened at the dawn of the university era. The following is a simple explanation of the Incident based on the *Tōkyō Daigaku Hyakunenshi* (Centenary History of Tokyo University). ¹²⁰

Until that time the conferment of degrees (the so-called graduation ceremony) was held in the evenings, with sports being played before the ceremony between the graduands and the undergraduates still enrolled. After the ceremony at night farewell banquets were held. For the students this was a pleasant opportunity to feast on fine food and drink. However, the graduation ceremony of Meiji 16 was held in the morning, which not only deprived the students of the opportunity to enjoy playing sports before the ceremony but also prevented them from enjoying an evening feast after it, as it was still only midday when it ended.

In those days the students lived together in a dormitory. The students in residence held a meeting in the dormitory and resolved to boycott the graduation ceremony. On the day of the ceremony they set off to nearby Nippori for a picnic. There they drank alcohol, played sports, recited Chinese poems and generally were in high spirits. The students returned to the dormitory at about 4 pm where to give vent to their frustrations they committed acts of violence, hitting students whom they had long disliked and destroying the interior of the refectory and shelves in the dormitory and so on. At about 9 pm the police were called as the disturbances reached their peak, but fortunately the police did not enter the university grounds, and by about 10 pm the student riot had naturally died down.

A useful summary of Kikuchi's career is contained in *Sūmitsuin Kōtō Komonkan Rireki*. Usually these documents do not contain anything which is not to the credit of the person whose career is described, but in Kikuchi's case his receiving a reprimand for the Incident of Meiji 16 is recorded in the following words:

He (Kikuchi Dairoku) usually warns students of Tokyo University against laziness and loose living although, abroad, students do sometimes behave badly. It is recognized that his mention of foreign students came from his intention to improve the manners and behaviour of our students. However he was not careful enough in talking about the foreign students and, inadvertently, seems to have encouraged the misconduct of our students as a result. He should receive an official reprimand for his carelessness as Professor and Dean.

Fukuoka Takachika, Minister of Education ¹²¹

Cambridge said to be behind the official reprimand of Kikuchi

I should now like to explain why it was that Kikuchi Dairoku received a reprimand for the disturbances caused by the students. It may be thought that there would be no connection between Kikuchi and the riots, but in fact the link was provided by Cambridge. First, Kikuchi told the students the story of the bottom student in the Cambridge maths tripos receiving a wooden spoon at the conferment ceremony. That was the

origin of the link. The professors of Tokyo University looked for the cause of the student riots of Meiji 16 and could find no clear cause, unless perhaps the students had sought to imitate the high jinks of their Cambridge counterparts.

Kikuchi's pupil the physicist Tanakadate Aikitsu (1858-1952) explained the situation as follows. It is rather long, but as it is interesting it is here quoted in full.¹²² Tanakadate was an advocate of the romanization of the Japanese language and the original text is written in alphabet letters (*rōmaji*), but as this is hard to read I have changed it back to ordinary Japanese script. Yet the author Tanakadate has written that it is not allowed to change the text into other words, so this is in fact against his wishes.

I (Tanakadate) became an assistant of Professor Yamakawa upon graduation. Professor Kikuchi came to our laboratory almost every day, and in the company of the assistants and students told us many interesting stories. The story which has remained strongest in my memory is the one about the Wooden Spoon at Cambridge. This was a prank played by the students at the Cambridge University graduation ceremony, and involved presenting the lowest-ranked graduating student with a spoon made of wood. When this student tried to take the spoon, which was suspended beforehand by a thread from above, the end of the spoon was pulled up suddenly. This made the student look foolish and the other students cheered loudly. If the graduating student tried to escape this teasing, the spoon again appeared unexpectedly in front of his nose, and again it was quickly raised if he tried to seize it. This story was so vividly recounted by Professor Kikuchi, that it was as if it happened before our very eyes. But curiously nobody dreamed that this story would bring ill fortune to the professor in the shape of the notorious riot which occurred on the day of the graduation ceremony of October 27th in Meiji 16.

It is common knowledge that Okuda Yoshito and 145 other students were ordered to be expelled from the university, but it is not so well known that Professor Kikuchi avoided dismissal from his post but nevertheless received a reprimand...

...Discussions went on until late in the evening but it proved impossible to discover the ringleaders and the cause of the disturbances. On the following day a professors' meeting was held, and as a result the professors divided the work of interviewing the students one by one among themselves. They asked each one: 'What was the cause of the disturbance last night? Who was the ringleader? What did you do?' But while the students all admitted brazenly to having pushed fences over, broken several window panes and assaulted certain people, they said there was no particular cause or instigator and they were just driving away their

melancholy feelings, and that there was no reason for there to be an instigator or cause.

Professor Kikuchi was one of the interviewers of the students. One of them said to him: 'I can't think of a precise cause of the trouble, but it might have stemmed from your interesting story of the Wooden Spoon at Cambridge University. It might have suggested to the students here that they can behave as they like during graduation ceremonies.'

Professor Kikuchi reported in writing exactly what the student had said to him. When all the reports were collected it was still impossible to identify a particular cause of the disturbance. That is why the end result was the expulsion of Okuda Yoshito and 145 other students, and a reprimand for Professor Kikuchi for his careless way of talking to the students.

146 Japanese students are punished by expulsion

In Tanakadate Aikitsu's explanation above it is clear from the circumstances why Kikuchi Dairoku was reprimanded. The connection, albeit indirect, with the Cambridge University graduation ceremony and the Wooden Spoon is evident. As Tanakadate writes, the University of Tokyo took the incident very seriously and immediately ordered the expulsion of 145 students (with one more added later) and through the Monbushō prevented them from entering other schools to continue their education.

Apart from Okuda Yoshito, some other students involved in the Incident of Meiji 16 were Hiranuma Kiichirō, Soeda Juichi (see Chapter 4) and Inagaki Manjirō (see Chapter 5). Okuda Yoshito was destined to become Minister of Education. It is probably a coincidence, but he died just two days after Kikuchi Dairoku.

Hiranuma Kiichirō (1867-1952) was later active as a politician and judicial officer. In Shōwa 14 (1939) he formed a cabinet and was appointed prime minister. After the war he was designated a Class A war criminal and died of illness while in prison. Kikuchi Dairoku was born in Edo, but the Kikuchi and Mitsukuri families came originally from Tsuyama in Okayama prefecture, as did Hiranuma. So in a sense they were from the same part of Japan. The link between Soeda Juichi and Inagaki Manjirō is that they both studied later at Cambridge University.

The connection between the Incident of Meiji 16 and studying later at Cambridge is particularly strong in the case of Inagaki. The 146 students who were expelled from Tokyo University in the Incident of Meiji 16 were all permitted to re-enrol at the university six months later, and almost all of them probably did so. Inagaki Manjirō, however, chose never to return to Tokyo University. It was perhaps an irony of fate that he ended up at Cambridge where he was so well regarded, as will be revealed later.

The Montreal Conference of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (B.A.A.S.)

It is thought that Donald MacAlister and Kikuchi Dairoku who were together at St. John's College and graduated from Cambridge in 1877 (Meiji 10) met once again at Montreal in Canada seven years later in 1884. Here I would like to explain how it was that the two men came to be in Montreal, starting with Kikuchi. In Meiji 16 (1883) Kikuchi was appointed a member of the zero meridian and time measurement conference. The conference for the meridian and time measurement was held in 1884 in Washington. Kikuchi attended the conference in Washington and then went on to participate in the Montreal Conference of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (founded in 1831).

Since Donald MacAlister also attended the Montreal conference it may be imagined that he and Kikuchi met at the conference venue. The author has not found any specific mention of a meeting in the writings of either man, but the conference went on for quite a long time, which increases the probability that they did meet. It is probable that Kikuchi took the opportunity provided by the conference to become a correspondent of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The president of the society at that time was Lord Rayleigh (1842-1919). When Kikuchi came to London in 1907 to lecture on Japanese education he met Rayleigh who was then president of the British Academy. He described their meeting thus:

Lord Rayleigh was at that time president of the British Academy. Some years before he had been the top graduate in mathematics at Cambridge and had studied physics, and become a professor at Cambridge in that subject. He made various discoveries, especially that of [the inert gas used in electric lights called] argon, and his writings were outstanding. Now he is one of the world's leading physicists. In a previous year [Meiji 17, 1884] I met him in America at the conference of Great Britain's Society for the Promotion of Science, so today he welcomed me like an old friend. ¹²³

From Kikuchi's statement above we know that he attended the conference of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Montreal, Canada in 1884. Kikuchi states here that the conference was held in America, but of course it was Canada. Kikuchi describes Lord Rayleigh as 'the top graduate in mathematics', which refers to Rayleigh having been Senior Wrangler in 1865. He also won the Smith Prize in that year. Lord Rayleigh was the second director of the Cavendish Research Laboratory at Cambridge. The first director was James Maxwell. In 1904 Rayleigh received the Nobel Prize for Physics. He was Chancellor of the University for eleven years, and Cambridge University's first winner of the Nobel prize.

What happened to MacAlister thereafter

Now I would like to explain how it was that Donald MacAlister came to participate in the Montreal conference of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. To do this I shall first refer to his biography ¹²⁴ for an abbreviated history of his activities immediately after graduating from Cambridge, then I shall explain his connections with the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

MacAlister received a B.A. from Cambridge in 1877, but he had from the beginning intended to pursue a career in medicine, so he continued his studies at the university to obtain a medical degree. MacAlister postponed taking the London University examination in order to prepare for the tripos exam, but as already explained he was awarded a B.Sc. by London University in 1877. In November 1877 MacAlister was elected a fellow of his college, St. John's. He remained a fellow of the college right up until his death.

In December 1881 he was awarded an M.B. (Bachelor of Medicine) by Cambridge and was qualified to be a general practitioner. Before he obtained this qualification he studied briefly in Leipzig, Germany. At that time German medical research was the most advanced in the world, and even though it was only a short time it gave MacAlister the opportunity to study the most advanced research methods. In 1884 MacAlister was awarded the degree of M.D. (Doctor of Medicine) at Cambridge. He was thirty years of age. He worked simultaneously as a fellow, lecturer and medical tutor of St. John's College. The post of college lecturer was established in memory of Thomas Linacre (1460? – 1524) a researcher in classical literature who was also a medical doctor.

MacAlister was also an excellent writer of articles for the *Times*, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and other magazines, and he edited two or three medical journals. He was the editor of the St. John's College magazine called the *Eagle* for nine years. Returning to the topic of the B.A.A.S., MacAlister attended every annual meeting from the Glasgow conference of 1876 up until the 1901 conference.

At the Plymouth conference in 1877 he got to know Alexander Macalister, a professor of anatomy of Dublin University. They were not directly related by blood but they shared the same family name (MacAlister and Macalister) which was from the Scottish Highlands, and so were 'Highland cousins'. Alexander Macalister later became a professor of anatomy at Cambridge, and moved to Cambridge with his family. Donald MacAlister married his daughter Edith in 1895. Such was the connection between Donald MacAlister and the B.A.A.S. When he met Kikuchi at the Association's Montreal conference it was probably after a seven-year interval.

Chapter Four - Other Japanese Students at Cambridge – I

1. Suematsu Kenchō

Suematsu works as a reporter for the *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun* etc.

The first Japanese students at Cambridge were Kikuchi Dairoku and Murakami Keijirō, and Suematsu Kenchō (1855-1920) was the third. He was active in the Meiji period as a politician and man of letters. He is known for his partial translation of *Genji Monogatari* (Tuttle reprint, 2000) which was completed while studying at Cambridge. His work predates the famous translation in six volumes (1925-1932) done by the Cambridge-educated oriental scholar Arthur Waley (1889-1966; undergraduate at King's College, 1907-10. See Carmen Blacker, Ch. 17, *Britain and Japan, 1859-1991: Themes and Personalities*) and those of Edward Seidensticker (1978) and Royall Tyler (2002).

Suematsu Kenchō was born in the former Buzen no kuni, now the Maeda rural district of Yukuhashi city in Fukuoka prefecture, Kyushu on September 30, 1855 (August 20th of the second year of Ansei by the old calendar). He was born in the same year as Kikuchi Dairoku, and died at the age of 65, so he lived for virtually the same period as Kikuchi. After going up to Tokyo he passed the examination and became a government-funded student of the *Tōkyō Shihan Gakkō* (Tokyo Normal School) but left very soon. The principal was Kikuchi's father, Mitsukuri Shūhei.

After that Suematsu worked as a reporter for the *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun* and other newspapers. During this time he received the patronage of Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909), which was to become very useful to him in later life when he became active in the world of officialdom. In Meiji 22 (1889) he married Itō's second daughter Ikuko. It was probably while he was working at the *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun* that Suematsu arranged for Kikuchi Dairoku's brother Mitsukuri Kakichi, two years younger than Kikuchi and later a renowned zoologist, to send a 'Letter from America' where he was studying which was published in the paper.

Kikuchi later wrote in *Mitsukuri Kakichi-kun no Danwa (Part 1)* that "Kakichi wrote and received payment for a Letter from America. That was probably the first ever case of a Japanese amateur overseas correspondent. Apparently Suematsu arranged this."¹²⁵ During the Satsuma Rebellion (J: *Seinan Sensō*) of Meiji 10 (1877) Suematsu was adjutant to Yamagata Aritomo (1838-1922) and his talented and prolific pen served to draft letters in a famously elegant style counselling surrender to the great rebel leader Saigō Takamori (1827-1877).

Suematsu's work at the Japanese Legation in Britain

In the following year Suematsu went to Britain to train to become first secretary in the Japanese Legation, arriving in London on April 1, 1878.¹²⁶ It seems that Suematsu was more interested in foreign travel and the chance to study in Britain than in a serious diplomatic career. To his principal duties were added in his free time the investigation of English and French historical researches. And in a letter addressed to Itō Hirobumi in September 1878 Suematsu wrote of his having been recommended to the post of First Secretary, but that he had refused this and hoped to remain as a trainee.¹²⁷ Originally it was Itō who, empathizing with Suematsu's desire for travel overseas, had arranged for him to work in the Japanese legation in London. Suematsu had expressed his desire thus in a letter to Itō:

In that year [1877], I was engaged in the Kagoshima no Eki [the battle to suppress the Satsuma Rebellion] and even before I returned to Tokyo, your Excellency [Itō] had already arranged a plan for me to study abroad.¹²⁸

Also the following letter dated June 10 of Meiji 12 (1879) addressed to Itō expresses his hope to enter Cambridge in the spring of the following year, 1880: "I am hoping to enter Cambridge University from the next spring and to take a [combined] course of history, law and economics there, wishing to study French and German at the same time."¹²⁹ But Suematsu did not matriculate in the spring of 1880. It was October 1881 when he finally did so. This was three and a half years after his arrival in London, which should probably be regarded as a period of preparation for his study at Cambridge. In Meiji 12 (1879) Suematsu switched from training to be first secretary to third secretary but at his request he was discharged at the end of December 1880. He judged this to be a good time to conclude his training at the legation in order to enter Cambridge.

Suematsu's Letters to Itō Hirobumi

Suematsu Kenchō's motives during his time in England are most easily understood from his letters to Itō. These are contained in *Itō Hirobumi Kankei Monjo* (Letters of Itō Hirobumi) which is very useful. However, in cases where the year when the letter was sent is not written the editor has made guesses, and occasionally these are incorrect.

A typical error is the letter from Suematsu to Itō dated “February 9th” which has been supposed to be written in Meiji 11 (1878). References to “travelling clothes etc.” and the like have caused the editor to believe that it is from the time when Suematsu first went to England. However, a message from Itō’s second daughter is included to the effect that “Ikuko asks me to send her best wishes”, and also from the content of the letter it is clear that the letter dates from the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) when Suematsu was sent to Europe to attempt to influence public sentiment there towards support for Japan. In fact Suematsu left Japan for this mission on February 10th of Meiji 37 (1904), the day when war was declared.

As already noted above, Suematsu did not marry Ikuko until Meiji 22 (1889), which means that this letter cannot be from Meiji 11 (1878). Furthermore, Ikuko was born in the first year of Meiji (1868) which means that in 1878 she was still just a little girl of about ten years of age. Suematsu’s biographer also failed to notice the error, and introduces it as a letter from 1878 when he was about to go to England for the first time to train as first secretary.¹³⁰

The same can be said of the letter from Suematsu to Itō dated “July 12th” which has been placed wrongly in Meiji 15 (1882). This writer believes it to date from Meiji 12 (1879) for the following reason: in the letter is a report of the death of Suematsu’s father (‘Upon receiving the news on my father’s death recently, I have felt regretful for not being a good son when he was alive.’), but his father died on May 10, 1879. In this letter dated July 12th the following is written: “While in London, I do not feel pleasant since the air is dirty and there are a lot of Japanese. I would rather like to go to Cambridge and to study hard there.”¹³¹

This is almost the same content as the above-mentioned letter dated June 10 of Meiji 12 (1879). At any rate it is clear that Suematsu was thinking vaguely of studying at Cambridge around this time.

Another letter from Suematsu to Itō has been incorrectly dated September 1st of Meiji 15 (1882). It was actually written exactly one year earlier.

As you may know, I have had the desire to retreat to Cambridge for some time. I have recently arranged to leave London and to go to Cambridge from the beginning of this coming October with the introduction from Mr. Mitsukuri which I received the other day. I am going to stay in a place where no Japanese live.¹³²

It is clear from this letter dated September 1st that it was decided that Suematsu would enter Cambridge in October of that same year. Again at this time when he was planning to move to Cambridge there were almost no Japanese there. And in fact Suematsu registered as a non-collegiate student at Cambridge in October of Meiji 14 (1881).

The Shadow of Kikuchi Dairoku

Again in this letter it is mentioned that Suematsu's entering Cambridge was through the introduction of Mitsukuri. This author believes that 'Mitsukuri' has two meanings here: of course one is Kikuchi's younger brother Mitsukuri Kakichi, but the other is Kikuchi Dairoku himself. Mitsukuri Kakichi, having completed about eight years of study in the United States, toured Britain and Europe in Meiji 14 (1881) before returning to Japan. On his way home he stayed in Cambridge from May to July of that year and studied zoology under the professor of animal morphology Francis M. Balfour (1851-82).¹³³ Of course Suematsu met Kakichi while he was in England. In the foreword to his Japanese translation of the English poems of Thomas Gray [1716-71, author of *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* (1742-50)] he wrote that he had wanted to visit the church in the place connected with the poems together with his 'friend' Mitsukuri Kakichi, but had been unable to do so.¹³⁴ That year (1881) was the very year in which Kikuchi received his Masters degree (M.A.). And whether attached to a college or merely a non-collegiate student, entering the University required the introduction of a M.A. graduate. Kikuchi Dairoku was the only Japanese with a Cambridge M.A. at the time. So it is most probable that Suematsu through the good offices of Mitsukuri Kakichi prevailed upon Kikuchi to write a letter of introduction for him to be admitted to the University as a non-collegiate student. Also in a letter to Itō Hirobumi dated November 25, 1881 Suematsu wrote: "Since it was my long-cherished hope to study at the University of Cambridge, I have already moved into and resided in this place [Cambridge]."¹³⁵ From this we can conclude that he had already moved to Cambridge at this time.

Conditions of Study

In the same letter Suematsu wrote to Itō the following about conditions of study at Cambridge: "I have been studying Economics and Latin this term. I am going to learn Greek and Mathematics from early next Spring. Of course, since Latin, Greek and Mathematics are only needed for the entrance examination for the university, I am not going to go deeply into those subjects."¹³⁶

In this letter Suematsu says that he is studying Latin, Greek and Arithmetic solely for the university examination, and not in any depth. Of course this was the first preliminary examination, the first obstacle on the way to obtaining a degree, usually called the 'Little-Go' at Cambridge. In Kikuchi's case, he took all the subjects in one sitting two or three months after entering the University, but Suematsu took them in two sittings. The preliminary examination was divided into two parts. In simple terms the first part was composed

of Latin and Greek, and the second part was Mathematics and other subjects. It was possible to take the two parts separately in Suematsu's time.

In a letter dated May 12 of Meiji 15 (1882) to Itō, Suematsu tells of his troubles with Latin and Greek. He confesses that he finds them both difficult, and that he was in despair for a while. But somehow or other he was able to read without comprehending and with the aid of a dictionary was making progress. "As for Greek and Latin which I mentioned the other day, since their texts are very difficult, I almost gave up those subjects at one point. However, these days, I can manage to read them little by little with the aid of dictionaries." ¹³⁷

In June of 1882 Suematsu managed to get through the first part of the Little-Go preliminary examination in Latin and Greek safely by dint of frantic study. The exam results were graded first and second class, and Suematsu achieved a second. As might be expected, Suematsu reported his passing the first part of Little-Go in a letter to Itō dated June 26 as follows: 'As for the examination of the other day, I have passed it successfully'.¹³⁸ He had cleared the first hurdle. In June of Meiji 16 (1883) Suematsu passed the second part of the preliminary examination in Geometry and Algebra etc. and so officially passed the whole examination. He was once again awarded a second class in the second part of the exam.

As the above shows, it took Suematsu about one and a half years to get through the Little-Go. If we compare this with the case of Kikuchi Dairoku, who passed the exam and additional subjects with excellent results just two or three months after entering the University, Suematsu needed rather more time because he had probably never studied Latin or Greek before. And his results were less impressive, being of the second class.

Entering St. John's College

Passing Little-Go was probably one of the conditions of entering St. John's College, which Suematsu achieved in October 1883, being admitted to the college as a pensioner. Suematsu reported his examination success and admission to the college together in the same letter to Itō:

I have fortunately passed the examinations in Geometry, Algebra, etc. which were parts of the Previous Examination [colloquially known as the Little-Go] and were held at the end of this term. I am going to belong to St. John's College from next term. This college [St. John's] is large, and the only rival of Trinity College. Generally speaking, the college does not allow undergraduates who have not been members of any college for more than three terms to enter it.

Since the opening of the college, there has been just one precedent: only one person who was outside college for more than three terms was allowed to join St. John's. I intend to join the college from next term because my application was approved by a meeting of the fellows. I have been acquainted with the tutor [John Sandys] somewhat. I am not sure, but this may have helped me. Please understand my new situation. Although the cost may increase slightly, I cannot achieve the benefits I wish for without belonging to a college and also being a non-collegiate student, my experience cannot be a good topic in the future. I have almost decided to join St. John's College partially for the above reasons. Please understand my decision.¹³⁹

In this letter Suematsu reports his admission to St. John's College in October 1883 to Itō and explains that St. John's is a leading college vying for supremacy with Trinity College ("Tsusonitay" as he calls it). Also it was not usual for students spending three terms or more at Cambridge to enter St. John's College, but in Suematsu's case special permission was granted because he knew a 'guarantor'. This 'guarantor' was Suematsu's tutor John Sandys who was also Kikuchi's tutor. Considering this fact it seems that Kikuchi may have had a hand indirectly in Suematsu entering St. John's.

Or it may be simply that when Suematsu matriculated at the University Kikuchi introduced him to Sandys of St. John's, and through that connection Sandys came to take Suematsu under his wing and so he entered St. John's. It is in any case doubtful whether Suematsu would have entered St. John's had it not been for Kikuchi.

Suematsu had worked hard at his studies while he was a non-collegiate student, but as might be expected he could not derive the maximum benefit from them, and the things which happened subsequently would not have occurred had he not entered the college. On the other hand he reported that his expenses had begun to mount up somewhat after becoming a member of the college.

Loans and Obtaining Degrees

Suematsu became a pensioner of St. John's College, which meant that he had to bear the costs of his overseas study himself. So how did he raise the funds from the time that he ceased working at the Legation and became a non-collegiate student? Suematsu's patron Itō Hirobumi seems to have been concerned about this also, and to have inquired about it in a letter to Suematsu, who replied with a detailed explanation of his circumstances in a letter dated June 16 of Meiji 16 (1883).¹⁴⁰

In this letter he refers to a loan obtained with the help of Mitsui Yōnosuke, also studying overseas, from the

London branch of Mitsui, for which Itō's consent was required. Yōnosuke was Mitsui Takaaki, the second son of Mitsui Takayoshi, head of the Mitsui family. He later became president of Kanegafuchi Bōseki (Spinning) and other companies. In the same June 16 letter Suematsu tells Itō that he has obtained a loan of £300 from Mitsui and is receiving £16 monthly from Maeda Toshitake, also studying at Cambridge:

The Maeda family sends me 16 pounds every month. This money comes from the head of the family of Maeda, namely Maeda Toshitsugu, but not from [his nephew] Maeda Toshitake's own money. They have not promised to continue the remittance until a certain date, however I do not think they may stop it suddenly, because they send me the money as remuneration for looking after Maeda Toshitake while he is in Cambridge. Therefore, I am able to cover the cost of everyday food and clothing. Please be reassured about this matter.¹⁴¹

Suematsu was acting as private tutor to Maeda Toshitake (1864-1890), younger brother of the former head of the family Maeda Yoshiyasu (1830-74), who was studying at Cambridge like Suematsu. The 16 pounds per month income from this is enough to cover his food and clothing, he tells Itō. Maeda Toshitake was a few years younger than the present head of the family Toshitsugu (1858-1900), but he was his uncle. In Meiji 14 (1881) Toshitake started a branch family, and in Meiji 17 (1884) he received the title of baron. As already explained in the previous chapter on Kikuchi Dairoku, in order to graduate from Cambridge with an honours degree it was necessary to pass two university examinations, the preliminary exam and the Tripos. Suematsu had passed the preliminary examination, and only the Tripos remained.

Suematsu sat the Law Tripos exam in May of Meiji 17 (1884) and passed it safely. The successful candidates for the Law Tripos were divided into three classes according to their results, and the order within each class was also published. Suematsu came top of the third class. As a result of passing the Law Tripos, Suematsu was awarded the degree of LL.B [Bachelor of Laws] by Cambridge University in December 1884. In addition to the LL.B Suematsu also received the degrees of LL.M. [Master of Laws] and B.A. [Bachelor of Arts].

Suematsu's degrees

The problem of degrees is very complicated, and there are many misunderstandings with regard to Suematsu's degrees, so I wish to give a detailed explanation here. Apologies are given in advance, as the following may be rather hard to follow!

First, the LL.M. is awarded two or three years after the LL.B., automatically on the payment of a modest registration fee. Suematsu received the LL.M. in Meiji 21 (1888).

The B.A. requires a little explanation. This can be applied for by candidates who have successfully passed the Law Tripos and achieved the LL.B. degree. The two degrees are awarded together. Usually those who pass the tripos examination are awarded an honours B.A., as in the mathematician Kikuchi Dairoku's case. In the case of law, this degree has the special name of LL.B. In other words, what would normally be a B.A. is given the special name of LL.B. in the case of law degrees only, so that students who have acquired the LL.B. can also receive the ordinary B.A. Suematsu was awarded an LL.B., which entitled him to be awarded the ordinary B.A.

But what complicates matters is that undergraduates who narrowly failed the Law Tripos examination were entitled to receive the ordinary B.A., in lieu of an LL.B. In this case the LL.B. is recognised as a higher degree than the B.A. because the LL.B. is an honours degree and this kind of B.A. is an ordinary degree. In short, degrees are divided into two types, honours and ordinary, and if, as in Suematsu's case, one is awarded the honours degree, one can quite easily receive the ordinary B.A. at the same time.

On the other hand, Kikuchi Dairoku's B.A. was of the honours variety. Although both were called B.A., Kikuchi's B.A. was different in substance from Suematsu's. While he was studying at Cambridge Suematsu Kenchō translated *Genji Monogatari* into English and studied literature, which suggests that he may have acquired a degree in literature, but he did not take any examinations in literature, nor did he acquire that kind of B.A. The examination he took was the Law Tripos. At any rate, in spite of it only being a third class, Suematsu Kenchō was awarded an honours degree and safely graduated from Cambridge. With his Cambridge degree as a souvenir, Suematsu returned to Japan where the influence of Itō Hirobumi secured for him an important post in the government.

Suematsu and the Cambridge Union

I have already mentioned that Kikuchi Dairoku gave a speech once only during his time at Cambridge to his college debating society, but Suematsu belonged to the university debating society, the Cambridge Union Society, usually just called 'The Union.' The Union had its own building which contained a dining room and a library, but no lodging rooms. It probably fulfilled the same function as the students' hall (*gakusei kaikan* or *daigaku kaikan*) does in a present-day Japanese university. But as each Cambridge college had similar facilities of its own, they also fulfilled a similar function, in addition to providing lodging rooms.

As Suematsu was at first a non-collegiate student on entering the University in 1881, the Union was probably a convenient facility for him. An investigation of the records of the Union reveals Suematsu's name

here and there as a speaker from October 1882 up until June 1884, in other words for most of his time at Cambridge. The Union was probably one centre of Suematsu's activities as an undergraduate.

After Kikuchi and Suematsu, Maeda Toshitake was the next to graduate from Cambridge. Of course there were other Japanese who matriculated before Maeda, Wadagaki Kenzō (1860-1919) for example. But in Wadagaki's case he had already acquired a B.A. degree in philosophy and economics from Tokyo University's Faculty of Letters, and after that he studied for a relatively short time in England (at King's College, London University and Cambridge) and Germany (at Berlin University). So his study at Cambridge was not for the purpose of obtaining a degree.

Wadagaki also registered as a non-collegiate student for the Lent term (January-March) of 1882. He is probably one of Japan's first economists. He was only briefly at Cambridge, and of course did not graduate. While in England he came under the influence of the Moody movement¹⁴² and was baptized in Cambridge. It is also said that Wadagaki was the first Japanese to translate Shakespeare's plays from the original works. When he was twenty years old, the first Japanese translations appeared. Wadagaki and Suematsu were probably similar types of people.

In a letter to Itō Hirobumi, then in Germany, dated January 8th of Meiji 16 (1883) Suematsu introduces Wadagaki, then in Cambridge and planning to transfer to Berlin University, requesting that Itō meet Wadagaki and give him advice:

Wadagaki has acquired fame as a man of talent at Kaisei Gakkō [Kaisei School, the forerunner of Tokyo University] and has been sent to Britain for further study. I have been in close association with him since then. Moreover, he has been in Cambridge since last spring, I am particularly receiving benefit from him as the companion in similar studies.¹⁴³

Wadagaki who had won a great reputation at the Kaisei Gakkō had come to study in England and so Suematsu had got to know him, but especially after Wadagaki moved to Cambridge in 1882 (Meiji 15) Suematsu was reporting to Itō the benefit of studying at the same university.

2. Maeda Toshitake , Yasuhiro Banchirō, Kuroda Nagashige

Maeda Toshitake

The third Japanese to graduate at Cambridge after Kikuchi and Suematsu was Maeda Toshitake (1864-1890). Maeda registered as a non-collegiate student in October 1882, one year after Suematsu. As already mentioned, Suematsu looked after Maeda, receiving 16 pounds per month from his family for his services. Maeda was almost ten years younger than Suematsu and tended to follow his example. One example is the romanization of his name. Suematsu spelt his family name ‘Suyematsu’ or ‘Suyematz’. Maeda spelt his name ‘Mayeda’. They both spelt the Japanese ‘e’ sound with a y, as ‘ye’. Suematsu told Itō Hirobumi in a letter that Maeda Toshitake was planning to complete his studies at Cambridge around the middle of June 1884 (Meiji 17) ¹⁴⁴ so he must have taken the tripos and other examinations in the Easter term of that year. In fact Maeda took the History tripos in May 1884. The History tripos exam had been separated from the Law tripos in 1874, so it was a comparatively new examination. There were thus many areas in common with the Law tripos.

Unfortunately Maeda did not pass the History tripos, but he was exempted from the general examination for the ordinary degree. So he took a special test from the end of November to the beginning of December 1884, and passed with a second class. The special examination subjects were the modern history part of Law and History. So in December 1884 Maeda graduated from Cambridge with an ordinary B.A. degree, third class. Most unfortunately after graduating and before he had achieved very much he died in April of Meiji 23 (1890) aged 25 years.

Yasuhiro Banichirō and Kuroda Nagashige

The next two Japanese to graduate from Cambridge after Maeda Toshitake were Yasuhiro Banichirō (1859-1951) and Kuroda Nagashige (1867-1939). They both matriculated in Meiji 18 (1885) and graduated with degrees in Meiji 20 (1887). Both of them temporarily had connections with Keio Gijuku university. In fact before Yasuhiro and Kuroda there was one more Japanese student called ‘Manaka Naomichi’ who entered the University in October 1885, but it is not clear what kind of person he was. He probably only stayed for a short time, and of course did not graduate.

Yasuhiro Banichirō took virtually the same courses as Suematsu Kenchō. He was from the same hometown as Suematsu (Yukuhashi city in Fukuoka prefecture) and they were *senpai* and *kōhai* (senior and junior) at the same school of Chinese classics, the *Suisaien* run by Murakami Butsuzan where their exceptional talent was

recognised, Suematsu being called '*kin no tama*' (golden ball) and Yasuhiro '*gin no tama*' (silver ball).¹⁴⁵ Yasuhiro studied at Keio Gijuku, graduated from the Central Institute (*Chūō Shoin*) in Hong Kong and studied Sinology (*Chūgokugaku*) in Peking before entering Cambridge. Probably the main reason for his choosing Cambridge was that his *senpai* Suematsu had studied there.

Yasuhiro registered as a non-collegiate student in the Lent term of 1885 (January-March) and graduated with the same status. Unlike Suematsu he never entered a college. Yasuhiro passed the Law Tripos in May 1887, and in December of that year he received an LL.B. degree and a B.A. as Suematsu had done. His tripos results were second class: strictly speaking he was the lowest man placed in the second class. This was slightly better than Suematsu, who was top of the third class.

Suematsu received a letter from Yasuhiro Banichirō informing him of his tripos results, and passed this on to Itō Hirobumi in a letter dated August 1st of Meiji 20 (1887) in which he told Itō of Yasuhiro's good results in the Law Tripos.¹⁴⁶ Suematsu seems to have tried to recommend his *kōhai* (junior) to Itō. It is not clear whether Suematsu succeeded, but later Yasuhiro became active in the bureaucracy of another great man of the Chōshū faction, Yamagata Aritomo. He became chief cabinet secretary, privy councillor, president of the South Manchurian railway and so on, before passing away at the age of 91 in Shōwa 26 (1951). Whereas Yasuhiro took the same course at Cambridge as Suematsu, Kuroda Nagashige¹⁴⁷ followed the course taken by Maeda Toshitake. Nagashige was no older than seventeen, but his father Kuroda Nagatomo (1838-1902) had already retired in Meiji 11 (1878) so he was at age 11 the head of the Kuroda family, which had formerly been head of the Fukuoka clan.

Kuroda Nagashige was admitted to King's College, Maeda's former college, in January 1885. He matriculated at the University in the Lent term of that year. In May 1887 he took the History tripos as Maeda had done. He did not satisfy the examiners, but was granted exemption from the general examination as Maeda had been. At the end of November that year he took the special examination in Law and History (modern history) and like Maeda passed with a second class, receiving an ordinary B.A. in December and graduating from the University. The difference between Maeda and Kuroda was that the former's early death meant that he could not receive an M.A., while Kuroda received his M.A. in 1891 (Meiji 24).

Inaccurate Newspaper Reporting

Even though Maeda and Kuroda took exactly the same exam and passed with exactly the same result, one Japanese newspaper headline announced "Kuroda Nagashige graduates from Cambridge with top honours". Just reading the headline gives the impression that the prodigy Kikuchi Dairoku has reappeared. The article continues:

Kuroda Nagashige entered the famous Cambridge University in Britain some years ago and has been studying the History Course. He took the graduation examination last winter. There were 14 students who took the same examination for the course and only seven of them could manage to pass the examination. He won the first place among the seven students and graduated with distinction.¹⁴⁸

This newspaper article was written by a Japanese reporter who was ignorant of the situation at Cambridge University. As a result of failing the tripos exam, Kuroda took the special exam for an ordinary degree. He was awarded a second class in this examination, but was top simply because there was nobody with a first class. If anybody should have been reported as having achieved excellent results, it should probably have been Yasuhiro Banichirō who graduated in the same year. Of course Kuroda was younger, and deserves praise for having properly graduated from the University. After returning to Japan, he became a Master of Ceremonies, a member of the House of Peers, Vice-President of the House of Peers, Privy Councillor and so on.

In the same way as Suematsu Kenchō was Maeda Toshitake's private tutor, a very bright man from among the former clan members accompanied Kuroda Nagashige during his time in England. His name was Soeda Juichi. As has already been explained, Soeda left Tokyo University after the Incident of Meiji 16 (1883) but he returned and graduated in the following year from the Tokyo University Faculty of Letters (Law and Economics), becoming an official in the Tax Bureau of the Ministry of Finance.

Soeda Juichi (1864-1929) only worked at the Ministry of Finance for a short time, and obeying the order of the former head of the Kuroda clan (Kuroda Nagashige) went to study at Cambridge. He matriculated at the University in the Lent term (January – March) of 1885 (Meiji 18), the same as Kuroda. As Soeda had already graduated from Tokyo University with a B.A. he did not plan to take a degree at Cambridge. After Cambridge he transferred to Heidelberg University in Germany and returned to Japan in Meiji 20 (1887) and was immediately re-appointed to a post at the Tax Bureau in the Ministry of Finance. Soeda's later career included Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Finance, and first President of the Bank of Taiwan and the Nihon Kōgyō Ginkō [the Industrial Bank of Japan]. He was active as a finance bureaucrat and a banker. His period of study at Cambridge was similar to that of Wadagaki Kenzō, to whom I have already referred.

Chapter Five – Other Japanese Students at Cambridge – II

1. Inagaki Manjirō

Inagaki Manjirō's Early Life

Soeda Juichi (1864-1929) was involved as a student in the Tokyo University Incident of Meiji 16 (1883) mentioned in Chapter 3 above and so was our next subject, Inagaki Manjirō. But whereas almost all of the students who had been punished by expulsion were later readmitted, in the end Inagaki did not return. Like Soeda he went to study at Cambridge in the suite of Matsura Atsushi (1864-1934), the eldest son of the former clan chief Matsura Akira.

First, permission for Matsura Atsushi's trip to Europe was granted in Meiji 18 (1885) and Inagaki was ordered to accompany him. They left Yokohama by ship in November of that year and arrived in London in January 1886.¹⁴⁹ At this time Inagaki was 24 years old, and Matsura was 22.

What kind of a person was this Inagaki Manjirō? His early life is summarised here with reference to *Hirado Shishi* (History of the City of Hirado) and *Kyōdo no Senkakushatachi — Nagasaki Ken Jinbutsu Den* (Local Pioneers: Biographies of Nagasaki prefecture).¹⁵⁰ Inagaki Manjirō (1861-1908) was born on September 26th of the first year of Bunkyū (October 29, 1861 by the Western calendar) as the second son of the Hirado clansman Amano Isae on the small island of Hirado (now Hirado city in Nagasaki prefecture). At the time of the Meiji Restoration in 1868 the Amano family readopted its ancestral name of Inagaki. When Manjirō was three years old his father died of an illness, which caused the family fortunes to dip. Manjirō and his elder brother were adopted and brought up by their uncle Motosawa Gorō. When Manjirō was four he had smallpox, which left pockmarks on his face. In Meiji 6 (1873) hearing that a private school founded in Kagoshima by Saigō Takamori was flourishing he went to study there with his brother, but returned to Nagasaki before the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877.

When prisoners from the Rebellion were escorted to Nagasaki, Inagaki held a post as a warder of Nagasaki prison and looked after them well and was encouraged by Saigō's trusted associates and heroes as a person of merit. Later when he studied at Cambridge he was also much-loved by those around him, so even apart from the story of the encouragement he received from Saigō's war-heroes, he was probably a man who was popular with others. Thereafter Inagaki was entrusted with the great task of escorting the prisoners of the Satsuma Rebellion to Tokyo, for which he received an unexpectedly large sum of money. He decided to put it towards the cost of his own education, entering Nakamura Keiu/Masanao's school, and in Meiji 15 (1882) Tokyo University.

Many Writings

I should also like to say something about Inagaki's career after Cambridge. The year after he graduated, i.e. in Meiji 23 (1890) when he was still staying in Cambridge, he published a book in English entitled *Japan and the Pacific: A Japanese view of the Eastern question*. This book was translated into Japanese and expanded by Inagaki himself, and published in Japan the following year in two parts as *Tōhōsaku*, ["Eastern Policy"] Parts 1 and 2. As will be understood from the fact that the book is dedicated to John Robert Seeley (1834-1895) the Cambridge Professor of Modern History, it is strongly influenced by Seeley who was himself the author of a *History of the Expansion of England*. In the first part of *Tōhōsaku* are included letters of thanks from famous people who received a copy of the English book, and reviews of the book in various British and American newspapers and journals, translated into Japanese.

The important part of Inagaki's *Tōhōsaku* is the first one, in which the future relations of Japan and other countries in the Pacific region are discussed. This part of the book was ahead of its time, as nowadays the importance of the Pacific Rim is so greatly emphasised. The second part of the book may have been more useful to Japanese readers increasingly conscious of the clear threat of Russia, as it discussed Eastern European questions such as the Balkans which were not new issues for European and American readers.

In addition to *Tōhōsaku*, Inagaki wrote the following books: *Shiberia Tetsudōron* [Siberian Railways] (Meiji 24 [1891]); *Taigaisaku* [Foreign Policy] (Meiji 24); *Shōkōgyō Taigaisaku* [Foreign Policy in Commerce and Industry] (Meiji 25 [1892]); *Kyōiku no Ōmoto* [Great Fount of Education] (Meiji 25); *Tōhōsaku Ketsuron Sōan Jō* [Part 1, Conclusions on Eastern Policy] (Meiji 25); *Nanyō Chōseidan* [Long March in the South Seas] (Meiji 26 [1893]); *Gaikō to Gaisei* [Diplomacy and Military Expansion] (Meiji 29 [1896]).

In Meiji 30 (1897) Inagaki became Japan's first minister to Thailand (then called Siam) and in February of Meiji 40 (1907) he was appointed minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Spain but sadly he died there in the following year on November 25, 1908 at the young age of 47.

Matsura Atsushi and Inagaki Manjirō at Cambridge

Let us now return to Matsura Atsushi and Inagaki Manjirō at Cambridge. Inagaki registered as a non-collegiate student in the Michaelmas term of Meiji 19 (October-December 1886). Thereafter in January 1888 (Meiji 21) he was admitted to Gonville and Caius College (usually just referred to as Caius, pronounced "Keys") as a pensioner. He passed the Little-Go preliminary examination in an irregular fashion apparently

because, as will be explained later, it became possible to take an exam in English instead of Greek. He first took the second part of the exam in mathematics and related subjects, leaving the classical languages section until later. In 1889 (Meiji 22) Inagaki sat for the History Tripos, and unfortunately failed it narrowly. He was awarded an ordinary B.A. degree in December of that year. As he was exempt from the general and special examinations his tripos results were probably better than those of Maeda Toshitake, Kuroda Nagashige and others.

Matsura Atsushi was admitted to Trinity College as a pensioner in October 1890 (Meiji 23) and at the same time was enrolled at the University. The Trinity College list states that before entering the college he was the pupil of James Abbott, who seems to have been Matsura's personal tutor. Probably Matsura was entered for Trinity because James Abbott himself was a Trinity man

As for why Matsura chose Cambridge in the first place, the example of Maeda Toshitake who graduated from Cambridge in 1884 (Meiji 17) was probably uppermost in his mind, because Matsura's elder sister Nobuko was married to Maeda Toshitsugu, though they divorced in Meiji 15. Maeda Toshitake was for practical purposes the younger brother of Toshitsugu who was the head of the Maeda family (though in fact Toshitake was Toshitsugu's uncle, even though he was younger). At any rate Toshitake must have seemed quite close to Matsura.

Matsura Atsushi stayed in England until 1893 (Meiji 26) but he did not graduate from Cambridge. At that time it was certainly not unusual for students not to obtain a degree as in his case. He became a member of the House of Peers (*Kizokuin*) and later president of the *Sokōkai*, a society named after the Confucianist and military strategist Yamaga Sokō (1622-85) and *Kyūbakai* (the Archery and Horsemanship Society).

Before being admitted to Caius College, Inagaki spent four terms as a non-collegiate student. When he officially entered Caius, the guarantor of his good character was Donald MacAlister. The college tutors were E. S. Roberts and J. S. Reid and eventually they became Inagaki's tutors.

In addition Inagaki had a private tutor or 'coach.' He was George E. Green of St. John's College. He proof-read Inagaki's *Japan and the Pacific*. He also taught at the Leys School founded in Cambridge. The Leys School had many deep associations with the Japanese students, of which more will be said later.

Donald MacAlister reappears – His Profound Relations with the Japanese

It is hard to establish exactly how Inagaki Manjirō and Donald MacAlister (1854-1934) first got to know each other, but from 1887 to 1888 MacAlister had profound relations with the Japanese students in the following three ways, of which Inagaki was involved in at least two. Before explaining what those three ways were I should like to give a simple explanation of MacAlister's status at Cambridge. He was a fellow and

lecturer of St. John's College. Later he was appointed a college tutor, but at this time he was not yet one.

MacAlister studied medicine, and was a doctor of internal medicine at the Cambridge University hospital, called Addenbrooke's. He also acted on behalf of the authorized medical professor George Paget. His interest in social problems manifested itself in his keen support for Toynbee Hall, a settlement supported by university volunteers and located among the slums of London.

At the time MacAlister was still a bachelor, active as a young representative of liberal circles within the University, and probably engaged in various spheres of university life. One of these spheres was certainly his connections with Japan.

Well, the three points of contact between MacAlister and the Japanese were as follows:

- (1) the question of whether Japanese students would be allowed to take classical Chinese in lieu of Greek as a subject in the Little-Go preliminary examination.
- (2) the presentation of an honorary law doctorate (Hon. LL.D.) to the former Vice-President of Tokyo University Hamao Arata, who at the time was in Europe to study education systems and also investigating European works of art in his capacity as head of the Committee to Investigate Art.
- (3) his support for the Japanese Club at Cambridge.

The wish of the Japanese students to take classical Chinese instead of Greek in the preliminary examination was probably first expressed by Inagaki Manjirō initially to Donald MacAlister, and may have been the reason why they became acquainted. This was probably in the Michaelmas term (October-December) of 1886 (Meiji 19) or the Lent term (January-March) of 1887. The reason for this supposition is that Inagaki matriculated in October 1886 and MacAlister submitted a motion to the University Council [called the Council of the Senate] on March 7, 1887 (Meiji 20) [see Appendix II].

A difficult problem for the Japanese

It is not clear why Inagaki chose MacAlister as the person to consult on this issue, but perhaps Kikuchi Dairoku wrote a letter introducing him to MacAlister. At any rate MacAlister said the following in front of the Japanese students when addressing the Japanese Club in December 1890. "As it so happens I have other Japanese friends resident in Japan, among them Professor Kikuchi [Dairoku] who was nineteenth wrangler in my year, and so I often get letters from Japan." ¹⁵¹

From this we know that MacAlister and Kikuchi exchanged letters. It is not clear whether Inagaki and Kikuchi became acquainted during Inagaki's brief period of study at Tokyo University (1882-83). Before leaving for England, however, Inagaki accompanied by Matsura probably went to meet Kikuchi in Tokyo, as he (Inagaki) knew that Matsura might study at Cambridge. And Kikuchi may well have mentioned that there was a former classmate of his at Cambridge called MacAlister who might be consulted about any problems. At any rate, it is certain that Kikuchi was the person who introduced Inagaki and MacAlister.

So why did the Japanese students dare to say that they wanted to take classical Chinese in lieu of Greek in the preliminary examination? First it must be said that the problem of what to do about the preliminary examination which included Latin and Greek had a long history of controversy which in itself would fill the pages of a substantial book. Here because the number of pages is limited, I shall limit my remarks to the area which concerned the Japanese students.

As we have seen in the case of Suematsu Kenchō, Latin and Greek were the greatest obstacles put before the Japanese students. Of course there were one or two people like Kikuchi Dairoku who sailed through the examination with superb results, but these were the exception rather than the rule.

In 1878 the Board of Oriental Studies (forerunner of the present Faculty of Oriental Studies) proposed that Indian students might take the preliminary examination in Sanskrit or Arabic rather than Latin or Greek.¹⁵² Later in June 1886 the Board of Oriental Studies proposed an addition to the rule that students who enjoyed the privilege of taking the exam in Sanskrit or Arabic rather than Latin or Greek would be required to study those languages before coming to Cambridge, and when they had resided for three terms at Cambridge they would lose that privilege.¹⁵³ In other words preparatory study of Oriental languages (Sanskrit and Arabic) should be completed before coming to the University.

It was when they read the above report that the Japanese students realised for the first time that Indian students were allowed to take classical Oriental languages instead of Latin or Greek. It was later in this same year, October 1886 (Meiji 19) when Inagaki entered the University, so it may be imagined that it was Inagaki who first consulted with MacAlister on the issue of Japanese students taking the test in classical Chinese rather than Greek. Inagaki was interested in Confucianism and was very proficient in classical Chinese. But classical Chinese posed a problem different to the case of Sanskrit and Arabic. Who at Cambridge was capable of setting examination papers for students in classical Chinese? At that time there were specialists in Sanskrit and Arabic on the Board of Oriental Studies, but nobody who specialised in Chinese.

In 1888 Thomas Wade (1818-1895) was appointed the university's first Professor of Chinese. He was the author of a system of romanization of the sounds of Chinese ideographs known as the Wade system. Cambridge was the third university in Britain to establish a chair in Chinese. In 1886-87 Wade was not yet appointed professor of Chinese, but in 1888 the former diplomat donated his collection of Chinese books to

the University (the so-called Wade collection) and came to the university along with his books.

In fact Wade donated his books because he wanted the honour of being a Cambridge professor. In return the University established the chair in Chinese for him. It may also have been the case that the demand from the Japanese students for a classical Chinese examination was one of the stimuli for Wade coming to Cambridge. In fact Inagaki seems to have known Wade quite well, as he addressed the first meeting of the Japanese Club of which Inagaki was the central personality and founder.

Exemption of Japanese and Indian students from Greek

With regard to the question of a substitute for Greek, the Cambridge University Council (usually called the Council of the Senate) issued the following proclamation on June 13, 1887 (Meiji 20).¹⁵⁴

First, regarding the demand of the Japanese students that they should be allowed to take the preliminary examination in Chinese rather than Greek, it was difficult to set an examination in Chinese. And furthermore with regard to the Indian students being allowed to take an examination in Sanskrit or Arabic rather than Greek (the original cause of the Japanese demand), this dispensation was not working well and would be abolished from this time on.

The proclamation continued that for both Japanese and Indian students, knowledge of English was more important than any of Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic or Chinese. So from that time henceforth both Japanese and Indians (described under the umbrella term ‘Natives of Asia’) would be allowed to take the preliminary examination in English rather than Greek. From an examination of the process which led to the above proclamation in the minutes of the Council of the Senate¹⁵⁵ it is clear that the person who campaigned vigorously for the removal of the burden of Greek from the Japanese students was none other than Donald MacAlister.

At the Council meeting held on March 7, 1887 (Meiji 20) MacAlister first introduced a motion that Japanese students be examined in English instead of Greek, supported by Trotter. This was followed by an amendment proposed by Edwin Hill, seconded by Professor Michael Foster, that MacAlister’s proposal should not be limited to Japanese only, but also apply to Indian students.

Coutts Trotter (1837-1887) had been Murakami Keijirō’s tutor when he had entered Trinity College in Meiji 10 (1877). Hill was a fellow of St. John’s College and a lecturer. Trotter and Hill were probably both friends of MacAlister. Trotter was a lecturer in Natural Sciences at Trinity College, but his lectures were open to anyone in the University who paid the lecture fees, and his lectures were important to any undergraduate taking the Tripos exam in Natural Sciences.¹⁵⁶ Similarly MacAlister was a lecturer in Medicine at St. John’s College, so they held the same kind of post: they both were engaged in promoting a shift in Cambridge

education and research from being college-based to university-based, in university faculties and research institutes.

Inagaki Manjirō himself writes of the exemption from Greek:

While I was at Cambridge, I submitted a petition to the Vice-Chancellor, mentioning that since Japanese students needed knowledge of English rather than Greek, they should be exempted from the Greek examination. Following the resolution of the ‘*genrōkai*’, it became no longer a requirement that Japanese had to learn Greek. ¹⁵⁷

The Vice-Chancellor referred to here is the Master of Pembroke, C. E. Searle of which more will be said later, and the ‘*genrōkai*’ (lit. Council of Elders) is the Council of the Senate.

Classical Chinese

In this way the Japanese students obtained an exemption from Greek in the preliminary examination, but Latin still remained. I would like to give a simple explanation here of the question of replacing Latin with classical Chinese, and what happened after that. First it was decided in June 1903 that a Tripos exam in Chinese would be introduced from 1906. ¹⁵⁸ Thus for the first time it became possible to graduate from Cambridge with a degree in Chinese. However, the first Chinese professor Thomas Wade had already passed away in 1895. The second one, Herbert Giles (1845-1935), was appointed in 1897.

In 1905 (Meiji 38) Sir Ernest Satow, British minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to China sent a request from Peking that Cambridge University might consider whether Chinese and Japanese students should be permitted to take classical Chinese in place of Latin and Greek in the preliminary examination. ¹⁵⁹ As the Japanese and other Asian students had already been allowed to take English instead of Greek, this amounted in concrete terms to a request that (classical) Chinese be substituted for Latin.

Satow was concerned that if the requirement for Latin and Greek at British universities be insisted on indefinitely, Chinese and Japanese students would choose universities in mainland Europe, and Britain would lose out as a result. At the same time another very influential Englishman, Lord Cromer, was pressing the same claim on behalf of Egyptian students. (See the *Report of the Special Board for Oriental Studies* dated January 30, 1906 which was published in the February 6, 1906 issue of the Cambridge University Reporter – in Appendix II below.)

Responding to this request, Cambridge University decided to allow Oriental students to take English and one classical Oriental language (to be chosen from Arabic, Chinese and Sanskrit) instead of Greek and Latin. This policy was officially adopted by the Council of the Senate on June 16, 1906 (Meiji 39).¹⁶⁰

Professor Giles was appointed the first examiner in Chinese, and the first examination was held in 1906. It comprised the Four Chinese Classics (Japanese: *shisho*) of Confucius: the Analects (*rongo*), Great Learning (*daigaku*), Doctrine of the Mean (*chūyō*) and the Discourses of Mencius (*mōshi*). Five undergraduates took the examination and they all satisfied the examiner in Chinese, though two of them failed the English part of the examination. Strangely there were no Japanese among the five successful candidates.

The first Japanese to take the preliminary examination in Chinese was Kuroda Nagatoshi in the following year. He passed the Chinese test safely. He was the younger brother of Kuroda Nagashige who had graduated from Cambridge in 1887 (Meiji 20). Unfortunately Nagatoshi did not graduate. In any event from 1906 (Meiji 39) onwards Japanese students were able to take the preliminary exams in English and Chinese, and were not required to struggle with Latin and Greek.

Hamao Arata is awarded an Honorary LL.D. (Doctor of Laws)

Next I would like to explain in detail about the second point of involvement between MacAlister and the Japanese mentioned above, namely the award of an honorary law doctorate to Hamao Arata. He seems to be the first ever Japanese to have received an honorary doctorate from any British university, let alone Cambridge. Using the minutes of the Council of the Senate I intend to show who it was who recommended him for the honour.

According to the minutes of May 30, 1887 (Meiji 20) it was MacAlister who proposed a motion, seconded by Trotter, that Hamao be awarded an LL.D., which was carried.¹⁶¹ Once again we see MacAlister and Trotter working in tandem to submit a motion. In this motion Hamao is described as head of the Ministry of Education committee to investigate Art and Vice-President of Tokyo University. It seems quite inconceivable that MacAlister would have had a thorough personal knowledge of Hamao's situation, which means that some Japanese person must have recommended Hamao Arata to MacAlister.

Who might that have been? The possibilities are Kikuchi Dairoku, Inagaki Manjirō or another Japanese student. Considering MacAlister's close connections with Kikuchi, the possibility that it was he seems the most likely one. Of course an important consideration when awarding an honorary doctorate is whether the recipient can attend Cambridge in person to receive the award. When the recipient is from a far-away country the person chosen tends to be somebody who is attending an international conference or who is travelling for business or official reasons in Europe. Hamao certainly satisfied these conditions.

Hamao Arata (1849-1925) was from the Toyooka clan in the former Tajima region in the North part of what is now Hyogo prefecture. In Meiji 5 (1872) he was appointed to the Ministry of Education (*Monbushō*) and became the superintendent of the South School building (*Nankō Shachu Kanji*). Later he was acting president of the Tokyo Kaisei Gakkō (Kojien: *Kaiseisho*) and Vice-President. In Meiji 10 (1877) when Tokyo University was founded he was appointed Vice-President of the three faculties of Law, Science and Letters. At that time the President was another man from the Tajima region, Katō Hiroyuki (1836-1916) of the Izushi clan. At Tokyo University Hamao was the direct superior of Kikuchi Dairoku.

After his various important posts at the Ministry of Education, in Meiji 26 (1893) Hamao was appointed President of the Imperial University at Tokyo. He was briefly Minister of Education (*Monbudaijin*) from November of Meiji 30 (1897) to January of the following year. At that time Kikuchi Dairoku was Vice-Minister of Education. Thereafter from Meiji 38 (1905) to the first year of Emperor Taishō's reign (1912) Hamao was President of Tokyo Imperial University and contributed to its development.

When Kikuchi was appointed President of the Kyoto Imperial University in Meiji 41 (1908) he and Hamao concurrently occupied the chairs of the great Imperial universities of East and West Japan. Hamao had not himself received a proper university education, so his honorary law doctorate from Cambridge seems to have been his only degree.

In 1887 (Meiji 20) at the same time as Hamao Arata received his honorary doctorate the other recipients were: R. Hanson, Mayor of the City of London; W.C. Windeyer the former Vice-President of Sydney University; W.W. Hunter the former Vice-President of Calcutta University; D.A. Smith who built the Canadian Pacific Railway; and Asa Gray (1810-88) a professor of Harvard University. Hamao received his award alongside these grand personages. The last of these, Professor Gray, was the botany teacher at Cornell University in the U.S.A. of the botanist Yatabe Ryōkichi (1851-99) who later was a professor of Tokyo University and curator of Tokyo Museum.

Of the six recipients of the honour, it is probable that at least two, Hamao Arata and D.A. Smith, were recommended by MacAlister, who had met Smith in Canada and become his close friend.

An English translation by Inaba Masanao of an article written by one N. Seki appeared in the *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun* newspaper and described the ceremony at which Hamao received his award. It was published in the *Eagle*, the St. John's College magazine edited by MacAlister.

2. The Japanese Club at Cambridge

The Third Point of Contact

The third point of contact between MacAlister and the Japanese was the Japanese Club at Cambridge. This club was also called the Japanese Club, the Japanese Morality Club and so on. The latter name was probably of Inagaki Manjirō's choosing. He was a man who revered Confucianism, so he probably used words like 'morality'.

The most useful documents for information on the Japanese Club at Cambridge are the small English booklets with the same name. To the author's knowledge, in total there are five booklets. They constitute a record of the meetings of the Japanese Club at Cambridge from the first one in November 1888 (Meiji 21) to the eleventh in March 1893 (Meiji 26).

In fact the Japanese Club seems to have held fifteen meetings in all up until 1895 (Meiji 28). The main reason why it ceased to exist was the decrease in numbers of Japanese students. In addition the Japan Society was founded in London in 1892 (Meiji 25), and MacAlister and others who had connections with the Japanese Club at Cambridge joined the Japan Society, which reduced the significance of the club. The objects of the Club were to investigate the training and character of the English gentleman. The usual pattern for meetings was: first lunch was served, then an eminent person connected with the University would read a paper in line with the objects of the Club.

The founder and driving force of the Japanese Club at Cambridge was Inagaki Manjirō, who was already a key person among the Japanese students at the university. But in Inagaki's feudal lord Matura Atsushi's biography it is stated that "The Count [Matura Atsushi] set up the Japanese Club at the University of Cambridge, consulting with Inagaki."¹⁶² So Matura may have helped Inagaki to found the club.

The fifth meeting in December 1890 was in substance Inagaki Manjirō's farewell, and thereafter he was separated from the Club. In comparison Matura attended all the meetings from the first to the eleventh in March 1893, so he may be regarded as a central figure for the club's existence along with Inagaki. Matura Atsushi was at Cambridge for a long time, and not only Inagaki who accompanied him there but also his younger brother Inaba Masanao among others studied there, so in a sense he might have been the 'boss' or doyen of the Japanese students. In particular after Inagaki left he became the leading light of the Japanese Club.

Club Members at the Time of Foundation

The first meeting of the Japanese Club was in November 1888 (Meiji 21), which makes this the probable point in time when the Club was founded. The first executive officers (with the titles of their offices as printed in the Club's booklet) are as follows: the President was Kawase Masataka, the Japanese Minister to Britain. The Vice-Presidents were: Okabe Nagamoto, the diplomat and formerly Councillor of the Japanese Legation in London; Yoshida Jirō, Japanese Consul-General in London; and Sonoda Kōkichi, Vice-President of the Bank of Japan and formerly Japanese Consul in London. Donald MacAlister was an Honorary Vice-President. The members were Hachisuka Masaaki, Hirosawa Kinjirō, Inaba Masanao, Inagaki Manjirō, Kawamura Tetsutarō, Matura Atsushi and Soejima Michimasa. Of these, at the time when the Club was founded, only Inaba Masanao and Inagaki Manjirō were Cambridge undergraduates.

Inaba Masanao entered St. John's College in 1887 (Meiji 20). His tutor was Edwin Hill. In 1892 he graduated from Cambridge with an ordinary B.A. After returning to Japan, Inaba became a chamberlain of the Crown Prince, a Master of Ceremonies and so on. He was the true younger brother of Matura Atsushi. By the way, a short time before the first meeting of the Club in November 1888, another Japanese entered Trinity Hall (a separate college to Trinity College) on September 28th and matriculated at the University in the Michaelmas term (October - December).

He was Mutsu Hirokichi (1869-1942) who has already been referred to at the start of this book in the *Times* article titled 'Japan and English Universities', the eldest son of Mutsu Munemitsu (1844-1897), the *genrō* (elder statesman) and diplomat. Hirokichi also had a diplomatic career in the Foreign Office as consul in San Francisco, special ambassador to Britain and minister plenipotentiary to Belgium.¹⁶³ It was Mutsu Hirokichi who as special ambassador to Britain was responsible for organizing Kikuchi Dairoku's lecture on Japanese education at London University in 1907.

Mutsu Hirokichi's name is not contained in the booklet of the Japanese Club, so maybe he did not become a member. Even if he was a member for a short time, in October 1890 he gave up the idea of taking a degree at Cambridge and began to attend the Inner Temple law school in London with the object of becoming a qualified barrister.¹⁶⁴ This may be why his name does not appear as a member of the Japanese Club at Cambridge. Furthermore in 1890 Mutsu changed his status from member of Trinity Hall to non-collegiate student. He passed the Inner Temple exams and qualified as a barrister on November 17, 1893 (Meiji 26).

Hachisuka Masaaki

Returning to the subject of members of the Japanese Club at Cambridge, I have already discussed Inagaki Manjirō, Matura Atsushi and Inaba Masanao, so now I would like to write about Hachisuka Masaaki. At the time when the Japanese Club at Cambridge was founded, both Hachisuka and Matura were resident in Cambridge but neither of them had matriculated. They both entered Trinity College in October 1890 (Meiji 23). After passing the preliminary examination, Hachisuka Masaaki took a special examination for an ordinary degree in Mathematics and graduated with an ordinary B.A. in 1895 (Meiji 28).

According to Henry John Edwards ¹⁶⁵ who was his mentor at Trinity College, Hachisuka took and failed either the preliminary or the general examination several times and finally came to Edwards to consult him. Edwards guided him in a fatherly way and the results of their joint efforts succeeded not only in satisfying the examiners and allowing Hachisuka to graduate, but also ‘laid the foundation of a friendship’, as Edwards puts it. Although Edwards was Hachisuka’s teacher they were of almost the same age, so it is not strange that their efforts together should have led to friendship.

At the time when the Japanese Club was founded, Hirosawa Kinjirō (1871-1928), Kawamura Tetsutarō (1870-1945) and Soejima Michimasa (1871-1948) were pupils at the Leys School, a public school in Cambridge, of which more later. After that Hirosawa and Soejima (but not Kawamura) proceeded to Cambridge. Hirosawa Kinjirō was admitted to Gonville and Caius College (usually called just Caius, pronounced “Keys”) in October 1890 (Meiji 23). Soejima was admitted to St. John’s College one year later in October 1891. Hirosawa took the Law Tripos exams and graduated with an LL.B. honours degree in 1893. On the other hand Soejima took the History Tripos in 1894 (Meiji 27) but did not pass and so graduated instead with an ordinary B.A. Hirosawa’s case is the same as that of Suematsu, Soejima’s the same as that of Inagaki. Hirosawa later became a member of the House of Peers (*Kizokuin*), Secretary to the Prime Minister and minister plenipotentiary in Spain. He was also active in the commercial world as a director of the Tōbu Railway, as a director of the Japan Steelworks which received investment from the British firms of Armstrong and Vickers and so on. Not only Hirosawa but also other Cambridge graduates had connections with the Japan Steelworks, in particular Mōri Gorō and Soejima Michimasa. ¹⁶⁶

Soejima became chamberlain to the Crown Prince and held various other posts, including that of teacher at *Gakushūin*, the Peers’ School. Later he was appointed president of Keijō Nippōsha in Seoul and became an advocate of self-government for Korea. ¹⁶⁷ Soejima was also connected with sports: he was appointed a member of the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) and succeeded in inviting the 12th Olympics to Tokyo. Unfortunately the plan to hold the 12th Olympics in Tokyo was cancelled because the Second World War intervened.

“Mr. Inagaki, we shall really all miss you”

The special feature of the Japanese Club at Cambridge was that, apart from Inagaki, almost all the members were sons of the nobility. In other words they were sons of former *daimyō* (feudal lords) or of men who had performed distinguished services during the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Later would be added the sons of industrialists who had suddenly risen to power. In either case, many of the Japanese students at Cambridge were the sons of well-to-do families.

Hachisuka Masaaki was the heir of Hachisuka Mochiaki, the former head of the Tokushima clan. Matsura Atsushi was the heir of Matsura Akira, former head of the Hirado clan. Inaba Masanao was the younger brother of Matsura Atsushi and the heir of Inaba Masakuni who was a *rōjū* (senior councillor) and a *Kyoto shoshidai* (senior official based in Kyoto) during the period at the end of the Tokugawa shogunate (*Bakumatsu*, 1853-67).

Hirosawa Kinjirō was the third son of Hirosawa Saneomi (1833-1871) the councillor (*sangi* ¹⁶⁸) from Chōshū who was assassinated early in the Meiji period. Kawamura Tetsutarō was the heir of Kawamura Sumiyoshi (1836-1904), the leader in the creation of the navy. Soejima Michimasa was the heir of Soejima Taneomi of Saga (1828-1905), the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the early Meiji period. Subsequent changes to the Japanese Club were as follows: the President changed from Kawase Masataka to Aoki Shūzō when the latter took over as Minister to Britain, and Rev. Dr. C. E. Searle, the Master of Pembroke College and in 1889 the Vice-Chancellor of the University, was added to the list of Honorary Vice-Presidents. It was a great honour for the club to be associated with such an influential person. It was another one of Inagaki's achievements to introduce Searle to the Club. This came about because Inagaki went to consult with him on the matter of exemption from the preliminary examination in Greek, and they probably became close friends at that time. Inagaki was on good terms not only with Searle, but also his wife and children. When the time came for Inagaki to leave Cambridge, Searle expressed his deep emotions as follows:

I tell you without affectation, Mr. Inagaki, we shall really all miss you. I think the children will miss you most, and children are not bad judges of men. You know my children always run to you when they see you, and they would as soon have you take them by the hand as anybody in Cambridge. You must have developed that character I have been speaking about, that affability, kindness, and courtesy, in a very high degree so as to have won their hearts, and Mrs. Searle's, and mine. ¹⁶⁹

As is clear from Searle's words, Inagaki made a great contribution to the success of the Japanese Club.

Also the cooperation of such supporters within the University as Searle and MacAlister must have enlivened meetings considerably. It would be possible at this point to list all the speakers and participants at the Club, but the number of people is very large and it would become complicated, so here I shall give a brief summary only.

First there are the many connections with MacAlister and his college, St. John's. Next there are those connected with Inagaki's college, Caius, and the connections with Christians in the University, which probably came about through Searle's contacts, and those of the Master of Trinity College Henry Montagu Butler and the masters of other colleges. In addition there was Thomas Wade the Chinese professor, John Seeley the professor of Modern History, F. W. Maitland the professor of the Laws of England, W. F. Moulton the headmaster of the Leys School and so on. At any rate there were some first-class men associated with the Japanese Club at Cambridge.

Later Members

Five new members joined the Japanese Club after that: Mōri Gorō (1871-1925), Tanaka Ginnosuke (1873-1933), Nabeshima Naomitsu (1872-1943), Date Kikujūrō (Kunimune) (1870-1923) and Noda (Kiyotane).

Mōri Gorō was the fifth son of the former head of the Chōshū clan Mōri Motonori (1839-96). After almost three years of study at "University School" in the Southern English town of Hastings he was admitted to Gonville & Caius College in 1892 (Meiji 25). He graduated in 1895 (Meiji 28) with an ordinary B.A. after taking the examination in Politics and Economics. He became a director of the 110th Bank among other posts before becoming a member of the House of Peers (*Kizokuin*). The funds for Mōri Gorō's education in England were raised with the support of the influential Chōshū man Inoue Kaoru (1835-1915), to whom Mōri sent letters from London where he stayed before Cambridge addressed to "Uncle Count Inouye", both as senior and junior to his parents, ¹⁷⁰ on the subject of rent and his studies.

Another Chōshū clan member Kawase Masataka, then Japanese Minister to Britain and President of the Japanese Club at Cambridge, reported on Mōri Gorō and other students at Cambridge to Inoue Kaoru. The following is quoted from *Inoue Kaoru Kankei Monjo* (Documents concerning Inoue Kaoru) kept at the *kenseishiryōshitsu* (Constitutional Documents room) at the National Diet Library in Tokyo:

[Mōri Gorō] hopes to join a college in Cambridge where mainly aristocrats study. This college [Trinity College] is slightly lenient compared to other colleges concerning admissions and other matters. However, since the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge resides at this college

and it is more famous in every aspect, I [Kawase Masataka] think that he [Mōri Gorō] can receive a considerable advantage from studying at this college. But, as regards the cost, it requires a fairly large increase of costs, compared with other colleges. Currently the first son [Matsura Atsushi] of Mr. Matsura Akira is studying at the college and it is said that he receives 500 pounds a year. I [Kawase Masataka] think that it requires a lot of expenses self-evidently, since he [Mōri Gorō] cannot minimize his costs so much. ¹⁷¹

Some parts of the letter copy are unclear, and there may be parts where the author of the letter made errors (e.g. in writing Cambridge as 乾交 rather than 劍交, both read as ‘kenkō’) but above is more or less what he wrote. In this letter it is clear that Mōri Gorō was hoping to be admitted to Trinity College as Matsura Atsushi was there at the time. It is also stated that Trinity was the college for the sons of the English nobility, and the Master Rev. Henry M. Butler was Vice-Chancellor of the University. But as was seen in the case of Matsura, the (board and lodging) fees at Trinity College were high. So in the end Mōri did not opt for Trinity but for Caius College, where Inagaki had been previously admitted.

In the same letter Kawase told Inoue that Hirosawa Kinjirō had been earning good reports at the Leys School, which he describes as ‘a high school attached to the University’ (*daigaku fuzoku gakkō*) in a way familiar to Japanese custom:

In Cambridge, a lot of Japanese boys are studying at both the principal school [the University] and at an attached school [the Leys School]. Every one does well at school. Particularly, Hirosawa, who has won the best reputation and has had a close friendship with the esteemed Gorō [Mōri Gorō] and these two factors are good for us. Hirosawa is really good. It is very surprising. He has made rapid progress in his studies. He is good at human relations, has won a rare position among the Japanese and also he is physically in good health. Everybody praises him a lot.

Curiously in his letter to Inoue Kaoru, Kawase refers to Tanaka Ginnosuke’s studying at Cambridge, though he was not directly connected with the Chōshū clan. Probably Inoue knew of Tanaka because he (Inoue) was influential in business circles and the financial world.

Tanaka Ginnosuke was the eldest son of Tanaka Kikujirō, the second son of Tanaka Heihachi (called Itohei) who was active as a businessman in the Meiji era. In 1893 (Meiji 26) Ginnosuke became a member of Trinity Hall, the college to which, as mentioned above, Mutsu Hirokichi had previously been admitted.

Nabeshima Naomitsu was the heir of Nabeshima Naohiro, head of the Saga clan in Kyushu. Naomitsu was

admitted to Gonville & Caius College in 1895 (Meiji 28) and graduated with an ordinary B.A. degree in History in 1897. His wife was the younger sister of Kuroda Nagashige, and his elder sister was the wife of Maeda Toshitsugu. Unusually among the Japanese overseas students, Nabeshima Naomitsu was good at sports, and despite his small stature he was active as a half-back in the Caius College rugby team.¹⁷² Furthermore Tanaka Ginnosuke and Nabeshima Naomitsu, like Hirosawa Kinjirō and Soejima Michimasa, attended the Leys School before entering Cambridge.

Date Kikujūrō, alias Date Kunimune, was the seventh son of the head of the Sendai clan, Date Yoshikuni. After his elder brother Munemoto he became head of the Date family. Date Munemoto's wife was the third daughter of Matura Akira, the father of Matura Atsushi and Inaba Masanao. Date Kikujūrō was admitted to Peterhouse in 1894 (Meiji 27) but did not graduate.

Of Noda Kiyotane very little is known. Even the kanji characters for his given name 'Kiyotane' are unknown. In 1892 (Meiji 25), he was admitted to the University as a non-collegiate student. When Noda was a member of the Japanese Club he was attached to Fitzwilliam Hall, the forerunner of today's Fitzwilliam College, which at the time offered board and lodging cheaply to non-collegiate students. In other words Fitzwilliam Hall was a kind of dormitory ('college') for students not attached to a college. It was situated opposite where the University's Fitzwilliam Museum is now.

The Leys School and the Japanese

Next I would like to give an explanation of the Leys School, where many Japanese studied before entering the University of Cambridge. This was a public school founded at Cambridge in 1875 in the Methodist tradition of John Wesley. (It is also famous as the model for the school in James Hilton's novel *Goodbye, Mr. Chips*.)

As previously stated there had been restrictions based on religion at both Oxford and Cambridge, which prevented all except Anglicans from entering them. Protestants who were not members of the Church of England, known as Non-Conformists, were excluded from university education. The main reason why London University was founded was to give the opportunity of a university education to people excluded on religious grounds.

I have already mentioned the case of Numa Hartog who was barred from becoming a fellow of Trinity College (see Chapter 3) until the religious restrictions were lifted by Universities Religious Tests Act of 1871. It was this new law which provided the opportunity for the founding of the Leys School at Cambridge in 1875. The first Japanese who attended the Leys School were Hirosawa Kinjirō, Soejima Michimasa and Kawamura Tetsutarō who enrolled at the school in 1888 (Meiji 21). In his letter to Inoue Kaoru dated November 26th of

Meiji 23 (1890) Kawase Masataka reports on the Japanese at the Leys School as follows:

At the time of Tanaka's enrolment the number of Japanese boys at the school called the Leys School attached to Cambridge University is four: Kawamura, Hirosawa, Soejima and Osada. Their reputation at the school is very good, but the boy called Osada is obliged to leave because he cannot pay the fees. ¹⁷³

So at this point in time (November 1890) four boys are attending the school: Kawamura Tetsutarō, Hirosawa Kinjirō, Soejima Michimasa and Osada Tadakazu. Tanaka Ginnosuke is about to enter the school, and Osada is to leave it for lack of money to pay the tuition fees.

The Tale of Osada Shūtō's Bravery

Osada Tadakazu is the same person as Osada Shūtō (1871-1915), famous for his improvements of drama and Japanese translations of French literature. In his autobiography *Tonanroku* the following story of his bravery while at Cambridge is written:

While I was in London, one day I took a walk in the suburbs. I was called 'Jap', an abusive term, by workers everywhere. Furthermore, I experienced what incited my rage. One day, in a lecture hall of Cambridge University where I was studying, I was hit on my head by a dirty shoe thrown by a villain. I gave him a severe punishment, immediately grasping both legs and throwing him on the ground hard. ¹⁷⁴

One would like to believe this story of Osada grabbing the legs of a ruffian and hurling him to the ground, but it seems incredible because it refers to 'the lecture hall of Cambridge University where I was studying' and there are other unlikely parts including the labourer in London calling him a 'Jap'. Furthermore in the re-published 1943 edition of *Tonanroku* it states that Osada Shūtō entered Cambridge University to research politics, but this is also incorrect. ¹⁷⁵ In fact, as we have seen he only studied at the Leys School and had to leave because he could not afford the school fees.

In total, and including Osada Shūtō, twelve Japanese had been pupils at the Leys School up to 1900 (Meiji 33). Of these the following six had proceeded to Cambridge University: Hirosawa Kinjirō, Soejima Michimasa, Tanaka Ginnosuke, Nabeshima Naomitsu, Fujimura Yoshiaki and Imamura Shigezō. As I have already introduced Hirosawa, Soejima, Tanaka and Nabeshima I should now like to say something about the

careers of Fujimura and Imamura.

Fujimura Yoshiaki (1871-1933) entered St. John's College in 1888 (Meiji 21) and graduated with an ordinary B.A. degree in 1891 (Meiji 24). He was appointed a section chief in Mitsui Bussan's personnel department, head of the Shanghai branch and finally a director of the firm. Thereafter he was Minister of Communications, managing director of Tokyo Gas Co. and president of the International Telephone Company. Imamura Shigezō (1877-1956) was the second son of the railway entrepreneur Imamura Seinosuke (1849-1902). In 1899 (Meiji 32), he was admitted to Trinity College and graduated in 1902 (Meiji 35) with an ordinary B.A. degree. He was mainly active in the business world as president of the Imamura bank founded by his father and in other roles.

3. Later Students

Hamaguchi Tan and Minakata Kumagusu

While discussing the Japanese at the Leys School who went on to Cambridge we have reached the case of Imamura who graduated in the 20th century. This is a convenient opportunity to list the main Japanese students who were at Cambridge from the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century.

Let's start with Hamaguchi Tan (1872-1939), Waseda University's first graduate student at Cambridge. (Waseda University was called *Tōkyō Senmon Gakkō* until Meiji 35, 1902.) Formerly Hamaguchi was called Tajima. He first registered as a non-collegiate student in October 1898 (Meiji 31). In the Lent term of the following year he moved to Pembroke College.

Hamaguchi graduated with an ordinary B.A. in 1902 (Meiji 35). The subjects he took in the special examination to obtain his degree were politics and economics. When he was living in London before going up to Cambridge he frequently met Minakata Kumagusu, who was also from Wakayama prefecture. The state of their friendship is recorded in Minakata's diary. Their acquaintance began in London on February 28, 1897 (Meiji 30) and continued until about March of 1899 (Meiji 32). Even though Hamaguchi matriculated at the University in October 1898, according to Minakata's diary he kept his residence in London at least until March of the following year. In Minakata Kumagusu's diary for March 20, 1899 is recorded 'Tajima, 8 Pauton Street, Cambridge'.¹⁷⁶ This is Tajima's Cambridge address, which is probably 8 Panton Street, still a street in Cambridge today.

Natsume Sōseki and Cambridge

The noted author Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916) had only just arrived in England to study when he went to Cambridge for two days on November 1st and 2nd of 1900 (Meiji 33). The person who showed him around at that time was Tajima (Hamaguchi) Tan. Sōseki recorded his visit in his diary thus:

November 1st (Thursday). Left for Cambridge on the 12.40 train, to visit Mr. Andrews. Purpose: to find out about the University. Arrived 2 pm but he was out. Due back 4 pm. Straight away walked round city and enter a barber's shop. Tea with Mr. Andrews at 4 pm. Then I visited Tajima. Stayed one night at Mr. Andrews' guest house.

November 2nd (Friday). Looked round Cambridge with Tajima as guide. Tea at 4 pm with Mr. Andrews. Parted from Tajima. Returned to London on 7.45 train. ¹⁷⁷

So Sōseki visited Tajima (Hamaguchi) Tan and stayed one night at Mr. Andrews' guest house in Cambridge. In later years Sōseki's mention of eating quails appears in *Mankan tokorodokoro* [My Travels in Korea and Manchuria] where he writes that he has a vague recollection of being invited by Hamaguchi to a delicious breakfast which was very unusual.¹⁷⁸ There are various theories about where exactly Mr. Andrew's guest house was, but the story of Hamaguchi Tan offering Sōseki quails for breakfast the next morning appears in *Mankan tokorodokoro*. Sōseki explains the purpose of his visit to Cambridge in a letter to a friend as follows:

Well, now I must decide where I am to study. I was thinking of Cambridge or Oxford, or Edinburgh or London, but fortunately I had an introduction from a Westerner, so first I went to look at Cambridge. This was my first trip in Britain. The first thing which surprised me in Cambridge was to see the hordes of students walking in the town wearing sports clothes and shoes. They were rowers, players of ball sports and professors on bicycles, and then most of the 'students' turned out to be professors! And as I asked more about the university I found they were spending 400 to 500 pounds. ¹⁷⁹

First it is worth noting that when Natsume Sōseki visited Cambridge it happened to be just after 2 pm, which was precisely the time when students went to play sports. This seems to have given him the misleading impression that Cambridge students played sports all day. Then Sōseki writes of the cost of studying at the University being between £400 and £500 per annum, a sum quite impossible for Sōseki who only had £180 (1800 yen) per annum total allowance for overseas study from the Japanese government. In the end he visited Cambridge but very soon gave up the idea of studying there.

Sons of Entrepreneurs

After Hamaguchi Tan graduated from Cambridge, the first overseas Waseda alumni association meeting was held by the London association on April 12, 1903 (Meiji 36) at Hamaguchi's temporary residence in London.¹⁸⁰ Apart from Hamaguchi those present were Shimamura Hōgetsu (1871-1918), Uchida Ginzō (1872-1919), Inoue Masaji (1876-1947) and Tanaka Hozumi (1876-1944), all students. At the time Shimamura Hōgetsu was studying in England, sent there by Waseda University. Hamaguchi Tan's father was Hamaguchi Goryō (the seventh generation to bear the name Hamaguchi Gihee), who had been the model for the novel *Ikigami* ('Living God') by Lafacadio Hearn (1850-1904) - known in Japan as Kozuimi Yakumo - and 'Inamura no Hi' ('Spark in a rick') in pre-war text books.

At the Japan Society's regular meeting in London on May 13, 1903 (Meiji 36) Hamaguchi Tan read a paper entitled 'Some striking Female Personalities in Japanese History'. After Hamaguchi's lecture Miss De Lorez, taking her cue from the name of the lecturer, began to talk about Hamaguchi Goryō who had been the model for Hearn's novel, after which the Chairman of the meeting Arthur Diosy (1856-1923) reported to the meeting that Hamaguchi Tan was the son of Hamaguchi Goryō.¹⁸¹ The Hamaguchi family had for generations been making soy sauce (Yamasa soy sauce) and Goryō had been the person who introduced Worcester sauce to Japan. Hamaguchi Goryō had died in New York in Meiji 18 (1885) so the person who had launched Worcester sauce on the Japanese market as 'Yamasa sauce' had been the eighth Hamaguchi Gihee. Hamaguchi Tan became a member of the House of Representatives and a director of Yamasa Shōyu (Soy Sauce) and Kirin Beer.

There was one more overseas student who came from an entrepreneurial family. Iwasaki Koyata (1879-1945) was the nephew of Iwasaki Yatarō (1834-1885) who founded the Mitsubishi *zaibatsu* and the legitimate son of Iwasaki Yanosuke (1851-1908), the younger brother of Yatarō. From Taishō 5 (1916) Iwasaki Koyata was appointed president of Mitsubishi Gōshi Kaisha (limited partnership) and led the Mitsubishi group. He entered Pembroke College, the same college as Hamaguchi Tan, in 1902 (Meiji 35) and passed the first part of the history tripos in 1904 and the second part in 1905. He got a second class in Part I and a third in Part II, which was a very good result compared with other Japanese students. Iwasaki graduated from Cambridge with a B.A. (Hons) in 1904 (Meiji 38).¹⁸² It seems likely that the reason Hamaguchi and Iwasaki were admitted to Pembroke is that the Master of Pembroke, Rev. Searle, D.D. was an honorary vice-president of the Japanese Club. If this is correct, we may credit the Japanese Club with the Pembroke connection. Along with Imamura Shigezō who also graduated from Cambridge, Iwasaki Koyata founded and managed the Seikei Gakuen based on the English public school model. This may also be due to the influence of study at Cambridge.

Two Fellow Commoners: Ōkuma Nobutsune and Prince Fushimi Sadanaru (Fushimi no Miya Sadanaru Shinnō)

I have already mentioned that Hamaguchi was a graduate of Waseda, but here I would also like to talk about Ōkuma Nobutsune's time at Cambridge. Ōkuma Nobutsune was the adopted son of the founder of Waseda University, Ōkuma Shigenobu, and the younger brother by blood of Matsura Atsushi and Inaba Masanao.

Ōkuma Nobutsune (1871-1947) was a graduate of Tokyo Imperial University, and at the time principal of Waseda Junior High school, so unusually for a Japanese he entered Trinity College as a fellow commoner in 1906 (Meiji 39). Of course he was not trying to obtain a degree. The notion of 'fellow commoner' is explained in the following material from Waseda Junior High:

Fellow commoners are designated for social intercourse, rather than for learning and research, and they are given special privileges to dine with professors and others freely at a place raised one step higher, which is called high table. Therefore, they are the only people who are qualified to share the same high table with professors. They are sons of royal families or honourable aristocrats and also have finished university courses. The present British king was once a fellow commoner at this university when he was the Crown Prince. Among the Japanese, the Principal of our school was the first fellow commoner.

183

From the above we can understand clearly what a fellow commoner is, and the fact that Ōkuma Nobutsune was the first Japanese fellow commoner arouses interest. But even a traditional university like Cambridge moves with the times, and the 'fellow commoner' system was abolished after the Second World War.¹⁸⁴ Also in May 1907 (Meiji 40) Prince Fushimi Sadanaru received an honorary law doctorate (LL.D.) from Cambridge and a Hon. D.C.L. from Oxford. He was the third Japanese to receive the former award after Hamao Arata and Hayashi Tadasu. Later the Shōwa Emperor when he was Crown Prince received the award, but Prince Fushimi Sadanaru (Fushimi no Miya Sadanaru Shinnō) was the first person connected with the imperial family to be so honoured.

The first Japanese racing driver

On July 6, 1907 (Meiji 40) in the South of England the world's first racing circuit was opened at Brooklands. This was one year before the circuit at Indianapolis in America, the so-called Mecca of car racing. The most important race on the first day was the Montague Cup. The man who came second in that race was Cambridge-educated Ōkura Kishichirō (1882-1963). At the glorious opening of the Brooklands circuit a Japanese name was entered on the race list.

Ōkura Kishichirō was the eldest son of Ōkura Kihachirō (1837-1928), the man who built the giant Ōkura family trust (*zaibatsu*). In later years Kishichirō was appointed president of the Teikoku Hotel and head of the Ōkura-gumi, the leader of the Ōkura *zaibatsu*. When the *zaibatsu* were dismantled after World War II he founded the Ōkura hotel chain and contributed to the development of the hotel trade. As indicated by the title of his biography *Danshaku: ganso pure-boi Ōkura Kishichirō no yūga na isshō*¹⁸⁵ [The elegant Life of the first Playboy, Baron Ōkura Kishichirō] he played the happy role of squandering the vast fortune built up by his father Kihachirō.

In automotive history, Ōkura Kishichirō is celebrated as one of the pioneers who introduced the car to Japan. Along with Asakanomiya (an imperial family name) he was one of the first car owners. There are various theories about the introduction of the car to Japan¹⁸⁶ but he had already bought a car in Paris in 1899 (Meiji 32). Ōkura Kishichirō graduated from Gakushūin and entered Cambridge University in 1903 (Meiji 36). He was admitted to the prestigious Trinity College. Just before the Montague Cup the British magazine 'Motor' had the following introduction of Ōkura under the title 'Realisation of a Racing Motorists's dream':

Mr. K. Okura, the plucky Japanese who drives a 120 h.p. F.I.A.T. racer, imbibed much of his love for sport during his stay at Cambridge University, where he was a popular favourite among the rowing men. He acted as cox in the First Trinity eight at Henley in 1904, when his boat ran second in the Ladies' Challenge Plate, and claims the honour of being the first Japanese to be enrolled as a member of the Leander Club. He gained his first experience in motoring under the mentorship of Mr. Moore-Brabazon, four or five years ago, and, with characteristic thoroughness, commenced to solve the mysteries of internal-combustion engines on a modest motorcycle. He now owns a stud of three F.I.A.T. cars: his 120 h.p. racer, his Targo-Florio 24-40 h.p. car, and a 60 h.p. six-cylinder F.I.A.T. self-starter, of which he speaks in the highest terms. [part omitted] ...

...‘I shall only be competing in the Montague Plate, as, unfortunately, business recalls me to Japan, but I hope to return to your excellent land of good sportsmen next summer. But for being obliged to return I would have entered in the Circuit des Ardennes race [in northern France], but not to try and win’.¹⁸⁷

In this article about Ōkura his teacher J.T.C.M. Brabazon is mentioned. Brabazon was famous as a racing driver, aviator (the holder of the first pilot’s licence), and politician (W. S. Churchill’s secretary and Minister of Transport).

Brabazon’s rival was another of Ōkura’s teachers, Charles S. Rolls (1877-1910), the co-founder with F. H. Royce of the famous Rolls Royce Company which made high quality cars. Rolls was a cyclist, automobile engineer, racing driver and aviator. He died in 1910, the first Briton to die in an air crash, at the age of 32. It was Brabazon who won the 1907 Ardennes (France) race referred to in the interview of Ōkura. At the time Brabazon was a top-class international driver. He was two years younger than Ōkura, but his senior at Trinity College, and Charles Rolls was senior to both of them at Trinity. Both Rolls and Brabazon studied under James Alfred Ewing (1855-1935), the professor who as an *o-yatoi gaikokujin* (foreign employee) taught physics and mechanical engineering at Tokyo Imperial University. (See Chapter 8, *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. III).

But whereas Rolls graduated from Cambridge, neither Brabazon nor Ōkura did. All three of them were sons of Barons. Ōkura Kishichirō was most fortunate that he was able to study at Trinity College, Cambridge – at the same time and place as Brabazon and Rolls, and follow in the same path as they did.

4. Students who suffered and students who enjoyed life

Isawa Katsumi

Above I have given an outline of the main Japanese students at Cambridge in the Meiji era. Of course the majority were sons of the nobility, connected with influential politicians and sons of men of property, in other words with very well-to-do backgrounds. But it was not so in every case. Some students led extremely frugal lives. Two examples are Isawa Katsumi and Hori Keishi. Of course they were not the only two Japanese in reduced circumstances at Cambridge, but most cases barely come to light.

Isawa Katsumi (1877-1903) was born in Kōchi prefecture in 1877 (Meiji 10) and was educated at Dōshisha Normal School. It can be imagined that he looked for a chance to study at Cambridge after that. Letters and documents kept at St. John’s College, Cambridge reveal how Isawa came to study at the university and his

circumstances while there.

The economist Edward Foxwell (known in Japan as Ernest Foxwell, Ernest being his second name) was invited to teach at Tokyo Imperial University from 1896 to 1899 (Meiji 29-32). Edward Foxwell (1851-1922) had an elder brother named Herbert, also an economist, who lived in Cambridge and was a fellow of St. John's College. Herbert Foxwell (1849-1936) also taught political economy at University College in London, and at the London School of Economics.

Edward Foxwell wrote a letter from the Metropole Hotel in Tsukiji, Tokyo to Donald MacAlister of St. John's College, introducing Isawa Katsumi who hoped to study at Cambridge and requesting support for him. Edward had already given Isawa a letter of introduction to his elder brother, but when Isawa arrived in Cambridge Herbert was away on his honeymoon, hence Edward addressed a letter to MacAlister, another fellow of St. John's like his brother. In his letter he writes that because he knows about MacAlister's past experience and great efforts to help Japanese students, he is sure that MacAlister is the right man to support Isawa.

Edward Foxwell's letter had the desired result. In August 1898 (Meiji 31) Isawa entered St. John's College and in October he matriculated at the university. Of course his tutor was Donald MacAlister. The certificate of good character required to enter the college was provided by the Japanese Christian Institute in London's East End, where Isawa had stayed for just a month in July 1898. This Christian organization was not run by Japanese but by English people, and seems to have been a similar establishment to the Seaman's Mission also in London's East End which will be mentioned later. Both were Christian institutions which supported Japanese seamen.

Isawa gives up his studies, returns to Japan and dies age 26

Unfortunately just after Isawa Katsumi entered St. John's College and before he entered the university in September 1898 he contracted hemoptysis (coughing up blood from the respiratory tract). He had already suffered from tuberculosis before this. Isawa was studying for the university exams just after matriculation in October. Letters were sent from Isawa's exam coach, the doctor who treated him, the caretaker of his lodgings and from Isawa himself to his tutor MacAlister, informing him of his illness.

After that Isawa seems to have continued his studies at Cambridge, but in the spring of 1900 his symptoms became severe. He recovered slightly in the summer, so he moved to the southeast coastal health resort of Margate where he stayed at the YMCA house. During that time Isawa was unable to pay his college bills and accumulated heavy debts.

Eventually two letters both dated December 14, 1900 arrived unexpectedly at St. John's College. One was

an enquiry from the headquarters of the YMCA as to whether the student called Isawa was worth supporting. The other was from Isawa in Margate to Donald MacAlister. Isawa wrote that he would return that month or the next to Japan so he requested more time to pay his college debts, and that he still passionately desired to obtain a Cambridge degree, but that lacking money and in poor health he was unable to prepare for the examinations.

After that Isawa returned to Japan and his situation was reported as follows in the alumni magazine *Dōshisha Kōyūkai Kaihō* No. 10 (August 1, Meiji 35, 1902):

Isawa Katsumi (Katsumi Isawa), who was learning at Cambridge, England has returned to Japan after finishing his studies. Unfortunately, he has been taken ill and he is not in good health even now. Partially in order to recuperate from illness, he has returned to his home town and has been teaching at Kainan Middle School there for a while. His address is c/o Mrs. Sumire Seto, Higashi Tōjinmachi (town), Kochi Prefecture.

Then in *Dōshisha Kōyūkai Kaihō* No. 13 (December 24, Meiji 36, 1903) it was reported that Isawa had resigned from his job at Kainan junior high school in the previous year due to illness, and had devoted himself to treatment but that medicine had been ineffective and he had passed away at home in Kōchi city at the end of October. He was 26 years old on death.

Christian Timothy Keishi Hori

Before he entered Cambridge Isawa Katsumi stayed near the London docklands at a Christian institution near Poplar, a place known as a poor part of London. In Poplar there was a seaman's mission dedicated to the propagation of Christianity. In Meiji 36 (1903) Tano Kitsuji wrote of the mission (church) in *Ankoku no Rondon* [Dark and Gloomy London] as follows:

The next is the Seamen's Mission at Poplar. The principal purpose of the Mission is to educate sailors and seamen who come to London from all over the world. There are refectories, boarding facilities, a library, a preaching room and classrooms in the Mission. Even foreign sailors and seamen who do not understand English come to this place, they can manage everything there without speaking a word. Currently, there is a Japanese missionary who is called Mr. Hori. He is a student of Cambridge University and he comes to the Mission from time to time to preach the gospel to the sailors and seamen from Japan. ¹⁸⁸

In this quotation a certain Mr. Hori is referred to. This is Hori Keishi, who also had the name Timothy because he was a Christian. In English he was called Timothy Keishi Hori. Hori entered St. John's in 1901 (Meiji 34) and in 1904 he 'migrated' to become a non-collegiate student. He probably left the college to save on the comparatively high fees. Suematsu Kenchō went from being a non-collegiate student to a member of a college which was the norm, but Hori's case is the reverse of this. He probably had difficulty paying the college fees. Mutsu Hirokichi, as already mentioned, also 'migrated' from collegiate to non-collegiate student, but this may have been for a different reason. In 1906 (Meiji 39) Hori took the special examination which was the final exam for the ordinary degree in politics and economics, and was awarded an ordinary B.A. in December of that year.

Among marine disasters the sinking of the great passenger liner *Titanic* in 1912 is the most famous, but in 1907 another great ocean liner *Dakota* ran aground in the Pacific Ocean on March 3 off Bōshū (the south part of what is now Chiba prefecture). The *Dakota* was plying between Seattle and Hong Kong, and a sister ship of the more famous *Minnesota*. She was a true monarch of the Pacific. The Japanese involved in the shipwreck included graduates of Cambridge University. The *Tokyo Mainichi Shinbun* of March 5, Meiji 40 (1907) reported as follows:

The American steamer *Dakota* hit a reef off Shirahama, Bōshū as we have reported on page 2. Four Japanese graduates of Cambridge were among the passengers: Kusakabe Naosaburō, Kondō Shizuo, Kataoka Kenjirō and Hori Keishi.

In fact this is incorrect. Only Hori Keishi was a Cambridge graduate. He probably met with this disaster on his way home to Japan via America after graduating from Cambridge. Thereafter he probably engaged in Christian missionary work in Japan, but his activities are unknown.

Clan chief Kuroda Nagatomo

It has already been mentioned that Kuroda Nagashige (1867-1939) graduated from Cambridge in 1887 (Meiji 20) with an ordinary degree, but his father Kuroda Nagatomo (1838-1902) had already studied in Boston in the first year of Meiji (1868). Nagashige was escorted by Soeda Juichi, but his father Nagatomo's escorts were Dan Takuma (1858-1932), later leader of the Mitsui *zaibatsu*, who had graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Kaneko Kentarō (1853-1942), later minister of agriculture and commerce, and of justice, who was a Harvard graduate.

Kuroda Nagatomo was the third son of Tōdō Takayuki, head of the Tōdō clan based in the Tsu region of Ise (320,000 koku ¹⁸⁹). He became the adopted son of Kuroda Nagahiro, head of the Fukuoka clan. In the second year of Meiji (1869) he became head of the Fukuoka clan (prefectural governor) but he went into early retirement in Meiji 11 (1878) leaving the family estate to his eldest son Nagashige. Regarding Kuroda Nagatomo, Okamoto Kenzaburō (Vice Minister of Finance and Commissioner of the Expo) was asked by Ōkuma Shigenobu (Finance Minister and President of the Secretariat of the Expo) to persuade Nagatomo to return home to Japan in March of Meiji 6, but he failed. In that year a decree was issued to bring all the students on government scholarships back to Japan, and Ōkuma's request was connected with this.

Kuroda Nagatomo replied: "I cannot read even a few words, and particularly, I cannot speak a word in English either. How can I return to Japan without losing face?" ¹⁹⁰; that as he could neither read nor speak English he could not return to Japan without shame, and refused. As Kuroda was a privately funded student Okamoto gave up trying to persuade him and reported back to Ōkuma. Kuroda was residing in Boston, so it is possible that his escort Kaneko Kentarō who had graduated from Harvard encouraged Kuroda to study in the neighbouring town of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

On the other hand it was Nagatomo's eldest son Nagashige and his third son Kuroda Nagatoshi (1881-1944) who studied at Cambridge, England. In *(Saishin) Rondon Hanjōki* (ed. Watanabe Hisashi) published in Meiji 43 (1910) the following article is written about Baron Kuroda Nagatoshi and Kuroda Nagatomo's nephew Count Tōdō Takatsugu and others studying at Cambridge.

The book called *(Saishin) Rondon Hanjōki* [The Latest Record of Flourishing London] was made up of a series of articles written for the *Kōbe Yūshin Nippo* (founded 1884) by Tanaka Bijin and post cards written by Watanabe Kojiro then studying in London. It was edited by Watanabe Hisashi, the then publisher and proprietor of the *Kōbe Yūshin*, and published by Hakubunkan. The part quoted here was written by Tanaka Bijin:

At present, there are four or five Japanese students at Cambridge University including Baron Kuroda Nagatoshi. He has studied at the Leys School, a preparatory school for two years and at Kings College for four years. However, since he failed in the examination for a degree the other day, we hear that he may change his future course. In the past, among the Japanese who claimed to be graduates of Cambridge University, there were some Japanese who claimed in exaggerated manner to be a Bachelor or Doctor in Japan after just learning a couple of Latin words at that preparatory school [the Leys School]. Also, I hear that there is the following easy method to claim to be a graduate of Cambridge. Usually, by being idle at lodging houses and going to attend lectures at the university occasionally, then, they pretended to be graduates of Cambridge.

I [Tanaka Bijin, a newspaper reporter of the *Kōbe Yūshin*] visited the lodging on Bateman Street, where Count Tōdō [Tōdō Takatsugu] stayed at one time. I tried to have a conversation with the landlady. The room where Count Tōdō resided at that time is decorated beautifully and there are a piano, several hanging frames, an ebony sideboard, a cabinet with silver metals etc., all luxuries in the drawing room. While he was studying in Cambridge, she said that he always travelled a lot and also that he was interested in hunting. ¹⁹¹

Marriage Scandal

So why did Tanaka Bijin, reporter for the *Kōbe Yūshin*, take the trouble to go to Cambridge and visit Tōdō Takatsugu's lodgings? The reason was the marriage scandal which Tōdō had caused in the newspapers in Meiji 41 (1908). After Tōdō graduated from Gakushūin he was a pupil at the Leys School in Cambridge from 1904 to 1907, probably in preparation for entering Cambridge University. However, he did not do so. After completing his studies at the Leys School in July 1907 Tōdō married a British girl called Elena in London in September. Firmly promising his newly betrothed that he would bring her to Japan as soon as possible, Tōdō left England for Japan in December 1907. Tōdō's situation thereafter can be revealed by citing the *Kokumin Shinbun* newspaper of December 28, 1908. He had divorced his wife Elena and returned to bachelorhood:

Thereafter, we do not know the reason, but Tōdō tried to divorce his wife [Elena]. Of course, he had to take considerable and also unavoidable steps to divorce the wife, who was innocent. In particular his marriage, which had been conducted in London, was suspected to have infringed the marriage law of the Peers. If he were to submit his divorce case following the British family law, he would be requested to pay a large sum of money for the divorce. In addition, if the case were brought to court, it would reveal that his marriage had received no approval from the Ministry of Imperial Household, and it might jeopardize the foundation of the Tōdō family. Therefore, in order to divorce Elena, Tōdō Takatsugu considered various means. After consulting with the steward and the butler of the Tōdō family, the best course of action which he, his steward and the butler came up with was the following. At first, they would enter Elena into the Tōdō's family register [*koseki*] and this would deprive her of her British nationality. After that, following the Japanese Family Registration Law, he would carry out his plan to divorce Elena using the wealth and power of the family of Count Tōdō.

After the consultations at last reached this conclusion, Mr. Kurokawa, the Steward of the Tōdō

family, prepared both the notification of the marriage between Tōdō Takatsugu and Elena and the notification of the divorce between them at the same time, and on 11th August this year [1908], he went to Honjo Ward Office [in Tokyo] and submitted the notification of the marriage to the office at first, then that of the divorce by agreement. The clerk of the family registration received both without any hesitation at the office. Of course, Mrs. Elena Tōdō would have never dreamed up such a plan, as she was not God. ¹⁹²

In order to divorce Elena in London without obtaining her consent, Tōdō first had to enter her in his family register (*koseki*), cause her British marriage certificate to be lost, and then divorce her in the Japanese way. As it happened there was talk of him marrying an imperial princess, Kitashirakawa no Miya Takeko, which is why Tōdō adopted the complicated procedures which we have described above to divorce Elena. Then having become a bachelor once more Tōdō Takatsugu became engaged to Kitashirakawa no Miya Takeko in December 1908 (Meiji 41) after obtaining the consent of the Meiji emperor. However ‘the unsavoury rumours regarding Count Tōdō’ ¹⁹³ made it difficult for the Kitashirakawa family to ignore rumours of a violation of the Family Register law and caused them to apply for cancellation of the engagement. Then Tōdō Takatsugu was brought before the Disciplinary Committee of the Peers, was found to be in breach of the law regarding noble families and punished with suspension of his noble privileges.

The marriage certificate of Elena and Tōdō Takatsugu

So what exactly was the nature of the marriage between Elena and Tōdō Takatsugu? The following is based on their English marriage certificate. First, Elena was a 29 year old widow, and her full name was Elena Grace Addison. Her father was ‘Maros Carlo’, or maybe Carlo Maros. He was a Baron. Probably as she was a widow her late husband’s family name was Addison. Her former family name was most likely Maros, or Carlo. Also from the name Elena and her father’s name we can guess that she was of Italian or southern European extraction. Elena would most likely be Helen if she had been of British extraction. Her address was Victoria Street, Westminster, a wide street leading to the Victoria railway station terminus.

Tōdō Takatsugu is registered as ‘Paolo Takatsugu Tōdō’, a 24 year old bachelor. ‘Paolo’ was the name with which he was baptised, which is usually referred to as Paul in English. His address on the marriage certificate is given as Streatham in south London, very close to Streatham Common railway station. So Elena lived in central London and Tōdō in a residential suburb. Incidentally the suspension of Tōdō’s privileges as a noble was later revoked, and he became a director of the Japan-Italy Association and worked ‘to introduce the soul and essence of Japan abroad’.

In Shōwa 13 (1938) Tōdō Takatsugu co-authored an Italian-Japanese dictionary with Yoshida Yakuni.¹⁹⁴ It is also said that he was compiling a Latin-Japanese dictionary when he died in Shōwa 18 (1943). Why did he focus throughout his life on Things Italian? Probably this was because of his involvement with Elena at an early age and because of his religious attachment to the Roman Catholic church.

Behind the birth of a beautiful Lady Poetess a husband travels overseas

Kujō Takeko (1887-1928), famous as a beautiful lady poetess and society benefactor in the Taishō and early Shōwa periods married Baron Kujō Yoshimune in September 1909 (Meiji 42) and in December of that year the newlyweds left the port of Kōbe for England. This trip was in part a honeymoon and a chance to see Europe, but in addition an opportunity for Takeko to give her husband Baron Kujō a send-off as far as London as he was going to study at Cambridge for three years.

Kujō Takeko was the second daughter of Saint Myōnyo, Ōtani Kōson of Nishi Honganji temple in Kyōto. She was also the younger sister of Ōtani Kōzui (1876-1948) who led the Ōtani expedition to central Asia. Her fame was great as a beauty of modern Japan. Kujō Yoshimune (1886-1940) was the fifth son of Kujō Michitaka, and the younger brother of the Taishō Emperor's wife, Empress Teimei (1884-1951). Takeko travelled to Europe and returned in October 1910 (Meiji 43). In the same month her husband entered Cambridge. His college was Clare College. They lived separately for more than ten years until Kujō Yoshimune returned to Japan in December 1920 (Taishō 9).

While her husband was away Kujō Takeko studied under the poet Sasaki Nobutsuna (1872-1963) and leapt to fame as a poetess. The lonely pathos of her life awaiting her husband's return from overseas was expressed in the collection of her maidenly poems entitled *Kinrei* ("Golden Bell"), which became universally popular. In the meantime what was happening to Kujō Yoshimune, studying all the while in Cambridge? According to university records his academic achievements were as follows: Kujō first took the preliminary examination in Chinese (instead of Latin) and English (instead of Greek) and completed it successfully in October 1911 (Meiji 44).

After that he seems to have tried to get an ordinary degree in politics and economics, but to do that he had to pass the general and special examinations. He took the special examination in politics and economics in 1912 and passed with a third class, and in the following year passed the general examination in politics, also with a third class.

As will be seen below, the Japanese ambassador resident in Britain Inoue Katsunosuke stated that Kujō failed the English history examination, so in the end Kujō was probably not awarded an ordinary degree, being short of one subject in either the special or the general examination.

The Japanese Foreign Office is requested to investigate Kujō Yoshimune's case, and the announcement of his return to Japan

In Taishō 4 (1915) foreign minister Ishii Kikujirō (1866-1945) asked the ambassador in London Inoue Katsunosuke to investigate the circumstances of Kujō Yoshimune in a telegram.¹⁹⁵ It seems strange that the foreign ministry should take the trouble to investigate an individual studying overseas, but as the Kujō family and relatives had heard absolutely nothing from him apart from requests for money to be sent, they asked the foreign ministry to conduct the investigation. So ambassador Inoue summoned Kujō and questioned him intimately, to which he replied as follows: “My purpose in going to Cambridge was to get a degree. As a first step to that goal I have already passed an examination in economics, but this month [December 1915] I unfortunately failed the English history exam, and will retake it in June next year [1916]. So I plan to get a B.A. on passing this exam. As I am registered at Cambridge I am not obliged to attend lectures there. Now I am in London preparing exclusively for the examination.”

From this answer we see that Kujō was strongly motivated to retake the English history examination, but the retake in 1916 also did not go as he planned, and eventually as we have already stated he did not manage to acquire a degree. After his study at Cambridge he continued to live in London for several years without returning home. He finally left London in October 1920 (Taishō 9).

“I waited for Thee (Se no Kimi) in great distress for 11 years”

After Kujō Takeko had received the news of her husband Yoshimune's departure the *Asahi Shinbun* newspaper carried the following article under the headline ‘Kujō Takeko's Thee (Se no Kimi) returns to Japan: the mysterious Door of Love opens after 11 anguished years’. The article offers some explanation of Yoshimune's long absence.

Kujō Yoshimune started to work at the London branch of the Yokohama Specie Bank in the spring of the year in which he returned to Japan, so his return was in the form of a transfer to the bank's Tokyo head office. Indeed a separate reason or opportunity to return was probably necessary.

Baron Kujō Yoshimune (known as ‘Se no Kimi’) is returning to Japan after eleven boring years in a quiet lodging in North London. In name only, he seemed to be studying astronomy. He became a victim of the cunning people who tried to acquire tremendous power, combining hereditary and traditional families. He and Takeko [Kujō Takeko] were described as living in conjugal harmony, but that was the blind view of people who did not know the young couple. It

was said that he had not shared the same room as Takeko since he had travelled for London with her hand in hand. [part omitted]

The landlady looked after him considerately since he was a baron and also was related to a noble family by blood. There was a rumour of a suspicious romance between him and her. However, the baron was always a man of good conduct and he did not have the inclination to look at flowers in a foreign country.

Even though Kujō sometimes went to the Japan Club at Cavendish Square [in London] and became slightly intoxicated with strong whisky, usually he just smiled quietly. ¹⁹⁶

And when the Baron actually arrived back there was a great commotion throughout Japan. The *Asahi Shinbun* headline reported: “The Kujōs meet again at Kōbe port after ten years apart in front of a curious crowd of several thousand onlookers.” And “Baron Kujō returned on the 6th in the *Atsuta Maru* to Kōbe port, the topic of various rumours and expectations”. ¹⁹⁷

The *Kyōto Hinode Shinbun* [Kyoto Sunrise Newspaper] of 7 December Taishō 9 (1920) reported the event in a more candid and sensational way similar to that of modern weekly magazines: “After a lonely life of more than ten years agonised weeping...one sweet night of high-spirited pleasure and dancing! (Ah, Madame Kujō blooms again.)” The mystery of the eleven years during which the Kujōs lived apart starting with study at Cambridge was a topic of gossip in the way that nowadays the lives of film stars and actors are. Kujō Yoshimune explained his study at Cambridge in the following way:

I left Tokyo for England in February [actually December] of Meiji 42 [1909]. So I was in England for exactly eleven years. I had already ceased studying astronomy. At that university [Cambridge] I studied law and economics at Clare College. I did not study under or receive guidance from any particular professor. ¹⁹⁸

Overwhelmed by alcohol

Anyway, Kujō Yoshimune’s study at Cambridge was unique in that it created a lady poetess. But since his study at Cambridge can only have been three years at most, what on earth was he doing in London for the several years before he got a job at the Yokohama Specie Bank? In the *Asahi Shinbun* article quoted above it is mentioned that Kujō drank whisky in the Nihon Club in London. His drinking habits were apparently not good and he was easily overwhelmed by alcohol. On the boat returning to Japan after eleven years absence he also drank and provoked arguments.

When his wife Takeko died in the third year of Shōwa (1928) he apparently endured the sadness with the help of alcohol.

As Takeko's medical condition worsened, Baron Yoshimune drank Jonnie Walker Black label like a fish to drown his sorrows. Then in a tearful voice he would say 'What shall I do if Takeko dies?' and cried bitterly in spite of his manhood. ¹⁹⁹

After Takeko's death he did not take a second wife and spent his latter years living in a hotel. In Shōwa 15 (1940) a friend who happened to call on him discovered that he had died suddenly of a cerebral hemorrhage. ²⁰⁰ Seeing the way the Baron tried to escape the sorrows of this world through alcohol, we may feel a strange closeness to his existence.

Chapter Six - The Fruits of Study at Cambridge

1. The *Kengyūkai* (The Cambridge & Oxford Society) ²⁰¹

The Start of the Cambridge Club

The following entry dated January 24, 1896 (Meiji 29) is from the diary of Sir Ernest Satow (1843-1929) who was British Minister to Japan from 1895 to 1900:

Dined with Cambridge graduates as follows: Marquis Kuroda [Nagashige], Ct. Hirosawa [Kinjirō], Baron Suyematsu [Kenchō], Dr. A. Hamao, Kikuchi Dairoku, A. Matura, Inaba Masanawa [should be Masanao], M. Soyeshima, Soyeda J., H. Yasuhiro, Y. Fujimura. ²⁰²

This was probably the start of the Cambridge Club. In Matura Atsushi's biography it is recorded that he attended the *Kengyūkai* (Cambridge and Oxford Society) at the Teikoku Hotel on the same date. And he adds that "This year I planned together with Count Inagaki Manjirō the founding of the *Kengyūkai* (Cambridge and Oxford Society) in Tokyo with the cooperation of Suematsu Kenchō." ²⁰³ So the Cambridge Club was probably founded on January 24, 1896.

Matura's biography states that the *Kengyūkai* was founded, but in fact it was the Cambridge Club. It was not until 1905 (Meiji 38) that the Cambridge Club joined together with the Oxford Society to create the Cambridge and Oxford Society. In the first chapter I quoted the *Times* article of February 4, 1904 (Meiji 37) titled 'Japan and English Universities': in the article it states that "Sir Claude MacDonald, the British Minister in Tokio, started soon after the proclamation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance a social gathering..." These dinner parties seem to have been the beginning of the 'Cambridge and Oxford Society' (*Kengyūkai*). The Society celebrated its ninetieth anniversary in 1995 (Heisei 7), so it must have been founded in 1905.

There is also the following entry in Sir Ernest Satow's diary for May 12, 1898 (Meiji 31):

Dined with Cambridge Club, Sir William Markby and Professor Foxwell being the other guests. [Baron] Suyematsu [Kenchō] proposed the Queen's health, coupling it with my name and paying me many compliments. So I had to make a speech in return, besides proposing the Emperor's health. Then Kikuchi Dairoku [President of Tokyo Imperial University] proposed Sir William's and he made a good speech in return. ²⁰⁴

The Professor Foxwell mentioned in this quotation is Edward Ernest Foxwell ²⁰⁵ who was professor of Economics at Tokyo Imperial University.

The *Kengyūkai* and the Cambridge Club

In Sir Ernest Satow's diary for May 30, 1906 (Meiji 39) he describes a dinner party of the Cambridge Club. This was held in Japan when Satow was on his way back to London from Peking after completing his service as Minister to China (to which he was promoted after being Minister to Japan) and retiring as a diplomat. It was Satow who while Minister to China had proposed that Chinese be examined rather than Latin in the Cambridge University preliminary examination (see Chapter 5).

...Dined with the Cambridge Club...I sat on the left of Marquis Kuroda [Nagashige], opp. was Baron Kikuchi [Dairoku], Visct. Hayashi [Tadasu], on my left Hamao [Arata] the President of the University, near the end of the table Prof. Takakusa [Juntarō] Max Müller's pupil in Sanscrit and Baron Mōri [Gorō]. ²⁰⁶

Satow describes this banquet as a meeting of the Cambridge Club, but it may have been a meeting of the *Kengyūkai*. The date of the banquet was after the founding of the *Kengyūkai*, and also in view of the fact that Oxford-educated Takakusa Junjirō (1866-1945) was one of the guests it was probably the *Kengyūkai*.

Satow's error probably came about because Cambridge had the stronger influence than Oxford in the *Kengyūkai*. It was also an error which frequently occurred because Cambridge's name appeared before Oxford's in the Society's name. For example, in 1906 the British royal family sent Prince Arthur of Connaught as head of a mission to present the honour of the Order of the Garter to Emperor Meiji. The Prince was accompanied by Algernon Bertram Mitford (1837-1916, the first Lord Redesdale), who published a record of the mission entitled *The Garter Mission to Japan* (translated by Nagaoka Shōzō as *Eikoku Kizoku no mita Meiji Nihon*).

In this book Mitford describes the Cambridge Club as consisting of 50 to 60 Japanese who had been educated at British universities. He too seems to be talking about the *Kengyūkai* rather than the Cambridge Club. In addition he is using the name of Cambridge to refer to all British universities. He likens the resolve of Japanese students studying overseas to those who are going into battle:

...[E]ducation is to them [Japanese students overseas] something as sacred as religion itself. They do not look upon Oxford and Cambridge as places where a lad may amuse himself,

idling away six months in each of three consecutive years, learning the art of living beyond his means; at the best, if he have thews and muscles, gaining some credit in games or on the river.

They have an old-fashioned idea, quite out of date with the bulk of our youngsters, that these are venerable homes of learning, founded long since by pious men for study, for the formation, not of the body only, but of the mind. ²⁰⁷

Mitford seems to have found it strange that, whereas in Britain Oxford and Cambridge are regarded as places to learn sports and an extravagant lifestyle, in Japan Cambridge and other British universities are revered and Japanese who are graduates of these universities form clubs like the Cambridge Club and make much ado of the matter. Anyway, in Japan Cambridge is the university which represents British universities, and Mitford shows his perception that the Cambridge Club is a club for Japanese graduates of British universities. And furthermore, even if Satow and Mitford had known the official name of the Cambridge and Oxford Society they probably would have found it too long, and referred to it as the Cambridge Club.

List of Members

What kind of person was a member of the Cambridge and Oxford Society (*Kengyūkai*)? In *Matsukata Masayoshi Kankei Monjo* ²⁰⁸ the following revised list appears:

1. Honorary Members

“Fushimi no Miya Denka” (Prince Fushimi Sadanaru), (Sir) Claude MacDonald

2. Ordinary Members

Cambridge

Hamao Arata, Hayashi Tadasu, Kikuchi Dairoku, Suematsu Kenchō, Soeda Juichi, Yasuhiro Banichirō, Kuroda Nagashige, Fujimura Yoshiaki, Inaba Masanao, Hirosawa Kinjirō, Matsura Atsushi, Soejima Michimasa, Hachisuka Masaaki, Mōri Gorō, Tanaka Ginnosuke, Nabeshima Naomitsu, Imamura Shigezō, Hamaguchi Tan, Iwasaki Koyata, Okura Kishichirō.

Oxford

Matsukata Masayoshi, Hayashi Tadasu, Hachisuka Mochiaki, Nanjō Bunyū, Takakusu Junjirō, Minamiwakura Tomotake, Matsudaira Yoshitami

It is not stated when this revised members' list was produced, but there are some indications which allow an estimate that it was produced some time between 1908 (Meiji 41) and 1912 (Meiji 45).²⁰⁹ The reason Hayashi Tadasu is mentioned twice is that he received an honorary doctorate from both universities. Prince Fushimi Sadanaru received an honorary law doctorate from Cambridge, but probably he is placed next to MacDonald as an honorary member because he is of the Imperial family.

London University Union Committee

When Japanese graduates of other universities saw the lively activities of the *Kengyūkai* centred on Cambridge University they were probably not amused. In particular graduates of other English universities would have felt a twinge of envy. Marie Stopes (1880-1958), later famous as a pioneer of contraception, was in Japan researching paleontology for about 18 months from Meiji 40 (1907) to Meiji 42 (1909). She was a brilliant woman who first acquired a B.Sc. from London University, then a Ph.D. from Munich University and finally became the youngest ever Doctor of Science at London University.

Stopes was strong-willed and filled with chagrin that whereas Cambridge, Harvard and other universities had alumni associations in Japan, the University of London was not respected and its graduates were obliged to forget they had studied there. Immediately she consulted with influential alumni, and founded the London University Union in Tokyo in Meiji 41 (1908).²¹⁰

The London University Union Committee had three members: Marie Stopes, Sakurai Jōji and Kikuchi Dairoku. It held its founding banquet on March 3, 1908. Sakurai Jōji was a professor of Chemistry at Tokyo Imperial University. He researched Chemistry under Professor Williamson of University College in London while registered as a student of the Imperial University's South School. It is not clear how long the London University Union continued to function after Marie Stopes returned to England. Sakurai Jōji lived a long life and died in 1939 at the age of 80, so it may have continued for quite an extended period.

2. Kikuchi Dairoku - Educational Administrator

He studied 'Mathematics', but not 'Research'

Returning the discussion to Kikuchi Dairoku who was a member of both the *Kengyūkai* and the London University Union, he became the President of the Imperial University of Tokyo in Meiji 31 (1898) and was appointed Minister of Education in Meiji 34 (1901). This was the point at which Kikuchi's career was

transformed from academic researcher to educational administrator. About Kikuchi's switch from university professor to the 'lowly work' of a Monbushō official I have already mentioned in Chapter Three that his younger brother Mitsukuri Genpachi said he did it because he owed a debt of gratitude to Hachisuka Mochiaki. Kikuchi became head of the specialist educational affairs section of the Monbushō (Ministry of Education). But it may have been the case that Kikuchi himself wanted to make the switch as he regarded it as a promotion.

The post of head of the specialist educational affairs section (Senmon Gakumu Kyokuchō) was in fact neither humble nor lowly. It was the next post after the Minister and Vice-Minister of Education. As the example of Hamao Arata shows, it was a first step for future Vice-Ministers, Presidents of the Imperial University and Ministers of Education. Even if it was a humble position, Kikuchi continued at the same time to be a professor of Tokyo Imperial University until he became a Vice-Minister, so if he had wanted to return to being just a professor the way was open for him to do so.

Yet what kind of a reputation did Kikuchi have as an academic researcher? In the history of Japanese mathematics he has been evaluated highly as the person who introduced modern mathematics to Japan, but not as a researcher in his own right (see below). In view of Kikuchi's fame it seems rather surprising that this should be the case.

In England Kikuchi studied 'mathematics' but does not seem to have studied 'research'. After returning to Japan, in spite of his high social status, there is absolutely no evidence of research achievements, and the most that can be said is that he introduced to Japanese mathematics the standpoint of Western mathematics.²¹¹

In the end Kikuchi has been evaluated as merely the person who introduced modern mathematics to Japan. Of course he published mathematical text books and so on, and his contribution to mathematical education is one of his achievements. At any rate it was not Kikuchi who introduced mathematical research to Japan but one of his pupils, Fujisawa Rikitarō (1861-1933). And it was one of Fujisawa's pupils, Takagi Teiji (1875-1960), who at last achieved some truly original mathematical research.

Japan in between Britain and Germany

Kikuchi's realisation that he was not a first-class researcher caused him to begin to shift the focus of his activities at a very early stage from scholastic achievements to those of an educational administrator, a career in which he could get a high income and enhanced social status. Since Kikuchi became a university professor

at a young age, it probably seemed quite natural to him that he should aim for a higher “social” position in educational administration, as president of the Tokyo Imperial University and Minister of Education (Monbudaijin).

Regarding his educational policy after his career change from university professor to educational administrator it is most easily discovered by studying his speeches and lectures when he was Minister of Education. These are found in *Kikuchi Zenbunshō Enjutsu Kyūjūkyū Shū*²¹². To reveal Kikuchi’s thoughts on university education and the connection with his study at Cambridge, I should like to quote part of a speech he made on March 1st of Meiji 32 (1899) at the ceremony of the proclamation of the Tokyo Imperial University:

As for the method of student education at university, I think that there are two ways in Europe, that of British universities and that of German universities. At British universities, such as Cambridge and Oxford, the main purpose is to bring up a true gentleman; in other words, it is character building rather than scholarship, which they do not intend to neglect. All the facilities are designed for that purpose... At our university, namely the Japanese university, we would like to take the middle way [between British and German universities].²¹³

In other words, according to Kikuchi, British university education was centred on the training of individuals, German universities concentrated on academic research, and Japanese universities steered a middle way between the two. Yet it is possible to interpret his remarks as emphasising the role of Japanese universities in the training of individuals rather than being strictly in the middle between the British and German styles. Perhaps Kikuchi was taking the role of universities as research organisations as a given, and simply saying that their role in the education or training of individuals should not be forgotten. This was precisely what Kikuchi learned at Cambridge.

The Russo-Japanese War erupts

Returning to the *Times* article entitled ‘Japan and English Universities’ of November 4, 1904 (Meiji 37) already referred to in Chapter One, it seems clear after all that the reason that it focussed on the fact of many Japanese studying at Cambridge was the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05).

Of course as regards Anglo-Japanese relations, the signing of the Anglo-Japanese alliance between the two countries on January 30, 1902 (Meiji 35) was highly significant. For Japan this alliance served to restrain the advance of Russia into East Asia, and it is possible to regard it as strengthening Japan’s position in advance of the Russo-Japanese War. The Japanese minister who signed the alliance (Hayashi Tadasu) was promoted to

be Japan's first ambassador to Britain in December 1905 (Meiji 38) and was awarded honorary doctorates of law from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The Russo-Japanese War began on February 10, 1904 with declarations on both sides.²¹⁴ On that very day Suematsu Kenchō, the second Japanese graduate of Cambridge University, left the port of Yokohama bound for Europe via America. His mission was to bring European public opinion over to Japan's side in the war by propaganda activities. He was accompanied by an Oxford graduate, Takakusu Junjirō (1866-1945), and a Tokyo Imperial University graduate, Tomoeda Takahiko. The Japanese government sent Harvard graduate Kaneko Kentarō (1853-1942) to America with the same purpose. The idea was to win the propaganda war against notions of 'Yellow Peril', which were injurious to Japan's cause.²¹⁵

'Japanese undergraduates at Cambridge University' by Henry John Edwards

On January 11, 1905 (Meiji 38) the 78th meeting of the Japan Society founded in 1891 was held in London. The guest speaker was a fellow of Peterhouse and the Dean of that college, Henry John Edwards (1869-1923). The title of his lecture was 'Japanese undergraduates at Cambridge University'.²¹⁶ As it included material which is relevant to this book, I should like to summarise it here. (See Appendix VI for the text in full.)

At first Edwards provides information and opinions based on his personal experience and evaluations of the Japanese undergraduates, but then he also consults the impressions of his friends Donald MacAlister and C.F. Rogers. All three were members of the Japan Society of London. Whereas Kikuchi Dairoku and MacAlister were of the preceding generation, Edwards and Rogers were younger and of the same generation as Inagaki Manjirō.

Edwards begins by introducing the main Japanese students: Kikuchi Dairoku, Suematsu Kenchō and Inagaki Manjirō. Then he describes the activities of the Japanese Club at Cambridge in detail. Apart from this, he offers several most interesting personal impressions of the Japanese students. As to why the greatest number of Japanese students chose Cambridge, he cites the variety of subjects available in the curriculum, and the kind and careful instruction provided by the teachers at the university. But he states that the most important reason is the exemption from Greek in the Little-Go examination.

Edwards speaks of characteristics common to all the Japanese students: e.g. they are all very quiet, polite and easy to teach, but their reactions to what they have been taught are mild, and they all tend to do things together as a group. These observations would seem to hold true for Japanese overseas students even 100 years later. He also refers to the Japanese students at Cambridge from a historical perspective. Until now the majority of them have been undergraduates aiming at acquiring an undergraduate (bachelor's) degree, but as

universities have been founded in Japan there is likely to be a change in emphasis, so the majority from now on will probably be postgraduate students. Of course in 1905 (Meiji 38) there were no such words used as 'postgraduate course' or 'postgraduate student'. The words used at the time were 'advanced study' and 'advanced student'. So 'advanced study' referred to those students who had already acquired a bachelor's degree at some other university and came to Cambridge to progress their studies further into a specialist research field.

'Advanced Study'

The change in the Japanese students at Cambridge suggested by Edwards was not only indicative of the development of Japanese higher education, but also was accompanied by the modernization of Cambridge itself. The educational system of the University was changing from a college-based one, which trained individuals, to a university-based one centred on academic research at faculties and research institutes.

The university's curriculum changed from one based on mathematics and classics to one in which many more practical subjects were introduced. The tripos examination was expanded to include natural sciences (1851), law (1858), history (1875), mechanical sciences (1894) economics (1905) etc. While preserving the advantages of the college system, Cambridge went through a process of modernization to fulfil its new mission.

Indeed mathematics and classics were well suited to college-based education. They only required a classroom and a teacher, so they could be conducted quite cheaply and conveniently in colleges. In comparison, the study of medicine and experimental physics etc. required expensive facilities and it was quite impossible for these to be provided in colleges. So inevitably this caused a shift from college-based to university-based education. In the 20th century it was the Cavendish research laboratory at Cambridge which produced many Nobel prize-winners and earned for the university a high reputation in the field of scientific research. The Cavendish Laboratory is a university institute for research in physics, and is a notable example of the results of the new university organization based on research.

The first Chair of the Cavendish Laboratory was James Clerk Maxwell (1831-1879; Chair 1871-1879), the second was Lord Rayleigh (1842-1919; Chair 1879-1884), the third was Joseph John Thomson (1856-1940; Chair 1885-1919) appointed at just 28 years of age, and the fourth was Ernest Rutherford (1871-1937; Chair 1919-1937). The golden age of the Cavendish was under Thomson and Rutherford. Apart from Maxwell, all the heads were Nobel prize-winners. The Cambridge educational system was reformed in 1895, and the doors of the Cavendish were opened to those who had not graduated at the university. The result was that the most excellent researchers from throughout the world gathered there, and the Cavendish became one of the world

centres for research in experimental physics. One of the first beneficiaries of this reform was Ernest Rutherford who had graduated from a New Zealand university.²¹⁷

Returning to ‘advanced study’, which we would now call postgraduate studies, Donald MacAlister was one of the main promoters of this ‘advanced study’. He was active in preparing the ground for it, and he had many supporters.²¹⁸ He also wrote *Advanced study and research in the University of Cambridge: a guide for students* (Cambridge, 1896) to assist graduates of other universities coming to study at Cambridge.

MacAlister’s subsequent career

At this point I should like to reveal something of Donald MacAlister’s subsequent career after his activities with the Japanese Club. He had already been representing the authorised professor of medicine George Paget who was confined to his sick bed, and had in substance been playing the role of a professor. When Paget died in 1892 MacAlister was sure that he would naturally be appointed his successor, but in the end he was not made a professor.

In 1904 MacAlister resigned almost all his posts at Cambridge. He planned to take a long leave, citing health and other reasons. It seems likely that apart from these reasons he had a feeling of aversion to various problems within the university. However, in November 1904 MacAlister was appointed chairman of the General Medical Council. Then in January 1907 he was appointed Principal of the University of Glasgow. He took up this post in February of that year. So in the end MacAlister’s life underwent a great turning point, and the long leave of which he had talked was never realised.

Principal of Glasgow University was a Crown Appointment, i.e. an appointment made in the name of the British monarch. MacAlister was recommended by the then prime minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (1836-1908; Liberal prime minister from 5 December 1905 to 5 April 1908). He was the first ever non-clergyman to be appointed to the post. There were four universities in Scotland at the time: St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh. With the exception of Edinburgh, until that time none of the other three had appointed a Principal who had not graduated from a Scottish university. MacAlister was an exception, having graduated from Cambridge. But after he retired in 1929 (Shōwa 4), he succeeded to the honorary post of Chancellor of the University of Glasgow.

A Talent for Educational Administration

MacAlister seems to have had an established reputation as a talented educational administrator. Before he was appointed to Glasgow at least three universities (Montreal, Toronto and London) had sought to have him

appointed chief administrator, but MacAlister himself refused to be recommended for these posts. But, as might be expected, he found it harder to turn down the post of Principal of Glasgow University in his native Scotland. While he had some regrets over leaving Cambridge, he accepted the appointment at Glasgow.

Glasgow University, founded in 1451, was the second oldest university in Scotland after St. Andrews (founded in 1411), but in substance it was Scotland's top university. In seeking to persuade the hesitant MacAlister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (born in Kelvinside near Glasgow, and a graduate of both Glasgow University and Trinity College, Cambridge) said to him: "I know them both, and I love them both, but with a difference. Cambridge is bright, but Glasgow is warm." ²¹⁹

From 1907 (Meiji 40) MacAlister as Principal of Glasgow showed his skill as an educational administrator. The result was that in the very next year he was awarded the K.C.B. (Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath) and a baronetcy in 1924, becoming Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert. Tarbert was the name of a place in his homeland, the Scottish Highlands, on the Northern tip of the Kintyre peninsula by the sea inlet called Loch Fyne.

Thereafter Baron MacAlister received honorary degrees from various universities, amounting to a total of 14 as listed in *Who's Who*. According to his wife Edith, this made him equal top in the number of degrees with his fellow Scot, the Cambridge-educated prime minister and foreign minister Arthur James Balfour (1848-1930; prime minister 1902-05; foreign secretary 1916-19).

MacAlister had been one of the young standard-bearers for reform at Cambridge, but with the modernization of the universities his developed passion for reform found expression at Glasgow. He was a medical researcher before he was an educational administrator, but in the same way that Kikuchi Dairoku did not achieve much in mathematical research, Donald MacAlister's achievements in medical research do not appear to have been particularly impressive.

3. "Japanese Education" and the Imperial State

Circumstances of the lectures at London University

After MacAlister was appointed Principal of Glasgow University, one of the first people to be awarded an honorary doctorate of law (Hon. LL. D.) was none other than Kikuchi Dairoku, who was visiting Britain at that time. Kikuchi was awarded the honorary doctorate by Glasgow in April 1907. This was the last time that he met MacAlister. Unfortunately neither has left any written record of what they spoke about on this occasion.

In June 1907 Kikuchi was awarded an honorary law doctorate (Hon. LL.D.) by Manchester University. In the case of Glasgow it is easy to see the connection with MacAlister, but what were the circumstances leading to the Manchester award? In fact Kikuchi was invited to lecture by London University in 1907, and he gave lectures on education from the middle of February for five months.

The central focus of Kikuchi's lectures was the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku Chokugo*) of 1890,²²⁰ and one of the audience was Michael Ernest Sadler (1861-1943), a professor of Manchester specialising in the history of education and educational administration. He was also a leading member of the Executive Committee for the United Kingdom of the International Inquiry of Moral Instruction and Training in Schools. It was probably on Sadler's recommendation that Kikuchi received an honorary law doctorate from Manchester University.²²¹

At this point I would like to give a simple explanation of why and how Kikuchi came to give a series of lectures at London University on the topic of Japanese education.²²² Kikuchi was appointed Minister of Education (*Monbudaijin*) in 1901 (Meiji 34). He resigned in 1903 to take responsibility for a text book scandal. While he was Minister in 1902 he was made a Baron. In 1904 (Meiji 37) he was appointed the successor of General Nogi Maresuke (1849-1912)²²³ as Principal of the Peers' School (*Gakushūin*) but resigned after only 16 months. He caused some professors without ability to resign, but was resisted by the teaching body and in the end was forced to resign himself.

On November 9, 1904 Kikuchi submitted a paper to Itō Hirobumi called 'Gakushūin Kyōiku no Hōshin ni kan suru Ikenshō' (Opinions concerning Educational Policy at Gakushūin). At Cambridge Kikuchi had mixed with the sons of the English nobility, and he seems to have been extremely serious about the education of their Japanese counterparts. Later he wrote 'I was invited to do various things, but the work which really interested me was Gakushūin'.²²⁴

The request from the University of London for a lecturer on Japanese education to be sent over from Japan was communicated to the Japanese government through the then ambassador (from December 1905) Hayashi Tadasu. The Monbushō decided to send Sawayanagi Masatarō (1865-1927), the Head of the Normal Education section (Futsū Gakumu Kyokuchō), and Sawayanagi took leave from his post, leaving Japan for England in February 1906. His post was the third highest in the Education Ministry after the Minister and Vice-Minister.

But when Sawayanagi arrived in Rome a telegram reached him from the new Education Minister Makino Nobuaki (1861-1949) stating that he wished to appoint him Vice-Minister. So Sawayanagi went back to Japan via England and America without giving the planned lectures. Of course Sawayanagi was really keen to give the lectures at London University having taken so much trouble to prepare them, but he could not refuse the 'request' of Makino Nobuaki.²²⁵ The Japanese government chose Kikuchi as Sawayanagi's

replacement. He was the perfect candidate, being both excellent at English and a former Minister of Education. The former Ambassador to Britain and newly appointed Foreign Minister Baron Hayashi Tadasu strongly persuaded Kikuchi to perform the task.

Content of the Lectures

Kikuchi who had received the invitation from London University by default arrived in England on January 28, 1907 (Meiji 40). He stayed there until August 8th. It was 23 years since he had last set foot on English soil. In total Kikuchi visited Britain four times: for study in the Bakumatsu (end of the Shogunate) and in the early Meiji periods; in Meiji 17 (1884) as part of a trip to the West; and this time, which was to be his last. He was able to meet again old friends from his time as a student on this last trip. I have already mentioned Sidney White (see Chapter One) and William Hudson (see Chapter Three). Of his Cambridge contemporaries apart from Hudson he was also reunited with his fellow St. John's College classmates Charles Murton and Karl Pearson, who had also been a pupil at University College School.

Kikuchi's lectures at London University included the 'inaugural address' on February 1st at the headquarters of the University called the Imperial Institute. As already mentioned his lectures, called 'inauguration lectures', were held at King's College and University College. Some were also held at the London School of Economics (founded 1895). So what was the content of Kikuchi's lectures on 'Japanese Education'? The English manuscript of the lectures was published in 1909 (Meiji 42) in London as *Japanese education: lectures delivered in the University of London* (London, 1909) by Dairoku Kikuchi. This seems to contain all of Kikuchi's lectures. But frankly it is a very tedious book. If this is truly representative of the lectures themselves they must have been exceedingly dull, despite Kikuchi's perfect command of English.

What message was he trying to convey? Kikuchi explained that Japanese education was based on Imperial edicts (decrees or Rescripts), and that the development of Japanese history was thanks to the blessings of the Imperial system and the family-style Japanese state. These two points are the backbone of what he wants to say, and the rest is just a collection of statistics on Japanese education and an enumeration of the organizational structures.

When Kikuchi was preparing to lecture at London University, it seems likely that he consulted the material already prepared by Sawayanagi Masatarō. Given the lack of time for preparation this seems to be a reasonable assumption. But for Sawayanagi the publication of his manuscript in English under Kikuchi's name was not a pleasing outcome. So he published his manuscript in Japanese under his own name as *Wagakuni no Kyōiku* (The Education of Our Country, Japan), published by Dōbunkan in 1910. His dissatisfaction with Kikuchi is expressed in the foreword as follows: "Although, of course, there may

possibly be the same descriptions [in both books], there are different parts which the author [Sawayanagi] wanted to mention.”

While Sawayanagi attempted to present the basic data and historical facts without any adornment, Kikuchi took his data and facts and blended them together with a real scientist’s (mathematician’s) view of the Imperial system and the family-style Japanese state. In a sense Kikuchi’s book is the better one, but reading the books in the modern time Sawayanagi’s seems better. Neither book, however, could be said to be a deeply interesting one. Yet it seems strange to this author that Kikuchi, who had received the best available education in the Bakumatsu and Meiji periods, and was trained to think in a rational way as a scientist and mathematician, should have sought to explain the Japanese state in terms of the Imperial system and family-type values and organisation. It was probably these thoughts which led Kikuchi to make a serious effort to translate the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890. The English translation of the *Kyōiku Chokugo* was an absolutely vital part of Kikuchi’s preparation for his lectures at London University on ‘Japanese Education’. ²²⁶

Kikuchi’s view of the state and his study at Cambridge

As a professor of Tokyo Imperial University Kikuchi was responsible for the education course. Yoshida Kumaji (1874-1964) who has been described as the pioneer of Japanese educational studies gives the following impression of Kikuchi. Yoshida was connected with the preparation of text books on ethics and he also propounded a theory of Japanese national morality based on a family-style state.

He [Kikuchi Dairoku] often visits Shūshinsho Kisōjo [the Drafting Institute of Moral Books], etc. and preaches the importance of the family system; that it should be maintained, in reference to the state overseas, although initially he had not been so interested in it. ²²⁷

According to Yoshida Kumaji, while Kikuchi was most keen to assert the rights of the individual, he also placed great emphasis on the family as a system. Yoshida regards this as an inconsistency to be explained as a peculiarly British one. According to Yoshida the concept of the English gentleman contained inherent contradictions between individualism and family values, and Kikuchi had absorbed the ethics of the English gentleman.

There is, however, another possible explanation. Certainly Kikuchi’s English education cast his thinking into an English mould. But the question is: what exactly did Kikuchi put into the centre of that mould?

As already explained, British universities including Cambridge certainly valued the academic pursuit of

truth through research, but traditionally they emphasised the creation or moulding of personality. When universities lay stress on the cultivation of personality, the ideological background becomes important. In the case of Cambridge, the ideological backbone is Christianity. Kikuchi must have had to come to terms with this ideological backbone of Christianity during his study in England. For example when he entered St. John's College he must have been required to attend services in the college chapel several times a week. I have already stated that the religious pledge requirement was abolished in the 1870s, but the weight of the Christian tradition must have been heavy on a Japanese student.

The Japanese students probably devised various means of coping with the Christian element in Cambridge education. For example Hori Keishi who was already a Christian went even further in that direction, while Inagaki Manjirō went towards Confucianism, the way of the Oriental sage. In the book by Inagaki called *Kyōiku no Ōmoto*²²⁸ he calls the ideological backbone itself 'Kyōiku no Ōmoto' which may be translated as 'The Great Fount of Education'. Inagaki suggests that the way of the sage (Confucius) is the Japanese equivalent of Cambridge Christianity. In the case of the two Japanese Buddhists at Oxford, Nanjō Bunyū and Takakusu Junjirō, of course the 'great fount' was Buddhism. Of course Kikuchi did not think this way from the beginning, but probably these ideas became convictions in his mind gradually as Japan's position in the world and his own standing began to rise. The opportunity to sort out his ethical stance was probably provided by his lectures on Japanese education at London University.

Yamato Damashii (The Spirit of Old Japan)

Thereafter Kikuchi received an invitation from the Civic Forum of New York and gave a lecture in New York's Carnegie Hall on February 1, 1910 (Meiji 43). The English text and its Japanese translation were published together in *Shin Nihon* (New Japan).²²⁹ The content of Kikuchi's American lecture in outline was the same as the London lectures on 'Japanese Education', summarised in a slightly simplified form. As the American lecture and its Japanese translation were not enough on their own to make a book, *Shin Nihon* also contained a detailed Japanese translation of 'Japanese Education' and of the reviews of the lectures contained in foreign newspapers and magazines. So the English edition of 'Japanese Education' and *Shin Nihon* can be regarded as companion volumes.

In *Shin Nihon* Kikuchi states that Japan has received and absorbed various cultural influences from overseas, but adds: "There has been one special thing which has received neither any influence from the study of the Chinese classics nor from Buddhism. What is it? It is the so-called Yamato-damashii (the spirit of Old Japan)." He goes on to explain *Yamato Damashii* in the following way:

‘Yamato Damashii’ means that we Japanese respect the Imperial household and love our country. It is made up of these two elements. Our deep reverence for and loyalty to the Emperor has been handed down over 2,500 years. The bond between the Emperor and the people is not just a recent one, but has existed since ancient and mythical times...The special relationship between the Imperial family and its subjects is a result of the unbroken line of Emperors, which has no equal in the world. This is indeed the essence of our national polity (*kokutai no seika*).”²³⁰

The above lecture, delivered in English by a Cambridge mathematician in New York’s Carnegie Hall at the invitation of the Civic Forum, must have surprised the listeners to some extent. But the lecture was delivered before the Second World War and after the Russo-Japanese War had ended in 1905, so it may have been received with surprisingly deep sympathy.

As already stated, Kikuchi Dairoku, as a mathematician educated in England, received the best possible education of any Japanese in the Bakumatsu and early Meiji period. That he should seriously state that the things of which Japan was most proud were the combination of Emperor and patriotism which amounted to ‘Yamato Damashii’; and that he could praise ‘the peerless and unbroken Imperial house’ and the ‘essence of our national polity’ – this makes us aware once again of how deep-rooted were the feelings in Meiji Japan for the Imperial system and for the state as one large family.

Funeral Wreaths sent from Cambridge and Oxford?

Kikuchi Dairoku died in the sixth year of Emperor Taishō’s reign (1917) on August 19th. The funeral took place on August 23rd. Of course it was held in the Shintō style. The *Asahi Shinbun* for that day reported the funeral as follows:

In front of the coffin, there were silk cuttings, food and wine, offerings to the gods. They were conferred from the Emperor and the Empress, Prince Fushimi and Prince Kan'in. Several Shintō priests made steps in front of the coffin reverentially, recited a Shintō prayer and then, minstrels played music. The chief mourner, Taiji [Kikuchi Taiji] and others then offered, in turn, a Tamagushi (branch of the sacred tree to a god). The ceremony ended at half past seven. Among the three pairs of wreaths, one was presented jointly from Cambridge and Oxford Universities.

In the above article the fact that wreaths were sent from both Oxford and Cambridge is specially mentioned, but did both universities in fact send wreaths to a Shintō funeral ceremony? These wreaths may well have been sent by the *Kengyūkai* (Cambridge and Oxford Society) on behalf of both universities, or perhaps the newspaper reporter misunderstood and thought that wreaths which had been sent by the *Kengyūkai* had in fact come from the universities themselves. The chief mourner was Kikuchi's heir and second son, Kikuchi Taiji. He was an excellent student who had graduated top of the Physics course at the Science Faculty of Tokyo Imperial University. In Taishō 8 (1919) he was the first student from the Physical and Chemical Research Institute (*Rikagaku Kenkyūjo*) to be sent to Cambridge.

The Physical and Chemical Research Institute was founded in 1917 as Japan's first scientific research institute. It is possible to equate it with the Cavendish research laboratory at Cambridge. The first President of the Institute was Kikuchi Dairoku, the Vice-President was Sakurai Jōji, the head of the Physics department was Nagaoka Hantarō and Ikeda Kikunae was head of the Chemistry department. Kikuchi seems to have made tremendous efforts to establish the institute, as he understood very well its importance.

Nagaoka Hantarō (1865-1950) was a scientist who represented modern Japan. Already in 1903 (Meiji 36) he had already put forward a theory of atomic modelling which anticipated Rutherford's positive atomic model. He also researched into magnetic distortion, the measurement of gravity, and spectrometry among other things. His research into magnetic distortion was at the suggestion of Professor James Alfred Ewing (1855-1935), the foreign professor employed at Tokyo University. The chemist Ikeda Kikunae (1864-1936) is famous as the inventor of chemical seasoning. He is also known as a friend of Natsume Sōseki while he was studying in London.

Nagaoka Hantarō was a professor of Tokyo Imperial University, the first President of Osaka Imperial University and the founder of Tōhoku Imperial University's Faculty of Science. In 1925 (Taishō 14) Nagaoka received an honorary doctorate of law (LL.D.) from Cambridge University. He received a university education in Japan and accumulated a list of research achievements leading to the award of a science doctorate at the age of 27. Then he studied in Germany. He died aged 85 years on December 11, 1950 (Shōwa 25). Nagaoka's funeral service was 'neither Shintō, Buddhist nor Christian but a completely new invention worthy of a scientist'.²³¹ The altar was adorned with the cap and gown of the honorary doctorate presented by the University of Cambridge.

Nagaoka (born in 1865) and Kikuchi (born in 1855) were only ten years apart in age, but their lifestyles, as represented by their funeral ceremonies, were very different. This may have been merely a reflection of their different personalities, or it may have indicated a difference in their overseas study. Kikuchi studied abroad in his youth, whereas Nagaoka studied overseas as an established researcher. The form of their study surely had some influence on their lives.

When Kikuchi Taiji went to study at Cambridge, Nagaoka Hantarō addressed a letter of introduction for him to the fourth head of the Cavendish Laboratory, Ernest Rutherford.²³² The letter explained that Kikuchi Taiji was a very promising young researcher. It was an opportunity for the son to make good the deficiencies of his father who had not been a researcher of any distinction, and so to elevate the reputation of the Kikuchi family name.

Taiji entered the same Cambridge college as his father, St. John's. Unfortunately he became seriously ill while at Cambridge, and died there on March 2, 1921 (Taishō 10).²³³ He was still only 29 years old at the time. As if to replace Kikuchi Taiji, in April of that same year Nishina Yoshio (1890-1951) who would become the founder of Japanese atomic physics was enrolled at the Cavendish Laboratory. He had been sent by Nagaoka Hantarō from the Physical and Chemical Research Institute to study under Rutherford.

4. The great efforts of the Japanese students

An organization for the development of character

When talking of the so-called “extended Meiji period”, from the second half of the nineteenth century to the First World War in 1914-18, education at Cambridge can be summed up as the development of scholarship while simultaneously training the personality. In other words research and education, which could be said to be the general aims not only of Cambridge but also of all universities in the modern era. But Cambridge's special feature could be said to be the emphasis placed on the development of character. As already stated research was regarded as essential for the university's modernization, but the tradition of developing character based on the college system was also deep-rooted.

The ‘development of character’ was in fact the education of English gentlemen and leaders of the British nation. The results of Cambridge education were evaluated based on the leaders who emerged in each part of British society. So to what extent did the Japanese students at Cambridge as represented by Kikuchi Dairoku develop scholarship and personalities suitable to lead Japanese society? The leaders created ranged from Kikuchi Dairoku to the likes of Ōkura Kishichirō. In a sense Kikuchi represented the scholastic side while Ōkura Kishichirō represented the gentlemanly and social side of Cambridge.

In this book Donald MacAlister has been presented as a similar case to that of Kikuchi in the sense of an Anglo-Japanese comparison. Even though they were educated in the same place for a short time, there were great differences in their backgrounds and in the historical and cultural milieus of their two countries. The Christian tradition lay behind Cambridge education, whereas Kikuchi's respect for the Imperial system and the family-based state of Japan was part of modern Japan's historical circumstances.

So what about the case of Ōkura Kishichirō as a representative of the social side of the Japanese students at Cambridge? It may be a bit harsh to compare him directly with Charles Rolls, the co-founder of Rolls Royce, but perhaps it is reasonable to compare him with Rolls's pupil and rival, J.T.C.M. Brabazon. From the point of view of their studies, they were indeed similar. In fact as compared with Brabazon who returned a blank sheet of paper and so failed the Trinity College entrance exam²³⁴ Ōkura Kishichirō's results may have been better. Strange to relate, Brabazon took the university's Little-Go preliminary examination together with the Trinity College exam, and passed the former which allowed him to erase the failure of the Trinity exam and so pass unhindered into Trinity College.²³⁵ In both cases once they had entered Trinity College Brabazon and Ōkura soon gave up serious study, as they had not been committed students from the beginning.

But after Cambridge the careers of Brabazon and Ōkura Kishichirō were quite different. Brabazon was a first-class racing driver, aviator, politician, golfer etc. Ōkura Kishichirō operated on a much smaller scale. Of course the difference in their activities can be explained as based on their individual natures, but it may also reflect to some extent the difference in British and Japanese leadership training. In any case British universities can be justly proud of their record of educating leaders in various fields.

The unusual story of Viscount Palmerston and the Cambridge mentality

One of the leading characters in this book, Inagaki Manjirō, wrote the following in the preface to his *Kyōiku no Ōmoto*: "The people is the essence of the state." And further he wrote: "Therefore, the fate of the people entirely depends on the leaders who become the backbone of the society and the spirit of the nation." Inagaki emphasises the great importance of training leaders to lead the nation.

In the same book Inagaki records that when he first went to Cambridge in 1886 he boldly and fearlessly asked the very rude and impertinent question of the then Vice Chancellor C.E. Searle why it was that, given the low level of Cambridge education, so many famous people had been produced by the University. Inagaki thought that, for a university which had been famous as a leading one for centuries, the academic level was low, and that leaving aside the honours degree, the ordinary degree was inferior to both the general European standard and that of Japanese universities. At that time Tokyo University had only just been founded in 1877, and it was still a very low level.

Searle answered Inagaki thus:

Cambridge University is not a place which produces bright individuals, by which I mean it is not a mere school for intellectual training. It is a place which produces individuals who

can accomplish their personal obligations to their nation. Universities on the [European] continent and other countries seem to be high in the standard of intellectual education and to have difficult courses. However, Cambridge University never lags behind those universities as regards educating a man of high character...Our university is not a training school for a small man of talent. As far as the education of men of great characters is concerned, Cambridge is not one single step behind any university in the world. That could not be anything other than the reason why Cambridge is famous throughout the world. Such people like you [Inagaki] who evaluate universities without aiming at that purpose should be ashamed to be a student of Cambridge University. ²³⁶

While rebuking Inagaki that it was inappropriate for a Cambridge student to engage in an appraisal of the level of the university's courses, Rev. Searle also recounted the following unusual story about the British prime minister and long-time leader of Britain's foreign policy as foreign secretary Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865). ²³⁷ In the end Searle forced Inagaki to prostrate himself before the Cambridge educational mentality. For Inagaki in Britain, C.E. Searle was like a father.

The unusual story was of Palmerston returning home in a small flat-bottomed river boat ('punt') after an invitation to visit the British Queen Victoria (1819-1901, reigned 1837-1901). At that time the wind and waves were strong on the surface of the water.

Steering the boat by himself, Palmerston said, light-heartedly, that to govern a state is not different from steering a boat. Speaking for himself, he said that he had learned statesmanship from techniques for steering a boat in the days when he was at Cambridge. You [Inagaki] should perceive, in this statement, the essence of Cambridge education. At that time, perspiring nervously, I suddenly felt the desire to receive this education, the essence of Cambridge education, arise within myself. ²³⁸

This was the 'birth' of Inagaki Manjirō, who in later years would be active as a policy maker in Far Eastern diplomatic circles, and as a pioneer in Pacific Rim questions. Stimulated by the story of the great statesman Palmerston, who by steering a Cambridge punt with the aid of a pole learned to steer the ship of state, Inagaki resolved to acquire a Cambridge education. It is hard to measure the extent to which Japanese students found the character building useful, but at least one clear outcome or 'fruit' of Cambridge education is the excellent life and career of Inagaki Manjirō (1861-1908).

Epilogue

Problems connected with Study Overseas

The central character of this book is Kikuchi Dairoku (1855-1917), the representative of the Meiji era Japanese students who studied in Britain. In this epilogue I should like to consider the problems which inevitably accompanied study overseas in the Meiji era. There were inconsistencies associated with study abroad in the Meiji era. The fact of studying overseas meant an implicit acceptance that foreign countries other than Japan were more advanced, or had superior cultures and systems. The overseas students were no doubt obliged to reconcile the “advanced” academic level and culture of the countries they visited with their own Japanese cultural norms and standards. And just like the students, Meiji Japan also had to take the West as its model and begin to modernize (i.e. Westernize) and find ways to adapt its unique culture and systems to those of Europe and America.

The Meiji era students and Meiji Japan itself shared the common destiny of recognising the superiority of foreign countries in academic and cultural matters, and concerns about the position of those traditions peculiar to Japan. Or rather it may be correct to say that the students represented Japan in its struggle to come to terms with Western culture, and that they were in the forefront of that struggle. And at the very apex of the vanguard of Japanese students was the man who at the youngest possible age experienced study overseas and studied at the famous British university of Cambridge. Kikuchi Dairoku more than any other Japanese was forced to confront the essential problems which confronted and challenged the Japanese overseas students in the Meiji era.

Kikuchi’s personality

Regarding Kikuchi Dairoku’s character the *Asahi Shinbun* reported in his obituary that “he usually did not like to talk about his experiences from childhood onwards, so that even his relatives knew almost nothing of his past.”²³⁹ Kikuchi’s younger brother Mitsukuri Genpachi said: “My elder brother strongly disliked to boast of his achievements. He liked to keep a low profile of virtual self-concealment, and often used to say that he did not like to appear in the newspapers.”²⁴⁰

Kikuchi Dairoku seems to have disliked boasting and revealing his emotions to the outside world. Probably his was a very serious-minded and methodical personality. But on a few rare occasions he did reveal his deep emotions about his past. For example when he was interviewed by a reporter for the “Meiryū Kugaku Dan” series which appeared in *Chūgaku Sekai* he expressed the following deep emotions about his overseas study

in the Bakumatsu period:

Thinking back from now to the past, I am very surprised that I really wanted to go abroad at that time at such a young age and also that my parents allowed me to travel abroad. Of course, from the viewpoint of grown-ups, a 12-year old boy was just a child and not fully aware [my consciousness was not developed], however, a 12-year old boy is quite mentally aware, contrary to general expectation. I wanted very much to go abroad. I thought I had to go to the West and to pursue learning at any cost. Well, that was thirty-five years ago. Thinking back to that time, quietly at night, it feels as if I am looking back at that event as if it were a dream. ²⁴¹

In his twelfth year (aged 11) young Kikuchi thought he should at whatever cost travel to the West and study there. His child's mind was obsessed with study overseas. Kikuchi is a symbol of the seriousness with which overseas students in the Bakumatsu and early Meiji periods pursued the goal of studying in Western countries. Of course not all the Japanese overseas students were so ardent in their desire to study, but as has been explained in this book, most of them studied hard and made great efforts, with correspondingly marvellous results.

Study Overseas – learning advanced civilization from Europe and America

So why were the Japanese students at that time so earnest in the assimilation of Western civilization? It is hard to comprehend or imagine now just how serious they were about modernization, which for them meant Westernization. The reason for this was that after a history of contact with the Great Powers of the West, they realized that Japan could only survive (as an independent country) through modernization. Kikuchi makes the following observation in his *Shin Nihon* [New Japan]:

At that time when we came in contact with the people of the Western nations, we observed how superior the ability of the Westerners was than that of the Japanese. It seemed to me that if we Japanese wanted to have equal treatment with Westerners, or in other words, if we wanted to maintain Japan as an independent nation, we had to acquire their knowledge, which was the origin of their power and to transmit their technology from them to us. Therefore, we applied ourselves to the course of learning and teaching of the western knowledge earnestly and enthusiastically. Thereafter, the result of that manifested itself in the recent Russo-Japanese War most remarkably. It surprised the people of the world who had not paid attention to Japan in the past. ²⁴²

In order to maintain her independence (and so avoid becoming a colony) Japan imported the knowledge and technology from the West which were needed for modernization. The results of this modernization were made known to the world by Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05). Wishing to know the secrets of Japan's sudden and dramatic modernization, as already mentioned in this book America and European countries invited Kikuchi Dairoku to give lectures. Unexpectedly, Kikuchi said that the reason for the speed of Japan's modernization which had so astounded the rest of the world, was not merely that she had studied and learned from Western countries. In his *Shin Nihon* (published in 1910) Kikuchi stated that the Japanese since ancient times had keenly studied the merits of foreign countries, and that 'the idea and fact of importing superior foreign civilization to Japan was not limited to the modern day'. But Kikuchi stressed that, even if Japan experienced great and dramatic changes as a result of importing foreign things and systems, the important point was that 'Japan strongly preserved the special features of her national polity and national character'. As already mentioned in Chapter Six, the 'peerless' Imperial family spanning the generations and the respect and love of the Japanese people for the Imperial family and the state were the real reasons for Japan's ability to modernize so quickly and dramatically.

Kikuchi as Minister of Education and the *Tetsugakukan* Incident of Meiji 35 (1902)

The reason why attention is being focussed here once more on Kikuchi's emphasis on Japanese reverence for the Emperor and patriotism is that he was Minister of Education at the time of the Tetsugakukan incident, when text books were being designated by the government. In one sense Kikuchi was deeply involved in the historical situation before the Pacific War (1941-45) which ended in defeat for Japan. First, Kikuchi took the opportunity afforded by the text book corruption scandal in Meiji 36 (1903) to create a system for designating text books which was used as an ideological control over the moral education of the Japanese people before the war, particularly with regard to history text books. Secondly, the Tetsugakukan incident (*jiken*) was a mysterious incident which was one of the central themes of Matsumoto Seichō's ²⁴³ *Shōsetsu Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku* [Novel about Tokyo Imperial University]. This incident has been interpreted as 'a real example of direct harm caused to academic freedom through control of the education system' and as 'an example of the Ministry of Education acting openly to control a text book in detail so as to eliminate material which it considered injurious to the authority of the state'. ²⁴⁴

The Tetsugakukan ('Hall of Philosophy') founded in 1887 (Meiji 20) by the philosopher Inoue Enryō (1858-1919) was the forerunner of Tōyō University in Tokyo. Its professors were approved by the Ministry of Education without having to take examinations. Two inspectors from the Ministry, Kumamoto Aritaka and Kumamoto Shigekichi, supervised the graduation exams of October 1902 (Meiji 35). The professor of ethics

at the Tetsugakukan was Nakajima Tokuzō. His lecture course had been based on the English philosopher Muirhead's *The Elements of Ethics*. One of the problems which Nakajima included in the graduation exam was: 'Are there acts of wrongdoing with good motives?' to which one student answered with an essay which contained the sentence: 'If this is not the case, a person who murders his lord for freedom should be condemned and punished.'

One of the inspectors, Kumamoto Aritaka, took this to mean that the murder of one's lord could be acceptable in the defence of liberty, and reported to the Ministry that this thinking threatened Japan's national polity, which caused Kikuchi Dairoku to revoke the special privilege of the university to have its teachers approved without an examination. Nakajima Tokuzō was most discontented with the punitive measure adopted by Monbushō, and reported the incident in the newspapers, provoking much controversy over Muirhead's moral philosophy and the Ministry's punishment.

At this point I should like to focus on the connections between the two instigators of the Tetsugakukan incident, Kumamoto Aritaka and Kikuchi Dairoku. Kumamoto was one of the first intake of students at Tokyo University's faculty of science course of physics, mathematics and astronomy in Meiji 11 (1878). His contemporaries were only three: Tanakadate Aikitsu, Fujisawa Rikitarō and Tanaka Shōhei.²⁴⁵ Kumamoto was one of Kikuchi's first pupils, but he did not graduate from Tokyo University. In the year after the Tetsugakukan incident he was sent to Europe to study high school education. The *Yorozu Chōhō* reported the connection between Kikuchi and Kumamoto as follows:

Kumamoto [Aritaka] was a classmate of the present professors of Tokyo University Tanakadate, Fujisawa and the famous Tanaka Shōhei. He was very good at mathematics, but he was possessed of a mean and spiteful personality and was hated by Kikuchi, who failed him in his third year (Meiji 14, 1881) and caused him to leave the university without a degree. Kumamoto had a grudge against Kikuchi because he had been rejected from the university by Kikuchi previously. When Kikuchi published articles, Kumamoto always opposed them. Both were constantly at odds with each other. When Kikuchi became the Minister [of Education], he promoted Kumamoto to be an inspector and both became reconciled, since Kikuchi feared to be shadowed by a spiteful person, such as Kumamoto. He put away his bitter feeling against Kikuchi over several years and served him faithfully. Kumamoto brought about that Tetsugakukan Incident in order to flatter Kikuchi's policy to destroy private schools. What a lucky person he is! In being sent abroad he is rewarded for his loyal service.²⁴⁶

The Invention of a New Religion – Basil Hall Chamberlain’s views

I have already stated that the true reasons for the speed of Japan’s modernization lay, according to Kikuchi, in the respect of the Japanese people for the Emperor and their love of country. But there was one man of the same generation as Kikuchi who saw through this and regarded it merely as the creation by bureaucrats of a fake new religion. This was the British Japanologist Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935). Such problems could probably be observed with greater objectivity by a foreigner with great and detailed knowledge of Japan’s circumstances than by any Japanese.

Chamberlain lived in Japan for many years (from 1873 until 1911) and became accustomed to Japanese ways. Just after he left Japan for the last time he published a slim volume in 1912 (Meiji 45) called *The Invention of a New Religion* ²⁴⁷ through the Rationalists Press Association of London, in which he exposed the falsity of the modern Emperor system. He also stated at the same time that the creation of a modern Imperial system was a hasty returning of the pendulum in response to Westernization. He moreover considered that respect for the Emperor and patriotism were merely reactions to Westernization.

Mikado-worship and Japan-worship – for that is the new Japanese religion – is, of course, no spontaneously generated phenomenon. Every manufacture presupposes a material out of which it is made, every present a past on which it rests. But the twentieth-century Japanese religion of loyalty and patriotism is quite new, for in it pre-existing ideas have been sifted, altered, freshly compounded, turned to new uses, and have found a new centre of gravity. Not only is it new, it is not yet completed; it is still in process of being consciously or semi-consciously put together by the official class...[part omitted] Down to the year 1888, the line of cleavage between governors and governed was obscured by the joyful ardour with which all classes alike devoted themselves to the acquisition of European, not to say American, ideas. Everything foreign was then hailed as perfect – everything old and national was condemned. Sentiment grew democratic, in so far (perhaps it was not very far) as American democratic ideals were understood. Love of country seemed likely to yield to a humble bowing down before foreign models. Officialdom not unnaturally took fright at this abdication of national individualism. Evidently something must be done to turn the tide. Accordingly, patriotic sentiment was appealed to through the throne, whose hoary antiquity had ever been a source of pride to Japanese literati, who loved to dwell on the contrast between Japan’s unique line of absolute monarchs and the short-lived dynasties of China. Shintō, a primitive native cult, which had fallen into discredit, was taken out of its cupboard and dusted. ²⁴⁸

According to Chamberlain, the proclamation of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (*Dai Nippon Teikoku Kenpō*) in Meiji 21 (1888) was a borderline. Before that date the Japanese people devoted themselves to the study of Things Foreign. After that date he says that the Japanese bureaucracy created a new religion of Emperor worship combined with patriotism. Chamberlain's thesis may not be entirely correct, but it is extremely valuable as a penetrating analysis in and of Japanese history. It is also very interesting merely as an observation by one man at the time of how Japan was greatly rocked in the Meiji era by the need to evaluate Western culture alongside its own. Through Chamberlain's sharp insight on the modern Emperor system we can understand the falseness of the new religion created by "bureaucrats" such as Kikuchi Dairoku and consciously or unconsciously foisted on the Japanese people, consisting of Emperor worship and loyalty to the state. But it is a separate question how to interpret this insight so as to connect it with study overseas by Japanese students and the problems faced by Meiji Japan.

Balancing the accounts: Meiji students overseas and Meiji Japan

As has been described in detail in this book, Kikuchi Dairoku studied at Cambridge University of which the original purpose, based on the Christian tradition and the college system, was to build character so as to produce English gentlemen. In addition he was a serious and outstanding student who worked hard at his studies alongside the English students. Furthermore, even though Kikuchi himself may not have realised or noticed this, in a sense he provided a model for the Japanese reaction to Western culture, by becoming totally absorbed by Emperor worship, loyalty and love of country, and the family-style state. His was a loyal and serious character, so it was not a fraud on his part: doubtless he really did believe in the 'New Religion'. In a sense the inconsistencies and anomalies of overseas study are seen most clearly in the case of Kikuchi.

Regarding Chamberlain's views on the change in 1888 from 'foreign country worship' to patriotism, it is probably true to say that the seeds of patriotism were already sown at the time of the first contact with Western culture and civilisation. It was precisely the group which adopted the slogan of 'Sonnō Jōi' (Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians) in the Bakumatsu period (1853-67) which produced the largest number of students who travelled to the West. It took a very long time for the seeds sown to come to flower. It may be a slight exaggeration, but the seeds of Kikuchi Dairoku's affirmation of Emperor worship, love of country and view of the state as a family may well have been sown during his study at Cambridge. In conclusion, from the point of view of Japanese history, the 'fruits' of study overseas during the Meiji era were balanced by the modern Imperial system, and Japan's modernization was offset by the stifling of intellectual development prior to the Second World War.

Postscript

The direct stimulus for writing this book was a brief contribution about Japanese students in the Meiji period which I made to *Fifty years of Japanese at Cambridge 1948-98: a chronicle with reminiscences*, compiled and edited by Richard Bowring, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge, 1998.²⁴⁹ There is no direct connection between the Japanese who studied at Cambridge in the Meiji period and the Japanese language education and Japanese studies research which developed greatly at the university after the Second World War, but it is part of what might be termed the pre-history of Japanese studies at Cambridge. The interest in Japan aroused by the existence of the Meiji students indirectly became the foundation stone for the post-war development of Japanese studies.

In fact the idea of introducing Japanese studies at Cambridge University was already under discussion at the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), and it was referred to by Henry John Edwards in his lecture in January 1905 to the Japan Society of London (see Chapter Six). Again Minakata Kumagusu in his *Rirekisho* (Personal History) refers to the idea of the establishment of a Japanese course at Cambridge with William George Aston as professor and himself as associate professor, but states that the plan was shelved because of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). And then at the end of the Meiji era in 1912 the Cambridge University Library purchased about 10,000 volumes of antique Japanese books which had been collected by the British diplomats William George Aston (1841-1911) and Sir Ernest Mason Satow (1843-1929) who had been noted Japanologists. This collection became the foundation of post-war Japanese studies at Cambridge. Moreover, at about the time when the story of the Japanese students at Cambridge described in this book ends, the university began to send British students to study in Japan and to express a scholarly interest in the country.

In Professor Richard Bowring's book already mentioned there are many very interesting recollections of professors and students involved in Japanese language education and Japanese studies after the Second World War, but the highlight is Professor Bowring's tale of a great fraudster. The story begins in 1985 when the Japanese economy was the envy of the world and the bubble had not yet burst. A certain person calling himself 'Dr. Ijuin Kimitake' claiming to be acting "on the personal request of Prime Minister Nakasone" began negotiations with the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge regarding a project to construct "the largest research institute for the study of relations between Japan and Europe" at Cambridge.

The University began to have doubts about the authenticity of the man and the proposal when it was realised that the name "Kimitake" was the real given name of the noted author Mishima Yukio (Hiraoka Kimitake, 1925-1970). So the proposal was ignored. And in fact this was the correct option, because Ijuin Kimitake was a most ingenious swindler, the like of which it is astonishing to discover in modern Japan. He was born the eldest son of a Kyushu coal miner. He learnt English at an American base after World War II,

spent his honeymoon in America, and claimed to have studied at Princeton University and later to have received a doctorate from Dallas University. After spending three years in prison in the United States for fraud, 'Dr. Ijuin Kimitake' returned to Japan and became a pupil of the famous potter at Hagi (Yamaguchi prefecture) called Sakata, but was rejected. Nevertheless he married Sakata's daughter as his second wife. He also managed to lead some first class Japanese department stores (Wakō, Takashimaya and Daimaru) by the nose: as a 'famous' ceramic artist he managed to get them to sell the works of other amateur potters for very high prices. Now he is serving a prison sentence somewhere in Japan.

The reason why I have mentioned this story in detail in the Postscript is that it symbolizes the great changes that have taken place in the relationship between the Japanese people and British universities from the Meiji era to the present day, with the turning point being the Second World War. The first half saw the Japanese studying frantically in Britain, while after 1945 Britain began to study and learn from Japan. The Second World War (1941-45) saw fierce fighting between the two countries, and the problem of compensation for the ill-treatment of British prisoners of war remains to this day a thorn in the side of Anglo-Japanese relations.

It was in the 1980s that British universities began to take a positive interest in Japanese language education and Japanese studies. The interest peaked at the time of the publication of the Parker Report in 1986.²⁵⁰ The Ijuin scandal had occurred in the previous year. From the 1980s on, Japan began to give financial support to the study of the Japanese language and research into Japan, and made great contributions to these areas in Britain. For example, thanks to the Keidanren (Federation of Economic Organizations) a chair in Japanese studies was established at Cambridge. In the case of the author's workplace, the Cambridge University Library, in 1991 the generosity of the Mitsui Kaijō Kasai Company provided a complete set of the microfilms of the Meiji period documents held at the National Diet Library in Tokyo (the author's former workplace). And recently the Aoi Pavilion has been built. The Aoi Pavilion was constructed as an extension to the University Library thanks to the personal benefaction of the chairman of the Matsui Co. Mr. Tadao Aoi, who gave 450 million yen. The pavilion was opened in 1998. As already stated, the history of Anglo-Japanese relations at British universities includes the Japanese students who studied in the Meiji era and the post-war interest in researching Japanese studies. And as this book has attempted to show in detail, this history is by no means unconnected with the modern history of Japan.

At this point I should like to add a brief explanation of the original Japanese title of this book, 'Hatenkō'. It implies an achievement which nobody has managed to accomplish before, or the person who has managed to achieve something unprecedented. The word derives from the Chinese *Hokumu Kigen* [Bei-meng suo-yan]. Every year in the Keishū [Jing-zhou] region of China there was nobody who could pass the science examination for the appointment of civil servants. 'Tenkō' means that weeds grow thickly because of poor harvests. So when a man named Ryūtai [Lio Tui] passed the exam for the first time he 'broke the drought' so

to speak. The central figure of this book, Kikuchi Dairoku, had his first experience of study in England at a very young age, and as we have seen graduated the top of University College School. Then he graduated with outstanding results from the Universities of Cambridge and London. He seems to be precisely the man who corresponds to Ryūtai in the Chinese story.

Finally, I have received support from various people in the writing of this book. In particular I should like to thank Mr. Masakazu Sonobe of the publications department of Kodansha Sensho. I warmly thank him and everyone else associated with the production of this book.

Koyama Noboru
September 1999

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Appendix I

OBITUARY NOTICE.

Baron DAIROKU KIKUCHI.

Born March 17th, 1855.

Died, August 19th, 1917.

(from *Taiyō*, Vol. 23, No. 12, October 1917)

Japan lost one of her greatest scholars and educationists in the death of Dr. Baron Dairoku Kikuchi, Privy Councillor, President of the Imperial Academy, and Honorary Professor of the Imperial University of Tokio and also of the Kyoto Imperial University.

His death which was sudden and quite unexpected occurred early in the morning of August nineteenth, nineteen hundred seventeen, at his sea-side villa at Chigasaki [in Kanagawa prefecture] , and was due to a fatal stroke of apoplexy. He was in his sixty-third year.

His Majesty the Emperor was pleased to promote him to the Junior Second Court Rank and confer on him the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun.

[The] Baron's body was brought to his Tokio residence, and the funeral service took place in accordance with Shinto rites on August 23rd at Aoyama Ritual Hall. His remains, after having been cremated, were interred on the next day at the family burial ground in the Yanaka Cemet[er]y.

Baron Dairoku Kikuchi was born on March 17th 1855 in the residence compound of the Tsuyama clan at Kajibashi, Yedo (now Tokio). He is the second son of Shuhei Mitsukuri and a grandson of Gempo Mitsukuri. Both of them were noted scholars of the, at that time, so-called Western learning. Shuhei whose family name was originally Kikuchi, was adopted by Gempo as his heir. Dairoku succeeded to the house of Kikuchi made vacant by his father's adoption into the Mitsukuri family. He is an elder brother of the late Dr. Kakichi Mitsukuri, an eminent zoologist and a great thinker of worldwide reputation.

As a boy, he gave signs of extreme precocity. When he was but nine years old, we find him already serving as a sort of assistant tutor at Kaiseijo, a school where bare rudiments of Western learning was taught and which is the protoplasmic nucleus of the present Tokio Imperial University. Where and how he received his early education, is told by himself in an extremely interesting posthumous article, which is to appear in the forthcoming number of the *Tōyō-Gakugei-Zasshi*, a monthly magazine devoted to the promotion of scientific knowledge, of which he is one of the originators and to which he was such a frequent contributor.

He was the youngest member of a batch of the most promising students sent to England by the old Shogunate Government in 1866 [see Ch. 2]. Among them are to be found Keigo Mitsukuri, his elder brother who died early from [an] accident, Momosaburo Hayashi, later Count Tadasu Hayashi of the Anglo-Japanese

Alliance [of 1902-22] fame and Shoichi Toyama, later his colleague at the Tokio Imperial University, with whom he remained such an intimate and staunch friend till Toyama's premature death in 1900.

He returned home in 1868 and remained in Japan till 1870. During this interval he seems to have been engaged both in teaching and in being taught in the same school where he was previous to his going to England, and the name of which has now changed from *Kaiseijo* to *Kaisei-Gakko*. The sound knowledge of the French language which has done him such a valuable service in his after-life, seems to have had its origin in these days. Late in 1870, he was again ordered to go abroad to continue his studies in England.

In the University College, London, Calender [Calendar], we find the following entry: "Kikuchi Dairoku Yasuyuki matr. Jan. 1873; Univ. Col. scholar and Pr.T.; 3rd in Honours, 3rd exhib., Inter. Art. 1874; St. John's Camb, 1st in 3rd class in Math.; B.A. 1875 St. John's Cambridge." He is one of the wranglers of the year 1877, among whom we find such illustrious names as [Donald] M[a]cAlister, K.C.B., for many years Principal of the Glasgow University, J.P. Smith who at one time represented Lanarkshire in the House of Commons, and Sir Charles A. Parson[s] the inventor of the steam turbine and this year's Presiden[t]elect of the British Association. In May of the same year he returned home and was appointed professor of mathematics in the same institution with which he had been associated since the days of his boyhood, and which has now developed itself into Tokio University. In 1881, he received the degree of M.A. from the University of Cambridge. In 1885, he was elected a corresponding member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science and in the following year a Member of the London Mathematical Society. In 1885, the degree of *Rigakuhakashi* (D. Sc.) was conferred on him in accordance with the *University Degree Ordinance* Art. III. Later on he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the University of Glasgow, the University of Manchester and Rutgers College, New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.A.

In 1884, he went to America as the Delegate to the International Prime Meridian and Universal Time Congress held at Washington, and on his way home through Europe, he remained sometime in Germany and made a thorough study of the educational system and institutions in that country. In 1907, he and [the] late Dr. Yasutsugu Shigeno [a historian from Satsuma, 1827-1910] represented the Imperial Academy at the Third General Meeting of the International Association of Academics, held at Vienna. In the same year, he gave courses of lectures on Japanese Education during the lent and summer terms at the University of London. The substance of these lectures was published in English by John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W., in 1909. Of this work, it will be difficult to speak too highly. It is the first systematic and lucid, yet succinct, exposition of education in Japan, ever offered to the World at large and is unsurpassed by any thing which has hitherto appeared in print. The English translation of the Imperial Rescript on Education [of October 30, 1890 – see Chapter 6], with which these lectures open, will serve as a fit monument to his complete mastery of the language, into which it is rendered. In this connection it may be added that there is an article entitled

“Education in Japan” in the Japan number of the London Times (July 19, 1910) contributed by Baron Kikuchi. In the autumn of 1909, he went to America and gave an able address at the Civic Forum of New York.

Baron Kikuchi’s career is a splendid list of a galaxy of presidencies and chairs of honourable posts. In this short notice, it will only be possible to give categorically a rough summary of the more important functions which follows: Professor of Mathematics at the University, later Imperial University, of Tokio, 1877-98; Dean of Science College [i.e. Faculty] in the same, 1881-93; President of the same, 1898-1901; President of Peers’ School, 1904-5; President of the Imperial University of Kioto, 1908-12; Director of the Bureau of Special Education in the Department of Education, 1897; Vice-minister of Education under Minister (now Baron) Hamao, 1897-8; Minister of Education in the first Katsura [Tarō] Cabinet, 1901-3; member of the Imperial Academy since 1889; Secretary of the same, 1900-01 and 1905-6; President of the Second Section of the same, 1906-9; the President of the same since 1909 till his death, having been elected three times in succession. In March 1917, that is, only a few months prior to his death, he was made the Director of the newly established National Physico-Chemical Institute.

He served on numerous committees on scientific and educational matters, very often as an influential member and not seldom as chairman. He was also in the Imperial Diet as a Crown member in the House of Peers since 1890 till 1912, which function he resigned on the morrow of his having been made a Privy Councillor in accordance with the unwritten usage. The foundations of the Earthquake Investigation Committee, on which he served, though intermittently, as chairman, is due to his strenuous efforts while he was in the House of Peers. The movement known by the name of the *Reform fo[r] the Educational System* was started [a] short time prior to the Baron’s acceptance of the portfolio of the Minister of Education, and has been raging ever since. Its avowed aim is the shortening of the number of years required in going through the trunk system [i.e. compulsory junior high and high schools?] of our educational organization. It is a question of such magnitude and complexity that it taxed the best efforts of our educationists and yet found no satisfactory solution. In one capacity or other, Baron Kikuchi played an important rôle in this controversy. Indeed he was one of the most important and influential figures in this movement and his sudden death at this juncture when the movement is going to take a new turn, is ever so much more to be regretted. He also served as juror of several national exhibitions.

In 1902, he was created Baron in recognition of his invaluable services to the cause of education and in connection with the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which took place while he was [Education minister] in the [Katsura] Cabinet. It is needless to say that the Alliance is not a mere diplomatic affair. It is deep-rooted in the national character of the two people[s]. There is an inseparable link between the English gentlemanship which has its origin in the days of chivalry and our ways of [the] *Samurai*, often covered by the newly coined word *Bushido*, which spring in the old feudal days. More and more do we think of the state

of world affairs after the present great war [1914-18], ever so much more do we feel convinced of the two nations' destiny of walking side by side through thick and thin, or, to use our proverbial expression, through flood and fire. In so saying, the writer does not wish to shift responsibility, however slight, to one which can speak no more. Be it unequivocally asserted that this is the writer's own opinion and he alone is responsible for it. Only he wishes to add a few words. If chance admits of qualification [i.e. description], it is a subtle chance tinged with queer irony of coincidence that Kikuchi was baroneted in memorial to the formal conclusion of the [Anglo-Japanese] Alliance which tied together his Fatherland with the country of his happy boyhood recollections. As a member of the Cambridge Society in Tokio, as a vice-president of the British Society and in very many other similar capacity [capacities], and no less, as an individual, he was always ready and eager to make ever closer the bond of friendship uniting his fellow countrymen with the British people.

Baron Kikuchi is one of the originators of the Tokio Mathematical Society which was founded in 1877. It is the pioneer of the very many learned societies [*gakkai*] which have since been called into existence in Japan. At his suggestion this was changed in 1884 into the present name, Tokio Mathematico-Physical Society. Several minor articles on mathematical subject[s] written by him, are to be found scattered in the early volumes of the publication of this society.

His chief work as an investigator is exclusively confined to the critical examination of the mathematics of the Old Japanese School [*Wasan*]. Through all his busy life, he was ever ready to devote whatever spare time he could have been able to squeeze out to this fond subject of his. And it is much to be regretted that what most likely still remain[ed] stored in his mind has not hitherto appeared in print and thus [is] lost forever by his untimely death. His contributions in this direction are to be found in Vol. VII and VIII of the Proceedings of the Tokio Mathematico-Physical Society.

His translation from Latin into English of [German mathematician Karl Friedrich Gauss, 1777-1855, Professor of Göttingen University] Gauss' classical paper on hypergeometric series, which appeared in Volume IV of the Proceedings of the Tokio Mathematico-Physical Society together with his notes on the same to be found in the succeeding volume of the same journal, though not an original contribution, shows the trace of his painstaking labour and untiring efforts to do justice to the famous original, and will forever rank very high among publications of its kind. This fact is well known beyond the narrow limits of his native land [Japan], as is evinced by appeal for permission to reproduce it in foreign publications.

This notice, even though professedly short and meagre, would be very incomplete, if we let pass unnoticed a work of extreme importance, though of elementary nature. It is Kikuchi's Text-book on Elementary Geometry which he compiled at the ardent request of the Department of Education, and of which the first installment appeared in 1888. Considering this work, may it be allowed to let follow a short extract from the

writer's own publication, "*Summary Report on the Teaching of Mathematics in Japan*" compiled at the instance of the International Commission on the Teaching of Mathematics and published by the Mombusho in 1912. "His (Kikuchi's) book is a very great improvement upon the *Association Geometry*, at least in the sense that it adapts itself so admirably to our national character and to the environments of our educational organizations. For foreigners or even for our own countrymen not in touch with the actual state of affairs in these [those?] days, it would be hard to realise the difficulties with which such a task of compilation was beset. Besides the intrinsic difficulties of producing a really improved text-book of geometry, not only most of the technical terms were to be coined anew in such a manner as to meet with general approval, but also the language itself to be used in such a book, which, as is hardly necessary to add, must ensure clearness and conciseness of definitions, brevity and perspicuity in stating axioms and enunciating theorems, and accuracy and no[n]-redundant completeness in general. How successfully the author mastered the difficulties, is indeed a marvel in view of the peculiar and inimical nature of the Japanese language. There still remains another characteristic feature of the book which it may be worthwhile to notice. Hitherto our ordinary way of writing vertically downwards in successive upright columns from right to left, was used in mathematical publications. As this was found to be obviously inconvenient, there was proposed for mathematical writings a new mode of writing horizontally from left to right after the fashion of occidental [Western] writing and [this] was actually tried in some out-of-the-way mathematical publications. For the first time, however, this mode of writing was definitively adopted in Kikuchi's *Geometry*, and this had the effect of establishing the usage which has been followed ever since."

"I have very many reasons for believing and I do believe that this book is unsurpassed by any other Japanese text-books of elementary geometry which have appeared up to this day. The position occupied by Kikuchi's *Geometry* here in Japan during the last two decades, may fairly and not inappropriately be compared to that held by [Adrien-Marie Legendre, 1752-1833] Legendre's *Élément[s] de géométrie* in France during the several decades in the early part of the last century following its publication which took place towards the close of the eighteenth century [1794]."

This [obituary] notice is the tender tribute of one who was privileged to have been one of his early pupils in days [of] old and who has ever since honoured to walk with him in closest companionship along many and varied pathways. To a superficial observer, he might have appeared to lack zeal and devotion on some occasions, but his character is an instance which justifies the truth of an old proverb which says "when the strong wind blows the tree may break, but the wavering grass will bend and recover." Taken all round and in the long run, as viewed from this day when he is no more, he was as zealous and devoted as a man can possibly be, to the causes which appealed to his matured and firm conviction. He was a man of [the] broadest

interests, a rare and delightful personality, with a flavour of humour, which added fascination to whatever he said and did. No one could come in contact with him without feeling the charm of his kindly, lovable nature and falling under the spell of enthusiasm and untiring energy clothed in all round polished and highly cultivated common sense and mingled with deliberate moderation for minor irregularities, with which he devoted himself to the causes of advancement of education and promotion of knowledge and learning. He was not only an educationist, but also a thinker of insight and wisdom, a strong public character, and withal a man so modest and yet so outspoken that only those who penetrated beneath the surface knew what a unique character his was. Indeed, as a man, he was the embodiment of all that is noble in human nature – the very personification of all the virtues spoken of in the Imperial Rescript on Education, of which he was such an ardent expounder.

Baroness Kikuchi's maiden name was Tatsu [F]ukuda. They were married in May, 1870. They have three sons and five daughters. His heir Taiji Kikuchi has just completed his university course of study in experimental physics, and is a "*silver watch*" which is the appellation given to a select and talented few among hundreds and thousands of the graduates of the Imperial University, to whom are awarded as His Majesty the Emperor's gift silver watches in recognition of their high scholastic attainments on the occasion of the graduation exercises. Dr. Tatsukichi Minobé [1873-1948, born in Hyogo prefecture], Dr. Hideo Hatoyama [1884-1946], professors of law, and Mr. Idsutarō Suehiro [1888-1951, born in Yamaguchi prefecture], assistant professor of law, all three in the same Imperial University of Tokio, are his sons-in-law.

It has fallen to the lot of very few men of learning to preside over the progress of education and the advancement of knowledge for over forty years with unflinching sagacity and unbroken success. If luck can be said to have aided him at all, it was to be found in the happy coincidence that his talent and disposition so well harmonized with [the] time and surroundings in which he lived. Kikuchi's name will go down in the pages of the Japanese history, and it will be remembered of him that although he attained to the highest honours his country could bestow on one who emerged from the too often neglected circle of scientific men, he remained from first to last the same genial, modest and courteous man, the same warmhearted and unchanging friend, the same loyal and devoted servant of his Sovereign and his country.

Tokio, Sept. 1917. Rikitarō Fujisawa [1861-1933, Professor of Mathematics at Tokyo Imperial University]

Appendix II – Selected extracts from the *Cambridge University Reporter* (1878-1906) regarding changes in the Regulations for the Previous Examination to accommodate Asian (and later African) students “not of European parentage”

1. *Cambridge University Reporter* (June 11, 1878, pp. 591-2)

Report of the Board of Oriental Studies

CLARE COLLEGE LODGE, June 10, 1878.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR publishes to the SENATE the subjoined Report of the Board of Oriental Studies.

June 7, 1878.

The BOARD OF ORIENTAL STUDIES has taken into consideration the difficulties experienced by natives of the East in their preparation for the first part of the Previous Examination [known informally as Little Go]. Greek and Latin, the classical languages of Europe, are for the most part entirely unknown to natives of India, when they come into residence at Cambridge: such students are therefore much more heavily burdened than those who have been habituated from their boyhood to the study of Greek and Latin. It should also be remembered that these languages are in this case acquired merely for the purpose of passing the Previous Examination, and are practically useless to natives of India after their return to their own country. It is quite possible that such students may improve their education by the study of Latin, which at least throws light upon the history of English, but no adequate educational gain is secured by the study of Greek. It appears to the Board that the education of such students might be better prompted by requiring them to take in for examination one of the classical languages of the East – Sanskrit or Arabic – in lieu of Greek. These languages are in general imperfectly known to the students in question, but by virtue of cognate vocabulary they can acquire either of them more easily than they can Greek, and such an acquisition will be a clear gain to them after their return to India.

The Board of Oriental Studies therefore recommend that the following changes and additions be made in the regulations for the Previous Examination:

1. That for natives of India, Regulation 1, Part I., section (1) may be omitted.
2. That at the end of Regulation 1, Part I., section (3) there may be added “or for natives of India, if they prefer it, one or more of the Sanskrit or Arabic classics, or a selected portion of such classic or classics, equal in amount to the Greek subjects.”
3. That at the end of Regulation 1, Part I., section (4) there be added “or for natives of India, if they prefer it, a paper of questions on Latin and Sanskrit Grammar, or Latin and Arabic Grammar, with reference principally to the set subjects in those languages.”

GEO. PHILLIPS.

R. L. BENSLEY.

J. J. STEWART PEROWNE.	JOHN PEILE.
WM. WRIGHT.	C. TAYLOR.
E. B. COWELL.	W. H. ROWLANDSON.
E. H. PALMER.	S. M. SCHILLER-SZINESSY.
W. ALDIS WRIGHT.	R. ROST.

2. *Cambridge University Reporter* (June 14, 1887, pp. 853-4)

REPORTS

June 13, 1887.

THE COUNCIL have received a communication made [by Donald MacAlister on March 7, 1887 – see p.105] on behalf of the Japanese students of the University requesting that steps might be taken for enabling them to offer the Chinese classics as a substitute for the Greek subjects of the Previous Examination. Though the obvious difficulties in the way of conducting an examination in Chinese appeared to the Special Board for Oriental Studies (whose opinion in the matter was invited) to be at present not insurmountable, the Council believe that considerations of a more general kind render it desirable to deal with the question in a different way. The Senate has already decided (*Ordinances*, p.7) that, in the case of those natives of India who may desire it, instead of the papers in Greek subjects and accidence there shall be substituted papers in the Sanskrit or Arabic classics and grammar. This arrangement has now existed for several years (Grace, 1 Nov 1878: *Reporter*, p. 591), but its effects have not been wholly satisfactory, and it has been found necessary to introduce special regulations to prevent its misapplication (*Report of Special Board for Oriental Studies*, 7 June 1886: *Reporter*, p. 721). The Council have therefore thought it advisable to consider the Indian and the Japanese students together, as ‘natives of Asia’ whose vernacular is presumably other than English, and whose coming to the University it is desirable not to discourage.

Regarding the Previous Examination as to some extent a test of fitness to profit by the instruction given in the University, and as an indication of the preliminary studies which the University deems it useful to encourage, the Council are of opinion that in the case of Asiatic students English is a more suitable and valuable subject of study than Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic, or Chinese. Without a competent knowledge of English Asiatic students must lose most of the educational advantages of the University, and it therefore appears advisable that they should be encouraged to undertake some systematic study of it before coming into residence. The Council are of opinion that this object may be attained by permitting such students to substitute English for Greek in papers (1), (3), and (5) of Part I of the Previous Examination.

The Council therefore recommend

I. That in the Regulations for the Previous Examination (*Ordinances*, p. 7) the last paragraph of Regulation 7 read as follows:

“Provided further that in the case of those students who, being natives of Asia and not of European parentage, may desire it, instead of the paper marked 1 there shall be substituted a paper on the same Gospel in the Authorised English Version, or on a modern English prose work of a historical character, with questions on the subject matter; and instead of the paper marked 3 a paper on a play of Shakespeare or some other classic English play or poem of similar length, with grammatical and other questions arising thereupon, and instead of the half-paper marked 5 (b) a paper containing one or more subjects for a short English Essay.”

II. That Regulation 8 (*Ordinances*, p. 8) read as follows:

“8. The appointment of the particular Gospel and, in regard to the Latin and Greek Classics, including that which may be substituted for the Gospel, the appointment both of the authors and of the portions of their works which it may be expedient to select shall rest with the Special Board for Classics upon the understanding that the Board shall so limit the subjects of the Examination that the persons who are to be examined may be reasonably expected to show a competent knowledge of all the subjects. In regard to the English subjects the like appointment shall also rest with the Special Board for Classics.”

III. That in Regulation 2 of the Regulations applicable to the Previous General and Special Examinations (*Grace* 9 June 1887) clause (4) read as follows:

“(4) the candidates for examination in the English subjects including either (a) the Gospel in English or (b) the English prose work;”

IV. That in Regulation 19 (*Ordinances*, p. 10) the last clause read as follows*:

“At the same time the Senate shall elect an Examiner in Logic, such Examiner to be a Member of the Senate and to be nominated by the Special Board for Moral Science.”

V. That Regulation 20 (*Ordinances*, p. 11) read as follows:

“20. Of the eight Examiners nominated by the Board of Examinations four shall examine in the subjects of Part I, including the English subjects which may be substituted for Greek, and four in the subjects of Part II.”

* This clause as it stands provides for Examiners in Sanskrit and Arabic as well as in Logic.

C. TAYLOR, *Vice-Chancellor*.

F. WHITTING.

E. ATKINSON.

COUTTS TROTTER.

JAMES PORTER.

A. AUSTEN LEIGH.

M. FOSTER.

E. HILL.

DONALD MACALISTER.

R. A. NEIL.

JOHN PEILE.

3. *Cambridge University Reporter* (February 6, 1906, pp. 477-9)

Report of the Special Board for Oriental Studies

30 January 1906

The SPECIAL BOARD FOR ORIENTAL STUDIES beg leave to present the following Report to the Vice-Chancellor for publication to the SENATE:

1. A Report of the Oriental Board, dated June 7, 1878 ¹, recommended that natives of India [not of European parentage] should be permitted to offer Arabic or Sanskrit instead of Greek in the Previous Examination {Little Go}. This recommendation was submitted to the Senate on November 1, 1878. The Grace {i.e. motion for debate} was non-placeted but carried.

2. A Report of the Oriental Board dated June 1, 1886 ², recommended that this privilege should not be allowed to the students in question after they had completed their third term of residence. An Amended Report of the aforesaid Board in the same sense, dated November 11, 1886 ³, passed the Senate without opposition on January 13, 1887.

3. In June, 1887, a number of Japanese students sent in a petition requesting that they might be allowed to offer Chinese instead of Greek in the Previous Examination. This petition was considered in connection with the privileges already accorded to students who were natives of India [not of European parentage], and as a result of this consideration it was recommended ⁴ that all such students (now classed together as “natives of Asia”) should be allowed to offer English, but not any Oriental language, as a substitute for Greek in the Previous Examination. This proposal was put down for discussion on October 25, 1887, and was carried without opposition on November 10 of the same year ⁵. Thus Arabic and Sanskrit which had been for seven years admitted into the Previous Examination as substitutes, in the case of Asiatic students, for Greek were removed from it.

4. The question of re-introducing certain Oriental languages into the Previous Examination as substitutes for Greek or Latin in the case of certain Asiatic and African students has recently been raised again through two independent and important channels. It has been raised on the one hand on behalf of Chinese and Japanese students by the Foreign Office in consequence of a communication received from the British Minister in Peking {Sir Ernest Satow}, who pointed out that the burden of learning Latin and Greek was to those students who had already received in their own country a “classical” education in their own classical language, *viz.* Chinese, a very heavy one. The British Minister regretted that, in consequence of the obligations now laid upon them in this University to pass in one of these languages, many of them were compelled to seek their European education in other countries where they were not subject to this disability. The same question was also raised by Lord Cromer ⁶ in a communication concerning Egyptian students desirous of pursuing their studies at this University. In both cases it was pointed out that these students were often obliged to spend a year, more or less, in learning a dead language which had no bearing on their own language, literature, or culture, and that this involved to them a deplorable loss of time and money, and prevented them in many cases from profiting as they desired by the facilities for study offered by this University. In the case of the Egyptian students there was an additional motive for desiring the re-introduction of Arabic into the Previous Examination as the equivalents of Greek or Latin, *viz.* to maintain and elevate in the Egyptian Schools (such as the Victoria College at Alexandria) the teaching of classical Arabic.

The Board recognises the importance of these considerations and appreciate the position and experience of the eminent authorities who have urged them. Accordingly they have carefully considered the whole question, bearing in mind its previous history as set forth in the first part of this Report.

They venture to think that the removal of Arabic and Sanskrit from the Previous Examination was not due to any opinion that these Oriental languages were insufficient as alternative subjects of examination, but rather to the difficulty experienced in providing examiners, and to the imminent increase of that difficulty, if Chinese were added to the list of alternative subjects. The expenditure involved in examining was a further consideration. It was felt that it would be difficult, perhaps in a measure unjust, to refuse to Japanese students a privilege analogous to that already granted to Muhammadans {i.e. followers of Islam} and Hindoos, but it was at the same time felt that it would be difficult under circumstances then existing to provide for them the examination in Chinese which they demanded. But on February 9, 1888, the Chinese Professorship was established, and since then a Grace has been sanctioned by the Senate [May 28, 1903] which recognizes Chinese as the subject of a Tripos Examination. The Board in 1887 expressed an opinion that the difficulties in the way of conducting an examination in Chinese were not insurmountable, and they can now confidently assure the Senate that means for adequately testing students in this department are available.

When the Board in 1878 first recommended Arabic and Sanskrit as alternative subjects, the Master of Christ’s

{College} in support of the proposal ⁷ expressed the opinion that it was no variation from the principle on which Greek was required, and that in the case of the Hindoo a classical language of his own would secure the advantages which Greek gave to a European. The Board agreeing, now as then, with this opinion would apply it also to the Muhammadans, Chinese and Japanese, who possess respectively a classical language of their own as essential for their education as Latin and Greek are for the nations of Europe.

In permitting Japanese and Indian students to substitute English for Greek [Grace of the Senate, November 10, 1887; see paragraph 3 above] the Senate adopted the view that for a native of Asia the study of English was as valuable as that of Greek, and in 1878 they had agreed to the substitution of Arabic or Sanskrit for Greek. On both occasions Latin was retained as obligatory. But it has been found that to Asiatic as well as to the Egyptian students ⁸ to whom Lord Cromer refers, Latin is as great a burden as Greek. The Board, considering these facts, are of opinion that if the permission accorded in 1878 were renewed and extended by the addition of Chinese, while the examination in English were retained as at present, these students would then be required to pass an examination in two languages: - (1) a "classical" language of their own, in order to shew that they had received a liberal education corresponding to that which is required from European students; and (2) English, in order to shew that they were qualified to participate with advantage in the studies of an English University. These two languages furnish a test which is at least equivalent to that applied to European students by requiring them to pass in Latin and Greek; and the two (*viz.* a "classical" Oriental language and English) might be accepted as substitutes for Latin and Greek in the Previous Examination. It is better to make sure that these students are capable of participating with advantage in the education afforded here, than to require from them a knowledge of a western "classical" language in addition to the knowledge of their own "classical" language which would be required under the proposed regulations.

The Grace of the Senate of January 13, 1887 (see paragraph 2 above), compelled students to take the alternative paper before the end of their third Term. It was recommended both by the Oriental Board in 1886 and by the Council in the following year that these students should prepare themselves for examination either in their "classical" language or in English before coming into residence. The Board consider that the regulations which they suggest should be administered in accordance with the spirit of that Grace, and the recommendations of the Board and the Council. The object in view is to enable Asiatic and African students who have already received a good liberal education on the lines recognized in their own countries, and possess a sufficient knowledge of English to be able to profit by University teaching, to pass on directly to the special studies which they desire to pursue here. If papers in Arabic, Sanskrit and Chinese were set once a year at the end of the Michaelmas Term, it would afford an opportunity for those who had commenced residence in October to give evidence of their qualifications. Students who are not already qualified should not be encouraged to spend time here in studying subjects which they can study better in their own countries.

The Board also suggest that candidates who take these alternative papers should not be allowed to become candidates for the Oriental Languages Tripos. This restriction is analogous to one recommended in the Report of the Oriental Board of 1886.

The existing condition of affairs both in Egypt and the Far East renders it probable that in the near future an increasing number of students from those parts will desire to pursue their studies in this University. The Board is of opinion (1) that these students should be encouraged to pass through an English University, (2) that they may with advantage to themselves be admitted to pursue their studies here on the conditions recommended in this Report, and (3) that the University in accepting these students under such conditions will not be lowering the standard which it has already adopted.

The Board accordingly recommend:

1. That natives of Asia and Africa not of European parentage be permitted to offer as substitutes for Greek and Latin in the Previous Examination:

- (a) English for one language
- (b) either Arabic, Chinese or Sanskrit for the other.

2. That an examination in Arabic, Chinese and Sanskrit be held (when required) in the Previous Examination which takes place at the end of the Michaelmas Term.

3. That no student be allowed to offer himself as a candidate for this examination after the end of his third Term of residence.

4. That no student who has passed in Arabic, Chinese or Sanskrit in the Previous Examination be allowed to offer himself as a candidate for the Oriental Languages Tripos.

If these recommendations be approved the Board would be prepared to suggest a syllabus of examinations in Arabic, Chinese and Sanskrit. The regulations for English are already in force.

It may not be superfluous to point out that these recommendations are permissive. It will still be possible for any students belonging to these classes to shew their acquaintance with Western literature and methods, if they should desire to do so, by passing the Previous Examination as at present constituted.

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

F. C. BURKITT.

A. A. BEVAN.

H. A. GILES {Professor of Chinese}

A. H. McNEILE.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

E. J. RAPSON.

T. W. ARNOLD.

F. W. THOMAS.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

S. A. COOK.

I. ABRAHAMAS.

4. *Cambridge University Reporter* (May 19, 1906, p. 976)

REPORT

Report of the Special Board for Oriental Studies

18 *May* 1906.

The SPECIAL BOARD FOR ORIENTAL STUDIES beg leave to present the following Report to the Vice-Chancellor for publication to the Senate.

The Senate having (by Grace 2 of 15 March 1906) approved the recommendations of the Special Board for Oriental Studies [see the previous extract, no. 3, dated 6 February 1906] relating to the permission to natives of Asia and Africa not of European parentage to offer substitutes for Greek and Latin in the Previous Examination, the Board have considered what alterations in the existing Ordinances of the University are necessary to give effect to the Grace of the Senate. They are of opinion that those candidates who qualify in Arabic, Chinese or Sanskrit in the examination held in the Michaelmas Term should be allowed to take the other alternative papers in English at any subsequent time at which the Previous Examination is held. The test of literary ability in their own classical language is so distinct in character from the test of the knowledge of English which the remainder of the alternative papers in Part I supply, that there does not seem to be any necessity for requiring that both tests shall be satisfied at the same time. This permission would place students of this class more nearly in the same position as other students, as regards facilities for passing the Previous Examination.

Appendix III – Handwritten correspondence in 1905 between the Foreign Office and Professor Giles of Cambridge University relating to the Exemption of East Asian students from Latin and Greek etc. (from F.O. files held at the Public Record Office)

1) FO17/1668

(a) Draft of letter from F.W. Tyrell of the F.O. to Mr. Herbert A. Giles, Professor of Chinese, Cambridge University (p.258 et seq.)

F.O. June. 5 1905

Dear Sir,

You are no doubt aware that this Office has been in communication with the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge University relative to the facilities wh: [which] could be offered to Chinese students who might visit England to pursue a higher course of study.

The views of the Cambridge University Authorities on the subject were duly communicated to Mr. Moir Duncan⁹, the Principal of the Chinese Govt. University of Shansi, who is the promoter of the scheme.

A reply has now been received from him, copy of which I enclose, commenting on the suggestions put forward on behalf of the University by Mr. Vice Chancellor Beck. It appears from Mr. Duncan's letter that his real object is to secure the cooperation of H.M. Govt. in organizing courses of study for Chinese students and the issue of a handbook on the subject on the Japanese model. He also suggests that, if it were possible to enlist your sympathy and valuable services for this purpose, a guarantee might be given to the Chinese Govt. that their students on coming to England would enjoy the same facilities for study as they receive in Japan.

Lord Lansdowne [Foreign Secretary] thinks it of some importance from a political point of view that every encouragement should be given to the Chinese to visit this country for educational purposes; and I shall be much obliged if you would let me know if and to what extent Mr. Duncan can count on your support in the promotion of his scheme, and if you would favour me, for H.L.'s [His Lordship's, i.e. Lord Lansdowne's] information, with your observations on the enclosed letter.

F.W.T.

(b) Reply from Professor H. A. Giles to F. A. Campbell Esq., C.B. (p. 302):

Selwyn Gardens,
Cambridge

10 June, 1905. [Recd. 12 June and copied to Sir Ernest Satow at Peking, no. 135, June 19/05]

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 5th instant, referring to the education of Chinese in this country, I have the honour to state that I am prepared to place my services at the disposal of the Secretary of State with a view to the furtherance of Mr. Duncan's scheme.

With regard to Chinese students becoming members of this University, there is always the difficulty of the Entrance Examination, which still exacts one classical language (Latin) from natives of Eastern countries. It may therefore be worth mentioning that a movement is now on foot to secure exemption from Latin, as well as from Greek, for all natives as aforesaid who can substitute an adequate knowledge of one of the three great classical languages of the East – Sanskrit, Arabic and Chinese.

There is also in process of establishment at Cambridge a "Foreign Service Students Committee," under the proposed Directorship of Professor Browne, who thinks it quite possible, and very desirable, that the scope of the functions of this Committee should be so enlarged as to meet the case of Chinese students.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

[signed] H. A. Giles

(c) Unsigned and undated memo. (to F. A. Campbell?) (p. 305)

"Sir E. Satow No. 116 of April 6, 05

Facilities for Chinese Students in England

When Sir E. Satow sent home a letter from Mr. Duncan, asking whether there would be any likelihood of the British Govt. recognizing or facilitating the sending of Chinese students to this country, we first consulted Sir H. Macartney. We did not get much assistance from him, and we then wrote to the Universities of Edinburgh, Cambridge and Birmingham, to the London City and Guilds Institute and the Manchester School of Technology, asking on what terms and conditions it would be possible for Chinese students to attend a course of lectures.

We got full information on the subject which we sent out to Sir E. Satow for communication to Mr. Duncan, but it appears that what Mr. Duncan really wants is that H.M.G. should organize courses of study for Chinese students, and he also suggests the issue of a handbook on the subject.

Professor Giles, whom he mentions, has already said that he is willing to give Chinese Students any help in

his power, and he might see his way to organize the courses if he were approached privately. See last paragraph of letter from Univ. of Cambridge of Nov. 1904. He might be able to advise about the handbook too.”

Handwritten response at bottom of memo: “Govt. Depts. cannot organize courses for Chinese students. Please draft a civil letter to Professor Giles asking if he can assist. [initials illegible: F.A.C.?] 31/5/05. Dft. June 5 [6?]/05.”

(d) pp.307-8

Professor Giles June 10/05

Facilities for Chinese Students in England

This looks like a promising scheme. The Foreign Service Students’ Committee will it may be hoped organize courses of study for Chinese Students, and may issue the desired handbook.

Until the movement on foot for the Exemption from Latin of students from Eastern Countries has attained its object, and until the functions of the Committee are enlarged as suggested, we cannot make much progress with Mr. Moir Duncan. When these preliminary steps have been taken we may with advantage get Professor Giles to correspond direct with Mr. Duncan. In the meantime

Qh. [?] Thank Prof. Giles for his letter and say that it will be most kind of him if he will keep us informed of any developments in regard to the scheme.

(e) Draft letter from F.A. Campbell to Professor Herbert A. Giles (p. 326)

[Foreign Office] June 19, 1905

Dear Sir,

Lord Lansdowne desires me to convey to you his best thanks for your letter of the 10th offering to place your services at his disposal for the furtherance of Mr. Duncan’s scheme, and to say that he will be much obliged if you will keep us informed of any developments with regard to the movement for the exemption from the study of Latin of students from the Eastern countries, and also with regard to the extension of the scope of the functions of the Foreign Service Students Committee to meet the case of Chinese.

F. A. C.

2) FO17/1669

Draft of letter no. 135 from F.A. Campbell to Sir Ernest Satow (pp.80-81)

F.O. June 19, 1905.

Sir,

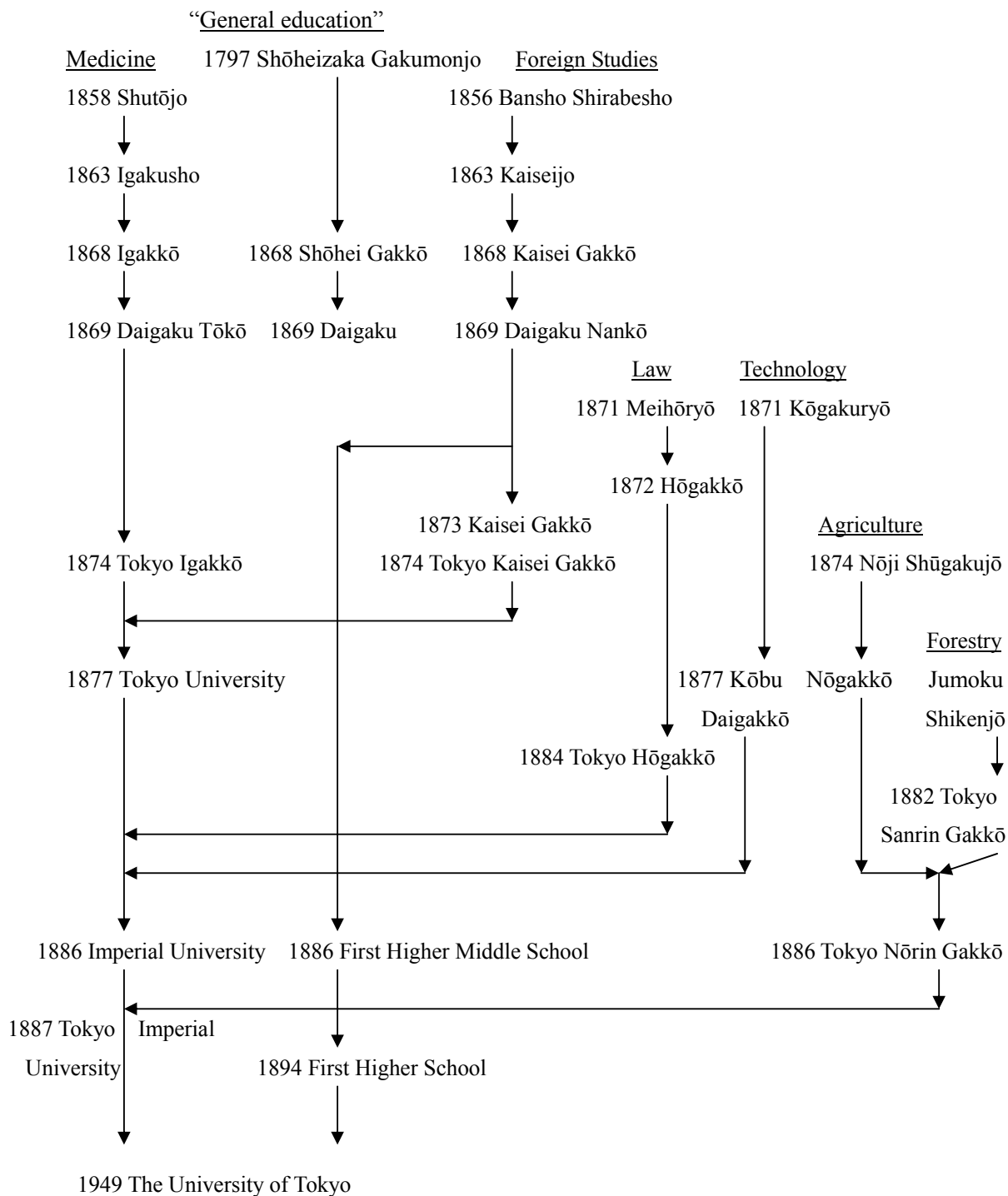
I communicated with Mr. Giles, Professor of Chinese at Cambridge University, on the subject of your despatch No. 116 of April 6 last and I transmit to you, herewith, a copy of his reply, kindly offering his services for the promotion of Mr. Duncan Moir's [Moir Duncan's] scheme to enable Chinese students to pursue their studies at an English University.

Mr. Giles points out that the standing difficulty in the way of native students from Eastern countries becoming members of the University is the Entrance Examination ["the Previous Examination"] which still exacts one [European] classical language as a test for admission, but he expects that this obstacle will be overcome by a movement which is now on foot to secure the exemption from Latin or Greek for all natives who can substitute an adequate knowledge of Sanskrit, Arabic, or Chinese. There is also in process of formation at Cambridge a "Foreign Service Students Committee" the functions of which it is hoped will be so enlarged as to meet the case of Chinese students.

I have thanked Mr. Giles for his offer and asked him to keep me informed of any developments with regard to these schemes.

F.A.C.

Appendix IV – The Imperial University of Tokyo and its Predecessors



Appendix V – Chronology relating to the Japanese Students at Cambridge

- 1826 ‘London University’ (University College) is founded.
- 1831 King’s College, London is founded with a royal charter as a university.
- 1836 London University (including University College and King’s College) is founded by the British government with a university charter.
- 1853 Murakami Keijirō is born.
- 1853, 1854 U.S. Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry visits Japan twice in the “Black Ships”.
- 1854 Donald MacAlister is born in Scotland.
- 1855 Birth of Kikuchi Dairoku (March 17), and of Suematsu Kenchō (September 30).
- 1861 Kikuchi enters the *Bansho-shirabesho* (Institute for Investigating Barbarian Books)
- 1863 Five Chōshū students (including Itō Hirobumi and Inoue Kaoru) are sent to Britain to study. Kikuchi is ordered to teach punctuation at the *Kaiseijo*.
- 1865 Nineteen students from Satsuma in southern Kyushu (including Godai Tomoatsu, Terashima Munenori and Nagasawa Kanae) are sent to Britain to study.
- 1866 Fourteen students (including Kikuchi) are sent to Britain on December 1st by the Tokugawa Shogunate, under the supervision and care of William Lloyd [see Chapter Two]. Sir Harry Parkes (British Minister in Japan) recommends that they study at London University, and Lord Stanley (Foreign Secretary) that they study at University College and its preparatory school, University College School (U.C.S.).
- 1867 The students arrive on February 2nd. 11 Japanese students register at U.C.S. (December).
- 1868 The students sent by the shogunate are recalled from London in May, arriving back in Yokohama together with a group from Paris on August 13th.
- 1869 Kikuchi studies French at the *Kaisei Gakkō* (January).
- 1870 Kikuchi Dairoku ‘attends’ the *Daigaku Nankō* as a teacher (September). At the end of the year he enters U.C.S. for the second time, with Edward Maltby ‘in loco parentis’.
- 1871 The Universities’ Religious Tests Act is passed, making religion no obstacle to being a student or fellow at either Oxford or Cambridge.

- 1873 Kikuchi Dairoku graduates from U.C.S. with prizes in Latin and Mathematics (the latter shared with Sidney White). He passes the entrance exam for London University (June), and enters St. John's College, Cambridge University (October). He is admitted to the University as a pensioner on November 10th. All government-funded students are ordered back to Japan by Kuki Ryūichi acting for the *Dajōkan* (Grand Council of State), but Kikuchi manages to stay in England thanks to financial support from the Japanese Legation (July 1873 – March 1874) and from Hachisuka Mochiaki, then studying at Oxford University. Kikuchi becomes indebted to Hachisuka.
- 1875 The Leys School is founded in Cambridge with Methodist traditions. Several Japanese subsequently attend the school preparatory to entering Cambridge University (they are commemorated by a stained glass window at the school chapel). [See Chapter Five]
- 1877 Kikuchi and MacAlister both graduate with a B.A. from Cambridge in the mathematical tripos (January), and from London. Kikuchi aged 22 is appointed Professor of the newly established Tokyo University after his return to Japan on June 4th. He changes his name from Mitsukuri to Kikuchi in his family register & marries Fukuda Tatsu in December.
MacAlister is elected a fellow of St. John's College (November).
- 1878 Suematsu Kenchō arrives in London (April 1st) to train at the Japanese legation.
- 1880 Suematsu is discharged from the Japanese legation (December) and begins to study Latin, Greek and Arithmetic for the Previous (i.e preliminary) Examination (Little-Go).
- 1881 Kikuchi is appointed dean of the Faculty of Science, Tokyo University until 1893.
- 1882 Maeda Toshitake registers as a non-collegiate student at Cambridge (October).
- 1883 The Incident of Meiji 16: student misconduct at Tokyo University is blamed on Kikuchi's story of the Wooden Spoon at the Cambridge graduation ceremony. Kikuchi is publicly censured by the then Minister of Education (Fukuoka Takachika). 146 students are sent down for six months.
Suematsu Kenchō is admitted to St. John's College as a pensioner (October).
- 1884 Kikuchi attends the Conference for Meridian and Time Measurement at Washington, and the Conference of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Montreal where he meets Donald MacAlister, who is awarded M.D. that year.

- Suematsu Kenchō is awarded the LL.B. degree (December). Maeda Toshitake graduates with an ordinary B.A., third class.
- 1885 Yasuhiro Banichirō and Kuroda Nagashige matriculate at Cambridge, graduating in 1887. Soeda Juichi also matriculates, but does not graduate as he already has a B.A. from Tokyo University. He accompanies Kuroda, and later studies at Heidelberg University, returning to Japan in 1887.
- 1886 Matura Atsushi reaches London (January), accompanied by Inagaki Manjirō. Inagaki registers as a non-collegiate student for the Michaelmas term (October-December) and all of the following year. Tokyo University is renamed the Imperial University.
- 1887 Through Donald MacAlister, Inagaki Manjirō submits a petition to the Vice-Chancellor Rev. Dr. C. E. Searle, and as a result Japanese students are exempted from Greek in the preliminary examination (Little-Go).
Hamao Arata is awarded an honorary law doctorate, proposed by Donald MacAlister to the Council of the Senate on May 30th.
- 1888 Inagaki Manjirō is admitted to Gonville and Caius College as a pensioner (January). Donald MacAlister is the guarantor of his good character.
Thomas Wade is appointed Cambridge University's first professor of Chinese until his death in 1895.
The first meeting of the Japanese Club founded by Inagaki at Cambridge is held (November). A total of fifteen meetings is held until the club ceases to function in 1895.
- 1889 Inagaki is awarded an ordinary B.A. in History (December).
- 1890 Matura Atsushi is admitted to Trinity College as a pensioner (October) and enrolls at the University. He stays in England until 1893 but does not graduate.
Inagaki leaves Cambridge, much regretted by Dr. C. E. Searle.
Hirosawa Kinjirō is admitted to Gonville and Caius College (October). He graduates with an LL.B. in 1893.
- 1891 Soejima Michimasa is admitted to St. John's College (October). He graduates with an ordinary B.A. in History in 1894. The Japan Society of London is founded (December).
- 1892 Mōri Gorō of the Chōshū clan is admitted to Gonville and Caius College, graduating in 1895 with an ordinary B.A.
- 1893 Tanaka Ginnosuke is admitted to Trinity Hall from the Leys. In 1900-01 with Edward Bramwell Clarke of Corpus Christi College he introduces rugby to Keio University.

- 1895 Nabeshima Naomitsu of the Saga clan is admitted to Gonville and Caius College. A keen rugby player, he graduates with an ordinary B.A. in 1897.
- 1896 The Cambridge Club meets for the first time in Tokyo (January 24), see Satow's diary.
- 1897 Professor Herbert Giles is appointed the second professor of Chinese at Cambridge.
- 1898 Hamaguchi Tan of Waseda registers as a non-collegiate student (October). He graduates in 1902. Isawa Katsumi enters St. John's College (August) and matriculates (October). After ill health he fails to graduate and dies in Japan in October 1903.
Kikuchi Dairoku is appointed President of the Imperial University of Tokyo.
- 1900 London University is reformed, and University College is separated from University College School (U.C.S.). The final split occurs in 1905 (see p.16). Natsume Sōseki visits Cambridge (November 1st and 2nd) but decides not to study there.
- 1901 Kikuchi Dairoku is appointed Minister of Education until 1903.
Timothy Keishi Hori enters St. John's. He receives an ordinary B.A. in December 1906.
- 1902 The Anglo-Japanese Alliance is signed in London (January 30).
Iwasaki Koyata enters Pembroke College. He graduates B.A. (Hons.) in 1904.
- 1903 The first Waseda overseas alumni meeting is held at Hamaguchi's London residence (April 12). Ōkura Kishichirō enters Trinity College, Cambridge. He does not graduate.
Kikuchi resigns as Minister of Education to take responsibility for the *Tetsugakukan* textbook scandal.
- 1904 The Russo-Japanese War begins (February 10). Suematsu Kenchō presents Japan's case in Europe. Kikuchi succeeds General Nogi Maresuke as Principal of *Gakushūin*.
- 1905 The Japan Society meets to hear H.J. Edwards, Dean of Peterhouse talk about 'Japanese undergraduates at Cambridge University' (January 11). The Russo-Japanese War ends.
- 1906 Sir Ernest Satow dines with the *Kengyūkai* (May 30) in Tokyo on his way home to London from Peking to retire from the diplomatic service.
The first tripos examinations in Chinese are held at Cambridge.
- 1907 Donald MacAlister is appointed Principal of Glasgow University (January). Prince Fushimi Sadanaru receives honorary doctorates from Cambridge and Oxford (May).
Kikuchi is invited to England to lecture on Japanese Education at London University. He arrives on January 28th. Kikuchi is awarded honorary law doctorates by Glasgow (April) and Manchester (June), is reunited with his U.C.S. school friend Sidney White and attends the opening ceremony for the new school buildings at Frognaal, North London on July 26th.

Kikuchi leaves England on August 8th. Marie Stopes arrives in Japan to research paleontology, 1907-09. She founds the London University Union.

- 1909 The last Wooden Spoon is awarded to Cuthbert L. Holthouse of St. John's College.
Baron Kujō Yoshimune marries Kujō Takeko and they leave Kōbe port for England (December). Takeko returns to Japan in October 1910 and becomes a poetess while she yearns for her husband, but the Baron does not return until December 1920.
- 1910 Kikuchi lectures on Japanese Education at Carnegie Hall, New York City (February 1).
- 1912 The Meiji Emperor dies in the 45th year of his reign. Emperor Taishō succeeds him.
- 1915 The Japanese ambassador Inoue Katsunosuke investigates Baron Kujō's case.
- 1917 Baron Kikuchi Dairoku dies on August 19, aged 62. The funeral is in Shinto style.
- 1920 Baron Suematsu Kenchō dies after illness on October 5, aged 65.

(Chronology prepared by I. Ruxton)

Appendix VI:

Japanese Undergraduates at Cambridge University

by H. J. Edwards, M.A., M.J.S. [Member of the Japan Society]

Fellow and Dean of Peterhouse, Cambridge ¹⁰

Last June it was our privilege and pleasure in Cambridge to welcome a little company of visitors, English and Japanese, composed under the auspices of this Society.

From the beginning of its existence the [Japan] Society has been pretty closely connected with the University. There are many Cambridge men among its officers and members; and the President himself, His Excellency the Viscount Hayashi [Tadasu], received from the University in 1902 the honorary degree of LL.D. [Latin, *legum doctor*, Doctor of Laws]. The proposal that some of the London members and of the Japanese residents in London should pay a visit to Cambridge, was made on the occasion of the last annual dinner of the Society to our late Chairman, Mr. Diosy, ¹¹ who, with his usual promptness and tact, carried the arrangements to a successful conclusion.

While our visitors were at Peterhouse, the oldest College of the University, I was invited to contribute a paper to your *Proceedings*. Anxious to choose a subject which might in some sort represent both Cambridge and Japan, I proposed then to say something about the Japanese who had come into closer contact with the University by actual residence therein. My remarks this evening about Japanese undergraduates are based upon personal acquaintance and observation in a good many cases; but the kindness of friends at Cambridge – especially of Dr. Donald MacAlister and Dr. G. F. [C. F.] Rogers, both members of this Society – has enabled me to blend their impressions with my own, and so to make the picture more complete.

Though my chief object is rather to set before you a summary of general experience, I shall not be forgetful or neglectful of single careers and characters; and I would at the outset disarm criticism, in case there may be present here any of those who may be mentioned by name, with an assurance that what is said is actuated by motives of good will towards them and their nation.

It is more than thirty years since the first Japanese students came to Cambridge, early in the seventies [1870s], when Japan was eagerly learning all that Europe was able to teach. Among the first to wear the gown of a Cambridge undergraduate was Dairoku Yasuyuki Kikuchi [1855-1917], who entered St. John's College in 1873 from University College School, where he had already marked himself out for distinction by obtaining the third place in the London University Matriculation Examination. "He soon attracted notice (writes his College Tutor) for his bright

temper, keen and inquisitive intelligence, and undoubted mathematical ability.” The College examinations which he took in his first and second year showed him to be a first-class man, and the Mathematical Tripos of 1877, in which he came out as nineteenth wrangler, placed him among the best men of the year in the University. But his activities had not been confined to mathematical studies, for he had found time to take a full share in the numerous occupations that go to make up College life. He had been secretary of the Lady Margaret Boat Club – and boat club secretaries, as everybody knows, must walk warily and work willingly. He was courageous enough once to propose, in the College Debating Society, a highly controversial motion – “That the conduct of Englishmen in Japan is unworthy of their nationality” – and eloquent enough to carry the house with him. It is not surprising that a man of such ability and such force of character should successively become Professor of Mathematics in the University of Tōkyō, then President of the same, then Minister of Education, and a member of the House of Peers. His success, most gratifying to his Cambridge teachers and friends, must have done much to stimulate others of his countrymen to follow his brilliant example.

A short time afterwards St. John’s College counted among its undergraduates a name which has since become well known, not in this country only, but throughout Europe – Kenchio Suyematz¹² [see Chapter 4]. He came to the University to study law, and is remembered by those who knew him there as a man of ready speech and merry mood, with a touch of originality that never failed to attract. One story – for which my informant does not hold himself inextricably responsible – may be retold here. On the towing-path, among the rowing-men of his College – who wore the familiar scarlet jackets that have added the word “blazer” to the English language – Suyematz appeared in a brilliant but unknown uniform. “What club does that blazer represent?” asked the men of scarlet. The answer came, admirable and ingenious – “Club? Suyematz Club! I invented it myself!” I need scarcely recall in this assembly the subsequent career of Baron Suyematz, who has shown himself as successful in translating Japanese classics [in particular *Genji Monogatari*] as in defending Japanese policy and ideals – a man of whom his College is most justly proud.

In 1886, Manjiro Inagaki [Inagaki Manjirō, born in Hirado in 1861] came to Cambridge, and became a member of Gonville and Caius College. For several years, from this time onwards, there were generally about ten Japanese undergraduates in the University, mostly men of noble birth. Inagaki became in a sense the guide, philosopher and friend of his compatriots, and it was to his initiative that the Japanese Club owed its origin and development. “The chief object of this Club,” I quote from the printed record of the same, “is to study the training and character of the English

Gentleman; in other words, to inquire (a) what are the qualities of the English Gentleman, (b) how and where the high character of the English Gentleman is produced; and, having ascertained that certain qualities are possessed by the English Gentleman, to inquire into the best means of cultivating among ourselves the like qualities.” Two successive Ministers of Japan to the Court of St. James’s – Viscount Kawase [Kawase Masataka] and Viscount Aoki [Aoki Shūzō] – were presidents of the Club; its vice-presidents were the Reverend Dr. [Charles Edward] Searle, late Master of Pembroke College, and Dr. Donald MacAlister, Fellow and Tutor of St. John’s. Its honorary members consisted chiefly of Japanese who had graduated at Cambridge; its ordinary members were those still *in statu pupillari*. In the years 1888-1895 the Club held fifteen meetings; as a rule, the members with their friends were entertained at luncheon, and subsequently listened to a paper read by some leading person in the University. At the first meeting, for instance, the late Sir Thomas Wade, K.C.B., Professor of Chinese in the University, who had for some time resided in Japan also, ¹³ gave an address on “The Character of the English Gentleman and English Public Schools,” a subject upon which he spoke with direct knowledge, as an Old Harrovian. ¹⁴ You may see what was the variety of subjects discussed at the subsequent meetings, and what the authority of the chief speakers, when I mention a few instances in illustration.

The Reverend Dr. Westcott (then Regius Professor of Divinity, afterwards Lord Bishop of Durham) spoke on “The Influence of Christianity upon the Character of the English Gentleman;” the Reverend Dr. Searle (then Master of Pembroke) on “The Comity of Nations;” Professor MacAlister on “Science as a Training;” Dr. Verrall on “Literature as a Training;” the Reverend Dr. Butler (Master of Trinity) on “English Gentlemen in the Past;” Sir Richard Jebb, M.P. (Regius Professor of Greek) on “The House of Commons;” Sir John Seeley (Regius Professor of Modern History) on “History and Ethics;” the Reverend Dr. Cunningham on “The Sacredness of Property.”

The fifteenth meeting, held on June 4th, 1895, elicited a characteristic address from Dr. F. W. Maitland (Downing Professor of the Laws of England) on “The English Gentleman in English Law.” With a quiet humour which is all his own, Professor Maitland led his audience to the legal part of his subject, an exposition of the text that “our law knows, and for many centuries past has known, nothing, or next to nothing, of gentlemen.” This, he went on to say, was one trait in the history of the English gentleman which had exercised a powerful influence on the political institutions, not only of England, but of Western Europe and America. “Sometimes it seems to me

(concluded the Professor) that the legal non-existence or legal nonentity of the English gentleman is, and has been for several centuries, his very essence.” In proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, Mr. G. Mori [Mōri Gorō], of Gonville and Caius College, honorary secretary of the Japanese Club, made a capital little speech, which showed that he clearly appreciated the disappearance of caste-feeling in England, and the growing tendency in public opinion to judge a gentleman solely by his character. The Master of Pembroke, who had entertained the Club on this occasion, added a few remarks which possess a renewed interest to-day in view of recent events in the Far East. “Japan,” said Dr. Searle, “has been very much before the world this year, and you have very much surprised many people – you have not surprised me – by the exhibition of those great virtues which your country possesses. Your country has now rightly gained a position amongst the prominent nations of the world....When the [Sino-Japanese] war [of 1894-95] was ended, when you had your enemies under your heel, you did not exact all that you had a right to do.¹⁵ That is one of the chief characteristics of a gentleman : not to claim all he has a strict right to....I have always said that the Japanese are by nature gentlemen. I said it in the University pulpit [at Great St. Mary’s Church] on one occasion, and Mr. Inagaki was, I remember, very pleased by the remark.” Mr. K. Noda [Noda Kiyotane] (a non-collegiate student), in proposing a vote of thanks to the Master of Pembroke for presiding, remarked that the friendly feelings of the Japanese were called forth in no uncertain fashion by the kindly interest which leading members of the University had taken in the proceedings of the Club.

I must not leave this part of my subject without stating that the creation of this bond of sympathy was chiefly due to the skill, energy, and enterprise of Mr. Inagaki, who was in truth the life and soul of the Club during the years of his residence at Cambridge. One result of the friendships that it enabled him to form may be seen in the fact that he induced Sir John Seeley to write a preface for his book on “Japan and the Pacific,” in which recent developments were in large measure foretold. It is a matter for sincere regret that the Japanese Club at Cambridge has not continued its existence up to the present time. I may be allowed to express a hope that it will be revived, for an institution such as has been described cannot fail to be of real and lasting benefit and pleasure to both the high contracting parties.

In our list of professorships there is at present no representative of Japanese, and the true cosmopolitanism of culture – as one of the newspapers called it this morning – certainly suggests that such a chair should be established in the near future. For myself, I would gladly see Cambridge taking the lead among the universities as a student of Japanese history and literature;

and if teachers are needed, I doubt not that our [Japanese] friends will be able to furnish them for us. ¹⁶

I pass now to consider briefly what are the impressions left by Japanese students upon those with whom they have come in contact, in the various relations of university life – in work, in play, and in society.

For some reason or other, Cambridge has received a large proportion – I am not sure whether I should be justified in claiming the majority – of the Japanese students who have come to England to seek a university education. Whatever may be the reason for this choice – whether it be the Cambridge rule which remits Littlego Greek [an entrance examination in Greek] in the case of Asiatic undergraduates (a remission which some of our academic authorities would wish to see extended to British undergraduates also); or whether it be the variety of subjects that may be studied for a degree – it is certainly true to say that the Japanese have always received careful and courteous attention from the teachers of the University and of their several Colleges. A fair proportion of those who come proceed to degrees – some fifteen names are to be found in the degree-lists up to 1900, and one or two of these occupy positions of distinction which bespeak a high standard of intellectual ability. In some cases a general course of study has been pursued, without a degree as its immediate object. It will be readily understood that the English language (which, by the way, many of the Japanese undergraduates speak not only accurately, but gracefully) adds a liberal contribution of difficulties to the tasks of those who do present themselves for university examinations; and, after all, students who come from afar, if they have eyes to see and ears to hear, may learn from the *genius loci* [Latin: spirit of the place] lessons as valuable as those which are tested and appraised by the accepted mechanism of examinations. Cambridge teachers are unanimous in declaring the Japanese to be pleasant to work with, and most of them have evinced a genuine desire to learn; but I gather from evidence given to me that, unless the work of the students has been submitted to the test of public examination, the most conscientious teachers have found it extremely difficult, almost impossible, to determine how far the instruction given has taken root in the mind of the pupil, how far the main points have made their mark, and the relative values of things been appreciated. I have in mind the case of a man who came to the University to add to his qualifications for editorial work; he stayed a comparatively short time, and never intended to take any examinations. It was the opinion of one of his lecturers that in parts of the subject which the student had had little or no opportunity of preparing beforehand, it was extremely difficult for him to assimilate and thoroughly to

appropriate the new material submitted to him; but that he was at once more happy and more ready in receiving further instruction upon things that he already had knowledge of when he came to the University. In other words, the previous education of our Japanese students, whether in English homes or schools, or in their own country, necessarily has an important bearing upon their capacity to receive University teaching.

It is naturally to be expected that as time goes on, and university education in Japan supplies more and more completely the highest intellectual training, the Japanese who come to English universities for other purposes than that of obtaining an actual acquaintance with young English life will be more and more concerned with special subjects – will, in fact, be “Advanced Students,” as we call them nowadays, *i.e.* graduates of other universities who desire to carry out special courses of study or research in the particular departments of learning to which they have devoted themselves. “Advanced Students” are of necessity brought more into connexion with the senior than with the junior life of the University, and have exceptional opportunities of direct communication and conversation with the leading men in their several departments of learning. The establishment of intellectual relationships of this character is emphatically to be desired, in the best interests of universal knowledge and universal peace. The experience of our Japanese visitors may well induce English graduates some day to return the compliment, and to seek for the continuance of their own special studies in Japanese universities.

For a few of us the association with Japanese undergraduates which has begun in the work-room has blossomed into friendships veritable and valuable. I owe my introduction to the Japan Society to one such case. At Trinity College, some thirteen years ago, I had as a pupil Masa Aki Hachisuka.¹⁷ He came to me after having tried several times without success to pass one of the earlier examinations of the University, and there was some danger lest his course of study for a degree might be seriously impeded, if not altogether interrupted. I am happy to say that the work which we did together not only enabled him to satisfy the examiners then (as he continued to do afterwards, without let or hindrance, until he obtained his degree), but laid the foundation of a friendship which has continued to the present time. Hachisuka went back to his native country in 1895, and now holds important positions, as a Master of Ceremonies in the Imperial Court, and as secretary of the Peers’ Club. Letters pass now and again between us, and I look forward with pleasurable anticipations to the prospect of seeing him again one day in Japan. As a student he was always modest, earnest and painstaking; he knew his weak points, and laboured most conscientiously to strengthen them. He took a keen interest in the various subjects of study, and

arranged his work with a thoroughness and precision that was pretty to see and pleasant to remember. His gratitude for the assistance given to him in his studies was sincere and enduring. His farewell present, a large collection of Japanese photographs which he had brought with him when he came to England, remains one of my treasured keepsakes.

In the organized athletic amusements of their several Colleges, the Japanese, as a whole, have taken no prominent part. Here and there one of them has helped his college boat – generally as coxswain, an office for which the light build of this race is, in the eyes of the boat-captain, eminently suited. You have already learned that Kikuchi was secretary of his college boat club. N. Nabeshima¹⁸ played half-back in the Rugby football team of Gonville and Caius College. His contemporaries tell of him that he was one of the nimblest and smartest of “halves,” and threw into the game all the fierce zeal that its mimic warfare prompted. He would execute a little war-dance on his own account when his side scored a goal. A few Japanese have resorted to the gymnasium, and tried their skill in boxing with some success. Their muscular development has been noted by Cambridge doctors as being remarkably subtle and complete; far less burly than the average English undergraduate, they have generally proved that they could, if need were, use their strength skilfully and effectively.

In the ordinary round of our common life they take their part easily and unaffectedly. No one has ever found them anything but courteous in the extreme, with a scrupulous politeness that not only prevents possible awkwardness on our part, but inevitably wins sympathy. It is probably correct to say of them that they like the society in which they find themselves, as it is certainly true that the society likes them. English undergraduates welcome them to their rooms and parties, and in not a few cases to their homes. When they entertain in turn, the Japanese generally conform to the conventions of the place; but sometimes, in a quiet tea-hour, they may be induced to prepare the feast in their own fashion. I can remember a day on which I drank Japanese tea, as I looked at the school drawing-books of an undergraduate, and admired the intricate curves that his juvenile wrist had been taught to draw in far-away Japan.

As strangers in a strange land, the Japanese cling closely together, and may generally be met in twos and threes; it is a real pleasure to act as host when they bring, with all possible politeness, a new-comer to be introduced. They observe shrewdly and unobtrusively the facts, fancies and frivolities of English university life; and they express themselves with an accuracy of judgment which is rarely at fault, lapsing sometimes into silence with a courtesy which must be known to be appreciated. I never knew a Japanese undergraduate who could in the remotest degree be called

silly; yet none are sad, and few are even solemn. They take an interest in most things, and join in the lesser entertainments with pleasure; they have never attracted attention as a class which lives apart, and they do not create, or receive, sensational impressions. Occasionally, indeed, I have heard it said that they appear to be somewhat indifferent to subjects that serious Englishmen count worthy of life-long attention and unwearied study.

The friendships which the Japanese form at Cambridge, though natural and cordial for the most part, rarely develop into real intimacies such as are common enough between our fellow-countrymen at the University, because few confidences are given or invited. There is, in fact, a faint film of reserve, not always unpleasant, not altogether un-English, over almost all their relations with us; it is seen in the smile which rarely becomes a laugh, in the regard which scarcely ever becomes admiration, in the impression which does not often ripen into conviction.

As a rule, our Japanese friends live very simply, and show little taste for luxury in its more substantial forms. They regard the wealth of England as a vast engine of possibility and power, and sometimes have been heard to say, "What would not Japan do, had she this capital?" Love of country they evidently cherish as a sacred thing – no cheap cockade to be worn when war-fever is high, but an unobtrusive, unwavering *pietas* that is as sure as it is silent, and as quick as it is quiet. I well remember the dutiful attention with which one of them followed the decisive developments of the Japanese war with China. There was not an atom of jingoism in his temperament, but there was a good deal of its Oriental equivalent – the patience and confidence that knows and needs no hurry.

The ordinary Cambridge undergraduate is too much preoccupied, and too much accustomed nowadays to the presence of others than Englishmen in the University, to pay particular attention to the Japanese. For them this has its advantages, in that they see our young men as they are; and for the Englishman, it is only fair to say that he is always willing to meet a Japanese on a perfectly frank and friendly footing, for the chivalrous spirit of Japan, as evidenced ten years ago [in the Sino-Japanese War], and again in this last year [in the Russo-Japanese War], by the conduct of her fighting-men, appeals strongly to the instincts of fair play and good sportsmanship which the undergraduate regards as the best heritage of his being. Kindred spirits do not need to waste many words over mutual amenities, but they may look back with pleasure and gratitude upon the place and the time which discovered their kinship for them; and when old Cambridge men, of British birth and Japanese, meet as they do, once a year or so, to dine at Tōkyō in honour of their common Alma Mater, they pay no unimportant or uncertain tribute to the academic alliance of East and West. I hope that the Japanese students at Cambridge to-day (one of whom, I am glad to

say, is a member of Peterhouse) may in their turn look back on their term of residence in our midst with similar gratification. A true word is often spoken in jest, and in the playful pages of *Punch*, a Cambridge poet – Mr. Owen Seaman ¹⁹ – has expressed a sentiment that I will take as my conclusion tonight : -

“Thus saith the Voice to the wearers of Chrysanthemums.
‘East is West and West is East, for now the twain are one;
We are white and ye are yellow,
Ye are young and we are mellow,
Yet we’ll hold the Seas together for the Lion and the Sun.”

The CHAIRMAN [Charles Holme] ²⁰: I am sure you will agree with me that Mr. Edwards’s paper has the great virtue of being all too short. Before its delivery I was in doubt whether he could find sufficient material to interest an audience which, to a considerable extent, has no connection with our universities, but the result has been to altogether dissipate my doubts. I should wish, before asking for criticism and discussion, to make one or two remarks with reference to the Club which was founded for the study of what constitutes an English gentleman. To leave the university in debt is not always considered discreditable to such an one; it is therefore greatly to the credit of his Japanese imitator that no one of these has as yet been known to leave the university in this plight. As regards a Chair of Japanese at Cambridge University, we stand in great need of it. I will merely give one instance to prove it. The English Government has just decided that a certain number of English officers shall learn the Japanese language. They will have to be sent out at great cost to Japan, because in England there is no place where they can be instructed.²¹ Over six hundred officers have applied to be included amongst the eight who are to go this year – a proof how much the need of a knowledge of the language is recognized. The money spent on sending out these eight would have paid for a much larger number had the place of teaching been Cambridge instead of Tōkyō. We must, as usual, wait for another Cecil Rhodes to arise and provide funds for the education for the English who would learn Japanese.

I am sorry to hear that at my old college, Trinity Hall, we have no Japanese, as they make such admirable coxswains. I will now call for your remarks and discussion on the subject.

Mr. KADONO (*Member of Council, J. S.*): I am very glad to hear such a good report of my countrymen, many of whom I know personally. We keep the number of students at much the same relative value as they were ten years ago, perhaps slightly less. The class of student may be rather different; education here is very expensive, and therefore they have to be the sons of well-to-do people who can afford to pay for their sons. The majority of our students must stay at home. In former years the Government paid for poor students, and that, perhaps, accounts for the larger number then than now. There is a great deal to be said for English methods of education, which form the characters of men as much as book education. I am quite sure that many will advocate sending their sons to learn such methods in English universities; but Japan is still in the case that it requires “applied sciences” more perhaps than the formation of character, and therefore the inexpensiveness of education in Germany, coupled with the opportunities for learning applied science, makes so many of our men go to Germany for two years and to England for half a year.

Mr. STANTON WISE: May I be allowed to make a few remarks on this subject? I have listened to Mr. Edwards’s paper with great interest. I was contemporary with the first Japanese student he mentioned. Mr. Edwards has told us that Mr. Kikuchi was secretary to the Lady Margaret Club – that I was not aware of. He also added that Japanese students have been very useful as coxswains in the boats. I can produce a photograph in which I was bow and Mr. Kikuchi was “cox.” I must apologise for mentioning such a frivolous subject. I am quite certain that everything that Mr. Edwards has said of the Japanese students, of their conscientiousness, hard work, keenness of observation, and other points, is well deserved. I am very sorry to hear that the number of Japanese students is decreasing; I hope that the number will be kept up; their presence is an extremely valuable experience for the English universities, who gain thereby as much as the Japanese. May we hope for a corresponding paper on the careers of Japanese students at Oxford? It should be as interesting as the one we have had.

Mr. WILSON CREWDSON (*Hon. Sec. J.S.*): I have been extremely interested tonight. The Japanese first went to London University, then to Cambridge, and now we hear of them in considerable numbers at Harvard and Yale, which may account for the lesser number at Cambridge; but a paper would be equally interesting on the Japanese students at Yale. The Japanese language is very different to ours; the Japanese think backwards, spell backwards, and write backwards, as has been said by a great authority on them.²² I have always felt that the

Samurai of Japan really represented our highest type of English gentleman. Perhaps a better idea could not be given than the tradition that when acting together all rely on each other to do their best. That is one of the traditions of the English gentleman, that, in an unassuming way, he does his very best without looking for a reward. I cannot help thinking that the Japanese reserve also springs from the same training.

Mr. UKITA (*Hon. Sec. J.S.*) : Before I propose a Vote of Thanks to the reader of the Paper, may I tell you about some of our Japanese who were students in England at the universities? Mr. Kikuchi is now holding the position of President of the Parliament. He is now staying in London, and is still very energetic, and is doing his best for his country. He has, in fact, been lecturing this afternoon at the Royal Asiatic Society. Another late Cambridge student is now studying at Berne. All the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge are doing well in Japan, and they are the envy of all the other students. The difficulty of entering the university is that for most of the students two or three years of study is necessary before admittance can be had. I must thank Mr. Edwards for his kind lecture, but I am afraid we are over-praised.

Captain LANGTON, R. A. [Royal Artillery]: As one of the six hundred officers who applied to go to Japan, I should like to say that eight officers are already there, in addition to those attached to the Japanese Army. ²³ I have much pleasure in seconding the Vote of Thanks.

The CHAIRMAN: A Vote of Thanks has been proposed and seconded to Mr. Edwards for his admirable paper. Carried *nem. con.* [Latin: *nemine contradicente*, with no one dissenting.]

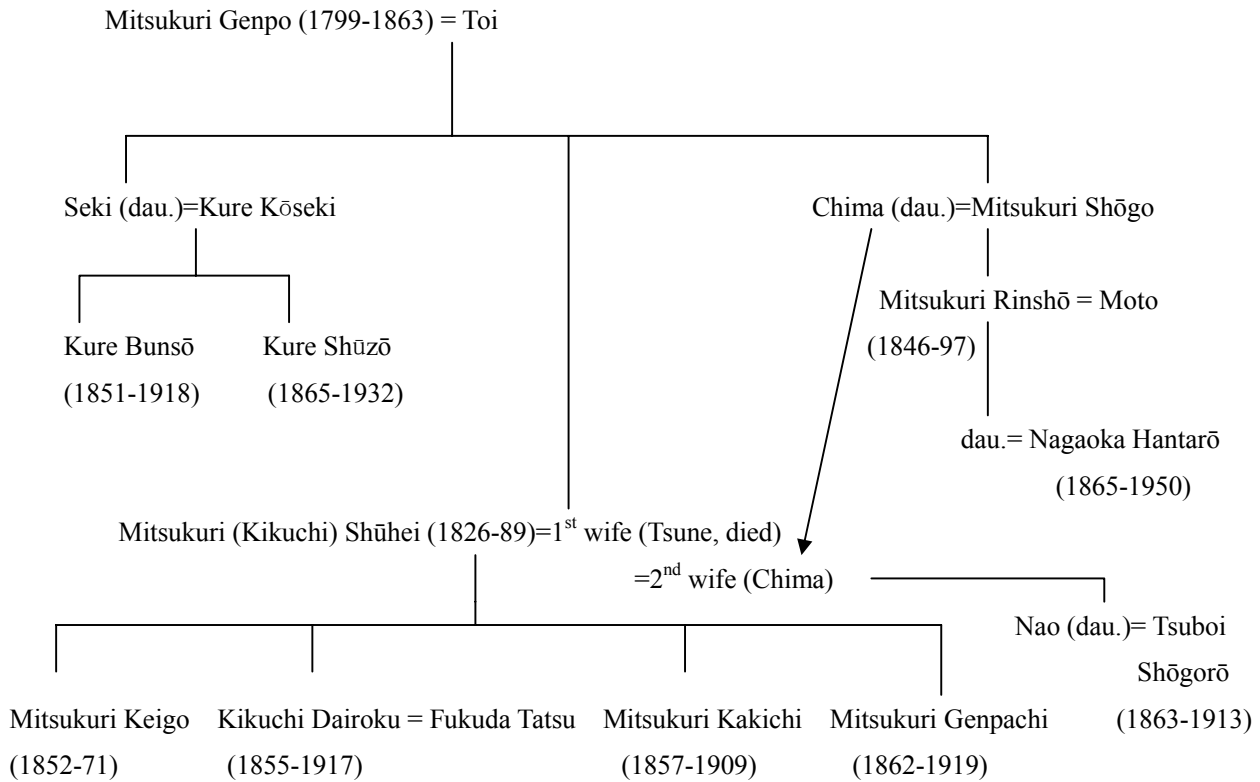
The LECTURER: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am very glad to find from the remarks which have been made that my short paper has been so well received. I ought to remove any possibility of misunderstanding as to the number of students; there has been no actual decrease. We have always had from six to ten students – the most at any time was twelve or thirteen. It is quite obvious that the Japanese have now less need of elementary university education: but I expressed the hope that there might be more “Advanced Students.” The present relations between England and Japan are strengthened by the association of their men of learning; for there can be little enmity between men of learning of any nation, and the more they see of each other the better for the peace of the world. I should like to add my expression of sympathy with the suggestion as to

Oxford: there are many things in which Oxford and Cambridge differ, and it would be interesting to know how far the Japanese have been able to appreciate the considerable differences between the two great English Universities. I thank you for listening to my lecture.

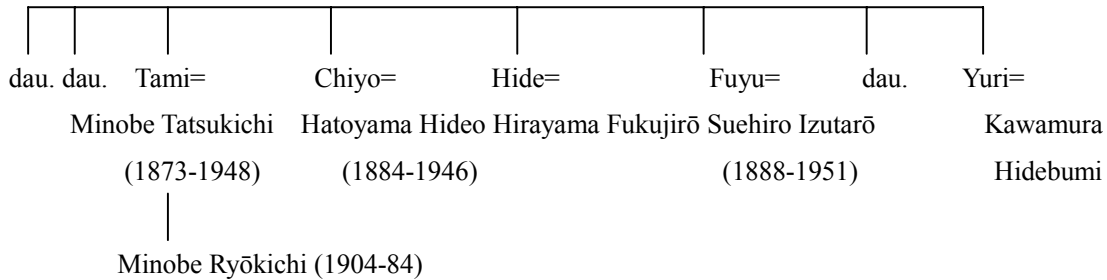
The proceedings then terminated.

(Endnotes for this appendix are by Ian Ruxton. With thanks to Sir Hugh Cortazzi for providing the original text, and the Japan Society in whose records it appeared.)

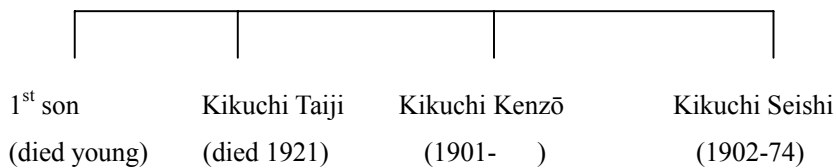
Appendix VII: Mitsukuri & Kikuchi Simplified Family Tree



Kikuchi Dairoku's daughters:



Kikuchi Dairoku's sons:



Endnotes

Chapter One

1. Here 'English Universities' has been translated as *Eikoku no Daigaku* (British Universities) but to be precise here England is meant rather than the whole of Britain.
2. Sir Claude MacDonald was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Japan in 1900, and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in 1905. He was in Japan 1900-12. See 'Sir Claude and Lady Ethel MacDonald' by Ian Nish, Ch. 11, pp. 133-145, *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits* Volume I (Japan Library, 1994). (Translator's note)
3. The *Cambridge Review*, a magazine published in Cambridge, in its November 10, 1904 edition has an article with the same corrections as those contained in the *Times* of November 8th. Probably it was the editor of the *Cambridge Review* who first noticed the errors in the *Times* article of November 4th and informed the Cambridge correspondent of the *Times*, who then sent the amended article to the editor of the *Times* at the London head office.
4. The man called Mr. Asano was probably Asano Nagayuki who studied in Britain. The two Asano brothers (Nagayuki and Nagamichi) studied at London University in the first half of the 1880s, but Asano Nagamichi died in England on December 24, 1886 (Meiji 19).
5. Yoshida Masao (kanji of given name unknown) was a member of Selwyn Hostel, the forerunner of the present Selwyn College. His younger brother Yoshida Seichi (1872-1945) was also an advanced student at Cambridge for a brief period. Yoshida Seichi was a moral philosopher and a professor at Tokyo Kōtō Shihan Gakkō (Tokyo Higher Normal School) and Tokyo Imperial University.
6. On the website of the Cambridge & Oxford Society of Tokyo the explanation given on April 5, 1995 in an essay in commemoration of the society's 90th anniversary by Mr. Giro Koike (born 1908) of Magdalene College, Cambridge (1931-34) who received the explanation from his future father-in-law Imamura Shigezō, is that the 'Cambridge Society' was founded first in 1903, and so took precedence in the new name when the joint society was created in 1905. (No Oxford society existed in the interim period, 1903-05.) Mr. Koike further notes that it is usual for Oxford to precede Cambridge, which may be because the oldest college in Oxford is older than the oldest college in Cambridge, or because people simply became accustomed to talking about them in that order. Likewise he could find no profound reason for Waseda preceding Keio in the term 'Sō-Kei', and attributed it merely to habit. (Translator's note. See <http://www.camford.org/Koike.htm> Accessed 21/5/03)
7. Temple Orme, *University College School alphabetical and chronological register for 1831-1891*, London, 1919, pp. 30-31.
8. Kikuchi Dairoku, *To Ei Dan* (3), Taiyō, Vol. 14, No. 1.
9. *Kokusaijin Jiten*, Mainichi Communications, 1991, p. 163.
10. The reason that Kikuchi here expresses his aim and resolve to enter university the following year is probably because of the following circumstances. The number of years one was supposed to study before leaving University College School was not fixed as it is in the case of Japanese high schools nowadays. It was not the case that one was obliged to study at school for a fixed period (e.g. three years) before entering university. Indeed students stayed at the school for varying lengths of time. In other words, provided students achieved satisfactory results and satisfied the age and other conditions and received permission from the university, they could enter the university at any time. At this point in time Kikuchi was planning to enter London University, for which he only needed satisfactory results in the entrance examination and to be of the right age. He was not required to be at University College School for a fixed number of years.
11. *Kokusaijin Jiten*, Mainichi Communications, 1991, p. 163.
12. D. Kikuchi, 'The Japanese at U.C.S.', *The Gower*, December 1905.
13. See 'The Silent Admiral: Tōgō Heihachirō (1848-1934) and Britain' by Kiyoshi Ikeda, Chapter 9, pp.106-120, *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, (Japan Library, 1994). (Translator's note)

14. 'Obituary notice of Baron Kikuchi', *Fujisawa Hakase Ibunshū*, (Vol. 2 of two), Fujisawa Hakase Kinenkai, 1935, p. 232.
- 15.. *Kokusaijin Jiten*, Mainichi Communications, 1991, p. 163.
16. Ibid. p. 163.
17. The original article in the London newspaper would probably have appeared in July 1873, but it would have come to Japan by sea mail and it would have been quite a long time before the abbreviated translation appeared in the Japanese newspaper.
18. *Kokusaijin Jiten*, Mainichi Communications, 1991, p. 163.
19. Ibid. p. 164.
20. 'Tripos' is a word used only at Cambridge to denote the honours examination for the B.A. degree. It is said to have originally denoted the three-legged stool on which a young graduate of about two years' standing sat to deliver a satirical speech at the degree ceremony. (Translator's note)
21. F. W. Felkin, *From Gower Street to Frognal: a short history of University College School from 1830 to 1907*, London, 1909.
22. This is rugby football rather than association football (soccer). In *From Gower Street to Frognal* it states "Baron Kikuchi in 1872 played football for the school against the 3rd XV." So Kikuchi Dairoku was the first Japanese to play fifteen-a-side rugby football. The author Felkin probably wanted to stress that Kikuchi was not merely an academic boy, but played a full part in the sporting traditions of the school. (Translator's note)
23. *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū* (4) Chikuma Shobō, 1969, p. 117.
24. Ibid. p. 142.
25. University of London, *The calendar for the year 1873*, London, 1873, pp. 49-55.
26. University of London, *The calendar for the year 1874*, London, 1874, p. 156.
27. University of London, *The historical record 1836-1912 : being a supplement to the calendar completed to September 1912*, London, 1912. pp. 540-553.
28. Kikuchi Dairoku trans. *Sūri Shakugi*, [Mathematical Commentaries] (reprint), Hakubunsha, 1888, p. 3.

Chapter Two

29. Ishizuki Minoru, *Kindai Nihon no Kaigai Ryūgaku Shi*, Chūō Kōronsha, 1992, pp. 420-1.
30. *Seigai Inoue Kōden*, (Vol. 2), Hara Shobō, 1968, p. 485.
31. Hagiwara Otohiko, *Tōkyō Kaika Hanjō Shi*, Manseidō, 1874, Dai 2 hen, Makinoge, p. 15.
32. Narihira is probably a reference to Ariwara no Narihira (825-80), a handsome man and poet of the early Heian era. (Translator's note)
33. Sukeroku is a famous kabuki character. Together with Narihira, the implication is that these young men were playboys or gamblers, familiar with tea-shops and red light districts. (Translator's note)
34. *Monbushō Zasshi*, (Dai 1 gō).
35. Ishii Kendō, *Meiji Jibutsu Kigen* (Masuura Kaitei), Nihon Hyōronsha, 1969, p. 508.
36. Higashikuze Michitomi Nikki, (gekan) Kasumikaikan, 1993, p.74.
37. Ishizuki Minoru, *Kindai Nihon no Kaigai Ryūgaku Shi*, Chūō Kōronsha, 1992, pp. 230-232.
38. *Meiji Nyu-zu Jiten* (Vol. 1), Mainichi Communications, 1983, p. 746.
39. *Meiji Nyu-zu Jiten* (Vol. 2), Mainichi Communications, 1983, pp. 616-617.
40. See 'Minakata Kumagusu, 1867-1941: A Genius now Recognized' by Carmen Blacker, Ch. 7, pp. 78-91, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. 1, ed. Ian Nish (Japan Library, 1994). (Translator's note)
41. Hara Heizō, *Bakumatsu Yōgakushi no Kenkyū*, Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha 1992 ; Miyanaga Takashi, *Keiō Ninen Bakufu Igrisu Ryūgakusei*, Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha 1994 ; Kurasawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu Kyōikushi no Kenkyū 2, Shojutsu denshū seisaku*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 1984.
42. See 'Nakamura Masanao (Keiu), 1832-91: translator into Japanese of Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help*' by Akiko Ota,

- Chapter 19, pp. 215-23, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume 4, ed. Hugh Cortazzi (Japan Library, 2002). (Translator's note)
43. See 'Hayashi Tadasu' by Ian Nish, Chapter 11 in *Britain & Japan: Themes and Personalities*, (London, Routledge, 1991). (Translator's note)
44. Public Record Office ref. F.O. 46/72.
45. There were actually five enclosures, but only four of them were directly related to the 14 Japanese students. The other was a letter. All of the four enclosures connected with the Japanese students were sent from Yokohama on November 30, 1866, as was Parkes's despatch. In those days mail from Japan to Britain was all carried by the British steamship company called P. & O. (Peninsular & Oriental). The Japanese students also sailed from Yokohama in a P. & O. steamer, the *Nepal*. At least for the first part of the journey the despatch from Parkes and the students travelled in the same ship. Parkes probably timed his despatch with its enclosures to coincide with the departure from Yokohama of the Japanese group.
46. So what kind of person was William Valentine Lloyd? He was born the son of Thomas Lloyd in 1825. After Shrewsbury School (a famous public school) he graduated with a B.A. from Trinity College in the University of Dublin in 1850. Trinity College was a famous school founded in the sixteenth century. He was for a time a clergyman in Canada, and in 1858 he became a chaplain attached to the Royal Navy. In 1860 he was a naval instructor. From 1865 W. V. Lloyd was sent as chaplain to the China seas on board the warship H.M.S. *Scilla*. He was probably appointed overseer of the Japanese students because he happened to be about to return to England on leave. In fact Lloyd – who was an Englishman educated to the highest level – was the best possible choice to direct the Japanese students and educate them during the sea voyage.
(Sources: Fujii Yasushi, 'Bakufu Igrisu ryūgakusei ni kan suru ikkōsatsu – seiwanin W.V. Lloyd wo chūshin toshite', *Nihon kyōikushi kenkyū*, Dai 9 gō, 1990; J.E. Auden, ed., Shrewsbury School register 1734-1908, Oswestry, 1909, p. 122; George Dames Burtchaell and Thomas Ulick Sadleir, ed., *Alumni Dublinenses 1593-1860*, new ed., Dublin, 1935, p. 508.)
47. The memo from Parkes to the *Bakufu* dated November 30, 1866 gave details of the entry requirements and fees of King's College and University College. Parkes stressed that a private tutor would be necessary, and that neither college offered board and lodging. He therefore advised that the students live in the same house as the private tutor, and under his supervision. Of course Parkes had William Lloyd in mind as the private tutor. It may have originally been Lloyd's intention, but probably Parkes decided from the beginning that Lloyd would continue to look after the students after their arrival in England. Furthermore, as the students' English ability improved after they arrived in England they were instructed by Parkes to attend either King's College School or University College School. The point was also emphasised that neither school, like the new colleges to which they were attached, provided board or lodging. In this respect King's College and University College and their affiliated schools differed from Oxford and Cambridge universities, and the many public schools from which their pupils generally came.
48. See Andrew Cobbing, *The Satsuma Students in Britain: Japan's early search for the 'essence of the West'* (Japan Library, 2000). (Translator's note)
49. Kikuchi Dairoku, 'Meiryū Kugaku Dan', *Chūgaku Sekai*, Vol. 3, No. 1.
50. See A. Cobbing, *The Japanese Discovery of Victorian Britain: Early Travel Encounters in the Far West*, pp. 105-107 (Japan Library, 1998) for further details about the *Bakufu* students in London and their dispute with Lloyd. (Translator's note)
51. Ibid.
52. Kikuchi Dairoku, 'To Ei Dan', *Taiyō*, Vol. 13, No. 14.
53. Kikuchi Dairoku, 'To Ei Dan', *Taiyō* (3), Vol. 14, No. 1.
54. Watanabe Minoru, *Kindai Nihon Kaigai Ryūgaku Shi* (First volume), Kōdansha, 1977, pp. 323-324.
55. P.R.O. reference F.O. 262/138.
56. P.R.O. reference F.O.262/156.
57. There were several classes in the same subject, and each had a number. This number seems to reflect the degree of difficulty (level) of the class, but it is not clear whether the lower numbers or the higher ones are more difficult. On

the other hand the numbers may simply have been allotted to divide up the classes, without reference to level. (Translator's note: The practice of dividing classes in a particular subject into 'sets' according to ability is still practised in many English schools today. Generally the lower the number, the higher the level of the set, e.g. Set 1 in mathematics would usually be higher than Set 5.)

58. Here I wish to focus on the subjects where particularly high marks were scored for attitude to study, progress and conduct. The Japanese students sent by the *Bakufu* received 'very satisfactory' or 'very good' reports in almost every subject, and some even received 'highly satisfactory'. Here are the details.

First report (until February 15, 1868):

Toyama Sutehachi Arithmetic
Okukawa Ichirō Arithmetic
Mitsukuri Dairoku (Kikuchi Dairoku) Arithmetic
Hayashi Tōzaburō British History
Naruse Jōgorō Arithmetic (conduct only)

Second report (until March 14th)

Third report (until April 8th)

Naruse Jōgorō Arithmetic

In the case of Toyama Sutehachi he achieved 'very satisfactory' in British history, with the additional comment that he was 'top every time'. Other points noticed from a perusal of the reports are that all the eleven Japanese students studied Latin together in one class, but there is no record of their achievements or order in the class. None of them studied Greek.

59. D. Kikuchi, 'The Japanese at U.C.S.', *The Gower*, December 1905.

60. *Sūmitsuin Kōtō Kōmonkan Rireki*, Vol. 3, Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1996, p. 303.

61. Nozaki Samon, *Meiji shonen no Gakusei Seikatsu*, ('Meiji Bunka Kenkyū', Vol. 4, No. 8)

62. Komatsu no Miya is one of the former imperial families. The imperial house of Higashi Fushimi no Miya was founded in Meiji 3 (1870) and the name was changed to Komatsu no Miya in Meiji 15 (1882). Higashi Fushimi no Miya was re-established in 1903, but imperial house names were abolished in 1947 (*Kojien*). (Translator's note)

Chapter Three

63. Here I have used the term 'students' in the sense of 'undergraduates.' Students who have obtained a degree are 'graduates.' At Cambridge the term 'undergraduate' is generally preferred to 'student.'

The English word 'student' is used with a broader meaning than the German 'Student,' and can be used to denote a scholar. Cambridge undergraduates themselves have traditionally used the term 'man' to describe themselves, as in 'Cambridge man' for an undergraduate student at Cambridge, 'Trinity man' for an undergraduate member of Trinity College and 'Third Year man' for an undergraduate student in his third year. Oxford has also used 'man' in the same sense, whereas Scottish universities have preferred 'student.' Karl Breul, *Students' life and work in the University of Cambridge: two lectures*, Cambridge 1908, pp. 6-7. (Translated into Japanese by Kitajima Yoshie, *Kenburijji Daigaku to gakusei seikatsu*, Kokumin Hyōronsha, 1911, pp. 18-19.)

64. The St. John's College Archivist (Malcolm G. Underwood) adds the following: "We [St. John's] did, however, have written exams for the sizarships, which were thus competitive in a way that ordinary admissions procedures for pensioners were not. Open scholarships were also awarded on the basis of written exams. After 1880 an entrance examination *was* instituted for everyone, *if* they failed to produce sufficient testimonial of character and merit, or certificates of attainment in various public exams." (Translator's note, based on information gratefully received and enclosed in a letter from the Master of St. John's College, dated 2 February 2004.)

65. The quickest way to check which college was strongest in mathematics and which in classics is and was to find out the college of the top maths student ('Senior Wrangler') and the top classics student ('Senior Classic') in the

respective tripos exams. For example, if one looks at the *Cambridge University calendar for the year 1871*, Cambridge, 1871, Table of university honours, the following facts emerge. Of the 125 Senior Wranglers up to 1871, 43 had been from the top college St. John's, and the second college was Trinity with 31. On the other hand there had been 62 Senior Classics of which 36 had been from Trinity and the second college was St. John's with 14. In the case of mathematics there was also a prize, the Smith prize, which was an equal or second-best honour to Senior Wrangler, and that data is also relevant. Until 1871 there had been in total 207 recipients of the Smith prize, of which Trinity was top with 68, and St. John's second with 62. Of course these two colleges were ahead of all the others by a considerable distance.

66. The etymology of the word 'sizar' comes from 'size', which in Cambridge slang denoted a meal of a fixed volume received free of charge by sizars. The word 'commoner', derived from 'commons', meant a student who paid for his own meals in college, thus it has the same meaning as a pensioner.

"SIZAR, one of a class of students at a college of Cambridge University and at Trinity College, Dublin, who, being persons of limited means, are received for lower fees, and obtain free commons, lodgings or other assistance towards their education during their terms of residence. At Oxford there was formerly a similar class, known as " Battelers" or " Batlers," who originally waited on the Fellow of the College who had nominated them, and a still more humble class, the "servitors," who, perhaps, answered more to a "subsizar" at Cambridge. The name "sizar" is to be connected with the "sizes" or "sizings" ("size" being a shortened form of "assize"), that is the specified portions of food and drink issued at a fixed price from the buttery of the college; the sizar was so styled either because as one of his former duties he had to fetch the "sizes" for others, or because he obtained his own free. The menial duties of "sizars" at Cambridge have long become obsolete." (The 1911 Edition Encyclopedia, <http://58.1911encyclopedia.org/S/SI/SIZAR.htm> accessed 21/5/03) (Translator's note)

67. *Sūmitsuin Kōtō Kōmonkan Rireki*, Vol. 3, Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1996.

68. Ishizuki Minoru, *Kindai Nihon no Kaigai Ryūgaku Shi*, Chūō Kōronsha, 1992, pp. 230-231.

69. Fujisawa Rikitarō, 'Kikuchi Dairoku Sensei' (*Taiyō*, Vol. 23, No. 12).

70. Mitsukuri Genpachi, 'Ko Kikuchi Dairoku Dan' (The Late Baron Kikuchi Dairoku), *Taiyō* Vol. 23, No. 12.

71. Hachisuka Masauji was famous as an ornithologist. He was admitted to Magdalene College, Cambridge in 1924 (Taishō 13) but this is the only record of him at the University. He appears never to have taken the preliminary examination. At Cambridge he ignored all the exams and without doing unnecessary things concentrated on his ornithological research. As an ornithologist he was the teacher of the noted zoologist and ornithologist Kuroda Nagamichi (1889-1978).

72. Mitsukuri Genpachi, 'Ko Kikuchi Dairoku Dan' (The Late Baron Kikuchi Dairoku), *Taiyō* Vol. 23, No. 12.

73. Louis Borissow was a Cambridge graduate who took holy orders after graduation and became chaplain of Trinity College. He lived and educated Murakami Keijirō in a house called 'Vicarsbrook', the name itself suggesting religious (church) connections. A 'vicar' is the incumbent of a Church of England parish, and a 'brook' is a small river.

74. J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900*, 6 vols., Cambridge, 1940-54.

75. W. W. Rouse Ball and J. A. Venn, ed., *Admissions to Trinity College*, Cambridge, Vol. V, London, 1913, p. 475.

76. Edith F. B. MacAlister, *Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert*, London, 1935.

77. According to his wife, MacAlister received more than 100 books as prizes in his schooldays before entering Cambridge, six scholarships, several medals and numerous certificates. So MacAlister was already more outstanding than Kikuchi in his schooldays.

78. Terrot Reaveley Glover (1869-1943) was a classical scholar, a fellow of St. John's College, a lecturer in ancient history at Cambridge, and a professor at other universities. He was appointed to the post of Orator at the University. It was his proud boast that he had delivered addresses in front of six prime ministers, two sovereigns and one God. The 'one God' was the Japanese crown prince who later became the Shōwa Emperor. (See 'Crown Prince Hirohito in Britain, May 1921' by Ian Nish, Ch. 15, pp. 205-215, *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. 2 (Japan

- Library, 1997) at p. 212. The crown prince was in Cambridge on May 18, 1921.)
 Orator is an important post at the University. Glover's predecessor was John Sandys who had been Kikuchi's tutor at St. John's College. He was also a classicist.
79. T. R. Glover, *Cambridge retrospect*, Cambridge, 1943. p. 95.
 80. G. C. Moore Smith, compiled, *List of past occupants of rooms in St. John's College*, Cambridge, 1895, p. 11.
 81. *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*, August 20th, Taishō 6 (1917).
 82. Edith F. B. MacAlister, *Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert*, London, 1935, p. 19.
 83. Charles Astor Bristed, *Five years in an English university*, Vol. 1, New York, 1852. pp. 20-29.
 84. H.J. Edwards, 'Japanese Undergraduates at Cambridge University', *Transactions and proceedings of the Japan Society*, London, Vol. 7 (1905-1907), London, 1908. However the St. John's College Archivist (Malcolm G. Underwood) wrote on 28 January 2004: "In fact I cannot find evidence from the Club minutes that Kikuchi was either a Secretary of the Lady Margaret or a cox in it." (From comments enclosed in letter already referred to from the Master of St. John's, Professor Richard N. Perham, dated 2 February 2004.)
 85. In James Douglas, *Rowing on the Cam*, Barton [Cambridgeshire, England], 1977, p. 28 there is mention of a man who seems to be Kikuchi Dairoku. In the 1870s, because the boat club rules were very strict, several students broke away and founded their own club. For example in 1871 a group of former pupils of the famous public school called Sedbergh created a college boat club. This club did not last for a long time, but in 1875 it boasted a Japanese as cox. The only Japanese at Cambridge at that time was Kikuchi. So it seems that Kikuchi was cox for the college boat club but must have later returned to the Lady Margaret club.
 86. H.J. Edwards, 'Japanese Undergraduates at Cambridge University', *Transactions and proceedings of the Japan Society*, London, Vol. 7 (1905-1907), London, 1908. See the St. John's College record, *The Eagle*, vol. 10, p. 128.
 87. See translator's note on 'tripos' in Chapter 1.
 88. P.M. Harman, ed., *Wranglers and physicists: studies on Cambridge physics in the nineteenth century*. Manchester, 1985, p.2.
 89. D. B. Wilson, 'Experimentalists among the mathematicians: physics in the Cambridge Natural Sciences Tripos, 1851-1900', *Historical studies in the physical sciences*, No. 12, 1982.
 90. *The Student's Guide to the University of Cambridge*, Third edition, Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., London: George Bell, and Sons. 1874. p. 118.
 91. W. W. Rouse Ball, *A history of the study of mathematics at Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1889, p. 163.
 92. 'Edward John Routh', *Dictionary of National Biography*, Second Supplement, Vol. III, London, 1912, p. 234.
 93. Like Routh, J.C. Maxwell entered the college of Peterhouse, but considering their rivalry he transferred to Trinity College which was much larger. Changing college in Cambridge is called 'migrating'. The reason for Maxwell's transfer was that he was aiming for a college fellowship on graduation. As Trinity was a large college, the possibilities for students with outstanding results to become fellows was correspondingly greater. At Peterhouse on the other hand which was a small college, only one student per annum was able to become a fellow. If Routh were awarded the Peterhouse fellowship, Maxwell might well have been unable to become a fellow.
 94. Maxwell's failure to become Senior Wrangler was a fate shared by another eminent physicist before him, William Thomson (later Lord Kelvin). In 1845 Thomson missed out on becoming the Senior Wrangler, but managed to get his revenge by winning the Smith's Prize. Like Maxwell he was coached by Hopkins, and on his prior reputation had been expected to become Senior Wrangler. The man who became Senior Wrangler in 1845 was Stephen Parkinson. He adopted a unique strategy to prepare for the exam by concentrating his energies on practising writing answers to the questions for six months at high speed. He had realised that the maths tripos papers contained a very large number of questions, and that speed writing would greatly influence the candidate's scores. Parkinson's strategy worked beautifully, and so he defeated Thomson to become Senior Wrangler. At that time the maths tripos exams were held in January (deep midwinter) in the Senate House, with inadequate heating. The Senate House was (and is) a university building where the university's Senate (governing body) meets. Parkinson's technique of writing at high speed with hands trembling from the cold paid off handsomely.

95. Mr. M.G. Underwood, Archivist of St. John's College, commented on 28 January 2004: "Whether [Numa] Hartog was specifically made to subscribe [i.e. sign] the Articles I do not know, but men appointed fellows at St. John's [College] were usually required to give a declaration of *bona fide* membership of the Church of England, *not* a subscription to the Articles (*Statutes*, 1860, p.27). I gather that a similar pledge was required at Trinity [College]. The University abolished subscription in favour of such a general pledge in 1772 for Bachelors of Arts, and in 1779 for the degrees of Bachelor of Civil Law and of Medicine, and for those of Bachelor and Doctor of Music (*Report of the Commissioners*, 1852, pp. 43-4). The 1856 [Cambridge University] Act abolished declaration for all degrees except those in Divinity. The 1856 Act, however, specifically restricted membership of the University Senate to masters and doctors who had made the *bona fide* declaration which fellows-elect of Colleges [e.g. Numa Hartog] also had to make. The 1871 [Universities Tests] Act removed the Tests [i.e. declarations, subscriptions etc.] altogether." (Translator's note added on February 10, 2004)
96. Kikuchi Dairoku trans., *Sūri Shakugi*, reprint, Hakubunsha, 1888, p.3.
97. Edith F.B. MacAlister, *Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert*, London, 1935, p. 18.
98. 'Edward John Routh', *Dictionary of National Biography*, second supplement, vol. III, London, 1912, p. 234.
99. Kikuchi Dairoku, *To Ei Dan (3)* in *Taiyō*, Vol. 14, No.1.
100. *Nihon no sūgaku hyaku nen shi* (Vol. 1 of 2), Iwanami shoten, 1983, pp. 119-20.
101. Nakayama Shigeru 'Kikuchi Dairoku no Kenburijji jidai ni tsuite', (*Kagaku shi kenkyū*, No.63)
102. *Nihon kagaku shi gakkai hen*, 'Nihon kagaku gijutsu shi taikei', (vol. 12, *sūri kagaku*) Dai ichi hōki shuppan, 1969, p. 100.
103. Kikuchi Dairoku trans., *Sūri Shakugi*, reprint, Hakubunsha, 1888.
104. Rollo Appleyard, *Charles Parsons: his life and work*, London, 1933 (hereafter Appleyard).
105. Appleyard, p. 12.
106. Charles Pendlebury had an elder brother Richard who was six years his senior. He also studied mathematics at St. John's College, Cambridge and became Senior Wrangler and Smith's Prizeman in 1870. When Kikuchi and his contemporaries entered the college three years later, Richard Pendlebury was a college lecturer in mathematics.
107. *The Student's Guide to the University of Cambridge*, Third edition, 1874, pp. 17-20.
108. The top seven took the St. John's College exams in Christmas 1874. The first class grades were as follows: 1st MacAlister, 2nd Parsons, 3rd Pendlebury, 5th Heath, 6th Murton and Tait. Unfortunately Kikuchi did not manage a first class. In June 1875 Kikuchi once again failed to get a first in the college exam. The first class men in mathematics were: 1st Heath and MacAlister, 2nd Parsons, 3rd Pendlebury, 4th Tait, 5th Murton. As a result of this examination Heath, MacAlister, Parsons and Pendlebury were elected Foundation Scholars. In June 1876 the last college exam was held before the tripos. The order of results in the maths exam was: 1st MacAlister, 2nd Heath, 3rd Parsons, 4th Pendlebury, 5th Murton and 6th Tait. Kikuchi again missed out on a first. Murton and Tait were elected scholars after this exam. As Heath, MacAlister, Parsons and Pendlebury had already been awarded scholarships this meant that only Kikuchi of the group of seven did not achieve the award.
109. *The Student's Guide to the University of Cambridge*, Third edition, Cambridge, 1874. pp. 104-111.
110. Edith F.B. MacAlister, *Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert*, London, 1935, p. 19.
111. Donald MacAlister, Richard Rowe and James Parker Smith were also all members of the artistic and literary circle called the Cambridge Apostles. This was a secret society founded in 1820. A book about the club by Richard Deacon called *The Cambridge Apostles* has been translated into Japanese by Hashiguchi Minoru with the title *Kenburijji no eri-totachi* (Shōbunsha, 1988). It was indeed the club of Cambridge's most elite students. Members included the poet Tennyson, the philosophers Bertrand Russell and Wittgenstein, the biographer Lytton Strachey, the novelist E.M. Forster, the art critic Roger Fry, the economist J. M. Keynes, the critic Virginia Woolf, the scientist Victor Rothschild who was the third head of the Rothschild family, and in the modern times Peter Shore of the Labour party and the play director Jonathan Miller. The Cambridge Apostles was particularly famous when its members included many members of the Bloomsbury Group, including Strachey, Forster, Keynes and Woolf, and when it contained the members of a Soviet Russian spy ring including Anthony Blunt, Guy Burgess and others. In both cases members such as Strachey, Keynes, Anthony Blunt and Guy Burgess were homosexuals, which

caused much interest in the link between the Apostles and homosexuality. In *Kenburijji no eri-totachi* at the end of the book there is a list of members which include MacAlister, Rowe, Smith, James Maxwell and W.K. Clifford who have already been referred to in this book. According to *Kenburijji no eri-totachi* it was not possible for anybody who wished to become a member. New members were only accepted at the rate of one or two a year, and then only with the unanimous agreement of all present members. Present members including fellows were required to attend meetings unless they were ill. MacAlister and Smith became members in 1876, and Rowe was admitted in the following year. They were all admitted in the year of graduation or the previous year. Present members who were obliged to attend all meetings were referred to as ‘Brethren’, while life members who could attend meetings whenever they liked were called ‘Angels’. Becoming an Angel was referred to as ‘having wings’.

112. “In 1811 there were three classes of Honours degree [at Cambridge]; the Firsts were called Wranglers and were said to be born with golden spoons in their mouths. Those who came out with a Second Class degree were Senior Optimes and had silver spoons in their mouths. Those with Thirds were Junior Optimes and were born with lead spoons; the last Junior Optime was called the Wooden spoon. Those without Honours were either meritorious, in the Gulf, or just one of the Many.” From *The Six Nations explained*, Guardian Unlimited, January 24, 2002. (See <http://sport.guardian.co.uk/sixnations2002/story/0,11549,638753,00.html> , accessed 2/3/04.)
113. Frank Stubbings, *Bedders, bulldogs and bedells: a Cambridge glossary*, revised and enlarged ed., Cambridge, 1995. pp. 124-126.
114. “The winner of the Wooden Spoon in 1909 was Cuthbert Lempriere Holthouse of St John's, a keen oarsman who had rowed for three years in the First May Boat of the Lady Margaret Boat Club. As this was to be the last ever Wooden Spoon his friends resolved to mark the occasion and commissioned a truly splendid one. The handle is made of the blade and shaft (reversed) of a scarlet Lady Margaret oar bearing an epigram in Greek which may be translated: *In Honours Mathematical/ This is the very last of all/ The Wooden Spoons which you see here;/ O you who see it, shed a tear.* The 'bowl' is flat with a raised edge and is shaped rather like the ace of spades; it is also coloured scarlet. The main decoration consists of the College coat of arms, with the Eagle crest, the Yale supporters, and the boat club motto 'Si Je Puis'. The words 'Mathematical Tripos 1909' appear in a scroll next to the handle and the initials 'CLH' at the top. C.L. Holthouse became a Church of England clergyman in 1910 and served in both Canada and England. He was Rural Dean of Chertsey 1946-1949 and died in 1967, aged 79. He had always preserved the Last Wooden Spoon but it was too large for him to take to a retirement home when he had to sell his house. By a strange coincidence one viewer of the house was Guthrie Philip Easten, also from St John's (who died in 2001, aged 91). He too was an eminent Lady Margaret oarsman (winning the Ladies' Plate at Henley in 1930) and immediately recognised the Last Wooden Spoon from the description in the boat club history. He suggested to C. L. Holthouse that he might offer the Spoon to St John's which gratefully accepted it. The Last Wooden Spoon now hangs in the College's Small Combination Room.” (quoted from ‘The Last Wooden Spoon’, an edited version of a speech given to the Friends of Mathematics by Hugh Stewart of St. John’s College, *Asymptopia*, The Centre for Mathematical Sciences Newsletter, March 2002, University of Cambridge, <http://www.cms.cam.ac.uk/news14/> Accessed 21/5/03) The last wooden spoon was given by C.L. Holthouse to St. John’s College in 1965. A short note about this with a picture by G.P. Easten (B.A. 1931) is in the college magazine *The Eagle*, (1998), pp. 80-2. (Translator’s note, based on information supplied by M.G. Underwood, Archivist of St. John’s College)
115. *Meiji Nyu-zu Jiten* (Vol. 1) Mainichi Communications, 1983, p. 146.
116. The first B.A. exam was also called the Intermediate Arts exam.
117. The first B.Sc. exam was also called the Intermediate Science exam.
118. In this case the word ‘society’ is preferable to ‘company’ which is the usual modern translation of ‘kaisha’. The organisation was a group of academics, not a business-oriented one.
119. Honda Kin’ya, ‘Kikuchi Dairoku – Sūgakusha no Shōzō- sono 3’ [Kikuchi Dairoku – Portrait of a Mathematician- Part III], (Sūgaku Semina- Vol. 3, No. 9).
120. *Tōkyō Daigaku Hyakunenshi* (Tsūshi 1), Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1984, pp. 633-643.
121. *Sūmitsuin Kōtō Komonkan Rireki* Vol. III, Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1996, pp. 306-307.

122. Tanakadate A., 'Kikuti Sensei no omoide' (*Taiyō* Vol. 23, No. 12).
123. Kikuchi Dairoku, *To Ei Dan (3)* in *Taiyō*, Vol. 14, No.1.
124. Edith F. B. MacAlister, *Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert*, London, 1935.

Chapter Four

125. Tamaki Tamotsu, *Dōbutsugakusha Mitsukuri Kakichi to sono jidai*, San-ichi Shobō, 1998, p. 22
126. Tamae Hikotarō, *Wakaki Hi no Suematsu Kenchō – Zaiei Tsūshin*, Kaichōsha, 1991, p. 11.
127. *Itō Hirobumi Kankei Monjo* (5) Hanawa Shobō, 1977, p. 328.
128. Ibid. p. 369.
129. Ibid. p. 352.
130. Tamae Hikotarō, *Seihyō Suematsu Kenchō no Shōgai* Ashi Shobō, 1885. Tamae Hikotarō, *Wakakibi no Suematsu Kenchō – Zaiei Tsūshin*, Kaichōsha, 1991.
131. *Itō Hirobumi Kankei Monjo* (5) Hanawa Shobō, 1977, p. 374.
132. Ibid. p. 378.
133. Tamaki Tamotsu, *Dōbutsugakusha Mitsukuri Kakichi to sono jidai*, San-ichi Shobō, 1998, p. 37.
134. Suematsu Kenchō, *Seihyō Shison*, Bungakusha, 1886, p.21.
135. *Itō Hirobumi Kankei Monjo* (5) Hanawa Shobō, 1977, p. 366.
136. Ibid. p. 366.
137. Ibid. p. 367.
138. Ibid. p. 363.
139. Ibid. p. 384.
140. Ibid. pp. 383-384.
141. Ibid. pp. 386-387.
142. D. L. Moody (1837-1899) was an American evangelist. He and I. D. Sankey visited Britain in 1877-75, 1881 and 1884. Wadagaki was influenced by Moody's movement while he was in England.
143. Ibid. p. 382.
144. Ibid. p. 387.
145. Tamae Hikotarō, *Wakaki Hi no Suematsu Kenchō – Zaiei Tsūshin*, Kaichōsha, 1991, pp. 28-29.
146. *Itō Hirobumi Kankei Monjo* (5) Hanawa Shobō, 1977, p. 393.
147. Kuroda Nagashige's heir is the noted ornithologist Kuroda Naganori.
148. *Shinbun shūsei Meiji hennenshi* (dai nana kan) Shinbun shūsei Meiji hennenshi Hanpukai, 1934, p. 17.

Further Reading about Suematsu Kenchō

1. Dr. Masayoshi Matsumura's Introduction to Volume 3 of *Japanese Propaganda: Selected Readings, Series 1: Books 1872-1943* (General Introduction by Peter O'Connor, co-published by Global Oriental Ltd. and Edition Synapse, 2004).
2. I. Ruxton, 'Suematsu Kenchō 1855-1920: Statesman, Bureaucrat, Diplomat, Journalist, Poet and Scholar', Chapter VI, pp. 62-72, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume V (Global Oriental, 2005). An earlier version of this paper appeared in the Bulletin of the Kyushu Institute of Technology (Humanities, Social Sciences) No. 51, March 2003, pp. 1-13.
3. Brian Powell, pp. 107-110 in 'Theatre Cultures in Contact: Britain and Japan in the Meiji Period', Part II, Ch. 6, *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations 1600-2000, Vol. V, Social and Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Daniels and Tsuzuki (Palgrave, 2000).
4. Margaret Mehl, 'Suematsu Kenchō in Britain, 1878-86', Japan Forum (the journal of the British Association of Japanese Studies), Vol. 5, No. 2, October 1993, pp. 173-193.

5. Richard H. P. Mason, 'Suematsu Kenchō and patterns of Japanese cultural and political change in the 1880s', *Papers on Far Eastern History*, Australian National University, Department of Far Eastern History, 1979, pp. 1-55.

Chapter Five

149. *Matsura Atsushi Haku Denshi Monjo*, Matsura Hakushaku Ke Hensanjo 1939, p. 11.
150. *Hirado Shishi*, published by Hirado city, 1967, pp. 186-88; Nagasaki Prefectural Library ed., *Kyōdo no Senkakushatachi — Nagasaki Ken Jinbutsuden*, Nagasaki Prefectural Board of Education, 1968, pp. 214-17.
151. *The Japanese Club at Cambridge*, [No. 2], p. 16.
152. *Cambridge University reporter*, June 11, 1878, p. 591.
153. *Cambridge University reporter*, June 7, 1886, p. 721.
154. *Cambridge University reporter*, June 14, 1887, p. 853. [See Appendix II]
155. *The minute book of the Council of the Senate*, March 7, 1887.
156. David B. Wilson, 'Experimentalists among the mathematicians: Physics in the Cambridge Natural Sciences Tripos, 1851-1900', *Historical Studies in the Physical Sciences*, Vol. 12 Part 2.
157. Inagaki Manjirō, *Kyōiku no Ōmoto*, Tetsugaku Shoin, 1892, p. 87.
158. *Cambridge University reporter*, June 2, 1903, p. 880.
159. *Cambridge University reporter*, February 6, 1906, pp. 477-79. [See Appendix II]
160. *Cambridge University reporter*, June 16, 1906, p. 1204.
161. *The minute book of the Council of the Senate*, May 30, 1887.
162. *Matsura Atsushi Haku Denshi Monjo*, Matsura Hakushaku Ke Hensanjo, 1939, p. 12.
163. See 'The Mutsu Family' by Ian Mutsu, Chapter 11, pp. 151-65, *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits, Volume 2*, ed. Ian Nish (Japan Library, 1997). (Translator's note)
164. Shimojū Akiko, *Junai — Eseru to Mutsuke no hitobito*, Kodansha 1994, pp. 62-69.
165. H. J. Edwards, 'Japanese undergraduates at Cambridge University', *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London*, Vol. 7 (1905-07), London, 1908. pp. 45-58.
166. Nagura Bunji, *Heiki tekkō gaisha no Nichi-Ei kankeishi — Nihon Seitetsusho to Eikokugawa kabunushi, 1907-52*, Nihonkeizai hyōronsha 1998, pp. 51-3, 94-5.
167. Cho Song-gu, *Chōsen minzoku undō to Soejima Michimasa*, Kenbun Shuppan, 1998.
168. *sangi* in this case means the high office created in 1869, ranking third after the *daseidaijin* and *sayudaijin*, and abolished in 1885. (Translator's note based on Kojien dictionary)
169. *The Japanese Club at Cambridge* [No. 2], p. 14.
170. *Inoue Kankei Monjo* at the *kenseishiryōshitsu* (Constitutional Documents room), National Diet Library in Tokyo, in two letters from Mōri Gorō to Inoue Kaoru, the first dated March 20 of Meiji 22 (1889), the second August 21 of Meiji ?. (Translator's note: there are two ways of addressing an uncle in Japanese. An uncle who is senior to a parent is 伯父 while a junior uncle is 叔父, both read as 'oji'. Mōri used the first and then the second in two letters.)
171. *Inoue Kankei Monjo* at the Constitutional Documents room, National Diet Library, letter from Kawase Masataka to Inoue Kaoru, dated November 18 of Meiji 23 (1890).
172. H. J. Edwards, 'Japanese undergraduates at Cambridge University', *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London*, Vol. 7 (1905-07), London, 1908. pp. 45-58 at p. 53. (Translator's note: In fact Tanaka Ginnosuke may have also played rugby at Cambridge, since he is credited as the co-founder with E. B. Clarke of Corpus Christi College of the game in Japan. See 'Britain's Contribution to the Development of Rugby Football in Japan' by Alison Nish, Ch. 27, *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. 3, ed. J. E. Hoare, Richmond: Japan Library, 1999.)
173. *Inoue Kankei Monjo* at the Constitutional Documents room, National Diet Library, letter from Kawase Masataka to

- Inoue Kaoru, dated November 26 of Meiji 23 (1890).
174. Osada Shūtō, *Tonanroku*, published by Jitsugyō no Nihonsha, 1917, p. 7.
 175. Osada Shūtō, *Tonanroku*, published by Kyōiku Kagakusha, 1943, commentary p. 15.
 176. *Minakata Kumagusu Nikki*, 2, Yasaka Shobo, 1987, p. 96.
 177. *Sōseki Zenshū*, Vol. 22, Iwanami Shoten, 1950, p. 18.
 178. *Sōseki Zenshū*, Vol. 15, Iwanami Shoten, 1949, p. 266.
 179. *Sōseki Zenshū*, Vol. 24, Iwanami Shoten, 1950, p. 138.
 180. Iwasa Sōshirō, *Hōgetsu no Beru Epokku – Meiji Bungakusha to Shinseiki Yōroppa*, Taishūkan shoten, 1998, pp. 52-54.
 181. Tan Hamaguchi, ‘Some striking female personalities in Japanese history’, *Transactions and proceedings of the Japan Society, London*, Vol. 6 (1901-1904), London, 1906, pp. 235-269.
 182. See Miyakawa Takayasu, *Iwasaki Koyata – Mitsubishi wo sodateta keiei rinen*, Chuo Kōronsha, 1996.
 183. “Kōchō no kinkyō” in Waseda Daigaku Kōfū KaiShi Vol. 10, No. 1. June 4, 1906 (Meiji 39).
 184. See Frank Stubbings, *Bedders, Bulldogs and Bedells: A Cambridge Glossary*. (Cambridge University Press, 1991, revised 1995) p.48 “...the category of Fellow-Commoner became extinct. The name, however, has been honourably revived in a number of colleges since the Second World War to distinguish certain senior members - usually visitors, such as established scholars from other universities...” (Translator’s note)
 185. Ōkura Yūji, *Danshaku: ganso pure-boi Ōkura Kishichirō no yūga na isshō*, Bungei Shunjū, 1989.
 186. See Ishii Kendō, *Meiji Jibutsu Kigen* for a famous story about the introduction of the motor car to Japan. In Meiji 33 (1900) the Japanese Club of San Francisco consulted with the then consul who was Cambridge-educated Mutsu Hirokichi (already mentioned in this book) and decided to present an electric car to the Crown Prince (the future Emperor Taishō) to celebrate his wedding. When it was being test-driven this car fell into the moat of the Imperial Palace, and it was decided that the Crown Prince could not use such a dangerous mode of transportation. In connection with motor cars, Shirasu Jirō (1902-1985) was active in later years in the Cambridge Automobile Club. He was a student member of Clare College, which he entered in 1923 (Taishō 12). In 1926 (Taishō 15) he was awarded an ordinary degree on graduation. Curiously he took part of the preliminary examination (Little-Go) and also paid some tuition fees one year before entering the university. Shirasu later became a business leader and assisted Yoshida Shigeru (1878-1967) in the post-war reconstruction of Japan. He married the popular essayist Shirasu Masako (1910-1998) and donated a sum to Clare College library for Japanese books in his will.
 187. ‘Realisation of a Racing Motorists’s dream’, *Motor*, 25th June 1907.
 188. Tano Kitsuji, *Ankoku no Rondon*, Kōbundō, 1903, pp. 46-7.
 189. A ‘koku’ 石 . A measure of volume or capacity, used generally for rice but sometimes for other dry substances and liquids as well. In the Edo period (1600-1868) a *koku* of grain equalled about 180.39 litres, theoretically enough rice to feed one person for a year. Land productivity, tax assessments, the stipends of *samurai*, and the wealth of *daimyō* were all measured in *koku*. (Translator’s note based on the entry for *koku* , p. 816 in Kodansha’s *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 1993).
 190. *Okuma Shigenobu Kankei Monjo* (2) Nihonshiseki kyōkai, 1933, p. 40.
 191. Watanabe Hisashi, (*Saishin*) *Rondon Hanjōki*, Hakubunkan, 1910, p. 304.
 192. *Meiji Nyu-zu Jiten*, Vol. 8, Mainichi Communications, 1986, p. 576.
 193. *Kokumin Shinbun*, Meiji 41 (1908), December 28.
 194. Obituary of Tōdō Takatsugu in *Asahi Shinbun*, January 13, Showa 18 (1943).
 195. Gaimushō gaibun shiryōkan zō, ‘Kaigairyūgakusei (kakufuken haken oyobi kojinn) kankei zakken’ (3 mon 10 rui 4 kō 1 gō), ‘Kujō Danshaku no Kinjō Chōsahō no ken’.
 196. *Shinbun Shūroku Taishō Shi* (Vol. 8), Taishō Shuppan, 1978, pp. 388-9.
 197. Tokyo Asahi Shinbun, Taishō 9 (1920), December 7th.
 198. Osaka Asahi Shinbun, Taishō 9 (1920), December 7th.
 199. Kagotani Machiko, ‘Kujō Takeko – sono shōgai no ashiato’, Dōhōsha shuppan, 1988, p. 181.

200. Ibid. p. 182.

Chapter Six

201. The *Kengyūkai* was so called because it used the kanji (ateji) of ‘ken’ 劍 for Cambridge and the kanji meaning ‘ox’ pronounced *gyū* 牛 for Oxford. ‘Kai’ 会 means society. Sir Hugh Cortazzi notes in his *Mitford's Japan* (Japan Library, 2002, p.301) that usually Oxford precedes Cambridge, but not in Japan! (Translator's note)
202. The author Mr. Koyama has quoted from the Japanese translation of Satow's diaries for his period as Minister in Japan translated by Nagaoka Shōzō, *A-nesuto Satō Kōshi Nikki*, published by Shinjinbutsu Oraisha in 2 vols., vol. 1 (1989), p. 93. I have quoted directly from Satow's original diary in English. See I. Ruxton (ed.) *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Tokyo 1895-1900* (Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2003) p. 54. (Translator's note)
203. *Matsura Atsushi Haku Denshi Bunshō*, Matsura Hakushaku Ke Hensanjo 1939, p. 19.
204. *A-nesuto Satō Kōshi Nikki*, published by Shinjinbutsu Oraisha in 2 vols., Vol. 2, translated by Nagaoka Shōzō and Fukunaga Ikuo, 1991, p. 105.
205. His full name according to College lists at Cambridge was Edward Ernest Foxwell, and in Japan he was generally known as Ernest Foxwell. (Translator's note)
206. The Japanese translation is in *A-nesuto Satō Kōshi Nikki*, Vol. 2, p. 401. The original English given here is from Satow's diary. (Translator's note)
207. *The Garter Mission to Japan*, published by Macmillan & Co., New York, 1906, pp. 255-56. Translated by S. Nagaoka, *Eikoku Kizoku no mita Meiji Nihon*, published by Shinjinbutsu Oraisha, 1986, p. 188.
208. *Matsukata Masayoshi Kankei Monjo* Vol. 10, published by Daitō Bunka Daigaku Tōyō Kenkyūsho, 1989, pp. 459-461.
209. First, Sir Claude MacDonald is stated clearly to be the Ambassador, and he was in that post until 1912. Secondly, Inagaki Manjirō would naturally be expected to be included, but he died in 1908. From these two points it is estimated that this list was produced between 1908 and 1912.
210. On Marie Stopes in Japan see ‘Marie Stopes (1907-1958) and Japan’, Chapter 12, *Britain and Japan 1859-1991: Themes and Personalities* by Carmen Blacker. See also Marie C. Stopes, *A journal from Japan: a daily record of life as seen by a scientist*, London, Blackie & Son, 1910. (re-printed and co-published by Edition Synapse & Thoemmes Press, 2000 as Volume 5 of *Marie Stopes: Birth Control and Other Writings*). (Translator's note)
211. Nihon Kagakushi Gakkai Hen, *Nihon Kagaku Gijutsushi Taikei* [Outline of the History of Japanese Science and Technology] Vol. 12, Sūri Kagaku, published by Dai-ichi Hōki Shuppan, 1969, p.91.
212. *Kikuchi Zenbunshō Enjutsu Kyūjūkyū Shū* published by Dai Nihon Zusho, 1903.
213. *Tokyo Daigaku Hyakunenshi* [A Centenary History of Tokyo University], (shiryō 1), Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1984, p. 1069.
214. In fact there was no prior declaration of war by either Russia or Japan. Japanese destroyers fired the first shots in a torpedo attack at Port Arthur on February 8, 1904. See *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and his world 1852-1912*, by Donald Keene, Columbia University Press, 2002, p. 605. (Translator's note)
215. See ‘Japanese Propaganda: Selected Readings’, Series 1: Books 1872-1943, A Collection in Ten Volumes edited by Peter O'Connor, Musashino University, Tokyo (Global Oriental & Edition Synapse, 2004). Volume 3 is a reprint of Suematsu Kenchō's *The Risen Sun* (1905) introduced by Matsumura Masayoshi. (Translator's note)
216. H.J. Edwards, ‘Japanese undergraduates at Cambridge University’, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*, London, Vol. 7 (1905-07), London, 1908, pp. 45-58.
217. Ernest Rutherford (Baron Rutherford of Nelson, of Cambridge). Born August 30, 1871, Spring Grove, N.Z. Died October 9, 1937, Cambridge, England. Rutherford laid the groundwork for the development of nuclear physics by investigating radioactivity, discovering the alpha particle, and developing the nuclear theory of atomic structure. After receiving a Master's degree from Canterbury College, Christchurch, Rutherford went to Cambridge in 1895 to work with Sir J.J. Thomson at Cavendish Laboratory. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1908.

- Knighthood in 1914. In 1919 he was invited to succeed Thomson in the Cavendish chair at Cambridge. Awarded the Copley medal of the Royal Society, 1922. President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1923. President of the Royal Society, 1925. Appointed to the Order of Merit, 1925. In 1931 he was created Baron Rutherford of Nelson, the barony becoming extinct on his death. (Translator's note based on *Encyclopedia Britannica*).
218. Edith F. B. MacAlister, *Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert*, London, 1935, p.114.
219. Edith F. B. MacAlister, *Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert*, London, 1935, p.172.
220. The Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku Chokugo*) was issued in the name of Emperor Meiji on October 30, 1890. It served as a powerful instrument of political indoctrination and remained in effect until the end of World War II. The 315-word text, prepared by Inoue Kowashi, Motoda Nagazane and several other educators and government leaders, states that Japan's unique national polity (*Kokutai*) is based on the historical bonds uniting its benevolent rulers and their loyal subjects, and that the fundamental principles of Japanese education are based on this. The rescript then exhorts all Japanese subjects to cultivate a list of virtues, central among them loyalty (*chū*) and filial piety (*kō*), for the greater glory of the imperial house. The Ministry of Education distributed certified copies of the rescript to every school in Japan. It was given ceremonial readings at all important school events and functions, and students were required to study and to memorize the text for their moral education classes. It was officially rescinded by the Diet in June 1948. (Translator's note based on Kodansha's *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, p. 596).
221. One of Sadler's closest friends was P. J. Hartog, former chemistry lecturer at Owens College, Manchester and academic registrar of London University from 1903 who was involved in the invitation to Kikuchi and organizing his lecture series etc.
222. Regarding the request from London University to the Japanese government for a lecturer on Japanese education there is a file in the Japanese Foreign Office archives at Azabudai 1-chome near Roppongi called 'Rondon Daigaku ni oite Nihon yori Kōshi Shōhei Moshikomi ikken' (ref: 3 mon 8 rui 4 kō 34 gō) which contains many documents.
223. General Nogi Maresuke (1849-1912) from Chōshū (now part of Yamaguchi prefecture) commanded the 14th Infantry Regiment at Kokura in 1873. Promoted to major general in 1885. Commanded the First Infantry Brigade during the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 and captured Port Arthur on the Liaotung Peninsula, which Japan was forced to give up by the Triple Intervention of Russia, Germany and France in 1895. Governor-general of Formosa (Taiwan) 1896-98. In the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) General Nogi was in command of the Third Army for the recovery of Port Arthur from Russia. There were 56,000 Japanese casualties, for which Nogi felt personally responsible. He also lost both sons in battle. Elevated to Count in 1907. Committed ritual suicide (*junshi*) with his wife on the evening of the Meiji Emperor's funeral (September 14, 1912). His house is preserved in Nogi park, Akasaka, central Tokyo. On the suicide and reactions to it see Donald Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and his world 1852-1912*, Columbia University Press, 2002, pp. 712-714. (Translator's note).
224. *Itō Hirobumi Kankei Monjo* (4) Hanawa Shobō, 1976, pp. 311-316.
225. Makino Nobuaki (1861-1949) was the second son of Ōkubo Toshimichi, adopted by the Makino family. He was a politician and diplomat born in the Satsuma domain (now Kagoshima prefecture). In 1871 he went on the Iwakura Mission to America and Europe. He entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1880 and was ambassador to Italy. Minister of Education in the first Saionji Kimmochi cabinet (1906-08). Minister of Foreign Affairs (1913-14). Attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Narrowly escaped assassination in the February 26th incident of 1936. Prime-minister Yoshida Shigeru was his son-in-law. (Translator's note based on Kodansha's *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, p. 911).
226. For details of Kikuchi's preparations and the English translation of the Imperial rescript see Hirata Yūji, *Kyōiku Chokugo Kokusai Kankeishi no Kenkyū – Kantei Honyaku Kyōiku Chokugo wo Chūshin toshite* (pubd. by Kazama Shobō, 1997).
227. *Jinbutsu Hyōron* (4) *Hamao sōchō to Kikuchi sōchō* (Chūō Kōron dai 25 kan dai 4 go, 1910).
228. Inagaki Manjirō, *Kyōiku no Ōmoto*, Tetsugaku Shoin, 1892.
229. Kikuchi Dairoku, *Shin Nihon*, Fuzanbō, 1910.

230. Ibid., pp. 5-8.
231. Itakura Kiyonobu, Kimura Tōsaku and Yagi Eri, *Nagaoka Hantarō Den*, Asahi Shinbunsha, 1973, p. 712.
232. Ibid., p. 441.
233. *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, March 7 of Taishō 10 (1921).
234. Brabazon wrote that he failed the university entrance examination, but he probably meant the Trinity College examination.
235. Lord Brabazon of Tara, *The Brabazon story*, London, 1956, p.4.
236. Inagaki Manjirō, *Kyōiku no Ōmoto*, Tetsugaku Shoin, 1892, pp. 80-81.
237. Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865). English Whig-Liberal statesman whose long career, including many years as British foreign secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51) and prime minister (1855-58, 1859-65), made him a symbol of British nationalism. He said that Britain had no permanent allies, only permanent interests. He was popular as “the most English minister who ever governed England” and a powerful advocate of gunboat diplomacy. (Translator’s note).
238. Inagaki Manjirō, *Kyōiku no Ōmoto*, Tetsugaku Shoin, 1892, pp. 81-82.

Epilogue

239. *Taishō Nyūzu Jiten*, Vol. III, Mainichi Communications, 1987, p.103.
240. Mitsukuri Genpachi, “Kō Kikuchi Dairoku Dan” [The late Baron Kikuchi Dairoku], *Taiyō* Vol. 23, No. 12.
241. Kikuchi Dairoku, “Meiryū Kugaku Dan”, *Chūgaku Sekai* Vol. III, No. 1.
242. Kikuchi Dairoku, *Shin Nihon*, Fuzanbō, 1910, pp. 1-2.
243. Matsumoto Seichō (1909-1992). Prolific novelist, originally a journalist. Born in Kokura, Fukuoka prefecture. There is now a memorial museum in Kitakyushu near Kokura castle dedicated to his memory which houses a full-size replica of his home in Tokyo. (Translator’s note).
244. Ienaga Saburō, *Daigaku no Jiyū no Rekishi* [A History of Academic Freedom at Universities] published by Hanawa Shobo, 1972, pp. 240-41.
245. Tanaka Shōhei (1862-1945). Physicist and music scholar. Born in Awaji Island, which lies between the city of Kobe and the island of Shikoku. Tanaka studied in Germany under the physicist Hermann von Helmholtz (1821-94) and invented an organ with perfect pitch. (*Kojien* dictionary).
246. Shimizu Seimei ed., *Tetsugakukan jiken to Rinrimondai* [The Tetsugakukan Incident and Ethical Problems], Bunmeidō, 1903, p.256.
247. The article was also included in the 5th and 6th editions of Chamberlain’s *Things Japanese* as ‘Bushido – the Invention of a New Religion’.
248. Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Japanese Things: Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan*, Tuttle paperback 1971, reprinted 1992.

Postscript

249. The typescript of *Fifty years of Japanese at Cambridge 1948-98: a chronicle with reminiscences*, is available on the internet at http://www.eai.cam.ac.uk/fifty_years.pdf. This is located on the server of the East Asia Institute, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Sidgwick Avenue, Cambridge CB3 9DA, England. (Accessed March 1, 2004) (Translator’s note)
250. The 1986 the Parker Report ('Speaking for the Future: A Review of the Requirements of Diplomacy and Commerce for Asian and African Languages and Area Studies') was prepared by the late Sir Peter Parker LVO on behalf of the University Grants Committee. It recommended an increase in government funding for Japanese studies and resulted in the number of students taking Japanese language courses quadrupling to 1,914 between 1987 and 1993. (Translator’s note)

Notes to Appendices

Appendix II (All notes in the original, except no. 6)

1. *C.U. Reporter*, 1877-8, p. 591.
2. *C.U. Reporter*, 1885-6, p. 721.
3. *C.U. Reporter*, 1886-7, p. 233.
4. *C.U. Reporter*, 1886-7, pp. 853-4.
5. *C.U. Reporter*, 1887-8, pp. 85 and 166.
6. See *Lord Cromer - Victorian Imperialist, Edwardian Proconsul* by Roger Owen, A. J. Meyer, Professor of Middle East History, Harvard University (Oxford University Press, 2004). [Translator's note]
7. See report of discussion in *C.U. Reporter*, 1878-9, p. 100.
8. In the case of Egyptian students there is evidence to shew that the objection to Latin is stronger than the objection to Greek.

Appendix III (Note by translator)

9. Moir Black Duncan (1861-1906). Born at Reinchall farm, near Aberdeen. MA of Glasgow University, ordained at Oxford University where he studied Chinese and Theology in 1888. In October 1888 Duncan set sail for China under the auspices of the Baptist Missionary Society. In 1902 he was appointed the first principal of a college of Western learning at Shanxi (later Taiyuan University), established as one condition of the settlement of the Boxer Rebellion. The Duncan papers were donated to the Angus Library, Regents Park College, Oxford University in 1995.

Appendix VI (All notes by translator)

10. This is the text of a lecture given at the Japan Society of London meeting on January 11, 1905. It appeared in *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London*, Vol. 7 (1905-07), London, 1908. pp. 45-58. Japanese names in square parentheses are presented in the Japanese order, i.e. family name preceding given name.
11. Arthur Diosy was Chairman of the Japan Society, 1901-04. Hungarian-born, he had originally proposed the founding of the Society to the Japanese section of the International Congress of Orientalists on 9 September 1891. Professor William Anderson, FRCS who had been a medical doctor in Japan in the 1870s was elected the first chairman on 8 December of that year. (*The Japan Society: A History 1891-2000*, by Sir Hugh Cortazzi, edited by Anne Kaneko, Japan Society Publications, London 2001, p.1) Anderson died on 27 October 1900 (*Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits, Volume 3*, published by Japan Library in 1999, edited by J. E. Hoare, Ch. 7 on the painter Kawanabe Kyōsai by Olive Checkland, p. 85 and endnote 16) which necessitated the election of Diosy.
12. Suematsu Kenchō, 1855-1920. He first arrived in London on 1 April 1878 to train to become first secretary at the Japanese legation, but his real motive was to travel and study in Britain. In October 1881 he registered as a non-collegiate student at Cambridge, graduating with an LL.B. in June 1884. In 1889 he married Ikuko, the second daughter of his patron Itō Hirobumi. On 10 February 1904 he left Japan for a lecture tour of Europe intended to raise support for Japan in the Russo-Japanese War, declared on the same day. He addressed the Japan Society at the thirteenth annual dinner in May 1904.
13. Thomas (later Sir Thomas) F. Wade (1818-95) was himself a Cambridge alumnus. He was minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary, and chief superintendent of British trade in China, 1871-83. In 1888 he was elected the first professor of Chinese at Cambridge. If he ever resided in Japan, it can only have been for a very short period of time and not in an official capacity.
14. An Old Harrovian is a former pupil of Harrow School, northwest London.
15. In fact Japan was *forced* to give up the Liaotung peninsula in southern Manchuria ceded to it from China under the

- Treaty of Shimonoseki signed on 17 April 1895, and accept financial compensation in lieu by diplomatic pressure – couched in the form of ‘friendly advice’ – from the Eastern *Dreibund* (Russia, Germany and France) which was applied a few days later on April 23rd. This humiliation was partially avenged in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. Here Dr. Searle, as reported by Mr. Edwards, is either unaware of the full facts or consciously face-saving.
16. “Mr. Edwards urged that a chair for the study of Japanese culture should be established at Cambridge ‘in the near future’. Alas this had to wait for nearly eighty years until 1984 when funds were provided through the Japanese Federation of Economic Organizations (*Keidanren*) largely from Tokyo Electric Power Company.” (*The Japan Society : A History 1891-2000*, pp. 25-26.)
 17. Hachisuka Masaaki entered Trinity College, Cambridge in October 1890. He graduated with a B.A. in Mathematics in 1895.
 18. Nabeshima Naomitsu, heir to Count Nabeshima Naohiro who was head of the Saga clan in Kyushu, entered Caius College in 1895 and graduated with a B.A. in History in 1897. Both Naohiro and ‘his Cambridge son’ Naomitsu had lunch with Sir Ernest Satow at Lake Chūzenji near Nikkō on August 24, 1899. (Satow’s Chūzenji diary, PRO 30/33 17/16).
 19. Owen Seaman (1861-1936) was best known as the editor of the humorous and satirical magazine *Punch* from 1906 to 1932. Most of his poetry and writing was accordingly in a satiric and parodic vein. John M. Munro, the editor of the anthology *English Poetry in Transition: 1880-1920* (Pegasus, 1968) says that during the 1914-1918 war Seaman wrote a “number of verses of a somewhat mindless, patriotic kind, reflecting the optimism and devotion to his native land rather than the stirrings of poetic genius.” He was knighted in 1914, which ‘seemed to be more of an acknowledgement of his gift for satire than of a government commending him for his patriotism.’ (*Dictionary of National Biography*, 1931-1940)
 20. Charles Holme was Chairman of the Japan Society, 1904-07.
 21. In February 1908 Lord Reay (1839-1921) presided over a committee which produced a voluminous report, (*Report of the Committee appointed by the Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury to consider the organisation of Oriental Studies in London*, usually referred to as ‘The Reay Report’, H.M.S.O. 1909, Cmd. 4560) on the study of Oriental, Indian and African languages in Britain. Many expert witnesses were called, including Sir Ernest Satow who had served with Reay on the British delegation to the Second Peace Conference at The Hague in 1907. The Report led eventually to the founding of the School of Oriental Studies in London, which in 1917 opened its doors to its first students of Japanese. See p. 3 of *The ‘Japanese’ War* by Sadao Oba, translated by Anne Kaneko (Japan Library, 1995).
 22. It is not clear who the ‘great authority’ was, but who in fact is to say whether the English language is written backwards or forwards? From a Japanese viewpoint, it may be English which is written backwards. It is all relative as between languages, after all. In fact, Japanese books and newspapers are traditionally read from the back to the front, as compared with English ones, and vertically in columns from right to left. Hand-written Japanese frequently follows the same rule, but in modern keyboard-based writing other than books and newspapers (e.g. administrative notices, e-mails, web pages etc.) Japanese text is usually horizontal and from left to right, the same as English.
 23. See Philip Towle, ‘British Naval and Military Observers of the Russo-Japanese War,’ Ch. 14, *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits, Vol. 3* (1999) which begins: “The British armed forces made a greater effort to observe the Russo-Japanese War than they made for any foreign war before or since.” Dr. Philip Towle is a member of the Centre of International Studies, University of Cambridge.

Index

Notes:

For the Japanese names in kanji characters please refer to the index of Mr. Koyama's book in Japanese. Here they are romanised.

There is sometimes more than one way of reading Japanese personal names. For example, Yasuhiro Banichirō (Ban'ichirō) might also be read Yasuhiro Tomoichirō; Matsura Atsushi might be read Matsuura Atsushi; Furuichi Kimitake might be read Furuichi Kōi and so on. Japanese names are described in family registers (*koseki*) in kanji characters only, and there are no official ways of reading Japanese personal names. This represents a problem for libraries, which have to establish name authorities for their catalogues. The following index should therefore not be taken as the undisputed authority on the reading of the personal names contained therein, and variations are sometimes possible and acceptable.

Abbott, James	86	Carlo, Maros	112
Adams, J.C. (astronomer)	57	Case, W.A. (deputy head U.C.S.)	8
Addison, Elena Grace	112	Cayley, Professor Arthur (1821-95)	57
Amano Isae	84	Chamberlain, Basil Hall (1850-1935)	
Aoki Shūzō (1844-1914, diplomat, Minister to Britain and foreign minister)	96, 178	on Emperor worship	140-1
Apostles, The Cambridge	195-6	Chamberlain, Joseph	63
Asakanomiya	105	Churchill, Winston S.	106
Asano Nagayuki	5, 7, 190	Clarke, Edward Bramwell (1875-1934, English lecturer at Keio University from 1899, brought rugby to Keio with Tanaka Ginnosuke)	174, 199
Aston, William George (1841-1911)	142	Clifford, Prof. William K. (1854-79)	57-8, 196
B		Connaught, Prince Arthur of	118
Balfour, Arthur James (1848-1930, prime minister)	126	Cook, W. (maths master, U.C.S.)	8
Balfour, Prof. Francis M. (1851-82, brother of A.J.)	75	Crewdson, Wilson (Japan Society)	185
Ball of Trinity	62	Cromer, Lord (1841-1917)	90, 162-3, 203
Barnard of St. John's	62	Cunningham, Rev. Dr.	178
Bateson, William H. (1812-81, Master of St. John's College)	46	D	
Beck, Vice-Chancellor	166	Dan Takuma (1858-1932, leader of the Mitsui zaibatsu, from the Fukuoka <i>han</i>)	109
Besant, William H. (1828-1917)	55-6, 62	Date Kikujirō (Kunimune)	99
Blacker, Carmen	72, 191, 200	Date Munemoto	99
Borissow, Louis (1840-1917)	44, 194	Date Yoshikuni	99
Brabazon, J.T.C.M.	105-6, 134	Diosy, Arthur (1856-1923, Hungarian founder of the Japan Society of London)	103, 176, 203
Bristed, Charles Astor (1820-74, American undergraduate)	48-9	Duncan, Moir Black (1861-1906)	166-9, 203
Butler, Rev. Dr. Henry Montagu (1833-1918, Master of Trinity 1886-1918)	97-98, 178	E	
C		Edwards, Henry John (1869-1923) Dean of Peterhouse	95, 123-4, 142, Appx. VI
Calliphronas, George Constantine (of Caius College, Senior Wrangler in 1874)	62	Edward VII, King	18
Campbell, F.A.	166-9	Euclid (Eukleides)	60
Campbell-Bannerman, (Sir) Henry	125-6	Ewing, Prof. James Alfred (1855-1935)	106, 132

- Faraday, Michael (1791-1867, British chemist and physicist) 52
- Felkin, F.W. (author of U.C.S. history) 18, 191
- Foster, Professor Michael (1836-1907, Cambridge professor of physiology 1883-1903) 89
- Foxwell, Edward Ernest (1851-1922) 106-7, 117-8, 200
- Foxwell, Prof. Herbert (1849-1936) 107
- Fujimura Yoshiaki (1871-1933) 100-1, 117, 119
- Fujisawa Rikitarō, Professor (1861-1933, mathematician and student of Kikuchi) 6, 7, 29, 43, 121, 139, Appx. I
- Fukuda Tatsu (Kikuchi Dairoku's wife, 1863-?) 66, 172, 188
- Fukuzawa Einosuke (Bakufu student) 31
- Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901, thinker, founder of Keio University, born in Nakatsu, Kyushu) 12, 32, 37
- Furuichi Kimitake/Kōi (1854-1934, brilliant student in France) 27-28
- Fushimi Sadanaru, Prince (Fushimi no Miya Sadanaru Shinnō) (1858-1923) 104, 119-20
- Fuwa Yoshirō 26
- G**auss, Prof. Karl Friedrich 155
- Gennyō Shōnin (real name Ōtani Kōei) 19
- Gibbons, Frederick B.D.M. 62-3
- Giles, Herbert A. (1845-1935, second Professor of Chinese at Cambridge) 90-1, Appx. III
- Glover, T.R., University Orator 46, 194
- Gray, Professor Asa (1810-88, leading U.S. botanist) 92
- Gray, Thomas (1716-71, British poet) 75
- Green, George (1793-1841 physicist) 52
- Green, George Edward (1863-1931, Inagaki's tutor & proof-reader) 86
- H**achisuka Masaaki (1871-1932, son and heir of Mochiaki) 44, 94-6, 119
- Hachisuka Masauji (1903-53, ornithologist, son of Masaaki) 44, 194
- Hachisuka Mochiaki, Marquis (1846-1918, supported Kikuchi's study in England in the 1870s) 27, 43-4, 96, 119, 121
- Hamaguchi Goryō (introduced Worcester sauce to Japan) 103
- Hamaguchi Tan (1872-1939) 101-3, 119
- Hamao Arata (1849-1925) 5-6, 87, awarded honorary law doctorate 91-2, 104, 117-8, 121
- Hanson, R., Mayor 92
- Hartog, Numa Edward (1846-71) and religious reform 54-5, 99
- Hartog, Philip Joseph (1864-1947) 55
- Hatoyama Hideo, Dr. of Law (1884-1946) 3
- Hatoyama Kazuo (1856-1911) 27
- Hayashi Tadasu, Count (1850-1913, Tōzaburō/Momosaburō, member of the Bakufu group sent to England in 1866, later ambassador in London) 6, 18, 31-2, 104, 118-20, 122-3, 127-8
- Hearn, Lafcadio (1850-1904, alias Koizumi Yakumo, journalist, professor and acclaimed writer on Japan) 103
- Heath, Joseph (St. John's wrangler) 58-61
- Higashi Fushimi no Miya Yoshiaki (see Komatsu no Miya Akihito)

- Higashikuze Michiteru (disgraced student, disowned by Michitomi) 26, 30
- Higashikuze Michitomi, Count (1834-1912, court noble and diplomat) 26
- Hill, Edwin of St. John's proposes amendment 89, tutor of Inaba Masanao 94
- Hilton, James (novelist) 99
- Hiranuma Kiichirō (1867-1952) 69
- Hiraoka Michiyoshi (1831-1917) 32
- Hiraoka Morisaburō – see Ichikawa Morisaburō
- Hirosawa Kinjirō of Leys School & Caius College (1871-1928) 5, 94-100, 119
- Hirosawa Saneomi (1833-1871, of Chōshū, father of Kinjirō) 96
- Holme, Charles (Japan Society) 184
- Holthouse, Rev. Cuthbert Lempriere (the winner of the last wooden spoon, 1909) v, 63, 196-7
- Hopkins, William (1793-1866, private tutor) 53-4
- Hori Keishi (Christian name: Timothy) 106, 108-9
- Horton, Elias Robert (1835-1884, deputy head of U.C.S. & fellow of Peterhouse) recommends Kikuchi to St. John's 20, 47
- Hozumi (Irie) Nobushige (1855-1926, outstanding law student) 27-28
- Hudson, William Henry H. (1838-1915) 55-6
- Hunter, W.W. of Calcutta University 92
- I**chikawa Bunkichi (1847-1921, brother of Morisaburō) 32
- Ichikawa Kanenori (father of Morisaburō) 32
- Ichikawa Morisaburō (1852-1882) (Hiraoka Morisaburō) 31, 32, 36
- 'Ijuin Kimitake' (fraudster) 142-3
- Ikeda Kikunae (1864-1936, chemist) 132
- Imamura Seinosuke (1849-1902, railway entrepreneur) 101
- Imamura Shigezō (Leys School & Trinity College) (1877-1956) 6, 100-3, 119, 190
- Inaba Masakuni (*rōjū* & Kyoto official) 96
- Inaba Masanao, Viscount (brother of Matura Atsushi) 6, 92-6, 99, 104, 119
- Inagaki Manjirō of Caius (1861-1908, a scholar-diplomat) 5, 69, 84-97, 123, 130, 134-5
- Inoue Enryō (1858-1919, philosopher) 138
- Inoue Kaoru (1835-1915, elder statesman) 97-9
- Inoue Katsunosuke (Japanese ambassador in London, 1913-16) 113-4
- Inoue Masaji (1876-1947, Waseda graduate) 103
- Isawa Katsumi (1877-1903) of Doshisha 106-8
- Ishii Kikujirō (1866-1945, foreign minister in second Ōkuma cabinet, 1915) 114
- Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909, elder statesman) and Suematsu 72-81, and Kikuchi 127
- Itō Ikuko (second daughter of Hirobumi, wife of Suematsu Kenchō) 72, 74
- Iwasa Genji (Bakufu student) 31, 37
- Iwasaki Koyata (1879-1945, nephew of Iwasaki Yatarō) 113, 119
- Iwasaki Yanosuke (1851-1908, younger brother of Yatarō, father of Koyata) 103
- Iwasaki Yatarō (1834-1885, founder of Mitsubishi zaibatsu) 103

- Jebb**, Sir Richard (Regius Professor of Greek) 178
- Joule, James Prescott (1818-1889, British physicist) 52
- Kadono**, Mr. (Japan Society) 185
- Kanda Takahira (1830-1898, mathematician) 66
- Kaneko Kentarō (1853-1942, of the Fukuoka *han*, studied in U.S.A., statesman) 109-10, 123
- Katō Hiroyuki (1836-1916, President of Tokyo University in 1877) 92
- Katsura Tarō (1848-1913, prime minister 1901-03) 154
- Kawaji Ryūkō (1888-1959, poet) 32
- Kawaji Tarō/Kandō (1844-1927, head of Bakufu students, father of Ryūkō) 31, 32, 33, 36, 37
- Kawaji Toshiakira (1801-68, grandfather of Tarō) 32
- Kawamura Hidebumi 188
- Kawamura Sumiyoshi (1836-1904, founder of navy) 96
- Kawamura Tetsutarō (1870-1945, Leys School, heir of Sumiyoshi) 94-6, 99, 100
- Kawase Masataka of Chōshū, Viscount (1840-1919, minister to Britain from 1884) 94, 96, 97, 98, 100, 178
- Kelvin, Lord – see Thomson, William
- Key, T.H. headmaster of U.C.S. 20
- Kikuchi (also Mitsukuri) Dairoku, Baron (1855-1917)
his honours and family background 1-4,
and U.C.S. 5-14, 18-22, 24-40, 41-71, 72-84, 87, 88,
91, 92, 94, 117-136, obituary by Fujisawa Rikitarō
- Appx. I, Appx. VI, Appx. VII
- Kikuchi Kenzō, zoology professor 3, 188
- Kikuchi Seishi (1902-1974), physicist who discovered the Kikuchi Line 3, 188
- Kikuchi Taiji (Kikuchi Dairoku's second son, died 1921) 3, 131-133, "silver watch" 156, 188
- Kimura Ki (1894-1979, critic and novelist, Waseda graduate) 1, 11
- Kitashirakawa no Miya Takeko (Princess) 112
- Koga Takemichi 26
- Koike Giro 190
- Koizumi Nobukichi (1849-1894) 37
- Komatsu no Miya Akihito, Prince (Higashi Fushimi no Miya Yoshiaki) 12, 39
- Komuro Sankichi (1863-1920, head of Mitsui Bussan's London branch) 32, 36
- Kujō Michitaka 113
- Kujō Takeko (1887-1928, poetess wife of Yoshimune) 113-116
- Kujō Yoshimune, Baron (1886-1940) ('Se no Kimi') 113-116
- Kuki Ryūichi, Baron 43
- Kumamoto Aritaka, inspector 138-139
- Kumamoto Shigekichi, inspector 138-139
- Kure Bunsō (1851-1918, statistician) 2, 188
- Kure Shūzō (1865-1932, psychopathologist) 2, 188
- Kuroda Nagahiro, head of the Kuroda *han* 110
- Kuroda Nagamichi (1889-1978) 194
- Kuroda Nagashige (1867-1939, eldest son and heir of Nagatomo, father of Nagamichi) 5, 80-83, 86, 91, 109, 119

- Kuroda Nagatomo (1838-1902, father of Nagashige) 90, 121
- Kuroda Nagatoshi, Baron (1881-1944, brother of Nagashige) 100, 121-122
- L**angton, Captain 186
- Lansdowne, Lord (1845-1927, foreign minister who signed the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902) 166, 168
- Larmor, Joseph (1857-1942) 52
- Legendre, Adrien-Marie (1752-1833, French geometrician) 156
- Linacre, Thomas 71
- Lindsey-Renton, George 7-10
- Lloyd, William Valentine (responsible for the Bakufu students in London) 33-39, 192
- Lorez, Miss De (Japan Society) 103
- M**acalister, Alexander (professor of anatomy, Dublin University and father of Edith) 71
- MacAlister, Prof. Donald (1854-1934) and Richard Rowe 22-3, 45-65, 70, 71, 86-97, 107-8, 123, subsequent career 125-6, 127, 133
- MacAlister, Edith, wife (married 1895) and biographer of Donald 45, 71, 126
- Macartney, Sir H. 167
- MacDonald, Sir Claude 6, 117, 119, 120, 190
- Maeda Toshitake (1864-90, uncle of Toshitsugu) receives tuition from Suematsu 78-9, 80-1, 86
- Maeda Toshitsugu (1858-1900, head of the Maeda family) 78, 86, 99
- Maeda Yoshiyasu (1830-74, brother of Toshitake and former head of family) 78
- Maitland, Professor Dr. F.W. (Downing Professor of the Laws of England) 97, 178
- Makino Nobuaki (1861-1949, Education minister in 1906) 127, 201
- Maltby, Edward (Young Kikuchi's mentor and tutor in London) 20, 34-37
- Markby, Sir William (1829-1914) 117
- Marshall, U.C.S. boy prizewinner 8-9
- Marshall, Alfred (1842-1924, noted Cambridge economist) 46-47
- Matsudaira Yoshitami 119
- Matsukata Masayoshi, Count (1835-1924) 6, 119
- Matsumoto Seichō (1909-1992, author) 138, 202
- Matsura Akira (1840-1908, former 12th Hirado clan chief) 84, 98, 99
- Matsura Atsushi (1864-1934, eldest son of Akira) 84, and Inagaki at Cambridge 85-88, and Japanese Club 93-95, 98, 104, 117, 119
- Matsura Nobuko (elder sister of Atsushi, divorced Maeda Toshitsugu) 86
- Maxwell, Professor James Clerk (1831-1879, first Chair of the Cavendish laboratory, 1871-79) 52, rivalry with E.J. Routh 54, 57, 70, 124, 195, 196
- Meiji Tennō (Emperor Meiji, 1852-1912, reigned 1867-1912) consent of 112, Garter Mission 118, imperial rescript on Education 127, 129, 153, 156, 201
- Minakata Kumagusu (1867-1941, scholar and folklorist) 30, and Hamaguchi Tan 101, 142
- Minamiwakura Tomotake, Baron 6, 119
- Minobe Ryōkichi (1904-84, grandson of Kikuchi, Tokyo prefectural governor) 1, 3, 188

- Minobe Tatsukichi, Dr. (legal scholar) 3, 188
- Mishima Yukio (real name Hiraoka Kimitake) 142
- Mitford, A.B. (1837-1916, Lord Redesdale from 1902)
and Cambridge Club 118-119
- Mitsui Takayoshi 77
- Mitsui Yōnosuke (Takaaki) 77
- Mitsukuri Dairoku (see Kikuchi Dairoku)
- Mitsukuri Genpachi (1862-1919, Professor of Western history, Kikuchi's youngest brother)
2, 43-44, 121, 136, 188
- Mitsukuri Genpo (1799-1863, *rangakusha*, Kikuchi's grandfather) 2, 24, 66, 188
- Mitsukuri Kakichi (1857-1909, zoologist & foreign correspondent, Kikuchi's younger brother)
2, and Suematsu 72, 75, 188
- Mitsukuri Keigo (1852-71, Kikuchi's elder brother, drowned in Sumida River) 2-3, 31, 188
- Mitsukuri Rinshō (1846-97, legal scholar, cousin and brother-in-law of Kikuchi) 2, 188
- Mitsukuri Shūhei (1826-89, scholar and educator, father of Kikuchi, adopted son of Mitsukuri Genpo)
2, 11, 12, 19, 24, 66, 72
- Monkswell, Lord 18
- Mōri Gorō of Chōshū, Baron (1871-1925)
5, 95, 97-8, 119, 179
- Mōri Motonori (1839-96, father of Gorō) 97
- Morley 13
- Motosawa Gorō 84
- Moulton, W.F. (Headmaster, Leys School) 97
- Muirhead (moral philosopher) 139
- Murakami Butsuzan/Bussan (Suematsu's teacher, head of *Suisaien* school) 81
- Murakami Keijirō (1853-1929)
44, 72, 89, 194
- Murray, John (publisher) 153
- Murton, Charles 58, 60, 61, 128, 196
- Mutsu Hirokichi (1869-1942, eldest son of Mutsu Munemitsu) 6, 94, 98, 109, electric car 199
- Mutsu Munemitsu (1844-1897, foreign minister in second Itō cabinet) 94
- Nabeshima Naohiro, Count (1846-1921, 11th head of Saga clan, father of Naomitsu) 98, 204
- Nabeshima Naomitsu (1872-1943, Caius college rugby player, 12th head of Saga clan)
97-100, 119, 204
- Nagaoka Hantarō (1865-1950, scientist)
2, 132, 133, 188
- Nakajima Tokuzō (professor of ethics at Tetsugakukan) 139
- Nakamigawa Hikojiro (1854-1901, Fukuzawa Yukichi's nephew) 37
- Nakamura Keiu (Keisuke/Masanao) (1832-91, Confucian scholar and Bakufu student group supervisor) 31-37, 84
- Nakayama Shigeru (1928 -) 57
- Nanjō Bunyū, Professor of Sanskrit (1849-1927, Oxford graduate) 6, 119, 130
- Narushima Ryūhoku (1837-84, friend of Mitsukuri Shūhei, visited Kikuchi at U.C.S.) 19-20
- Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916, novelist)
29, and Cambridge 102, 132
- Newton, Isaac 54
- Nishina Yoshio (1890-1951, founder of Japanese atomic physics) 133

- Noda Kiyotane (member of Japanese Club) 97, 99, 109
- Nogi Maresuke (1849-1912, of Chōshū, Head of Gakushūin before Kikuchi Dairoku, General in Russo-Japanese war, committed suicide after Meiji Emperor's death) 107, 201
- Nozaki Samon (student of Kikuchi at Daigaku Nankō) 39
- O**ba Sadao 204
- Ogura Kinnosuke (1885-1962, mathematician) 58
- Okabe Nagamoto (diplomat & vice president, Japanese Club) 94
- Okamoto Kenzaburō 110
- Okuda Yoshito (ringleader of Tokyo University Incident, later Minister of Education) 68-69
- Ōkuma Nobutsune (1871-1947, fellow commoner, adopted son of Ōkuma Shigenobu) 104-105
- Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922) 104, 110
- Ōkura Kihachirō (1837-1928, built Ōkura zaibatsu) 105
- Ōkura Kishichirō (1882-1963, motor racing driver and playboy) 105-106, 133-134
- Osada Tadakazu (Shūtō) (1871-1915) 100
- Ōtani Kōson (father of Kōzui) 113
- Ōtani Kōzui (1876-1948 of Nishi Honganji temple, Kyoto; led expedition to Central Asia, brother of Kujō Takeko) 113
- P**aget, George (professor of medicine) 87, 125
- Paley, William (1743-1805, theologian) 60
- Palmerston, Viscount (1784-1865) 134-135
- Parkes, (Sir) Harry Smith (1828-85, British minister in Japan, 1865-83) 33-37, 192
- Parkinson, Prof. Stephen (1823-89) 46-47, 56, exam strategy 195
- Parsons, Sir Charles A. (1854-1931) 58-61, 196
- Pearson, Karl (1857-1936, friend of Kikuchi) 55, 58, 128
- Peile, John 159, 161
- Pendlebury, Charles 58-60, 196
- Phillips, Geo. 158
- R**ayleigh, Lord (1842-1919, second Chair of the Cavendish laboratory) 70, 124
- Reay, Lord 204
- Reid, J.S. (tutor at Caius college) 86
- Renton (see Lindsey-Renton)
- Rhodes, Cecil 184
- Ridley, Frederick (wooden spoon winner, 1877) 64
- Roberts, E.S. (tutor at Caius college) 86
- Rogers, Dr. C.F. 123, 176
- Rolls, Charles (1877-1910, co-founder of Rolls Royce) 106, 134
- Routh, Edward John (1831-1901, legendary maths 'coach') 53-56, 59, 62, 63, 195
- Rowe, Richard Charles (1853-84) 22-23, 29, 45, 58, 62-63, 64-65, Apostle 196
- Rutherford, Baron Ernest (1871-1937, Chair of Cavendish laboratory, 1919-37) 124-125, 132-133, biog. 201
- S**adler, Prof. Michael Ernest (1861-1943) 127, 201
- Saigō Takamori (1827-77) 72, 84
- Sakurai Jōji (1858-1939) 27, 120, 132

Salmon, Prof. George (1819-1904)	57-58	Sonoda Kōkichi (1848-1923, consul and banker)	12, 94
Sandys, John E. (1844-1922, Kikuchi's tutor, classicist)	46-47, 77	Stanley, Lord	34
Sannomiya Yoshitane (1844-1905)	12	Stokes, Prof. George G. (1819-1903)	52, 57
Sasaki Nobutsuna (1872-1963, poet)	113	Stopes, Marie (1880-1958)	120, 200
Satow, (Sir) Ernest Mason (1843-1929)		Suehiro Izutarō, Dr. (1888-1951)	3, 156, 188
letter from Peking 90, dines with Cambridge Club 117-119, book collection 142, 162, Appx. III		Suematsu Kenchō (1855-1920, journalist, translator, politician, statesman, historian)	72-80, 81-82, 88, 95, 109, 117, 119, 123, further reading 198, 203
Sawayanagi Masatarō (1865-1927)	127-129	Sugiura Shigetake (1855-1924)	27
Seaman, Owen	184, biog. 204	Taishō Tennō (Emperor Taishō, 1879-1926, reigned 1912-26)	24, 113, electric car 199
Searle, Rev. Dr. Charles Edward (Vice-chancellor, 1888-9)	90, 96-97, 103, rebukes Inagaki 134-135, 178-179	Tait, Thomas Slater	58-61, 196
Seeley, Sir John Robert (1834-95, Regius Professor of modern history 1869-95)		Takagi Kanehiro (1849-1920)	65
his influence on Inagaki 85, 97, 178, 179		Takagi Teiji (1875-1960, maths researcher)	121
Seidensticker, Prof. Edward	72	Takagi Yoshihiro (1874-1953)	65
Shigeno Yasutsugu, Dr.	153	Takakusu Junjirō, Professor of Sanskrit (1866-1945, Oxford graduate)	6, 118, 119, 123, 130
Shimamura Hōgetsu (1817-1918)	103	Tanaka Bijin (journalist)	110-111
Shirasu Jirō (1902-1985)	199	Tanaka Ginnosuke (1873-1933, Leys School & Trinity Hall, banker and rugby player)	6, 97-100, 119, 199
Shōwa Tennō (Emperor Shōwa, 1901-89, reigned 1926-89)		Tanaka Heihachi	98
honorary LL.D. awarded to 104, 194		Tanaka Hozumi (1876-1944)	103
Smith, D.A.	92	Tanaka Kikujirō (father of Ginnosuke)	98
Smith, James Parker (1854-1929)	62, 153, Apostle 196	Tanaka Shōhei (1862-1945)	139, 202
Smith prize	51-52	Tanakadate Aikitsu (1858-1952)	explains the reprimand of Kikuchi 68-69, 139
Soeda (Hamada) Juichi (1864-1929)	69, 83-84, 109, 119	Tano Kitsuji	108
Soejima Michimasa (1871-1948, Leys School & St John's)	6, 7, 94-95, 99-100, 119	Taylor, C.	159, 160
Soejima Taneomi (1828-1905) of Saga	96		

Teimei Kōgō (Empress Teimei, wife of Emperor Taishō, 1884-1925)	113	Wadagaki Kenzō (1860-1919)	6, 80, 83, 198
Tejima Seiichi (1850-1918, friend of Kikuchi)	47	Wade, (Sir) Thomas (1818-95) diplomat & first Professor of Chinese at Cambridge	88-90, 97, 178, 203
Thomson, Sir Joseph John (1836-1940, chair of Cavendish laboratory 1885-1919)	124, 201	Waley, Arthur (1889-1966, translator of Genji Monogatari)	72
Thomson, William (later Lord Kelvin, 1824-1907)	47, 52, 195	Watanabe Hisashi	110
Todhunter, Isaac (1820-84)	54-58	Watanabe Kojiro	110
Tōdō Takatsugu, Count (Paolo)	110-113, 200	Webb, Robert	55-56
Tōdō Takayuki	110	Wedgwood, Hensleigh (1803-91, winner of the Wooden Wedge in 1824)	63
Tōgō Heihachirō, Admiral (1847-1934 per <i>Kojien</i>)	12, 19, 190	Wesley, John	99
Tokugawa Akitake	38	Westcott, Rev. Dr.	178
Tokugawa Yoshinobu/Keiki	38	White, Sidney of U.C.S.	8-10, 128
Tomoeda Takahiko	123	Williamson, Professor Alexander of University College, London (U.C.L.) (1824-1904)	34, 120
Towle, Dr. Philip	204	Windeyer, W.C.	92
Toyama Masakazu (Sutehachi) (1848-1900)	32, 35	Wise, Stanton	185
Trotter, Coutts (1837-87 of Trinity, supporter of Donald MacAlister in Council of Senate)	44, 89, 91, 160	Yamagata Aritomo (1838-1922 of Chōshū, Field Marshal, elder statesman)	72, 82
Tsuboi Shōgorō, Prof. (1863-1913, anthropologist)	2, 188	Yanagi Narayoshi (1832-1891)	66
Tyler, Royall	72	Yasuhiro Banichirō/Tomoichirō (1859-1951)	5, 80-83, 119
Tyrell, F.W.	166	Yatabe Ryōkichi, Professor (1851-99)	92
Uchida Ginzō (1872-1919)	103	Yoshida Jirō	94
Ukita	186	Yoshida Kumaji (1874-1964)	129
Verrall, Dr.	178	Yoshida Masao	7, 190
		Yoshida Seichi (1872-1945)	190
		Yoshida Yakuni	113

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ISBN: 1411612566 (paperback)

