

Lo Sem's Role in Early US-Japan Relations

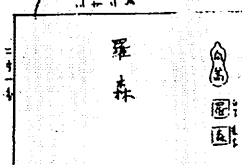
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要旨

ペリー提督に随行し、幕末の日本を訪れた中国人、羅森が、自分の見聞きした日本の様子をかの有名な『日本日記』に纏めた。羅森の『日本日記』（中国語版）に関して、これまでに故増田渉、加藤祐三、王暁秋、真栄平房昭諸先生による優れた先行研究がある。ここでは筆者は、本日記の中国語版と英語版の相異を取り上げ、日記の公表の過程およびその歴史的意義を再考してみたい。このような作業により、日中関係の視点だけでなく、日米関係と中英関係の視点からの照明をもあわせて当てるので、『ペリー提督日本遠征記』に採録された「情報」の形成、伝播および読まれ方に対する考察の上では一歩前進が可能ではないだろうか、と考えている。

本稿は去る11月9日～12日、米国ハワイ州マウイ島で開かれた日米歴史家円卓会議：「誤解と偏見の過去・現在、そして未来」の発表要旨であり、全文は、来年ハワイ大学出版社より出版する予定の会議論文集に収録されることになっている。

It is relatively well known that before Commodore Perry's expedition, the Tokugawa shogunate already purchased through the Nagasaki route in 1851 the *Haiguo tuzhi* (Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Kingdoms), the Chinese scholar Wei Yuan's work on geopolitics which included a detailed chapter on the U.S., in its efforts to collect information about China and the world after the Opium War. However, it is little known that there was a journal by Lo Sem on Perry's 1854 visit in the second volume of the *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, Performed in the Years 1852, 1853, and 1854, under the Command of Commodore M.C. Perry, United States Navy, by Order of the Government of the United States Government* published in 1856, because until 1997 all the Japanese versions of the *Narrative*, whether complete or incomplete, were merely translations of its first volume, and only a few scholars have carefully looked into its second and third volumes. By bringing up this overlooked journal by Lo who participated in Perry's 1854 visit, the present paper attempts to shed new light on, and suggest a broader view of, the historic event of Perry's expedition.



1 The Value of Lo's Journal

1.1 The earliest published information about Perry's expedition

The English version of Lo's journal was first published under the heading of *Journal of a Visit to Japan* on September 11, 1854 in *Overland Register and Price Current*, a supplement to the *Hong Kong Register and Government Gazette*, just about a month later after his return from Japan. The editor pointed out that a letter included in the journal (addressed to Lo) "by Ping-saw-heem-arh-lang (without knowing Japanese, the translator here reads the *metsuke* Hirayama Kenjiro's name in its Cantonese pronunciation) is especially worthy of attention" because it touched on "an interesting topic—the reason which induced the exclusion of foreigners from Japan."

Two months later in November, the Chinese version (because of some important differences in content between this Chinese one and the English one, I would rather call it the "Chinese version" than the "Chinese original") under the title of *Riben riji* (A Journal on Japan) began to be published in three successive issues of the *Precious News*, the earliest Chinese monthly in Hong Kong printed by the Anglo-Chinese College.

Both the English and Chinese versions reflected the British eagerness to catch the latest and firsthand information about Japan gained by Perry's expedition. Because of Perry's rigorous control over the information, Lo's journal might had been the only account possibly obtained by the British before the publication of Perry's *Narrative* in 1856.

1.2 A place reserved for Lo's Journal in Perry's *Narrative*

Under a new and more precise title of "Journal of the Second Visit of Commodore Perry to Japan," the English version was included in the appendix to the second volume of Perry's official *Narrative*. A brief introduction to which (by the editor Francis Hawks?) was as follows.

Among those who embarked in China on board the squadron, when it left for Japan the second time, was a very intelligent and educated Chinaman, who acted as clerk to our interpreter, Mr. Williams. This observant individual, on his return to China, furnished to the "Overland Register," published at Hong Kong, a copy of the journal he had kept on his visit to Japan, in which paper it appeared in an English translation.

As it is a specimen of the intelligence of an educated Chinaman, and as, besides, it presents briefly the views of an Oriental, uninfluenced by the prevalent opinions of our countrymen around him, (for difference of language prevented much interchange of thought,) it has been supposed that it would not be without interest to the American reader, and a place has, therefore, been reserved for it in the appendix to this volume.

In addition, Perry put a footnote in the last page of Lo's journal that "Although there are

some errors in the descriptions of the Chinese writer, his paper has been faithfully copied,” which showed his interest in, as well as his reservation about, the native Chinaman's view of his own mission.

1.3 The influence of Lo's journal in Japan and China

The Chinese version of Lo's journal had been known to the Japanese since the mid-1850s, and was formally included with the title of *Beikoku shisetsu zuiko Shinkoku-jin Ra Shin Nihon nikki* in the first volume of the appendixes to the *Bakumatsu gaikoku kankei monjo* in the *Dai Nihon komonjo* published by Todai in 1913. A preliminary examination of the Chinese version was conducted in 1972 by the late Masuda Wataru, a prominent scholar of modern Chinese literature at Kansai University who had personal contacts with Lu Xun, when he was concerned about the Japanese responses to the news about the T'aiiping rebellion in China brought by Lo Sem to Japan in 1854. Following Masuda's work, Wang Xiao-qiu, a leading scholar of modern Sino-Japanese cultural relations at Peking University, has made a sustained search on the relevant documents and had the Chinese version republished in China in 1985. And Maehira Fusaaki, a scholar in Okinawa history and East Asian international relations, wrote in 1991 an article on Lo Sem in which Ryukyu-related passages in both versions were used.

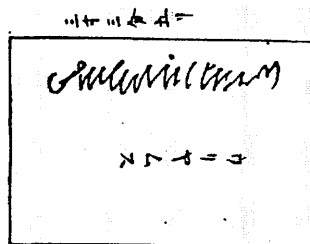
2 Lo Sem in the US-Japan Interchanges in 1854

2.1 Lo's role in the American-Japanese negotiations

Immediately before the 1854 expedition, Perry's chief interpreter Samuel Wells Williams (1812-1884), an American missionary in Hong Kong and later a US diplomat in China and a Sinology

professor at Yale, expressed his appreciation in his own journal for having “secured the assistance of Lo, a teacher of good attainments and no opium smoker,” because the medium of written literary Chinese was the lingua franca in East Asia and an indispensable language in the official American-Japanese negotiations of the time. In addition to this,

the chief negotiator on the Japanese side was Hayashi Daigaku no kami from the *Shoheiko*, the Shogunal Confucian college.



Lo wrote, for example, when he was in Shimoda that “the governor and the various officers conducting the intercourse with the Americans, all requested my services in this matter.” In many cases Lo provided his service by making use of “brush conversation” (*hitsudan*; or *bitan*), and therefore he received compliments for several times from the Japanese side. One poem written in literary Chinese by a Japanese official was as follows:

Say not our meeting here was all of chance;
 To you we owe the treaty and our peace.
 From far the strangers came, their language strange,
 'Twas well we had your pencil and your tongue.

2.2 Lo's role in promoting Japanese understanding of the American visitors

Lo made it clear in his journal that the officials of the Chinese government “bent on nothing but gain, made no account of my devotion and efforts (during the Opium War). It was this neglect which set my mind on traveling abroad, and led me to my present position on board this steam.”

As an open-minded and well-informed Chinese gentleman who had experience with the outside world since the Opium War, Lo played an important role in promoting Japanese understanding of the American visitors, which was beyond his duty as a translator. He not only explained positively the American spiritual life and Christianity in the Confucian language to some Japanese people, but also persuaded Hirayama Kenjiro, the above-mentioned conservative *metsuke* who had criticized the profit-oriented commercial expansion of the West from a Confucian standpoint, by saying that the “present age is very different from the times of antiquity; but who, with a conscience, can altogether disregard it? Notwithstanding my want of talent, for years I gave myself to the business of the world.” (By the way, it is worth mentioning that Lo's grandson Lo Yin-nin, an enterpriser graduated from Oxford, was a devoted supporter of Sun Yat-sen's revolution activities.)

When Lo finally saw “an end of their suspicions” between Commodore Perry and Commissioner Hayashi, he composed a poem to express his feelings during a reception held on Perry's flagship as follows:

Two nations' representatives at Yokohama met;
 To show their human brotherhood, the feast of joy was set.
 Here were the chiefs who doff the hat and friendly greetings pay.
 And there the heroes with two swords, in proud and bold array.
 They raised the sparkling cup to prove their words of peace sincere,
 while roll of drums and clash of bells came thundering on the ear.

Love speak from every lip, strained every eye with pleasure,
Ever may the treaty last, a good securing measure!

2.3 Lo's popularity in Japan and Ryukyu

As a careful observer, Lo provided us with vivid pictures of the everyday life in Japan and Ryukyu at the time of Perry's second visit. He also made some interesting comparisons between China, Ryukyu, and Japan. Lo was so popular in Shimoda and Hakodate that he had written inscriptions on over 1,500 fans in response to overwhelming requests from the Japanese officials as well as commoners. Because of his popularity, Yoshida Shoin asked for a chance to meet with him by showing a piece of paper to Samuel Williams in which "Kanton-jin Ra Shin" (The Cantonese Lo Sem) was written, when Shoin was seeking an exile through Perry's black ships.

As for Ryukyu, Lo maintained a Chinese view that "from the time of the Ming dynasty, its chief has received investiture from our emperor, having the title of a king." And he noted that after concluding the treaty with Perry, Ryukyu's prime minister Shang Hong-xun (or Sho Kokun in Japanese) presented him with a scroll in which the famous Song Confucian scholar Cheng Ming-dao's poem was written in the minister's own handwriting.

挿絵出典：羅森肖像＝スタッツラー「黒船絵巻」より

羅森名刺＝『青窓紀聞』57巻

ウィリアムズ肖像＝高川文荃筆「金海奇観」より 早稲田大学図書館所蔵

羅森名刺＝『青窓紀聞』57巻

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