

Chapter 6 IAN RUXTON Suematsu Kenchō, 1855-1920: Statesman, Bureaucrat, Diplomat, Journalist, Poet and Scholar

1. 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, Dept. of Far Eastern History, 1979, pp. 1-55. (Hereafter 'Mason').
2. The former Hizen province is now absorbed into Saga and Nagasaki prefectures.
3. *Pōtsumasu e no michi: Kōkaron to Yōroppa no Suematsu Kenchō*, by Matsumura Masayoshi, published by Hara Shobō, 1987. p. 2. (Hereafter *Portsmouth*).
4. *Wakaki hi no Suematsu Kenchō: Zaiei Tsūshin*, [Suematsu Kenchō in his youth: Correspondence from Britain] by Tamae Hikotarō, published by Kaichōsha, 1992, pp. 65-6. (Hereafter *Wakaki hi*). He was also given the pen name (*gō*) of Seihyō.
5. *Wakaki hi* p. 73.
6. The rift is described in *Wakaki hi*, pp. 186-7.
7. *Hatenkō: 'Meiji Ryūgakusei' Retsuden*, by Noboru Koyama, published by Kodansha Metier, 1999, p. 135. (Hereafter *Hatenkō*). Allegedly Suematsu wrote the letter from Yamagata to Saigō Takamori recommending that he surrender (*Wakaki hi* p. 178).
8. Suematsu commissioned a Hungarian scholar G.G. Zerffi to write a modern, general survey of European historiography. Suematsu met Zerffi in 1878 or 1879 in London. Suematsu's letter with 'instructions' attached was included in Zerffi's *The Science of History*, published in 1879. Suematsu spent a lot of money on the royalty and printing expenses, (later reimbursed by the Historiographical Institute led by Shigeno Yasutsugu) and recommended the book's translation to Itō Hirobumi. (See *From Habsburg Agent to Victorian Scholar: G.G. Zerffi, 1820-1892* by Tibor Frank, Atlantic Research and Publications Inc., New Jersey, 2000. With thanks to Noboru Koyama for this information.)
9. Margaret Mehl, 'Suematsu Kenchō in Britain, 1878-86', *Japan Forum* (BAJS), Vol. 5, No. 2, October 1993, pp. 173-193, at p. 180. (Hereafter 'Mehl'). Sixteen letters from Suematsu to his family were discovered in 1980 (*Wakaki hi*, p. 3).
10. A collection of the letters from Suematsu to Itō spanning the years Meiji 9-37 (1876-1904) is contained in *Itō Hirobumi Kankei Bunsho (Monjo)*, Vol. V, pp.288-457 (Hanawa Shobō, 1977). Some of the letters which bear no year have been chronologically misplaced, or not placed at all. (Hereafter *Itō*).
11. Mehl, p. 174.
12. See *Wakaki hi* p. 17. The illustrations were downloaded from the internet.
13. See 'Mori Arinori, 1847-89: from Diplomat to Statesman' by Andrew Cobbing, Ch. 1, *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. IV.
14. *Itō*, Vol. V, p. 367.
15. *Eagle* (college magazine), Vol. 13, p. 123.
16. The lecture by Mr Edwards was published in *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London*, Vol. 7 (1905-07), London, 1908, pp. 45-58.
17. *Ibid.* p. 48.

18. Arthur David Waley (1889-1966) attended Rugby School and King's College, Cambridge (1907-10). Self-educated in Chinese and Japanese, he began translating while employed as an assistant at the British Museum. He never accepted a university appointment, and steadfastly refused to visit Asia!
19. Edward George Seidensticker (1921-). Professor emeritus of Japanese at Columbia University. Has translated many Japanese works, including Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's *Sasameyuki* ('The Makioka Sisters') and Kawabata Yasunari's *Yukiguni* ('Snow Country').
20. *Wakaki hi*, pp. 126-7. *Itō*, Vol. V, p. 361.
21. *Itō*, Vol. IV, pp. 366-7.
22. *Itō*, Vol. V, pp. 379-80.
23. Mason, p. 7. On *Kagaku-ron* in detail see Mason, pp. 6-20.
24. Mehl, p. 189.
25. *Wakaki hi*, p. 194.
26. 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). (Hereafter 'Powell').
27. Mason, p. 20. On the Theatre Reform Movement, see Mason pp. 20-40.
28. See in particular the *Jiji Shinpō* of 12 October 1886.
29. Powell, p. 106.
30. The *Rokumeikan* ('Hall of the Baying Stag') designed by Josiah Conder was a pleasure pavilion built to entertain foreign diplomats and persuade them that Japan was as civilized and Western as their own countries, and therefore deserved equal treaties.
31. The doctorate in literature (*Bungaku Hakushi*, D. Litt.) has been said to be awarded in 1888 by Keiō University (*Portsmouth*, p. 40), but see *Wakaki hi*, p. 207 citing *Who Was Who (Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part II, 1752-1900)* which states D. Litt. Tokyo Imperial University. In fact it could not have been awarded by Keiō, because the university did not receive accreditation by the government until 1920 under the *Daigaku-rei* (Imperial Ordinance regarding Universities) of 1918, and the first doctorate of that university was only awarded in 1921 according to Keiō's centenary history (*Keiō Gijuku Hyakunen Shi*). But equally it could not have been awarded by Tokyo Imperial University, because between 1888 and 1920 all doctoral degrees were issued by the Minister of Education according to the *Gakui-rei* (Imperial Ordinance regarding Degrees) of 1887 without being related to any university, a notion which may seem strange to Western thinking but is understandable as the system was only just being established. In 1918 Suematsu was awarded a second doctorate in law (LL.D.) for his translations into Japanese of Roman Law texts which he had first studied at Cambridge (*Portsmouth*, p. 285). Suggestions that this was a doctorate of Tokyo Imperial University should, however, be discounted. It was not until 1920 that a new *Gakui-rei* allowed universities to issue doctorates subject to the approval of the Minister of Education, and from 1947 without the Minister's approval. (With thanks to Noboru Koyama for clarifying this by e-mail in April, 2004.)
32. *Wakaki hi*, p. 193.

33. Mason, p. 42 quoting Yoshino Sakuzō (ed.), *Meiji Bunka Zenshū*, III, pp. 202-03.
34. *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and his world 1852-1912*, by Donald Keene, Columbia University Press, 2002, p. 685. (Hereafter 'Keene'.)
35. *Itō*, V, p. 450. Letter no. 158, 11 January 1904, Suematsu to Itō and Yamagata.
36. See *Nihon Gaikō Bunsho*, Nichi-Rō sensō V, nos. 459, 441 for detailed instructions from prime minister Katsura and foreign minister Komura.
37. This letter has been incorrectly dated in *Itō*, V, p. 301 as 9 February 1878 which is impossible because it refers to Ikuko sending her good wishes. Suematsu did not marry her until 1889. Also the content suggests a grave political crisis, i.e. 1904. (*Hatenkō*, p. 137)
38. Itō to Lansdowne, 9 February 1904, FO 800/134. (*Portsmouth*, pp. 31-36) The letter may have been written by Suematsu himself, or a third party, as it was unusual for Itō to write in English. Lansdowne's cordial response dated 18 March spoke of his regret that war had become necessary and the 'intense interest' in the war in Britain. (*Portsmouth*, pp. 291-2)
39. Keene, pp. 611, 612.
40. Dr. Waraker was a member of Lincoln's Inn. Just after graduating from Cambridge Suematsu may have introduced Waraker to Mutsu Munemitsu, whom he advised on constitutional government. (See p. 87, 'Mutsu Munemitsu in Europe, 1884-85: The Intellectual in Search of an Ideology' by Hagihara Nobutoshi in *Mutsu Munemitsu and Identity Formation of the Individual and the State in Modern Japan*, Louis G. Perez (ed.), Edwin Mellen Press, 2001.)
41. *The Risen Sun*, Archibald Constable, London, 1905, p. 15.
42. Keene, pp. 491-95.
43. Keene, p. 605.
44. Like Donald Keene, Suematsu focuses on Emperor Meiji's poetry to introduce his elusive personality.
45. Nitobe Inazō's book *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* first published in 1900 became internationally popular during the Russo-Japanese War and appeared in a tenth revised edition in July, 1905.
46. Mitford referred to it as the 'Cambridge Society of Japan' but from 1905 it was the Cambridge & Oxford Society. The Cambridge Club was probably founded at a dinner attended by Sir Ernest Satow according to his diary on 24 January 1896. (*Hatenkō*, pp. 214-19) Only in Japan does Cambridge precede Oxford!
47. Austin Chamberlain was Suematsu's Cambridge contemporary and later Chancellor in Balfour's cabinet, 1903-05. He and his father Joseph the former Colonial Secretary supported Suematsu when he revisited England in 1904-06. (*Portsmouth*, pp. 113-16).

Chapter 7 NOBORU KOYAMA Kikuchi Dairoku, 1855-1917: Educational Administrator and Pioneer of Modern Mathematical Education in Japan

1. *Sūmitsuin kōtōkan rireki*, vol. 3, Tokyo, Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1996. p.302.