

## THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN MEIJI JAPAN

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America presents an enigma to Japan. The country on the other side of the Pacific has been both friend and foe, the object of competition and cooperation. This two-sided attitude is crystallized in the famous episode in which Yoshida Shōin, the patriot from Chōshū, attempted to board one of Commodore Perry's "black ships" in the hope of sailing to America and eventually bringing back knowledge which would be useful in expelling the Americans from Japan. A simple, yet basic approach to Japanese-American relations is to note that America has been loved and hated continuously and simultaneously throughout modern Japanese history.

Another aspect of Japan's dual image of America relates to the gap between ideal and reality. On the one hand, America was often seen as a sort of "holy land." Note, for example, Uchimura Kanzō's description of the land of his dreams: "My idea of the Christian America was lofty, religious, Puritanic. I dreamed of its templed hills, and rocks that rang with hymns and praises. Hebraisms, I thought to be the prevailing speech of the American commonality, the cherub and cherubim, hallelujahs and amens, the common language of its streets."<sup>(1)</sup> Then disillusionment followed. Once in America, Uchimura found the language and morality of its people lacking, and he and his Japanese friends were robbed and insulted. Americans worshiped "mammonism" rather than the true god; racial prejudice prevailed: "Time fails me to speak of other unchristian features of Christendom. What about... widespread gambling propensities, as witnessed in scenes of cock-fights, horse-races, and football matches, of pugilism, more inhuman than Spanish bull-fights; of lynch-

ing, fitted more for Hottentots than for the people of a free Republic; of rum-traffic, whose magnitude can find no parallel in the trade of the whole world; of demagogism in politics; . . . of capitalists' tyranny and laborers' insolence; of millionaires' fooleries; of men's hypocritical love toward their wives; etc., etc., etc.? Is this the civilization we were taught by missionaries to accept as evidence of the superiority of Christian Religion over other religions?"<sup>(2)</sup> The gap between the ideal and the real made America into both a country to emulate and a country to disdain.

A third approach to Japanese images of America is to examine their uses. On the one hand, critics of authoritarian rule looked to America, the bastion of liberty and equality, as a model for reform and revolution. On the other hand, the American example inspired conservative, if not reactionary, political behavior. Americans fought bravely for their independence and for the expansion of America and "the American way" throughout the world. Americans were seen as united in patriotic fervor and a sense of destiny. In Japan, nationalists were quick to take advantage of this model and agitate on behalf of a Japanese sacrifice of self for state and a Japanese version of the Monroe Doctrine in Asia.

This paper will discuss the origins and consequences of America's "dual image." I will examine how the leaders of the Japanese People's Rights Movement (*jiyū minken undō*) looked to America first as a model for action and attempt to show how Japanese infatuation with the ideals of the American Revolution contributed to the growth of Japanese nationalism and dreams for expansion in Asia.

Studies of the People's Rights Movement often stress the influence of foreign political thought—Mill, Spencer, Rousseau—which entered Japan in the early 1870s. Equally important, however, was the simpler understanding of Western political history, particularly the American Revolution, which emerged in the 1850s and 1860s. During these years before the Meiji Restoration, a new political vocabulary was created involving a mixture of Confucian and Western ideas. It called for the elimination of despotic, "selfish" government and the encouragement of "public" government "for the people, of the people, and by the people."

In 1853, America was still an underdeveloped country; the West was

not yet won. Still American leaders felt it important to send nearly half the entire American navy to Japan in order to draw it into the so-called "family of nations." Perry spent several years in preparing for the mission, familiarizing himself with existing information about Japan.

The Japanese, for their part, were also busy studying America. Through Chinese sources and translations from Dutch books, Japanese political thinkers and leaders had uncovered many of the basic features of America. A Japanese version of an earlier Chinese work on America, entitled *Mirikakoku sōki wage* (An Outline Description of America), was published in 1854. It included an attempt to translate the American Declaration of Independence. The translation was confused, but it and other books stimulated the thinking of bakumatsu political activists such as Sakuma Shōzan, Yokoi Shōnan, Hashimoto Sanai, and Yoshida Shōin.

Most intriguing was an apparent compatibility between Confucian and American political ideals. America emerged as a modern-day Confucian political utopia. George Washington superseded the sage kings. "Ever loyal to his country, he never tired, despite a hundred trials. In conducting affairs of state, he always acted on behalf of the people. He respected the people and made them prosper and increase. There was not a day in which he did not bestow his blessings upon the people. His views were always well-founded. In his rule he was impartial yet benevolent. This was his nature and for it he was loved and respected by the people."<sup>(3)</sup>

Early geographies and guidebooks provided much detail on the American system of representative government.<sup>(4)</sup> It was praised for its impartial (*ōyake*) character, providing good government in response to popular sentiment (*jinshin*). The people elected their officials. The secret ballot, majority rule, and popular representation were described with care. "Public election" was the foundation of government; the people elected officials who represented their views in the nation's capital; they elected their president. Such ideas were revolutionary. Clothed in Confucian vocabulary, the language of these books on America revealed an entirely new political vision.

Yokoi Shōnan, a scholar from Kumamoto, was particularly impressed with George Washington as a wise and far-sighted political leader who

gave America the most enlightened government in the world. Shōnan wrote in his *Kokuze sanron* (Three Policies of State): "In America three major policies have been set up since Washington's presidency. The first is to follow divine will in ending wars, because nothing is worse than violence and killing among nations. The second is to broaden enlightened government by learning from all the countries of the world. The third is to work devotedly for the peace and welfare of the people by entrusting the power of the president of the whole country to the wisest instead of transmitting it to the son of the president. . . . All administrative laws and practices and all men who are known as good and wise throughout the world are put into the service of the country. In this way, a beneficial administration—one which does not serve only the interests of the rulers—is developed."<sup>(5)</sup>

Fukuzawa Yukichi is another example of a bakumatsu scholar who was impressed with America. He first traveled to America in 1860, and later popularized the image of America as a sacred land of liberty. In his *Seiyō jijō* (Conditions in the West), published in 1866, Fukuzawa presented a detailed description of American history and government: "The United States is republican in the best sense of the word. Real representatives of the people meet and discuss national politics without referring to private interest. Although nearly a century has passed since the nation was established, its laws have never been thrown into confusion."<sup>(6)</sup>

Fukuzawa also furnished a much improved translation of the American Declaration of Independence in which he wrote in clear Japanese that; "All men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."<sup>(7)</sup> The Declaration of Independence justified popular resistance to despotic government, and in this sense, provided inspiration to several leaders from Satsuma and Chōshū who were working to overthrow the "despotic" and "selfish" Tokugawa regime.

Following the Meiji Restoration, images of America continued to inspire those concerned to direct Japan's future. The Charter Oath of 1868 can be seen as an outgrowth of political idealism generated by

knowledge of American history. Articles demanding that able men should be selected for government office, that government should be conducted by popular discussion, and that knowledge should be sought widely throughout the world, clearly drew from the example of America.

In 1870, Fukuzawa published a book on world history written in easy-to-understand language. In it he expressed his great admiration for American liberty, justice, republicanism, and prosperity: "The government keeps its word and, since there is no tyrannical king, the land belongs wholly to the people. . . . Laws are made through open discussion and are never enforced severely. Thus the nation has become rich and nothing essential is wanting."<sup>(8)</sup> Fukuzawa and other pro-American writers sang the praises of America as a means of criticizing their own government. As the promise of the Meiji Restoration faded and Satsuma and Chōshū leaders tightened their control, critics seized upon America as the symbol for all that Japan lacked. It quickly emerged as a political utopia for the leaders of the People's Rights Movement. In America, the people had risen up against despotic government, they had demanded independence, a written constitution, and a popularly-elected national assembly. They demanded people's rights and a government which acted in the interests of the people. Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty, or give me death!" was echoed in Japan 100 years later: "*jiyū ka, shi ka.*" The American Revolution offered a model for those Japanese who sought national independence and an end to authoritarian government. During the Meiji period the American example was used to exhort the Japanese people to replace political submissiveness with political activism.

One intellectual leader of the People's Rights Movement who was most impressed with the American model was Ueki Emori. Ueki was born in Tosa in 1857. Like most political activists in the early Meiji period, his early education was based on the Chinese classics. He became interested in politics after the promise of the Meiji Restoration failed to materialize. In 1875 he joined Itagaki Taisuke, also from Tosa, and worked on behalf of the People's Rights Movement as a journalist and public speaker.<sup>(9)</sup>

In his book *Minken jiyūron* (On Popular Rights and Liberty) pub-

lished in 1879, Ueki defined and defended democratic government. He rejected the traditional Confucian notion that a state was well ruled if its people were obedient. Instead, recalling the dynamism of the American revolutionaries, Ueki declared that a people must be energetic and self-reliant. He argued that liberty and individual freedom were indispensable to the vigor and power of the state and should be guaranteed by a constitution drawn up by the people. His model was that of the constitution of the United States.

In 1881, the Meiji government announced that it would grant the people constitutional government after a preparation period of some 10 years. In response, Ueki published his own view of the way Japan's new constitution should read. Reason, democracy, freedom and equality were key words in Ueki's attempt to define the rights of the Japanese people. He placed sovereignty clearly in the hands of the people: "the supreme power of the Japanese nation resides in the whole Japanese people and is one and indivisible, inviolable, and inalienable." The core of Ueki's constitution was the fourth chapter which corresponded to the American "Bill of Rights." All citizens were to be equal before the law, and there were to be no restrictions on the freedom of individuals except those established by law. All the civil rights were to be recognized and guaranteed; habeas corpus, the right to bear arms, freedoms of opinion, speech, press, assembly; guarantees were offered relating to life, health, educational opportunity, and occupation; freedom of religion and worship was assured; rewards and punishments could be issued only according to established rules. The right of open resistance against oppressive governments was also guaranteed: "Article 72. If the government willfully breaks the provisions of the Constitution or willfully acts to the detriment of the rights of liberty of the people, and stands in the way of the aims embodied in the foundation of the State, the Japanese people may overthrow it and set up a new government."<sup>60</sup>

Ueki was especially concerned to popularize these new political values. He was disturbed by the political apathy of the Japanese people and urged them to demand and defend their rights. He attempted to popularize the notion of political rights through literature, song, and

theater.

In Ueki's "People's Rights Counting Song" (*kazoe uta*) people could sing: "America above all other countries in the world is the forerunner of liberty.... Ah! How grateful we are!" The song began: "No *one* man is above another, since all have equal rights." The second line sang: "How sad it is I have not *two* lives to give for the sake of liberty." Another stanza proclaimed: "Look into the past and recall the flag of protest that brought forth American independence."<sup>49</sup> Ueki's plays reenacted the drama of the American Revolution; poetry praised the "fragrant" civilization of America.<sup>50</sup>

Another spokesman inspired by the American Revolution and the virtues of liberty was Shiba Shirō, better known by his penname Tōkai Sanshi. Shiba was an activist in the Daidō Danketsu Movement of the late-1880s and was elected to the Lower House between 1892 and 1920. He was also a noted writer and used political novels as a medium for popularizing his political views. Readers of George Sansom's *The Western World and Japan* will recall his masterful plot summary of Shiba's most famous novel, *Kajin no kigu*, translated as *Strange Encounters of Elegant Females*. According to Sansom, the novel "was so popular that it was said in a frequent but pleasant hyperbole to have 'raised the price of paper in the metropolis.'"<sup>51</sup> The story begins with Tōkai Sanshi musing under the Liberty Bell in Independence Hall in Philadelphia. There he meets two ravishing European beauties and overhears their account of America's struggle for independence from English tyranny. Both recount their life histories and how they have suffered in freedom's cause; Tōkai Sanshi reveals that he too is a political exile, having fought against the Imperial Forces during the Meiji Restoration. The novel describes movements for freedom and independence throughout the world. According to Sansom, "It is said that there was not a remote mountain village in Japan in which some young man had not a copy in his pocket, and the Chinese verses that so freely stud its pages were recited everywhere with great relish."<sup>52</sup> Sansom may have exaggerated, but the novel proved to be extraordinarily effective in spreading the ideals of the American Revolution.

Shiba Shirō was born in 1852, the fourth son of a high-ranking retainer of Matsudaira Katamori, daimyo of the Aizu domain. Little is known of his youth; his health seems to have been delicate, making his early education erratic. He attended the domain's academy, the Nisshinkan. In 1866, Katamori was reappointed as the Bakufu's Deputy in Kyoto and charged with the suppression of anti-Tokugawa dissidents. Shiba's father took up residence in Kyoto and Shiba joined him there in the spring of 1867. He was thus a first-hand witness to the political turmoil which led to the Meiji Restoration.<sup>159</sup>

Matsudaira Katamori was known for his fierce loyalty to the Tokugawa family. After troops from Satsuma and Chōshū brought about the imperial restoration (*ōsei fukko*) at the end of 1867, Katamori resolved to fight to the finish on behalf of the Tokugawa cause. Shiba, a youth of 16, fought alongside other young men from Aizu in the ill-fated Battle of Toba and Fushimi. Thereafter Aizu troops continued to resist the new imperial government in the Boshin Civil War.

After Aizu's defeat, Shiba and his family were stripped of their wealth and social standing. Terming himself a "political exile," he left Aizu to seek his fortune in the new Eastern Capital and adopted the penname "Sanshi," indicating a man with no fixed abode. During the next ten years Shiba wandered from place to place. He studied English in Tokyo, but moved from academy to academy. He worked as a houseboy for an Englishman in Yokosuka. In 1873, he returned to Aizu and worked as an interpreter, but quickly left for Hakodate and then to Hirosaki where he enrolled in the progressive Tōō Academy. Again he refused to remain stationary, and returned to Aizu to study in the newly reformed Nisshinkan. After a few months he travelled to Tokyo where he eked out a meager existence. Finally, in 1876, his elder brother managed to secure him a good position as houseboy to a rising government official, Yanagiya Kentarō, living in Yokosuka. He spent the next three years studying English.

When the Satsuma Rebellion broke out in February 1877, Shiba served as a war reporter for the *Tokyo Mainichi Shinbun*. This experience allowed him to make several valuable acquaintances, including



Tani Kanjō and Toyokawa Ryūhei. Toyokawa was impressed by Shiba's earnest desire to study in the United States and put him in contact with the Iwasaki family, the owners of Mitsubishi, who offered to pay his way.

Shiba was 27 when he arrived in San Francisco in 1879. He stayed for a while in San Francisco, lodging with his former master, Yanagiya Kentarō (who had since been appointed Japanese consul in San Francisco), and enrolled in a commercial college to study business. In the spring of 1881, Shiba moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he entered Harvard University to study politics and economics. At the end of the year he enrolled in the Warton School of Business attached to the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia and graduated in December 1884 with a Bachelor of Finance. During his time in the United States Shiba sent back several articles on economic topics to the *Tōkai Keizai Shinpō* (a publication owned and operated by Mitsubishi interests) and other newspapers. Several of the articles, which dealt with American protectionist trade legislation, betrayed a deep concern to discover ways of protecting Japan from what he feared to be inevitable Western political and economic encroachment.<sup>96</sup>

In 1885 Shiba returned to Japan. He was shocked at the changes that had taken place in Japan during his six-year absence. The Westernization craze, symbolized by the fancy-dress balls (*fuanshi bōru*) at the Roku-meikan, was particularly appalling. Shiba's novel, *Kajin no kigu*, was written to make people aware of the importance of national independence and the urgent need to protect it. The first installment, which appeared late in 1885, dealt largely with his views of America. Later sections reflected his involvement in the Daidō Danketsu Movement and his round-the-world trip with Tani Kanjō. In 1887, acting as Tani's personal secretary, Shiba visited Hong Kong, Singapore, Egypt, various European countries, and finally, America. Both he and Tani returned to Japan convinced of the need to protect Japan from Western designs.

In 1890, Shiba sought election to the first Diet as representative from Aizu; he was unsuccessful in his first bid, but won election in 1892 and remained in office until 1920, two years before his death. He continued

to write political novels and produced new sections to *Kajin no kigu* through 1897. Composed over a period of twelve years, the "novel" records the evolution of Shiba's increasingly nationalistic and conservative political thought.

Of particular concern is the change in images of America presented in *Kajin no kigu*. Despite its dubious literary merits, the novel was a best-seller and was influential in popularizing images of America. The first chapter describes America as a political utopia: "Americans have made it a rule to side with the weak and crush the strong; within the country they have produced schools instead of arms, encouraged industry and commerce, fostered agriculture, and established this rich, strong, and civilized nation for themselves. They are now enjoying liberty and singing the praises of peace."<sup>19</sup> Shiba noted that America alone, of all the countries in the world, enjoyed wealth, power, and a truly popular republican government: "The people of America grow up breathing the fresh air of independence and freedom (*jishu jiyū*); they are bathed in the waters of wise teachings and good laws. In all matters they discard private interests (*watakushi kokoro*) and decide matters in accordance with public discussion (*kōgi*). . . . America stands foremost in the world for its establishment of democracy (*minsei*)."<sup>20</sup>

Shiba repeatedly praised Americans for their willingness to "serve the public and suppress the private." He admired their determination to serve their country and their readiness to die in defense of America's freedom and independence.<sup>21</sup> He clearly saw American democracy as an alternative to Japanese absolutism. In America, he noted, "people exist for the sake of the country; they do not exist solely for the sake of the emperor" (*jinmin wa kokka no jinmin ni shite, heika hitori no jinmin ni arazu*).<sup>22</sup> Shiba called upon the Japanese people to learn from the American Revolution and fight to preserve the freedom and independence of Japan and the Japanese people.<sup>23</sup>

But, at the same time, the hero of *Kajin no kigu* was disillusioned about the state of contemporary America. Like other European powers, America had imperialistic designs on the colored peoples of the world. Mexico, for example, would surely fall into grasping American hands.

America seemed to have forgotten its own ideals. While its past provided inspiration, America's present could only strike fear in the hearts of Japanese and others whose independence was at stake.

Tōkai Sanshi wanted his countrymen to adopt the discarded ideals of the American Revolution. He argued with passion for the need to fight against political oppression and tyranny at home. Japan was in need of drastic political reform. He outlined a five-point plan: 1) purify the advisors to the throne; 2) establish a representative and responsible cabinet system; 3) check excessive centralization by encouraging local autonomy; 4) establish a fair and just economic system; and 5) end decision making through personal bias.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, however, Tōkai wanted his countrymen to follow the example of the Americans who fought in their War of Independence to fight to protect their country against foreign aggression. The lesson of American history was one of patriotism. Like America, Japan should not be content merely in defending its own freedom and independence. Japan had a destiny to fulfill in Asia and in the world. At one point in the novel when Tōkai Sanshi fell into despair of every serving the cause of freedom, Yūran came to his rescue, foretelling how Japan would replace America as the standard-bearer of civilization:

Now that your country has reformed its government and, by taking from America what is useful and rejecting what is only superficial, is increasing month by month in wealth and strength, the eyes and ears of the world are astonished by your success. As the sun climbs in the eastern skies, so is your country rising in the Orient. Your August Sovereign has granted political liberty to the people, the people have sworn to follow the Imperial leadership. So the time has come when, domestic strife having ceased, all classes will be happy in their occupations. Korea will send envoys and the Luchu Islands will submit to your governance. Then will the occasion arise for doing great things in the Far East. Your country will take the lead and preside over a confederation of Asia. The peoples of the East will no longer be in danger. In the West you will restrain the rampancy of England and France. In the South you will check the corruption of China. In the North you will thwart the designs of Russia. You will resist the policy of European states, which is to treat Far Eastern peoples with contempt and to interfere in their

domestic affairs, so leading them into servitude. Thus it is your country and no other that can bring the taste of self-government and independence into the life of millions for the first time, and so spread the light of civilization.<sup>23</sup>

Shiba was not alone in his nationalistic response to the course and promise of American history. His envy of American "manifest destiny" was clearly shared by Matsuoka Yōsuke, paradoxically the man who in the 1930s laid the groundwork for war between Japan and the United States. Matsuoka spent nearly ten years on the West Coast of the United States. He arrived in San Francisco in 1893, at the age of 13. He went to high school in San Francisco and college in Portland before returning to Japan in 1902.<sup>24</sup>

Matsuoka's speeches and his memoirs referred often to his anger at American racial discrimination and to the pride which swelled up in him when he learned of Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War. But they also noted his infatuation with William Jennings Bryan and his Populist Party. Matsuoka keenly followed the 1896 presidential election campaign in which Bryan's charismatic, nationalistic and populist appeal nearly carried the day. Matsuoka also witnessed the American victory in the Spanish-American War. With an overseas empire secured, American patriotism knew no bounds; the newly-dawned 20th century, many believed, was America's century. Finally, Matsuoka was impressed with Theodore Roosevelt's political style and his call for "progressivism."

Given this background, it is easy to understand the origins of Matsuoka's own patriotism, his call for progressive reform, culminating in a Showa Restoration, his demand for a Japanese declaration of independence from the West and for the cultivation of a Japanese "frontier spirit" which would fulfill Japan's manifest destiny in Asia. Matsuoka's political agenda was in many cases a mirror image of the America he had admired and despised as a youth.<sup>25</sup>

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Bakumatsu images of America provided the basis for a new political

vocabulary and a new political vision. This often involved a reinterpretation of traditional Confucian ideas. The demand for equality, independence, and "public discussion of national affairs" played a role in bringing about the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Later, these same demands for "government by and for the people" sustained the People's Rights Movement which, beginning in 1874, challenged authoritarian tendencies within the new Meiji regime.

The drama of the American Revolution continued to inspire politically aware Japanese and indeed, the common man, throughout the Meiji Period. George Washington, Patrick Henry, the Liberty Bell, and the Declaration of Independence provided vivid examples so necessary in the development of liberal political ideas and institutions in modern Japan. The American political tradition offered a new way of relating the individual to the state: the citizen as responsible political participant.

But at the same time, these same images contributed to the development of Japanese nationalism and expansionism in Asia. Americans professed themselves ready to fight and die to protect their country's freedom and independence. Their patriotism demanded the expansion of American influence throughout the world. It is one of the great ironies of modern history that the very ideals which so fired the Japanese liberal political tradition should equally prove effective in creating a nationalistic ideology which ultimately sought the destruction, if not the annihilation, of the country of their origin. Needless to say, the "dual-image" of the American Revolution and America, formulated in the later half of the 19th century, has contributed to a certain volatile and emotional quality to Japanese-American relations which continues to the present-day.

## Notes

- (1) Uchimura, Kanzō, *How I became a Christian*, in *The Complete Works of Kanzo Uchimura*, (Tokyo, 1971), Vol. I, p. 105. For more on the image of America as a "holy land," see: Kamei, Shunsuke, "The Sacred Land of Liberty: Images of America in Nineteenth Century Japan," in *Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations*, ed. Iriye, (Cambridge, Mass., 1975).
- (2) *How I became a Christian*, p. 118.
- (3) Mitsukuri, Shōgo, *Kon'yo zushiki-ho*. (Edo, 1846), *maki* 2, 47b-52b.
- (4) Another extremely influential geography was the *Kaikoku zushi* which appeared in Japanese translation in 1854-1855. This work described the British and American representative forms of government in detail. The American system in particular was praised for its impartial (*ōyake*) character.  
For further details, see: Osatake, Takeshi, *Ishin zengo ni okeru rikken shisō*, (Tokyo, 1948), pp. 4-23, and Asai, Kiyoshi, *Meiji rikken shisō shi ni okeru Igrisu kokkai seido no eikyō*. (Tokyo, 1938), pp. 53-106.
- (5) Yokoi, Shōnan, "Kokuze sanron," in *Yokoi Shōnan ikō*, ed. Yamazaki, Masatada, (Tokyo, 1939), pp. 29-56.  
English translation by D.Y. Miyauchi, "Three Problems of State Policy," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 23.1-2, (Spring 1968), pp. 156-186. I have partially revised Miyauchi's translation.
- (6) *Seiyō jijō*, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū*. (Tokyo, 1958), Vol. I, pp. 321-345.
- (7) "Ten no hito wo shōzuru-wa okuchō mina dōittetsu ni te, kore ni fuyo suru ni ugokasubekarazaru no tsūgi wo mottesu. Sunawachi sono tsūgi to wa hito no onozukara seimei wo hōshi jiyū wo motome kōfuku wo inoru no tagui nite, hoka yori kore wo ikan tomosubekarazaru mono nari," *ibid.*, p. 323.
- (8) Kamei, Shunsuke, "The Sacred Land of Liberty," p. 60.
- (9) For details on Ueki, see: Ienaga, Saburō, *Ueki Emori no kenkyū*, (Tokyo, 1960).
- (10) *Ibid.*, pp. 282-83.
- (11) "Minken kazoe uta," in *Meiji bunka zenshū*, Vol. V (*Jiyū minkenhen*), (Tokyo, 1928), p. 196.
- (12) Kamei, Shunsuke, "The Sacred Land of Liberty," pp. 65-66.
- (13) Sansom, George, *The Western World and Japan*, (New York, 1950), p. 412.
- (14) *Ibid.*, p. 414.
- (15) For details on Shiba Shirō, see the "Kaisetsu" by Yanagida, Izumi

- in *Meiji bungaku zenshū*, Vol. VI (*Meiji seiji shosetsu shū*, II), (Tokyo, 1967). The text of *Kajin no kigu* is also reprinted in this volume. For bibliographic details on Shiba's writings, see the section on Shiba Shirō in: *Kindai bungaku kenkyū sōsho*, Vol. 21, Shōwa Joshidaigaku, 1963, pp. 338-371.
- (16) For an examination of Shiba's early economic writings, see: *Kindai bungaku kenkyū sōsho*, Vol. 21, pp. 347-351.
- (17) *Kajin no kigu*, p. 5.
- (18) *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- (19) *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 27.
- (20) *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- (21) *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 100.
- (22) *Ibid.*, p. 86.
- (23) Quoted in Sansom, *Western World and Japan*, p. 414.
- (24) Details on Matsuoka Yōsuke taken from Miwa, Kimitada, *Matsuoka Yōsuke*, Chūkō Shinsho, 1971.
- (25) These "reverse images" of America may be seen nearly in all of Matsuoka's writings and speeches; see, for example, *KōA no taigyō*, Tokyo, 1941.

## 明治日本におけるアメリカ革命の影響

### 〈要 約〉

M. W. スティール

この小論は、アメリカ、特に1776年のアメリカ革命のイメージが明治日本に如何なる強い影響を与えたかを検討することを目的とし、特にアメリカのイメージがどのように変化し、またそれが如何なる歴史的役割を果たしたかという問題を取りあげる。

まず、1850年代、1860年代の幕末の日本のいわゆる志士たちの、ジョージ・ワシントン及びアメリカ独立戦争に対する理解について検討した。この段階におけるアメリカのイメージは非常に革命的なものであり、たとえば横井小南の例をみると、アメリカの“Government by the people, for the people, and of the people”という政治的理想が、徳川幕府を批判する論議として用いられている。そこで、横井のアメリカ理解と万事公論を強調した五箇条の御誓文の関係をとりあげた。

次に、アメリカのイメージと1870年代から1880年代の自由民権運動の関係を検討した。ここではまず、中心人物として植木枝盛の思想に注目した。植木は、アメリカ人の自由のための戦い、という意味での独立戦争と国民権制に強い関心を示し、政治演説だけでなく一般民衆が理解しやすい芝居や数え歌を利用して、アメリカから得た新しい国民政治参加の必要性を広めた。次に、明治中期の政治小説家、柴 四郎(東海散士)の例をとりあげた。柴は長くアメリカに留学し、1885年に帰国、そして後藤象二郎の大同団結運動に参加した。彼の政治的熱情は、アメリカの影響が著しく、植木枝盛や横井小南のそれとは違うものであった。柴は、特に、アメリカ人の持つ愛国主義と、自国のために命をも捨てるような



献身的な彼らの姿に強い感銘を受けた。従って、柴のアメリカに対するイメージは保守的なものであって、それは日本の大衆的ナショナリズムのモデルとなった。

最後に、松岡洋右(1880-1946)のアメリカ経験について検討した。松岡は昭和初期の外務大臣として日本の大東亜共栄圏の建設者の一人であった。彼は1893年から1902年のほぼ10年間、アメリカの西部に滞在し、高等学校そして大学を卒業した。その間、William Jennings Bryanの人民主義(populism)と Theodore Roosevelt の革新主義(progressivism)及び彼の積極的外交政策に強い印象を受けた。後の松岡の国内及び国外政策は色々な意味において、彼の青年期におけるアメリカのイメージを日本にうつしかえたものであったといえる。以上のような意味で、アメリカは日本人にとって常に二つの相克したイメージを与えていた。アメリカは、独占的支配に抵抗する自由主義的・民主主義的な政治思想の源である一方、世界における日本の優越性を追い求める国粹主義的立場を裏付けるモデルでもあったのである。