The Lost Samurai:

Lost Narratives of Tokugawa Loyalism in Early Meiji Woodblock Prints by Kiyochika and Chikanobu

By Jim Dwinger

1070541

Supervisor: prof. dr. Ivo Smits

01-07-2019

MA East Asian Studies

Leiden University

Table of Contents

Introduction

The Meiji-restoration has long been heralded as 'the beginning of Japan's modernisation', when in the Boshin War of 1868-1869[1] the Tokugawa 徳川 shogunate was overthrown by the forces from Southwestern provinces that fought under the imperial banner. Edo, the former seat of the shogunate, was renamed into the imperial capital of Tokyo, and under the weight of the 'Unequal Treaties' imposed by European powers since the 1850s, the Meiji government was remarkably quick in attaining a position as a powerful imperial nation-state by adopting foreign technologies and ideas such as steam engines, power lines, journalism, a centralized military, public schools, and constitutional law. As historian Carol Gluck has noted, the 'old' city of Edo was framed in a 'past' that became conflated with the abolished feudal class system under the Tokugawa and all other customs that were perceived as 'traditional,' 'backward,' and 'evil.'[2] In contrast, the 'modern' city of Tokyo would embody the government's quest for 'civilisation and enlightenment' (*bunmei kaika* 文明開化), with European societies as a role model. This *bunmei kaika* ideology, led by influential thinkers such as Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 (1835-1901), was well represented in the Meiji policy and propaganda that sought to replace 'old' customs. Some examples are the official adoption of Western dress, encouragement of meat-eating,[3] and promotion of the nuclear family on Christian model. Among the more intrusive policies were the urban planning projects on Western models and, at the expense of Buddhist and Confucian institutions, a forceful institutionalisation of the nativist Shinto religion that centered on emperor worship. These rapid societal changes were vigorously captured and celebrated in the bright red[4] *kaika nishiki-e* 開化錦絵 (enlightenment prints) by the well-established commercial world of woodblock printing, which had seen its heyday in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Masterful artists such as Kobayashi Kiyochika 小林清親 (1847-1915) and Toyohara (Yōshū) Chikanobu 豊原 (楊洲) 周延 (1838-1912) are notable participants in the production of these prints. Most of the academic literature that features these artists treats their prints mainly as commercially driven documentation of changing times.

---

[1] Although the Gregorian calendar was not adopted in Japan until 1873, this thesis will refer to all dates by the Gregorian system.

[2] Gluck, 1998, p. 262-266.

[3] Prior to the Meiji period there had been a long standing taboo on meat consumption. The argument made by the *bunmei kaika* thinkers was that eating meat would improve the physique of Japanese citizens like it had done for the Westerners.

[4] After the opening of foreign trade cheap aniline dyes became accessible to the Japanese printing industry and were eagerly used during the Meiji period.

But can all their works be categorised as simply celebrations of modernisation created by artists trying to make a living? Surely, there are prints by these artists that can take on a different meanings when we approach them with the knowledge that Kiyochika and Chikanobu were themselves among samurai who fought and lost on the side of the Tokugawa regime against the 'imperial' forces from the Southwestern domains. The main question this thesis will address is: *to what extent can the early Meiji period prints by Kiyochika and Chikanobu be read as expressions of loyalist dissent towards the Meiji government and the reality it sought to create*? Their dissent, in this case, is not always actively expressed. Friction with authorities and dominant narratives is likely to affect one's work both consciously and subconsciously. While an inadvertent use of a particular motif or colour is of course not as obvious a challenge of authorities as is an armed revolt, it nevertheless can inform us to a degree about one's perspective. Thus, while some cases are more subtle than others, I will argue that these artists made prints that in fact can be interpreted not exclusively as supportive celebrations of a new era but also as a subversive mourning of the old.

Meiji Prints in Academic Literature: 'Grand Narratives' of Modernity

Because woodblock prints have not received much academic attention until the last couple of decades, secondary academic literature is relatively scarce and most information must come from exhibition catalogues, auction houses, and collector's databases. This is even more the case for prints of the Meiji period, because the woodblock print or *ukiyo-e* was excluded from the newly introduced Western concept of '(national) art' and the genre came to symbolise the traditional past of Edo, causing later academics to focus mostly on the masters of the Edo period when researching *ukiyo-e*. The fact that the amount academic writing on Hiroshige and Hokusai dwarfs the amount of writing on and Kiyochika and Chikanobu might attest to this (of course there is also the matter of popularity). For Chikanobu there only seems to be one detailed exhibition catalogue (comprehensive nonetheless) by Bruce Coats (2006), which includes essays by several scholars. Kiyochika has received more attention lately, starring in an early exhibition catalogue with essays in English by Henry D. Smith (1988), and two more recent catalogues in Japanese published by a collaboration of Shizuoka City Museum of Art and Nerima Art Museum (2015), and by Machida City Museum of Graphic Arts (2016).

Traditionally, academic literature has marked the Meiji-restoration as the beginning of Japan's modernisation because 'modernity' required introduction through the 'West', which has led to 1868 being treated as a temporal split. But recently the notion that modernity is something

exclusively 'Western' has been challenged by scholars such as Eiko Ikegami and Craig Clunas.[5] This has repercussions for understanding when processes of modernisation can be said to begin in (Japanese) history. Specifically with regards to the woodblock print and its history, we should note the argument made by Sugawara Mayumi. She states that especially when writing about the history of the woodblock print, we should be careful not to regard the Meiji-restoration as a decisive split in printing culture, but rather as a "transitional period" with consideration of continuation as well as new developments.[6] I will attempt to heed her advice in this thesis when discussing Meiji prints. For example, a type of continuity that will be stressed is the workings of intricate networks between publishers, designers, and writers.

Another tendency in secondary literature is the focus on the Meiji quest for 'modernity'. Books such as Donald Keene's *Japan at the Dawn of the Modern Age: Woodblock Prints from the Meiji Era* (2001) and Julia Meech-Pekarik's *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions of a New Civilization* (1986) are prime examples of how this 'Meiji Grand Narrative' has been dominant in the approach in to Meiji prints. While the celebration of Meiji 'enlightenment' and Western technologies is undeniably evident in so many of the woodblock prints, a macro-scale approach may cause 'small narratives' to be overlooked. Take for example Meech-Pekarik's discussion of Kiyochika's print of Fukuchi Gen'ichirō 福地源一郎 (1841-1906) from the series *Kyōdō risshi motoi* 教導立志基 (*Role Models of Self-Cultivated Success*). She treats the print as the celebration of "the new role model […] in natty Western attire […] chief editor of the country's first major newspaper, the *Tōkyō nichi nichi shimbun*." Yet omitted here is that Fukuchi, one of the *only two contemporaries* Kiyochika depicted in this morally didactic series, was a former Tokugawa retainer, like Kiyochika himself. Furthermore, Fukuchi had spent the early months of the restoration as an active critic of the new government, which ultimately led to his arrest. The other contemporary that Kiyochika depicted was none other than the former shogun himself. Similarly, Chikanobu is generally presented as an artist who at first focused on the rapid developments and only decades later became weary of Japan's 'modernisation' and turned to the production of nostalgic prints that celebrated Edo culture. But this description of Chikanobu's career would not make much sense, considering that in 1868 he was willing to die to maintain the status quo. Nevertheless, in more recent discourse there seems to be a trend of increased sensitivity towards these artists' backgrounds, for example in the MIT Visualising Cultures projects that treat Kiyochika's prints. Smith also discusses several of his prints in relation to his history as a Tokugawa retainer.

---

[5] Ikegami treats Edo society as a "proto-modernity" in *Bonds of Civility*, 2005. Clunas challenges traditional notions of 'modernity' in chapter 5 of *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*, 1997, p. 148.
[6] Sugawara, 2009, p. 12-14.

There has also been a recent trend in research to shed light on those who could not adjust to or tried to oppose the new realities that the Meiji project sought to create; mostly these were Tokugawa supporters. An important work of this genre which this thesis will draw on is Michael Wert's *Meiji Restoration Losers: Memory and Tokugawa Supporters in Modern Japan* (2013). Others include Matthew Fraleigh's article on a Tokugawa retainer's post-restoration life as a recluse (2014), and William Steele's articles on the *shōgitai*, a Tokugawa resistance force (1982), and Mantei Ōga 万亭応賀 (1819-1890), a writer who used his popular literature to criticise the teachings of Fukuzawa Yukichi (2015).

Method and Problems

This thesis will try to shed light on plausible subversive 'small narratives' in a selection of prints by focusing on the socio-historic contexts of the printmakers and the objects they depict, and will then consider these narratives in thorough visual analysis. The selected prints will be categorised and divided into sections by topic and will also be compared to contemporary and preceding prints of similar topics by other artists when possible. The first two chapters will serve as a framework for the analysis of the prints. The chapter on woodblock printing culture will discuss the traditions of the woodblock print, and show how these continued into the Meiji period. This chapter will help us understand why the medium of popular prints was a natural choice for expressing dissent. Discussion of 'losing side' samurai in the following chapter will help construct plausible individual contexts where direct biographical information is lacking. The various ways of resisting or coping with the Meiji restoration and its aftermath by Tokugawa loyalists and other marginalised samurai may give us insight in how the printmakers themselves negotiated the new order of things. This can then be discussed in terms of artistic expression. Furthermore, by constructing a variety of profiles of samurai that were marginalised by the Meiji state and its proponents, it can be argued that they had affinity to 'dissent'-prints and thus made up a profitable market for such 'relatable' prints in the commercial publishing world.

Problems that may hinder this research mainly lie in the dependence in the visual analysis on catalogues and online databases. Because of this, some prints are only available in low quality and cannot be fully analysed. In addition, there is a general lack of information regarding prints, artists, engravers, printers, and especially so regarding publishers, who arguably had considerable influences in most productions. As research on woodblock prints from the Meiji period specifically is still relatively scarce, such a lack of information is all the more troublesome. A more thorough discussion of publishers for example will unfortunately be beyond the scope of this thesis.

Woodblock Printing Culture

Late Edo

It can be said the woodblock printing culture saw its heyday in the late Edo period, when masterful designers such as Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳 (1798-1861), Utagawa Hiroshige 歌川広重 (1797-1858), and Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760-1849) enjoyed immense popularity with their beautifully coloured *ukiyo-e* and other illustrated works. *Ukiyo-e* 浮世絵, or "Pictures of the Floating World" (a euphemism for the pleasure districts), were prints that centered mostly on the city life in the pleasure districts of Edo, but as the genre evolved it came to include a variety of other subgenres, such as landscapes, animals, folklore, and historical prints. The coloured prints that are now much coveted by collectors are also known as *nishiki-e* 錦絵 (brocade pictures).

A publishing enterprise was a diverse and highly commercial business that capitalised on townsfolk culture. When Edo was at its peak, the urban giant counted approximately one million people, with a relatively high literacy rate. Whether they were texts, pictures, or combinations of these, demand for print was high. To give an idea how high, the total of published prints by Hiroshige is estimated to be a dazzling 38 million, with an average of 4.000 issues per publication.[7] The best publishers were aware of and capitalised on the latest trends, but also set new trends themselves. In the production of a single print there were usually many parties involved. The publishing network consisted not just of designers and publishers, but also required collaborations with writers, engravers, and printers, and at times other interested parties who needed to promote their establishments. Printmakers relied economically on these vast social networks. The publisher had considerable influence on the production process, and occasionally clashed with the designer's desire for artistic expression, as Smith notes about a print by Kiyochika. This shows that financial needs and personal ideologies may clash, and indicates that a print does not always reflect the views of the printmaker (although Kiyochika did sign the print with the publisher's name as an act of defiance).[8]

Besides socio-economic networks, the publishing world also provided the educated producers (and consumers) of print culture with opportunities to express criticism towards the shogunate. Censorship was strict and references in popular print to the shogunate, such as

---

[7] Uhlenbeck in Vandeperre, 2016, p. 17.
[8] Smith, 1988, p. 65.

depictions of existing political figures or even their clan emblems, were prohibited. However, the world of popular print in the Edo period cleverly circumvented the censorship laws. The well-read printmakers could provide comments on actualities, some more subtle than others, by producing satirical works that alluded to for example stories from classical tales and reimagining them with contemporary elements. The ideal reader or viewer would recognise every motif, poem, pun, or other discursive tool that could be read as a comment on contemporary events. These could be merely light-hearted jokes, but under the guise of 'frivolity' a harsher criticism was frequently conveyed, as is apparent in many of the satirical illustrated books called *gesaku* 戯作 (frivolous works), most notably the yellow 'comic books' called *kibyōshi* 黄表紙.[9] This use of juxtapositions in multi-layered narratives is commonly known as *mitate* 見立て[10] and most producers and consumers of popular printed works were familiar with this device. Shogunate officials were also well aware of the popular print's capacity for critique, and crackdowns on the publishing industry occurred especially during trying times such as famines.

Another important characteristic of woodblock printing was the artist's capacity to 'fabricate realities'. As Gyewon Kim notes, "the veracity of a print relied less on whether it reported an actual historical event than on the power of its graphic composition and narrativisation to draw an emotional response from the audience."[11] This explains for example how with his immensely popular landscape prints Hiroshige was able to shape the entirety of the 53 post towns of the Tōkaidō road in the minds of his wide viewership without having ever traveled beyond the 9th town himself.[12]

Early Meiji

Naturally, many parts of Japanese society, including the printing culture, were affected by the Euro-American influences since the opening of trade in the 1850s. This process accelerated in the Meiji period. Economic influences included the sudden competition with Western inventions such as lithography and photography, which meant that woodblock publishing businesses needed new genres, topics, and styles to keep the public interested. Yet despite new developments and competition the woodblock print would thrive for another few decades and continued to rely on the various traditions that had developed during the Edo period. It retained its highly commercial nature and intricate socio-economic networks, as will be shown further below. Stylistically,

---

[9] For more on *gesaku* and *kibyōshi*, see Adam Kern's *Manga from the Floating World: Comicbook Culture and the Kibyōshi of Edo Japan* (2006).
[10] The *mitate* device can also be referred to with *nise* 擬, *yatsushi* やつし, or *fūryū* 風流.
[11] Kim, 2012, p. 119.
[12] Forrer, 2017, p. 52-53, 247-248.

nishiki-e artists became increasingly skillful in the use of perspective, and depictions of people took on more realistic and Westernised forms. Shinto gods were for example now commonly depicted with thick beards, indicating influences from Christian iconography.

One of the most important developments that allowed woodblock prints to keep up with the times was its assimilation of journalism. Since the woodblock publishing industry was already well established, most newspapers, especially the 'lowbrow' ones, were made by people who had previously been active as *gesaku* writers and *ukiyo-e* artists. But whatever developments occurred, most of the artists and writers who represented the early Meiji print had lived for the greater part of the transition from Edo to Meiji. Their styles of writing and designing and the narrative devices typical of Edo printing culture did not change overnight. In fact, despite the new label, many newspapers were not very different from the illustrated books that were so popular in 'old' Edo.[13] Another important development was the repeal of the ban on depictions of contemporary (political) figures. In fact, the state encouraged (and regulated) depictions of the emperor, who had previously been a mostly 'invisible' figure, in order to establish him as a national symbol in the minds of his subjects. These developments enabled the populace for the first time in centuries to openly criticise the Tokugawa regime (and celebrate the new one) in printed works, but as will be shown, it equally created opportunities to counter these narratives.

As 1870s pressed onwards and the Meiji government's position became increasingly secure, so did its grip on publishing. Whereas censorship had previously been self-regulated by the publishing guilds, it now fell under the supervision of the centralised bureaucracy. The development of journalism did have enormous effects on public discourse, but criticism of the state and especially *lese majesté* were not tolerated. For example when a print in 1878 by Tsukioka Yoshitoshi 月岡芳年 (1839-1892) depicting the emperor with his concubines caused much controversy, because it did not pick up on (or defied?) the government's attempts to stress the nuclear family, such depictions became strictly forbidden (it is interesting to note that I have encountered several prints by Kiyochika and Chikanobu that have ignored this prohibition).[14] In fact, Huffman notes that until the post-war era Japan would not again enjoy the press freedom of the turbulent days of the Boshin War, during which journalists like Fukuchi Gen'ichirō openly criticised the Meiji government.[15] How he and other loyalists opposed the regime change shall be discussed in the next chapter.

---

[13] Ihara, 2008, p. 1, 27.
[14] Keene, 2001, p. 38.
[15] Huffman, 1980, p. 60.

A Profile of Early Meiji Dissent: Tokugawa Loyalists and Other Disillusioned Samurai

What is a Tokugawa loyalist?

In the context of this thesis I use the term 'Tokugawa loyalists' not only to describe those who had fought against the military forces from mainly the Satsuma and Chōshū (usually abbreviated to Satchō) domains in Southwestern Japan, but also former samurai who had been important figures on the Tokugawa side during the *bakumatsu* period, or who had expressed their support for Tokugawa rule during the Boshin War and early days of the Meiji period. Support had for example been vigorously voiced in some of the newly emerging newspapers, as is discussed below. It is important to note that, at that time, opposition to the restoration did not mean opposition to the emperor, but rather the contrary. Both sides argued they were fighting for the emperor. Because shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu 徳川慶喜 (1837-1913) had already in November 1867 officially resigned in order to 'restore' the power to the young emperor, the march northwards by the Satchō forces in the following months was perceived by many Tokugawa loyalists as a military *coup*. Hara Yasutarō 原保太郎 (1847-1936), a samurai who served the restoration army, stated the following when he regretfully recalled his participation in the execution of high ranking Tokugawa official Oguri Tadamasa 小栗忠順 (1827-1868): "there was no idea of imperial army versus rebel army; that notion was a Meiji period invention. Each side believed it was the emperor's army."[16] During the Meiji period there would be a popular saying: "If you win, you're the imperial army, if you lose, you're the rebel army" (*kateba kangun, makereba zokugun* 勝てば官軍負ければ賊軍).

After the fall of the shogunate, loyalists sought new methods to honour the former regime and oppose the new one. As Michael Wert notes, after the military defeat and the establishment of the new government, "memory and commemoration became their new battlefront. Some former retainers pursued successful careers in the world of letters, becoming prolific journalists, writers, historians, and educators. They continued to criticize the Meiji government but no longer as Tokugawa loyalists."[17] In their works they actively and passively countered the dominant Meiji narratives spearheaded by the *bunmei kaika* movement that vilified

---

[16] Wert, 2013, p. 37.
[17] Ibid., p. 42.

the Tokugawa shogunate and its supporters as backwards and evil. Whereas Wert discusses these counter-narrative "sites of memory" mostly in terms of journalism, historiographical essays, and monuments, as this thesis will attempt to show, these loyalist sentiments are also found in the popular *nishiki-e*, which during the Meiji period reached a wide audience and was strongly connected to the world of journalism.

Life of Loyalists and Other Ex-Samurai: Opposition, Hardships, and Disenchantment

What happened in the *bakumatsu* and Meiji periods to the tens of thousands of bureaucrats, soldiers, statesmen, scholars, artists, and other samurai who counted themselves among the loyal retainers of the dethroned Tokugawa shogunate and their allies? And what happened to those from other domains that did not benefit from or could adjust to the new reality that the Meiji government attempted to create?

There are many factors to consider that may have influenced their experiences of the Meiji restoration and its aftermath. Already among the Tokugawa supporters themselves there is a variety in their stories of marginalisation (and success), but disenchantment with the restoration government was not exclusive to Tokugawa supporters (or members of the samurai class). Nor was dissent necessarily fueled by a single shared ideology. This prevents Meiji narratives of dissent from easily being grouped into one unifying category. As Sean Callaghan eloquently states when he describes oppositional movements in the late 1870s and 1880s:

> As the Meiji state attempted to press forward on its version of reality, voices of disagreement emerged at all levels of social organisation – from within the government itself to the peasant uprisings against the various social policies […] This was not a unified voice of disagreement. These voices could not be unified as a group, because their very existence was defined in antagonism to the pressure to unify bodies under a single affective order.[18]

Personal circumstances also heavily influenced one's chances to either thrive or wither under the new order. Although the samurai were themselves a privileged class, some were more privileged than others. There had been a great variety of ranks and positions among those who served the shogunate. In fact, in the late Edo period many low-ranking samurai did not receive enough to support their families and were often pressed to get by through other means, such as selling artisanal crafts. Although in the early Meiji years all samurai lost their class privileges such as stipends and the right to bear swords (an important part of their identity), those who had enjoyed higher ranks were more likely to maintain financial stability or be awarded a high position in the new government. Post-restoration chances to avoid poverty were also higher if one had

---

[18] Callaghan, 2012, p. 259.

particular skills, especially those useful to the Meiji government. Overseas education for example had been accessible to only a select few, and their knowledge and experiences were extremely valuable to the government, which aimed to model itself after European nation-states. Naturally, former Tokugawa retainers who despite their former affiliations aspired to climb the political ladder in the new government soon found themselves to hit the glass ceiling that was the Satchō oligarchy (*hambatsu* 藩閥), represented by leaders such as Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841-1909). Then there is of course the question whether the former retainers would wish to work for those who had put them in this situation. A vassal's loyalty to their lord was a key concept in the Neo-Confucian doctrine of the samurai, and working for the Meiji government would for many mean betraying not only their lord, but also their fellow ex-retainers. Those who did end up working for the government were generally criticised by other Tokugawa retainers.

Besides (or perhaps related to) lord-vassal relationships, there were also regional allegiances. These were generally divided between the Western restoration domains, led by the powerful Satsuma and Chōshū but also included Tosa and Hizen, and the Eastern Tokugawa favoured domains, most notably Edo, Sunpu, Mito, Echigo, and Aizu. Within this West-East divide, however, were more specific post-restoration cases of regional power differences and marginalisation. The Aizu domain in the northeast received particularly harsh treatment from the new government. It had presented the fiercest resistance against the restoration forces until the autumn of 1868, about a year after shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu officially resigned and 'restored' imperial rule. After their defeat in November, the Aizu retainers were not even allowed to bury their dead until February 1869. Even after the burials, the "rebels" were forbidden to memorialise their dead as late as 1876.[19] Considering the importance of ancestor worship, the *bakumatsu* and early Meiji period must have been traumatic times for the domain.

However, not only Tokugawa retainers were victims of marginalisation in the government. Economic hardships and identity loss led to various armed uprisings, most notably the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877, when former Meiji leader Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛 (1828-1877) led disillusioned Satsuma samurai in a failed war against the imperial government. Interestingly, Chikanobu's prints that capture this event seem to express support for his former enemy who, like Chikanobu 10 years earlier, was now branded a rebel.[20] After this uprising, opposition took on a more political nature. To the frustration of many retainers from Tosa, who played a key role

---

[19] Wert, 2013, p. 88.
[20] In his prints the rebels fight under a banner that says "New Government, Rich in Virtue" (*shinsei kōtoku* 新政厚徳). According to Mark Ravina this slogan was a fabrication added by woodblock print artists to subtly voice their support for the rebel cause. Ravina, 2004, p. 206.

in the restoration, the Satchō dominance was hard to overcome. It is not unsurprising that the Popular Freedom and Rights Movement (*jiyū minken undō* 自由民権運動), which actively opposed the oligarchy politics in the late 1870s and early 1880s, had a large Tosa domain base. The movement was influential among teachers, the press, and writers of political novels (*seiji shōsetsu* 政治小説), a genre similar to *gesaku* that usually criticised the Meiji government.

Examples of Post-Restoration Loyalists

One of the faces of Tokugawa resistance was Enomoto Takeaki 榎本武揚 (1836-1908). He had received naval training in Nagasaki and the Netherlands. He spoke Dutch and English fluently after staying in Europe for five years. After the surrender of Edo to the Southwestern imperial forces in May 1868, Enomoto seized the European built Tokugawa fleet and fled to Ezo (Hokkaido) along with other more stubborn loyalists and French military advisors. There they established the Republic of Ezo with Enomoto as its president in January 1869. They hoped to found a new country (albeit not entirely independent from the empire) under Tokugawa lordship which would act as a safe haven for the loyal retainers and the samurai values they wished to uphold, but they were defeated in June 1869. Interestingly, Enomoto would later become one of the few prominent members of the Meiji government with such loyalist background. He was appointed Vice-Admiral as early as 1874, and became Navy Minister in 1880. It is clear that men like Enomoto, who were among the very few that had received European naval training, were invaluable to the Meiji government in their goal to gain a place among the naval world powers. He did not completely reject his Tokugawa background, and would join the "core leadership" behind several pro-Tokugawa associations and magazines in the 1890s and 1900s when commemoration of the old regime started to become in vogue. Enomoto and other Tokugawa retainers that now served the new government were however criticised by fellow ex-Tokugawa retainers for their switch of allegiance. There was even criticism from Fukuzawa Yukichi, who usually championed the narrative that vilified the Tokugawa society and its values, when he wrote an essay that romanticised the samurai idea of loyalty until death.[21]

On the opposite side of the spectrum was Yaguchi Kensai 矢口謙齋 (1817-1879). Born into peasantry in Honjō, Musashi, he was adopted into a samurai samurai family at the age of seventeen. Despite old age and low origins, he managed to enter the tutelage under a Confucian scholar of the Sorai School. He later passed the examination at the official shogunate Confucian academy, Shōheikō 昌平黌, after which he would become a successful scholar and bureaucrat.

---

[21] Wert, 2013, p. 52-55.

During the Meiji restoration he was one of the men who joined Enomoto's fleet and fought at Hakodate. Unlike his fleet commander Enomoto however, Kensai did not attain a position in the new government after their pardon in 1870, nor did he seem to desire one. When he was released from custody, he did not return to his home in Edo, now renamed Tokyo, but he ventured to the home region of the former Shogun in Shizuoka, like many other Tokugawa retainers had done. To the admiration of many of his fellow ex-retainers, he eventually lived as a recluse in the Shizuoka region, as if he rejected the Meiji government and its new reality altogether. In the Confucian tradition life as a scholarly recluse had connotations to rejection of dynastic change and loyalty to deposed regimes.[22] Kensai's life of reclusion would to former Tokugawa retainers act as an example set against the retainers who, according to Kensai's friend Hayashi Kakuryō 林 鶴梁 (1806-78), forgot their "obligations" and turned against "righteousness" by seeking official positions.[23] In this way Kensai's reclusion became a discursive tool which the retainers could use to express their loyalism to the Tokugawa.

Fukuchi Gen'ichirō was a shogunate official who had expressed his loyalism to the Tokugawa and opposition to the Satchō with the pen rather than sword, most notably with his short-lived newspaper, *Kōko shimbun* 江湖新聞. Inspired by the newspapers he encountered during his times as interpreter for official delegations in Europe, he published the first issue in May 1868. In the newspaper he voiced his opposition in various ways. By using the restoration rhetoric against the new government, he criticised the Satchō domains for establishing a "second *bakufu*." At the same time he argued that, while political reform was necessary, it could not be accomplished by the 'weak' domains from the West. According to Fukuchi, abolition of feudalism and setting up an imperial representative government needed the leadership of a 'strong' Eastern clan, preferably the Tokugawa, indicating that his desire for political reform conflicted with his samurai values. In his reporting on the ongoing resistance in the north, he emphasised either victories by the pro-Tokugawa forces or cruelties exercised by the government forces. His paper reached considerable popularity, but publishing was disrupted when he was jailed during a crackdown on local papers shortly after the defeat of the *shōgitai*, the last resistance force in Edo. He was pressed to join the new government after his release some months later, but like many other Tokugawa retainers he refused and followed the Tokugawa family to Shizuoka. After a month of living in impoverished circumstances in Shizuoka, which was crowded with displaced samurai, he returned to Tokyo and ignored another call to work for the

---

[22] For example, Zheng Sixioa was such a 'scholar in retreat' who rejected the Mongol rule during the Yuan-dynasty, Fraleigh, 2014, p. 107-108.

[23] Ibid., p. 104-105.

government. Instead he retreated from bureaucratic life into a small apartment in the Asakusa district of what was now called Tokyo, and adopted a pseudonym (among others), Master of the Dream House (*Yume no Ya Shujin* 夢の家主人).

It wasn't until two years later, in 1870, that Fukuchi was swayed to work for the new government by Itō Hirobumi, who was then assistant finance minister. It can be argued that for a young and ambitious man like Fukuchi it wasn't this shift of allegiance that is surprising, but rather the fact that he "held out so long."[24] In the 1870s and early 1880s he had a successful career as both an influential journalist and culturally conservative politician who advocated a "gradualist" approach to 'modernisation' and he seemingly fluctuated between his past loyalties, personal ideologies, and future ambitions.[25] He continued to emphasise imperial sovereignty, similarly to his early writings but without the criticism on the government. He also continued to publish writings that were positive towards the Tokugawa regime to counter the dominant Meiji narrative about the feudal past.[26] Although at some point he had close connections to the Meiji oligarchy, in 1886 he became disillusioned by the glass wall of the *hambatsu* politics, paired with personal financial problems. In that year he published a series of essays that attacked the *hambatsu* practices called *Satchō ron* 薩長論 (Satchō Essays). These were similar to his *Kōko shimbun* articles of the restoration period, albeit more subtle in his criticism.[27]

The Loyalist History of Kiyochika and Chikanobu

Kobayashi Kiyochika was born into a samurai family in the Honjō district in Edo and grew up in the context of the tumultuous final years of the shogunate. His father served as a logistics overseer[28] at the Honjō granary, and his mother came from a line of officials that had served at similar granaries nearby. When his father died in 1862, he inherited his position at the young age of 15. In 1865 he accompanied the shogunal delegation to the courtly capital of Kyoto.[29] In January and February 1868 Kiyochika participated in the Battle of Toba-Fushimi on the side of the Tokugawa. In November 1867 shogun Yoshinobu had officially resigned and vowed to carry out imperial will, but Tokugawa administrative influence remained strong and in the competition for the imperial banner and administrative power the Satchō-led forces marched

---

[24] Huffman, 1980, p. 47-63.
[25] Ibid., p. 95-113.
[26] Wert, 2013, p. 57-59.
[27] Huffman, 1980, p. 158-165.
[28] His official title was "chief of the unloading foremen" (*koage-gashira-sō-tōdori* 小揚頭総頭取), Smith, 1988, p. 7. This may have been a position that provided security in times of food scarcity or economic strife.
[29] This delegation consisted of some several thousand samurai, and it was the first time in over two centuries that a shogun had visited the imperial capital, indicating the diminished political authority of the Tokugawa in the *bakumatsu* days. Shogun Iemochi died the next year and was succeeded by Yoshinobu (also known as Keiki).

north. This prompted the Tokugawa forces to engage the Southwestern armies near Toba and Fushimi. However, they were met with superior firepower and suffered a humiliating defeat, after which Yoshinobu fled from Osaka Castle and retreated with his forces to Edo. The Tokugawa could now effectively be labeled 'enemy of the court'.[30] To further demonstrate his willful submission to the court, Yoshinobu confined himself to Daiji-in, within the Kan'ei-ji temple complex atop Ueno Hill, an important mausoleum site that had connections to the Tokugawa temple complex in Nikkō.

In the meanwhile, a band of mostly young low-ranking loyalists had formed 'The League to Demonstrate Righteousness (*shōgitai* 彰義隊), which sought to clear the name of their "lord, exterminate the Satsuma rebels, and, by so doing, serve loyally the court above and succor the masses below."[31] The *shōgitai* began as a small group but soon it attracted several hundreds, policed the streets of Edo, was assigned to guard Yoshinobu, and relocated its headquarters to the temple complex where the former shogun resided. In the meanwhile Edo Castle was surrendered without much resistance in early April 1868. In reaction, Yoshinobu retreated to Mito and most of the Tokugawa retainers that did not want to surrender either fled into the country and resorted to "guerilla activities," or joined the *shōgitai* which grew into the thousands by the end of April. They also had the support of the abbot of Kan'ei-ji, Prince Rinnō-ji-no-miya, who held a legitimate claim to the throne and compared the restoration army to the An Lu-Shan Rebellion of the Tang Dynasty (755-763).[32] This implies that the civil war was not just a factional conflict, but, to some extent, also a dynastic one.

In mid-May the Battle of Ueno took place when imperial forces attacked the loyalist encampment and after a day of heavy fighting the *shōgitai* were defeated and the temple complex was razed. With several hundreds dead or captured, the loyalist resistance fled the city, with many following the Tokugawa family to Sunpu (Shizuoka) or fleeing north to continue their fight. Although he did not directly participate in the battle itself, from his pictorial autobiography it is apparent that Kiyochika did reconnaissance duty at the Battle of Ueno, which would mean that he was at least affiliated with the resistance force.[33] After the defeat of the *shōgitai*, Kiyochika was one of the many samurai that headed to the newly established Shizuoka domain, with 5 year old Tokugawa Iesato 徳川家達 (1863-1940) as its daimyo until the abolishment of the domainal

---

[30] Umegaki, 1986, p. 94.

[31] Steele, 1982, p. 130-131.

[32] Ibid., p. 134-136. Rinnō-ji-no-miya 輪王寺宮 (named after the Tokugawa temple complex in Nikkō) would later be known as Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa (*Kitashirakawa-no-miya Yoshihisa-shinnō* 北白川宮能久親王).

[33] Smith, 1988, p. 20.

system. Although his activities until his return to Edo (now renamed Tokyo) in 1874 are not entirely clear, it is thought that here he had a short-lived marriage with the daughter of a farmer, managed to get by as a fisherman, and for some time traveled along with Sakakibara Kenkichi's 榊原鍵吉 (1830-1894) swordsman troupe.[34]

Chikanobu

Chikanobu, birth name Hashimoto Naoyoshi 橋本直義, was born in 1838 into a family that served the Sakakibara clan in Takada, Echigo Province. The Sakakibara had been a loyal clan to the Tokugawa since the early days of the dynasty's rule. He had received artistic education in several studios, including a private studio teaching Kanō-style, the studio of Kuniyoshi, and later Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 (1786-1865). He had also received martial education, like many other samurai, and he was said to be skillful with a sword. Chikanobu's father was head attendant and a *metsuke*[35] foot soldier. Being the only son, Chikanobu inherited the family responsibilities at the age of 29-30 when his father retired in 1867. Although he does not appear to have fought in the skirmishes of Toba-Fushimi because he was working with fellow student Toyohara Kunichika 豊原国周 (1835-1900),[36] Chikanobu's civil war military records show that he was one of the more committed resistance fighters.

As a Sakakibara retainer Chikanobu was assigned guard duty at the mausoleums of Kan'ei-ji. He formed a loyalist squad with other retainers from the Takada domain called "League of the Sacred Tree" (*shinbokutai* 神木隊).[37] Later they joined the *shōgitai* and Chikanobu fought in the Battle of Ueno as one of the resistance leaders (*hatagashira* 旗頭). Chikanobu was shot in his leg, captured, and underwent "persistent" questioning by Kirino Toshiaki 桐野 利秋 (1838-1877),[38] which was recorded and gives an interesting insight in his motives (and perhaps that of others like him). He apparently told his captors that he was willing to die and that they should "just kill" him. When he was ordered to go home instead, he cursed Kirino and accused the Satsuma leaders of usurping rule under the guise of the imperial banner because Yoshinobu had already 'restored' imperial rule.[39]

---

[34] Ibid., p. 7. It is noteworthy that Kenkichi had served as prince Rinnō-ji-no-miya's personal guard at Ueno.
[35] *Metsuke* were a kind of investigative police force, similar to Internal Affairs.
[36] Coats, 2006, p. 17.
[37] The combination of 神 and 木 is most likely derived of the kanji for *sakaki* 榊 in Sakakibara 榊原.
[38] Kirino was one of the Satsuma samurai who would later lead the 1877 rebellion.
[39] Coats, 2006, p. 17.

Chikanobu managed to escape from his captors and regroup with the few remaining *shinbokutai* members, after which they joined Enomoto Takeaki's fleet along with Prince Rinnō-ji-no-miya and fled to north, where an alliance of northern domains (*Ōuetsu reppan dōmei* 奥羽越列藩同盟)[40] continued to resist the Southwestern imperial armies. Prince Rinnō-ji-no-miya separated from the fleet in Sendai, became the leader of the alliance and was presumably crowned as Emperor Tōbu,[41] reminiscent of the Nanbokuchō period in the 14th century with two rivaling courts. Heavy resistance continued until the defeat of the strongest loyalist forces with the Battle of Aizu Castle in the autumn of 1868. It is unclear whether Chikanobu participated in this battle. However, although much of the resistance forces surrendered, including the rival imperial family member Rinnō-ji-no-miya, Chikanobu continued the fight under the command of Enomoto. He was again wounded during the naval battle of Miyako Bay when they tried to capture an imperial ship,[42] after which they sailed further north to Hakodate. Here they founded the Republic of Ezo with Enomoto as its president, and they had hoped create a new country where samurai could continue to live under Tokugawa rule. The republic did not last long, and the loyalists made their last stand in the Goryōkaku star fortress in June 1869, where Chikanobu was again captured. He was put into custody in Takada, and did not return to Tokyo until 1871, where after some years he continued his artistic career.

Although Kiyochika and Chikanobu have both designed typical *kaika* prints like many other illustrators at that time, it will become clear that throughout their career they have also produced prints that do not fall neatly in this category, but instead sought to challenge the *bunmei kaika* narratives.

Networks of Likeminded Individuals?

It can be asserted that Kiyochika and Chikanobu's professional networks depended partly on the relationships they built through their loyalist past. Especially Kiyochika, who did not have any history of artistic education when he started his career in the 1870s, collaborated with or perhaps depended largely on his patron, publisher Matsuki Heikichi IV 松木平吉四代目 (1836-1891) (publishing house Daikokuya 大黒屋). Also known by his pen name Agari-e/Tōkō 東江,[43] he was the fourth to inherit the Daikokuya publishing house and the Matsuki Heikichi name. He

---

[40] *Ōuetsu* 奥羽越 refers to the Northern provinces of Mutsu 陸奥, Dewa 出羽, and Echigo 越後.

[41] There are records that refer to him as *Tōbu-tennō* 東武天皇 (Emperor 'Warrior of the East'), Keene, 2002, p. 154.

[42] Suzuki, 2009, p. 69.

[43] While Smith uses the Chinese reading Tōkō, I have encountered sources that refer to him with the Japanese reading Agari-e.

was a former retainer of the pro-Tokugawa domain of Fukui, and it is possible that he met Kiyochika because of their shared background as shogunal retainers. In fact, it is likely that a large part of their professional network as printmakers overlapped with their social network as former Tokugawa retainers who opposed the Meiji government. The following examples seem to confirm this.

After the Satsuma rebellion, Kiyochika was introduced by Matsuki Heikichi IV to former shogunal retainer Hara Taneaki 原胤昭 (1853-1942), who published prints by Kiyochika that celebrated the Freedom and People's Rights Movement (unsigned, fortunately for Kiyochika). Hara was ultimately jailed for some of these prints. It is likely that through Hara, Kiyochika met Toda Kindō 戸田欽堂 (1850-1890) who was known as an author of political novels. Formerly a high-ranking samurai from the historically pro-Tokugawa Ōgaki domain, he also wrote satirical pieces for *Marumaru chinbun* 團團珍聞.[44] *Marumaru chinbun* was a satirical political magazine founded in 1877 by Nomura Fumio 野村文夫 (1836-1891), which was also connected to the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. Kiyochika would spend most of his work in the 1880s on political cartoons and from 1882 he had full-time employment at Nomura's satirical newspaper. Interestingly, Hara and Toda were both baptised Christians, suggesting that ex-retainers with various ideologies and origins found common ground in their opposition against the Meiji government. However, as samurai all of these men had enjoyed education centered on Confucian values, and Christian beliefs did not necessarily result in the rejection of Confucianism or samurai values. Toda himself for example contributed to the *Kyōdō risshi motoi* series by providing the text about Yoshinobu.

Similarly, Chikanobu was also involved in satirical writings that represented a counter-narrative to the *bunmei kaika* discourse of the early Meiji period. He had provided illustrations for the *kibyōshi*-style satirical novel that set a positive Tokugawa history against negative Meiji rule, *Meiryō futabagusa* 明良双葉草 (Flowers of Wisdom and Goodness, 1883-1888) by Mantei Ōga 万亭応賀 (1819-1890) which will be discussed below. An earlier satirical work by Mantei, *Katsuron gakumon suzume* 活論学門雀 (A Vigorous Debate by the Sparrows of Learning, 1875),[45] 'debated' Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉 (1835-1901) and his teachings, mostly concerning Westernisation, state education and education of lower classes. It used typical *gesaku* narrative tropes to have

---

[44] Smith, 1988, p. 9. *Chinbun* is a pun on *shimbun* 新聞 (newspaper) and could be translated as 'strange news.'
[45] A pun on Fukuzawa Yukichi's acclaimed *Gakumon no susume* 学問のすすめ (An Encouragement of Learning, 1872-76).

Fukuzawa's 'Western sparrows' lose a debate against Mantei's 'Eastern sparrows'.[46] The illustrations were provided by Kawanabe Kyōsai 河鍋暁斎 (1831-1889), who was imprisoned and publicly beaten in the earliest years of the Meiji period for a satirical painting.[47] Kyōsai was also a good friend of Kiyochika and a possible influence on his work.

These examples suggest that the woodblock printing industry of the early Meiji period did provide a network and medium to express dissent and influence the public (or capitalise on shared sentiments) for a diverse group of people who had reasons to oppose the Satchō dominated Meiji state and its *bunmei kaika* narratives. Furthermore, the financial stability that these networks provided may have strengthened relationships within this community, as many of them faces economic hardships since the restoration. Since Edo times the woodblock printing networks have depended on symbiotic relationships between publishers, illustrators, writers, and so on. In the Meiji period new genres such as journalism (especially lowbrow) assimilated into these networks. Woodblock printing therefore seems to have been an attractive medium on a political, economic, and social level for marginalised communities in the early Meiji period. The next chapter, which discusses prints that attempted to counter the vilification of the Tokugawa legacy, will open with another series that demonstrates how woodblock print productions provided such networks.

---

[46] Steele, 2015, p. 250-258.
[47] Marks & Addiss, 2010, p. 156.

Positive perceptions of Tokugawa rule

Kyōdō risshi motoi 教導立志基 (Role Models of Self-Cultivated Success)

Kyōdō risshi motoi is a didactic historiographical series, published from 1886 to 1890 by Matsuki Heikichi IV. The series was made in collaboration with various designers, including Kiyochika and Chikanobu. Ranging from segments from ancient history to contemporary stories (in chronological order), the series depicts and describes various historical figures, who in the eyes of these printmakers were rolemodels of success through the Confucian ideal of self-cultivation, indicated by 立志 (*risshi/lizhi*). The concept of *risshi* in Neo-Confucianism generally refers to 'establishing one's will', an active determination that is key in the process of self-cultivation and prevention of moral decay. Of the 58 known prints, 18 subjects were designed by Kiyochika. Chikanobu contributed with two designs, although he is for unknown reasons not mentioned in the table of contents that was issued together with the prints. Among other contributors are Kiyochika's pupil Inoue Yasuji (Tankei) 井上安治 (探景) (1864-1889), Tsukioka Yoshitoshi, and Yoshitoshi's pupil Mizuno Toshikata 水野年方 (1866-1908). Besides designers, the collaboration also included writers and journalists such as Toda Kindō and Fukuchi Gen'ichirō. The great variety of contributors, high quality of prints, solemn designs of the portraits, informative text 'scrolls', and the decorative 'frames' indicate that the production was a prestigious project and might have been aimed at a smaller and specific audience for didactic purposes, perhaps even for use in private schools 塾 (*juku*).

The production behind the series and the topics it depicts contain several interesting layers that are related to eachother and worth discussing. 1) Among the producers are former samurai from the Eastern pro-Tokugawa domains that during the fought on the side of the shogunate, such as Kiyochika and Chikanobu. 2) The series tells a history that favours the Tokugawa and Eastern pro-Tokugawa domains by conflating 'success' with stories about Neo-Confucian samurai values that center mostly on (pro-)Tokugawa regions and retainers. 3) The series promoted Confucian morals as is implicated by the Neo-Confucian notion of *risshi*. 4) The production also involved collaborations with writers who were active in genres of the printing industry, including journalism and political novels, which demonstrates that this Tokugawa redemption project relied on a large professional and social network.

Any samurai who had received a general education would be familiar with the concept of *risshi*, which was much stressed in Neo-Confucian teachings. By the 1880s however, *risshi* had been infused with influences from unexpected origins: *Self Help* by Samuel Smiles (1812-1904).

Originally directed at the Victorian middle class, *Self-Help* . When Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 (1832-1891), head of one of the 'big three' schools of the Meiji period, translated and published it as *Saikoku risshi hen* 西国立志編 (litt. *Stories of Self-Cultivated Success in Western Countries*) in 1871, it became immensely popular. This popularity led to a genre of literature known as *risshi shōsetsu* 立志小説 (self-help novels),[48] which this series most likely capitalised on. By the late 1770s and early 1880s the idea of *risshi* became conflated with success stories. Nevertheless, I would argue that the influence of Samuel Smiles by no means turned *risshi* into a foreign concept. Nakamura used his own Neo-Confucian vocabulary to interpret the work by Smiles, and came to understand the message it conveys through the teachings with which he was familiar. Furthermore he altered the work to a degree, to put more emphasis on the morals he thought were important.[49] In this way, *Self-Help* assimilated into a (popular) Confucian tradition, rather than being introduced as a foreign concept. To the ten thousands of consumers of these *risshi* themed works the term would still have had its Neo-Confucian connotations of self-cultivation.

By the late 1880s, Confucian morality and institutions were by many perceived as being in a state of decline, perhaps embodied by the appointment of the openly Christian and anti-Confucian Mori Arinori 森有礼 (1847-1889) as Minister of Education. Mori, who was known for controversial proposals such as replacing Japanese with English as the national language, was sadly assassinated during the height of his career in 1889 by a zealot for ignoring protocol at an imperial Shinto shrine. It is noteworthy however, that the zealot's motives, which he documented and were made public after his execution, did not receive disapproval by the populace.[50] The dates of publication coincide with most of the duration of Mori's function. It is possible that the producers of the series attempted to fuel the desire of the public (and that of their own) to reverse the perceived decay of Confucian morality.

Although not all prints from the series can be discussed due the limited scope of this thesis, an analysis of a selection of prints may give an indication of how this series contains deep layers that reflect the 'small narratives' of their producers. Although the series was made by multiple designers in collaboration with publisher Matsuki Heikichi IV, this thesis will keep its focus on a selection of prints by Kiyochika and Chikanobu.[51]

---

[48] For more about these novels, see Van Compernolle, 2010.
[49] Ohta, 2003, p. 220.
[50] Morikawa, 1989, p. 39-65.
[51] Examples of interesting additions to this section that are unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis are two more prints by Kiyochika: one depicting Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543-1616), the founder of the

Opposition with Ink

Figure 1: Fukuchi Gen'ichirō reporting on the Satsuma Rebellion, by Kobayashi Kiyochika, 1885. From Lavenberg Collection: http://www.myjapanesehanga.com/home/articles/instructive-models-of-lofty-ambition

Tokugawa dynasty, and one depicting Hosokawa Yūsai 細川幽斎 (1534-1610), a lord who sided with Ieyasu in the 16th century.

The scroll text section, written by publisher Matsuki Heikichi IV (signed Agari-e/Tōkō), reads as follows:

> Fukuchi Gen'ichirō was born in Nagasaki in 1843.[52] An exceptionally bright child, he could recognize characters at age five and had begun to read and write at about age seven. He resolved to enter the service of the shogunate and, upon coming of age, entered the government, in the service of which he traveled three times to Europe. He then entered into a successful business career.
>
> In 1874 he became president of Nippōsha. He personally covered the Satsuma Rebellion in the south. Received by the emperor, he respectfully recounted his observations to the throne. His style seemed almost supernatural in its logic, force and lucidity. He is one of the truly great men of Meiji.
> (Translation by Julia Meech-Pekarik, 1986)

On a superficial level, the print appears to be a typical enlightenment work. Julia Meech-Pekarik describes the print accordingly:

> Whereas the Japanese hero of the early nineteenth century had been a dashing actor tattooed with dragons, cherry blossoms, or fierce tigers, it is fitting that the new role model was a dandy in natty Western attire, an intellectual fluent in English, a bureaucrat with a history of government service, and the influential chief editor of the country's first major newspaper, the *Tokyo nichi nichi shimbun*.[53]

However, as has become clear in the earlier chapter on Tokugawa loyalists, Fukuchi was also known for his opposition against the Meiji government in the early days of the restoration, and his continued investment in creating a positive image of his former lords. In the early years he also rejected multiple calls to work for the new government and retreated to Shizuoka instead, like Kiyochika. Henry Smith suggests that Fukuchi, publisher Heikichi, and Kiyochika were acquainted.[54] It is possible that they have met during their refuge in Shizuoka. The connection is likely since Fukuchi himself has also contributed to this Tokugawa favoured series: he provided the texts for at least two prints, one by Kiyochika that depicts Minamoto no Yoshiie 源義家, a paragon of samurai values who was active in the 11th century, and a print by Kiyochika's pupil Inoue Yasuji 井上安治 (1864-1889) of Hotoke Gozen 仏御前, a consort of the Heike family in the 12th century. Fukuchi provided these texts under the same pseudonym he used during his days of retreat in Asakusa, Yume no Ya Shujin (see figures 2.1 and 2.2).[55] Considering his financial problems at the time, his participation in the projects suggests that apart from redeeming the Tokugawa legacy there was also some literal *self-help* involved.

[52] The birth date, Tempō 14 (1843), appears to be incorrect and should be Tempō 12 (1841).

[53] Meech-Pekarik, 1986, p. 122.

[54] Smith, 1984, p. 74-75.

[55] In the print of Minamoto no Yoshiie, the pseudonym is written with the kanji 屋 for "*ya*," whereas in the print with Hotoke Gozen it is written with 家. This is probably due to the prints being published in different years by different designers and perhaps by different wood carvers.

In the print Fukuchi is depicted reporting the Satsuma rebellion led by Saigō Takamori. The image is thick with symbolism. On the ground next to Fukuchi's feet lies a sword, perhaps suggesting that Fukuchi threw it down when an armed struggle like the one in the background seemed hopeless, and took up the pen to continue his fight. It is similar to the reaction others had as well after the defeat of the Satsuma rebels. For example, shortly after the rebellion the Freedom and People's Rights Movement was formed, mostly by writers and educators. Kiyochika himself had also started his career with the brush six years after the restoration. Depicted in the background is the struggle of the disgruntled Satsuma retainers that fought to preserve their traditional values and customs and lost. They make their last stand atop a mountain, almost similar to an ink painting scenery. They are about to be defeated by the people who now had the right to bear arms rather than the former feudal rulers, the new army of imperial subjects.

A thorough analysis shows that this particular print consists of many contextual layers, and therefore makes a good case why some 'enlightenment' prints deserve a careful reading. Another multi-layered print in this series that has strong symbolism is that of the only other contemporary Kiyochika depicted, Tokugawa Yoshinobu.
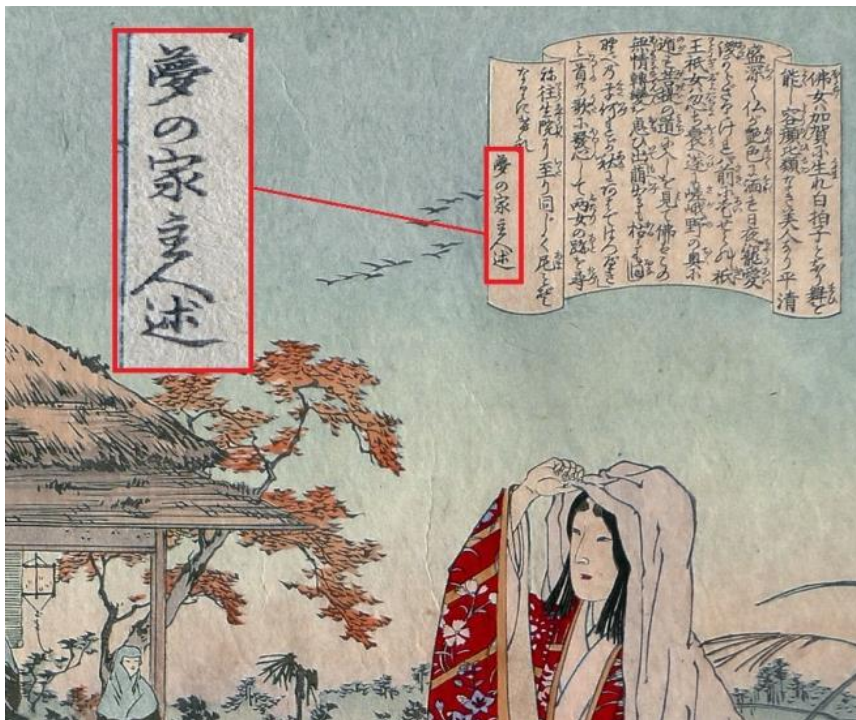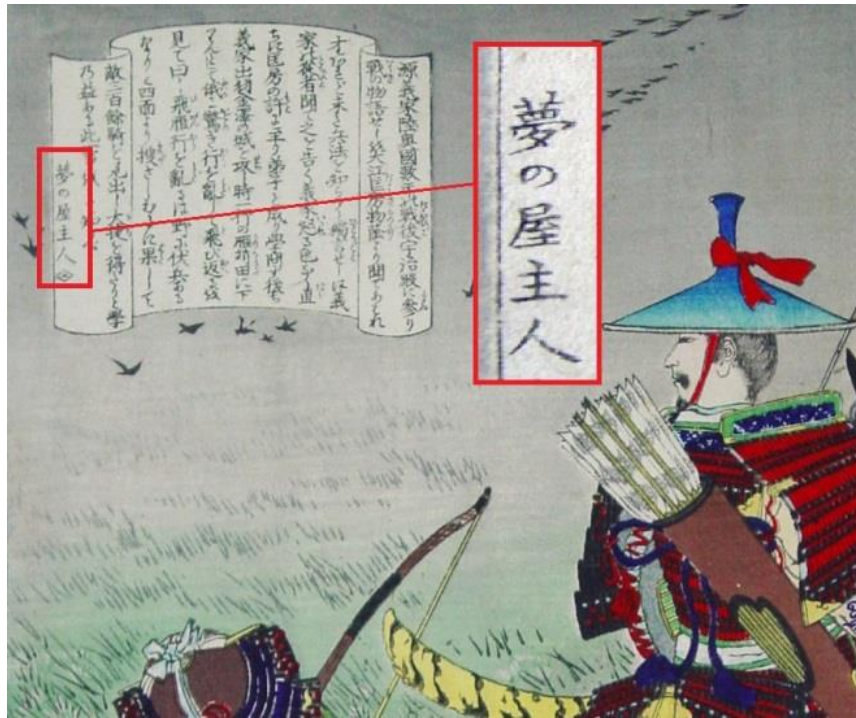
Figures 2.1 & 2.2: (above) Minamoto no Yoshiie by Kobayashi Kiyochika, 1886 and (below) Hotoke Gozen by Inoue Yasuji, 1885. The scroll texts are signed with Fukuchi's pseudonym, Yume no Ya Shujin. From Lavenberg Collection: http://www.myjapanesehanga.com/home/articles/instructive-models-of-lofty-ambition

Shogun in Reclusion

Figure 3: Tokugawa Yoshinobu, by Kobayashi Kiyochika, 1886. From Lavenberg Collection:
http://www.myjapanesehanga.com/home/articles/instructive-models-of-lofty-ambition

The scroll text was written by Toda Kindō. As is discussed above, he was known for his political novels and also wrote for the *Marumaru chinbun*, the satirical political magazine where Kiyochika worked as an illustrator. It reads as follows:

> Lord Tokugawa Yoshinobu, being of generous and benevolent character, was visionary when he showed great merit in supporting the national policy of the Meiji restoration. Although the lord is second to none, now his merit is overlooked as if he had none and he is criticised by the public. Without placing value on the gossip, his poem was recorded into a compilation:

Kuni no tame	*I retreat myself*
Min no tame tote	*For the sake of the country*
Shibashi mi wo	*And its populace*
Shinobu ga [?][56]	*And don the priest's black garments*
Sumizome no sode	(Translation by Jim Dwinger)

This print is a clear example of former samurai's efforts to redeem Yoshinobu's name in history. It clearly addresses the criticism Yoshinobu received in the Meiji period, and seeks to counter it by arguing that it was Yoshinobu that 'allowed' the restoration to take place. Furthermore it emphasises his prestige as a literati poet. The poem compilation that the scroll text refers to seems to be *Genkon eimei hyakushu* 現今英名百首 (1881), a poetry compilation that emulated the famous *Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首, which had become quite popular by the late Edo period (figure 4).[57] Perhaps Yoshinobu was admired for his reclusion from public life by former Tokugawa retainers in the same manner as contemporary scholar recluse Yaguchi Kensai, who is discussed above. The orchid behind Yoshinobu might allude to the literati tradition in which orchids symbolise the scholar that rejects dynastic change by seeking reclusion.[58]

A more obvious symbolism is the collection of Western objects on the left: a clock, a gaslight, and leather-bound books.[59] Yoshinobu faces away from these objects and rather directs his gaze towards the 'traditional' symbols on the right: the orchid, the cherry blossom silhouette, and the *yamato-e* style painting of a classical tale.[60] Perhaps Yoshinobu's stance emphasises the idea of the 'recluse who rejects the dynastic change.' The dynastic change here would not be the imperial rule, which according to Toda's text Yoshinobu himself had restored, but rather the usurpation by the Satchō domains as it was perceived by many Tokugawa loyalists.

---

[56] The kanji in the text scroll is unfortunately unclear and could not be transcribed.
[57] For more on these Meiji period compilations, see Mostow, 2018.
[58] Fraleigh, 2014, p. 107-108.
[59] Unfortunately I have been unable to decipher the calligraphy that hangs on the wall.
[60] *Yamato-e* 大和絵 painting genre with 'nativist' themes.

徳川慶喜公

君うため
民の為
とく

志むしく氷跋
忍び志らり
雲漂池袖

Figure 4: Tokugawa Yoshinobu and his poem in *Genkon eimei hyakushu*, ed. by Shintei Ōta, Illus. by Sensai (Kobayashi) Eitaku, 1881. From University of British Columbia Open Collections, https://open.library.ubc.ca/collections/hundred/items/1.0055330#p103z-4r0f:

Women Warriors

Figure 5.1: Lady Hangaku being inspected in the palace of Minamoto no Yoriie, by Yōshū Chikanobu, 1886. From Lavenberg Collection: http://www.myjapanesehanga.com/home/articles/instructive-models-of-lofty-ambition.

This print by Chikanobu depicts Hangaku Gozen 坂額御前 (late 12th – early 13th century, also known as Itagaki Gozen), a female warrior that acquired fame through her military prowess. The text, by unknown author,[61] explains the scene in the print:

> Lady Hangaku was the aunt of Jō Sukemori and was a large and sturdy heroine. She fought long and hard with all her might in Sukemori's army in Echigo but was eventually captured and brought to Kamakura. There [Minamoto no] Yoriie summoned her to inspect her valour and strength for himself. Hangaku was placed in front of a bamboo screen, and was met with awe and dumbfounded astonishment. Asari Yoshitō begged that, because she was a woman, she should not be executed, but rather sent into exile, and be made his wife.
>
> (Translation by Jim Dwinger)

Without any context, the print merely tells the story of a bulky woman from 12th century Echigo who evaded capital punishment because of her virtue as a warrior. She is shown as a captive, bound by a rope which is held by the man inspecting her, presumably Asari Yoshitō. In the elevated part in the background sits shogun Yoriie, and to the left are officials from several clans (see for example the triangle shaped emblem of the Hōjō clan). However, a reader with clear memory of the Boshin War, especially a former *shōgitai* member like Chikanobu himself, may be reminded of a more recent story about warrior women: the *naginata[62]* wielding female warriors of Aizu. As is pointed out in the chapter on woodblock printing culture, *mitate*, or creating a multi-layered narrative by fusing old and new stories together, was a much used device. A schooled designer such as Chikanobu was most likely very familiar with its methods.

In Aizu samurai women received rigorous training in the martial arts and its philosophies, and were particularly trained in using the *naginata*. When the Southwestern forces marched towards Aizu Castle in early October 1868, a group of some 20 to 30 Aizu samurai women had formed an irregular ad hoc army unit, the 'Women's Army' (*jōshigun* 娘子軍), and were prepared to die to defend the castle.[63] Like Hangaku, they were female warriors from a northern domain, and became noted for the valour and military prowess they showed in the defense of their castle.[64] The Battle of Aizu was one of the last battles of the Boshin War and perhaps the most

---

[61] The text is signed with 宗雪逸史, *Sōsetsu Isshi*. Searches for this name have not been able to bring forth any results so far. However, the contents of the scroll text seem to be derived from *Azuma kagami* 東鑑 (Mirror of the East), a text written in the late 13th century that chronicles the early stages of the Kamakura shogunate (1185-1333). See Sassano-Higgings, 2008, p. 33-37.

[62] A *naginata* is a type of polearm that has been a symbolic for female warriors throughout history.

[63] It must be noted that the name '*jōshigun*' did not appear until after the Boshin War.

[64] For more on these female warriors and the Battle of Aizu, see Wright, 2001.

decisive one for the imperial army in their conquest of the northern domains. The castle surrendered only after the defeat of the Northern Alliance.[65]

That Chikanobu's print probably alludes to the Aizu warriors is not just because of the similarities in their stories. The Tokugawa owned Aizu Castle had been an important strategic location in the north and was also known as Crane Castle (*Tsuruga-jō* 鶴ヶ城). Hangaku, famous for her role in defending her castle in Echigo, is in this print depicted wearing a kimono covered in conspicuous white cranes. The use of kimono patterns to allude to a different story and thus creating a multi-layered narrative is a typical *mitate* trope. Considering he did not often use such conspicuous patterns for his kimono, which usually had flowery themes (see figure 5.2), it is likely that Chikanobu consciously chose the crane pattern to allude to the female warriors of Crane Castle. Furthermore, for Chikanobu this print hit particularly close to home. Much like Hangaku, he was a warrior from Echigo who fought against whom he thought were usurpers, and was captured and spared after being struck in the leg by a projectile.[66] This may be an indication that in this series the designers had some influence on the choice of topics.

This was not the first time Chikanobu's prints showed sympathy towards oppositional struggles by female warriors. Kyoko Kurita notes that in the late 1870s several prints by Chikanobu were published that in which he "let women carry the burden of his lingering anti-Government sentiment." In these (likely fictionalised) prints he aestheticised the Satsuma women that fought against the imperial government in the Satsuma rebellion.[67] In the *Kyōdō risshi motoi* series, which was published about a decade later, a similar Satsuma rebellion print was made by Kiyochika's pupil Inoue Yasuji, one that praises Kirino Toshiaki's wife Akiko (although not shown as a valiant warrior as in Chikanobu's rebellion prints, figure 5.3). The rather late celebrations of 'rebels', as embodied by the women in the prints by Chikanobu and Inoue Yasuji, might suggest that sympathies towards armed opposition were still lingering in the later 1880s.

---

[65] Leader of the Northern Alliance, Prince Rinnō-ji-no miya (or rival emperor Tōbu), surrendered on October 18 and was given a pardon. Wright, 2001, p. 414.

[66] Hangaku was captured after an arrow pierced her leg. Although the scroll text does not mention this, it is plausible that Chikanobu was familiar with the details of the story.

[67] Kyoko Kurita in Coats, 2006, p. 147.

Figure 5.2: Several different kimonos designed by Chikanobu with mostly flower patterns.
(left & middle left) *Yuki, tsuki, hana* 雪月花 (*Snow, Moon, Flowers*) 1884-1886
(middle right) *Azuma nishiki chūya kurabe* 東錦昼夜競 (*Edo Brocades/Eastern Pictures: Comparisons of Day & Night*), ca. 1886. From Lavenberg Collection: http://www.myjapanesehanga.com/home/artists/hashimoto-chikanobu-1838-1912.
(right) *Fujin saihō no zu* 婦人裁縫之図 (*Women Sewing*) (triptych), 1885. From Fuji Arts: https://www.fujiarts.com/cgi-bin/item.pl?item=788175.

Figure 5.3: Kirino Toshiaki's concubine Akiko, by Inoue Tankei (Yasuji), 1886. From Lavenberg Collection: http://www.myjapanesehanga.com/home/articles/instructive-models-of-lofty-ambition.

Onko: azuma no hana 温故 東の花 (*Learning from the Past: Flowers of Edo*)[68]

Edo Japan and its feudal customs came to symbolise everything that was *not* modern or civilised in the Grand Narrative of the Meiji quest for modernity. They were 'backward' or even 'evil' traditions that should be left behind in 'the past' as the Japanese nation moved forward. Already in the Charter Oath of 1868 in which the new imperial government outlined its aspirations for the future, it was stated that "evil customs of the past" would be abolished, as if hundreds of years of traditions would be discontinued in one fell swoop. Influential *bunmei kaika* thinkers like Fukuzawa Yukichi particularly denounced the social aspects of the feudal era, such as the hereditary status system.[69]

In response counter-narratives were created by those who held positive sentiments towards the feudal past and perhaps felt attacked by the *bunmei kaika* discourse, particularly former Tokugawa retainers. In these counter-narratives they often made use of the very same rhetoric found in the discourse they fought against, and by doing so, created a new positive history of Tokugawa rule. For example, in 1889 (the same year as some of the publications of *Flowers of Edo)* a group of former shogunal officials formed the historical revisionist Edo Association (*Edokai* 江戸会) and argued that "the three hundred years of Tokugawa rule saw the greatest progress and development that Japanese civilisation had ever known."[70]

It seems that *Flowers of Edo*, Chikanobu's series of triptychs published by Egawa Hachizaemon 江川八左衛門 (?-?)[71] from 1888 until 1890, capitalised on this sentiment and sought to contribute to the positive Tokugawa discourse. The series invites the viewer to look into the feudal 'past' and learn from its practices. The character combination used to indicate 'the past,' *onko* 温故, likely alludes to the teachings of Confucius in the *Analects*:

---

[68] *Azuma* 東 (East) was commonly used to indicate Edo and the surrounding regions. In some sources and online databases the title is translated as *Flowers of Edo in the Past*, but in the print 温故 and 東の花 are separated and in differently sized fonts and it would be better to translate them accordingly.

[69] Fukuzawa described the system as his father's "mortal enemy," Gluck, 1998, p. 265.

[70] Ibid., p. 267.

[71] There is not much further info available on this publisher. Since Egawa Hachizaemon is also the name of a woodblock engraver from the Edo period, it is possible that this publisher was an engraving student and perhaps had also carved the blocks for these prints. Interestingly, I have found only one other print with his name, also by Chikanobu, which seems to be a typical *kaika-e* and depicts a European musical ensemble.

溫故而知新　　可以為師矣
If a man keeps cherishing his old knowledge, so as continually to be acquiring new,
he may be a teacher of others.　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Translation by James Legge)[72]

In the following discussion of several of these prints, it will be argued that the choice of topics and symbolisms in the prints seem to reflect the views of the *Edokai* members mentioned above, that the period under Tokugawa rule was a time of progress and development (and therefore, modern).[73]

Civil Lawsuit

Figure 6: *Dai shichi hen: shōgunke ni oite Fukiage kuji jōchō no zu* 第七編 将軍家於吹上而公事上聴之図 (*Number Seven: The Shogun Hears a Civil Lawsuit at Fukiage*), by Yōshū Chikanobu, 1889-90. From ukiyo-e.org.

This triptych in the series, *Number Seven: The Shogun Hears a Civil Lawsuit at Fukiage* (figure 6),[74] was published at the time of one of the most important developments of the Meiji period: the promulgation (1889) and implementation (1890) of the Meiji Constitution. The events revolving around the implementation of the constitution were widely celebrated throughout the year by much of the populace and celebrations tended to emphasise national unity, with the *Hinomaru* flag well represented (at least as the numerous prints depicting the events would have us believe so). For the Japanese nation the Meiji Constitution, based on Prussian model, meant a new prestigious development in its quest for 'civilisation,' a fully fledged law system.

---

[72] Taken from https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=1128#s10019952.
[73] Interestingly, as our understanding of 'modernity' has changed the last decades, today's scholars might agree with these views (to a degree).
[74] As '*Number Seven*' indicates, the series consists of at least seven triptychs. However, I have not yet encountered a complete set.

Depicted in the triptych is the hearing of a civil lawsuit by the Tokugawa shogun himself. Fukiage was an area within the shogun's castle in Edo and one of the keeps can be seen in the background. The lawsuit seems to involve two courtisans and several retainers. Striking are the roosters in the kimono pattern of the left courtisan. They seem strangely real and glare intensely at eachother, as if they are about to 'pop' out of the pattern and erupt into a fight. Perhaps this suggests that what we see is some sort of dispute between two families or a marital dispute? While a translation of the text in the middle would surely tell us more,[75] of particular interest is Chikanobu's choice of topic.

In a time when national attention was pointed towards the development of the new legal system, Chikanobu presented his viewers with an example of *civil law* under Tokugawa rule. Although in practice the people rule tried to avoid lawsuits with direct shogunate involvement, mostly out of fear, that detail would probably have eagerly been overlooked by advocates of a positive Tokugawa history in Meiji times. By showing a 'modern' system in an 'traditional' setting, Chikanobu projected the ideas of 'progress' and 'development' of the Meiji period into the Edo of the 'past.'

A Reimagined Tokugawa *Japan*

Figure 7.1: *Dai gohen: shōgunke ni oite koganehara o-shishigari no zu* 将軍家於小金原御猪狩之図 (*Number 5: The Shogun Hunting Boar at Koganehara*), by Yōshū Chikanobu, 1889. From https://www.matsudo417.com/matsuyomi/?p=1986.

This is a seemingly 'normal' triptych, depicting the shogun and his entourage out hunting boar in Koganehara (figure 7.1). Yet what is striking is Chikanobu's reimagining of the Tokugawa

---

[75] The quality of the image is unfortunately too low to allow a translation of the text in the middle sheet.

clan emblem (*mon* 紋) as the *Hinomaru* flag. By this time, the flag had become a national symbol as is for example shown in the prints of the celebrations of the Promulgation of the Constitution (figure 7.2). The flag as a symbol for the Japanese nation was however a fairly new concept. In pre-Meiji times most flags were usually charged with *mon* which signified domainal clan membership. The *Hinomaru* had as a symbol existed for centuries, but only in the 1850s it had become a marine flag to distinguish Japanese traders from foreigners, and it was not until the Meiji period that it was propagated as the *national* flag like in the triptych below.[76] What Chikanobu did then, was adopting the Meiji invention of the *Hinomaru* and reimagining it in Edo times. By merging the new national symbol with the official emblem of the Tokugawa shogunate, Chikanobu's print sought to create a history where *national* unity was achieved under Tokugawa rule. This triptych shows another instance where Chikanobu projected the 'modernity' of Meiji into the 'past' of Edo.

Figure 7.2: *Kenpō happushiki Sakurada no kei* 憲法發布式櫻田之景 (*View of the Sakurada Gate at the Ceremony of the Promulgation of the Constitution*), by Utagawa Kokunimasa, 1889. From Boston Museum of Fine Arts: https://collections.mfa.org/objects/270902.

---

[76] The official designation of the *Hinomaru* as Japan's national symbol did actually not occur until as late as 1999.

Meiryō futabagusa 明良双葉草 (*Flowers of Wisdom and Goodness*)

Figure 8: *Meiryō futabagusa* 明良双葉草, (*Flowers of Wisdom and Goodness*), by Mantei Ōga, illus. by Yōshū Chikanobu (and Toyohara Kunichika), 1883-1888. From Waseda archives: http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko11/bunko11_a0623/index.html.

Meiryō futabagusa was a series of *kibyōshi*-style satire works written by Mantei Ōga and published in eight volumes from 1883 to 1888 by Takekawa Seikichi 武川清吉 (active 1870s-1890s under publishing house Sawamuraya 沢村屋). The illustrations in *Meiryō futabagusa* were provided by Chikanobu and his former fellow student Kunichika. Mantei, who was born a merchant but attained samurai status through the wealth of his family, was already in the Edo period an active *gesaku* writer. In the 1870s he had criticised Fukuzawa's teachings, and now again he challenged the *bunmei kaika* narratives. This opposition was already expressed in its material form: Ōga rejected the Western-style book binding that by then had become popular and wanted the series to be published with 'traditional' bindings. The booklets positively describe the early history of Tokugawa shogunate. Simultaneously, they "invited comparison with the first twenty years of the Meiji regime."[77] In doing so, the series provided a critique on Meiji rule.

---

[77] Steele, 2015, p. 246-247, n. 7.

What is remarkable is how early into the Meiji period these positive views of the Edo period were expressed. Most scholars, including Gluck, place the beginning of a general nostalgia for the Edo period in historiography in the 1890s-1900s.[78] However, these satirical novels, as well as the *Kyōdō risshi motoi* series, precede these trends by at least a decade. This indicates that the producers of these works already invested in positive narratives well before Edo became 'in vogue' again. Such early examples of positive Tokugawa histories should then not be treated as mere nostalgia. Of course, nostalgia was involved, but a celebration of Tokugawa times has a very different meaning to someone who had actually served the shogunate, fought to preserve it, and experienced the changes of the Meiji restoration, than it had to someone who was born after 1868 and had never known Tokugawa rule. These works from the 1880s should rather be read then and as an active opposition against the narratives that vilified their legacy. That there was a market for such works might be apparent from the following anecdote of the reconciliation efforts that accompanied the promulgation of the constitution in 1889 and greatly restored Tokugawa relations:

> On 26 August 1889 (1st day 8th month in the lunar calendar), there took place at the Ueno shrine dedicated to the spirit of the Tokugawa founder, Ieyasu (Ueno Tōshōgū 上野東照宮), celebrations to mark the foundation of the Tokugawa bakufu. The celebrant was none other than Matsudaira Katamori 松平容保, incumbent priest of the Tōshōgū and the former head of the Aizu 会津 domain, the greatest of the court's foes in the Boshin war. The crowds shouted "Tōkyō banzai" 東京万歳, as the last shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu 徳川慶喜, did a circuit of venue in the company of Tokyo governor, Takazaka Goroku 高崎五六 and Enomoto, who was host of the event. There were lanterns and flags displayed throughout Ueno. Massive flags stood crossed on the approaches to the three great Ueno bridges, Mansebashi 万世橋, 日本橋, and Kyōbashi 京橋. An arch was erected in Shinobazu no baba 不忍馬場. The entire area fizzed with the mood of celebration.[79]

It is clear that the Tokugawa loyalist clique was still very much alive in the late 1880s, and in desperate need of redemption.

Meiryō futabagusa did not just create a positive history of Tokugawa rule, but it ventured into the dangerous territory of contrasting it with a negative Meiji as well. Of course the Meiji state was not much more tolerant towards criticism than its Tokugawa predecessors, and blatant criticism in popular media is not easily found. However, as is asserted earlier, such dissent can also be expressed in subtle ways. Above, the narrative devices typical of satirical 'frivolous works' by Mantei Ōga provided the space for criticism. The next section will show that such negative perceptions can also be found in Kiyochika's landscapes, whether they were conscious attacks or a subconscious framing of his negative image of the Meiji reality.

---

[78] Gluck, 1998, p. 266-267.

[79] Kokaze, 2011, p. 134. Note that the Tokyo governor Takazaka Goroku was from the Satsuma domain.

Negative perceptions of Meiji rule

Tōkyō meisho 東京名所 (*Famous Places of Tokyo*)

When Kiyochika returned to Edo in 1874, by then renamed as Tokyo, the city he had known since childhood was already rapidly changing. After the new era was ushered in, Tokyo became a bountiful site for new investments, both domestic and foreign. The cityscape, once defined by the castle, pagodas and other religious structures, and Mt. Fuji, became one of newly erected fire resistant brick buildings in 'European style' that towered over the traditional wooden houses. Gaslights and telegraph lines were aligned along the streets and became symbolic for the *bunmei kaika* era. These were themes that returned frequently in Kiyochika's landscape prints. However, unlike many of his contemporaries, he did not seem to celebrate these 'civilisation and enlightenment' themes in typical light-hearted *ukiyo-e* style. Rather, many of his depictions express mixed feelings of gloom, melancholy, and at times a mix of fear and fascination. If art historian Timon Screech is right by saying that in the Edo period "the most fundamental point of a picture, whether giving, receiving or displaying one, was to impart an aura of 'felicity' (*saisaku ga yoshi* [幸先が良し])," [80] then surely this point was lost in Kiyochika's early Meiji landscapes.

As was pointed out earlier, such expressions were not necessarily a conscious critique on the state of affairs (although in some prints it does seem likely). Whether the gloom in his prints was a conscious choice or not, his landscapes and the commercial demand for them nevertheless represented to an extent the *Zeitgeist*, or rather *one of the Zeitgeists* of the Meiji era. Literary critic Maeda Ai suggests that the dark colours in Kiyochika's landscapes of Tokyo actually represent an "old" Edo, a city of water and darkness, a city that was gradually replaced in both the material and spiritual sense by Tokyo, a city of light and land (consolidation). At first he notes that it might be "reckless" to read a psychology of (former) *bakufu* loyalism in the subtleties of Kiyochika's landscapes, meaning that scholars might project their knowledge of Kiyochika's history of loyalism onto his artwork. However, he proceeds to make an interesting case that the gloom and anxiety in his work was an attempt to carve a "sharp fissure into the landscape of civilisation and enlightenment" (and therefore into the Meiji Grand Narrative). [81] For now, let's be reckless as well.

---

[80] Screech, 2012, p. 35.
[81] Maeda, 2004, p. 65-72. The argument that it is reckless to read Kiyochika's own psyche into his landscapes is cited from art historian Sakai Tadayasu, p. 67.

The gloomy atmosphere is especially apparent in his series *Tōkyō meisho* 東京名所 (*Famous Places of Tokyo*),[82] which was published at first by Matsuki Heikichi IV and later by Fukuda Kumajirō, and ran from 1876 until 1881 during the height of the enlightenment craze. Likely inspired by Hiroshige's landscape series, these woodblock prints show various places in Tokyo with dark themes, and make masterful use of shadow and light for which they came to be called *kōsen-ga* 光線画 (light-ray pictures). About a quarter of the series consists of nightscapes. It must be noted that Kiyochika's lack of *ukiyo-e* felicity might be partly in correlation with his lack of a formal teacher. Furthermore, his works have obvious Western Romanticist influences. Ironically, such Western influences in his prints would undoubtedly also have attracted buyers who wanted to celebrate the 'Westernisation' process. It is thought he received some training under painter and cartoonist Charles Wirgman (1832-1891), founder of satirical cartoon journal *Japan Punch* (1862-1887).[83]

However, a comparison of Wirgman's romanticist painting style and Kiyochika's woodblock prints shows that the sentiment conveyed in their works differ significantly. Perhaps seen through the lens of a British entrepreneur who fell in love with a new 'exotic' location where the sky seemed to be the limit, Wirgman's paintings of Japan tend to convey a feeling of ease with its romantic depictions of rustic life (figure 9.1).

Figure 9.1: Wada-Toge, Japan, by Charles Wirgman, 1876. From Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Charles_Wirgman_Village_street_in_Wada-Toge_1876.jpg.

---

[82] The series was discontinued after the 96th print in 1881. See https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/kiyochika_tokyo/ki_essay03.html for a fantastic interactive map with prints of this series.

[83] That he received direct training under Wirgman is not confirmed however, and it seems that Kiyochika was primarily self-taught. Smith, 1988, p. 7-8.

Another important influence, whom Smith calls in many aspects Kiyochika's "single greatest inspiration," was Hiroshige.[84] It is likely that Kiyochika was since childhood already familiar with prints by Hiroshige, who was still active back then. Especially his famous last series, *Meisho edo hyakkei* 名所江戸百景 (*100 Famous Views of Edo*) seems to have been a major influence.[85] Hiroshige's landscapes are known for their light-hearted romantic atmosphere with scenes of often smiling people depicted in clear colour schemes, and tend to emphasise 'the joys of travel'. Even the darker night scenes maintain this lively style (figures 9.2-3).

Figures 9.2-3: Two nightscapes from *100 Famous Views of Edo*, by Hiroshige, 1857. From British Museum: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx.

---

[84] Smith, 1988, p. 38.

[85] This series by Hiroshige (finished after his death in 1858 by his student Hiroshige II) enjoyed such popularity that it even inspired European artists such as Vincent van Gogh.

In contrast with the influences mentioned above, in Kiyochika's Japan, with its dark and grey motifs, shady figures who have lost their colours and faces, and ambiguous themes, there is at times melancholy, emptiness, and even anxiety to be found. Such contrasts are even more striking when his prints are juxtaposed to the *kaika* prints made by his competitors that celebrated the 'modernisation' project. It seems that in an era of 'enlightenment' Kiyochika preferred to emphasise the darkness. James T. Ulak notes in MIT's Visualising Cultures Project that even the daylight prints emit the same eerie melancholy that seems to lack "*joi de vivre.*"[86] To show how Kiyochika's perception of post-restoration Japan deviated from the Grand Narrative of the Meiji state, a selection of his landscapes will be discussed in the next sections.

Somber Moods

Already in 1872 Japan's first railroad line was completed and connected the heart of Tokyo with the foreigner district in the port of Yokohama to the south. Of course inaugurated by the young emperor himself, the train network enabled people (who could afford it) to travel between Tokyo and Yokohama in under an hour, a journey that usually took a whole day by foot. The populace's curiosity was piqued as soon as the prestigious railroad project was announced. Of course the woodblock industry was quick to take notice. Already before the railroad track had been completed, several prints were published that showed cheerful fantasies of what it may look like (figures 10.1- 10.3). The designers likely used models from Western books to fuel their fantasies.[87] But also after its completion *kaika* prints continued to be published that celebrated the railroad track, for example in a print by Utagawa Kuniteru III 歌川国輝三代目 (active 1886-1896) from his series which, like Kiyochika's, depicted famous places in Tokyo (figure 10.3).

---
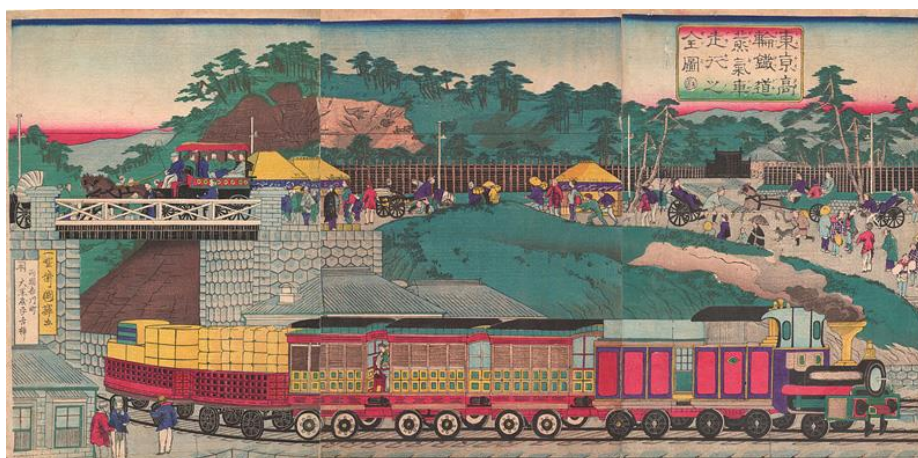
[86] https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/kiyochika_tokyo/ki_essay01.html.
[87] Meech-Pekarik, 1984, p. 85-87.
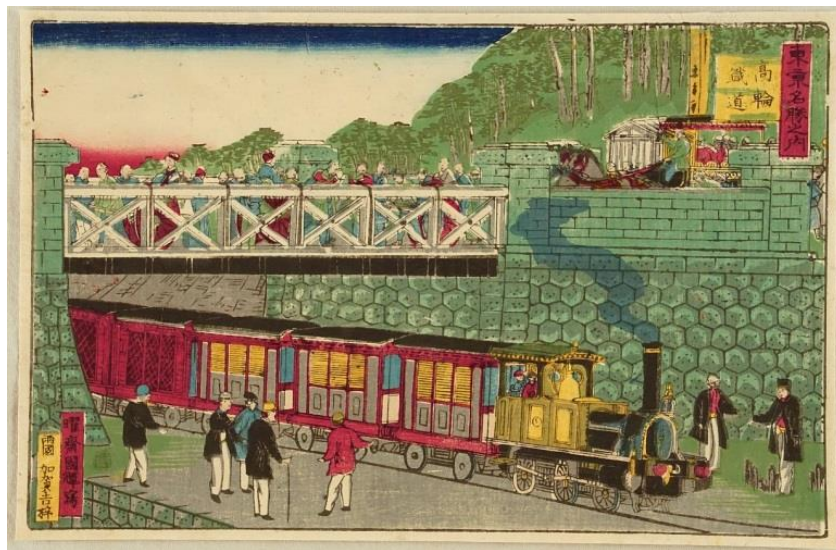
Figures 10.1 - 11.3: Cheerful depictions of the new railroad track. (above) By Kuniteru II, 1870, (middle) by Yoshitoshi, 1871, and (below) by Kuniteru III, late 1870s. From Lavenberg Collection: http://www.myjapanesehanga.com/home/artists/utagawa-yoshitora-fl-c-1836-1882/steam-train-at-takanawa-seashore-tokyo and Artelino: https://www.artelino.com/show/japanese_single_print.asp?mbk=71070.

Kiyochika's print of the railroad track from his *Tōkyō meisho* series tells a whole other story (figure 10.4). Titled *Takanawa ushimachi oborozuki kei* 高輪牛町朧月景 (*View of Takanawa Ushimachi Under a Shrouded Moon*), it likely alludes to a print from Hiroshige *100 Famous Views of Edo* series (figure 10.5). The print by Hiroshige shows a view of the sea (and two dogs with a traveler's lost sandal) near the outskirts of the city. The viewer peaks through the wheel of an ox cart, hinting at the name Ushimachi (Ox Town, the popular name for Shiba Kuruma-chō), where travelers would leave their oxen after a long journey. But where his inspiration, Hiroshige, conveyed humorous frivolity, and his competitors, Yoshitoshi and Kunitera (II & III), celebrated with glamourous gaudiness, Kiyochika gives us a rather dreary Tokyo scenery. One might be tempted to think that Kiyochika pursued a more Western inspired realism, but viewers of *nishiki-e*

must be reminded that such works are in many cases the designers' own fabrications of reality. Here too, 19th century 'photo shopping' had taken place: the locomotive in the print was an American model that was not used on the Tokyo-Yokohama track, which was of British design.[88] This suggests that Kiyochika, who was a frequent sketcher, did not sketch this design on the spot, but deliberately planned it in his studio. Under a somber evening sky the steam engine seems menacing and unsettling. Strange red smoke escapes from the exhaust, and the passengers seem more like shady apparitions than actual people. As will be shown below, the use of shadowy figures was a recurring theme in Kiyochika's prints.

Figure 10.4: *View of Takanawa Ushimachi under a Shrouded Moon*, Kobayashi Kiyochika, 1879. From MIT Visualizing Cultures: https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/kiyochika_tokyo/ki_essay01.html.
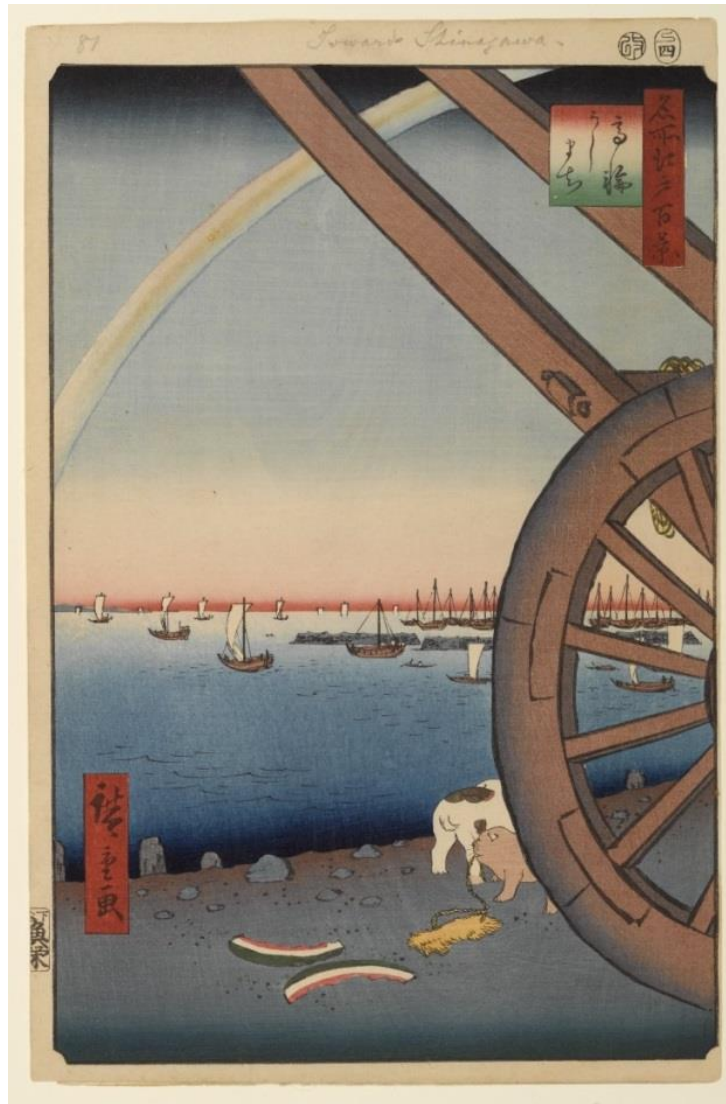
---

[88] Smith, 1988, p. 46.

Figure 10.5: *Ushimachi Takanawa*, by Hiroshige, 1857. From Brooklyn Museum: https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/121695.
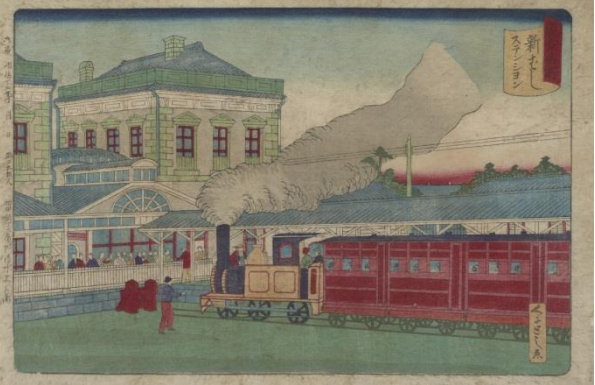
Not just the trains were numerously captured in *bunmei kaika* prints, the first railway station of Tokyo, Shimbashi Station (or *Shimbashi Sutenshon* 新橋ステンション as it was called in the prints), was also a much celebrated location in the enlightenment prints of Meiji Tokyo. Again there is great contrast between Kiyochika's rendition (figure 11.1) and those by his competitors (figures 11.2-5). In most prints the station was depicted again in cheerful styles with bright green bricks, red window frames and crowds of colourful people. Kiyochika's Shimbashi Station however, is almost indiscernible from the rainy black night sky. The perspective gives the viewer the impression that they are there themselves, gazing at the structure and the silhouettes in front of it. Due to its similarity to a contemporary photo, Henry Smith notes that Kiyochika

probably used the photo as a model to which he added the shady characters and turned the picture into a nightscape.[89] Again Kiyochika deliberately darkened the mood.

_____

[89] Smith, 1988, p. 45.

Figures 11.2 -11.5: Various early Meiji period prints of Shimbashi Station, (upper left) Utagawa Kunitera II, early 1870s, (upper right) Utagawa Kunitoshi, 1880, (lower left) Utagawa Hiroshige III, 1883, (lower right) Hasegawa Chikuyō, 1877. All images from Freer Sackler Gallery: https://www.freersackler.si.edu.

From within the Shimbashi building radiates a warm orange-yellow glow, which is reflected on the wet ground and illuminates the arched deck at the front. But it is apparently not bright enough to lighten up the crowd outside. The people of Edo/Tokyo, and perhaps the viewer too, are again reduced to shady figures. In fact, the perspective Kiyochika chose in many of the nightscapes in this series is one of an outsider, standing in the dark among the other shadowy people of the city and gazing at the light, both natural and artificial. It seems that Kiyochika was fascinated and moved by the light, and the warmth and coziness it provides. But in many of his prints the viewer and the shady figures of Tokyo are not able to enjoy the bright warmth of the interior, but rather forced to look at it from often wet, cold, and lonesome spaces outside (figure 12.1). Only in one print of the 93 publications in the series the situation is reversed and the viewer is placed inside, near the comfort of a gaslight and a lady with a shamisen, probably inside a brothel (see the last panel in figure 12.2). It is possible that the shadowy townsfolk and the distance between de viewer and the warmth of the lights come from Kiyochika's own impoverishment as a former b*akufu* retainer and a kind of alienation he felt when he returned from his exile to his radically changing birthplace.

Figure 12.1: Gloomy night scenes with faceless shadows, contrasted by warm specks of light. From the series *Tōkyō meisho* 東京名所 (*Famous Places of Tokyo*) by Kobayashi Kiyochika, 1876-1881. From MIT Visualising Cultures: https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/kiyochika_tokyo/ki_essay02.html.

Figure 12.2: More gloomy scenes with faceless shadows, contrasted by warm specks of light. The last panel sticks out because of its reversed situation. From the series *Tōkyō meisho* 東京名所 (*Famous Places of Tokyo*) by Kobayashi Kiyochika, 1876-1881. From MIT Visualising Cultures: https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/kiyochika_tokyo/ki_essay02.html.

Fiery Destruction of Old Edo

The last prints Kiyochika made for the *Tōkyō meisho* series depicted something quite opposite of the quiet melancholic night themes: the destructive nature of fire. In 1881 the Great Ryōgoku Fire,[90] which consumed over 10.000 buildings, had destroyed much of Kiyochika's own neighbourhood, including his house and the studio which was located nearby. Soon after *Famous Places of Tokyo* was discontinued. Some have suggested that the fire in combination with family problems caused Kiyochika to become depressed and disinterested in art. Another explanation is that de market lost interest in his experimental style. According to Smith the main reason the series was stopped is that Kiyochika actually became more invested in his work, as he continued to produce quite an amount of prints well after the fire, but wanted to focus on his career as a political cartoonist, which would reflect Kiyochika's active interest in challenging the Meiji state. Smith makes a good case, however, in doing so he states that there is "no reason to believe the fire itself was traumatic, since Kiyochika continued to live at the same address for at least half a year after, presumably rebuilt by his landlord."[91] While it may not have diminished his ambitions as an artist and fires were certainly no foreign concept to the inhabitants of Edo/Tokyo, I would not hastily dismiss the loss of one's possessions, home, and entire neighbourhood, possibly including the deaths of some neighbours, as a non-traumatic event. More likely is that the fire, as it was experienced by Kiyochika and others like him, was yet another setback in a chain of traumatic events, defined by the impoverishment and displacement to which they led.

As with the displacement followed by the dynastic change, in the Tokyo fires there was also a degree of the Meiji government's involvement. Anxiety might not have been caused only by the fires that raged through Tokyo in the early Meiji period, but also by the projects of urban planning one could expect afterwards. To the Tokyo government the fires served as good opportunities to bring Japan a step closer towards 'civilisation and enlightenment'. The fiery destruction of whole districts quite literally made room for 'Westernisation' of the city, improvement of commercial infrastructure, and the creation fire-resistant city blocks. The results were widely captured in *kaika-e*. However, the officials that were responsible for Tokyo's urban planning did not necessarily have the best interests of the lower classes in mind as the projects mostly benefited the wealthy elite and their economic pursuits. Already in 1872, shortly after the Ginza fire, local inhabitants were informed in the name of the Emperor that their neighbourhood would be replaced by a new commercial district, with wider streets and larger, more expensive brick houses, all for the good of the nation. The financial burdens were mostly laid on the

---

[90] Also called Kanda Fire, named after where the blaze first started.
[91] Smith, 1988, p. 8.

townsfolk. After the 1881 fire similar edicts were issued.[92] An examination of Kiyochika's depictions of the Tokyo fires (figures 13.1-3) will show that they serve as another example of his expressed dissent towards the Meiji project.

Although he was said to have sketched the fires (and neglected his family by doing so), his surviving sketchbooks indicate that the fires and the people trying to stop them were added only later to landscapes that he had already sketched earlier.[93] In his depictions of the blaze, Kiyochika makes masterful use of the colours available to him to demonstrate its intensity (figures 14.1-2). The sky is filled with the immense fires and in the view of the fire from Hama-chō you can see people evacuating with their possessions and what seems to be firefighters of the local district brigade[94] watching the fire in awe. Although the prints were 'edited', they make for powerful accounts of the 1881 fire.

But the most powerful image of the disaster is captured in Kiyochika's print of its aftermath (figure 13.3). Based on an actual sketch, the print gives us a haunting impression of the devastation caused by the Tokyo fires, one that may remind the modern reader of the post-war images of cities in Europe and Japan. All that remains in the still smouldering neighbourhood are the red bricked telegraph building, three traditional storehouses, and some curiously intact gaslights. In the foreground we see two burnt posts that marked the entrance of Ryōgoku police office. Now they frame the three traditional warehouses and vainly try to block the view of the much larger red brick house, as if Kiyochika tried to point the attention to the fact that traditional Edo buildings too can survive the fires. But especially chilling are the ghastly figures roaming the devastated area. In the images of the fire the people who tried to stop the destruction of the old district without success were still depicted with clear colours and contours. Now, in its aftermath, the people of Edo are represented by seem more like shadowy apparitions than actual people, who are roaming the barren area perhaps in search of any surviving possessions. It would seem that Kiyochika's last prints in the series try to tell us that, with the destruction of the old city and its imminent replacement by the *bunmei kaika* structures and artificial lights, its inhabitants are left in the dark.

---

[92] Phillips, 1996, p. 107-108, 113-114, 129-131. Hasegawa, 2001, p. 12839. (The conspiracy theorist in me would suggest that some fires may have been started by ambitious government officials).
[93] He did make one sketch, but it was not published in print. Smith, 1988, p. 50.
[94] This is implied by their thick blue suits and the brigade emblems on their backs.

Figures 13.1-2: (Above) *Ryōgoku taika asakusabashi* 両国大火浅草橋 (*The Great Ryōgoku Fire at Asakusa Bridge*), (below) *Hamachō yori utsushi ryōgoku taika* 浜町より写両国大火 (*Great Ryōgoku Fire Drawn from Hamachō*), both by Kobayashi Kiyochika, 1881. From MIT Visualizing Cultures: https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/kiyochika_tokyo/ki_essay01.html.
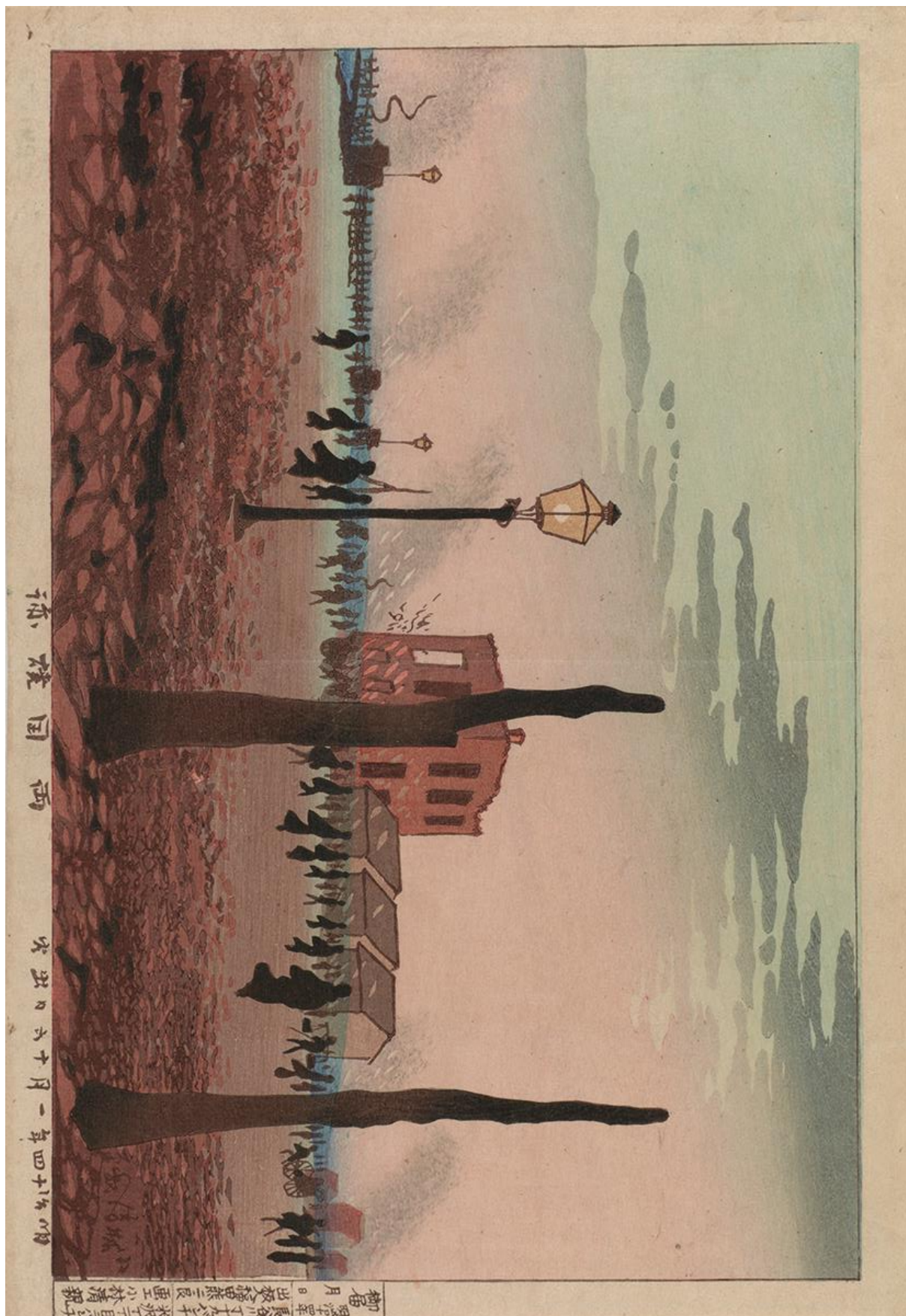
Figure 13.3: *Ryōgoku yake-ato* 両国焼け跡 (Ruins of Ryōgoku After the Fire), by Kobayashi Kiyochika, 1881. From MIT Visualizing Cultures: https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/kiyochika_tokyo/ki_essay01.html.

Musashi hyakkei no uchi 武蔵百景之内 (*100 Views of Musashi*)[95]

In the mid-1880s, when Kiyochika was a prolific producer of satirical cartoons, he also made another landscape series, this time more directly alluding to Hiroshige's *100 Famous Views of Edo* in both name and themes. Published by Kobayashi Tetsujirō 小林鉄次郎 (1848-1893?),[96] the style in *100 Views of Musashi* is more in convention with the traditional *ukiyo-e* style, not just as a nod to Hiroshige, but probably also due to pressure from the publisher, as 'tradition' became increasingly sought after on the market.[97] However some of Kiyochika's former 'realist' style has been retained in the prints, as seen in for example the vague contours or detailed shading in some motifs. What in some prints also seems to be lingering, is the negative perception on the state of affairs. James King notes that the series contains a "particularly conscious attempt on Kiyochika's part to demonstrate how the city had been subjected to Westernisation."[98] Kiyochika signed the prints with a newly assumed name, Shinsei 真生. The first character, 'truth,' may express Kiyochika's concern towards depicting the 'reality.'[99] It seems then, that the reality Kiyochika wanted to present to his viewers was not the same reality that was propagated by the Meiji state. The following examples will demonstrate how.

Tea versus Gunpowder

When Hiroshige's *Meguro jiji ga chaya* 目黒爺々が茶屋 (*Old Man's Teahouse at Meguro*) is compared to Kiyochika's *Meguro i(w)en hiu zō* 目ぐろいゑんひうぞう (*Arsenal at Meguro*) (figures 14.1-2), there again seems to be some negativity directed towards the *bunmei kaika* narrative. At first glance, the two prints seem strikingly similar, indicating that Kiyochika had seen and consciously alluded to Hiroshige's design. That to some degree he retained some of his former style is evident from the more detailed sky and grasses. In both prints, a man in blue clothes is standing on top of the hill to the left gazing at the shape of Mt. Fuji. In Hiroshige's print he is an old man with a bent back, but in Kiyochika's print he is younger and seems to be holding something. Perhaps it is Kiyochika himself with his sketching materials? On the opposite side Hiroshige's old tea house and tree have been replaced by the arsenal. The vague colours of the traditional buildings seem dominated by the hard reddish brick colour of the weapon factory, which towers over them with its chimney. But most strikingly, the smoke that is emitted from the

---

[95] Musashi is the pre-restoration name for the region surrounding Tokyo.
[96] For some basic information on this publisher, see Marks & Addiss, 2010, p. 198.
[97] Smith, 1988, p. 68.
[98] King, 2010, p. 123-126.
[99] Smith, 1988, p. 13.

chimney (perhaps a wordplay with *Meguro* 目黒, or black eyes/vision) partly obscures the view of Mt. Fuji, which had been a symbolically powerful and venerated mountain for centuries. In this way the composition draws the viewer's attention towards the factory's chimney, rather than the sacred volcano. It appears that Kiyochika tried to express to his viewers that their traditions and beliefs were being pushed aside by the 'Westernisation' trends.

Figures 14.1 & 14.2: (Left)目黒爺々が茶屋 (*Old Man's Teahouse at Meguro*), Utagawa Hiroshige, 1857. From Van Gogh Museum https://www.vangoghmuseum.nl/en/japanese-prints/collection/n0083V1962?v=1.
(Right) *Meguro i(w)en hiu zō* 目ぐろいゑんひうぞう (*Arsenal at Meguro*), Kobayashi Kiyochika, 1884. From Lavenberg Collection: http://www.myjapanesehanga.com/home/artists/kiyochika-kobayashi-1847-1915-/meguro-arsenal-from-the-series-one-hundred-views-of-musashi.

Perished Cherry Blossoms

Another print in this series that deserves attention is *Koganei sakura* 小金井さくら (*Cherry Blossom in Koganei*). Koganei had been a popular place for the age-old Japanese tradition of *hanami* 花見 (cherry blossom viewing), ever since Yoshino cherries had been planted there on shogunal orders in the 18th century. The visit by the emperor himself in 1883, a year prior to the publication of this print, had further increased the popularity of the spot. Cherished for both its

beauty and short-lived blossom, cherry blossom represents in Japanese iconography the delight (and relief) one feels when spring finally comes after winter, but also the Buddhist notion of transience, that all things are impermanent in the constantly renewing cycle of existence. In the context of *ukiyo-e*, cherry blossom's impermanence became an important symbol for the fleeting moments of joy one could experience in the infamous pleasure districts, most notably Yoshiwara.

Whether it is delight, transience, or both, none of these are truly captured in Kiyochika's print (figure 15.1). The *sakura* that he decided to bring to our attention, by having it take up half of the composition and blocking the view of the beautiful blossom in the back, is a completely destroyed trunk. This is a highly unusual depiction of the otherwise eagerly depicted tree. The bridge between the destroyed trunk and the area abundant with blossoms and people appears to connect the two scenes. The "bridging" of 'new' and 'old' scenes to provide comments on the 'modernisation' project was a much used trope in his earlier landscapes.[100] As opposed to the people appreciating the view in the background, Kiyochika has put the viewer on the side of a tree that will never blossom again. Similar to his fire prints, the destroyed tree in this image may signify the destruction of 'old Edo'.

Kiyochika has designed one other print in 1884 that depicts a completely destroyed trunk, in a historically themed triptych published by Matsuki Heikichi IV of Taira Tadanori 平忠盛 (1096-1153), a general in the Gempei War (1180-1185) (figure 15.2). One may have served as a model for the other. It is also possible that he had seen and drawn the tree on site. A photo presumably taken in the 1890s shows a similarly destroyed trunk (figure 15.3). Possible models or other inspirations notwithstanding, ultimately Kiyochika chose the destroyed tree out of the hundreds of others to be the main motif in his composition. It seems that, under the name Shinsei, the reality of the early Meiji period Kiyochika wanted to present to his viewers was not one of blossoming flowers, but rather one of perished trees.

---

[100] Smith, 1988, p. 22-23.

Figure 15.1: *Koganei sakura* 小金井さくら (*Sakura in Koganei*), by Kobayashi Kiyochika, 1884. From Edo-Tokyo Museum Online Database: http://digitalmuseum.rekibun.or.jp/edohaku/app/collection/detail?id=0106200453&y1=1868&y2=1888.

Figure 15.2: triptych of Taira Tadanori, by Kobayashi Kiyochika, 1884. From JAODB: http://www.jaodb.com/db/ItemDetail.asp?item=42373.

Figure 15.3: Koganei, by unknown photographer, 1890s. From Old Photos of Japan: https://www.oldphotosjapan.com/photos/822/koganei.

Conclusion

As the saying goes, history is written by the victor. When the Tokugawa and their allies were dethroned by the Southwestern forces, their dynastic legacy quickly became the "invented other" which the new government and its *bunmei kaika* proponents rejected in their aspirations to reach 'civilisation' and become a major world power. In this Grand Narrative of a unified imperial Meiji Japan that abandoned the "evil customs of the past" and eagerly embraced new (European) ones, all that was deemed obsolete was conflated into 'Tokugawa Edo' and set against a modern 'Meiji Tokyo.' However, although the 'losers' had been defeated, they had not disappeared. On the contrary, a number of them had access to a medium that had since Edo times been one of the most powerful means one could use to influence popular discourse: the woodblock print. And, while some of their works are among the many prints that celebrated Meiji 'modernity,' it is not surprising their oeuvre includes prints that were equally dedicated to subverting the *bunmei kaika* narrative.

Interestingly, the discursive tools they used to either counter the vilification of their legacy, or criticise the new one, were in many cases the very ones that had been used against them. Already in 1867, by accusing the new government of creating "a second *bakufu*," Fukuchi Gen'ichirō attacked the Meiji government with the same rhetoric that had earlier caused the downfall of the Tokugawa. Some 20 years later, Matsuki Heikichi IV used his Tokugawa loyalist connections and his position in the printing industry network to collaborate with Kiyochika, Chikanobu, Fukuchi, and other interested parties in order to counter the vilification of the Tokugawa legacy and promote Confucian ideals, by capitalising on the latest trend of *self-help* novels. In 1888-1890 Chikanobu's triptychs sought to educate its viewer with "the past" by giving examples of 'modernity' in 'old Edo.' This way he adopted the *bunmei kaika* ideology and made it its own, much like the members of the *Edokai* who in 1889 asserted that 'civilisation' had seen its peak during Tokugawa rule. Kiyochika used his landscapes to shed a different light on the 'Old Edo-New Tokyo' dichotomy. Rather than celebrating the new, in his landscapes the old was mourned. Chikanobu and Mantei Ōga used the same rhetoric in their series of satirical novels that set the early stages of the Tokugawa dynasty against the first two decades that had passed since the Meiji restoration. Some of these works might be called merely reflections of conservative or even reactionary sentiments made by a stubborn bunch from bygone times. But they must not be too hastily dismissed as such. While some prints may contain more 'conservative' elements than others, we must not forget that for example the *Kyōdō risshi motoi*

series involved several figures who were affiliated with the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement, which opposed the *hambatsu* politics, and called for political reform and constitutional rights. It would appear that in this case their opposition against the Meiji government was expressed with an attempt to redeem the Tokugawa legacy, fueled by their personal history as shogunal retainers. Perhaps we must reconsider labels such as 'conservatism' when they are set against ideologies that claim a monopoly on the concept of 'progress' and dismiss any opposition as 'backwards.'

This thesis has focused mainly on prints by Kiyochika and Chikanobu from the early Meiji period. These were the decades during which Meiji rule was still fragile and Tokugawa scars were not yet healed. The Meiji Constitution of 1890 and the reconciliation efforts that accompanied it did much to increase the government's authority, strengthen national unity, and redeem the Tokugawa legacy. Interestingly, works by Kiyochika and Chikanobu from the later Meiji period do seem to express less dissent than their earlier ones. For example, when Kiyochika's early work ironically became more popular in the 1900s and 1910s, publishers approached him to recreate his former style, but according to his daughter he was not very interested. When he eventually did accept a commission, his work expressed a mood that was "more relaxed, more satisfied."[101] Perhaps besides the national developments of 1890 and personal artistic maturity another factor was that the second half of the Meiji period began with a wave of deaths in their social and professional network of old friends and colleagues, remnants from Edo times with whom Kiyochika and Chikanobu had created so many of these dissenting prints. Kiyochika's student Inoue Yasuji and his friend Kawanabe Kyōsai both passed away in 1889, *Marumaru chinbun* colleagues Toda Kindō and Nomura Fumio in 1890 and 1891 respectively, Chikanobu's collaborator Mantei Ōga in 1890, Yoshitoshi was admitted in a psychiatric hospital in 1891 and died the next year, and Matsuki Heikichi IV, Kiyochika's patron and the publisher behind the prestigious *Kyōdō risshi motoi* series, passed away in 1891. Meiji Japan moved onwards in its ambitious quest to become a powerful nation-state and created new enemies to vilify by setting its sights on warfare with neighbouring nations. New commercial opportunities arose as nationalistic war prints and Edo nostalgia became increasingly in demand, old patrons and colleagues were replaced by new generations, and Kiyochika and Chikanobu' moved onwards as well.

---

[101] Smith, 1988, p. 116-117.

Transcriptions & translations

Tokugawa Yoshinobu
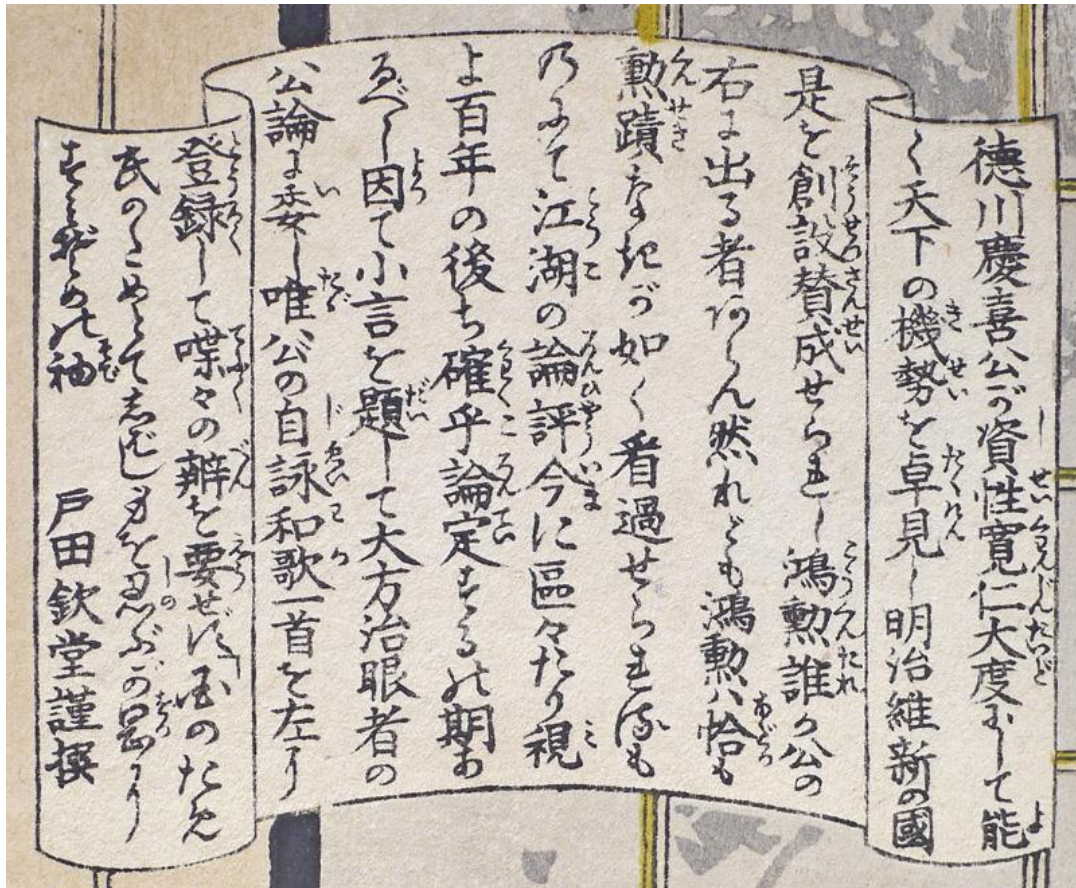
徳川慶喜公が資性寛仁大度にして能く天下の機勢を卓見し明治維新の國是を創設賛
成せられし鴻勲誰か公の右に出る者あらん然れども鴻勲ハ恰も勲蹟なきが如く看過
せられるも乃にて江湖の論評今に區々たり視よ百年の後ち確乎論定するの期あるべ
し因て小言を題して大方治眼者の公論に委し唯公の自詠和歌一首を左に登録して
喋々の辯を要せず「国のため民のためとてしばし身を忍ぶが [？なり] すみぞめの袖

戸田欽堂

Lord Tokugawa Yoshinobu, being of generous and benevolent character, was visionary when he
showed great merit in supporting the national policy of the Meiji restoration. Although the lord is
second to *none*, now his merit is overlooked as if he had none and he is criticised by the public.
Without placing value on the gossip, his poem was recorded into a compilation:

Kuni no tame	*I retreat myself*
Tami no tame tote	*For the sake of the country*
Shibashi mi wo	*And its populace*
Shinobu ga [X]	*And don the priest's black garments*
Sumizome no sode	Toda Kindō
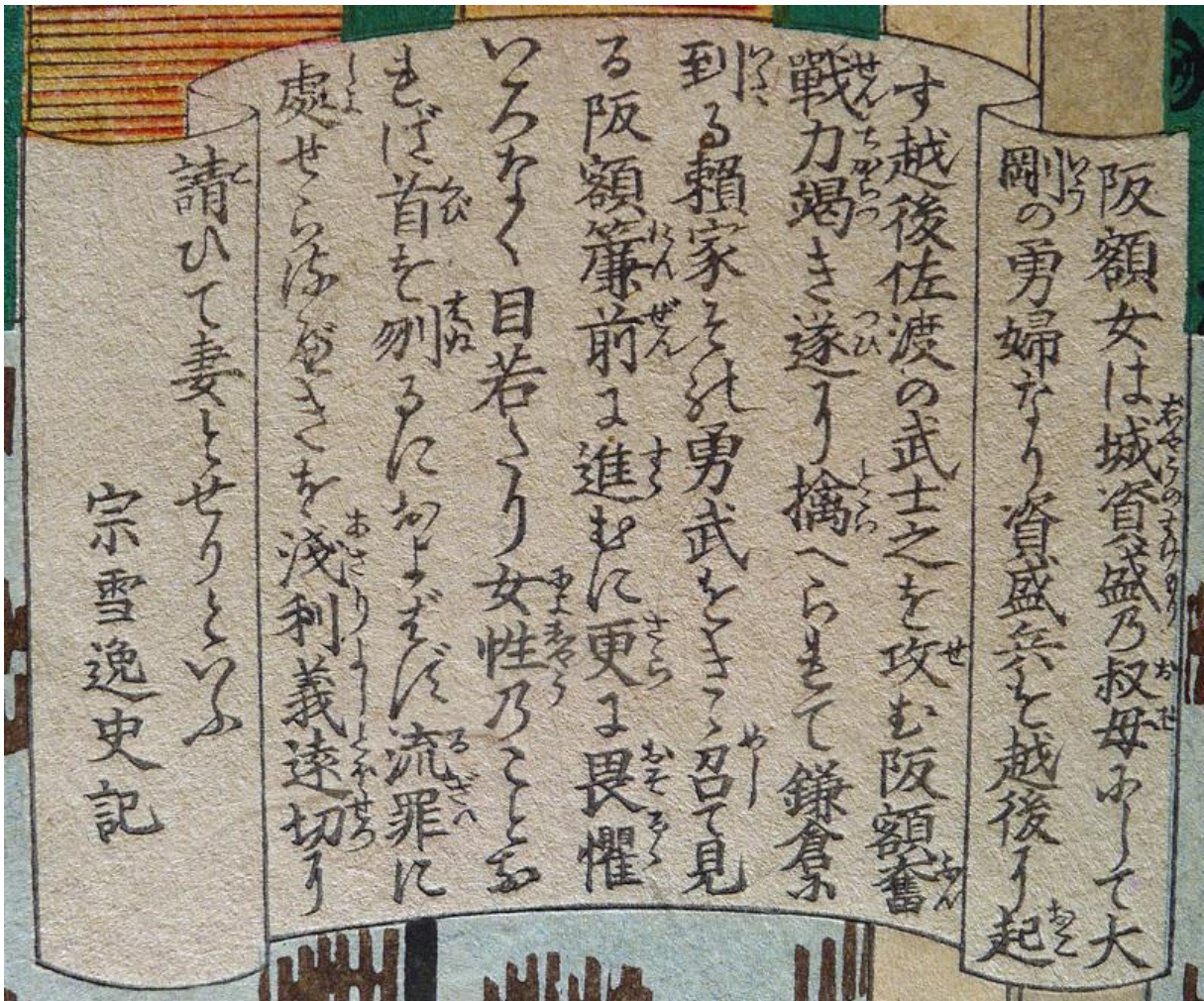
教導立志基 十六 阪額女　揚州周延　1886 年 5 月 13 日

"阪額女は城資盛の伯母にして大剛の勇婦なり 資盛兵を越後に起す 越後佐渡の武士之を攻む 阪額奮戦力竭（ちからつ）き遂に擒（とら）へられて鎌倉に到る 頼家その勇武をきゝ召て見る 阪額簾前に進むに更に畏懼（おそるゝ）いろなく目若たり（= 瞠若?）　女性のことなれば首を刎るにおよばず流罪(exile)に處せらるべきを浅利義遠切に乞ひて妻とせりといふ　宗雪逸史 記"

Lady Hangaku was the aunt of Jō Sukemori and was a large and sturdy heroine. She fought long and hard with all her might in Sukemori's army in Echigo but was eventually captured and brought to Kamakura. There [Minamoto no] Yoriie summoned her to inspect her valour and strength for himself. Hangaku was placed in front of a bamboo screen, and was met with awe and dumbfounded astonishment by Asari Yoshitō, and he begged that, because she was a woman, she should not be executed, but rather sent into exile, and be made his wife.

宗雪逸史 (Unidentified)

Texts by Fukuchi Gen'ichirō (under the pseudonym Yume no Ya Shujin)

Minamoto Yoshiie

源義家陸奥國數年の戰後宇治殿（宇治殿＝藤原頼通）に参り戰の物語せしを大江匡房物蔭より聞てあはれ才あれど未だ兵法を知らず と獨言せしに義家の従者聞て之を告ぐ 義家怒る色なく直ちに匡房の許に至り弟子と成り學門す後ち義家出羽金澤の城を攻し時一行の雁苅田に下りんとして俄に驚き行を亂して(乱して)飛び返るを見て曰く 飛雁行を亂るは野に伏兵あるなり と四面より捜さしむるに果して敵三百餘騎を見出し大捷を得たりと 學乃益ある此一事をもて知るべし　夢の屋主人

The text tells the story of how Yoshiie had been educated in Ōe no Masafusa's Art of War. The knowledge he gained helped him earn a great victory. Because of a flock of geese that suddenly took flight, Yoshiie knew his enemies were hiding in the grass and was able to surround them. Fukuchi notes that this is a great example of the profits one gains through studying (or self-cultivation).

By Yume no Ya Shujin

Hotoke Gozen
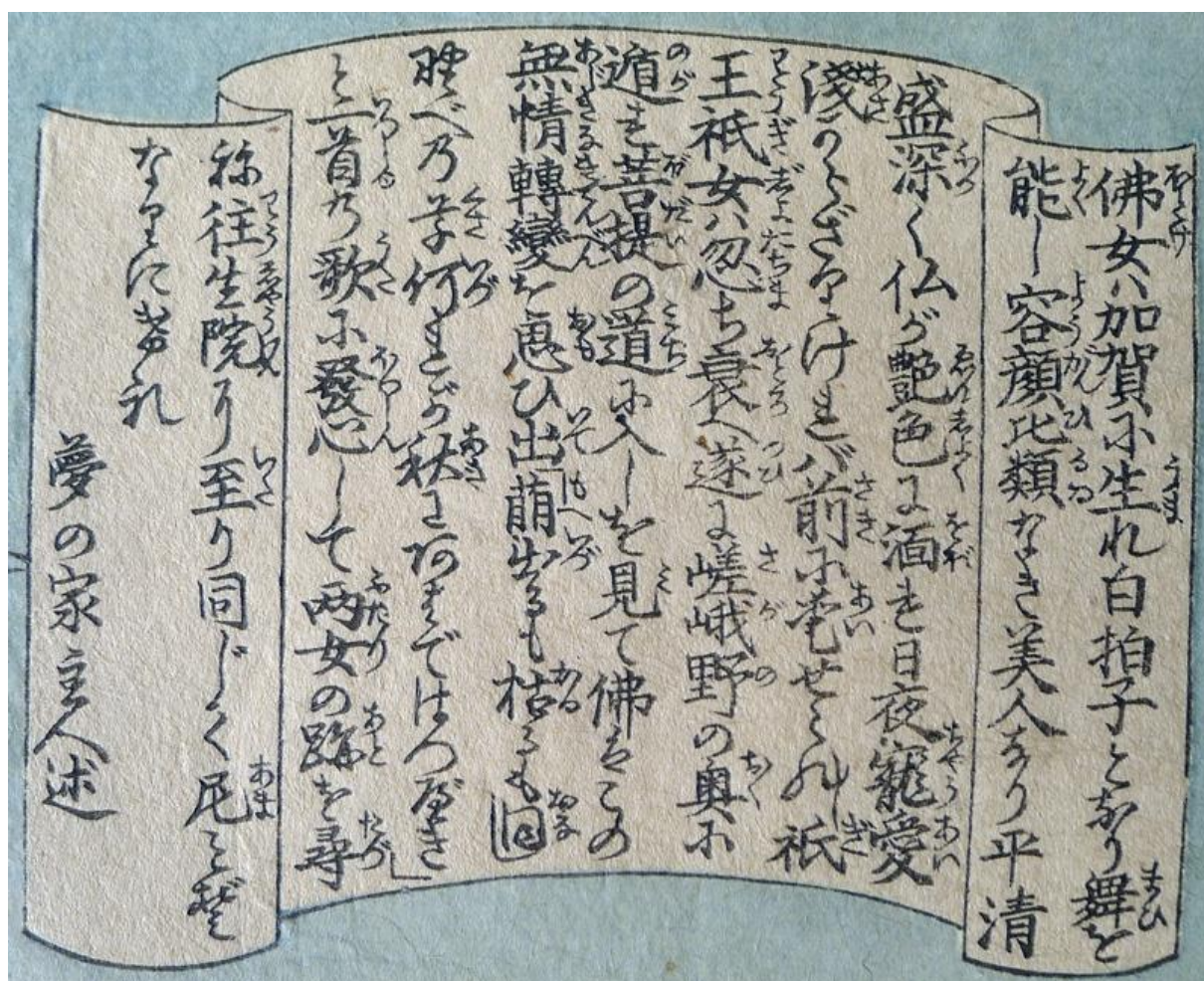
仏女ハ加賀に生れ白拍子となり舞を能し容顔比類なき美人なり。平清盛、深く仏が艶色に溺れ日夜寵愛浅からざりけれバ前にあいせられし祇王祇女ハ忽ち衰へ遂に嵯峨野の奥に遁れ菩提の道に入しを見て仏はこの無情転変を思ひ出「萌出るも枯るも同じのべの草何れか秋にあはで果つべき」と一首の歌に発心して両女の跡を尋ね往生院に至り同じく尼にぞなりにけれ
夢の家主人**述**

Born in Kaga, she became a *shirabyōshi* and was a great dancer. She was a *bijin* with unparalleled beauty. Taira Kiyomori became immersed by her appearance and had deep affection for her. The dancer Giō whom he loved before [Hotoke] became neglected and withered away. Eventually Giō ventured deep into [the forest of] Sagano where she became a nun. Upon seeing this Hotoke thought [Kiyomori's] actions were cruel. [Giō] produced the renowned poem:

Moeizuru mo	*Whether it's sprouting*
Karuru mo onaji	*Or nearing brittle dryness*
Nobe no kusa	*It's all the same grass*
Izure ka aki ni	*Inevitably it shall*
Awade hatsu beki	*Endure the rot of autumn*

Later both women would live as nuns in Giō-ji temple (往生院 ＝ 祇王寺).

By Yume no Ya Shujin

Bibliography

Callaghan

Sean Callaghan, *A Disagreement of Being, A Critique of Life and Vitality in the Meiji Era*, 2012, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses

Coats

Bruce A. Coats, *Chikanobu: Modernity and Nostalgia in Japanese Prints*, Leiden: Scripps College; Hotei, 2006

Van Compernolle

Van Compernolle, Timothy J. "A Utopia of Self-Help: Imagining Rural Japan in the Meiji-Era Novels of Ambition." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2010, Vol. 70.1, p. 61-103.

Clunas

Craig Clunas, "The Work of Art in the Age of Woodblock Reproduction," in *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China,* Princeton University Press, 1997, p. 134-148

Forrer

Matthi Forrer, *Hiroshige*, Munich: Prestel, 2017

Fraleigh

Matthew Fraleigh, "Vassal of a Deposed Regime: Archetypes of Reclusion in the Poetry of Former Shogunal Official Yaguchi Kensai,"*East Asian History*, 2014, Vol. 38, p. 97-124

Fukuzawa

Fukuzawa Yukichi, David Dilworth, Nishikawa Shunsaku, *An Encouragement of Learning*, Columbia University Press, 2013

Gluck

Carol Gluck, "The Invention of Edo," in Stephen Vlastos, *Mirror of Modernity : Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, *Twentieth-century Japan*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, p. 262-284

Hall

John Whitney Hall, and Marius Berthus Jansen, *The Cambridge History of Japan. Vol. 5: The Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, 1989

Hasegawa

J. Hasegawa, "Reconstruction/Disaster Planning: Japan," in *International Encyclopedia of Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2001, p. 12839-2841.

Hirayama

Hirayama Mikiko, "The Emperor's New Clothes: Japanese Visuality and Imperial Portrait Photography," *History of Photography*, 2009, vol. 33.2, p. 165-184

Huffman

James L. Huffman, *Politics of the Meiji Press: The Life of Fukuchi Gen'ichiro*, Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980

Ihara

Ihara Rieko, 庵原理絵子, "Jūsō suru <edo> to <meiji> Yoshitoshi no sashi-e wo chūshin ni" 重層する<江戸>と<明治> 芳年の挿絵を中心に, *Ukiyo-e geijutsu* 浮世絵芸術, 2008, vol. 155, p. 16-37

Ikegami

Ikegami, Eiko*, Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and Political Origins of Japanese Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 2005

Kern

Adam Kern, *Manga from the Floating World: Comicbook Culture and the Kibyōshi of Edo Japan*, Harvard, 2006

Keene

Donald Keene, *Japan at the Dawn of the Modern Age: Woodblock Prints from the Meiji Era*, MFA (Boston), 2001

Donald Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852-1912*, Columbia University Press, 2002

Kim

Gyewon Kim, "Tracing the Emperor: Photography, Famous Places and the Imperial Progresses in Pre-war Japan," *Representations*, 2012, vol. 117.3 p. 115-150

King

James King, *Beyond the Great Wave: The Japanese Landscape Print, 1727-1960*, Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2010

Kokaze

Kokaze Hidemasa, "The Political Space of Meiji 22 (1889): The Promulgation of the Constitution and the Birth of the Nation." *Japan Review: Journal of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies*, 2011, vol.23, p. 119-41

Lavenberg Collection

http://www.myjapanesehanga.com/home/articles/instructive-models-of-lofty-ambition - first accessed on 12-11-2018

Machida

Machida City Museum of Graphic Arts 町田市立国際版画美術館 & editors, *Kiyochika : kōsenga no mukō ni* 清親：光線画の向こうに, 2016

Maeda

Maeda Ai, ed. by James Fujii, transl. by Henry D. Smith, "The Panorama of Enlightenment," in *Text and the City: Essays on Japanese Modernity*, Duke University Press, 2004

Marks

Andreas Marks, and Stephen Addiss. *Japanese Woodblock Prints : Artists, Publishers and Masterworks, 1680-1900*, Tokyo: Tuttle, 2010

Andreas Marks*, Publishers of Japanese Woodblock Prints: A Compendium*, Brill, 2010

Meech-Pekarik

Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions of a New Civilization*, New York: Weatherhill, 1986

MIT Visualising Cultures

https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/kiyochika_tokyo/ki_essay01.html - accessed on 10-12-2018

https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/throwing_off_asia_02/toa_essay01.html - accessed on 12-11-2018

Morikawa

Terumichi Morikawa, "Mori Arinori (1847-1889)" in Benjamin Duke, *Ten Great Educators of Modern Japan*, University of Tokyo Press, 1989

Morris-Suzuki

Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation*, Taylor and Francis, 2015 (1st publication 1997)

Mostow

Joshua Mostow, "The One Hundred Poets in the Meiji Period," *UBC Meiji at 150 Project: Visual Essays*, University of British Columbia, 2018 – https://meijiat150dtr.arts.ubc.ca/essays/mostow/ accessed 20 May 2019

Ohta

Akiko Ohta, "Nakamura Masanao (Keiu), 1832-91: translator into Japanese of Samuel Smiles' *Self Help*" in Hugh Cortazzi, *Britain and Japan - Biographical Portraits, Vol. IV*, London: Routledge, 2002, p. 215-223

Paramore

Kiri N. Paramore, *Japanese Confucianism: A Cultural History,* Asian Connections Japanese Confucianism, 2016

Phillips

David Phillips, Seymour J. Mandelbaum (advisor*), Intersections of Modernity and Tradition: An Urban Planning History of Tokyo in the Early Meiji Period (1868-1888)*, 1996, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.

Ravina

Mark Ravina, *The Last Samurai: The Life and Battles of Saigō Takamori*, New Jersey: Wiley, 2004

Sassano-Higgins

Ryan Sassano-Higgins, *Fighting from the Shadows: Women Warriors of Premodern Japan*, 2016, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses

Screech

Timon Screech, *Obtaining Images: Art, Production, and Display in Edo Japan*, London: Reaktion, 2012

Shizuoka

Shizuoka City Museum of Art 静岡市美術館, Nerima Art Museum 練馬区立美術館 & editors, *Kobayashi Kiyochika: bunmei kaika no hikari to kage wo mitsumete* 小林清親：文明開化の光と影をみつめて, Shohan 初版, 2015

Smith

Henry D. Smith, and Santa Barbara Museum of Art, *Kiyochika : Artist of Meiji Japan*, Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1988

Smithsonian Magazine (Online)

https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/tokyo-in-transition-woodblock-prints-cast-an-ambiguous-look-on-japans-modernization-180950325/ - accessed on 9-12-2018

Steele

William Steele, "The Rise and Fall of the Shōgitai: A Social Drama" in Tetsuo Najita and J. Victor Koschmann, *Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition*, Princeton University Press, 1982, p. 128-144

William Steele, Peter Nosco, James E. Ketelaar, and Kojima Yasunori. "10 The Unconventional Origins of Modern Japan: Mantei Ōga vs. Fukuzawa Yukichi" In *Values, Identity, and Equality in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Brill, 2015, p. 241-61

Sugawara

Sugawara Mayumi, 菅原真弓, *Ukiyo-e-hanga no jūkyūseiki: fūkei no jikan, rekishi no kūkan* 浮世絵版画の十九世紀 風景の時間、歴史の空間 Tokyo: Brücke, 2009

Suzuki

Suzuki Kōhei 鈴木 浩平, "Yōshū Chikanobu to shinbokutai ni tsuite: shuki "yume monogatari" ni shirusareta Hakodate-sensō de no kiroku" 楊洲周延と神木隊について--手記『夢もの語』に記された箱館戦争での記録 *Ukiyo-e geijutsu* 浮世絵芸, 2009, vol. 157, p 64-79.

Umegaki

Michio Umegaki, "From Domain to Prefecture," in Marius B. Jansen, and Gilbert Rozman, *Japan in Transition, from Tokugawa to Meiji*, Princeton Legacy Library, 1986, p. 91-110

Vandeperre

Nathalie Vandeperre, Chris Uhlenbeck, et al, *Ukiyo-e: De Mooiste Japanse Prenten*, Snoeck Publishers, 2016

Wert

Michael Wert, *Meiji Restoration Losers: Memory and Tokugawa Supporters in Modern Japan*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013

Wing-Yan Lo

Teresa Wing-Yan Lo, *The Conundrum of Japan's Modernization: An Examination of Enlightenment Prints of the 1870s* (dissertation), University of British Columbia, 1995

Wright

Diana E. Wright, "Female Combatants and Japan's Meiji Restoration: The Case of Aizu (Boshin Civil War)." *War In History*, vol. 8.4, p. 396-417, 2001