

## NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup> In writing this essay Nakae Chōmin styled himself Nankai Sengyo. Nankai indicates that the author came from Shikoku, sen in sengyo means a hermit, and gyo is a fisherman. Writers and political figures outside of government frequently use gyo in their pen names. Professor Nankai, one of the three participants in the discussion, represents the author himself.

<sup>2</sup> Bakukoya is a Taoist name for a mountain where immortals dwell and appears in the Chuang-tzu.

<sup>3</sup> Mukayū refers to a kind of Taoist utopia and is also derived from the Chuang-tzu.

<sup>4</sup> The belief that the spirit of an animal or of another human being can enter and possess a person's body is a common theme in Japanese literature. It is connected with native Shinto and possibly with early shamanism. The spirit can be removed only by exorcism.

<sup>5</sup> Yōkashu (lit. foreign fire spirits) was the label for Hennessy's brandy in Japan in the Meiji period. Cf. Sansuijin keirin mondō, Kuwabara Takeo, ed. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), p. 206.

<sup>6</sup> Shinshikun is the name which Nankai sensei gives to one of his two guests. The guest is a scholarly gentleman and a devotee of Western learning. He represents those among the Meiji intellectual class who looked to the West exclusively for political models. Since the name is given somewhat in jest, I have translated it as "Highbrow" rather than "scholar" or "gentleman," its more usual equivalents.

<sup>7</sup> Gōketsukun is what Nankai sensei calls the other guest in Sansuijin. The name conveys a spirit of bravado characteristic of the Japanese samurai and so I have translated it here as "Swash-buckler." Gōketsukun is a militarist whom Nankai sensei later describes as a product of Japan's past.

<sup>8</sup> Ernst Heinrich Haeckel (1834-1919) was a German biologist and philosopher and an exponent of Darwinism.

<sup>9</sup> Nakae Chōmin is probably referring here to the river image

used by Heraclitus (535-475 B.C.) to show the absolute continuity of change. The original is translated into English by G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven as follows: "Upon those that step into the same rivers different and different waters flow. . . . It scatters and . . . gathers . . . it comes together and flows away . . . approaches and departs." Cf. G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, The Presocratic Philosophers. A Critical History with a Selection of Texts (Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 196.

<sup>10</sup> Jean Baptiste Lamarck (1744-1829) was a French naturalist and a forerunner of Darwin in the development of the theory of evolution.

<sup>11</sup> From the Chin shu; cf. Sansuijin, p. 221.

<sup>12</sup> Charles Irenée Castel Saint-Pierre (Abbé de) (1658-1743) was a French social philosopher and a member of the French Assembly from 1694-1718. He was expelled for criticizing Louis XIV. Saint-Pierre's major work was the Projet de paix perpétuelle, written in 1713, in which he outlined a plan for an international court and a league of nations. It is to this work that Nakae here refers.

<sup>13</sup> Immanuel Kant's essay Zum ewigen Frieden was first published in 1795 in response to the French Revolution. Since Nakae Chōmin could not read German but was proficient in French he probably read the French version which was translated in 1796 under Kant's auspices and published under the title Projet de paix perpétuelle. In this reference to Kant's essay, Nakae may be thinking of Kant's assertion in Appendix I of the work that a constitution established on the principles of morality and right would destroy national hatred and so reduce the possibility of war. Nakae here seems to be interpreting morality as the elimination of lust and vanity.

<sup>14</sup> Emile Acolas (1826-1891) was a legal philosopher and reformer. He was born in India, educated in law in Paris, and taught law privately. In 1870 he offered his services to the Paris Commune when Gambetta came to power and was made head of the law faculty of the University of Paris. Saionji Kimmochi studied law with Acolas, and Nakae probably learned of Acolas's work through Saionji, with whom he was closely associated during his stay in Paris from 1871 to 1874. Nakae may here be referring to Acolas's principal publication, Manuel de droit civil à l'usage des étudiants, contenant l'exégèse du Code Napoléon et un exposé complet des systèmes juridiques, 3 vols., Paris, 1869.

<sup>15</sup> This may be a reference to Acolas's work, Guerre aux monarchies, motions faites au Congrès de Lausanne, Geneva, 1869.



<sup>16</sup>In the Projet de paix perpétuelle, Kant never specifically says that all nations must adopt the democratic system in order to have peace. He does, however, argue that a republican government, which he defines as any representative government, is the type most conducive to peace. Nakae here seems to be repeating, in the French version he probably read, Kant's argument that republican states are not likely to start wars: "Suivant le mode de cette constitution, il faut que chaque citoyen concoure, par son assentiment, à décider la question: 'si l'on fera la guerre, ou non.' Or décréter la guerre, n'est-ce-pas, pour des citoyens, décréter contre eux-mêmes toutes les calamités de la guerre; savoir de combattre en personne; de fournir de leurs propres moyens aux frais de la guerre; de réparer péniblement les dévastations qu'elle cause; et pour comble de maux, de se charger enfin de tout le poids d'une dette nationale, qui rendra la paix même amère et ne pourra jamais être acquittée, puisqu'il y aura toujours de nouvelles guerres. Cf. Kant, Projet de paix perpétuelle. Essai philosophique par Emanuel Kant traduit de l'allemand avec un nouveau supplément de l'auteur (Königsberg: Frederic Nicolovius, 1796), p. 25.

<sup>17</sup>Nakae Chōmin here uses Kant's discussion of non-republican governments to support his statements about constitutional monarchies. Kant makes no specific reference to constitutional monarchies as such. The mention of a monarch's charge to his soldiers is also Nakae's addition; it does not appear in Kant's essay. In the French translation of Kant's work the discussion is as follows: "Au lieu que dans une constitution, où les sujets ne font pas citoyens de l'État, c'est à dire, qui n'est pas républicaine, une déclaration de guerre est la chose du monde la plus aisée à décider; puisqu'elle ne coûte pas au chef, propriétaire et non pas membre de l'État, le moindre sacrifice de ses plaisirs de la table, de la chasse, de la campagne, de la cour etc. Il peut donc résoudre une guerre, comme une partie de plaisir, par les raisons les plus frivoles . . ." Cf. ibid., p. 26.

<sup>18</sup>Nakae Chōmin may be referring to a congress of the First International held in Geneva in 1867 and attended by Émile Aollas. Participants proposed a democratic federation of Europe to carry out the most advanced social theories of the day.

<sup>19</sup>Lü Meng, d. A.D. 219. A native of Junan in Honan, Lü Meng was a general during the Three Kingdoms period and was famous for repulsing Ts'ao Ts'ao and capturing Kuan Yü. He was also known for his great prowess as a youth and for his brilliant military strategy as an adult. The specific incident to which Nakae is referring here is not clear.

<sup>20</sup>The original text says that only someone with a degree of optimism comparable to that of Lu Hsiu-fu (1236-1279) could say

such a thing. Lu Hsiu-fu was a native of Yench'eng in Kiangsu. He was a prime minister who shared in the flight of the young emperor Tuan-tsung before Kublai's army. His optimism was so great that he continued to teach the young Sung emperor the ways of ruling an empire even after the Sung court had been driven to sea by the Mongols.

<sup>21</sup> Georges Ernest Boulanger (1837-91) was a French general active in North Africa and in Indochina. He was instrumental in suppressing the Paris Commune in 1871. In 1886 he became minister of war and leader of a nationalist movement designed to appeal to the French desire for revenge against Germany.

<sup>22</sup> Komundo is an island in the Korean Straits about fifty miles south of Yosu harbor and belonging to the Yosu group. It was occupied by Great Britain from 1885 to 1887 as a counter-measure against Russian policy in the East. The British renamed it Port Hamilton. Nakae is in error in stating that Komundo was seized from Russia. The British took the island from Korea.

<sup>23</sup> Hsiang Yü (B.C. 233-202) was a native of Hsiahsiang and nephew of the Ch'u general Hsiang Liang whom he followed in revolt against the Ch'in Dynasty. Hsiang Yü took command of the northern army of Ch'u after decapitating its general on the grounds that he was a traitor at heart. He then defeated a large Ch'in force and slaughtered the entire army that surrendered to him. It may be to that incident that Nakae Chōmin refers, here mistaking Chao for Ch'in, or as Kuwabara Takeo suggests, Nakae may be in error in referring to Hsiang Yü at all since Po Ch'i (d. 258) is usually cited as the example of a man associated with cruel and unusual acts. Cf. *Sansuijin*, Kuwabara Takeo ed., p. 247. Po Ch'i defeated the armies of Chao and is reputed to have put 400,000 Chao troops to death.

<sup>24</sup> Shen Shih-t'ien (1427-1509) was a literary figure and artist during the Ming Dynasty.

<sup>25</sup> The text refers to the god Shimei (or director of destinies), said to guard over a person during his lifetime.

<sup>26</sup> Charles George Gordon (1833-85) was a British soldier who took part in the Crimean War and in the capture of Peking in 1860. In 1863 he took command of the "Ever-victorious army" which helped suppress the Taiping rebellion. He was sent to serve in the government of the Khedive of Egypt in 1877 and became governor of the Sudan in 1878. He resigned in 1882 but returned two years later to lead an Egyptian army against the Mahdi. He exceeded his orders from the British government and died under siege at Khartoum. Nakae is incorrect when he says that Gordon died in Arabia.



<sup>27</sup>Amedée Anatole Prosper Courbet (1827-85) rose rapidly in the French navy serving in the China Sea and Indian Ocean. He became commander of a naval division for the Far East and later was made Commander-in-Chief of both army and navy after a clash between military authority and civil power in France led to the dismissal of the army commander. During the Sino-French war of 1884-85 he attacked and destroyed the Chinese flotilla on the Min river. His plan was to attack Port Arthur but he received orders from Paris to attack Taiwan instead. He did die in 1885 on his flag ship, but his death did not have anything to do with actions undertaken on his own initiative as Nakae says.