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INNOVATING EMPIRE: DOMINATION AND RESISTANCE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHINA AND JAPAN

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

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凡事不可自私自利、愛慕虛榮，要心存謙卑，看別人比自己強。各人不要只顧自己的事，也要為別人的需要著想。（腓立比書 二：三，四 CCB）

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I. INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1 : IMPERIAL LEGACIES

The myriad of sensations make the boundless day grey
[and] we meet without a word.
The tempest detests the curled-up worm
[and] we laugh at our efforts to slay dragons as the years and months pass.
You have tried to master [foreign] technology for three years
[but] the rivers and mountains both warn us.
Going to the imperial court is naturally appropriate
[while] preparing to meet the [foreign] seagulls and ducks.[1]

[Our] gathering and departure [occurs] in a single night
[and] joy and sorrow are together as one.
[Those] with the sovereign nightly reach secret agreements
[For] the third time, [they] duplicate translations again and again.
[We] depart like ladle handles numbering one thousand trees
[and] anxious times stick out [like] firewood.
[We] ought not bid the moon farewell in Zhenjiang;
[we can] drink heroically in a tortuous, curled up manner.[2]

I. Introduction

In the summer of 1841, Wei Yuan (1794-1856)—a provincial administrator residing in Yangzhou and whose most notable work to that point had been a compilation of essays on Qing statecraft—made the brief journey southward to Zhenjiang to visit his recently disgraced mentor Lin Zexu (1785-1850) as Lin was on his way to serve out a banishment sentence at the edge of the empire in Xinjiang. Lin had been banished due to his ill-handling of the opium trade crisis with Britain, which had precipitated the ensuing war. Despite their shared melancholy and frustration at the current state of imperial affairs, Lin gave Wei foreign and translated materials he had gathered in

[1] The full text of the poem is as follows: 萬感蒼茫日/相逢一語無/風雷憎蠖屈/歲月笑屠龍/方術三年艾/河山兩戒圖/乘槎天上事/商略到鷗鳧。) This was taken from: Jiajian Wang. *Wei Yuan Nianpu* [*Chronology of Wei Yuan's Life*] (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo, 1967), 76. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own. For an alternative English translation, see: Orville Schell and John Delury. *Wealth and Power: China's Long March to the Twenty-first Century* (New York: Random House, 2013), 28.

[2] The full text of the poem is: 聚散憑今昔/懽愁並一身/與君宵對榻/三度兩翻頻/去國桃千樹/憂時突再薪/不辭京口月/肝膽醉輪囷。) See Wang (1967: 77) for the original text. Again, for an alternative (partial) English translation, see: Schell and Delury (2013: 28).

Guangzhou and Zhejiang and charged him with organizing them in some coherent fashion.[3] Although Wei commemorated the sad encounter with two poems (above) that suggested a dim future, he nevertheless took up Lin's charge with the utmost diligence and sincerity, producing two works in the succeeding years that would shift the landscape of Chinese (and East Asian) global political thought as it pertained to imperial domination and resistance—the *Military History of the Qing Dynasty* (*Shengwuji*, 1842) and the *Illustrated Treatise of the Maritime Countries* (*Haiguo Tuzhi*, 1844).

That same year, nearly one thousand one hundred miles to the northeast in central Japan, Sakuma Shōzan (1811-1864)—a minor official serving in the mountainous region of Shinano, near present-day Nagano—received news that his domainal lord, Sanada Yukitsura (1791-1852) had recently been appointed to the highest advisory council of the Tokugawa bakufu, the *kakurō*. Although Sakuma had dabbled in foreign learning prior to this appointment, it was in the face of this new responsibility as an advisor to his lord (and, by extension, the bakufu) and his lack of practical knowledge for dealing with the fallout of the Opium War in China, that Sakuma doubled down on his efforts to learn foreign military, economic, and political affairs and offered an eight-point military proposal for the bakufu's consideration.[4] The proposal was dismissed due to internal politics between advisors in the *kakurō*, but it sparked a fire for Sakuma that led him not only to experiment with foreign scientific, economic, and military technology (mostly to the benefit of his local domain) and write about it in both private and public documents, but it also led him to teach future generations of "Western learning" scholars who would go on to be prominent political, military, and legal figures at the outset of the Meiji period (1868-1912).

This project offers a comparative analysis of the political thought of Wei and Sakuma as a means of exploring how imperial domination and resistance were understood in mid-nineteenth

[3] Wang (1967), 76-77; Mitchell (1970: 126-127).
[4] de Bary, William Theodore, Carol Gluck, et al. *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Second Edition, Volume 2: 1600-2000* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 628.

century East Asia and what implications these understandings hold for how we view imperial legacies in the present. In this project, I argue that, historically, empires have generated new modes of imperialism even after the empire's supposed end. Drawing on recent literature from the history of political thought, critical international law, and East Asian history, I contend that East Asian resistance to Western imperial domination re-inscribed political and economic relations of domination that led to or were imperial in and of themselves. Whereas the conventional assumption in the historical and political science literatures has traditionally been that the age of empires ended with the rise of nation-states, I demonstrate that Western empires, in fact, partially catalyzed new forms of empire on the part of East Asian actors even after the creation of an international community of formally "equal" nation-states. In short, my main argument is that the clean break between empire as a phenomenon of history and the current model of equal nation-states elides the ways in which empire generates new modes of imperialism even after the empire's supposed end.

Scholars working on empire within the history of political thought and post-colonial studies have long recognized how the centrality of Europe and European categories to political theorizing has limited the available range of narratives and conceptual categories with which we understand global political phenomena. Scholars like Partha Chatterjee, Dipesh Chakrabarty, and Adom Getachew, have explored the imperial relations of domination within the international system of nation-states and have developed ways of theorizing the politics of empire that aim to de-center Europe.[5] This project is intended to operate in—and contribute to—this stream of political theorizing. Inspired by Chatterjee's derivative discourses,[6] Chakrabarty's rendering of European

[5] Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Getachew, Adom. "Universalism After the Post-colonial Turn: Interpreting the Haitian Revolution." *Political Theory*, 44:6 (2016), 821-845.
[6] Chatterjee (1993: 6, 13).

thought as indispensable and inadequate,[7] and Getachew's re-framing of the Haitian revolution as inaugurating an alternative universalism of collective autonomy contra the one posed by the French revolution,[8] I argue that we can understand Wei's and Sakuma's resistance to European empire in East Asia as innovating novel forms of political, economic, and military resistance that replicate empire *prior to* colonization. By re-situating Wei's and Sakuma's thought on European (and American) domination and Chinese and Japanese resistance within its imperial context, I aim to show that Wei and Sakuma were far from "modernizers" aiming to recreate China and Japan in the image of the Europe or America. It is true that such thinking would gain steam generations later in both Japan and China, but my contention is that Wei and Sakuma represent an earlier form of political theorizing that resisted a European or American teleological narrative of "civilization" in favor of innovative frameworks of empire that could adapt to external pressures even while retaining a semblance of inherited conceptions of political and economic life.[9]

At the same time, the conceptual contributions of this project are also heavily indebted to two developments within East Asian historiography—the turn to "internalist" accounts of historical writing and the debate between historians of China over the "imperial" nature of the Qing. As to the former, scholarship over the last few decades on both the history of China and the history of Japan have shifted from earlier "impact-response" models to more "internalist" accounts. On the China end, scholars increasingly critiqued the foundations of the modernization frameworks developed by influential scholars like John K. Fairbank and Joseph Levenson. With Wei Yuan, in particular, Jane

[7] Chakrabarty (2000: 16).
[8] Getachew (2016: 823).
[9] In a certain sense, one might even read Wei's and Sakuma's efforts (as well as others' efforts at the time) as laying a groundwork for the kind of "complex plural legal orders" crucially indebted to *indigenous and foreign* sources and forums of law that Lauren Benton describes in her influential work. See: Benton, Lauren. *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 33.

Kate Leonard has argued that Wei's *Illustrated Treatise* ought to be read less as a "modernizing response" to Western impact and more as a rediscovery of Ming geopolitical views of maritime Asia.[10] Since Leonard, several other historians of China have adopted similar "internalist" perspectives, seeking to recover Chinese history on its own terms and not within paradigms developed by, and premised upon the West as a central actor.[11] On the Japan end, the same teleological framework of modernization—even, or especially, as it pertains to the Meiji Restoration—has been critiqued as being insufficiently attentive to the agency exhibited by Japanese political actors in the late Edo and early Meiji periods. While earlier scholars like Harry Harootunian took more "genealogical" approaches by identifying a distinctive shift in the 1970s in how Japanese "modernization" was understood,[12] more recent scholars like Sho Konishi have argued that Japan's "opening" to the West did not mark the birth of "modern Japan" as such, but its "opening to the emergence and encounters of different visions of progress".[13] Building on this argument, Konishi traces how networks of cooperatist anarchist intellectuals in Japan and Russia articulated competing visions of modernity through mutual correspondence and dynamic translation projects. All of these efforts in China and Japan scholarship have been aimed at critiquing Euro-American-centric notions of modernity in favor of Asian historiography "on its own terms".

Relatedly, since the 1990s, China historians have also turned to non-Mandarin sources for ways of challenging "sinicization" theories within historical scholarship on China. Of particular note is the "New Qing" school of Chinese history. Inaugurated by figures such as Evelyn Rawski, Mark

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[10] Leonard, Jane Kate. *Wei Yuan and China's Rediscovery of the Maritime World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 4-5, 144, 197, 203-205.
[11] Cohen, Paul A. *Discovering History in China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985, 2010); Kuhn, Philip A. *Origins of the Modern Chinese State* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002).
[12] Harootunian, Harry D. "America's Japan/Japan's Japan" in Masao Miyoshi and H.D. Harootunian (ed.) *Japan in the World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 215-216. For an analysis of early twentieth century Japanese understandings of "Japanese modernity", see: Harootunian, Harry D. *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2002).
[13] Konishi (2013: 21).

C. Elliot, and Pamela Kyle Crossley, New Qing historians have argued—through engagement with previously inaccessible Manchu archives—for viewing the Qing dynasty as an imperial regime that exercised hierarchical rule over diverse groups of people, including many non-Han ethnic groups.[14] Peter C. Perdue has been a New Qing historian whose work is particularly relevant for Wei Yuan, as he has connected Wei's discussions of military conquest to his broader efforts to shore up Qing control of conquered peoples.[15] Nevertheless, all of these scholars share some version of the view that reading the Qing's maintenance of power simply as an ability to integrate (*dayitong*, *tongyi*) non-Han groups (or, "sinicize" them) neglects the manipulation involved in maintaining their (imperial) power. This revisionist scholarship has received notable backlash from other historians of China who argue that such imputations of "imperialism" to Qing China are anachronistic, as they rely on modern, capitalistic notions of political power derived from Western historical experiences that are inattentive to the historical development of "imperialism" (*diguo zhuyi*) as a concept in China.[16] Part of my aim in this project is to demonstrate how Wei and Sakuma—in drawing on a combination of

[14] For example, see: Rawski, Evelyn. "Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History." *Journal of Asian Studies*. 55.4: (1996) 829–850; Crossley, Pamela Kyle. *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations of the End of the Qing World.* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1990); and Elliott, Mark C. *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

[15] Perdue, Peter C. *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 497.

[16] Zhang Mingyang and Ding Xiongfei. "Ge Zhaoguang zai tan 'cong zhoubian kan zhongguo'" ("Ge Zhaoguang Again Discusses 'Viewing China from the Periphery'") in *shufang wei yuan: gudai zhongguo de jiangyu, minzu yi rentong* (*Distant Regions are not Far: Ancient China's Territory, Peoples and Identity*) ed. by Wang Rongzu, Ge Zhaoguang, Yao Dali and Xu Wenkan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2016), 28; Ge Zhaoguang and Yin Sheng. "Cong lishi kan Zhongguo, Yazhou, rentong yiji jiangyu: guanyu 'zhai zi Zhongguo' de yi ci tanhua" ("A Historical Perspective on China, Asia, Identity and Territory: A First Discussion of 'Here in China I Dwell'") in *shufang wei yuan: gudai zhongguo de jiangyu, minzu yi rentong* (*Distant Regions are not Far: Ancient China's Territory, Peoples and Identity*) ed. Wang Rongzu, Ge Zhaoguang, Yao Dali and Xu Wenkan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2016), 10. This discussion is adapted from: Jenco, Leigh and Jonathan Chapell. "Imperialism in Chinese Eyes: Nations, Empires, and State-building." (draft). For another summary of some of the New Qing history debates, see: Guo Wu. "New Qing History: Dispute, Dialog, and Influence." *The Chinese Historical Review*, 23:1 (2016), 47-69.

Western and inherited military and economic practices—innovate new modes of imperialism that are not reducible to essentialized "Western" or "Eastern" categories, but nevertheless continue political practices of resistance than can be properly recognized as "imperial". In this way, I acknowledge the insights both from the New Qing historians and their detractors even while forwarding my argument about the new forms imperialism took in the nineteenth century as prominent political figures in China and Japan sought to resist potential domination by Europe and America.

Beyond the historical literature, this project also seeks to engage recent scholarship within the emergent field of comparative political theory. While it is true that much of what will be discussed could fall under familiar rubrics of "East Asian", "Confucian", or even "Chinese" or "Japanese" political thought simply due to the historical location and intellectual influences at play with Wei and Sakuma, I take seriously the call by comparative political theorists to engage in theoretical inquiry that resists tokenistic appropriation of essentialized places of origin and fictive contrasts with "Western" political thought.[17] While the choice to focus on two influential, "non-Western" figures may resonate with many political theorists precisely due either to it is structural similarity to the kinds of "great thinker" approaches that have shaped the discipline for decades or precisely because it seems indicative of a kind of comparative political theory that is primarily cumulative (i.e. "expanding the canon beyond Western sources"), in fact, the choice to compare Wei and Sakuma is primarily reflective of a desire to flesh out disparate approaches to a shared political problem—the threat of Western domination in Asia prior to colonization. Put differently, this project seeks to contribute to the kinds of theorizing that have come to inform much of what comparative political theorists seek to accomplish now: discursive, collaborative spaces that are

[17] Jenco, Leigh K., Murad Idris, and Megan C. Thomas. "Comparison, Connectivity, and Disconnection" in Jenco, Leigh K., Murad Idris, and Megan C. Thomas (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Political Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 11.

continually open to new kinds of comparison, contrast, and contestation.[18] I do this primarily by showing both how Wei and Sakuma approached to problem of European domination in comparable *and* contrasting manners as well as showing that their formulations need not—and in fact, did not—represent the only way of thinking imperial politics at this nineteenth century moment in East Asia. Nevertheless, what they have to say is significant and this project seeks to expand beyond what historians have offered to date to theorize what implications Wei's and Sakuma's thought has on our historical and contemporary understandings of empire.

II. Wei, Sakuma, and the Global Nineteenth Century in East Asia

To apprehend the significance of Wei's and Sakuma's efforts at resisting Western domination through recourse to imperial models of economics, politics, and military technology, it is imperative to situate them within the broader historical context of the global mid-nineteenth-century moment in East Asia. Wei—who was seventeen years Sakuma's senior—was born just a year after the Macartney embassy of 1793, which, under the leadership of the British statesman, colonial administrator, and diplomat George Macartney, sought to open new ports for British trade in China, establish a permanent embassy in Beijing, and relax trade restrictions on British merchants in Guangzhou (Canton). As is well known, all of the requests of the Macartney embassy were rejected by the Qianlong Emperor and, despite the embassy's successful increase in access to new information on the Qing empire that would help develop British views of China in the succeeding years, the embassy became an object of political contestation. In particular, the affair with the embassy established both a Chinese imperial precedent around emphasizing proper foreign

[18] Jenco, et al. (2019: 14).

deference to China with future foreign audiences and a British precedent of dealing aggressively with what was perceived as "Chinese backwardness".[19]

Central to these precedents was the *koutou* issue, which became a particularly salient vehicle for British (and American) discourses around "civilization", "barbarity", and the "law of nations" and that would inform justifications for European and American imperial aggression in East Asia. Precisely because the *koutou* was viewed as submission to China as opposed to the "sovereign equality of nations" presupposed under the law of nations, it drew the ire of many European and American audiences.[20] During successive British embassies, the unsatisfactory nature of the compromise achieved between Macartney's embassy and the Qianlong court around the *koutou* was frequently a touchstone and a point of contention. Whereas, before, a compromise was reached where Macartney would touch one knee to the ground before the emperor as he would before his own sovereign, the Jiaqing court was not prepared to forego the *koutou* a second time and British audiences increasingly viewed this insistence as a sign of Chinese pretense and arrogance.[21]

It is important to note—as James Hevia and Lydia Liu have—that these tensions were products of clashes between dynamic, hybridized imperial formations as opposed to earlier interpretations by historians that emphasized the tensions as indicative of fundamental "cultural differences" between the East and West or the "modernizing" influence of the West on China.[22] Put differently, the hybridized formation of British imperial ambitions during this period collided with the hybridized formation of Chinese imperial ambitions and it is precisely because both formations were resolutely imperial in outlook that these tensions culminated in the onset of the First Opium

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[19] Hevia, James L. *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing guest ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 226, 229-230.
[20] Hevia (1995: 234-235). The *koutou* (or kowtow) was an act of respect for a higher authority that typically involved bowing so low as to have one's head touching the ground.
[21] Hevia (1995: 226, 233); Liu, Lydia H. *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 217.
[22] Hevia (1995: 239-248); Liu (2004: 2, 211).

War. A major cause for the war—as implied by its posthumous name—was the opium trade that developed in China as a result of the British East India Company's smuggling of opium into China, against the decrees of the Jiaqing emperor. Having failed to persuade Queen Victoria to halt the illegal opium trade, the emperor issued an edict calling for the seizure of all foreign opium in Canton and tasked commissioner Lin Zexu with carrying out the confiscation. Lin's policies, along with the economic losses on the British side, prompted British merchants—foremost among them, the trade commissioner Captain Charles Elliot—to petition London to use military force against China to repatriate losses and secure future opportunities for trade in opium. Having reached an impasse, both empires prepared for war, with hostilities continuing from 1839 until the conclusion of the war in 1842 with the Treaty of Nanjing. The Nanjing treaty was a watershed moment in that it (1) forced China to cede Xianggang (Hong Kong) and several surrounding smaller islands to Britain in perpetuity, (2) established Shanghai, Guangzhou, Ningbo (Ningpo), Fuzhou (Foochow), and Xiamen (Amoy) as treaty ports for legally-protected foreign trade, and (3) required China pay a twenty-one million-dollar indemnity to Britain. Furthermore, it set a precedent for several other "unequal" treaties between China and various foreign actors over the next several decades that would give Britain and other foreign empires "most favored nation" status as well as exterritorial rights in Asia.[23]

Although Wei Yuan was only a *juren* degree holder as the first Opium war commenced—and was thus ineligible for office[24]—he authored many writings before, during, and after these events that would influence successive generations not only in China, but across East Asia. His two most notable works in this respect were the aforementioned *Military History of the Qing Dynasty* (1842) and

[23] Hevia, James L. *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 4-5.
[24] Wei did not receive his *jinshi* degree (the degree that made him eligible for office) until 1844, at age 50.

Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms (1844). Wei had begun both works nearly a decade before their initial completion, but it was only in light of the reality of the First Opium War, that he hastily completed them when he did.[25] That said, given his lifelong concern with domestic scholarly, political, and economic issues, Jane Leonard and Paul Cohen have contended that Wei's texts and arguments should be understood as developing primarily from Chinese frameworks, as opposed to having developed mainly from his interaction with Western learning via the Opium Wars.[26] In light of China's centuries of experience with Sino-Nanyang relations, both have argued that, at least with respect to his maritime writings, Wei developed a "Nanyang-centered" perspective of the entire maritime world.[27] According to this narrative, Wei's Nanyang-centered view was a "first step" toward developing an understanding of the non-Asian maritime world in geographical and geopolitical terms. Of note, Leonard's and Cohen's reframing—similar, but prior, to those of Hevia and Liu explored briefly above—significantly revised earlier "Western impact-China response" models prevalent in the mid-twentieth century literature on Chinese "modernization" following the Opium Wars. Drawing on geographical genres and traditions dating back to the Warring States period (475-221 BCE) and heavily influenced by developments during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), Leonard, in particular, argued that Wei emphasized the importance of maritime relations in contrast to dominant trends during the Qing dynasty that largely focused on inner Asia to the neglect of other geographic regions.[28] Moreover, Wei's organization of the *Illustrated Treatise*, his use

[25] Leonard, Jane Kate. *Wei Yuan and China's Rediscovery of the Maritime World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 28.
[26] Leonard (1984); Cohen (2010).
[27] Leonard (1984: 3). The *Nanyang* ("Southern Ocean") was (and still is) a term for the warmer and fertile geographical region of South China and Southeast Asia. The term came into common usage in self-reference to the large ethnic Chinese migrant population in Southeast Asia, and was typically contrasted with *Xiyang* ("Western Ocean"), which typically referred to the Western world, and *Dongyang* ("Eastern Ocean"), which typically referred to Japan. Wei's geography (which I will explore in detail later) is largely in keeping with this framework.
[28] Leonard (1984: 3-6, 94-97).

of sources, his practical orientation, and his geopolitical ideas all indicate his debt to prior Chinese traditions while simultaneously highlighting his efforts to add relevant details from Western sources in order to understand Western commercial and military expansion in Asia.[29] In short, Wei's views were not primarily a product of new information from the West in the aftermath of the Opium War; his views were largely derived from Chinese frameworks with relevant information from foreign sources included on an as-need basis.

In a similar vein, the first Opium war had a profound effect on Sakuma Shōzan. As noted at the outset, in 1841—while the first Opium War was still in full force—Sakuma's feudal lord of the Matsushiro domain, Sanada Yukitsura (1791-1852), was appointed to the *kakurō*—the Tokugawa bakufu's highest council—thereby throwing Sakuma into a position of considerable influence over Japan's coastal defense and the looming threat of Western naval power. This exposure forced Sakuma to attain a far greater level of practical foreign learning than he originally possessed and he immediately began studying Western gunnery from Takashima Shūhan (1798-1866) and Egawa Tan'an (1800-1855), ultimately developing a policy proposal that reflected both his Neo-Confucian learning and his recently acquired knowledge of Western arms.[30] Although Sanada's appointment provided Sakuma with his first major opportunity to forward his reform proposals on a larger stage, due to intra-bakufu fighting, his proposal met with strong opposition and was summarily dismissed. Shortly thereafter, Sanada resigned from the *kakurō*.[31] Following Sanada's departure from office, Sakuma devoted the next five years to reform in Shinano while also studying Dutch language under Shimosone Kinzaburō, Tsuboi Shindo (1795-1848), and Kurokawa Ryōan in exchange for instruction in the Confucian classics.[32] During this time, Sakuma studied, practiced, and employed

[29] Leonard (1984: 118-120).
[30] Ibid. 629; Mitchell (1970: 275-277).
[31] Terry (1951: 13-14).
[32] Ibid. 278-279. Mitchell cites Ōhira Kimata, *Sakuma Shōzan* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1959), 68-79; Terry (1951: 15-16).

Dutch, glass-making, chemical processing, cannon-casting, small arms development, animal husbandry, natural resource production, educational reform and economic relief among the poorest classes.[33] Moreover, as Sakuma increasingly exposed himself to foreign learning (particularly, Dutch learning) and integrated this knowledge into his own thought, he moved from solely using secondary works in translation to a mix of translations and original sources. Beyond his personal studies, he also influenced the development of the modern (Meiji) Japanese navy through his student, Katsu Kaishū (1823-1899). Through all of his efforts, Sakuma became known as a proponent of Western learning not only in his own region of Matsushiro, but also more widely across Japan.

However, in Sakuma's immediate context, the first Opium War (1839-1842) was only the beginning of Japanese concerns about Western military domination. From 1853 onward, these concerns took on a new life in the form of the Perry expeditions to Japan. Dispatched under the orders of (then) U.S. President Millard Fillmore, Commodore Matthew Perry led an expedition to Japan in 1852 with the expressed goals of opening contact with Japan, establishing diplomatic relations with it, and negotiating for trade agreements—through the use of force, if necessary. His letter of demands was received by the Japanese bakufu in 1853, but since no immediate answer was offered, he left and promised to return within a year's time. After Perry's departure, an extensive debate ensued among various level of government within the bakufu on how to respond to the American threat and, although he had access to the highest circles of government, Sakuma offered proposals that were summarily dismissed. When Perry returned in 1854, an extended diplomatic process ensued—in part due to domestic turmoil and rebellion within Japan—culminating in Japan's signing of the "unequal" Ansei Treaties (1858), first with America and then with Great Britain, Russia, Holland, and France. Under the Ansei treaties, (1) foreign nations were granted "most favored nation" status, (2) the treaty ports of Edo, Kobe, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Yokohama were

[33] *SOJT*, 629-630; Mitchell (1970: 279-280).

opened to foreign citizens to live and trade, and (3) foreigners were granted extraterritorial rights, among other provisions. Although the bakufu actively advocated for its own interests throughout this process,[34] these concessions were widely viewed by the Japanese populace as concessions to Western pressure. As a result, unrest among the populace at the bakufu's (perceived) ineptitude ultimately led to civil war and the downfall of the bakufu.

While Japan was grappling with American presence on its shores and the unequal terms of the Ansei treaties, China was well into the second Opium war (1856-1860). In the aftermath of the war, (1) the British, French, and Russians gained permanent diplomatic access to Beijing, (2) the Chinese were required to pay a hefty indemnity, (3) Britain acquired more territory near Hong Kong, and (4) the opium trade was legalized in China. Nevertheless, Wei would not live to see even the conclusion of the earliest phases of the second Opium war, and was altogether indifferent to many of these early developments, having spent the last three years of his life (1853-1856) as recluse in a Pure Land Buddhist monastery in Hangzhou, disillusioned by corrupt Qing politics and an unfair dismissal from office. As a result, he became committed solely to meditation and historical writing.[35] Sakuma, for his part, was quite active both before and after the second Opium war. Sakuma—like many others in China and Japan (including Wei, earlier)—castigated China for its loss in the initial Opium war and attributed this to an indifference on China's part to global developments, particularly among Western nations.[36] Sakuma would continue to emphasize this point throughout the late 1850s and early 1860s until he was assassinated by Japanese imperial loyalists (*ishin shishi*) in

[34] For more on bakufu negotations and the international political and legal climate in East Asia during this time, see: Auslin, Michael. *Negotiating with Imperialism: The Unequal Treaties and the Culture of Imperialism* (Harvard University Press, 2006); Cassel, Par Kristoffer. *Grounds of Judgment: Extraterritoriality and Imperial Power in Nineteenth Century China and Japan* (Oxford University Press, 2012).
[35] Leonard (1984: 30).
[36] Harootunian, Harry D. *Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: UC Berkeley Press, 1970), 146.

1864 for being too "pro-Western". Although neither Sakuma nor Wei would live to see the full effects of the "modernizing" efforts embodied in the Self-Strengthening Movement (1860-1894) and the Meiji Restoration (1868), they nevertheless remained influential figures, precisely because of their innovative approaches to resisting Western domination and empire in East Asia.

III. The Plan of the Project

As this project is primarily concerned with addressing how influential Chinese and Japanese thinkers resisted the threat of European and American imperial expansion through the innovative re-appropriation of imperial infrastructures, it should not be considered comprehensive of—or even representative of—all modes of political thinking at this critical juncture in East Asian and global history. This project foregrounds select discourses about domination that informed some imperial reformist moves in China and Japan and that provided the ideological basis for particular types of imperial resistance. Further, it builds on the work political theorists and East Asian historians have done to demonstrate how certain Chinese and Japanese political, economic, and military transformations were not derivative of a broader effort toward "modernization" along Western lines, but an outworking of earlier, indigenous modes of political thought applied to wider, more international stages. In short, this project contends that for both Wei and Sakuma, "mastering the foreigners" necessitated reconstructing the political, military, and economic environment in East Asia such that China and Japan could resist foreign domination.

In the second chapter, I argue that Wei's efforts at understanding the nature of Western domination relied on apprehending foreign conditions (*yiqing*)—the linguistic, political, historical, economic, and technological developments of Western countries—through extensive engagement with global geography. In particular, the chapter focuses on how Wei gained access to information concerning the global territorial possessions of European countries. I show that Wei's access to

global maps enabled him to lay the necessary groundwork for resisting military and economic domination by Europe. My turn to Wei's statecraft cartography is motivated by how he situates the Western threat of domination in terms of earlier Chinese categories of thought and I forward the argument that across Wei's geographical and military writings, there is a preoccupation with accurately assessing the scope of Western domination across the globe. The chapter first explores Wei's understanding of "foreign" through his emphasis on translation and cartography and contextualizes Wei's use of the term *shu* (to control, to belong to) and how it appears in maps featured in the *Illustrated Treatise*. Then, it turns to Wei's annotated maps of South Asia, Africa, North America, and South America, noting his access to information on European possessions (*shu*) across the globe. The chapter then briefly considers Wei's analysis of one particular example—the British in India—and the interconnectedness of military force and economic trade to British domination in South Asia. This more focused analysis shows that Wei was not simply concerned with geographical concessions across the globe as an historical phenomenon, but with what enabled Britain (and other Western powers) to subjugate diverse populations close to China.

While he did not emphasize cartography nearly to the degree Wei did, Sakuma offered his own analyses of Western power, albeit through an emphasis on technological development, the basis of which is the focus of chapter three. In this chapter, I explore Sakuma's analysis of the technological and economic power of Western countries, which include countries as diverse as Russia, France, England, Germany, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Hungary, Sweden, Holland, Spain, and America. I highlight Sakuma's connection between these countries' technological developments and their military strength and economic wealth in the international arena. The basic gist is that just as Wei's study of foreign maps had made him aware of certain aspects of Western commercial and imperial expansion, Sakuma's study of foreign technology, made him acutely aware of the material resources and industrial power at Western empires' disposal. Sakuma even made a point of singling

out Holland as a counterintuitive example of imperial domination—likely due to his command of the Dutch language. I explore Sakuma's engagement with Dutch economic and political activity, particularly in Southeast Asia, and show how Sakuma viewed Japan's position as precarious, precisely because a small country like Holland could exercise such immense influence abroad. Rather than taking Holland lightly as a small country—as he believed his fellow officials were doing—Sakuma argued for being well informed of global topography and the revenue of European imperial powers in Asia. Sakuma's overall point—much like Wei's—was that officials in China and Japan had underestimated the actual power Western countries possessed. Given present conditions, Japan, in particular, stood little chance of even resisting smaller countries like Holland.

Chapter four then shift gears by exploring the specific military, political, and economic strategies Wei supported in resisting European and American domination of China. Economically, I argue that Wei's efforts at generating wealth relied on revising Chinese trade and monetary policy as well as the grain and sea transport systems to account for Western colonial expansion and inefficiencies in domestic management. On the political and military fronts, I argue that Wei foregrounded expansive conquest, the securing of terrestrial and maritime borders, and successful international warfare as modes of resistance to domination. The adoption of these economic, political, and military techniques of empire, I contend, are rooted for Wei in knowing "foreign conditions" (*yiqing*) and employing such knowledge in an effort to resist European imperialism and instead "master" (*yu*) the foreigners in East Asia. I begin the chapter first by briefly situating Wei's use of the term "mastery" (*yu*) within the broader history of Chinese political thought and tying it to similar concepts Wei employs throughout his writings. I then take a deeper dive into Wei's historical context, exploring his relationship to earlier streams of Chinese statecraft (*jingshi*) as well as the later movement toward "self-strengthening" (*ziqiang*). I then spell out the economic, political, and military

facets of Wei's efforts to "master the foreigners" (*yu-i*). Throughout the chapter, I compare Wei's views with Sakuma's, noting both similarities and departures in their respective approaches.

Sakuma, for his part, had less access to official channels of communication than Wei did, but he nevertheless understood how the Americans and Europeans used gunboat diplomacy and trade to their advantage and how Japan must do the same. It is this understanding (and the policies Sakuma developed from it) that form the core of chapter five. I begin first by considering Sakuma's general understanding of economic trade and his proposal for how Japan might take control of it. I then turn to Sakuma's imperial military ambitions for control and influence abroad, particularly with respect to naval defense and warfare. I highlight how Sakuma even believed himself to be going beyond Wei's imperial gestures toward maintaining a global naval presence via his own emphasis on proactive naval interception and destruction of hostile foreign vessels. Generally, my argument throughout chapters four and five is that whether it was territorial and maritime control in Central or South Asia or maritime control in North and Southeast Asia, both Wei and Sakuma viewed the military control of global territory as a natural outworking of anti-colonial resistance to Western empires. The analysis in chapters four and five is not intended to show that Wei or Sakuma had a perfect understanding of global trade, military affairs, or of the dire situation China and Japan faced as they wrote these things—indeed, some of their proposals were dismissed even by their respective peers as too ambitious or unrealistic. That said, they nevertheless shared a view that it was not beyond the capabilities of Chinese and Japanese officials to understand and proactively implement military and economic policies while holding on to inherited frameworks that could aid in shoring up Chinese and Japanese resistance. Notably, this sort of thinking would fade from view as the nineteenth century progressed and as more radical reformers in both countries called for a complete overhaul of traditional modes of politics, economics, and learning in favor of "modernization".

Nevertheless, Wei and Sakuma played important historical roles in forwarding the frameworks of "knowledge of foreign conditions" and the "mastery of foreigners" toward resistance.

Finally, in the conclusion, I return to the major contention of the project—namely, that Wei and Sakuma *innovatively* combined pre-colonial Chinese and Japanese notions of empire with Western military, political, and economic models in an effort to resist domination and reassert their authority. By foregrounding how Wei and Sakuma innovated empire, I push beyond the lack of emphasis in the federalist and imperial citizenship literature in the history of political thought on hybridized genealogies and their capacity for innovation. Whereas "empire" or "federation"—particularly for scholars like Frederick Cooper and Gary Wilder—has tended to be straightforwardly European (even when it is being invoked for anti-colonial ends), I argue that Wei and Sakuma indicate a different approach. Their more hybridized approaches to anti-colonial imperialism combined Asian lineages and European models toward an innovatively distinct vision of East Asian empire. The first section of the conclusion considers the path actually taken in late nineteenth- and early twentieth century China and Japan—that of "modernization". I argue that this was a decidedly *less* innovative approach by late Qing and Meiji scholars and officials, precisely because it embraced "the West" (or, often in China's case, Japan) as the standard for modern nationhood. In the second section, I return to the federalist and imperial citizenship literature in order to situate my contribution of innovating empire. Finally, I extend this contention to contemporary concerns in political theory, comparative politics, and international relations around China's rise, the forecasting of an "Asian century", and global hegemony. My argument in this section is simply that part of the challenge of equitable global governance lies in enduring legacies of global imperialism. Because infrastructures like diplomacy, trade, and military technology facilitated both imperial domination and resistance in China and Japan, they shaped many of the historical narratives that have fueled a variety of political, economic, and military developments by both countries in the international arena over the last century. Indeed,

many of these developments can and have been traced to the sort of "clashing of empires" that took place during the middle of the nineteenth-century, including the ongoing effort to "rectify" China's "century of humiliation". Programs like the "Belt and Road Initiative" (or BRI) ostensibly aim to recover lost international stature through infrastructural development and investment initiatives that would stretch from East Asia to Europe, but are read by apprehensive international actors as a Trojan horse for China-led regional development, military expansion, Beijing-controlled institutions, and even imperialism. In short, the conclusion aims to show that historical legacies of empire remain relevant not only for the history of political thought, but also for understanding regional balances of power in contemporary Northeast Asia as well as ongoing challenges to equitable global governance and trade. New expansive political and economic initiatives—regardless of actor—generate suspicion, resistance, and normative denunciation as "imperialism" in the twenty-first century just as they generated suspicion and resistance the nineteenth. In this way, it is precisely through resistance to the potential global hegemony of rival actors that new charges of "imperialism" continue to be generated well after empire's supposed end.

II. ASSESSING THE THREAT OF WESTERN DOMINATION

CHAPTER 2 : WEI YUAN'S CARTOGRAPHIC KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

When one discusses South and Southeast Asia, in fact one is discussing Europe because today the five countries of Spain, Holland, France, England, and Portugal rule the areas in the South Seas. Although the four countries of Annam, Siam, Burma, and Japan have not been conquered by the aggressive bandits, herein is recorded their experiences with maritime defense against them. I do not touch on Korea and the Ryukyu islands as they are unrelated to maritime defense [having suffered no Western aggression yet].

- Wei Yuan, *Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms (Haiguo Tuzhi*, 1844)[1]

I. Introduction

During the Chinese recapture of Dinghai[2] following British withdrawal from the city in late February 1841, Wei Yuan (1794-1856) drafted a poem in which he bemoaned the lack of talent among the Chinese leaders.[3] What should have been a victory for China was cause for concern for Wei precisely because he was coming to grips with the unprecedented scope of efforts at domination by Western powers in Asia. Whereas his companion, Imperial Commissioner Yu Qian (1793-1841)[4] confidently memorialized to the Qing emperor that the situation with British captives and their Chinese collaborators was under control, Wei was of a more melancholy persuasion due to what he perceived as the overconfidence of Chinese troops and inconsistent policies regarding war and

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[1] 「志南洋實所以志西洋也故今以呂宋荷蘭佛郎機英吉利布路亞五國綱紀南洋其越南暹羅緬甸日本四國雖未并於洋寇亦以事涉洋防者著於篇而朝鮮琉球洋防無涉者不及焉。」 From "Haiguo Tuzhi" in *Wei Yuan Zhuan* [*Selected Writings of Wei Yuan*] (Shaoyang: Chen Shanqi, Qing Tongzhi 7 nian [1868]), vol. 5 preface p. 2 (Punctuations added.) Hereafter, this will be cited as (*WYZ*. Box. Volume. Page) followed by the citation of earlier English translations, where applicable. This English translation is a modification of the following: Mitchell, Peter MacVicar. "Wèi Yüan and the Early Modernization Movement in China and Japan" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1970), 191-192.

[2] Present-day Zhoushan city (舟山市), Zhejiang province.

[3] Mitchell, Peter MacVicar. "Wèi Yüan and the Early Modernization Movement in China and Japan" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1970), 126.

[4] At the time of the composition of the poem, Yu Qian (or Yutai) was serving as the commissioner (*buzhengshi*) of Jiangsu province. For more on Yu Qian, see: Du, Lianzhe. *Sanshisan Zhong Qingdai Zhuanji Zonghe Yinde* [*The Comprehensive Index of Thirty-Three Qing Dynasty Biographies*] (Beijing: Yanjing Daxue Tushuguan Yinde Bianzhuan Chu, 1932); Qian, Shifu. *Qingdai Zhiguan Nianbiao Nianpu* [*Qing Dynasty Government Office Chronologies*] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1980).

peace.[5] Through a few solemn poems, Wei revealed not only his critical attitude toward myopic zealotry among the Chinese elite, but also alluded to his broader understanding of Western economic and military efforts at domination which would find its fuller expression in his works that would published over the next few years. It is this approach of Wei's to foreign domination that I explore in this chapter.

In this chapter, I argue that Wei's efforts at understanding the nature of Western domination relied on apprehending foreign conditions—the linguistic, political, historical, economic, and technological developments of Western countries—through extensive engagement with global geography. Moreover, this "geographical" approach informed Wei's vision of Chinese empire, which was largely aimed at resisting Western military, political, and economic aggression. The present chapter focuses on how Wei access to information concerning the global territorial possessions of European countries. Chapter four then explores the military, political, and economic strategies of resistance Wei developed through his writings. In this chapter, I contend that Wei's access to global maps enabled him to lay the necessary groundwork for resisting military and economic domination by Europe and the U.S. This is not to say, however, that Wei's arguments are reducible to "Western impact" or that they entailed a rejection of "traditional" Chinese forms of statecraft. My turn to Wei's statecraft cartography is motivated more by how he situates the Western threat of domination in terms of earlier Chinese categories of thought, in keeping with recent moves in the scholarly literature. By emphasizing Wei's revisionist moves as ones that are simultaneously imperial and against foreign domination, I offer a new framework for understanding Wei's political thought than has been previously offered by historians of East Asia.

[5] Wang, Jiajian. *Wei Yuan Nianpu* [*Chronology of Wei Yuan's Life*] (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo, 1967), 75-76; Mitchell (1970: 126).

In exploring themes of Western domination in Wei's work, the question almost inevitably arises as to how Wei's views were similar to, and different from, his contemporaries and even later, more radical, reformers. Wei was quite critical of what he took to be the "abstract" schools Han learning (*Hanxue*) and Song learning (*Songxue*) and, in his frustration, he turned to empiricism of the "Modern Text" (*Jinwen*) school for answers to contemporary political, economic, and military problems. However, unlike later "Modern Text" reformers and Self-Strengtheners, Wei developed his key ideas of "wealth and power" (*fuqiang*) wholly within Chinese discourses, prior to the widespread introduction of foreign discourses in the wake of the Opium War.[6] At the same time, it was precisely concepts like *fuqiang* in Wei's (and others') thought that would be picked up by these later reformers in the post-Opium War moment.[7] To be sure, the difficulty of tracing Wei's intellectual influence lies primarily in the lack of the development of a school or disciples around his thought,[8] but Wei was nevertheless a prominent figure in the early nineteenth-century statecraft movement and his ideas about wealth and power—much like those of other prominent statecraft figures like Bao Shichen—paved the way for later generations of Self-strengthening reformers in China,[9] as well as reform efforts in Japan.[10] In this sense, a clear connection can be drawn between

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[6] Mitchell (1970: 49). The Self-Strengthening Movement (*Ziqiang Yundong*; ~1861-1895) was a period of institutional reforms initiated in China following the losses incurred to Britain by the Opium Wars (1839-1842, 1856-1860). Because of the losses in the wars, several elite Chinese officials argued that in order to strengthen itself against the West, it was necessary to adopt Western military technology and arms. The phrase "self-strengthening" has been attributed to Feng Guifen (1809–1874) who was influenced by Wei's writings.

[7] Kuhn, Philip A. *Origins of the Modern Chinese State* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002: 49); Liu, Kwang-Ching. *China's Early Modernization and Reform Movement: Studies in Late Nineteenth-century China and American-Chinese Relations* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 2009: 172, 175-176); Mitchell (1970: 242, 270-271).

[8] Mitchell (1970: 264-265).

[9] Rowe, William T. *Speaking of Profit: Bao Shichen and Reform in Nineteenth-Century China* (Stanford: Harvard UP, 2018: 19); For Wei's general influence, see: Kuhn (2002: 27).

[10] For context on the circulation of the *Military History* (*Shengwuji*) and *Illustrated Treatise* (*Haiguo Tuzhi*) in Japan and Wei's influence on prominent Japanese intellectuals like Sakuma and Yoshida Shoin (1830-1859), see: Fogel, Joshua A. *Japan and China: Mutual Representations in the Modern Era* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 23-33.

Wei's works in the 1820s through the 1840s and the later works by reformers that gained steam from the 1860s until the 1890s; all were concerned with stemming foreign domination through greater power and wealth within the realm.

That said, even though Wei's thinking bore similarities to his colleagues' and paved the way for later reformers, his views were still quite limited in certain respects when compared to the Self-strengtheners and later post-1898 reformers. For starters, much of what Wei discussed was based on his engagement with foreign sources in translation and, as such, his thought appears limited mostly to general theories of action, especially when contrasted with the more concrete proposals of his junior, Feng Guifen (1809–1874).[11] Still, he was not a passive receiver of foreign material—he often sought to corroborate foreign material with other evidence—but his work was neither perfect nor exhaustive in this respect and his innovative maps could not always fully grapple with the complexity of his textual evidence.[12] Further, on the political front, although Wei can be seen as pushing for institutional reform that would allow for broader participation of elite literati in government affairs, he did not defend a robust notion of popular sovereignty, largely due to his beliefs about the moral and intellectual inability of the populace.[13] Beyond these limits, Wei's arguments also featured prominently in the works of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Chinese political reformers like Kang Youwei (1858-1927) and Liang Qichao (1873-1929)—primarily because of the perceived inadequacies in Wei's arguments in the context of the tumultuous post-Sino-Japanese war moment in China.[14] And yet, this is not to say that Wei's significance lies merely in the fact that he was a

[11] Kuhn (2002: 55, 57).
[12] For more on these strengths and limits of Wei's work, see: Mosca, Matthew W. *From Frontier Policy to Foreign Policy: The Question of India and the Transformation of Geopolitics in Qing China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013: 183, 187, 188).
[13] Kuhn (2002: 72).
[14] Li, Man. "'To change' or 'to be changed': the dialectics of a decaying empire and the political philosophy of Wei Yuan (1794–1857)." *Global Intellectual History* 1:3 (2016), 262; Rowe (2018: 16); Kuhn (2002: 123-125).

forerunner to later reform efforts in China. Wei's vision of literati participation provided, in some respects, a broader constitutional grounding than later efforts in the 1870s and 1880s at "principled criticism" (*qingyi*).[15] Beyond this, Wei's general emphasis on wealth and power, private enterprise, elimination of corruption, and institutional change arguably provided a stronger basis for dealing with the threat of foreign encroachment than even his immediate successors like Feng, who had greater knowledge than Wei, but focused almost exclusively on military arms, technology, and international law at the expense of rallying support for political reform among the elite.[16] Finally, and perhaps most significantly, Wei—through extensive cartographical efforts—was able to integrate formerly disparate frontiers into a cohesive imperial vision, despite his inexperience on said frontiers, and to keep this broadly within Chinese precedent.[17] All of this, I argue, highlights how Wei casts a distinct vision of empire as resistance to foreign domination rooted in global geography.

Mid-twentieth-century scholarship on Wei initially situated him as an early, post-Opium War modernizer, largely because he composed *The Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms* (*Haiguo Tuzhi*, 1844), which was considered the first significant Chinese work on the West. Peter M. Mitchell exemplified this sort of scholarly approach to Wei, arguing that the type of "modernization" Wei and others were engaged in was a "living process in which traditional patterns of thought, relationships and action change and interact to fit new modes demanded by new concepts of human knowledge and its application to human control over its own environment."[18] Still, subsequent scholarship has taken issue with such frameworks as they have been applied to both Chinese history and Wei Yuan in particular, precisely because they distort the actual historical record. Jane Kate Leonard, for example, has argued that Wei's *Illustrated Treatise* ought to be read less as a

[15] Kuhn (2002: 120-121).
[16] Mitchell (1970: 270-271).
[17] Mosca (2013: 180, 182-184, 189, 194-195, 199-201).
[18] Mitchell (1970: 13).

"modernizing response" to Western impact and more as a rediscovery of Ming geopolitical views of maritime Asia.[19] Since Leonard's watershed monograph, other historians of China have adopted similar "internalist" perspectives, seeking to recover Chinese history on its own terms and not within paradigms developed by, and premised upon the West as a central actor.[20] And while some of these scholars have used "internalist" perspectives to look at other writings of Wei's and tease out the broader aims of his political reformism as it pertains to elite actors,[21] others—drawing on New Qing historical scholarship since the 1990s—have connected Wei's discussions of military conquest to his broader efforts to shore up Qing control of conquered peoples.[22]

In the rest of the chapter, I build on this literature to forward the argument that across Wei's geographical and military writings, there is a preoccupation with accurately assessing the scope of Western domination across the globe. I begin first by exploring Wei's understanding of "foreign" through his emphasis on translation and cartography. In the subsequent section, I contextualize Wei's use of the term *shu* (to control, to belong to) and how it appears in maps featured in the *Illustrated Treatise*. In the rest of that section, I focus on Wei's annotations of maps of South Asia, Africa, North America, and South America, noting his access to information on European

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[19] Leonard, Jane Kate. *Wei Yuan and China's Rediscovery of the Maritime World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 4-5, 144, 197, 203-205.
[20] Cohen, Paul A. *Discovering History in China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985, 2010).
[21] Kuhn (2002).
[22] Perdue, Peter C. *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 497. New Qing History (*Xin Qingshi* or "NQH") gained prominence in the United States in the mid-1990s by offering a wide-ranging revision of the history of the Manchu Qing dynasty through the use of recently opened Chinese and Manchu language archives. It primarily critiqued earlier "sinicization" theories which emphasized the power of Han Chinese to "sinicize" their conquerors (i.e. the Manchu Qing). A few seminal works of NQH include: Rawski, Evelyn. "Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History." *Journal of Asian Studies*. 55.4: (1996) 829–850; Crossley, Pamela Kyle. *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations of the End of the Qing World.* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1990); and Elliott, Mark C. *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001). For a brief assessment of the current stakes of the debates around NQH, see: Guo Wu. "New Qing History: Dispute, Dialog, and Influence." *The Chinese Historical Review*, 23:1 (2016), 47-69.

possessions (*shu*) across the globe. In the fourth section of the chapter, I briefly turn to Wei's analysis of one particular example—the British in India—and the interconnectedness of military force and economic trade to British domination in Asia. This more focused analysis shows that Wei was not simply concerned with geographical concessions across the globe, but with how these concessions came to be and what enabled Britain (and other Western powers) to subjugate diverse populations close to China. In the final section, I revisit my main contention that Wei's efforts at understanding the nature of Western global domination relied on apprehending foreign conditions through extensive engagement with global geography and spell out the implications of this for the history of political thought. My aim is to lay the groundwork both for my analysis of Sakuma Shozan's understanding of Western domination in the following chapter as well as Wei's and Sakuma's respective efforts to resist Western domination—the subjects of chapters four and five, respectively.

II. Comprehending the "Foreign"

Wei and Translation

For Wei, two central components of reform were translation and comprehension of foreign sources. In this respect, Wei spent a fair amount of criticizing extant imperial scholarship and officials and their lack of understanding of recent developments among foreign powers. For example, perhaps as a way of shaming current Chinese officials, Wei noted the stark difference between how the Qing Board of Rites (*Libu*) handled foreigners coming to China and British approaches to foreign communication. While the Board of Rites possessed institutions that contained Western material, their sole reliance on the Chinese language and their requirement that all tribute states in Southeast Asia use Chinese as the *lingua franca* limited their ability to understand

foreign material.[23] On the other hand, at least a handful of British officers were well-versed enough in Chinese to communicate with officials and translate material. This led Wei to conclude in his *Military History*, "Now he who controls and keeps out the foreigners must first fathom the foreigner nature." This conclusion was based, in part, on Wei's observations: "Presently in Guangdong foreign vessels seek to purchase Chinese books which in turn are translated [by them] into foreign languages. Thus, they are completely aware of China's internal conditions."[24] For Wei, knowledge of the enemy was intimately tied to one's ability to translate primary sources and comprehend them. In this respect, China did itself no favors in mandating (and relying on) solely Chinese copies of materials.

Earlier in the *Military History*, Wei had tied such an approach to a broader ignorance of world affairs on the part of Chinese officials: "Confucian scholars in writing their books know only matters within China itself. As to the border regions far from the capital, their knowledge is either faulty or obscure, and as to various tributary countries outside of China, some they list and others they omit…And in referring to countries where the Emperor's influence does not extend, they record only gossip and extravagant views easily proven erroneous."[25] In contrast to the aforementioned British officials who made great efforts to procure and translate Chinese works so that they might understand more about China's "internal conditions" as well as in contrast to earlier Ming traditions of statecraft focused on external affairs, Wei viewed Chinese imperial "scholarship" as too focused on itself and insufficiently attentive to global affairs, including the political, economic, and military affairs of foreign countries. Although, Wei came to such a conclusion within the context of the *Military History* (1842), a work focused primarily on the various successes in Chinese military history, it is important to note that a similar motivation animated his work on the *Illustrated Treatise* (1844),

[23] *SWJ*.6.12.9; Mitchell (1970: 147).
[24] *SWJ*.6.12.9; Mitchell (1970: 147).
[25] *SWJ*.6.12.8-9; Mitchell (1970: 146).

which was composed around the same time. Thus, one can see continuities in Wei's thought despite the differing aims of the two works. Both works foregrounded the insufficient knowledge that characterized imperial "scholarship" and, as a result, both can be seen as efforts on Wei's part to shift Chinese modes of intellectual and practical inquiry to better embody both its own earlier imperial traditions as well as reflect the practices of the British.

To give one example the kind of errors he thought characteristic of imperial "scholarship", Wei noted the errors in documenting names of foreign countries by other figures that he cited in his *Military History*. Wei cited prominent and less prominent examples alike in this respect: the highly respected Qing poet and historian Zhao Yi's (1727-1814) errors concerning late seventeenth-century campaigns against the Eleuths (present-day Bahamanians) in his work *The Magnificent Records of Dynastic Military Accomplishments* (*Huangchao Wugong Jisheng*), the scholar Yu Xie's confusion of Tibet, France, and India, and the scholar Qi Shiyi's confusion over Russia in his work, *Records of Western Knowledge* (*Xiyu Wenjianlu*; 1777).[26]

Wei made a point of highlighting others' errors in his *Illustrated Treatise* as well. In the preface as well as the thirty-seventh scroll, Wei criticized Chinese failures to distinguish between European countries and even an inability to locate them properly in terms of global geography. He criticized Chinese officials who viewed Portugal as a Southeast Asian "barbarian nation"; he also criticized Chinese officials who took Europe to be a continent entirely separate from Asia and who also likened the maritime division between Korea and the Liaodong peninsula to a Baltic sea-based division between Sweden and Norway in the north and the rest of Europe in the south.[27] On this last point, Wei might have been unnecessarily critical given that the major details of the account—Sweden and Norway in the north, most of the rest of Europe in the south, a separation by the Baltic

[26] Mitchell (1970: 146).
[27] *WYZ*.3.37.2-3; Mitchell (1970: 199).

sea—were correct. Still, Wei had a point insofar as the scale and nature of the Baltic maritime division was quite different from that of the Korea-Liaodong one. It is this sort of attentiveness, though, that perhaps best demonstrates the lengths to which Wei would go to verify the geographical information possessed by Chinese scholar-officials. If Wei lacked charitability, at least one would have a difficult time faulting him for not attempting to be thorough.

One major logistical problem in Wei's mind, though, was the lack of an adequate bureau to engage in the types of translations projects he thought fit to proper statecraft. In the *Illustrated Treatise*, Wei noted how the British used traditional Chinese "vassal states" like Annam (present-day central Vietnam) and Siam (present-day Thailand) as vehicles for expansion. In particular, the British occupation of Siam—a traditionally prosperous and wealthy region in Chinese eyes—led to the establishment of foreign buildings and markets, dockyards, and most importantly, Chinese language schools that facilitated translations and reprints.[28] In the eight scroll of the *Illustrated Treatise*, Wei concluded that this was the reason the British obtained military intelligence that led to their victory in the first Opium War. Writing on the heels of the war, Wei did not think such a situation was inevitably set in favor of the British, as he thought both Annam and Siam could still be strategically used to attack British-controlled Singapore by land and sea.[29] However, the major point for Wei was that there was information asymmetry leading up to the war. Had China established a translation bureau for foreign affairs and had Chinese scholar-officials relied on such materials, the outcome of the war would have likely been very different.

Perhaps, then, it hardly surprising that Wei's solution was to set up a translation office in Guangdong (Canton). Returning to the *Military History*, we find that Wei spelled out such a plan in an effort to mirror his earlier assessment of the British: "If within China we also set up an office in

[28] Mitchell (1970: 193).
[29] *WYZ*.1.8.4-5; Mitchell (1970: 192).

Guangdong to specialize in translating foreigner books and histories, then knowledge of all the truths and falsities, strengths and weaknesses of their strange customs and hostile nature would be ours."[30] Still, much of Wei's translated works relied on the direct transliteration of foreign loan words (likely following in the steps on Lin Zexu), but his efforts laid an important precedent that would inform later efforts in the same vein, especially with the establishment of the Imperial Language Institute in 1862 by members of the Self-Strengthening movement.[31] Notably, these reformers would build on the work of Wei and others in their attempts to unify and standardize translations in the years following the Opium Wars. Wei's translational ambiguities aside, the point for him in emphasizing the establishment of a translation bureau was his perceived connection between knowledge of foreign customs and the development of effective political, economic, and military plans. Across his texts, Wei showed little sign of believing that increased knowledge of how foreigners acted and saw themselves could be anything other than helpful.

Indeed, the slogan which he and later Self-Strengtheners have become associated with by some historians—namely, "use the barbarians to master the barbarians" (*yiyi zhiyi*)—perhaps best exemplifies the confidence of Wei's thinking on translation and foreign knowledge.[32] In both his section on Britain and the preface of the *Illustrated Treatise*, Wei emphasized the zero-sum nature of the contest between China and Britain. As Peter Mitchell has noted, for Wei, "To block [the] harm [from Britain] and learn their strengths would be to transform their influences into China's Wealth and Power, but to continue as at present ignoring their strength and wallowing in their harmful

[30] Mitchell (1970: 147).

[31] The Imperial Language Institute (*Jingshi Tongwenguan*) was established in Beijing on August 24, 1862 and was run by the Chinese government during the Self-Strenghening Movement during the late Qing Dynasty. It was an educational institution that mainly taught Western languages and was one of the earliest new educational institutions established in modern China.

[32] The phrase *yiyi zhiyi* might also be rendered as "use foreigners to subdue foreigners". The basic idea can be used in a two-fold manner: on the one hand, it might mean letting two foreign powers weaken each other without intervening (e.g. Britain and Holland); on the other hand, it might mean using Western science and technology to counter Western encroachment.

influences [opium] was the path to being controlled by them."[33] Using a classical Chinese trope of the "four barbarians", Wei argued that the difference between expert and non-expert learning was precisely whether one would be controlled by these barbarians or not.[34] Wei did not appear to entertain the possibility of Chinese-British mutual benefit—and perhaps understandably so, given the results of the first Opium war—but read knowledge as a weapon to be used solely for one's own benefit. And by translating and employing knowledge of foreign affairs and customs, China might actually reverse the tides of the war. However, to fail to do so would lead to further losses on China's part. For Wei, there was little, if any, in-between under present circumstances.

A word should be said, though, on the challenges associated with translating Wei's use of the term *yi* as "barbarian". Although earlier scholars tended to translate Wei's use of the term *yi* as "barbarian", Mitchell has noted that much of Wei's arguments—as well as his use of sources—were intended as "a strong argument against traditional Chinese derogatory labels for foreigners".[35] Moreover, historians have demonstrated that the use of the term *yi* did not necessarily imply a derogatory meaning. On the contrary, Wei Yuan's use of the phrase "emulating the strength of foreigner's technology in order to overcome them" (*shiyi changji zhiyi*) in the *Illustrated Treatise* suggests much more respect for foreigners precisely because the first character used (*shi*; "teacher", "master") suggests a sort of student-teacher relationship based on respect, even if it was respect for a wartime enemy.[36] Still, as the British authorities became increasingly incensed at the perceived use of *yi* as a derogatory form of address in the post-Opium War moment, they intensified efforts to implement

[33] Mitchell (1970: 198). I will examine Wei's connection between knowledge, on the one hand, and wealth and power, on the other, in a later chapter.
[34] Mitchell (1970: 198). It should be noted that while the term "four barbarians" was a classical derogatory term that did specify four directions ("Eastern Barbarians" or *Dongyi*, "Southern Barbarians" or *Nanman*, "Western Barbarians" or *Xirong*, and "Northern Barbarians" or *Beidi*), they were categories generally used for various non-Chinese peoples bordering ancient China and not just four specific groups of foreigners.
[35] Mitchell (1970: 220).
[36] Liu, Lydia. *The Clash of Empires* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 95.

the 1858 ban on *yi* and Wei's later work was no exception to the sorts of censoring moves made by Chinese officials during the time.[37] Thus, at least from the time of his completion of the *Illustrated Treatise* (1844) and the *Military History* (1842) until his death in 1856 (and beyond), it seems more appropriate to render his use of *yi* as "foreigner" rather than "barbarian".[38]

This respect for foreigners is not all that surprising given Lin Zexu's approach to translation and his influence on Wei. Lin Zexu's efforts were one of the first major attempts during the Opium War to collect up-to-date information on conditions in the maritime world and were largely a product of his role as Imperial Commissioner of Guangdong.[39] However, due to his poor handling of the opium crisis with Britain, he was relieved of his duty and passed on all of his materials to Wei. Lin's influence on Wei was evident not only in the two melancholy poems Wei composed after their final meeting before Lin headed into exile in Xinjiang per imperial decree,[40] but also—and perhaps more crucially—in the *Illustrated Treatise*'s extensive reliance on the material that formed the basis for Lin's *Treatise on the Four Continents* (*Sizhouzhi*).[41] In the eighty first scroll of the *Illustrated Treatise*, after contrasting the incompetency of Chinese officials with the knowledgeable officials of Japan, Northern Vietnam, Myanmar, and Thailand, Wei makes an exception with Lin:

> Only governor general Lin [Zexu] engaged in all of this, contrary to [what was done before]. In his office, [he] cultivated great translators, gave directions to make direct inquiries into the affairs of Western merchants, harbor pilots, and have 20 or 30 government officials submit them daily. [He] also had foreigners willingly ingratiate [themselves] and sell English works to China. Governor general Lin was a smart and great man [and] spared no effort in examining their

[37] Liu (2004: 70).
[38] In some cases, I retain the term "barbarian" but, where possible, I try to render these translations as "foreigner".
[39] Leonard (1984: 97).
[40] Mitchell (1970: 127).
[41] Mitchell (1970: 177-178); Leonard (1984: 114); de Bary, William Theodore and Richard Lufrano, ed. *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From 1600 Through the Twentieth Century, second edition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 206. Hereafter, it will be cited as: *SOCT*, page number.

> knowledge, gathering the English ruler's second letter[42], and advancing this knowledge to [its] intended effect.[43]

Not only had Lin made extensive use of Chinese translations of works by Western missionaries, he had also established a minor bureau to translate other foreign works, indicating a shared concern—both with Wei and other reformist scholar-officials of the time—about Chinese defense against Western incursions.[44] However, Lin's *Treatise on the Four Continents* contained much more information on the West than it did on Asia and, as such, Wei relied on Karl Gutzlaff's Chinese works—the *World Geography*, the *Treatise on Commerce*, and the *East-West Monthly Magazine*—to fill in gaps.[45] Nevertheless, Wei praised Lin not only for his efforts in translation, but also for his policies that called for trade revenue to go toward strengthening the Chinese military and navy,[46] a point I will return to in a later chapter.

However, Wei's admiration of Lin did not mean that he was completely uncritical of the latter. In his *Record of the British Invasion*—which was included both in later versions of the *Military History* and the continuation of the *Anthology*–Wei praised Lin for his military strategy but also faulted him for missing pivotal points for turning the tide of the war with Britain in China's favor. More specifically, Wei criticized Lin's continued obstinacy with regard to a required opium bond, the murder of Lin Weixi (d. 1839),[47] and continued British residence and trade at Macao.[48] In Wei's mind, Lin's stubborn refusal to lift the opium bond, his insistence on trying the Lin Weixi case

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[42] This likely refers to the correspondence between Lin Zexu (1785-1850) and Queen Victoria (1819-1901) prior to the First Opium War (1839-1842).
[43] *WYZ*.6.81.6-7.
[44] Leonard (1984: 97-98, 111).
[45] Leonard (1984: 114-115).
[46] Mitchell (1970: 154).
[47] On July 7, 1839, a British sailor killed the peasant Lin Weixi in Kowloon, China. Lin Zexu, in an effort to defend the Chinese jurisdiction, forced the British to surrender the murderer. This incident, along with Lin's closing of the opium trade, would eventually contribute to the beginning of the First Opium War (1839-1842).
[48] Mitchell (1970: 152).

against a British sailor, and his halting of trade in Macao protracted conflict rather than stopping it. In particular, by banning the opium trade, Lin encouraged the British to smuggle it in. Wei's critiques were not solely for Lin, though. He criticized Qi Shan (1786-1854)—Lin's replacement and the key negotiator with the British in the failed Convention of Chuanbi (*Chuanbi Caoyue*)–far more for his unwillingness to take advantage of British willingness to settle at points as well as for the Chinese military blunders that resulted in the capturing of Guandong.[49] Wei was also quite critical of northern officials as well, noting lack of military expertise and poor choice of subordinates.[50]

That said, Wei's own limitations—especially his linguistic limitations—are worth noting, as he was not immune to critique himself.[51] First things first, for all of his critiques of earlier figures for relying exclusively on Chinese materials, there is no indication that Wei did anything other than this in compiling his major works. This stands in contrast to Sakuma—whose efforts at translation I explore later—who began, like Wei, relying primarily on translations in his native language but, over time, learned Dutch and developed such a working proficiency that he did not need to rely on Japanese translations, but went to the original sources.[52] Wei on, the other hand, apparently lacked linguistic fluency and it remains unclear whether he made serious efforts to learn English or another language, as opposed to relying on transliterations into Chinese. In fact, the majority, if not all, of the material from Wei's accounts of Western conditions came from Chinese translations by missionaries.[53] Beyond his linguistic limits, Wei was critiqued—by Sakuma no less—for having inaccurate military information and for lacking military experience.[54] Such comments should be

[49] Mitchell (1970: 153).
[50] Mitchell (1970: 155).
[51] Wei first came into contact with the British via an invitation to interview a captured British captain (Anstruther). Wei relied on an interpreter, Bu Dingbang, due to his lack of English ability. (Mosca 2013: 167, 192)
[52] Mitchell (1970: 278).
[53] Ibid.
[54] *SOCT*, 207.

taken with a grain of salt both given Sakuma's penchant for exaggeration and Wei's involvement with training the anti-Taiping forces and other related experiences, but it is nevertheless true that Wei lacked the foreign linguistic ability that Sakuma had.

Even beyond his lack of language ability, Wei uncritically repeated the mistakes found in the translations upon which he relied in compiling information on Western countries. Although Wei's approach and worldview were "wholly recognizable approximation[s] of the early 19th century international scene" insofar as he analyzed international political developments and figures including, but not limited to, the reforms of Peter the Great in Russia, the American Revolution, and European colonial histories in Africa and South America, nevertheless, his analysis came with limitations. As Mitchell observes, "The problem [with Wei's approach] lay not essentially with Wei's view of the world, but that he, in his love for historical documentation, included in the [*Illustrated Treatise on Maritime Countries*] so much material perpetuating all the old misconceptions and gross inaccuracies" from earlier generations.[55] For example, in relying primarily on traditional Chinese sources, Wei reinforced both more significant errors like misinformed European geographies as well as more minor errors like confusion over the names of Sweden and Switzerland.[56] Still, one would do well to not read too much into these errors, though. Many of Wei's mistakes and misinterpretations in the *Illustrated Treatise* (as well as those of earlier generations of Chinese scholar-officials) were due to lack of source material, as opposed to faulty reasoning or antipathy toward foreigners.[57]

And it was precisely because of the paucity of sources and knowledge of foreigners that Wei felt the need to connect the establishment of a translation bureau to the broader effort of reforming

[55] Mitchell (1970: 204).
[56] Mitchell (1970: 190).
[57] Mitchell (1970: 190). That said, Liu (2009:304) notes that Wei was fault in another sense: he did not make foreign knowledge an explicit part of civil service reform, as later, more radical reformers would.

maritime defense. In the *Illustrated Treatise*, Wei argued that a translation bureau on the Pearl River could serve many purposes. Naturally, it would provide information on foreign naval technology to assist China in building its naval fleet, but the translation bureau could also do more. The foreign nationals (mostly French and American) who would train local Chinese would be encouraged to build up the area, replicating developments in Macao, so as to counter British Hong Kong.[58] In Wei's mind, this manipulation of foreign interests would achieve a temporary balance of power precisely because it played to American and French antipathy toward British domination in the region. Wei also believed that such assistance would aid not only with solving China's coastal pirate problem, but also in cracking down on opium smuggling.[59] If Wei can be seen as somewhat idealistic at points in thinking the Americans and French would assist in these endeavors, it must be remembered that he viewed American and French assistance as a temporary necessity until China could develop the requisite naval power. Then, China could repel any foreign actors with interests contrary to its own.

Because of his practicality and long-term analysis, it is perhaps not surprising that Wei found a receptive audience both at home and abroad, particularly in Japan.[60] Wei's *Illustrated Treatise* was first published in 1844, but it is unclear if copies had reached Japan prior to 1850. It is known that three copies of the *Treatise* were censored by Japanese officials in 1850 and another in 1853.[61] However, the policy of strict censorship would shift with U.S. Naval Commodore Matthew Perry's arrival in Uraga Bay (Edo) in 1853-1854 and his demands that Japan open its ports to foreign trade. Subsequently, at least fifteen copies of Wei's *Illustrated Treatise* were imported to Japan, some kept for official use and others sold to private buyers.[62] Beyond this, Japanese scholars made several reprints

[58] Mitchell (1970: 238).
[59] *WYZ*.1.2.7; Mitchell (1970: 238).
[60] Leonard (1984: 7).
[61] Mitchell (1970: 285).
[62] Mitchell (1970: 285).

of sections of the *Illustrated Treatise*, mostly on matters related to the United States but also on sections dealing with Europe and Russia.[63] Although Wei's *Illustrated Treatise* and *Military History* were both scarce and highly valuable in Japan at this point, it is notable that Sakuma seemingly had already seen copies of both works prior to 1853—possibly indicating leaks in censorship—and was in the process of developing responses to the Western pressure that took into account both the strengths and limitations of Wei's perspective.[64] That said, Sakuma's *Reflection on My Errors* did not emphasize international geography nearly to the degree Wei did, particularly in his *Illustrated Treatise*. Indeed, a crucial aspect of Wei's revision of scholarship and his imperial vision was remapping the world in a more accurate and informed manner so as to bolster political, military, and economic reform. It is toward these efforts that I now turn.

Wei and Cartography

To understand the role of international geography in Wei's works, it seems helpful to complement the previous analysis on Wei's engagement with Chinese translation with a brief analysis of the foreign modes of cartography and geographical theory Wei engaged with in his works—particularly in the *Illustrated Treatise*—before exploring Wei's knowledge of Western global possessions in the next section of the chapter. Wei's foreign sources included an extracted essay from Matteo Ricci's *Map of All Nations* (*Wanguo Ditu*), selections from Ferdinand Verbiest's *Discourse on Territorial Maps* (*Kun yu tu shuo*), and Guilio Alenio's *Records of Foreign Lands* (*Zhifang Waijitu*) as well as extensive material from Marquis de Macao's and McCarte's works. While Wei noted the outdated theories from the former three as they concerned pre-Newtonian geocentric theories of globalism, geometric measurements of the heaven and earth, polar, equatorial and hemispheric concepts, climatic relationships, the earth's diameter, latitude, and longitude, he relied on the latter two for

[63] Mitchell (1970: 285-286).
[64] Mitchell (1970: 284, 289-290).

more accurate geological and anthropological information.[65] Where he felt it appropriate, Wei added corrective notes, particularly on Asian geography.

It is equally important to note that Wei was writing within a Chinese genre of geographical writing stretching back to the Warring States period. As Jane Leonard has noted, since the Warring States period, geographical writing developed as a special genre of Chinese literature that included essays on geography in official dynastic histories, local gazetteers, private travel accounts, imperial encyclopedias, and accounts of foreign lands.[66] These accounts were meant to inform new imperial officials of both domestic affairs and the affairs of neighboring peoples and were primarily drawn from Chinese envoys, traders, religious pilgrims, or military officers on expeditions. Moreover, the Qing dynasty was heir to a rich geographical literature developed and compiled during the preceding Ming dynasty, that incorporated information from the South China Sea to the East coast of Africa and, following encounters with European Jesuits, from a variety of non-Asian locales.[67] Wei prioritized this Ming heritage in his *Illustrated Treatise* and, in so doing, actively distanced himself from an increasingly prevalent tendency Qing figures to prioritize knowledge of Inner Asia at the expense of maritime Asia and beyond. There were exceptions to this tendency toward "internal" affairs among private writers, but because the official accounts compiled by Ming officials possessed inaccurate information on maritime Asia, in some senses, Wei's project was long overdue, especially as it concerned ascertaining the growing expansion of Western countries in Asian waters.[68]

As for the structure of the *Illustrated Treatise*, it also reveals how Wei organized foreign learning and what he prioritized in terms of his efforts at reforming extant scholarship. Again, Leonard has observed that Wei prioritized information that elucidated important geopolitical

[65] Mitchell (1970: 218-220).
[66] Leonard (1984: 94).
[67] Leonard (1984: 94-95).
[68] Leonard (1984: 96).

realities such as a state's wealth and power (which included social, political, and economic factors) and its political history or "successive changes" (*yange*).[69] This approach caused him to prioritize certain areas that he felt were more likely to be areas of future Western involvement (e.g. Japan) before listing other areas within the same region (e.g. Korea, Okinawa).[70] One can readily see that Wei's overall organization—beginning with ten chapters on Southeast Asia, followed by seven chapters on Southwestern Asia, four chapters on Africa, ten chapters on Europe, three chapters on Russia and the Baltic states, and five chapters on the Americas—also reflected his foremost concern with Southeast Asia.[71] Wei's *Military History* (written around the same time), reflected similar concerns in devoting a considerable amount of attention to coastal control, rebellion, and piracy in the coastal regions from the early Qing until the present.[72] Of course, Wei had not always prioritized foreign learning in this way in his writings and much of the work he did on security and control prior to the Opium Wars was centered on controlling threats from anti-Manchu elements within the empire.[73] The connection, though, between domestic and international concerns figured prominently across Wei's writings and will be discussed later.

Moreover, Wei's publication of revised editions of both the *Illustrated Treatise* (and *Military History*) strongly suggests his continued emphasis on the importance of up-to-date information for practical affairs. As noted before, Wei relied heavily on Lin Zexu for much of the information that formed the first edition of the *Illustrated Treatise*, which was originally published in 1844. However, he had also conducted his own investigations into Western expansion in Asia and included much of this information in this same version.[74] Wei would continue in this vein by revising and expanding

[69] Leonard (1984: 103).
[70] Leonard (1984: 103-104).
[71] Leonard (1984:110). This is based on the 60-scroll version of the *Treatise*.
[72] Leonard (1984: 29).
[73] Leonard (1984: 29).
[74] Leonard (1984: 98); Mitchell (1970: 149).

the 50-scroll long 1844 version by ten scrolls and republishing it in 1847, with expanded material on firearms and steamships.[75] The final version of the *Illustrated Treatise* published before Wei's death in 1856 was a full one hundred scrolls and featured the addition of new (and higher quality) maps and geographical materials about the West, likely gathered after the war during a trip to Hong Kong, Guangdong, and Macao in 1847.[76]

Another aspect of Wei's emphasis on having up-to-date information was his reliance on contemporary Chinese sources—a fact that was not at odds with his use of earlier Ming frameworks (as opposed to contemporary Qing accounts) for thinking about global maritime relations. The three sources Wei relied on most heavily for information of current conditions were the *Record of Things Heard and Seen among the Maritime Kingdoms* (*Haiguo Wenjianlu*; 1730) by Chen Lunjiong (?-1751),[77] the *Desultory Account of the Islands of the Sea* (*Haidao Yizhi*; 1791) by Wang Dahai, and the *Record of the Sea* (*Hailu*; 1820) by Xie Qinggao (1765-1821). Wei relied on Chen's firsthand accounts for general material on Southeast Asia (especially Vietnam), Japan, and India while he turned to Wang's firsthand account for specific information on Dutch control of Java, the Straits of Sunda, and the Indonesian archipelago.[78] However, the most important of these three for Wei was Xie's *Record of the Sea*. He relied on it both for its information on regions including India, Japan, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, the Malay peninsula, and Singapore as well as information on local politics, trading conditions, and Western expansion in these areas.[79] In short, Wei emphasized the use of the most recent and accurate sources, where possible. In the event that he found his sources insufficiently accurate, he was willing to rely on older editions that contained relevant information.

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[75] Mitchell (1970: 150).
[76] Leonard (1984: 98).
[77] For more on Chen (and his connections to Wei), see: Po, Ronald. *The Blue Frontier: Maritime Vision and Power in the Qing Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 190.
[78] Leonard (1984: 116).
[79] Leonard (1984: 115-116).

Beyond up-to-date information, an important aspect of Wei's imperial reformism as it related to revising extant scholarship was his conception of the Qing empire. As scholars have shown, Wei was part of a trend, beginning in the early nineteenth century, that attempted to revise how intellectuals and officials conceived of China, both in the face of issues on the frontier and the coast. As Zhao Gang has noted: "During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Han Chinese and Manchu intellectuals played an important role in spreading the official Qing view of *China*, beginning with Gong Zizhen, Wei Yuan, and other famous literati concerned with frontier issues during the Daoguang and Xianfeng periods (1821-1860). They not only accepted the official view of *China* as a multiethnic entity but also injected this view into a number of books on history and geography."[80] Drawing on Wei's comments in the *Military History* that "Mongols cannot accept the teachings of the duke of Zhou and Confucius" and that, as a result of the Qianlong emperor allowing lamas to teach these people instead, "Tibet became peaceful and the northwest frontier was unthreatened", Gang Zhao has argued that Wei espoused a view that emphasized respecting the cultural plurality of the Qing empire (including its varied traditions of learning) as a means of maintaining order on the frontier.[81] However, Wei's defense of cultural pluralism did not mean that borderlands were not under China's authority; quite to the contrary, Wei characterized Xinjiang, Mongolia as being within China's territory.[82] I will return to Wei's emphasis on border control in a later chapter, but the important thing to note is that Wei adopted such a position by reading the previous emperor's actions as in contrast to the positions espoused by Han and Tang Confucians—namely, to ignore the western regions because they were "hardly worth the effort involved in

[80] Zhao, Gang. "Reinventing China: Imperial Qing Ideology and the Rise of Modern Chinese National Identity in the Early Twentieth Century." *Modern China* 32.1 (January 2006), 18; Rowe (2018: 174).
[81] Zhao (2006: 20).
[82] Ibid.

subduing them and ruling them".[83] In short, Wei appealed to a prominent historical example of the emperor refuting established "scholarship" in the name of flexible rule that is attentive to empirical realities. And, true to form, Wei was attempting to do the same in his own work.

Still, as we have seen, Wei's emphasis on revising scholarship to better grapple with changing political realities extended beyond land-based border control to maritime borders as well. As previous scholars have noted, the early Manchu emperors of the Qing dynasty, in part due to the increased role of private traders in managing maritime commerce, shifted their focus from maritime security to "internal" security thereby ensuring the imperial government was out of touch with maritime developments, including Western expansion. Wei's *Illustrated Treatise*, then, according to Leonard, was intended to "[re-open] dialogue about Chinese strategic interests in maritime Asia and the need for reestablishing close ties with it."[84] Wei prioritized an earlier, Ming heritage of statecraft in his *Illustrated Treatise* and distanced himself from the early Qing tendency to prioritize knowledge of Inner Asia at the expense of maritime Asia precisely because he viewed such an emphasis as misguided and impractical. In this sense, Wei presents countervailing tendencies in his writings and scholarship. Even as one might read Sinocentric tendencies into his thought insofar as he championed the maintenance of the Chinese empire through a hierarchical management of difference, one might also note how Wei attempted to adjust early Qing Sinocentric views that ignored Western expansion in maritime Asia.[85]

III. Wei's Historical Knowledge of Western Global Possessions

A key aspect of Wei's understanding of Western global domination was his use of *shu*, which functioned across his works as an expansive category applicable either to territories belonging to

[83] Zhao (2006:20).
[84] Leonard (1984: 34).
[85] Leonard (1984: 92).

foreign (often Western) empires or territories traditionally within the purview of China. Historically, *shu* was used in a variety of contexts—it could refer to relations within the family, peers within the same generation, governmental administrative divisions or departments, or more generally, to submitting to the authority of another. Wei's usage of *shu* in the *Illustrated Treatise* can be said to adopt some aspects of all of these connotations as much of the material in the *Illustrated Treatise* on foreign countries traces ethnic, cultural, economic, and political linkages across time. Thus, it is hardly a stretch to say that Wei understood the relations between European actors and the various peoples of Asia, Africa, North America, and South America as ones of domination.[86] My aim in this section is to explore the historical and geographical records Wei drew on in the *Illustrated Treatise* to flesh out the bounds of his understanding of global power dynamics. This general information, I argue, informed Wei's particular concern with Western domination of Asia, which I explore in greater detail in the subsequent section.

[86] This is further supported by Wei's use of the terms *jia-yu* ("to master"), *kuan* ("to pacify") and *zhi* ("to control") in describing European relations to various people groups, most notably in Southeast Asia.

India

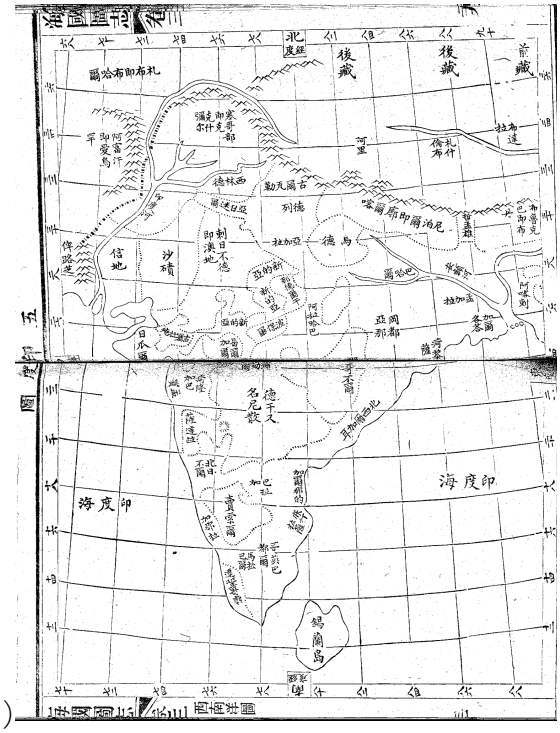

Figure 1: Map of India/Nepal from the Haiguo Tuzhi (WYZ.1.3.29-30)

As is well known, Wei's *Illustrated Treatise* drew on a variety on foreign materials and was heavily indebted to previous work done by Chinese translators under the direction of Lin Zexu (1785-1850). It was this previous work that informed not only Wei's economic, political, and military strategies, but also his historical understanding of European domination across the globe. For example, in the nineteenth volume of the *Illustrated Treatise*, Wei cited an account of British ascension in India, noting that much of the British victory came through taking advantage of India, militarily and economically:

> The English took advantage of [the Indians] and conquered the eastern region. The British dispatched *He Weilian* to be on garrison duty in Meghalaya (*Meng-a-la*) and *He Zuqi* to be on

> garrison duty, to pursue [the Indians] to the two locations of Manda Lhasa and Mumbai, open up the ports for trade and goods, and fill each state with crowds of merchant ships.[87]

Here, Wei repeats a conventional historical account of British engagement with India in the early phases of its imperial project. Wei offers little in the way of commentary, but his inclusion of such historical accounts indicates that he was aware of the interrelated nature of British military and economic power and how it enabled British officials to expand their influence in India.

Yet, even though Britain was able to gain an upper hand economically (and in some cases, militarily), this did not ensure an end to military conflict or a straightforward relationship of exploitative domination. In the same volume, Wei cited an account that read, "At that time, only Hyder Ali (*Ha-da-a-li*; the sultan of Mysore) was strong and was not conquered by the British[.] Thereupon, the united army of Siraj ud-Daulah's (*Su-la-zha-dao-la*; the last nawab [Muslim ruler] of Bengal) fought with the British, stopped *He Weilian*'s numerous units, and established a prison in solitude [for British captives]."[88] Because Indian resistance and recapturing of lost territory posed problems for British attempts at domination, the British doubled down on their efforts, resulting in the creation of new, British-administered regions:

> The British, thereupon, dispatched *Lu-ji-li-fu* to retake these lands and separate the established chiefs. Afterward, in the 30th year of the Qianlong reign (1765), again there was betrayal [and they] all destroyed the English people. The English monarch again dispatched *Sa-yi-gu-di* to retake these regions. From this [point], India was controlled by England [and was in] thirteen parts.[89]

Again, Wei offered no direct commentary on this account, but his inclusion of it in his section on India demonstrates his awareness of the complicated historical and material factors behind Britain's dominance in parts of India.

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[87] *WYZ*.2.19.2.
[88] *WYZ*.2.19.2.
[89] *WYZ*.2.19.2.

Beyond local resistance, British control was further complicated by the geographical challenges Britain initially encountered after occupying Indian lands—a point that bears out in texts included in the *Illustrated Treatise*. After the British had successfully gained control of an island near Mumbai which had formerly belonged to the Portuguese, the small company charged to administer the island realized it "was a wasteland, was distant and out of sight, and the tide would flood it [since] it was a land with large rivers."[90] For three years, the British would struggle to work the natural environment to their advantage and to prevent the spread of disease: "The English exerted themselves and built dykes to guard against [flooding]. They caused the land and rivers to flourish, built brick houses, opened thoroughfares, recruited those who were stranded."[91] As a result, "The number of households multiplied profusely. Although this small island had stony and infertile land and the produce throughout the year was less their monthly usage, still the tobacco growers were more than 160,000 and they all relied on trading as work."[92] This account was important for Wei because it demonstrated how the British could expand globally, even without agricultural abundance. Skill in trade coupled with sound infrastructure enabled British merchants to overcome less-than-ideal conditions for crop production.

Moreover, the trade networks that enabled British dominance extended beyond simply bilateral trade between Britain and India. As the nineteenth volume of the *Illustrated Treatise* noted, "Western ships numbered more than 700 vessels and they all went to northwest India, as well as *Fa-er-xi*, Arabia, and even China. The goods that were shipped out were medicinal drugs, cotton, agate, and the like."[93] That said, the British were not the only merchants in the region: "Outside of the English merchants, there were anonymous merchants who even went back to *Fa-er-xi*. These

[90] *WYZ*.2.19.9.
[91] *WYZ*.2.19.9.
[92] *WYZ*.2.19.9.
[93] *WYZ*.2.19.9

anonymous merchants were originally natives of *Fa-er-xi*, were Muslims, and began to prosper [after] exhausting their strength conquering the western parts."[94] Although the account Wei included in this volume noted that the Muslim merchants were "all thrifty and diligent in [their] work", this competition from Muslim traders did not seem to stifle British trade, perhaps due to a superior skill and craftsmanship on the part of the British.[95] In any event, the point Wei seems to have taken from these accounts (as evidenced by his proposals for Chinese trade throughout the *Illustrated Treatise*) was that trade was a key factor (along with military strength) in securing British dominance in India.

Africa

Wei's emphasis on trade was equally true in the case of Africa and the details he cites in the *Illustrated Treatise* speak to the wide variety of goods in which traveling merchants in Africa engaged. With regard to animals in Africa, he notes that: "Of the beasts, [there are] many lions, tigers, leopards, elephants, elk, water horses, rhinoceros; their birds [have] numerous peacock tails, the ostriches are excellent [and] common, all of the [birds] do not cry out, [their] property are camels [and] the crocodiles are monstrous."[96] Wei's European sources noted the abundance of fauna and situated this in stark contrast to the land and the people. With respect to the land, it was generally regarded as "uncultivated" and the soli as "rough".[97]

[94] *WYZ*.2.19.9.
[95] *WYZ*.2.19.9.
[96] *WYZ*.3.33.5-6.
[97] *WYZ*.3.33.6.

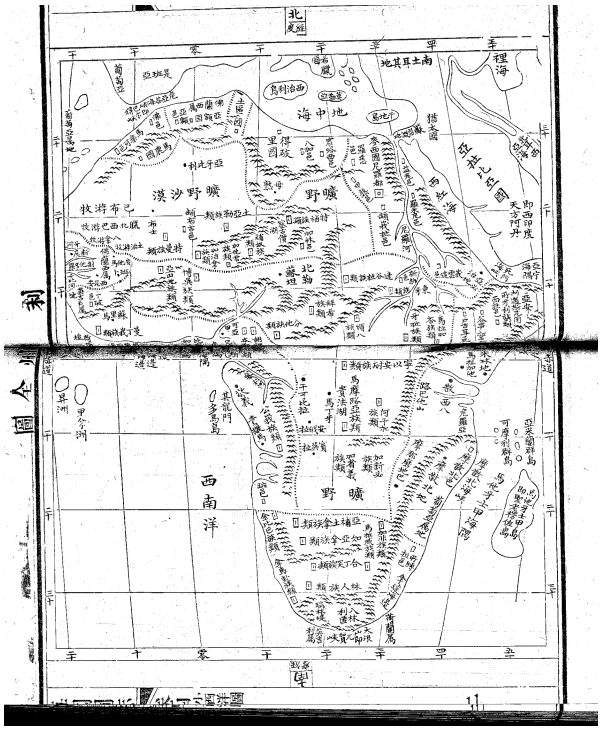

Figure 2: Map of Africa from the Haiguo Tuzhi (WYZ.1.4.1-2)

Perhaps most revealing, though was the European descriptions of the people of Africa (whom Wei cited). In the same passage on animals in the thirty-third volume of the *Illustrated Treatise*, Wei's source referred to the African people as "lazy", "unknowledgeable" when it came to work, and "incapable" of using more than the most basic of things. At this point, the language employed becomes explicitly racialized, even touching of the British slave trade: "The greater part of the people who live here roll their hair, [have] black faces, flat noses, and white teeth…[they] use sounds of speech to distinguish the branches of their clans and kinsfolk. Foreign ships have come here, plundered many of these black peoples and sold them as slaves. Recently, the English have prohibited this…"[98] Wei cites this source as authoritative of European views on Africa, but it is difficult to ascertain to what degree he internalized these racialized depictions of Africans.

[98] *WYZ*.3.33.6.

Nevertheless, the black slave trade in Wei's account was not geographically limited to the seaports of Britain and Africa. Later on in the thirty-third volume of the *Illustrated Treatise*, it read that, "The countries of the Mediterranean (*Maixi*) along with Africa, mutually transport much into [each others'] interior—merchants buy bounded flocks and come, [they] buy black slaves [when they] arrive here, and sell [them] at the various borders of the Mediterranean Sea."[99] If Wei's access to European accounts made him aware of the opium trade in India and how that trade enable British economic and military expansion, it is no less true that his access to these accounts enabled him to see how British (and other European) exploitative practices in various parts of Africa enabled the subjugation of black populations and the economic dominance of European powers in Africa and across the globe. Although Africa was not as close as India was to China (and thus did not occupy a central position in Wei's military analysis in the way India did), the transnational trade in black slaves made Wei aware of the extent and forms of European domination in distant lands.

Indeed, Wei cites another account that gives insight into the history of South Africa and how multiple European empires sought to extend their influence in the region. Speaking of South Africa, Wei writes: "The land is divided into three states: to the south of the mountains is *Wu-he-xia*, which is presently controlled by England. To the north of the mountain is *Mo-shu-a-na* and to the east of the mountain is the river *Jia-fu-la-chan*, both of which also have their own rulers."[100] A few pages later Wei also notes that South's Africa's western side is half native-possessed and half-Dutch possessed.[101] Thus, perhaps it is no surprise that the population of South Africa is diversely constituted in Wei's account: "There are six kinds of people living on the [South African] land: the English, the Dutch, the *He-ding-tu*, the *Mo-shu-a-na*, the [people of] *Jia-fu-la-chan* river, and the *Mo-ye-si-*

[99] *WYZ*.3.33.11.
[100] *WYZ*.3.34.25.
[101] *WYZ*.3.34.40.

man."[102] Just as with his material on India, the maps and accounts of various parts of Africa convinced Wei of the importance of trade and military strength in securing British and Dutch dominance in foreign lands. Though the merchants dealt more in terms of tradeable "goods" (i.e. animals and black slaves) and less in terms of explicit political and military force, the means of domination—economic trade—remained largely the same and this point was not lost on Wei.

North America

In the case of North America, the British remained a primary actor for Wei, but a new actor came on the scene as well: Russia. In the sixty-fifth volume of the *Illustrated Treatise*, Wei noted that, "The states England possesses in North America are in the eastern and southern parts of the United States."[103] Later in that same volume, Wei went on quote his sources as noting that, "The eastern part [of British-controlled North America] has two islands named Newfoundland (*Xin Zhao-di* [lit. "Newly landed"]) and Nova Scotia (*Xin Su-ge-lan* [lit. "New Scotland"]). Hunting and fishing are their means of livelihood [and the land] is desolate and barren. In the northern states of America, the English-controlled lands are largest and also the most barren."[104] That said, Wei spent significantly less time analyzing the colonial dynamics in North America. Perhaps this relative lack of attention is due to America's relative distance from Asia, although the same could be said of Africa. Whereas Wei viewed the British as an imminent threat in South and South-east Asia, he tended to devote less attention to problems further afield, particularly when he was unsure of how such material and economic resources in other regions would influence Britain's (or other Europeans') actions in Asia.

[102] *WYZ*.3.34.25.
[103] *WYZ*.5.65.11.
[104] *WYZ*.5.65.11.

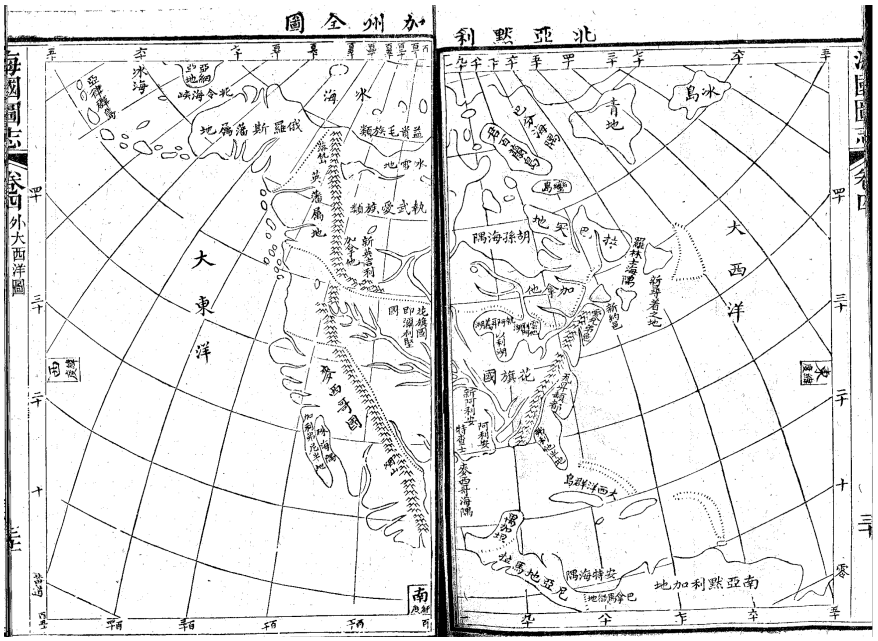

Figure 3: Map of North America from the Haiguo Tuzhi (WYZ.1.4.30-31)

Still, Wei included information on the economic and political development of North American colonies in his *Illustrated Treatise*. Just a few pages later in that same volume, Wei explored the political aspects of the British North America territories: "Just as with the five settlements of New *Mo-lan-shi-dian*, *Na-gui-shi-ge-di-a*, Valencia island (*Bo-lin-shi-e*), Newfoundland island (*Niu-fang-lan*), and *Jia-mo-li-dun* island, [the British] have set up consul generals for each official [in these places]."[105] Wei not only acknowledged the building of new European settlements and governments in North America, but also the establishment of prisons, land for animals, and tax systems.[106] Wei's sources indicated that, "altogether, the land tax is quite small" and also that "when the land near the St. Lawrence river (*Xian Luo-lun-shi*) was first controlled by the French, it was divided for each official and [they] would rent land to receive profit." However, "Recently, the English returned in droves to till the land directly and capture [animals]. Thus, [French] Louisiana (*Luo-a-jia-na-da*)

[105] *WYZ*.5.65.13.
[106] *WYZ*.5.65.13.

collected silver taxes of roughly 80,000 yuan."[107] Again, in spite of these economic and political developments, Wei seems to have devoted little attention to British settler colonialism in America. After all, it was a threat limited by distance and the wealth generated from domestic economic systems went to the French anyway.

The British were not the only actors attempting to assert control in North America though, according to Wei's sources. Earlier in the sixty-fifth volume of the *Illustrated Treatise*, Wei had noted that, "To the west, Russia controls the northern Arctic ocean. Specifically, [since they] hunt wild beasts, therefore fur coats are important [to them]. [They] have two big cities: [one] is called *Gui-bei* [and the other] is called *Men-da-ya-li*."[108] Moreover, Wei's sources noted the non-animal (as well as animal) resources available to the Russians: "There are two big rivers. The land produces wheat flour, ox meat, pelts, lumber, and coal [and as for] the goods [they] brought, they are: alcohol, gunpowder, and felt blankets."[109] Perhaps then, it is not surprising that Wei later includes information of the development of Russian trade in North America: "Of the people who live on *Zha-zhi-da* island, most were sent from Russia…[Their] newly cultivated area is called New *A-zhan-ya* and has a thousand people living in it…Most produce pelts, and [for] those who go to Yue [Guangdong] province [in China], all of them buy there and yearly, they earn about 20,000 yuan in silver."[110] Moreover, "In recent years, the terrain of Russia' occupied port *Ma-di-ya*—despite not being very extensive—has connected to the coast of New *Jia-wu-ke* and thus, [their] trade is flourishing."[111] As a result, Wei had some knowledge of the historical development of Russian trade in North America and how it enabled Russians to gain control of territory in the New World. Again, though, Wei seems to not have devoted much attention to this in formulating his military policies

[107] *WYZ*.5.65.13.
[108] *WYZ*.5.65.11.
[109] *WYZ*.5.65.11.
[110] *WYZ*.5.65.1-2.
[111] *WYZ*.5.65.1-2.

for Chinese defense against Western aggression, likely due the urgency of the proximity of the British threat in South and South-east Asia.

South America

The same sort of lack of prioritization could be said of South America as well, but Wei's lack of emphasis on these regions in his more policy-oriented parts of the *Illustrated Treatise* should not be taken to mean that he did value an accurate (so far as was possible) understanding of global conditions. With respect to his sources on South America, they identified the main European actors in this part of the globe as the Spanish and the Portuguese, with minor roles afforded to the British and French. Drawing on them, Wei notes at the beginning of the sixty-ninth volume of the *Illustrated Treatise* that, "the various states within South America each have their own monarchs [and] outside of Brazil, these others have all been possessions of Spain since the days of yore."[112] He then partitions South America into its major constituent parts, noting, "The north is called Columbia; its east reaches to the Atlantic Ocean, its west touches the Pacific Ocean, its north connects to Panama, and its south joins with Brazil, Peru (*Bo-lu*) and other countries…These countries listen to the monarch [appointed] by the people[.] As a result, the commoners have been connected for a long time to the Spanish military's defeats and victories, [and] in the end [they] have expelled the enemy and [made them] leave the country."[113] The inclusion of this passage is significant because it highlights not only European colonialism, but also how the potentially colonized could resist European domination and force concessions. As I noted before, this was a key theme for Wei's historical analysis of Indian resistance to British invasions.

[112] *WYZ*.5.69.1.
[113] *WYZ*.5.69.1.

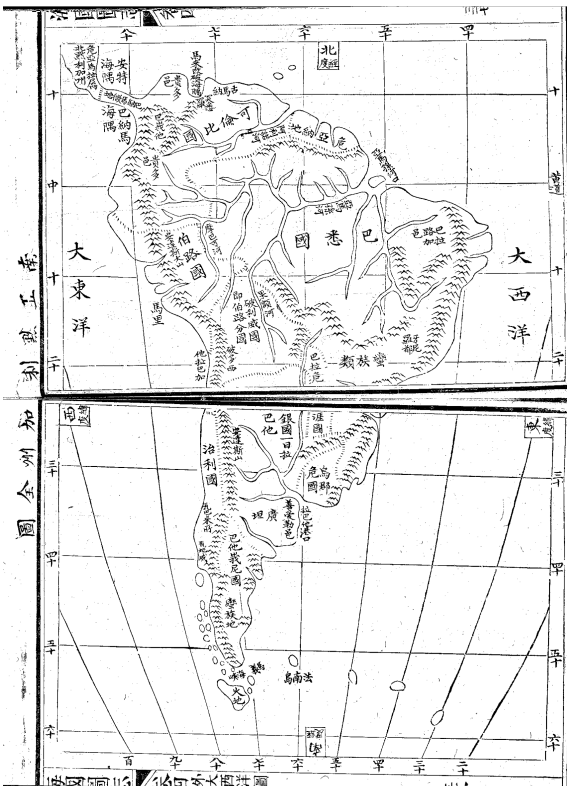

Figure 4: Map of South America from the Haiguo Tuzhi (WYZ.1.4.37-38)

Differences notwithstanding, a major similarity between South America and the other global cases included in the *Illustrated Treatise* was the emphasis on topography, population, and the availability of resources in the region. For instance, Wei noted not only that Guyana was assimilated under the English, but also its geographic borders with Columbia and the Atlantic Ocean.[114] In terms of population and topography, Wei provided similar information to other accounts, noting the population density of tobacco traders, the relevant industries in these locales, and the structure of the prefectures and cities.[115] This information not only gave Wei's Chinese audience a sense of the breadth of European territory across the globe, but also a sense of relative populations and access to resources—all of which serve to help his audience comprehend their relative global position in a new light.

[114] *WYZ*.5.69.8.
[115] *WYZ*.5.69.8.

All the more intriguing is Wei's inclusion of information on the dual European administration of territories in South American. For example, Wei's sources made him aware of the fact that Guyana was not simply a British possession, but was also partially administered by France and Holland. His source noted that, "there are still a number of concurrently assimilated islands…two have been returned to France's possession and one has been returned to Holland's possession. The three islands are collectively called the French Antilles."[116] This information led Wei to conclude that much of South America was divided among European powers: "The *Foreign History* says all of the countries in South America are jointly assimilated lands [consisting] of four regions: One [part] is administered by the British…One is administered by the Dutch…One is administered by the French…[The last] one is the land administered by the Portuguese—they control Brazil."[117] Wei knew (and sought to inform his audience) that European economic and political conquest was not a uniform thing. The British, French, Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese were rival empires—a point he felt his Chinese audience did not sufficiently comprehend. Indeed, Wei's military strategy of "using the foreigners to attack the foreigners" should be understood in this broader historical and geographical context, not simply within his analysis of South or South-east Asia. For all of his idealism (according to his contemporaries), Wei was quite aware that Europeans often did fight among themselves and that this could serve China's interests.

IV. A Case - British Trade & Domination in Asia

And yet, to understand how to play European interests against each other, Chinese officials needed to know what those interests were and what mechanisms enabled Europeans to dominate other lands. For that information, Wei most often turned to the British (which is not surprising

[116] *WYZ*.5.69.9.
[117] *WYZ*.5.69.11-12.

given the immediacy of China's war with Britain while Wei was writing the *Illustrated Treatise*) and to their economic and military capabilities.

In response to British trade and economic domination in China, Wei emphasized, first, the need to generate economic profit or revenue, domestically. To be sure, Wei was engaged in economic affairs early in his career and thus, his interests in generating wealth and countering economic exploitation or corruption predated his concern with the British or the Opium War. Indeed, since the 1820s, Wei had been involved with efforts to shift away from relying on the Grand Canal transport system toward allowing private merchants to ship grain from the wealthy lower Yangzi area to the capital in Beijing.[118] And although the effort to override entrenched interests around the Grain Transport Administration among this group of reformers met with some early success in 1826, it was short-lived (only about a year) and would not be pursued again for another twenty years.[119] Early on, Wei emphasized the importance of sea transport over the Grand Canal precisely because it would relieve financial strains on small farmers,[120] but following the short-lived success of the Grain Transport Administration reforms, Wei turned his attention in the 1830s toward reforming the Liang-huai salt system under governor-general Tao Zhu. Early in 1832, Tao had introduced the ticket system in order to open trade to small investors and it met with great success.[121] Wei worked closely with Tao on this project, lowering salt prices by eliminating illegal fees and streamlining distribution. This led, among other things, to several works by Wei ("An Account of Ticket Salt in Huaibei", "Preface to the Huaibei Ticket Salt Gazetteer", and "Preparations Regarding Salt") that documented their successful reforms and outlined their plans for expansion into neighboring regions.[122]

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[118] Kuhn (2002: 118).
[119] Kuhn (2002: 119).
[120] Ibid.
[121] Leonard (1984: 27).
[122] Ibid. 27-28.

In spite of the successes of the 1820s and 30s, Wei and other scholar reformers noticed that the Opium War posed a significant challenge for China economically, precisely because foreign domination of China was (on their reading) a result of Chinese failures to seriously grapple with the British motivations animating the war. In the first scroll of the *Military History*, Wei—despite holding him in high esteem for other reasons—nevertheless critiqued his mentor Lin Zexu for protracting war by inflexibly maintaining his position on eradicating every trace of trade and refusing to negotiate with Britain on reasonable terms over a Chinese prisoner.[123] He also critiqued others for their lack of military expertise, lack of qualified subordinates, and lack of strategic planning.[124] Still, despite having a good command of some primary sources from which he could base his inquiry into economic and military affairs, Wei downplayed his own limits, including his lack of true comprehension of the foreign side of the war insofar as he "failed to grasp the interwoven connection between British commerce and national policy."[125] However, Wei did seem to have some understanding of this connection, at least in his *Illustrated Treatise*. Somewhat conjecturally, Wei recounted (what he took to be) the situation in England:

> This day, in London, the sky is dim, rice prices are quite expensive, there is a great shortage of silver in the country, and silver prices have also risen. The price of silk produced in Huzhou city (Zhejiang province) is not good [compared to] earlier times; presently, there have already been great changes and all of the tea leaves have been exhausted and have risen in price[.] There is not a single item in London that is not quite expensive. In this season, the first month had [already] come and gone [in] the land[.] The opium and cotton of those who desired to go to China, had kept [them] for future [use], and had not yet sent them out amounted to a silver deficit of 6 million *bang*. Truly this was a great harm to their profits. If [they] delayed again and refused to acknowledge [it], a great deal of trade would collapse and the land would be impoverished.[126]

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[123] Mitchell (1970: 154).
[124] Mitchell (1970: 155).
[125] Mitchell (1970: 167).
[126] *WYZ*. 6. 81. 20. Prior to 1804, the silver drain was largely in China's favor (from Britain to China) due to the profitable sale of Chinese tea. Beginning in the end of the eighteenth century, Britain reversed this drain with the sale of opium in China such that, by 1804, some seven million dollars in silver were exported from China to British-controlled India. See: Layton, Thomas N. *The Voyage of the 'Frolic': New England Merchants and the Opium Trade* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 28.

From Wei's brief account, it seems apparent enough that he understood the interwoven connection between British domestic commerce and foreign policy. If British merchants could not increase trade with China, they were doomed to be impoverished at home. This is spelled out a little more in Wei's account of the British consul's actions following the closing of Chinese ports to trade in 1834:

> After private companies disbanded [following the port closures], there were no people governing affairs and the foreign merchants again let managers come with a request for Yue province. Britain thereupon sent a consul, *Lulaobei* (Lord Napier),[127] to Yue in the 14th year of Daoguang (1834) to manage trade[.] [He] wanted to bring the yamen to trial and, as with the British crown, have twelve people assist in trying the case. On the 24th day of the seventh month[128], Lord Napier also, without having notified the foreign merchants, suddenly burst into the county river[.] The Chinese governor general was greatly angered and thus stopped trade, prohibited arms and food, [and] prepared to attack[.] Thereupon, the boatmen detained the same Napier and brought [him] to Macao. Napier arrived in Macao and died of anger.[129]

Despite his rhetorical flourishes, Wei seems to have understood, quite clearly, that British commercial interests were tied to political and legal recourse, should their desire for trade be blocked. Wei not only grasped that domestic economic pressures at home forced many British merchants to sail to China in the hope of recovering their losses, but he also argued that adopting a flexible policy toward Britain under such circumstances (unlike Lin) might have actually averted the Opium War. That said, Wei was perhaps too critical of Lin (or idealistic concerning his own "flexible" policy), as the British were equally inflexible in their commitment to expanding the opium trade in China.

This reverse of the drain was not lost on Wei and, as I will show, he argued for opium bans and increased trade in tea to reverse this development.

[127] William John "Lord" Napier (1786-1834) was a British Royal Navy officer and trade envoy in China. He is perhaps best known for being among the first to lay out a plan for the British seizure of Hong Kong.

[128] September 6, 1834.

[129] *WYZ*. 6. 83. 8.

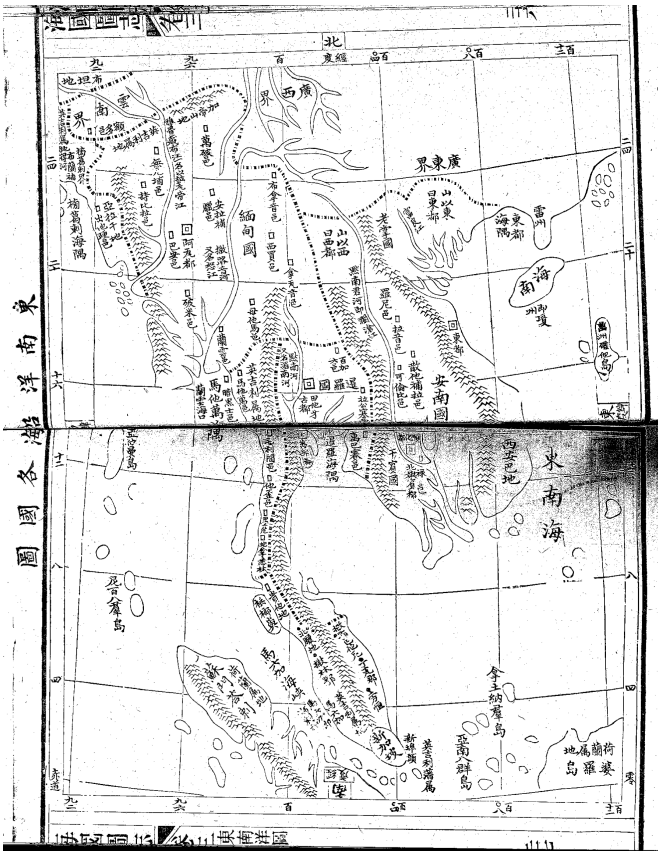

Figure 5: Map of Southeast Asia from the *Haiguo Tuzhi* (*WYZ*.1.3.26-27)[130]

Still, as I noted in the previous section, Wei was not blind to the reality of Western colonial expansion and how trade was tied to such developments, particularly in South and Southeast Asia. In analyzing early Sino-Western contact in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in his *Treatise*, Wei seems to have viewed these interactions as normal and mutually beneficial and thus, did not give much consideration to Western expansion into Asia at that point.[131] That is not to say, though, that Wei was unware of some of the later, harsher aspects of Western commercial and colonial expansion, especially given his sources and his strong criticism of Dutch and British involvement in

[130] As with the earlier map of Asia, this map of Southeast Asia was part of a series of global maps featured early in the *Haiguo Tuzhi* (scroll 3). Of particular note (and as we will see with the map of Africa), Wei notes areas "belonging" (*shu*) to European powers; he was not unaware of European colonization of Asia and Africa and his military, political, and economic policies were drafted in light of this reality.

[131] Leonard (1984: 161).

Southeast Asian and Indian politics during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[132] In his preface to his fifth scroll in the *Illustrated Treatise* Wei acknowledges as much in justifying his selection of material and selective analysis:

> When one [discusses] South and Southeast Asia, in fact one is [discussing] Europe because today the five countries of Spain, Holland, France, England, and Portugal rule the areas in the South Seas. Although Annam, Siam, Burma, and Japan have not been conquered by the aggressive bandits, herein is recorded their experiences with maritime defense against them. I do not touch on Korea and the Ryukyu islands as they are unrelated to maritime defense [having suffered no Western aggression yet].[133]

This awareness of Western colonial expansion not only informed Wei's analysis of Southeast Asia and India, but also of other regions of the globe, as I explored earlier. Of particular note is Wei's awareness of Europeans plundering African countries in order to sell slaves and how various European countries were vying for control in South America, North America, and Africa, as well as Asia. Taking Africa as an example, Wei understood that the Portuguese controlled most of the east, France controlled most of the north, the English and Dutch controlled the south (including the Cape of Good Hope where all ships had to sail to reach Southeast and East Asia), and that the west was split up between the Portuguese, French, Dutch, and British.[134] Moreover, these realities informed Wei's analysis of the military and economic histories of European countries—especially Britain—and his proposals for countering European trade such that it would increase Chinese wealth and power. With Britain, specifically, he located its wealth and power in India, but saw Britain's hold as weak, largely due to wartime reports of mutiny in Bengal.[135]

However, one curious case of omission with respect to British economic domination in Wei's writings was Hong Kong, especially given his explicit mentioning of Lord Napier who was

[132] Leonard (1984: 153, 161).
[133] Mitchell (1970: 191-192).
[134] Mitchell (1970: 196).
[135] Mitchell (1970: 194, 198, 201).

involved with commercial and military affairs in the area.[136] Moreover, given Hong Kong's geopolitical importance following the Opium War (as a territory ceded by China to the British), it is curious that Wei offered no analysis on Hong Kong in his *Illustrated Treatise*.[137] He was familiar with Hong Kong, having visited it for a day in 1847. Further, he witnessed first-hand the early stages of its development as a British entrepot.[138] It is possible that Wei neglected to mention Hong Kong because it was a hot-button issue in Chinese politics at the time with factions arguing either that there was no alternative to surrendering to the British or that war and resistance was always an option. Despite his lack of explicit mention of Hong Kong, it has been suggested that Wei indirectly referred to Hong Kong in two respects: first, he foregrounded Western fortified treaty port systems in general as a way of drawing attention to specific places like Hong Kong and letting his audience infer the significance from there; second, he offered veiled references to Hong Kong through support of places like Taiwan (which was annexed by China and not occupied by the West) and criticisms of places like Singapore (which had a British fortified port like Hong Kong).[139] It was no secret that Wei sympathized with advocates of war against British occupation but, being the pragmatic man he was, it is in keeping with his approaches elsewhere to view his employment of veiled criticisms and counterbalancing as a way of avoiding political fallout, despite the fact that he would be subject to such a fate later in his career.

Nevertheless, the onset of foreign incursion in China not only presented a unique economic (and political) challenge to statecraft reformers (including Wei), but also marked a transition in Wei's thought. As we have seen, prior to the Opium War, Wei had focused mostly on scholarly efforts and reform projects like the salt system. Wei's first contact with the Opium War came in 1840, when he

[136] For more on Lord Napier's involvement in Guangdong (Canton) and his role in the escalation of the tensions between Britain and China, ultimately leading to the Opium War, see: Liu (2004: 46-48).
[137] Leonard (1984: 181-183).
[138] Mitchell (1970: 253); Leonard (1984: 182).
[139] Leonard (1984: 182-183).

was called from Yangzhou to Ningbo to collect information on a captive British captain—Captain Anstruther of the Madras Artillery—in an effort by the Chinese to recover the city port of Dinghai without further military conflict with Britain.[140] Wei took extensive notes and published these interviews shortly thereafter as *A Short Record of England* (*Yingjili Xiaoji*). Wei had some errors in the account (due to the difficulty of translation at the time), but Peter Mitchell has noted that nevertheless that it was remarkably accurate and impartial, especially in light of how uncommon it was at the time to conduct direct interviews in that manner.[141] The *Short Record* featured a wide range of topics including British colonial possessions, military structures, financial resources, and cultural information and would anticipate his larger works, most notably the *Illustrated Treatise*. Following in the wake of his experiences writing the *Short Record*, Wei's later works, show how his attitude toward the Opium War shifted toward a more respectful tone (e.g. using the term "foreign" [*wai*] or "enemy" [*di*] in place of what might be termed "barbarian" [*yi*] when referring to the British),[142] even while he maintained an emphasis on building China's wealth and power in order to avoid domination by the British and others.[143] In other words, for Wei (like Sakuma), an appreciation of the formidable threat that the British posed to China led to both wariness, respect, and the desire to counter British power by mastering knowledge of it.

V. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that there is a sustained emphasis in Wei's geographical and military writings on accurately assessing the scope of Western domination across the globe. I began

[140] Mitchell (1970: 119).
[141] Mitchell (1970: 123-124).
[142] Lydia Liu (2004: 95) has argued that, in the *Treatise*, Wei used *yi* for the West as a term of respect for one's enemy (much like how a teacher is respected by a student) and not as "barbarian" as Teng and Fairbank (1954, 1972) have suggested. Thus, I have elected to, in most cases, translate *yi* as "foreigner", not "barbarian".
[143] Mitchell (1970: 166).

first by exploring Wei's understanding of "foreign" through his emphasis on translation and cartography and then contextualizing Wei's use of the term *shu* (to control, to belong to) and how it appears in global maps featured in the *Illustrated Treatise*. From there, I focused on a range of annotations of maps of South Asia, Africa, North America, and South America that were in Wei's possession, foregrounding his access to information on European possessions across the globe. Then, I turned to Wei's analysis of one particular example—the British in India—and the interconnectedness of economic trade, arms, and domination to British influence in Asia. This more focused analysis attempted to demonstrate that Wei was not simply concerned with geographical mapmaking in and of itself, but was primarily concerned with how these concessions came to be and what enabled Britain (and other Western powers) to subjugate diverse populations across the globe. Throughout, I have attempted to forward the claim that Wei's efforts at understanding the nature of Western global domination relied on apprehending foreign conditions through extensive engagement with global geography.

The upshot of this for political theory lies in Wei's expansive view of global domination, which illuminates our understanding of comparative approaches to empire and global thinking in the history of political thought. Wei's efforts at understanding the nature of Western domination relied on apprehending foreign conditions—the linguistic, political, historical, economic, and technological developments of Western countries—through extensive engagement with global geography. Moreover, this "geographical" approach informed Wei's vision of Chinese empire, which was largely aimed at resisting Western military, political, and economic aggression. While the present chapter focuses on Wei's access to information concerning the global territorial possessions of European countries and the nature of this information, chapter four explores the military, political, and economic strategies of resistance Wei developed through his writings in response to this threat. Put differently, my present contention is that Wei's access to global maps enabled him to lay the

necessary groundwork for resisting military and economic domination by Europe and the U.S. Again, this is not to say, however, that Wei's arguments are reducible to "Western impact" or that they entailed a rejection of "traditional" Chinese forms of statecraft. My turn to Wei's statecraft cartography is motivated more by how he situates the Western threat of domination in terms of earlier Chinese categories of thought, in keeping with recent moves in the China historical literature. By emphasizing Wei's cartography (and, as we will see, his economic, military, and political policies) as ones that are simultaneously against foreign domination and supportive of Chinese empire, I offer a new framework for understanding Wei's political thought than has been previously offered by historians of East Asia and that fruitfully expands our conceptions of "the global" and "domination" within political theory.

CHAPTER 3：SAKUMA SHŌZAN'S EXPERIMENTAL KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

The one word alertness is the rule for the pursuit of learning. And there is nothing more necessary than alertness in practical action. The tasks that we must study and carry out in this world are so broad and so vast that we must always be alert in both academic work and practical action.

- Sakuma Shōzan, *Reflections on My Errors* (*Seikenroku*, 1854)[1]

Introduction

1854 proved to be a pivotal year for Sakuma Shozan (1811-1864). Not only was he arrested, imprisoned, spared potential execution, and placed under house arrest—all for aiding his student, Yoshida Shōin (1830-1859), in attempting to board one of the ships of Commodore Matthew Perry's fleet (the *Mississippi*) in the hope of learning English abroad—but, immediately after this brush with death, Sakuma composed *Reflection on My Errors*.[2] However, the text was not published until after Sakuma was assassinated in 1864, and his motives behind refraining from publishing it seem clear enough—it reads less as a penitent confession of his transgression of shogunate law and more as a vigorous apology of his engagement with Western learning.[3] The fifty-seven-article

[1]「敏の一字は、これ学を為すの法にして、治を為すの要も、またこれに若くはなし。天下の学ぶべく為すべきの務めは、このごとくそれ広く、かのごとくそれ大なり。ゆゑに学と治とは、みなもつて敏ならざるべからず。」in *Nihon Shisō Taikei* (*Collection of Japanese Philosophy*), vol. 55. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970, p. 244. This English translation is provided by Terry, Charles S. "Sakuma Shozan and his Seikan-Roku" (unpublished thesis, Columbia University, 1951), 65. Hereafter, the documents from the Japanese text will be cited as (*NST*, page number).

[2] Terry (1951: 27); Wakabayashi, Bob T. *Modern Japanese Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998, 48.

[3] Sakuma's introduction to *Reflection on My Errors*, suggests that he was keenly attuned to his own circumstances in pushing for reform. He states that the present manuscript was meant to be bequeathed to his descendants. "As for publicizing what I have to say," Sakuma writes, "I dare do no such thing." See: Terry (1951: 58). Sakuma knew the risks of openly defying the Tokugawa shogunate in 1854, especially given his recent brush with the law, and yet he nevertheless felt the need to argue, in subtle ways, for the embrace of foreign learning in Japan. Sakuma's own awareness

composition laid out not only Sakuma's criticisms of the Tokugawa shogunate at a point of political crisis in Japan, but did so by offering an expansive vision of knowledge—which included extensive engagement with foreign learning—aimed at resisting the threat of Western domination. It is this approach of Sakuma's to foreign learning, translation, and resistance that I explore in this chapter.

In this chapter, I argue that Sakuma innovated a vision of Japanese resistance premised on the widespread revision of contemporary scholarship through a reclamation of earlier strands of Chinese and Japanese scholarship and in response to increased Western military, political, and economic aggression in Asia. While my argument is in keeping with recent scholarly moves away from Euro-centric "modernization" frameworks toward more internalist Asia-centric historical accounts, it departs from a continuing emphasis among Sakuma scholars to read his innovative approach as an ill-conceived effort that sowed the seeds for the supplanting of the Japanese Neo-Confucian frameworks he sought to preserve. Instead, I argue that his efforts at pushing the boundaries of Neo-Confucian learning and Western learning is better read as an attempt by Sakuma to innovate new categories of politics, language, and science. Precisely because Sakuma saw these categories as flexible and open to innovation, he was able to leverage insights across cultural, historical, and geographical bounds in order to resist Western imperial domination. In short, innovating beyond "Western science" and "Eastern ethics" was one way Sakuma set the stage for resisting Western imperialism in Asia. And as I will contend throughout the chapter, it is exactly because Sakuma does not presume essentialized cultural categories (but rather locates "Western" and "Eastern" simply as geopolitical realities) that he is able to offer a political, economic, and technological vision for the future outside of the one favored by later Meiji reformers and many historians of East Asia since—that of modernization.

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of his precarious political situation is in keeping with his broader arguments for awareness within his writings.

First, though, it is necessary to briefly review the relevant literature on Sakuma and the *bakumatsu* period in Japan to frame the chapter. Within the scholarship on late Edo Japanese intellectual history, Sakuma Shozan is perhaps best known for his phrase "Eastern ethics, Western technology" (*tōyō dōtoku, seiyō gakugei*).[4] The phrase refers to Sakuma's attempts, in the wake of Western incursions into East Asia following the first Opium War (1839-1842), to combine the knowledge undergirding the advanced military technologies of Western nations with the long-held importance of Neo-Confucian political frameworks among the elite in the Tokugawa shogunate, the then ruling political body in Japan. Charles S. Terry, one of most influential Sakuma scholars of the twentieth century, explained the implications of Sakuma's phrase perhaps most clearly, arguing that Sakuma's main accomplishment, "lay in his having championed the adoption of the broad principles as those which after his time keynoted the remarkable development of the Meiji Period; that is to say the principles of retaining on the one hand traditional Japanese ethics and of introducing, at the same time, the teaching and application of western science."[5] Terry continued, claiming that,

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[4] See: Maruyama, Masao. 1965. "Bakumatsu ni okeru kenza no henkaku." ["Changing Viewpoints on the Bakumatsu Period"] *Tenbō* 77, 24, 28) for more on Sakuma's "Eastern ethics, Western technology" framework.

[5] Terry (1951: i); See also: Maruyama (1965: 18-25, 27-28, 33, 39). Several scholars have noted that, for Sakuma, "Western science" (*seiyō geijutsu*) focused heavily on military technology, including—but not limited to—gunnery, cannon-casting, naval warships, and coastal barriers. Beyond military technology, Sakuma also included mineral and natural resource science, animal husbandry, glassmaking, chemistry, agricultural science, metallurgy, industrial science, estate management, livestock breeding, soap-making, and even physical exercise under the rubric of "Western science". For more on this, see: Terry (1951: 15, 29, 31); de Bary, William Theodore, Carol Gluck, et al. *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Second Edition, Volume 2: 1600-2000* (New York: Columbia UP, 2005), 617 [Hereafter, cited as (*SOJT*, page number)]; Mitchell, Peter MacVicar. "Wèi Yüan and the Early Modernization Movement in China and Japan" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1970), 276, 279-280. Throughout this chapter, I use "Western science" in a similar sense and, where possible, I attempt to specify the concrete fields of knowledge Sakuma refers to in a given text. However, my argument should not be taken to mean Sakuma's entire conception of "science" was indebted to these categories of "Western science" as some modernization scholars have implied; rather, I argue that Sakuma is adapting new knowledge and inherited frameworks of thought as he sees fit. This argument is largely in keeping with Federico Marcon's argument that Japanese natural history developed independently of Europe's but ultimately succumbed to it not because of suppression and substitution, as scholars traditionally have contended, but because of adaptation and transformation.

"Shōzan is important, then, as a representative of that vanguard of pragmatic political thinkers of the late Tokugawa Period who, just before and after the Restoration, succeeded in reforming the climate of opinion among the Japanese, with regard both to Japan and to the outside world."[6] Terry's understanding of Sakuma proved influential for future scholars of Edo-period Japanese political thought, and led to a variety of conclusions about Sakuma's "modernizing" efforts, ranging from assessments of him as the most important spokesman "for the adoption of Western science and art while preserving Eastern ethics" in the cultural sphere,[7] to Sakuma having "sounded the keynote phrase of the bakumatsu and early Meiji modernizers" even while being bound by tradition,[8] to Sakuma having employed the "last creative attempt in Tokugawa thought to accommodate Neo-Confucianism to technology."[9]

Much has changed, though, in East Asian historical scholarship since the heyday of the modernization theories of the middle of the twentieth century. Sho Konishi has been part of the newer generation of scholars who have challenged accounts of Japanese modernization in which teleological narratives reinforce Western notions of Japanese history and historiography.[10] In opposition to such trends, Konishi has argued that Japan's "opening" to the West did not mark the birth of "modern Japan" as such, but rather its opening to the emergence and encounters of different visions of progress beyond the commonly-assumed teleology of "Western modernity".[11] What Konishi is getting at here is the idea that Japan's future in light of the key nineteenth century

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In that sense, Sakuma and others may have been *too* effective in their efforts. For more, see: Marcon, Federico. *The Knowledge of Nature and the Nature of Knowledge in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

[6] Terry (1951: i).

[7] de Bary et al. (2005: 617).

[8] Mitchell (1970: 292, 296).

[9] Harootunian, Harry D. *Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: UC Berkeley Press, 1970), 137.

[10] Konishi, Sho. *Anarchist Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2013), 13-14.

[11] Konishi (2013: 21).

events—e.g. the Perry visits in 1853/1854, the signing of the Ansei treaties in 1858, and the subsequent jockeying for international presence and power up until 1894—was by no means determined from the outset, let alone by the "modern West", as many historians have implied over the years. In opposition to this trend, Konishi traces how networks of cooperatist anarchist intellectuals in Japan and Russia articulated competing visions of modernity through mutual correspondence and dynamic translation projects. Although Sakuma existed within the "official" government circles that Konishi seeks to get beyond, I contend that Sakuma offers a valuable perspective precisely because his arguments for revising extant scholarship involve recalibrating expectations about what counts as knowledge and who should produce it, even within "official" circles.

I begin this chapter by exploring how Sakuma conceives of awareness of one's own political and economic context and the implications this has for his approach to the threat of Western domination in Asia. In particular, I foreground Sakuma's emphasis on "awareness" in knowledge and scholarship and spend some time discussion his efforts at securing funding for translations of Dutch dictionaries in order to understand "foreign conditions". I argue that Sakuma's translation efforts—both their novelties and their limits—signaled his innovative approach to resistance to foreign domination and I briefly compare his approach with Wei's. Then, I expand on my analysis of Sakuma's efforts to understand "foreign conditions" (*ijō*), by turning to his deep engagement with foreign technology. I argue that, for Sakuma, language, technology, and politics were interconnected—through studying foreign language, he was able to ascertain the extent of foreign countries' military and economic capabilities and devise a plan of resistance. I conclude by offering a recap of the stakes of Sakuma's efforts at revisionist scholarship and resistance for the history of political thought.

II. Comprehending the "Foreign"

Awareness

Key to Sakuma's efforts at resisting Western domination was encouraging scholars-officials to engage in foreign learning in order to understand "foreign conditions" (*ijo*). For Sakuma, understanding foreign conditions, in turn, required a proper awareness on the part of the Japanese elite. Roughly half-way through *Reflection on My Errors*, Sakuma writes, "The one word alertness is the rule for the pursuit of learning. And there is nothing more necessary than alertness in practical action. The tasks that we must study and carry out in this world are so broad and so vast that we must always be alert in both academic work and practical action."[12] Charles Terry has traced Sakuma's use of "alertness" (*bin*) to a passage in from the *Analects* where the Master (Confucius) is recorded as having said, "I was not born with knowledge, but I love antiquity, and I work hard (*bin*) in pursuing it."[13] Taken alone, the use of "alertness" or "hard work"[14] suggests both Confucius', and by extension, Sakuma's traditionalism, but Ni Peimin has analyzed closely related aphorisms and suggested that the *Analects* passage points to a more nuanced interplay in which proper innovation draws on relevant acquired knowledge from traditional sources.[15] Sakuma even demonstrates such an approach in the next paragraph, arguing that "Although Confucius was a sage, still he [was] so zealous as to forget even to eat, [and] was 'alert' (*bin*) in seeking knowledge. How then, can we be so

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[12] Sakuma (1854, 1970: 244); Terry (1951: 65). Sakuma's conception of "awareness" (*bin*, 敏) can also be translated as "quickness", "agility", "cleverness" or "alertness".

[13] Terry (1951: 65, 91). The original passage is taken from the *Analects* 7.20 and is as follows:「子曰：「我非生而知之者，好古，敏以求之者也。」」 Confucius, *The Analects*, trans. Annping Chin (New York: Penguin, 2014), 106.

[14] On first glance, "alertness" and "hard work", despite being the same character (*bin*, 敏) may not seem coterminous. Here, the "hard work" appears more of a mental or intellectual bent; to exercise one's mind in pursuing accurate knowledge is, for Sakuma, to be "alert" to the world.

[15] Ni, Peimin. *Understanding the Analects of Confucius: A New Translation of Lunyu with Annotations* (New York: SUNY Press, 2017), 202-3. See also: sections 2.11, 7.1, and 19.9.

lax?"[16] In making this argument, Sakuma draws on another passage in the *Analects* in which Confucius talks with his student about this student's difficulty in describing what kind of man he is. Confucius is recorded as having said, "Why didn't you simply say that [I am] the sort of person who forgets to eat when pursuing a question, who forgets to worry when suffused with joy, and who does not note that old age is coming?"[17] According to the translator Annping Chin, this response from Confucius was a bit of a surprise because he gave a simple description of what he was really like without referring to his professional credentials.[18] The point, it seems, was to emphasize that wholehearted devotion to a sort of mental alertness or work (*bin*) in seeking knowledge was, for Confucius, a defining trait. From this, Sakuma argues that the ruling officials of his time cannot be casual in learning or action. To do so would not only fail to be in keeping with Confucian precedent, but it could also jeopardize Japan's military defense.[19]

Furthermore, across his public and personal writings from the late 1830s until his death in 1864, Sakuma highlights the importance of awareness for a variety of social contexts, and in many cases, ties the importance of rooting oneself in social networks explicitly to the pursuit of knowledge. As early as 1837, in a memorial on local educational policies to his *han* (local governing authorities), Sakuma invokes the aforementioned framework of the "investigation of things" or *kakubutsu kyūri*,[20] demonstrating the importance of having social connections as one engages in

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[16] *NST*, 245; Terry (1951: 65).
[17] 「女奚不曰，其為人也，發憤忘食，樂以忘憂，不知老之将至云尓。」 Chin (2014: 106).
[18] Chin (2014: 106).
[19] For distinct interpretations of Sakuma's view of learning and science in relation to the West, see: Sakamoto, Rumi. "Confucianising Science: Sakuma Shōzan and *wakon yōsai* Ideology." *Japanese Studies* Vol. 28 No. 2 (September 2008), 213-226; Van Sant, John E. "Sakuma Shozan's Hegelian Vision for Japan." *Asian Philosophy* Vol. 14 No. 3 (November 2004), 277-292. I return to Sakamoto and Van Sant later in the chapter.
[20] *Kakubutsu kyūri* has been translated variously. I follow Terry in translating it as the "investigation of things" but it connotes a detailed observation of phenomena through a probing into or tracing of the root of a matter. Early on, Sakuma seems to only use this phrase in relation to deeper truths about Neo-Confucian learning. Increasingly, he employs the terms and its cognates (e.g. *kyūri*) in

scholarly pursuits. Sakuma writes, "As for [the people of character] who like books, most of them live attached to this [imbalanced character]. Because they have this imbalanced character, it has resulted in them desiring to read the *Classic Histories* and such and accumulating the truth of *kakubutsu kyūri*, [but] for those who did not endeavor to reach the point of changing their dispositions, they definitely did not understand human feelings and therefore lacked social connections.[21] On first glance, it might seem puzzling that Sakuma, an avid scholar, would criticize others scholars for being devoted to classical Confucian learning. However, he goes on to spell out the further implications of learning devoid of social connection: "Ordinary people did not inquire into the fundamentals and only looked to these [imbalanced scholars] and the like. [From this], the people concluded that those who spend their time reading books lack empathy and human feeling (*ninjou*)."[22] Although this critique was specific to educational policy in his own domain, this connection between informed "abstract" learning and awareness of more "practical" realities—how people actually lived and what their actual needs were—would inform Sakuma's effort as political reform at the highest level of government. Thus, with respect to educational reform, Sakuma divided scholars early on into two camps: on the one hand were the erudite, yet reclusive and unsociable (*ninjou ni futsū*), scholars; on the other were scholars who were both erudite and socially engaged. Since the former (in Sakuma's mind) exercised greater influence over popular education in Japan, Sakuma argued that be the populace mistakenly adopted overly "abstract" notions of the possibilities

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reference to Western knowledge as well. For more on Sakuma's conception of *kyūri*, see Murayama (1965: 25, 27, 28, 32).

[21] Sakuma, Shozan. "Attached Document Presented to the Han Elder on an Opinion of Provincial Education [1837]" [學政意見書竝に藩老に呈する附書 {天保八年五月廿七日}] in *Shōzan Zenshū* [*Collection of Sakuma Shozan's Works*], vol. 2 (Nagano: Shinano Mainichi Shinbun Kabushiki Kaisha, 1934), 1.8. Hereafter, I will cite references to the *Zenshū* as: *SZ*, section. page number.

[22] *SZ*, 1.8. It should be noted that there were concurrent scholarly trends in China like *kaozheng* (textual criticism), *jingshi* (statecraft), and *shixue* (substantive studies). I have yet to determine to what extent these trends (or ones other than the ones outlined in this chapter) influenced Sakuma's thinking on alertness.

of serious study. Put differently, genuine learning was stigmatized by scholars and the populace as irrelevant to lived realities. Sakuma's point was to emphasize that the scholars had failed their duites; it was *their* job to facilitate learning that was both informed and relevant.

Moreover, in his later works (particularly as he became more acquainted with Western learning), Sakuma makes a move to bridge the gap between foreign and inherited forms of learning by emphasizing awareness as a shared foundation of both classic Neo-Confucian learning and new forms of Western learning. In an 1847 personal letter to Kawaji Toshiakira (1801-1868), the governor of Nara, Sakuma emphasizes the similarities between the Western and Neo-Confucian learning while intervening in a debate over how to understand Zhu Xi's mature thought.[23] Sakuma writes,

> When [Yoshida] Koton contests the established theories of the Wang Yangming school, [he] says that, with respect to 'gaining a perfect knowledge of natural laws' [*kakuchi*], Zhu Xi's ideas follow the Cheng masters. In other words, *tenka* (all things under heaven) fully express *li* and *li* exceeds human wisdom. Moreover, going beyond this, as for our mind-hearts (*xin*), if they are *li* and if the myriad things of the world are simply attached to us, then all we can do is extend our mind-heart's *li* and that's all there is. This is the difference and similarity between [Zhu Xi learning and Wang Yangming learning]. As for Western science [*kyūri no ryō*], I believe it corresponds to the ideas of the Cheng-Zhu school and the Cheng-Zhu school's theory of 'gaining a perfect knowledge of natural laws' [*kakuchi*] is the same as the theories of the world. If you follow the Cheng-Zhu school's ideas, then even the various ideas of Western learning are just one part of their school."[24]

[23] Zhu Xi, is considered one of the preeminent Neo-Confucian masters of the Southern Song (1126–1271) period and is often ranked second only to Confucius (551–479 BCE) in intellectual influence within China and East Asia, more broadly. Zhu Xi worked out a philosophical synthesis of the ideas of the Northern Song (960–1126 CE) masters Zhou Dunyi (1017–73), Zhang Zai (1020–77), and the brothers Cheng Yi (1033–1107) and Cheng Hao (1032–85)—what became known to later generations as the Cheng-Zhu strand of Neo-Confucian learning. Zhu is most known for his compendium of essential Confucian texts, the *Great Learning* (*Daxue*), the *Analects* (*Lunyu*) of Confucius, the *Book of Mencius* (*Mengzi*), and the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong*), titled the *Four Books* (*Sishu*) which was the basis for Chinese imperial exams until the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911.

[24] *NST*, 330.9-13. Yoshida Koton was a Zhu Xi scholar who criticized the Wang Yangming school. Sakuma seems to side with Yoshida here. I translate *kakuchi* as the shortened form of *kakubutsu-chichi* or "gaining a perfect knowledge of natural laws".

Sakuma's broader aim here is to affirm first that, in his later writings, Zhu Xi accounts for inconsistencies in his earlier thought and second, to show how the fullest expression of Cheng-Zhu Neo-Confucian orthodoxy and Western science are engaged in a similar project of understanding the world.[25] In contrast to some interpretations of Wang Yangming arguing for all of the world as a product of our mind-heart (*xin*), both Zhu Xi and Western science emphasize the world as coherent and intelligible in and of itself and both pursue a course of study that seeks to understand the world through exhaustive inquiry. In other words, Sakuma highlights how both the indigenous Cheng-Zhu investigation of all things (*kakubutsu kyūri*) and Western science (*seiyō no kyūri*), as forms of knowledge production, are both reliant on a deep awareness of the world through exhaustive inquiry. In fact, he argues that Western science is simply a part of Cheng-Zhu thought, and is thus not as alien as others might assume.[26] Here Sakuma does not privilege Western learning over Neo-Confucian thought, but rather subsumes Western science under Neo-Confucian categories and renders them mutually compatible.[27] This is important because it foreshadows Sakuma's later uses of Neo-Confucian concepts and frameworks to justify expanded inquiry in Western science and political reform.[28]

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[25] Sakamoto (2008) also emphasizes this point about Sakuma.

[26] Again, Sakamoto (2008) highlights this point as well, but Van Sant (2004) seems to disagree with this characterization. I explore their debate in the next section.

[27] *NST*, 331 ff. 4. This move on Sakuma's part is similar to what Jenco has shown Chinese intellectuals in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century were doing in making "China origins" claims to Western learning. See: Jenco, Leigh K. *Changing Referents: Learning Across Space and Time in China and the West* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015).

[28] Benjamin Elman has noted several connections between Western science and Cheng-Zhu Neo-Confucian thought in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Chinese scientific and political thought. For an extensive discussion of this, see: Elman, Benjamin A. *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005). For seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Chinese critiques of Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming, in particular, see: Elman (2005: 226-227). It is unclear to me to what degree Sakuma knew of these debates and, if he did, how they influenced his view of the thought of these figures, though there are marked similarities which might suggest some level of influence.

Moreover, Sakuma also acknowledges that alertness demands critical reflection upon one's own knowledge and assumptions. In a moment of frank honesty in *Reflection on My Errors*, Sakuma grapples with his own process for how he arrived at his current knowledge and the potential limits therein: "I have for a long time engaged in investigative studies (*kakubutsu*), but as I now slowly and deliberately consider the settlements and arrangements that I have in other times thought most appropriate for my family (within) and for intimate friends and others in my community (without), I realize that there have been many excesses and shortcomings among my solutions, and that I have left men discontent."[29] This realization of the problems within his own approach does not, however, deter Sakuma from deeper inquiry. Rather, he concludes: "All of my mistakes occurred because I had not thought enough and did not thoroughly understand the feelings of men, or their habits and customs. Indeed, I must study more diligently."[30] He admits that though he had studied the "investigation of things" (*kakubutsu*) for a long time, he still possessed shortcomings that were a reflection of a lack of full understanding. His conclusion, even for himself, was that learning requires a sustained diligence or awareness of the limitation of one's present knowledge.

In a later section of the aforementioned 1837 document, Sakuma takes a somewhat different approach, arguing for the importance of learning even to the extent of potentially upsetting normal familial relationships. He writes, "When people are in their birth homes, they should diligently follow their parents' instruction. If by chance, [their] parents have been negligent in these matters, one should read books on one's own and shed light on *li*. Moreover, one should reprove one's parents and be careful not to fall into unrighteousness." Sakuma's statement is striking for two reasons: first, he encourages independent learning and second, he encourages children to admonish their parents for improper educational training. The latter is perhaps more striking given certain

[29] *NST*, 241; Terry (1951: 60).
[30] *NST*, 241; Terry (1951: 60).

Neo-Confucian norms of the time concerning deference and filial piety to one's parents and highlights Sakuma's revision of what counts as proper learning (according to his reading of the Chinese Neo-Confucian classics) led him to even challenge widely held norms in Japanese society. Sakuma continues, "From the time students begin to study, [one] should encourage them to establish their intent, gradually becoming loyal vassals and honest officials. As for the traces of loyalty and honesty in the classic histories, if more study is added daily, [one's] aiding of the country and love of the people will certainly remain in one's heart."[31] I will return to the political implications of Sakuma's engagement with domestic and foreign forms of learning in a later chapter, but for now it seems important to highlight Sakuma's understanding of learning as an ongoing process that can even refute established principles. This understanding connects to his later emphasis on alertness insofar as he conceives of the proper duties of righteous children, loyal students, and honest officials as intimately bound up with intentional and ongoing learning. Sakuma emphasizes a similar point in an 1856 letter to his student (and future leader of the Meiji navy), Katsu Kaishu (1823-1899), when he praises another colleague, Nagai Naoyuki (1816-1896), for his help in naval affairs, calling him good-natured and "sharp-witted" or "aware" (*bin*).[32] Being sharp-witted or aware stood in stark contrast to being unaware or careless in one's intellectual and moral pursuits. In his draft of an imperial injunction on the eve of his death in 1864, Sakuma, ostensibly writing on behalf of the emperor, emphasized the point that all lords and samurai to respond to the emperor's decrees in a manner that was calm, not "thoughtless", "neglectful", or "careless" (*kyōkotsu*). Whereas Sakuma's praise of Nagai reflects his admiration of the former's broad learning and ability to help Sakuma

[31] *SZ*, 2.13.

[32] Nagai Naoyuki served at the Nagasaki Naval Training Center from 1855-1857, before it was closed and he returned to Edo. He was a samurai in the service of the Tokugawa shogunate (*hatamoto*) and had an illustrious career that took him from Nagasaki to Kyoto, Edo, and as far as Hokkaido. As for Nagai's "sharp-witted" nature, the character Sakuma uses is the same character he uses for "alertness", again pointing to Sakuma's emphasis on mental acuity and fortitude. See my discussion of the character's various meanings above.

achieve his practical military goals at the time, the imperial injunction presumes a certain awareness on the part of all samurai to the shifting global climate and the need to unify under the emperor in such a perilous time. In short, whether in petitioning his domain for educational reform, composing a letter to his disciple, or drafting an imperial command, Sakuma emphasizes the importance of alertness to one's own context and ties that awareness directly to effective resistance against foreign domination.

Translation

At the same time, if there is one word that largely encapsulated Sakuma's attitude toward the Tokugawa shogunate with respect to awareness and foreign learning, it is frustration. This feeling comes through particularly clearly in a vignette in Sakuma's *Reflection on My Errors* where he details how Japanese officials attempted to get revenge for the humiliating circumstances Americans, in particular, had put them through in exacting trading rights in Japanese ports. He describes a Japanese guard who, having suffered an insult from the Americans in silence, proceeded later to slash a portrait of their leader to bits. Sakuma contrasts this to the example of a successful Song dynasty general, Cao Wei, who held onto a portrait of his enemy as a means of assessing his abilities and preparing to eventually defeat him.[33] Sakuma concludes, "Thus, by looking at the portrait of his enemy, [Cao Wei] could see his enemy's abilities and thereby aid himself with his own preparations. It can only be regretted that the Japanese guard did not think of this…Their depth of knowledge and farsightedness in planning were vastly different."[34] Sakuma's point is clear: both depth of knowledge of one's enemy and long-term vision win wars and the Japanese officials must take up serious study of foreign conditions (*ijō*) if they hope to reverse the course of events. Thus, in some ways, Sakuma's imprisonment had the opposite effect from that intended by the shogunate (namely,

[33] *NST*, 252-253; Terry (1951: 75-76).
[34] *NST*, 253; Terry (1951: 76).

to dissuade him from engaging in foreign learning and to keep Japan isolated from the West); instead, his imprisonment made Sakuma double down on his efforts to engage with foreign learning for the sake of encouraging alertness among the Japanese political elite and shoring up Japanese political, economic, and political power.

Sakuma argued that understanding foreign conditions by engaging in foreign learning would throw Japan's own strengths and weaknesses into relief.[35] One of his earliest efforts at achieving this goal was through securing reliable translations of Western sources. Sakuma pushed for his translation project as a way of laying the foundation for access to, and mastery of, foreign "scientific" learning.[36] Translations would ultimately enable Japan to not only expand its knowledge of global powers, but also to maintain its autonomy in the face of shifting global dynamics.[37] As a result, Sakuma was quite critical of the current state of learning in Japan, both in his public documents and in his private correspondence. In an 1858 letter to his friend Yanagawa Seigan (1789-1858), Sakuma wrote that the present learning of China and Japan was insufficient and needed to be supplemented with learning from the entire world.[38] Sakuma then connected Columbus' "discovery" of the New World to the principle of the "investigation of all things" (*kakubutsu kyūri*) while citing Copernicus' theory of heliocentricity and Newton's gravitational laws as the foundation of all arts and sciences.[39] For Sakuma, broad learning needed to involve grappling with a wider range of sources (including Western ones) and in order to achieve this, Japan would have to embrace multiple outlooks and overcome its own weaknesses.

One main aspect of Japan's overcoming its own weaknesses, for Sakuma, was understanding how the strengths and weaknesses of one's own country and countries around the world are tied to

[35] Maruyama (1965: 25) also touches on this.
[36] Wakabayashi, 40.
[37] See Maruyama (1965: 27, 29-31, 33-36) on Sakuma's understanding of other world powers.
[38] *NST*, 377; Wakabayashi, 40.
[39] *NST*, 377; Wakabayashi, 40.

one's ability to cultivate alertness to new (and inherited) forms of knowledge. Sakuma reinterpreted classic definitions of virtuous and wise men to include the apprehension of foreign learning not known by the sages of old, while still retaining the importance of teachings of Confucius and Mencius. In other words, Sakuma's efforts went beyond simply aggregating information from foreign sources alongside inherited strains of learning; he sought to *integrate* this foreign learning into inherited frames (e.g. redefining what counts as a Neo-Confucian "sage"), thus forming a new whole that might even supplant previously held views. Sakuma embodied this first step in the process by his emphasizing "alertness", citing it as *the* rule for the pursuit of learning. Alertness in seeking knowledge and in practice would overcome a multitude of vices by making one flexible to the introduction of previously unknown material. Moreover, Sakuma even demonstrated this process in his own assessment of his abilities. He admitted that although he had studied the "investigation of things" for a long time, he still possessed shortcomings that were a reflection of a lack of full understanding. His point was that learning requires a certain diligence or activity. His goal was to push this process along through translation projects.

Thus, it is unsurprising that Sakuma's object of focus throughout this period was securing new translations of original works in foreign languages. In particular, Sakuma focused for two years (1849-1850) on securing an updated translation of one text: the *Doeff-Halma* dictionary. The *Doeff-Halma* (*Dzufu Haruma*) was initially a translation project begun in 1811-1812 by Hendrik Doeff (1777-1835), the head of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki from 1803-1817.[40] It was based on the 1777 edition of the Dutch-French dictionary *Nieuw Nederduitsche en Fransch Woodenboek* originally published by Francois Halma (1653-1722), a printer in Leeuwarden, Friesland (Netherlands). Doeff produced an original translation, which he showed to the governor of Nagasaki. After the bakufu approved

[40] Terry (1951: 17); Maruyama (1965: 18-20); Mitchell (1970: 283).

translators to help Doeff edit it, revisions began in 1815 and were completed in 1816.[41] Because the bakufu refused to let it be published in its entirety, hand-made copies became the norm and were obtained by several scholars, including Sakuma, and these copies became the basis for Sakuma's own efforts at revision and publication. Sakuma sought both to add to the gaps in the Halma dictionary and revise parts that he viewed as erroneously translated (given his proficiency in Dutch).

In almost all of his public and private documents concerning translations from 1849-1850, Sakuma advocated for the translation of untranslated parts of the *Halma* into Japanese so as to provide an opportunity for leaders of character to explore foreign learning.[42] He articulates this desire to diffuse Western knowledge perhaps most explicitly in an 1849 revised preface to the authorities in his domain. Sakuma begins by acknowledging the limits of the current knowledge of most Japanese officials: "[W]e do not understand [the] languages [of the various Western countries] and the writing is different."[43] He then offers steps to remedy the situation: "Therefore, if we desire to engage in that learning, we must first learn to write down these languages and unless we understand the grammar in detail, we will not be able to grasp [it]. In order to understand the grammar in detail, from the beginning one must wait for a teacher. Moreover, in writing down the language, one must seek out Japanese translations of dictionaries."[44] However, Sakuma does not stop simply at telling the authorities which course of action to take. He continues, showing how he has contributed to such an endeavor. "In addition to my lecturing, I created a list of Dutch words while translating *Doeff* and this made it more convenient to study and discuss. Now I will publish this

[41] Terry (1951: 17).
[42] Terry (1951: 74) and Mitchell (1970: 285) claim Sakuma pushed for these translations from 1850-1851, but Sakuma dates his documents with *Kaei 2* and *Kaei 3* which would correspond to 1849 and 1850. Thus, I date the documents as ranging from 1849-1850.
[43] *NST*, 402.
[44] *NST*, 402.

so that my compatriots can make use of it."[45] In highlighting his accomplishments (however minor), Sakuma was attempting to position himself as an expert of Dutch and foreign affairs.

Sakuma echoes these sentiments in an 1850 memorial to Abe Masahiro (a high-ranking official in the bakufu), citing the enlargement and supplication of a translation of *Halma* as the only proper step toward understanding foreign languages and thereby increasing Japan's ability to understand Western documents and the types of plans that would effectively counter against Western ambitions for Japan.[46] In his petition to Abe, Sakuma first notes the difficulty in developing adequate translations. For starters, few educated people in Japan were qualified to engage in such a task, resulting in a lack of awareness of the problems with their translations:

> [W]ith the exception of those [Japanese scholars] who train with [Western] characters, [scholars] can only see a limited number of translations and thus, they will not be able to understand [the works]. As for these few translated works, since those scholars who have mastered Sino-Japanese learning and also have attained thorough knowledge of Western grammar are rare, mistranslations will not be few and even if the translations truly grasp the meaning, if the prose is clumsy, there will be many cases in which those who read it will find it difficult to grasp the meaning. [Moreover], even though these translations might seem to be a superior and without contradiction, when one hears it, this is not the case.[47]

In short, a lack of awareness of the limits of one's own knowledge obscures the realization that one's translation is actually inferior. This is perhaps why Sakuma states at the beginning of this section that, "the most important thing for military preparation is to know the enemy and this is not something one can do all at once."[48] For Sakuma, not only does knowledge or awareness of the foreign go beyond what scholars have presently seen as sufficient, but one must cultivate an approach that is not complacent with current translations, lest such a mentality obscure one's ability to see the flaws in current translations.

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[45] *NST*, 402.
[46] Terry (1951: 19); Mitchell (1970: 282).
[47] *NST*, 289-290.
[48] *NST*, 289.

Sakuma then turns to the bakufu's policies concerning Western maritime forces and ties Japan's ability to respond militarily to its ability to produce high quality translations:

> As for the present-day policy against [the foreign] pirates, in order to achieve [a good policy], I believe people in the world need to know the merits and demerits of [the pirates] and prepare based on a detailed understanding of the circumstances. As for knowing the merits and demerits and having a detailed understanding of the situation, after one has understood the merits and demerits, then one naturally ought to be able to use the merits and benefits and avoid the demerits and shortcomings. Therefore, I humbly believe in order to distinguish those merits and demerits the only thing one can do is widely read the original Western sources and increase the number of good translations in society. One cannot aid practical utility without enthusiastically reading original texts. Therefore, making the original texts widely read, I believe, is difficult to achieve without the publication of translated dictionaries.[49]

I explore the military and political implications of Sakuma's views in more detail in chapter five, but for now I simply highlight the intimate connection between foreign learning, translation, and practical policy in Sakuma's thought. For Sakuma, the building up of effective military defenses against foreign incursion was crucially dependent on accurate translations rooted in a detailed, and continually revisable, knowledge of Western learning.

Sakuma did not always hold such a view of Western scientific learning, though.[50] Whereas Sakuma defended making Western scientific learning available to the public in his memorials and writings from the late 1840s onward, in the early 1840s Sakuma was less respectful of Western learning. As stated above, Sakuma was very much like other *sonnō jōi* ("revere the emperor, expel the foreigner") advocates—he viewed the Western foreigners with derision and contempt but recognized the need to learn from them in order to stem the tide of Western expansion.[51] From the late 1840s onward, he began to take a more conciliatory approach, embracing respect for Western nations, despite their encroachments in Asia. I state this here to highlight again how Sakuma's own

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[49] *NST*, 290.
[50] As I noted above, "Western science" for Sakuma included fields as broad as military technology, agricultural science, chemistry, industrial science, and economics, among other things.
[51] Terry (1951: 14, 20).

personal journey was also a process of sorts. Over time, he gained appreciation for that which he disdained, even to the point of reversing his position on the question of whether Japan should be closed (*sakoku*) or open (*kaikoku*) to foreign influence.

One episode from Sakuma's early attempts at translating Western documents is evincive of the transformation of his perspective toward foreign learning. In a draft of a memorial to the bakufu on the current state of affairs in Japan, Sakuma details his own initial process of translation:

> [E]ven though I am foolish, from my childhood years I have endeavored to read the Chinese classics. Previously, at the time I received an order from my master, the lord of Shinano, and became the person in charge of maritime defense, I thought, deep down, that there is no end to what I need to ardently study of maritime defense. So, I obtained the records of various European countries without being particular about laws, politics, military strategy, and folklore. Then, around that time, based on consultation with others, I began translating and collecting Western documents and humbly read them over. When there was a place I did not understand, I could not escape the problem of scratching the itch with my boots on[52] and so, I then had to read Japanese translations of Dutch original sources.[53]

In his early efforts at translating and comprehending Western documents, Sakuma was largely reliant on Japanese translations of Dutch sources. This seems to suggest, then, that although he came to view many such translations as insufficient, he nevertheless relied on them to begin to understand Western law, politics, military strategies, and folklore. Sakuma's proficiency in Dutch increased with time and he began to offer his own translations and conducted experiments, replicating some Western inventions and even innovatively developing his own.[54] In many respects, Sakuma embraced the challenge of understanding that which was unfamiliar and foreign to him and he encouraged officials and scholars in Japan to do the same.

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[52] This phrase refers to the phenomenon of needing to solve a problem at all costs. The idea is that even if it makes no sense to try and scratch the itching part of one's body from the outside (i.e. the boot is in the way), one nevertheless feels compelled to scratch because of the bothersome nature of the itch. In Sakuma's case, the boot represents the barrier between his present knowledge and the knowledge required to understand foreign documents. In other words, he felt compelled to keep "scratching" against the documents and learn all that he could in order to better understand Western sources.

[53] *NST*, 163-164.

[54] *SOJT*, 629-630.

Still, Sakuma was largely limited to Dutch when it came to foreign language knowledge. To be sure, in 1844, having realized that only superficial knowledge of the West could be attained without a knowledge of foreign languages, Sakuma began his study of the Dutch language.[55] As noted earlier, Sakuma, through his connections to one scholar in Edo—Tsuboi Shindo (1795-1848)—met Kurokawa Ryōan (1813-1890), a medical student under the famed German physician, botanist, and traveler, Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866). At Shindo's request, Sakuma tutored Ryōan in the Chinese classics in exchange for lessons in Dutch. From 1844-1845, Sakuma committed himself to learning Dutch, almost exclusively. It was after this point, that Sakuma developed an interest in translating dictionaries and began his attempts to secure funding for a Dutch-Japanese dictionary. Still, despite witnessing the British and Americans coming to Japan, Sakuma did not—unlike later reformers like Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901)—master English and thus, he relied heavily on Dutch versions of foreign materials. As for securing funding for the *Halma* translation project, Sakuma petitioned to a wide range of audiences. He began with his own domain of Matsushiro, but was rejected due to a lack of clan funds and the unacceptability of publishing it for profit. He then appealed to the shogunate to patronize the translation, but received no answer for five months. After the shogunate ignored him, Sakuma memorialized directly to Abe Masahiro, the leading councilor (*roju*) to the shogunate.[56] Abe refused to entertain the matter, leaving Sakuma with no other recourse for publishing this translation project.

Ultimately, Sakuma failed to secure a financially-backed translation for the *Halma* project, but his actions highlight both his commitment to upholding the respective ideals of Zhu Xi (thorough investigation) and Wang Yangming (practicable knowledge) through engagement with foreign learning. Moreover, his approach demonstrates how highly he valued alertness to one's

[55] Terry (1951: 15-16).
[56] Terry (1951: 18); Mitchell (1970: 282).

political and economic context. His commitments bore out in his efforts at political and military reform—especially his minimal, but noteworthy, influence on the bakufu's own *Institute for Western Studies*—as he often tied the importance of foreign learning to Japan's domestic and international political crisis. His concern was primarily that Japan lacked adequate (or even accurate) knowledge of the contemporary global situation (i.e. Western expansion in Asia) and, as a result, was at risk of being dominated by Britain as China had in the aftermath of the Opium War.[57] (Sakuma was not unique in this regard, as many political elite in China and Japan had similar concerns.) Nevertheless, Sakuma conceived of foreign learning as intimately connected to resistance to Western efforts at domination and his view only further solidified in the wake of the Perry visits to Japan in 1853 and 1854 and the signing of the Harris treaty in 1858.

III. Sakuma's Knowledge of Western Technology

Sakuma's concerns about the threat of domination by Western countries over Japan did not simply lead him to push for the Japanese elite to comprehend "foreign conditions" through translation of dictionaries, but also to push for being able to assess and replicate Western scientific technology. As alluded to in the previous section, Sakuma offered an analysis of the progress of Western science rooted in three "great discoveries" well-known in European circles, but largely unknown among his Japanese audience: "the knowledge and skills of the foreign countries, especially from the time of the three great discoveries [of Copernicus, Columbus, and Newton] of some time ago, have advanced day by day, month by month. Astronomy, geography, ship building, gunnery, fortifications and so on—not one of these is impractical."[58] Sakuma's reference to the Copernican revolution, Columbus' discovery of the Americas, and Newton's discovery of the laws

[57] G. B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), 258.
[58] *NST* 321-322; Reitan (1862, 1998: 274).

of gravitation tells several things. For one thing, it shows that Sakuma's understanding of "science" was broad—encompassing both fields one might presently consider part of "science", as well as a variety of other fields not typically understood as "scientific". Perhaps more significant for the present discussion, however, is Sakuma's choice of these three moments as "great discoveries" and as having been the foundation of Western countries' ability to develop subsequent technologies that would facilitate their ambitious attempts at global dominion. Drawing on his (limited) knowledge of Western history, Sakuma deduced that astronomy, geography, and physics (among other fields) were fundamental to effective military resistance.

For Sakuma, though, effectively employing these "sciences" to defend Japan against Western aggression required an adequate understanding of mathematics—a field in which he believed Japanese officials could engage, with proper training.[59] Earlier, in his 1854 *Reflection on My Errors*, Sakuma concluded, "Mathematics is the basis for all learning. In the western world after this science was discovered military tactics advanced greatly, far outstripping those of former times."[60] For Sakuma, this Western focus on the exact within the "science" of mathematics was in keeping with classical Chinese learning of advancing to higher learning only after one had mastered basic studies. Sakuma even quotes the famous Chinese general Sunzi in this respect: "In the *Art of War* of Sunzi, the statements about 'estimation, determination of quantity, calculation, judgment, and victory' have reference to mathematics. However, since Sunzi's times neither we nor the Chinese have ceased to read, study, and memorialize his teachings, and our art of war remains exactly as it was then."[61] This

[59] Sakuma's emphasis on Dutch mathematics had a notable impact on his students, some of whom who would become key Meiji leaders in the establishment of the *Bansho Shirabesho* (*Institute for Western Studies*). See: Maruyama (1965: 26, 36); James Mitchell Hommes. "The Bansho Shirabesho: A Transitional Institution in Bakumatsu Japan" (unpublished thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 2004: 14).
[60] *NST*, 248; Terry (1951: 69). The term Sakuma uses for "mathematics" (*shōshōjutsu*) draws on the Dutch term *wiskunde* (lit: "the study of the exact"). See Terry (1951: 93).
[61] *NST*, 248; Terry (1951: 69).

leads Sakuma to conclude: "[Our art of war] consequently cannot be compared with that of the West. There is no other reason for this fact than that we have not devoted ourselves to basic studies."[62] While Sakuma was not particularly original in taking the framework of advancing from basic studies to higher learning from Confucius' *Analects* (14.37) and using it to criticize other scholars,[63] his move to equate Dutch mathematics and the ingenuity of Sunzi is notable. At the very least, it suggests that Dutch "estimation" was not inherently superior to—or distinct from—Chinese "estimation" in Sakuma's mind; rather, the discrepancies (or fault) lied squarely with the Chinese and Japanese for not innovating in the way Western scholars did with their three great discoveries.

Sakuma also noted another discrepancy between the efficacy of Western and Sino-Japanese military technology across his writings—the availability and effective use of raw materials. In his 1862 memorial to the bakufu on expelling foreigners, Sakuma observed, "Now, the circumference of the earth, according to German measurements, is more than 5,400 *ri*. Its surface area is 9,278,980 square *ri*. But three quarters of the earth is ocean, and one quarter is land…However, the area of our country, measured in the German system, is not even 10,000 square *ri*. This means it does not even come close to being one two-hundredth of the area of the Five Great Regions [Asia, Europe, Africa, North America, South America]."[64] Of course, noting the relative size of Japan in global geographic terms was only one part of the analysis for Sakuma. He continues: "Even supposing our country has only fertile land and more than half of the land of foreign countries is barren and unproductive, [they still have much more fertile land than we do on the order of] one hundred to one. The difference between the state of Zou and the state of Chu is nothing compared to this."[65] Sakuma's point in alluding to two ancient Chinese states whose discrepancy in power was widely assumed

[62] *NST*, 248; Terry (1951: 69-70).
[63] Terry (1951: 94).
[64] *NST* 321-322; Reitan (1862, 1998: 274). *Ri* was a standard unit of measurement in Sino-Japanese contexts. During the Edo period, 1,000 *ri* was roughly equivalent to several hundred kilometers.
[65] *NST* 322; Reitan (1862, 1998: 274).

among his contemporaries was to jolt his audience into seeing the discrepancy in power between Japan and Western countries. Even in the best situation of Japan's abundantly fertile land and Europe lack of it (which Sakuma seemed to doubt), Japan was outclassed in its availability of material resources.[66]

Moreover, Japan had not sufficiently developed steam technology in the way Western countries had. Speaking specifically on discrepancies in locomotive technology, Sakuma noted: "Building on the results from their study of the steam engine, [Western countries] now navigate steam ships on the sea and operate steam locomotives on land. Recently (five years ago [1857]) I obtained a detailed map (published in Germany called ___). It showed the amount of railroad, which is necessary for operating steam locomotives in each country—Russia, France, England, Germany, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Hungary, Sweden, Holland, Spain, and America."[67] Sakuma noted discrepancies in availability between these countries—some possessed several dozens of kilometers of track while others had several hundreds of kilometers of track—but these differences mattered little when compared with Japan's utter lack of track, steam technology, and effective policies. In Sakuma's words, "From this alone one can infer how strong and wealthy these countries must be. But in our country, from the beginning the bakufu has not had a naval policy nor a gunnery policy, and it is the same for the various domains."[68] Sakuma did note that some domains were well staffed and excelled in this area, but by-and-large, Japan needed to do better if it wanted to seriously resist Western efforts at domination.

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[66] Interesting, Sakuma seems to not have engaged significantly with how New World colonialism enabled such levels of resources among European powers. He seems aware of it, but does not counsel it as a viable solution for Japan at this point. Sakuma's conclusions are particularly striking in light of the wealth of secondary literature on the "great divergence" between Asia and Europe during this period that has come out in recent decades, going back to Kenneth Pomeranz's influential *Great Divergence* (Princeton, 2000).

[67] *NST* 322; Reitan (1862 1998: 274-275). Sakuma left the title of the German work blank.

[68] *NST* 322; Reitan (1862, 1998: 275).

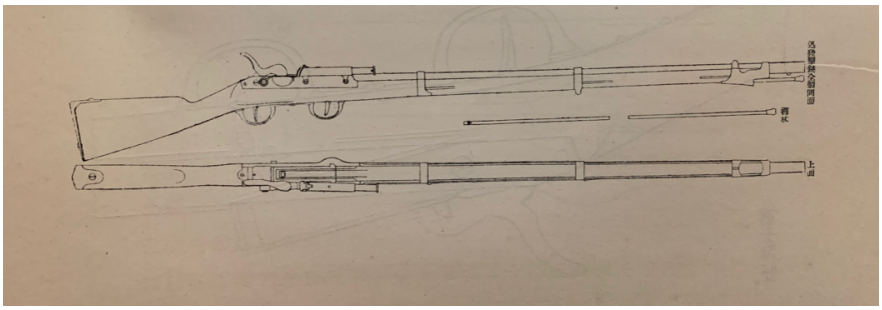

Figure 6. Aerial & side sketches from Sakuma's Illustrated Book of the Rapid-fire [Dutch] Blunderbuss (SZ, 3.13)

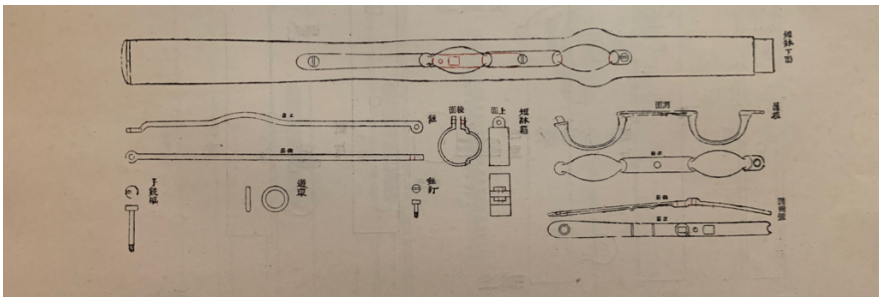

Figure 7. Underside sketch from Sakuma's Illustrated Book of the Rapid-fire [Dutch] Blunderbuss (SZ, 3.21)

Japan's deficiencies (combined with other factors) led Sakuma to devote a significant amount of time studying Dutch military technology, given his familiarity with the Dutch language. He even created an *Illustrated Book of the Rapid-fire [Dutch] Blunderbuss* for Japanese officials to review and learn from as they attempted to update Japan's military technology (see figures above). Thus, it is hardly a surprise that Sakuma critiqued Wei Yuan for apparently not going far enough in developing effective military technology. Sakuma criticized Wei's failure to incorporate more foreign techniques into his analysis of maritime defense and his "inaccurate and unfounded" analysis of arms. Sakuma concluded his commentary on Wei's work with a dismissive, yet sympathetic tone: "[Wei's writing] is like the doings of a child at play. No one can learn the essentials of a subject without engaging personally in the study of it. That a man of Wei's talent should fail to understand this is unfortunate. I deeply pity Wei that in the world of today, he, ignorant of artillery, should have unwittingly perpetrated these errors and mistakes on later generations."[69] Given Sakuma's more detailed

[69] *NST*, 252; Terry (1951: 75); Harootunian (1970: 150-151); Mitchell (1970: 293).

knowledge of the Dutch language and scientific advancements, it is no surprise that he would critique Wei—who had little foreign language training—on the grounds that he failed to engage deeply with the foreign material at hand and was thus ignorant of how it might be marshalled for military resistance. For Sakuma, apprehension of foreign military technology necessitated working in the source language (and not simply relying on translations into one's own language) and his own arduous, but ultimately successful, efforts at learning and translating Dutch documents were his proof. This was in contrast to relying on translation or presuming one's own cultural superiority—forms of insufficient study that he implied Wei and others had done.[70] Due in part to his own experiences, Sakuma had adopted a view that to truly engage with and understand foreign technology, one needed to have a knowledge of the languages.

Still, he did spare any critique when it came to not only Japanese officials' lack of a firm grasp on foreign language, but also their inability to put this into practice by translating this knowledge into military resistance. In his 1864 *Draft of the Imperial Injunction* (*Chokuyu Sōan*), Sakuma wrote: "Considering current conditions, [it is clear that] there are many aspects of learning and skills that foreign countries have developed, but that our country has not yet grasped, and while foreign countries have amassed ships and weapons, our country has yet to make such preparations."[71] Further, "Whereas foreign countries have extremely strong fortresses, our country does not yet know how to construct such strongholds. In response to this, upon deep reflection, [it is evident that] these failings must be corrected."[72] What is notable here is that Sakuma's emphasis on the gap between Japanese and Western knowledge and military technology was not an inherent or immutable one. His emphasis on Japan *not yet* having grasped this type of learning and skills and not yet knowing how to construct durable strongholds suggested to his audience that, with proper

[70] *NST*, 253; Terry (1951: 76).
[71] *SZ* 251; Reitan (1864, 1998: 280).
[72] *SZ* 251; Reitan (1864, 1998: 280).

diligence and application, Japanese officials could rival their Western rivals and effectively resist their increasing advances. He gives little credit to Britain, Holland, or America for forcing Japan to cede territory and open trade and implies that these circumstances only came about due to "failings" on the part of Japanese officials. However uncharitable or idealistic Sakuma's rendering might seem given the complex challenges the bakufu faced at this juncture, his vision certainly did not lack ambition or resolve when it came to resisting Western domination.

Indeed, right after Sakuma had noted two years earlier that several countries in Europe and North America found great strength and wealth in their steam powered land and sea faring vessels, he again criticized Japanese officials for ceding too much ground to the Americans in the initial negotiations: "the bakufu has not made efforts to know the enemy. Because it has lost the way to manage [conditions], and because of its lack of concern for military skills, the bakufu is beginning to listen to foreign countries' [requests] that they be allowed to lease Gotenyama, the Edo government's number one stronghold."[73] Sakuma faulted the bakufu for failing to manage the domestic political problem precisely because of its inattentiveness to foreign conditions. As a result (in Sakuma's rendering), Matthew Perry was able to pressure the bakufu into signing treatise to allows commercial trade, foreign residence, and extraterritoriality.

Sakuma was not unique in levelling these critiques at the bakufu concerning the handling of the Perry (and later Harris) affairs, but he did acknowledge how other, already established powers

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[73] *NST*, 322; Reitan (1862, 1998: 275). *Gotenyama* (or "Palace Mountain") was one of the most popular cherry blossom viewing spots in Edo. It was situated on a bluff in Shinagawa that sat on the coast outside of the city limits, overlooking Edo Bay. The shōgunate destroyed the mountain in 1853 to dump the dirt into the bay for the urgent construction of the Shinagawa Batteries (*shinagawa daiba*) as a defense against the return of Perry's "black ships". I include it here because Sakuma's attention to it highlights how the destruction of the mountain was, in a sense, also influenced by a system of Western imperialism predicated on conflict. Sakuma's criticism can thus be read as faulting Japanese leaders for allowing Westerners to master them, rather than the reverse. Further, it demonstrates, albeit in different ways, how the system of Western trading ports, "determined the very shape and spatial dynamics" of Edo Japan. See: Jeremy Taylor, "The Bund: The Littoral Space of Empire in the Treaty Ports of Japan," *Social History* vol. 27, no. 2 [2002]), 128, 141

might attempt to do a similar thing in the future and that pressuring Japan would not require as much power as some Japanese officials might be led to believe. In particular, Sakuma (perhaps unsurprisingly) used Holland as a case study of the threat of Western domination, beginning first with it geographical possessions: "Although everyone take Holland lightly as a small country, [we must recall that] this country was reduced in size due to Belgium's secession thirty years ago."[74] This first point is important for it demonstrates Sakuma's awareness of political events outside of Japan and Asia. His Dutch studies made him aware of Holland's "foreign conditions"—not simply its military technology, but also its political history—and fueled his concern that Japanese officials might ignore these relevant historical facts in assessing Holland's maritime power. Sakuma continued: "If we are informed of topography, [we know that] Holland possesses exceedingly vast amounts of territory in India and America, and the islands to the south of Japan are for the most part in its possession."[75] While Sakuma did not explicitly label the Dutch as an "empire" at this point, he drew connections between Dutch colonial possessions in South Asia, North America, and Europe that were indicative of a understanding that all of these territories were administered by the same political unit—in essence, what often goes under the rubric of empire in contemporary scholarship. As such, the threat of Western domination for Sakuma was neither distant nor inconsequential; the Dutch already had in influence in Japan at the Nagasaki port and could mobilize resources from as nearby as Southeast Asia.

This is likely why Sakuma, in drawing on the Dutch example, also made a point of connecting Dutch land possessions to Holland's trade and financial resources. Picking up the theme of global territory and connecting it to economic power, Sakuma writes, "Even these islands to the south of Japan alone are somewhat larger than our country, and the annual revenue [of this territory]

[74] *NST*, 323; Reitan (1862, 1998: 275).
[75] *NST*, 323; Reitan (1862, 1998: 275).

must be larger than that of our own."[76] Sakuma's supposition, while potentially faulty in its economic assessment, demonstrated—at the very least—an understanding of European efforts at deriving economic benefit from colonized lands. This leads Sakuma to conclude: "Therefore, because Holland year by year earns the profits of its maritime trade, enhances its national strength, and carefully attends to the preparation of ships, cannon, and its navy, contending with even this one country is well-nigh hopeless under current conditions."[77] The bakufu, in its current instantiation, was ill-equipped to deal with the threat of Western aggression, precisely because (in Sakuma's mind) they lacked sufficient knowledge of "foreign conditions" in its fullest sense. The Dutch (and other Western powers) were not threats simply because they showed up on Japan's doorstep with better ships; their global territorial possessions—and the profit they derived from them—put them in an advantageous position vis-à-vis Japan.

This awareness of the interconnected nature of land, profit, and domination led Sakuma to propose an ambitious plan that began with addressing Japan's most pressing weakness: its lack of a suitable military defense network. Earlier in his 1862 memorial on expelling foreigners, Sakuma writes: "as I said before, the realm's fortification system and current military skills do not measure up to expectations. As for the defense [network] against a foreign invasion, there is no coordination. (In the three major cities [of Edo, Kyōto, and Osaka] no outer wall at all has been set up.) A person in an analogous position would be completely naked and empty-handed."[78] Sakuma does not clearly spell out the full extent of these "expectations", but from the context of this memorial as well as his other writings, it seems apparent that his "expectations" were based partially on what he knew of Dutch and American military technology and partially on the knowledge he mined from Sino-Japanese sources. At no point does it appear that Sakuma thought Western powers or forms of

[76] *NST*, 323; Reitan (1862, 1998: 275).
[77] *NST*, 323; Reitan (1862, 1998: 275).
[78] *NST*, 322; Reitan (1862, 1998: 275).

knowledge as *inherently* superior to Sino-Japanese ones, nor did he seem to envision the path Japan would take as one that was meant for Japan to become more like the West in certain essential respects, as some modernization scholars have suggested over the years. Rather, Sakuma expected—perhaps somewhat quixotically—that Japanese officials could fix their military failures by adapting certain aspects of their thought and practice to face new intellectual and technological challenges and bolster its failing defense system in ways that could stem Western aggression in Asia.

To adapt to new challenges and bolster its failing defense system, Japan needed to engage in effective warfare and the first major step to this was a well-planned strategy. Just as he had defended the importance of mathematics as the basis for proper calculation by turning to Sunzi's writings nearly a decade earlier, Sakuma argued again in 1864 that classical Chinese works held the key to resisting Western aggression: "Even in the ancient *Simafa*, it says to look at the condition of things and achieve parity among abilities. In Sunzi's The *Art of War*, it is said that the well-planned strategy leads to victory, the poorly planned strategy leads to defeat. In the *Book of Zhou* as well, it is said that one must give as much weight to virtue as power, and as much weight to righteousness as virtue."[79] It is entirely possible that Sakuma alluded to these works for entirely strategic reasons; if he was attempting to gain an audience with the prominent leadership of Japan, appealing to widely revered works would likely help in this regard. However, this would not necessarily mean that Sakuma saw no value in these works; they were useful precisely because they could be marshalled to sanction the kind of flexible, globally-astute military planning which Sakuma thought indispensable to Japan's anti-colonial effort. Moreover, in sanctioning parity among abilities, these classical texts (in Sakuma's mind) actually enabled another, more distant goal: surpassing foreign countries in technological and military capabilities. Sakuma continues, "Should we not admonish those who, like the Manchus, corruptly try to build our forces without knowing our relative strengths? In careful reflection of this,

[79] *SZ* 251-252; Reitan (1864, 1998: 280).

we must work for a prosperity in which we completely surpass those foreign countries in [Western] knowledge and national strength through military preparation."[80] Again, Sakuma's idealism may have gotten the best of him here, as the bakufu was likely not in the position to overhaul everything as Sakuma would have liked, given its strained attempts to navigate international and domestic pressures even while its power was rapidly in decline. Still, something akin to Sakuma's (and others') view—namely, accurately assessing one's weaknesses and learning from foreign countries in order to surpass them—would take hold in the early Meiji period as key oligarchs (some of whom studied under Sakuma) would attempt to re-negotiate unfavorable political, legal, and economic conditions imposed by Western powers. Nevertheless, one major difference between Sakuma and the Meiji oligarchs was the greater degree to which the latter embraced Western cultural, political, and economic institutions as *the norm* to which one ought to model a "modern" nation; Sakuma was hard-pressed to afford Western powers that level of determinative influence precisely because of his anti-imperial presuppositions.

Indeed, recently scholars have noted that Sakuma's pursuit of Western learning and scientific inquiry was deeply rooted in his anti-imperialism. John E. Van Sant has noted that Sakuma's proposal of "Eastern ethics, Western technology" was a primary means "to strengthen Japan both internally and externally, and allow Japan to maintain its independence."[81] Again, though, this was not unique or exclusive to Sakuma: by the mid-nineteenth century, increasing numbers of political leaders and scholars in Japan realized that Japan had to adapt and incorporate elements of Western-style industrialization into their own political and economic order to remain independent of Western imperialism.[82] Rumi Sakamoto has reinforced this point on the threat of Western imperialism and

[80] *SZ* 252; Reitan (1864, 1998: 280).
[81] Van Sant, John E. "Sakuma Shozan's Hegelian Vision for Japan." *Asian Philosophy* Vol. 14 No. 3 (November 2004), 277-292.
[82] Van Sant (2004: 277, 280).

domination noting that Sakuma's conceptualization of the "national realm" contained one of the earliest notions of Japanese selfhood and Western otherness that "register an emerging national consciousness in the late Edo period, a response to the threat of Western imperialism."[83]

Still, although Van Sant and Sakamoto agree on the imperial nature of the challenge Sakuma and other Japanese leaders faced, there is an apparent disagreement between them on the nature of Sakuma's accommodations to Western learning. Whereas Sakamoto has argued that Sakuma resolved the apparent contradiction between adopting Western technology without Western values by subsuming Western science under the broader rubric of Neo-Confucian *li*, Van Sant has found this approach somewhat unsatisfying. He writes, "some could argue (as I would) that Sakuma viewed Western science within the context of [*qi*]: Western science and technology was to Tokugawa Japan an energizing force for a static regime needing to enact substantial internal and external reforms."[84] Van Sant continues: "Regardless of this *li* v. [*qi*] argument, Sakuma did not realize that cultural values consciously and subconsciously accompanied Western science and could upset the 'traditional' order of Japan that he sought to strengthen."[85] Van Sant's issue is less that Sakamoto reads Sakuma as attempting to flexibly incorporate Western forms of learning within Sino-Confucian frameworks altogether and more with her attempt to assert that this was an adequate resolution of the problem. For Van Sant, Sakuma was far too idealistic—attempting to adopted scientific techniques abstracted from their historical and cultural context was a recipe not only for misrecognizing equally important cultural phenomena, but also for undermining the very culture one is trying to protect.

While Sakamoto disagrees in certain respects with this assessment of Sakuma's political and scientific efforts, in certain ways she also agrees with Van Sant's conclusion that Sakuma

[83] Sakamoto (2008: 213).
[84] Van Sant (2004: 285).
[85] Van Sant (2004: 285).

undermined his overall case. To be sure, in her 2008 piece, Sakamoto doubles down on her assertion that Sakuma retained Neo-Confucian frameworks, but nuances it in a few ways. First, in contrast to Harry Harootunian's earlier contention that Sakuma *replaced* Neo-Confucian epistemologies with Western realities,[86] she avers that, for Sakuma, Neo-Confucian categories were still present in his thinking and were, in some respects, superior to Western ones—though not always so.[87] Second, she argues against the idea that Sakuma operated with essentialized "Japanese" or "Western" cultural categories; indeed, this is precisely why (in Sakamoto's view) Sakuma cannot properly be viewed as a forerunner of the essentializing *wakon yōsai* ideology that was a hallmark of Meiji Japan.[88] Still, overall, Sakamoto agrees with Van Sant that Sakuma's vision of compatibility between foreign and inherited learning was doomed in its approach: "In his understanding that Western science and technology were in fact manifestations of Confucian *ri*, however, [Sakuma] also undermined, without intending to, the basis of Confucianism itself. It was only by a radical reinterpretation of Confucianism…that Sakuma could incorporate a Western scientific world view into Confucian epistemology."[89] In short, for both Sakamoto and Van Sant, Sakuma made too radical of a move; he idealistically aimed to incorporate Western learning within Neo-Confucian frameworks, but ended up supplanting the latter and transforming both in the process.

I generally agree with the assessment of Sakuma's thinking as a form of radical idealism, but find the "accidental undermining" tone as oddly reminiscent of anachronistic historical frameworks rooted in the persistent narrative of Asian modernization. Sakuma was well-versed in Neo-Confucian learning as well as Dutch studies. His mixing of these approaches and his efforts at pushing their boundaries is perhaps better read as an attempt by Sakuma to innovate new categories

[86] Harootunian (1970: 171).
[87] Sakamoto (2008: 218).
[88] Sakamoto (2008: 222-224).
[89] Sakamoto (2008: 221).

of politics, language, and science as opposed to ill-conceived efforts that sowed the seeds for the supplanting of Neo-Confucian frameworks he sought to preserve. Put differently, I take Sakamoto's critique seriously—that Sakuma saw these categories as flexible and open to innovation; his main motive was to resist Western imperial domination and innovating beyond "Western science" and "Eastern ethics" was one way of searching for a solution. It is precisely because (as Sakamoto notes) Sakuma does not presume essentialized cultural categories (but rather locates "Western" and "Eastern" simply as geopolitical realities) that he is able to offer a political, economic, and technological future outside of the one favored by later Meiji reformers and many historians of East Asia since—that of modernization.

IV. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to argue that Sakuma's revisionist scholarship was an initial step in a broader strategy of resistance to Western military, political, and economic domination. I began this chapter by exploring how Sakuma conceived of awareness of one's own political and economic context and the implications this had for his approach to the threat of Western domination in Asia. I foregrounded Sakuma's emphasis on "awareness" in knowledge and scholarship and discussed his efforts at securing funding for translations of Dutch dictionaries in order to understand "foreign conditions". I contended further that Sakuma's translation efforts signaled his innovative approach to resistance to foreign domination. Then, I expanded on my analysis of Sakuma's efforts to understand "foreign conditions", by turning to his engagement with foreign technology. Throughout, I have argued that, for Sakuma, language, technology, and politics were interconnected—through studying foreign language, he was able to ascertain the extent of foreign countries' military and economic capabilities and devise a plan of resistance.

By drawing attention to Sakuma's thought on learning and translation and their connections to political and economic resistance to Western domination, my aim throughout has been to

demonstrate that Sakuma reimagined Japan's international crisis by developing alternative modes of knowledge production. I have argued that Sakuma's innovative approach offers a valuable perspective to recent literature on knowledge production in Japan precisely because his arguments for revising extant scholarship involve recalibrating expectations about what counts as knowledge and who should produce it. While my argument is in keeping with recent scholarly moves away from Euro-centric "modernization" frameworks toward more internalist Asia-centric historical accounts, it departs from a continuing emphasis among Sakuma scholars to read his innovative approach as an ill-conceived effort that sowed the seeds for the supplanting of the Japanese Neo-Confucian frameworks he sought to preserve—a view, I argue, is still captive to teleological narratives of "Western modernity". In opposition to this, I attempt to reimagine Sakuma's attempt as a mode of innovative politics, language, and science. It is precisely because Sakuma saw "Sino-Japanese" and "Western" categories as only bound in the sense of geopolitical location (but flexible and open to innovation in other respects), that he was able to leverage insights across cultural, historical, and geographical bounds in order to set the stage for resisting Western imperialism in Asia. This stands in contrast to future visions both offered by later Meiji reformers and that have bounded many historical narratives of East Asia since—visions of "modernization".

III. RESISTANCE THROUGH EMPIRE

CHAPTER 4 : WEI YUAN'S VISION OF TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

If we cannot defend ourselves, how can we possibly fight offensively? If we cannot defend ourselves, how can we possibly sue for [a satisfactory] peace? By conducting war through defense, we will force the foreigners to accord with our desires—this is called using foreigners to attack foreigners. By suing for peace through defense, will cause the foreigners to model [themselves on] us and do their utmost in our service—this is called using foreigners to pacify foreigners.

- Wei Yuan, *Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms (Haiguo Tuzhi*, 1844)[1]

I. Introduction

Situated at the beginning of his landmark fifty-scroll *Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms* (*Haiguo Tuzhi*)—a document hastily completed by Wei Yuan (1794-1856) under the duress of the first Opium War with Britain—the epigraph above is both a deeply personal reflection of Wei's coming to terms with the shifting realities of mid-nineteenth-century global political economy and a testament to his idealistic vision of reform in the midst of such a turbulent political moment in China. Drawing on classical Neo-Confucian tropes and the latest available information on "foreign conditions" (*yiqing*), Wei concisely displays his commitment to dynamic political and economic reform by tying his works and policies to broader reformist statecraft legacies of Neo-Confucian learning in China that he believed would aid in such efforts. It is this approach of Wei's to both China's, and the global, political economy that I explore in this chapter.

In this chapter, I argue that Wei's framework of "learning foreign conditions to master the foreigners" attempted to resist foreign imperial domination with political, military, and economic

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[1] 「不能守，何以戰？不能守，何以款？以守為戰，而後外夷服我調度，是謂以夷攻夷；以守為款，而後外夷範我馳驅，是謂以夷款夷。」From "Haiguo Tuzhi" in *Wei Yuan Zhuan* [*Selected Writings of Wei Yuan*] (Shaoyang: Chen Shanqi, Qing Tongzhi 7 nian [1868]), vol. 1 quan 1 p. 1. (Punctuations added.) Hereafter, this will be cited as (*WYZ*. Box. Volume. Page) followed by the citation of earlier English translations, where applicable. This English translation is a modification of the following: Mitchell, Peter MacVicar. "Wèi Yüan and the Early Modernization Movement in China and Japan" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1970), 223-224. I have elected to translate *yi* in Wei's texts as "foreigner" given scholarship that has emphasized Wei's respect for Westerners (against the earlier scholarly consensus). I will explain Wei's respect later in the chapter.

techniques of empire. More specifically, Wei attempted to "master" foreigners in two ways—first, by mastering knowledge of their "conditions" and second by mastering them politically, militarily, and economically. The present chapter builds on the analysis of Wei's understanding of "foreign conditions" offered in chapter two. It explores the specific military, political, and economic strategies Wei supported in resisting European and American domination of China. Economically, I argue that Wei's efforts at generating wealth rely on revising Chinese trade and monetary policy as well as the grain and sea transport systems to account for Western colonial expansion and inefficiencies in domestic management. On the political and military fronts, I argue that Wei foregrounds expansive conquest, the securing of terrestrial and maritime borders, and successful international warfare as modes of resistance to domination. The adoption of these economic, political, and military techniques of empire, I contend, are rooted for Wei in knowing "foreign conditions" (*yiqing*)—the political, economic, military, and cultural aspects of foreign countries—and employing such knowledge in an effort to resist European imperialism and instead "master" (*yu*) the foreigners in East Asia. By emphasizing Wei's revisionist moves as ones that resist foreign imperial domination through political, military, and economic techniques of empire, I offer a new framework for understanding Wei's political thought than has been previously offered by historians of East Asia.

Moreover, my approach to Wei's thought has additional implications for the literature on empire in the history of political thought. Scholars of empire have, over the last two decades, taken up the theme of imperial governance both as an historical reality and a theoretical quandary in a range of temporal and regional contexts, but have undertheorized how actors who resisted domination by European countries and America leveraged techniques of empire prior to

colonization.[2] In contrast, my turn to Wei emphasizes how his strategy of resisting domination relied on the very same imperial strategies that Europeans and Americans attempted to use to dominate China. Similar analyses of empire as a form of resisting the possibility of being dominated by others have been offered with respect to key figures in the history of Western political thought,[3] but because these accounts have rooted imperial expansion in a *natural* desire to acquire or expand (as

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[2] For some examples, see: Pagden, Anthony. *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory, 1513–1830*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990; Pagden, Anthony. *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500–c. 1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995; Mehta, Uday Singh. *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth Century British Liberal Thought*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999; Ando, Clifford. *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000; Armitage, David. *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; Koskenniemi, Martti. *Gentle Civilizer of Nations: The Rise and Fall of International Law 1870–1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001; Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003; Muthu, Sankar. *Enlightenment Against Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003; Anghie, Antony. *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; Duara, Prasenjit. *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004; Hörnqvist, Mikael. *Machiavelli and Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; Liu, Lydia. *The Clash of Empires*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004; Morefield, Jeanne. *Covenants without Swords: Idealist Liberalism and the Spirit of Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005; Pitts, Jennifer. *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005; Maier, Charles S. *Among Empires*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006; Sartori, Andrew. 2006. "The British Empire and its Liberal Mission." *Journal of Modern History* 78 (September), 623–42; Esherick, Joseph, Hasan Kayalı, and Eric Van Young, eds. 2006. *Empire to Nation: Historical Perspectives on the Making of the Modern World*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield; Bell, Duncan. 2007. *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Bell, Duncan. *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007; Stoler, Ann Laura, Carole McGranahan, and Peter C. Perdue. *Imperial Formations*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007; Tully, James. *Public Philosophy in a New Key*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008; Pitts, Jennifer. 2009. "Liberalism and Empire in a Nineteenth-Century Algerian Mirror." *Modern Intellectual History* 6, no. 2, 287–313; Benton, Lauren. *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010; Burbank, Jane & Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010; Pitts, Jennifer. 2010. "Political Theory of Empire and Imperialism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13, 211–235; Mantena, Karuna. *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010; Rana Aziz. *Settler Empire: American Freedom and Its Consequences*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010; and Pagden, Anthony. *The Burdens of Empire: 1539 to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

[3] Hörnqvist (2004).

opposed to a *strategic* aim like Wei), they have missed how imperial spaces enabled not only European and American domination, but also enabled flexibly strategic forms of resistance to that very same domination. Put differently, Wei offer a distinct perspective on anti-colonialism, domination, and empire insofar as he demonstrates how realms of empire enabled strategic resistance *prior* to established Western colonial structures, the likes of which formed at least the partial basis for several, later post-colonial efforts across Africa and Asia.[4] In this chapter, I argue that by recovering Wei's discourses around domination and resistance, we nuance our theoretical and historical understanding of European and Chinese realms of empire while also resisting teleological narratives of "Asian modernization". Wei helps us see how empire was cast as an independent project of counter domination—whether countering Western colonialism, military occupation, or economic deprivation of Asia—intended to ultimately resist domination and establish a new order in Asia's favor.[5] Wei's attempts—though ultimately overlooked for more "radical" alternatives—demonstrate the fluidity with which imperial domination was understood at this critical juncture in global history.

[4] For a few examples of post-colonial narratives of Asia and Africa that relied on subverting Western-based systems of colonial rule and/or empire, see: Anghie (2004); Mantena (2010); Getachew, Adom. *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019; and Parfitt, Rose. *The Process of International Legal Reproduction: Inequality, Historiography, Resistance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

[5] For more on Wei's vision of Chinese global management and global awareness, see: Mosca, Matthew W. *From Frontier Policy to Foreign Policy: The Question of India and the Transformation of Geopolitics in Qing China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 189-190. In this vein, Wei was quite aware of the "differentiated" and "fragmented" nature of British empire, to borrow Lauren Benton's framing. See: Benton, Lauren. *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 2. Mosca notes that Wei's geographical approach made him acutely aware (unlike his contemporaries) that focusing geographical efforts on understanding Britain itself and not India—Britain's most strategically crucial territory—was to continue to limit both the Qing empire's ability to adopt a global vision and its effective resistance to British expansion (Mosca [2013: 190]). For my extended discussion of Wei's understanding of India's strategic importance to Britain, see chapter two.

Much of the early scholarship on post-Opium War Chinese intellectual history written during the latter half of the twentieth century occupied itself with questions of "modernization" and the "decline of Confucian China". Wei has played a significant role in such narratives, either as an advocate of the (ultimately doomed) effort to recover Confucian frameworks in the wake of Western aggression or as an early, but limited, reformer subject to the criticisms of later, more concrete and radical reformers like Feng Guifen (1809–1874), Tan Sitong (1865-1898), Kang Youwei (1858-1927), and Liang Qichao (1873-1929).[6] According to the frameworks developed by mid-twentieth century American scholars of nineteenth-century China, Wei's arguments were either indicative of a broader "impact-response" model of Chinese history predicated on the novelty of Western influence in Asia following the Opium War or his arguments were not reformist enough to move beyond the Neo-Confucian traditions that would not survive into the "modern era". I challenge both of these views by arguing that Wei's understanding of domination both had its roots in developments that preceded the Opium War and that it was more capacious (even if somewhat idealistic of misinformed) than later efforts that focused too exclusively either on modeling China after the technological developments or civilizational accomplishments of foreigners. Wei, I argue, never succumbed to either of these faults.

To be sure, since the publication of those early "modernization" accounts, other scholars have challenged such narratives by pushing their audiences to consider precisely what underpins them and how such frameworks might be overcome as a means of recovering Asian historiography on its own terms.[7] With specific regard to Wei Yuan, Jane Kate Leonard began a more "internalist"

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[6] See: Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbank, ed. *China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954, 1972), 53, 157; Levenson, Joseph R. *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy* (Berkeley: UC Berkeley Press, 1968); Li, Man. ""To change' or 'to be changed': the dialectics of a decaying empire and the political philosophy of Wei Yuan (1794–1857)." *Global Intellectual History* 1:3 (2016), 262.

[7] See: Leonard, Jane Kate. *Wei Yuan and China's Rediscovery of the Maritime World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); Cohen, Paul A. *Discovering History in China* (New York: Columbia University

approach by challenging the view that Wei's *Illustrated Treatise* was more indebted to Western influence than Chinese frameworks of thinking about global politics: "While it is quite true that Wei used Western sources in the text and this contributed to the expansion of Chinese geographical knowledge, this information did not significantly alter his view either of the maritime world or the maritime tributary order."[8] Leonard's aim, throughout her work, was to show that a better understanding of Wei's *Illustrated Treatise* ought to set it within longer Chinese traditions of political and geographical thought and highlight how Wei recovered earlier Ming conceptions of global political geography.[9]

Other scholars have since picked up on this approach, extending it beyond Wei's *Illustrated Treatise*. Paul A. Cohen, drawing on Leonard's work, has argued that although the "problem of the West" was more central in Wei's political thought than in that of his contemporaries like Gong Zizhen (1792-1841), nevertheless, "Wei establishes his reformist credentials in an indigenous context first, long before encountering the West". Furthermore, "although he comes to regard the commercial and military presence of the foreigners on the coast as an unprecedented situation in Chinese history, his reactions to this presence form part of a broader contemporary reassessment of the bearing of maritime Asia on the security of China's coastal frontier."[10] Peter C. Perdue, drawing on Leonard, has similarly extended this "internalist" approach to Wei's *Military History of the Qing Dynasty* (1842), arguing that, "Wei derived [his] proto-militarist ideology [in the *Military History*] primarily from the historical record of Qing conquests, not from his knowledge of Western

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Press, 1985, 2010); Kuhn, Philip A. *Origins of the Modern Chinese State* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002). A prominent stream of "internalist" research on Chinese history since the 1990s has been the "New Qing" history—developed in the U.S. by scholars like Evelyn Rawski, Mark Elliot, Pamela Crossley, and Peter Perdue—which emphasizes Manchu (non-Han) and borderland histories of China. For a brief summary of this field and some of its critics, see: Wu, Guo. "New Qing History: Dispute, Dialog, and Influence." *The Chinese Historical Review* 23:1 (2016), 47-69.

[8] Leonard (1984: 93).

[9] Leonard (1984: 2-6).

[10] Cohen (1985, 2010: 155).

powers."[11] Similarly, Matthew Mosca has argued that Wei's *Military History* represents his pioneering insights, his resurrection of earlier Chinese statecraft traditions, his partisan politics, and the "unprecedented scale on which he thought" all at once.[12] And although not as explicit as the others, Philip A. Kuhn's analysis of Wei's constitutional thought in his private notes on politics and scholarship, entitled *Mogu*, very much embodies a similar "internalist" perspective.[13] I adopt this "internalist" perspective, but expand upon these insights by synthesizing Wei's view of domination across his various texts, including passages which scholars have overlooked in the past.

I begin the chapter first by briefly situating Wei's use of the term "mastery" (*yu*) within the broader history of Chinese political thought and tying it to similar concepts Wei employs throughout his writings. I then take a deeper dive into Wei's historical context, exploring his relationship to earlier streams of Chinese statecraft (*jingshi*) as well as the later movement toward "self-strengthening" (*ziqiang*). I conclude that section by situating Wei's understanding of "mastery" within his broader effort at focusing statecraft on talent, wealth, and power. In the subsequent section, I spell out the economic, political, and military facets of Wei's efforts to "master the foreigners" (*yu-i*). Throughout the chapter, I compare Wei's views with Sakuma's, noting both similarities and departures in their respective approaches. I conclude the chapter by revisiting the stakes of Wei's efforts at resistance through empire for the history of political thought.

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[11] Perdue, Peter C. *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 503. For further insight into insight into how Qing thinkers were implicated in imperial projects, see: Teng, Emma. *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

[12] Mosca (2013: 180).

[13] Kuhn (2002: 27-54). Kuhn (2002: 33-34) notes that *Mogu* could be translated variously. Kuhn opts for "Treatise on Scholarship and Government" given the material within, but acknowledges that a more literal translation might be "Wei Yuan's Writing Tablet" or "Silent Gourd", given the multiple meanings of the composite characters. I have opted to leave the title untranslated given the multiple meanings.

II. Defining "Mastery" and "Foreign Conditions"

Key to understanding Wei's imperial resistance is the concept of *yu*, which functioned across his works as a multidirectional action—something both foreigners and Chinese officials could engage in against the other. Historically, *yu* referred literally to the driving of a carriage,[14] or more abstractly as "rule" or "management" of political affairs, as seen in the *Rites of Zhou*, the *History of the Southern Dynasties* (659AD) and the *Historical Events Retold as a Mirror for Government* (*Xu Zizhi Tongjian*; composed by Sima Guang who lived from 1019-1086). Wei's usage of the term in the *Illustrated Treatise* and *Military History* might suggest a reading of "control" or "restrict", but in light of the specific circumstances at play in his work (i.e. increasing foreign economic and political incursion in Asia) as well as the translations of earlier scholars who have worked on Wei's political writings, I have opted for translating *yu* as "to master". That said, Wei uses related terms as well throughout his works that connote a similar sense of domination, control, or rule by political powers.[15] My aim in this chapter is to explore the connected constellation of these concepts as they bear out in Wei's political, economic, and military analyses—particularly, as he seeks to stem foreign "mastery" of the Chinese realm (*tianxia*) even while he pushes for Chinese leaders to "master foreigners" (*yuyi*) who were already in Asia.

To understand Wei's arguments concerning domination and the nineteenth-century political economy, it is perhaps best to begin by briefly situating him within the statecraft traditions in which he operated and wrote. Chinese "statecraft" (*jingshi*; literally, "world ordering"), as a cluster of schools of thought and practice, went back at least to the Han dynasty (206BCE-220AD) in China and was based largely on Han and post-Han dynastic histories, institutional encyclopedias compiled

[14] The character *yu* (馭) is composed of a horse radical (馬) on the left and a right hand radical (又) on the right. The imagery of a person controlling a horse (or carriage) is readily apparent.
[15] Examples include: *kuan* (款; "pacify") and *zhi* (制; "control").

from the Tang dynasty (618-907AD) onward, and local gazetteers that recorded civil administrative affairs and provincial life through the centuries.[16] Although statecraft traditionally focused somewhat abstractly on affairs within the realm, due to constant uprisings, diminishing financial resources, and an increasing sense of the empire's lack of credibility, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, scholar-officials began to focus more on "concrete" political issues than their classically-oriented forebears had.[17] In the pre-Opium War period, in particular, Wei—along with other scholar reformers like Bao Shichen (1775-1855), Tao Zhu (1779-1839), He Changling (1785-1848), Lin Zexu (1785-1850) and Gong Zizhen (1792-1841), who were all based in the wealthy lower Yangze region of China—began turning away from abstract textual analyses toward concrete political and economic proposals.[18] Statecraft (*jingshi*), as such, thus began to increasingly be aligned with a dual focus on affairs within the realm (*tianxia*) and without as well as an attentiveness to empirical political and economic realities. Toward this end, these scholars wrote a range of works including poetry, memorials, and local gazetteers with a new aim of reforming the inefficiencies and drawbacks of extant political and economic structures within the realm.[19]

Indeed, Wei and his colleagues were notable as being some of the first scholar-officials in the early nineteenth-century to base their theories of governance and learning as well as readings of the classics on attending to empirical realities and practicality.[20] In his *Ancient Subtleties of the Hall* (*Guweitang Neiwaiji*), Wei drew similarities between the figure of the king and the hegemon (which were typically seen as polar opposites with the former prioritizing the public good and the latter, private gain) to directly challenge scholarly traditions that, in his mind, had neglected practical

[16] de Bary, William Theodore and Richard Lufrano, ed. *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From 1600 Through the Twentieth Century, second edition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 155. Hereafter, it will be cited as: *SOCT*, page number.
[17] Mitchell (1970: 53-54); Kuhn (2002: 50-51).
[18] Mitchell (1970: 54-55).
[19] *SOCT*, 156.
[20] For Wei's debt to, but also substantial improvement of, Lin Zexu's work, see: Mosca (2013: 182).

affairs.[21] In Wei's mind, both were general, practically oriented archetypes and his "Modern Text" approach in his commentaries was aimed at deriving "great meanings" from the "subtle language" employed in these classic texts.[22] However, Wei also employed such an approach in his more "policy-focused" texts like the *Illustrated Treatise*. In the preface, Wei explicitly stated that his aim was to provide practical techniques for countering Western incursions: "For what purpose was this work written? I state that it is written in order to use foreigners to attack foreigners, to use foreigners to pacify foreigners, and to learn the superior techniques of the foreigners in order to control them."[23] After invoking the classical *Book of Changes* (*Yijing*), Wei wrote that political and military matters require accurate knowledge: "It is the same [as love, hate, honesty, and dishonesty] in resisting an enemy; gain or loss depends on knowing or not knowing their nature. Those who in ancient times kept off the foreigners were as conversant with the enemy's conditions as with their own, and as conversant with the enemy's nature as if they slept and ate together."[24] Although Wei acknowledged that his work could not ensure victory, his tactics were premised on an understanding of talent that was rooted in a broader commitment to practicable action. He not only claimed that "the way human talent is given substance is elimination of the impractical",[25] but he seemed particularly optimistic in rousing his fellow scholar-officials to resist lethargy and actively defend the realm from domination:

> The operations of Heaven in time and man's own efforts are now to our advantage. Why are we troubled that this may not be the proper time to eliminate the foreigners [in Asia]? Why are we troubled that this may not be the opportunity to demonstrate our martial might? All this is what should properly arouse those with courage, which all those with any sense ought to plan for. Away with hypocrisy! Away with useless window dressing! Away with fear of

[21] *Wei Yuan Ji* [*Collected Writings of Wei Yuan*] vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1976), 36. Hereafter, this will be cited as (*WYJ*, Page) followed by the citation of previous English translations, where applicable. See also: Kuhn (2002: 49); *SOCT*, 190-191.
[22] Kuhn (2002: 34-37).
[23] *WYZ*. 1. Preface. 1; Mitchell (1970: 169).
[24] *WYZ*. 1. Preface. 1; Mitchell (1970: 169-170).
[25] *WYZ*. 1. Preface. 2; Mitchell (1970: 170).

> difficulties! Away with harboring internal paralysis! Away with misuse of official office for private gain! Then only will the disastrous lethargy of men's minds be eliminated.[26]

For Wei, practical action was the only suitable response to British incursions in China. "Eliminating" foreign domination of Asia could not be achieved any other way. His broader understanding of governance, talent, learning, and wealth and power were premised on this fundamental assumption.

Of course, Wei drew on a range of sources—both classical and contemporary—in making these claims. For instance, in the *Anthology of Qing Statecraft Writings* (1826), Wei emphasized Mencius' focus on agriculture and sericulture as a basis for justifying specialized and practical knowledge as a main concern of not only the ancient sages, but also of contemporary scholar-officials.[27] Beyond the invocation of classical figures, Wei sought to promote more recent exemplars of what he took to be "model" statecraft—figures like Gu Yanwu (1613-1682) and Chen Hongmou (1696-1771) the latter of whom, although he held little prominence during his own lifetime, gained a posthumous reputation (among Wei and others) for his administrative sophistication, attention to local variation, detailed empirical observations, and practically-oriented reflections on statecraft.[28] Relatedly, Wei drew on both the evidentiary analysis (*kaozheng*) of "Han learning" and the Neo-Confucianism classicism of "Song learning" in analyzing practical affairs even though he was quite critical of these schools. The reliance on the latter bore particular relevance for Wei's turn to Wang Yangming (1472-1529), although Wei, like Sakuma, remained quite critical of what he took to be Wang's overemphasis on self-knowledge to the exclusion of knowledge of external conditions and the views of others.[29]

Still, although traces of influences from a range of classical and more recent historical figures and schools are evident in his public writings, Wei was nevertheless innovative in his

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[26] *WYZ*. 1. Preface. 2; Mitchell (1970: 170-171).
[27] *SOCT*, 188.
[28] *SOCT*, 156-157; Mitchell (1970: 58).
[29] *WYJ*, 156-157; *SOCT*, 185, 186; Rowe (2018: 193).

reinterpretations (particularly of classical works) toward a focus on contemporary affairs.[30] To take the *Illustrated Treatise* as an example: naturally, the fact that Wei drew on a range of extant sources concerned with practical affairs in writing his *Illustrated Treatise*—sources like the translations that formed a basis for Lin Zexu's *Treatise on the Four Continents* (*Sizhouzhi*), seventeenth- to nineteenth-century Chinese works by foreigners (mostly Catholic and Protestant missionaries), Chinese works on foreign countries, and official histories, memorials, and private writings by Chinese officials of both low and high status—should not be overlooked.[31] However, Wei pushed these sources further, not only organizing them in a coherent manner, but also adding considerably to the substantive analysis, such that Mitchell has even suggested that the final version of the *Illustrated Treatise*, "reflected Wei's thinking as much if not more than the thought of the initiator [Lin Zexu]."[32] To return to the *Anthology*, Wei noted that the past was an important, but not overly determinative, influence in assessing contemporary affairs: "The tools used by [the] great-great-grandfather and [the] great-grandfather are not as suitable for our use as [the] grandfather's or [the] father's. The more recent the time, the more telling its influence. The sages have ridden on the trends and circumstances of their times; their spiritual intelligence and statesmanship have arisen therefrom. Properly to speak of past history, one must verify in the present the lessons of the past."[33] Even in his supplemental section on the "five selection criteria" for the *Anthology* (*Huangchao Jingshi Wenbian Wulie*), Wei noted that, "Writings on antiquity that are inappropriate [to the present] and those that are so general as to be of no practical value will not be selected."[34] In other words, Wei was not merely a compiler of past thought or contemporary materials; he employed a critically substantive

[30] Kuhn (2002: 25).
[31] Mitchell (1970: 182-189).
[32] Mitchell (1970: 181).
[33] *WYJ*, 156-157; *SOCT* 185.
[34] *WYJ*, 158-159; *SOCT* 187.

lens toward his source material that was aimed at practical knowledge that could reform the political economy of his day.

Indeed, one primary practical focus of his reformist efforts was on reimagining how Chinese officials conceived of the connection between "talent" (*rencai*) and "wealth and power" (*fuqiang*), precisely because it highlighted how internal discord in China led to foreign domination.[35] In his preface to the *Military History*, Wei wrote,

> If material resources [*caiyong*] are insufficient, the state will not be poor, but if human talent [*rencai*] is not dynamic [*jing*], then it will be poor. If commands do not extend beyond the seas [*haiwai*], the state [*guo*] is not weak; but if commands do not extend up to the interior borders [*jingnei*], the state is weak. So the former kings did not worry about material resources but only about talent. They did not worry that they could not exert their will over the foreigners on all sides [*siyi*], but worried about exerting their will within the four borders. If all officials have ability, the state will be orderly and rich [*zhenfu*]; if all within the borders obey commands, the state will be powerful [*bingqiang*].[36]

For Wei, although material resources were important for economic and political reform, of greater importance was accurate knowledge possessed by "talented" officials who could employ it in a worthwhile manner. And while Wei's distinction between "interior borders" and "beyond the seas" initially seems to highlight a distinction between his more explicit expansionist efforts in central Asia and his less expansionist approach to the maritime world beyond the southeastern boundaries of the realm (often referred to as the *Nanyang* or "Southern Ocean" [lit. Southeast Asia]), it is likely that his emphasis on maintaining order within the realm was an initial step toward building up imperial maritime capabilities outside of the realm. I draw out this connection between Wei's land-based expansionist efforts in Central Asia and his views on maritime defense in the next section.

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[35] Wei fits with Rowe's (2018: 187) comment on early nineteenth-century scholars embodying both of Schwartz's two alternatives (i.e. orthodox moral Confucians & wealth-power Legalism) which is distinct from later (1860s-1870s) reformers who were under Western influence.
[36] *WYJ*, 166-167; Perdue (2005: 502); *SOCT*, 208.

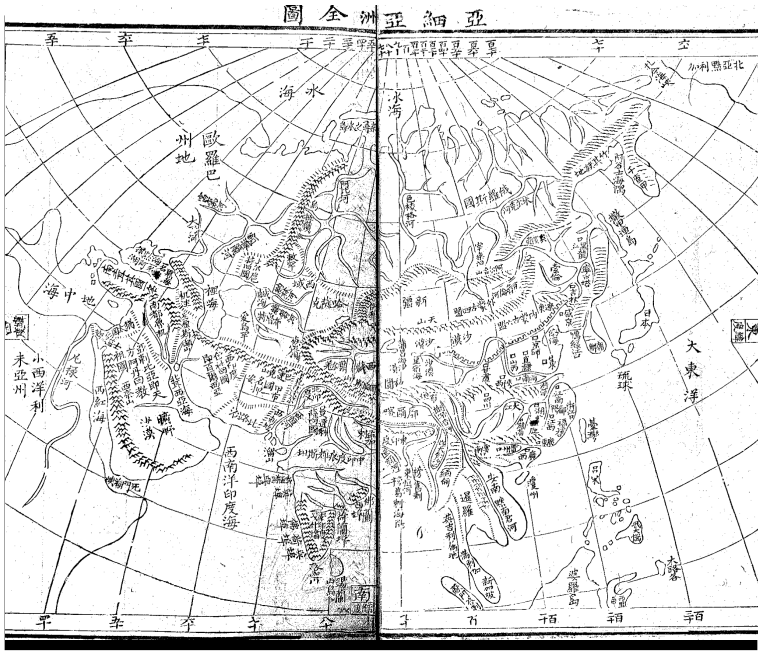

Figure 8: Map of Asia from the *Haiguo Tuzhi* (*WYZ*.1.3.21-22)[37]

Still, by focusing first on "internal" concerns and reading this approach into historical accounts, Wei was laying the ground for arguing that the Qing must do the same in order to foster the growth of wealth and power in China in the face of Western encroachment. A few lines later, Wei rearticulates the importance of talent and clear thought for the strength of China: "[If] talent advances, then military and political affairs will be mended; if people's minds are cleaned up, then the might of the state will be powerful [indeed]. [When] a happy [occasion occurs], the four seas will be like spring; [when] an infuriating [occasion occurs], the four seas will be like autumn." Further, Wei stated elsewhere that, "Without wealth and power, there can be no *wangdao* [Confucian model of "minimal rule" or, more literally, the "Kingly way"]."[38] Finally, in his first essay on governance in *Mogu* (his private notes), Wei repeats a similar point: "From ancient times, there have been wealth and power

[37] This map of Asia was part of a series of global maps featured early in the *Haiguo Tuzhi* (volume 3). Wei drew on both classical Chinese and contemporary European sources in creating these maps (Mitchell 1970: 217-218).

[38] Rowe (2018: 188), drawing on: Ōtani, Toshio. "Hō Seishin no jitsugaku shisō ni tsuite" ["On Bao Shichen's 'substantive studies' thought" Tōyōshi kenkyū28.3 (December 1969), 168; Liu Guangjing, *Jingshi sixiang yu xinxing qiye* [*Statecraft thought and modern enterprise*] (Taibei: Lianjing, 1990), 2.

that were exercised apart from the *wangdao*, but never the *wangdao* exercised apart from wealth and power."[39] Thus, both privately and publically Wei espoused a view—informed by history—that foregrounded the importance of wealth and power and their connection to talent, knowledge, and governance.

Of course, Wei was neither alone nor the first to hold such a view of stemming foreign imperialism by emphasizing the connection between talent on the one hand and imperial wealth and power on the other. As noted earlier, Wei was part of a cohort of statecraft reformers who emphasized the importance of talent as well as power and wealth, including Lin, He, and Bao, among others.[40] Moreover, as Peter Perdue has noted, Wei's arguments in the *Military History* were anticipated by an earlier Han official and secretary to the Grand Council, Zhao Yi (1727-1814) in his work, the *Glorious Record of the Imperial Dynasty's Military Accomplishments* (*Huangchao Wugong Jisheng*; 1792). Zhao, on Perdue's reading, "shared Wei Yuan's interest in both military history and the historical evolution of imperial institutions" and in writing a range of influential historical works a generation or two prior to Wei, "prepared the way for Wei Yuan with historiography that 'stressed the role of environment and continuous, cumulative institutional change, instead of looking back to a static and absolute utopian antiquity.'"[41] Although Perdue does note that Wei "clearly accepted the delimiting of borders achieved by imperial expansion and…focused his efforts on strengthening control within them" he notes that this does not imply that Wei's vision precluded the types of expansionist drives common to other global imperial endeavors.[42] Indeed, I contend that Wei's priority was certainly stabilizing the political economy within the realm, but part of this vision relied

[39] *WYJ*, 36; translation modified from Kuhn (2002: 49).
[40] Rowe (2018: 115, 126-127).
[41] Perdue (2005: 502).
[42] Perdue (2005: 502).

on countering the influence of global phenomena beyond China's borders, a point I return to later in the chapter.

Wei's focus on generating wealth and power to resist foreign domination (and his reliance on foreign material in advocating for that focus), put his vision at the forefront of the innovative scholarly and political efforts of his day. That said, Wei's arguments were not without limits and perhaps his biggest limitation was his reliance on some faulty information. Mitchell notes that Wei's penchant for old Chinese historical accounts clouded his judgment of such material, particularly in the case of the *Illustrated Treatise*: "Despite [Wei's] best efforts at editing and correcting, the selections [from old Chinese accounts that were included in the *Illustrated Treatise*] retained much misinformation tending to perpetuate old misconceptions and prejudices."[43] In response, one might note that Wei's reliance on certain Western works demonstrates that he gave greater credence to these accounts than outdated Chinese historical anecdotes. Moreover, Wei's *Illustrated Treatise* reflects a compilation of contrasting views rather than a simple reliance on erroneous information on Wei's part. However, given his audience's lack of knowledge of foreign affairs, it is unlikely that they would have been able to (or that Wei would have intended for them to) engage in such discriminatory reading; it seems more likely that they, like Wei, simply relied on erroneous information in certain respects.[44] This conclusion is bolstered all the more by the fact that Wei's *Illustrated Treatise* featured "numerous" errors in geographical, political, social, and historical representations and interpretations, although these were largely due to the poverty of his source material.[45] Nevertheless, highlighting Wei's general limits and errors does not mean that Wei's projects were misinformed altogether. Despite their limitations and errors, collectively they still represented the thought of a man not simply preoccupied with military strategy, but also with

[43] Mitchell (1970: 172).
[44] Mitchell (1970: 172).
[45] Mitchell (1970: 190).

reimagining the political, economic, and scholarly boundaries of his world. Wei's innovative spirit, however, did not ensure that his reform efforts would fall on receptive ears.[46]

Exploring the broader themes in Wei's works as well as their limits is also important for highlighting the similarities and differences between Wei and later reformers. As noted earlier, Wei was quite critical of the "Han learning" (*Hanxue*) and "Song learning" (*Songxue*) schools and it was in this context that he turned to empiricism of the "Modern Text" (*Jinwen*) school. However, unlike later "Modern Text" reformers and Self-Strengtheners, Wei developed his key ideas of "wealth and power" (*fuqiang*) wholly within Chinese discourses, prior to the widespread introduction of foreign discourses in the wake of the Opium War.[47] At the same time, it was precisely concepts like *fuqiang* in Wei's (and others') thought that would be picked up by these later reformers in the post-Opium War moment.[48] To be sure, the difficulty of tracing Wei's intellectual influence lies primarily in the lack of the development of a school or disciples around his thought,[49] but it cannot be denied that Wei was a prominent figure in the early nineteenth-century statecraft movement and his ideas about wealth and power—much like those of other prominent statecraft figures like Bao Shichen—paved the way for later generations of Self-strengthening reformers in China,[50] as well as reform efforts in Japan.[51]

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[46] Mosca notes that Wei's coherent synthesis of a wide range of foreign geographic material was unprecedented and noteworthy, but, despite receiving a hearing at the imperial Grand Council, his work was nevertheless dismissed as too radical in its approach to imperial affairs. See: Mosca (2013: 180-181, 195-197, 198-199).

[47] Mitchell (1970: 49). The Self-Strengthening Movement (*Ziqiang Yundong*; ~1861-1895) was a period of institutional reforms initiated in China following the losses incurred to Britain by the Opium Wars (1839-1842, 1856-1860). Because of the losses in the wars, several elite Chinese officials argued that in order to strengthen itself against the West, it was necessary to adopt Western military technology and arms. The phrase "self-strengthening" has been attributed to Feng Guifen (1809–1874) who was influenced by Wei's writings.

[48] Kuhn (2002: 49); Mitchell (1970: 242, 270-271).

[49] Mitchell (1970: 264-265).

[50] Rowe (2018: 19); For Wei's general influence, see: Kuhn (2002: 27).

[51] For context on the circulation of the *Military History* and *Illustrated Treatise* in Japan and Wei's influence on prominent Japanese intellectuals like Sakuma and Yoshida Shoin (1830-1859), see: Fogel, Joshua A. *Japan and China: Mutual Representations in the Modern Era* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 23-33.

In this sense, a clear connection can be drawn between Wei's works in the 1820s through the 1840s and the later works by reformers that gained steam from the 1860s until the 1890s; all were concerned with stemming foreign domination through greater power and wealth within the realm.

That said, even though Wei's thinking bore similarities to his colleagues' and paved the way for later reformers, his views were still quite limited in certain respects when compared to the Self-strengtheners and the post-1898 reformers. For starters, much of what Wei discussed was based on his engagement with foreign sources in translation and, as such, his thought appears limited mostly to general theories of action, especially when contrasted with the more concrete proposals of his junior, Feng Guifen (1809–1874).[52] Still, he was not a passive receiver of foreign material—he often sought to corroborate foreign material with other evidence—but his work was neither perfect nor exhaustive in this respect and his innovative maps could not always fully grapple with the complexity of his textual evidence.[53] Further, on the political front, although Wei can be seen as pushing for institutional reform that would allow for broader participation of elite literati in government affairs, he did not defend a robust notion of popular sovereignty, largely due to his beliefs about the moral and intellectual inability of the populace.[54] As I noted earlier, because of these limits, Wei's arguments featured prominently in the works of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Chinese political reformers like Kang Youwei (1858-1927) and Liang Qichao (1873-1929)—primarily because of the perceived inadequacies in Wei's arguments within the context of the tumultuous post-Sino-Japanese war moment in China.[55] And yet, this is not to say that Wei's significance lies merely in the fact that he was a forerunner to later reform efforts in China. Wei's vision of literati participation provided, in some respects, a broader constitutional grounding than later efforts in the 1870s and

[52] Kuhn (2002: 55, 57).
[53] For more on these strengths and limits of Wei's work, see: Mosca (2013: 183, 187, 188). In addition to the map above, I explore additional maps featured in the *Illustrated Treatise* in chapter two.
[54] Kuhn (2002: 72).
[55] Li (2016: 262); Rowe (2018: 16); Kuhn (2002: 123-125).

1880s at "principled criticism" (*qingyi*).[56] Beyond this, Wei's general emphasis on wealth and power, private enterprise, elimination of corruption, and institutional change arguably provided a stronger basis for dealing with the threat of foreign encroachment than even his immediate successors like Feng, who had greater knowledge than Wei, but focused too much on military arms, technology, and international law at the expense of rallying support for political reform among the elite.[57] Finally, we must also not lose sight of how Wei—through extensive cartographical efforts—was able to integrate formerly disparate frontiers into a cohesive imperial vision, despite his inexperience on these frontiers, and how he kept this broadly within Chinese precedent.[58] All of this, I argue, highlights how Wei casts a distinct vision of empire as resistance to foreign domination. In the next two sections, I take up Wei's arguments on economic, political, and military power as a way of fleshing out the concrete aspects of Wei's vision of empire that attempted to resist Western domination of Asia in the wake of the First Opium War.

III: Military & Economic Reform as Imperial Resistance

Wei's strategic emphasis fell on military, political, and economic power and was crucially informed his view of Chinese military history. The sharpening of Wei's interest in military history can be traced to his time as a clerk in the Liangjiang Governor-General's office where he observed firsthand China's loss in the First Opium War.[59] In the aftermath of the war, Wei took advantage of his access to extensive archival sources, imperial campaign histories, secret official documents, private writings, and oral testimonies in the Grand Secretariat to create a comprehensive account of the Qing's military achievements that would instruct later generations.[60] The result was Wei's *Military*

[56] Kuhn (2002: 120-121).
[57] Mitchell (1970: 270-271).
[58] Mosca (2013: 180, 182-184, 189, 194-195, 199-201).
[59] Perdue (2005: 503).
[60] Perdue (2005: 503); *SOCT*, 206; Mitchell (1970: 128).

History, which he hastily completed in 1842 and circulated it to friends and acquaintances for critical feedback.[61] The subsequent 1844 and 1846 versions contained substantial revisions (particularly of certain military campaigns) and, in some cases, whole revisions of sections in light of its critical reception.[62] That said, Wei's *Military History* still contained errors and tendentious claims like the "low" numbers of troops in Xinjiang, and because it became somewhat of a classic among later writers, such errors would be perpetuated by later generations (e.g. in Xiao Yishan's 1923 *Comprehensive History of the Qing Dynasty* [*Qingdai Tongshi*]).[63]

Errors and limitations notwithstanding, Wei's emphasis on military power came down to three aims: imperial expansion, border control, and successful warfare beyond the borders of the realm. On the first front, Peter Perdue has noted that Wei's invocation of frontier warfare in the *Military History* was in keeping with earlier efforts at mapping the Chinese empire, back to the emperor Kangxi himself.[64] Describing his initial process in the preface to the *Military History*, Wei wrote,

> With the great [martial] incidents of my own lifetime plus the ten great [military] incidents of earlier years of the present dynasty resounding in my ears, looming up before my eyes, and surging in my breast, I traced the rise and fall of human and material prosperity and the cause and effects of progress and decline in talent and [social] customs. My declining years I have spent in the lower Yangtze and Huai delta valley. When alarms from the sea came one after the other I was moved to the core. I went through all the accumulated records, laying them out in order.[65]

Written ostensibly as an explanation of his compilation of the *Military History*, this preface reveals not only Wei's penchant for the glories of military events ("the great [martial] incidents", "the ten great [military] incidents"), but also demonstrates how he views the integration of the

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[61] Mitchell (1970: 129).
[62] Mitchell (1970: 129).
[63] Perdue (2005: 503).
[64] Perdue (2005: 507).
[65] "Shengwuji" in *Sibu Beiyao* [*Compilation of Important Works*] (Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju Minguo 16-25 [1927-1936]), vol. 1 preface p. 1. (Punctuations added.) Hereafter, this will be cited as (*SWJ*, Book. Volume. Page); Mitchell (1970: 129).

aforementioned economic and political concerns into his "military" history. As quoted before, Wei wrote in the preface that, "If wealth does not suffice [for the needs of] the state, the country cannot be called poor, but if able men do not contend [in high offices] then the country indeed suffers from poverty. If orders cannot be carried out to overseas nations, this does not signify true weakness, but if they cannot be enforced within the nation's boundaries, this indeed is weakness."[66] For Wei, the Western economic and political incursions—while not totally outside of the ability of Chinese officials to deal with and control and certainly not outside of China's historical experiences[67]—demanded an updated view of Qing imperial history and domestic political economy, one that could apprehend and respond to events that were changing the globe. A key element of this was recognizing the need for Chinese imperial expansion in Central Asia to stem British efforts to expand into the same area from India. For Wei, failure to sufficiently ensure stable economic and political order within the realm through imperial expansion and territorial consolidation was tantamount to inviting disaster at one's doorstep. Indeed, Wei's organization of the *Military History*—unlike Sakuma's works—represents an explicit effort to champion past imperial expansion, beginning with Qing suppression of rival powers, followed by a detailed treatment of the suppression of various Mongolian tribes, analyses of the imperial armies in Turkestan, Tibet, Nepal, Russia, Korea, Burma, and Vietnam, and the suppression of rebellions on the mainland and in Taiwan.[68] In this respect, Perdue has noted that Wei's *Military History*, "sweeps around the borders of the empire to incorporate all of the Qing's major military campaigns" in a manner that links "military conquest, foreign relations, and internal reform within a comprehensive historical vision."[69] And yet, what Perdue misses is how this synthesized imperial vision functioned for Wei as a means

[66] *SWJ*, 1. Preface. 1; Mitchell (1970: 131).
[67] Perdue (2005: 503-504).
[68] Perdue (2005: 503).
[69] Perdue (2005: 503).

of convincing Chinese officials of the necessity of resisting foreign domination. Wei intended imperial expansion in Central Asia to function as a buffer to British economic and military advances in India while China built up its own military, political, and economic capabilities. If China could not do this, Britain would continue to advance further, potentially dominating economic and military relations with China, altogether.

Relatedly, Wei's approach to talent, wealth, and power—as a means of resisting foreign domination—prioritized military renovation as an important dimension that began with addressing internal discord but also extended "across the seas" (*haiwai*) insofar as it drew both on Chinese and foreign inspiration. In the *Military History*, Wei identified military leaders' pursuit of financial rewards and honors through procrastination and false reporting as a standard practice in China, going back to the late eighteenth-century.[70] Further, he argued that the pay structure of the banner garrisons as well as the costs of various suppression campaigns in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries cost China dearly and that its present (early nineteenth-century) military expenditures were over half of its total revenue, largely due to unaccounted support costs for imperial clansmen.[71] In response, Wei called for the reduction of garrison troops, the increase of their individual allotments (under strict scrutiny), and the elimination of corruption within ranks, but interestingly he drew both on Manchu and Western examples in making these arguments. As for the former, Wei's arguments were more in line with what he took to be an originally Manchu practice of funding small, well-paid armies from the Imperial Treasury as opposed to upholding the Ming practice of maintaining vast armies at the heavy expense of the people.[72] In essence, a numerically reduced, but better trained and

[70] For Wei's general assessment of this period (i.e. during Kangxi's reign [1662-1722]) and especially as it pertains to Taiwan, see: *SWJ*, 4.8.7-19; Mitchell (1970: 143).
[71] Wei discusses the pay and provisions of soldiers toward the end of the *Shengwuji*: *SWJ*, 6.11.1-25; Mitchell (1970: 143-144).
[72] *SWJ*, 6.11.23-25; Mitchell (1970: 144).

competently-led military would not only lessen China's financial burdens and shore up its military defense, but was also in keeping with both Chinese antecedents.

This focus of Wei's on expansion was intimately tied with his views on border control and what counted as the Qing empire proper. Wei spent considerable effort engaging with the rebellions of the northwestern Muslim tribes and south central Miao and Yao tribes, calling for the securing of borders and the presence of military colonies.[73] Perhaps not surprisingly, Wei viewed the suppression of these rebellions as of the utmost importance because internal discord would weaken the realm, leading to further foreign domination. By quelling rebellions within the realm, China would be well-suited militarily, politically, and economically to resist British efforts at using economic and military power to dominate its relations with China. Yet, this was not a view of Wei's that found its first expression in 1842 (when he published the *Military History*), but can be traced back to his earlier compilation of the *Anthology* (1826) where he counted not only the aforementioned groups, but also Mongols, Kazakhs, Afghans, and Hindustanis, among others as belonging (*shu*) within the bounds of the Qing empire.[74] In fact, Perdue has argued that it was precisely in light of his expansive view of the empire that Wei marshalled his historical account to defend the heavy financial investment in defending and integrating frontier regions via the transferring of troops from the interior to the frontier.[75]

Yet, Wei also knew that a wide world existed beyond the frontier that would challenge Qing control.[76] In light of that knowledge, Wei did not limit his analysis merely to internal actors within imperial borders. In the second scroll of the *Military History*, in particular, he focused on three actors

[73] Rowe (2018: 115); Leonard (1984: 28-29).
[74] Wei Yuan, "Da renwen Xibei bianyu shu," in He Changling, *Huangchao Jingshi Wenbian* [*Collected essays on statecraft*] (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju), 1899, j.80:1a–4b; Cited in Perdue (2005: 500). Hereafter, the *Huangchao Jingshi Wenbian* will be cited as (*HCJSWB*. Volume. Essay. Page[s])
[75] Perdue (2005: 500).
[76] Perdue (2005: 497).

as potential counters to British domination—Nepal, France, and America. In the case of Nepal, Wei noted that the Gurkhas army had approached the Chinese commissioner of Tibet in 1842 with an offer to attack British Bengal to relieve pressure on China. However, Mitchell notes that, on Wei's reading, due to the ignorance of the Chinese court officials (having apparently misread the offer as an internal squabble due to confused terms for England, Bengal, and Guangdong), no Chinese support was offered to the Gurkhas army, they attacked British Indian garrisons alone only to be harassed later by the British, and the Ghurkhas army turned against China in anger.[77] Mosca has noted that Wei understood this not only as a missed opportunity to turn the tide of the war, but also as an episode that was indicative of deeper failures on the part of Chinese officials to understand "foreign conditions".[78] In the case of America, the situation was somewhat different as Wei viewed the Americans mainly as malleable commercial rivals to the British, partly because of Wei's failure to acknowledge the Americans' deep involvement with the opium trade. Still, the narrative was the same: Chinese officials in Guangdong not only ignored American efforts at cooperation, but undermined these efforts by attacking foreign factories and killing several Americans.[79] In the case of the French, Wei viewed them as the most malleable group due to their willingness to aid Chinese warship building (to counter British interests), but again, the officials in Guangdong missed this opportunity by refusing to submit French petitions to the imperial court in Beijing for approval to travel inland. Ultimately, the French, on Wei's account, were caught up in Chinese bureaucratic red tape for so long that, in that interim, the British had already imposed the Nanjing treaty on China,

[77] Mitchell (1970: 158-159). Wei likely did not mean that the Gurkhas fought against China, but that opportunities for future collaboration against the British were no longer viable, even though later rebellions against the British like the Rebellion of 1857, would significantly challenge British rule in India. It is unclear why Wei assumed this sort of collaboration was no longer viable or whether he was aware that some Gurkhas had been under the control of the British East India company since the Treaty of Sugauli (1816).
[78] For more on Wei's view of the missed opportunity with the Gurkhas in Nepal and his broader approach of China attacking Britain through India, see: Mosca (2013: 181, 190-193).
[79] Mitchell (1970: 159).

rendering cooperation with France a moot point.[80] For Wei, each of these three cases represented missed opportunities due to ignorance of foreign conditions. His point in summarizing these in the beginning of the *Military History* was to demonstrate that attentiveness to foreign conditions (as well as the strengths of previous Qing imperial expansion) would allow China to resist British domination.

As has perhaps become evident at this point, Wei understood continental and maritime worries about domination as an integrated whole, even though his views on expansion differed in different parts of the realm. Indeed, Perdue has persuasively shown that, for both Wei and his contemporary Gong Zichen, it is not accurate to view them solely as advocates of internal reform, nor is it accurate to stress only their concerns about maritime defense: "As proponents of political activism derived from classical scholarship, Wei and Gong also closely linked security issues to domestic political reform. Security for the state meant both defense of its boundaries and maintenance of internal order. In their thinking, continental and maritime security concerns were closely tied together."[81] This seems intuitive enough for Wei, given that he compiled both the *Military History* (on land-based imperial conquest) and the *Illustrated Treatise* (on maritime geography) around the same time, employed similar concepts in both, and relied on similar historical materials in composing both works.[82] Mitchell has noted this point, arguing that the two works should be viewed as complementary (but different) works intended by Wei to provide a holistic account of the globe and China's place in it.[83] For my part, I have highlighted the continental-maritime connection in this chapter to demonstrate the integrated nature of Wei's imperial vision of resistance to foreign domination.

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[80] Mitchell (1970: 161).
[81] Perdue (2005: 499).
[82] Mitchell (1970: 127, 223).
[83] Mitchell (1970: 128, 168).

That said, Wei's maritime concerns were distinct from his continental ones in certain respects and perhaps the most notable difference—besides an embrace of imperial expansion in the former and not in the latter—is in Wei's reliance on Ming geographical antecedents in forwarding his arguments for maritime reform. Kate Leonard has provided perhaps the earliest and most detailed English account of this aspect of Wei's maritime thought and has argued that maritime defense and coastal control were important *pre-Opium War* concerns for Wei.[84] She has contended that because the outbreak of piracy during the Qianlong and Jiaqing periods (1796-1820) continued into the Daoguang period (1821-1850), it is of little surprise that Wei felt the need to address coastal control and maritime defense not only in the *Illustrated Treatise* (1844), but also in the *Military History* (1842) and even earlier in the *Anthology* (1826).[85] This is not to deny that the presence of the British in Chinese waters and the onset of the Opium war forced Wei to consider the foreign maritime world in new ways; it is only to suggest that Wei had already developed frameworks (based on Qing, Ming, and even earlier geographical traditions) for thinking through coastal control and maritime issues.[86] In that sense, his inclusion of foreign material can be seen as an extension of that thinking (knowing the new "foreign conditions" or *yiqing*), rather than as a wholly distinct or novel moment in Wei's development. Generally speaking, Wei's re-focusing on coastal control and the importance of the *Nanyang* (Southeast Asia) represented the first major late Qing attempt to fuse the internal and external dimensions of coastal security and stood at odds with the Qing (Manchu) focus on inner Asian security.[87]

Moreover, in broaching comparative legal and political strengths among global powers, Wei often argued for the superiority of Chinese legal systems over foreign ones, even while he

[84] Leonard (1984: 29).
[85] Leonard (1984: 29).
[86] Leonard (1984: 94-95, 100, 116-117).
[87] Leonard (1984: 2, 34, 63, 65).

recognized a need among Chinese elite to engage with foreign knowledge to resist domination. At the outset of his eighty-first scroll of the *Illustrated Treatise* (on "foreigner affairs"), Wei wrote: "[T]he most surprising thing is that only the Chinese legal system has continued to be obeyed for thousands of years. Among all of the countries of the world, whether large or small, there is none that has had a legal system of comparable length."[88] Still, Wei was not above recognizing veritable traditions in other parts of the globe; perhaps surprisingly, he acknowledges the ancient roots of Western law as having (on his account) been developed around the time of Confucius. "However, the Western powers have already changed their rulers numerous times and the legal system has changed even more. Rome was also strong and prosperous during the time of Confucius[.] It stabilized half of the world, but what remains is quite little."[89] If it weren't enough that Wei faults Western countries for failing to preserve remnants of antiquity (as China ostensibly had), he continues his critique of Western countries by paradoxically highlighting their relatively shorter history and tying this short history to ill motives among Europeans: "Presently, all of the Western countries have not been established for very long [and] they only desire to use troops and arms to wage war with each other. One country deceives and cheats another. Because all of their legal systems are not stable, [they] do not respect restraint. China never lacks turmoil; however, the harm is temporary."[90] Wei goes on to list various reasons why China has maintained superior institutions—a continuous sovereign, a flourishing realm of literary arts and ethics not premised on murderous warfare, and stable laws—but again shifts back to suggesting the relative parity between China and the West:

> However, the respected laws of the army of Moses [that] strictly repel foreigners are properly like China's: all of them protect oneself without mixing customs. Just as the teaching of the proper Romans added special power within [the country], the [Chinese] masters did not marry the whole time, did not create error, [and] strived to assist these teachings. A thousand years [after] Jesus, [his] commands reached Europe [and] all of [the European countries]

[88] *WYZ*. 6. 81. 1.
[89] *WYZ*. 6. 81. 1.
[90] *WYZ*. 6. 81. 1.

> follow these teachings. The rules within the teachings of the Romans were also extremely strict [and] their statues for punishment were of equal rank to China's.[91]

At the end of this analysis, Wei nevertheless concludes that China is still unique and that the foreign countries under discussion are all "naked foreigners."[92] Lest this strike the reader as revealing of Wei's conceit, he pivots in the next sentence to castigating Chinese officials: "It is also said: [Because] China's government knew absolutely nothing about foreign government and did not inquire and investigate, therefore now China still does not know about the West. It is as if we now lack knowledge and beneficial [actions] concerning the affairs within Asia."[93] Wei is, at once, both self-assured and wary. He argues for the superiority of China even while recognizing its deficient knowledge of foreign conditions. The latter point, in particular, is, for Wei, the major reason why the British were able to dominate China during the Opium War.

As I have emphasized both in chapter two and in the present chapter, the emphasis on needing to understand foreign conditions in order to resist foreign domination powerfully informed Wei's push for maritime defense and naval reform. The translation bureau that Wei advocated for (and that was briefly explored in chapter two) along with a new arsenal and dockyard on the Pearl River based on Western models were meant to provide not only a new naval force capable of withstanding future foreign incursions, but were also meant to provide a way for building up a "second Macao" there that could be used as a counter to British-controlled Hong Kong, thus enabling China to gain favor with the aforementioned foreign powers who were hostile to British interests and thereby manipulate and position foreigners against each other.[94] Wei met resistance from other scholar officials for his support of the translation bureau, primarily because of aversion

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[91] *WYZ*. 6. 81. 2.
[92] *WYZ*. 6. 81. 2.
[93] *WYZ*. 6. 81. 5.
[94] WYZ 1.2.5-6; Mitchell (1970: 238). For Wei's extended discussion of Western ports in China and especially Macao, see: WYZ 1.2.5-9, 23-28.

to relying on foreigners as allies and the heavy expenses that would be incurred in construction and reform—a point that speaks to the limits of Wei's idealism. Still, Wei was quite unsympathetic to such arguments, contending not only that the ones who made such arguments often asked the most ignorant questions about foreign geography—questions that could be easily answered through study—but also that such expenses were far less costly in the long-term when compared with the possibility of additional, future wars.[95] On this front, Wei's position might be analogized to those of the later Self-strengtheners, insofar as the theme of his argument in the third essay of his *Illustrated Treatise*, was quality over quantity, adaptiveness, and utilization of specialized skills and knowledge. According to Mitchell, Wei's *Illustrated Treatise* contained virtually all elements of pre-1898 Chinese 'self-strengthening' though—namely, foreign instructors, arsenals and shipyards, government translation projects, and creation of a modern powerful navy and army.[96] Again, this is not to say that Wei's proposals or information were without error or that he fully anticipated the Self-strengthening movement and post-1898 reform efforts in China; it is merely to contend that Wei's vision of maritime reform went beyond just a focus on military technology; it foregrounded the importance of knowing "foreign conditions"—the military, political, and economic dimensions of foreign lands, among others—and using that knowledge to strengthen the realm and resist foreign domination.

Further, Wei also contended that China could stem Western domination in Asia through a variety of other means. He not only argued that the European holds on South and Southeast Asia could be broken through immigration (like the British did) and local resistance, but that by establishing French and U.S. naval training bases in Guangdong to learn advanced military

[95] *WYZ*. 1.2.9, 19; Mitchell (1970: 242).
[96] Mitchell (1970: 242).

techniques while offsetting the power of the British at Hong Kong,[97] China could manipulate Western countries against each other through diplomacy to buy time for China to strengthen itself economically and politically and eventually push them out.[98] Mitchell has noted that Wei's approach of "using foreigners to control foreigners" (*yiyi kuanyi*) was "essentially merely an updating of traditional manipulative approaches" to foreign countries, but his geographical approach in the *Illustrated Treatise* nevertheless suggests some novelties on his part, primarily due to his innovative view of scholarship and statecraft.[99] With respect to "using foreigners to control foreigners", two examples seem notable in his *Illustrated Treatise* and *Military History*: Russia and the United States. For the former, Wei was intrigued both by its potential as a counter to Britain (given its proximity) and for its historical example of Peter the Great's raising his large but weak country to the level of European powers of the time.[100] With America, Wei surmised from its past history with Britain, its non-monarchical political system, and its willingness to assist China during the Opium War, that it might also serve as a counter to British interests in China.[101] In both cases, Wei saw opportunities more than threats to Chinese economic and political power.

Indeed, Wei repeatedly emphasized the need for attentiveness to the nature of European economic power. It is at this juncture where Wei's analysis of British economic power dovetailed with his emphasis on the pursuit of domestic economic profit by Chinese statecraft reformers.[102] Situated at the end of the *Military History* were four short essays in which Wei outlined four, equally

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[97] Inobe, Kazuiye. "Kaibō ronsha to shite no Gi Mokushin" ["Wei Moshen: advocate of coastal defense"] *Shien* 8:115-134 (1937), 121-126; Wang, Chia-chien. *Wei Yuan tui hsi-fang ti jien-shih chi ch'i hai-fang ssu-hsiang* [*Wei Yuan's knowledge about the West and thought about maritime defense*] (Taipei: Taiwan University) 1964, 30, 85, 115-116. Both cited in Leonard (1984: 182).
[98] *WYZ*. 1.1.1; Wang (1964: 83-90); Leonard (1984: 184).
[99] Mitchell (1970: 171).
[100] *WYZ*. 1.2.11; Mitchell (1970: 202). Interestingly enough, Sakuma also turned to Russia—mostly in the form of extolling Peter the Great's leadership—as a model to follow in resisting domination.
[101] *WYZ*. 5.60.1-4; Mitchell (1970: 202-203).
[102] Rowe (2018: 194).

essential, policies aimed at generating economic profit: the elimination of corruption, frugality, the prevention of catastrophes, and the opening of resources.[103] Elimination of corruption for Wei involved cutting out middlemen and streamlining the sea transport process and salt reforms—arguments echoed in his earlier *Anthology* (1826) and in the later *Illustrated Treatise* (1844). Wei's conception of frugality emphasized lowering expenditures and improving reserves through accurate, statistically-based economic planning rather than sumptuary laws and restrictive legislation. As for the prevention of catastrophes, Wei—perhaps predictably—had in mind the currency problems generated by the opium trade and argued for punishment through the inculcation of societal shame, rather than severe penalties. Toward this end, Wei, like Lin and other statecraft reformers, supported the facial branding of opium smokers, but in the case of repeat offenders or actual dealers, immediate execution was permitted.[104] As for the final point about opening resources, Wei first attempted to counter the recently-inverted silver drain from China to foreign countries by emphasizing both greater exploitation of untapped silver reserves in areas unthreatened by foreign or domestic disturbances and greater government control over the minting of silver dollars (as opposed to paper money), just as foreign countries did.[105] Privately, Wei also argued in *Mogu* for the importance of agriculture as a means of generating wealth and preventing popular rebellion:

> When a wealthy owner of a rice field yearly pays land taxes and employs corvée labor, everything is controlled by government officials. If, by chance, a famine occurs and [the people] are helpless and awaiting death, it is not as if we [no longer] have landed rich people [who continue to] pursue a tenth of the profit, trade everywhere without levying taxes on the corvée labor without government officials forcing [them] to do [their] bidding. [It] is like… Confucius' people scrambling for profit—[the rich] will be able to divide that profit and the regime will be indestructible. This is [the idea of] using the compassion of the rich people who have fields for [the benefit of] those without fields. In Shuo Shu's poem [the landowners], "Grieving that their land would be lost, and that they would become landless again, would no longer submit to official control. What a disaster!"[106]

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[103] *SWJ*, 6.14.29-45; Mitchell (1970: 138).
[104] Mitchell (1970: 139-140).
[105] Mitchell (1970: 141-142).
[106] *WYJ*, 72-73.

Wei's point in drawing on Confucius and the *Book of Odes* in analyzing contemporary economic challenges was to emphasize the important role small landowners play to the regime. By insisting on high taxes (especially in times of scarcity) and thereby squeezing the already struggling landowners, government officials were inviting their own ruin.[107] Instead, government officials ought to arrange the political economy in such a way as to support the landowners in their pursuit of profit; this, in Wei's mind, would stem the possibility of famine and widespread poverty among landed farmers.

In his third essay on governance in *Mogu*, Wei argued for a similar point that instead of ruining the people—namely, farmers and merchants who formed the backbone of the economy—the emperor should govern in a way that allows the people to generate profit for the realm: "The sage rules over the superior men of the realm by virtue of the teaching of moral norms, yet he rules over the common people by providing sources of handsome profit."[108] For Wei, the generation of profit among lower classes was also intimately tied to the emperor's ability to identify with the people: "The Son of Heaven [the emperor] represents the aggregate of the multitude of the people—if he insults the people, is he not insulting Heaven?"[109] Wei continued this line of thinking by observing that, "When the people gather together, they are strong. When the people are dispersed, their strength is dissipated. When they are pacified, the country is prosperous; when they litigate against each other, the country lies in waste; when they revolt, the country is destroyed. Therefore, when the Son of Heaven regards himself as one of the multitude of people, he regards all as belonging to the realm."[110] At the outset of this section, Wei had argued that the basis for governing the "realm" (*tianxia*) was power, profit, and fame.[111] More specifically, he argued that the key method of ruling the realm well—both historically and in the present—was by setting a moral

[107] Kuhn (2002: 118).
[108] *WYJ*, 44; *SOCT*, 193.
[109] *WYJ*, 44; *SOCT*, 193.
[110] *WYJ*, 44; *SOCT*, 193.
[111] *WYJ*, 43; *SOCT*, 192.

example for higher officials in government while promoting wealth among the people. This division is key because it suggests the limits of Wei's belief in the power of moral examples and his reliance on the sway of policies to bolster the economy. As Philip Kuhn has observed, Wei was born in a time a relative peace where it was widely believed that government could not hope to achieve a fundamental transformation of human nature.[112] Rather, Wei limited moral behavior to higher officials while simultaneously viewing a strong government as "perfectly compatible with a dynamic private economy…Indeed, he saw merchants' quest for private profit as an essential ingredient of public policy. Official economic domains (the salt gabelle, the transport of grain) might be run by private merchants more effectively and with the ultimate benefit to the [realm]."[113] In short, Wei viewed economic profit as a key factor for stable governance of the empire.

Further, Wei based his vision of wealth and economic order on what has been (perhaps incorrectly) termed as an "anti-egalitarian" tax system that foregrounded the importance of wealthy merchants to the economy. Wei, like Sakuma, had challenged certain Neo-Confucian visions of political and economic order that relied on drawing a sharp distinction between the "moral" ruler and the "base" leader focused on wealth and power. As I showed earlier, Wei argued that the "kingly way" since antiquity had been focused on both wealth and power and the main difference between the "kingly" (or moral) way and the "hegemonic" (or base) way was not on whether or not the ruler focused on material matters, but rather on whether their focus on wealth and power was geared toward the public good (kingly) or private good (hegemonic).[114] Practically, Wei argued that the best way to secure wealth was to emphasize the role of merchants. In his *Mogu*, Wei invoked a classic text, the *Rites of Zhou*, in recounting historic wealth preservation: "On how to preserve wealth, the *Rites of Zhou* indeed considered wealthy people as the vital force of each locality. When the

[112] Kuhn (2002: 50).
[113] Kuhn (2002: 51).
[114] *WYJ*, 36; Kuhn (2002: 49).

government had great levies to raise or great projects to carry out, the wealthy were relied upon for such, and when great military devastations or large famines occurred it was they who were looked to for contribution."[115] Nevertheless, Wei recognized the problems with relying too much on such an approach: "To squeeze taxes solely from the rich results in their gradual disappearance, and further squeezing the middle-income brackets results in their collapse also. In the end, all villages will become wastelands."[116] Instead, Wei pushed for both reasonable taxes on land-based wealth and the encouragement of commercial pursuits among non-landed subjects in the empire.[117] This was at odds with some strands of Neo-Confucian learning which held economic pursuits not tied to land in disdain. Wei's encouragement of merchant commercial activity spoke not only to his position as a non-landed gentry who had experience as a personal secretariat of the governor of the wealthy province of Jiangsu, but also to his view that commerce and industry could be equally viable as agriculture for generating imperial wealth.[118]

An equally important facet of Wei's economic thought was his direct support of opium bans. In Wei's mind, the most effective approach was accepting international trade as normal and potentially profitable for China; his critique of Lin Zexu's inflexible opposition to trade with Britain

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[115] *WYJ*, 72; *SOCT*, 196; Mitchell (1970: 135).
[116] *WYJ*, 72; *SOCT*, 196; Mitchell (1970: 135).
[117] One can also see Wei's criticism of the extant imperial tax system in other writings. Following the murder of his co-provisional examinee Shi Changzhi in a rebellion in 1842, Wei was requested to draft a funerary essay which he used as an opportunity to criticize the current taxation system: "[With regard to] the affairs of Chongyang, is it only over the honorable Mr. Shi that we grieve? Chongyang is surrounded by several thousand mountains. Certainly, county clerks and yamen runners wear caps, but they behave like tigers. Every time they go to the villages and collect land and tribute grain taxes, they treat their people like fish and meat…In recent years, for instance, in Gui'an and Renhe in Zhe[jiang], Danyang and Zheze in Jiangsu, and Xinyu in Jiangxi one after another, major tax riots have broken out…What to do with an unchanging, obsolete system? Alas, how will the tax system problems be solved?" From "Funerary Essay on Shi Changzhi" in *Ancient Subtleties of the Hall* [*Guweitang Neiwaiji*] (Yangzhou: Huai nan shu ju, Qing Guangxu 4 nian [1878]), waiji quan 4 pp. 33-36.
[118] Mitchell (1970: 136); *SOCT*, 196.

was rooted more in the latter's stoppage of trade altogether than in his ban on opium.[119] In fact, Wei seemed to think that opium bans would foster trade if done by domestic suppression of demand (via the social stigma of branding as punishment), the suppression of smuggling routes, and the incentivizing of the profitability of legitimate goods through tariff adjustments and elimination of other additional charges on foreign merchant goods.[120] Wei's assessment of the efficacy of the suppression of smuggling ship routes was as follows:

> [At] the beginning of the second day of the seventh month of Gansu, Daoguang [reign] (July 30, 1840),[121] the Xiangshan county seat (to the west of Beijing) together with the sub-prefect of Macao issued an official notice stating that [they] humbly present the governor general's order [that] British naval ships [that] have recently come in depart from the coast[.] [O]ne can see that they do not dare attack China as an enemy. [Our] military might has protected [us against] the opium smuggling trade [by] ordering the prohibition of naval ships of all sizes at the mouth of the river in order to avoid British naval ships entering. Outside of the departure of naval ships carrying cannons and weapons to foreign lands to destroy foreigner ships, [we] have also ordered that fisherman depart to foreign lands and attack.[122]

Further, Wei notes at the end of the following volume that increased taxation will be ineffective, precisely because government fees are not ultimately an effective deterrent for larger foreign merchant ships. "The foreign ships that enter the harbor district in Guangzhou carrying seven hundred *dun* calculate these government fees as well as [those from] ship pullers and interpreters altogether [and] use fees from silver approaching five thousand *yuan* [to pay for them]. Therefore, it is not the big ships who cannot endure these heavy fees."[123] In essence, Wei pushed for less tariffs, not more, as the more effective approach and saw this as compatible with bans on opium, a point with which Sakuma disagreed strongly.

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[119] *WYZ*. 1.2.19; Mitchell (1970: 243-244). Wei recognized Lin's admirable moral fortitude in resisting inflexible British demands to open China to the opium trade, but saw it as an economically flawed position.
[120] *WYZ*. 1.2.23-25; Mitchell (1970: 245-246). Wei's own proposals had their limits as well and perhaps speak to his idealism more than any better insight into the nature of the problem than Lin.
[121] [Footnote from document: It was actually the beginning of the fourth day of the sixth month or February 7, 1840.]
[122] *WYZ*. 6. 82. 4.
[123] *WYZ*. 6. 83. 9.

Added to this, though, was Wei's reliance on the use of silver as currency over paper money. In a section on military logistics in his *Military History*, Wei argued—following early Qing philosopher Gu Yanwu (1613-1682) and even in the face of a growing silver shortage and calls for fiduciary money alternatives—that paper money was the way of the robber precisely because using paper currency meant, on his reading, accruing all the benefits at the top, to the exclusion of those below.[124] These justifications are traceable to Wei's earlier inclusion of Gu's essays on currency in the *Anthology on Statecraft* (1826) in which Gu argued that unbacked paper money issued by the empire would only end up as "naked expropriation of the people's wealth by the [empire]."[125] Instead, Wei diagnosed the problem of the silver crisis in China in the *Illustrated Treatise* as stemming from insufficient regulation of silver which favored foreigners in trade, thereby damaging the Chinese economy:

> In the beginning, China let the foreigners lead it by the nose and with [their] arrival in Wanshan township [in Tongren prefecture, Guizhou], [they] opened fire. Yue province traded Mexican silver dollars with the foreigners [and] all of it was the silver dollar used by *Dalusong*[.][126] Therefore, foreigners all bring these silver dollars and use them to buy Chinese goods. Recently, there have been more rules for exporting silver than for importing [it] and as opium increases year after year, smoke prices have increased relative to tea prices.[127]

Thus, for Wei, the silver crisis in China was crucially tied to trade imbalances in opium and tea and as a result, there was not only a need to ban opium, but also a need for increasing the tea trade.[128] He bemoaned the "wasteful discarding" of tea arguing that, "For every *dan* of tea leaves [sold], China collects 2,005 cash in taxes. Also, foreign firms and associations all [pay] fees [and] for each *dan* [we]

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[124] *SWJ* 6.14:29-47; Rowe (2018: 169).
[125] Rowe (2018: 167).
[126] As of yet, I have not figured out to whom or what the "Dalusong" refers. It seems to reference the name of a tuning instrument (*dalu*) named Song. For now, I have left the term untranslated.
[127] *WYZ*. 6. 83. 5.
[128] *WYZ*.2.19-23. For more on this period in British-Chinese economic history, see: Layton, Thomas N. *The Voyage of the 'Frolic': New England Merchants and the Opium Trade* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 23-4; Pomeranz, Kenneth. *The Great Divergence: Europe, China, and the Making of the Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

obtain roughly 6-9 officials' [worth] in silver."[129] Wei noted that this was not as much as Western merchants had paid in the past, but it would go some part of the way toward recovering losses. Still, major domestic obstacles to the tea trade were excessive tax collection and transport charges in China which Wei estimated at least doubled the price of transporting tea. Nevertheless, he argued that, "The use of tea leaves is quite broad; therefore, we [should] grow [them] with all of our heart for every land, buying and selling [to those] who insist on wanting to oppose China[.]"[130] Wei assumed the foreign desire for higher quality (Chinese) tea would overshadow foreign desires for war rooted in the opium trade. He compared Chinese tea production to India's Assam, implying that because Chinese tea was of higher quality and the workers were more skilled, there was much to be gained by China by emphasizing tea production—even more than the massive profits generated from Indian Assam tea for the British empire. In short, Wei seems to have thought that by emphasizing the reversal of the silver drain, reinvigorating the tea trade, emphasizing opium bans, and not relying on (foreign) paper money, China could, in effect, shore up its economic power so that it could resist foreign economic exploitation. These developments (however idealistic they might seem to readers now), in Wei's mind, were meant to challenge British economic domination of Asia.

Nevertheless, Wei's economic vision for China came with several limits, mostly due to Wei's own idealism. For starters, Wei seems to have eschewed economically exploitative practices and expansion that he saw as common among Western countries in Southeast Asia. According to Leonard, "Wei totally rejected the adoption of [tactics aimed at tighten the web of control around Southeast Asia] by the Chinese; nor did he approve of the aggressive use of armed fleets to seize territory and monopolize trade as the West had done."[131] In short, Leonard argues that Wei was

[129] *WYZ*. 6. 81. 8.
[130] *WYZ*. 6. 81. 8.
[131] Leonard (1984: 197).

neither an advocate of what we might term "gunboat" diplomacy nor of "free trade" imperialism. This was not because of the "backwardness" of his thought, though. Rather, "[Wei] rejected [these tactics] because they violated his sense of what was right, legitimate, and practically sound in China's relations with maritime Asia."[132] Still, this conclusion of Leonard's—which is offered without citations to Wei's work—raises some questions. First, with Wei's supposed reluctance to engage in aggressive expansionism in Southeast Asia stands at odds with his embrace of imperial expansion in Central Asia. Further, Wei still viewed many Southeast Asian countries as tributaries to the Chinese empire which seems to suggest broader views of legitimate economic and military hierarchies in Asia. In that respect, perhaps his vision of the economic order in Asia precluded the type of militarily-driven coercion, aggressive expansion, and rapacious exploitation that he believed the West had practiced in colonizing Southeast Asia (and that, to some degree, he was also willing to engage in within the context of Central Asia).

An additional limit was his idealistic view of history. More specifically, Wei's view of institutional progress as it pertained to economic, political, and military reform suggests a simplistic, unidirectional course for history. Still, in his *Mogu* he highlighted a popular element to this linear history that challenges a straightforwardly "anti-egalitarian" reading of Wei in interesting ways. Four times he contrasts earlier practices with present ones, arguing that in each case, "Even if the sage kings [of antiquity] should return and be with us, they would not abandon [our present practices] in favor of [their own earlier practices]."[133] In the first case, Wei argues for the superiority of the Single Whip tax (*tiaobian*) established during the Ming over the earlier biennial tax (*liangshui*) established during the Tang dynasty; in the second case, Wei argues that the examination system for selection of government officials is superior to earlier selection of officials through a recommendation system; in

[132] Leonard (1984: 197).
[133] *WYJ*, 48.

the third case, he argues for the superiority of hired laborers (*guyi*) over earlier reliance on drafted laborers (*chayi*) and corvée labor (*dingyong*); in the fourth and final case, Wei argues for the superiority of present battalion system (*guoqi yingwu*) over the earlier system of military colonies (*tuntian*), territorially administered militias (*fubing*), and conscripted soldiers (*qiujia*). Wei reaffirms his earlier point that "[t]he more extensively the ancient ways were changed, the more convenient it was for the people" by claiming at the end of this part that, "In the affairs of the empire, whatever changes the people have found to be inconvenient can be reversed; but whatever the people have found to be convenient cannot be reversed."[134] In other words, Wei argued that developments in history ought to be progressive and that once people found something politically, economically, and militarily convenient, it would be difficult—if not impossible—to change this. Wei hoped that the present inconveniences (i.e. Western domination of Asia) might be reversed in favor or a more lasting state of affairs that would benefit China.

Before the outbreak of the first Opium War, Wei had already developed this interest in progressive institutional economic reform and his efforts in this vein included the grain taxation system, sea transport, and merchant routes.[135] In these earlier efforts, one can see Wei's progressive understanding of history and institutional reform were a fundamental aspect of his thought. In the *Anthology on Statecraft* (1826), Wei spoke of the experimental first seaborne shipment of grain as unprecedented.[136] For Wei, the shipment of grain by the sea through private merchants (as opposed using inefficient inland waterways) benefited all parties—state, society, merchants, officials, and the canal and tribute shipments themselves—but was only possible because human capacities had developed enough to reach a point in history where such a plan was possible. In other words, Wei (drawing on Laozi) viewed sea transport as a milestone in human progress—an instance of

[134] *WYJ*, 48.
[135] *WYJ*, 404; *SOCT*, 197.
[136] *HCJSWB* 838.47.5069-5092; Rowe (2018: 126-127).

overcoming historical barriers in the name of progress. This is not to say Wei's approach or conclusions were without limits, though. William Rowe has noted that especially when compared with the more modest accomodationist approach of his contemporary, Bao Shichen, Wei's panegyric seems, at points, overly idealistic and ignorant of high overhead costs for such transportation.[137] Yet, Wei's idealism did not prevent him from including various opinions of statecraft and financial administration in the *Anthology* or from giving credit where it was due (including Bao's earlier 1803 call for sea route implementation);[138] rather his idealism speaks to a man captured by a vision of the economic and political potential for reform on a grander scale than had ever been possible before.

Beyond grain, Wei's reformist idealism also extended to the salt trade tax system in China, which comprised about one-eighth to one quarter of the total imperial revenue, with the majority of the revenue coming from the Lianghuai division.[139] In his preface to the aforementioned *Huaibei Ticket Salt System Gazetteer*, Wei argued for the importance of reducing prices to encourage legitimate trade among merchants as opposed to imperial crackdowns from above:

> There is no institution in the realm [*tianxia*] that is certain to promote profit for the state. When abuses are removed, however, profit will naturally be produced. Regarding the salt trade, there is really no way to get on the trail of salt smugglers. Only when the smuggling is transmuted into [legitimate enterprise] under the government's aegis will government finances be eased. In order to deal effectively with illicit salt, it is necessary to reduce the price of legitimate salt, which, in turn, requires that the cost of supplying salt be reduced to as little as possible.[140]

Wei argued that the ticket system he and Tao Chu implemented offered a solution. "This new system, from the time it was first carried out, has transformed the illicit trade at the factories east of Honghu and, later, the illicit trade west of Zhengguan, involving illicit salt originally produced in Changlu in north China…Now the sale price of salt under the Ticket System is only half of that

[137] Rowe (2018: 125).
[138] Rowe (2018: 120).
[139] There is some disagreement about the exact amount. See: Mitchell (1970: 80-81); Leonard (1984: 26).
[140] *WYJ*, vol. 2, 438-440; *SOCT*, 197; Mitchell (1970: 93-94).

under the [previous] Licensed Monopoly System."[141] In essence, Wei argued that the abuses of the salt trade were "part of a complex and difficult system" that needed to be made simpler through stabilizing and reducing salt costs and getting rid of inflexible quotas, rigid tax structures, inefficient packaging processes, and miscellaneous fees.[142] Tao Chu's plan (heavily influenced by Wei's and Bao's writings) was initially quite successful both in raising production and revenue and in receiving backing from prominent figures, including the emperor himself.[143] However, the widespread adoption of the ticket system initially created a market glut and, as a result, successive governors general ignored (or misinterpreted) Wei's insistence on the complexity of the problem.[144] The ticket system inspired by Wei eventually was effective in certain respects, but the success was hampered by selective employment of merchants, rising costs of military and industrial expansion, illegal foreign imports, a rising population, and eventually, the foreign development of treaty ports.[145] Wei's idealism in this regard, while admirable, demonstrated the limits of his early vision for economic reform in the face of a variety on internal and external challenges.

IV. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that Wei's emphasis on "mastery" of foreigners utilized imperial economic, political, and military techniques to ensure China could resist domination by Western powers. I began by briefly situating Wei's use of the term "mastery" (*yu*) within the history of Chinese political thought while tying it to other, similar, concepts Wei uses in his public and private writings. I then fleshed out Wei's historical context, drawing attention to both his relationship to earlier streams of Chinese statecraft and the later movement toward "self-

[141] *WYJ*, vol. 2, 438-440; *SOCT*, 198.
[142] *WYJ*, vol. 2, 438-440; *SOCT*, 198; Mitchell (1970: 93).
[143] Mitchell (1970: 95-96).
[144] Mitchell (1970: 96-98).
[145] Mitchell (1970: 98-101).

strengthening". I ended that section by situating Wei's understanding of "mastery" within his broader effort at focusing statecraft on talent, wealth, and power. For the bulk of the chapter, I detailed the military, political, and economic elements of Wei's efforts to "master the foreigners" while comparing them with Sakuma's efforts. All of this was intended to highlight how integrated Wei's approach was to resisting European and American domination in Asia: by rooting internal economic, political, and military failings in a lack of awareness of "foreign conditions" on China's part, Wei argued that the only way China could master the foreigners was by understanding and utilizing imperial techniques of resistance on all three fronts. Accounting for foreign ambitions concerning trade and their frequent recourse to military force when pushing for the expansion of legal and political influence in Asia was a fundamental starting point for resistance and mastery.

By drawing attention to the role of "mastery" in Wei's imperial political thought, I have attempted to interrogate the bounds of empire by recovering a neglected discourse of resistance to foreign domination in nineteenth century East Asia. During this period, European empires encountered several difficulties in expanding into East Asia, due in no small part to how actors like the Qing statecraft reformers and Tokugawa daimyo and political elite resisted Western colonial ambitions in these contested spaces. However, recent scholarly accounts have placed too much emphasis on how political elite in China and Japan either modernized technology or pushed for treaty renegotiation to the neglect of the broader discourses about domination that informed these efforts. In this chapter, I have argued that by recovering the discourses around domination and resistance, we nuance our theoretical and historical understanding of global realms of empire (European, American, and Asian), while also resisting teleological narratives of "Asian modernization". In that sense, Wei's thought expands our understanding of the possibilities of empire in the mid-nineteenth century global moment precisely because it illustrates how strategies of empire were leveraged to resist European and American domination of Asia, well before the onset

of the "radical reforms" at the end of the century and even the Self-Strengthening movements that would gain steam in the 1860s.

CHAPTER 5 : SAKUMA SHŌZAN'S VISION OF MARITIME EXPANSION

When I was twenty, I realized men were connected throughout the province.
When I was thirty, I realized they were connected throughout the realm.
When I was forty, I realized they were connected throughout the entire world.

- Sakuma Shozan, *Reflections on My Errors (Seiken Roku*, 省譴録; 1854)[1]

I. Introduction

Situated at the end of his fifty-seven-article memoir, *Reflection on My Errors*—a document composed by Sakuma Shozan (1811-1864) while he was under house arrest for his "subversive" connections to Western learning—the epigraph above is at once both a deeply personal reflection of Sakuma's journey through the shifting realities of mid-nineteenth-century global political economy and a testament to his grand vision of resistance in the midst of such a turbulent political moment in Japan. Through an artfully political refashioning of the *Analects*' well-known narrative of expanding concentric circles of moral discovery, Sakuma concisely displays not only his commitment to dynamic political and economic resistance to Western domination, but also [his appreciation for] how reforming legacies of Confucian learning in Japan might aid in such efforts. It is this approach of Sakuma's to both Japan's, and the global, political economy that I explore in this chapter.

In this chapter, I argue that Sakuma's framework of "learning foreign conditions to master the foreigners" attempted to resist foreign imperial domination with political, military, and economic

[1] 「年二十以後は、すなはち匹夫も一國に繋ることとあるを知る。三十以後は、すなはち天下に繋ることあるを知る。四十以後は、すなはち五世界に繋ることあるを知る。」 in *Nihon Shisō Taikei* (*Collection of Japanese Philosophy*), vol. 55. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970, p. 260. Sakuma, drew this formulation directly from the framework Confucius' *Analects* (論語 2.4), but altered the content of the original saying, integrating his own political discoveries where the original focused on moral discovery. This English translation is provided by Charles S. Terry. "Sakuma Shozan and his Seikan-Roku." Unpublished thesis, Columbia University, 1951, 65. Hereafter, the documents from the Japanese text will be cited as (*NST*, page number).

techniques of empire. More specifically, Sakuma attempted to "master" foreigners in two ways—first, by mastering knowledge of their "conditions" and second by mastering them politically, militarily, and economically in Japan. The present chapter builds on the analysis of Sakuma's understanding of "foreign conditions" offered in chapter three. It explores the specific military, political, and economic strategies Sakuma supported in resisting European and American domination of Japan (and China). Politically and militarily, I argue that Sakuma's idealistic vision of diplomacy supported his view of negotiation over key foreign treaty port locations (e.g. Shimoda) and reform of military technology along foreign lines as effective means of both knowing foreign conditions and building resistive capabilities. On the economic front, I argue that this same view of diplomacy on Sakuma's part fueled his optimism about the ability of Japan to resist Western domination by controlling foreign trade at Japanese treaty ports. The adoption of these economic, political, and military techniques of empire, I contend, are rooted for Sakuma in knowing "foreign conditions" (*ijōu*)—the political, economic, military, and cultural aspects of foreign countries—and employing such knowledge in an effort to resist European imperialism and instead "master" (*gyo*) the foreigners in East Asia. By emphasizing Sakuma's revisionist moves as ones that resist foreign imperial domination through political, military, and economic techniques of empire, I offer a new framework for understanding Sakuma's political thought than has been previously offered by historians of East Asia.

Moreover, my approach to Sakuma has additional implications for the literature on empire in the history of political thought. Scholars of empire have, over the last two decades, taken up the theme of imperial governance both as an historical reality and a theoretical quandary in a range of temporal and regional contexts, but have largely read imperial efforts by (mostly European) powers as primarily foregrounding domination of other polities in the name of some greater ideal (e.g.

freedom, civilization).[2] In contrast, my turn to Sakuma emphasizes how empire functioned as a form of resistance. Similar analyses of empire as a form of countering the possibility of being dominated by others have been offered with respect to key figures in the history of Western political thought,[3] but because these accounts have rooted imperial expansion in a natural desire to acquire or expand (as opposed to form of resistance to foreign domination like Sakuma), they have missed how empire

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[2] For some examples, see: Pagden, Anthony. *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory, 1513–1830*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990; Pagden, Anthony. *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500–c. 1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995; Mehta, Uday Singh. *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth Century British Liberal Thought*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999; Ando, Clifford. *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000; Armitage, David. *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; Koskenniemi, Martti. *Gentle Civilizer of Nations: The Rise and Fall of International Law 1870–1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001; Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China*. Durham: Duke University Press; Muthu, Sankar. *Enlightenment Against Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003; Anghie, Antony. *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; Duara, Prasenjit. *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004; Hörnqvist, Mikael. *Machiavelli and Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; Liu, Lydia. *The Clash of Empires*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004; Morefield, Jeanne. *Covenants without Swords: Idealist Liberalism and the Spirit of Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005; Pitts, Jennifer. *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005; Maier, Charles S. *Among Empires*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006; Sartori, Andrew. 2006. "The British Empire and its Liberal Mission." *Journal of Modern History* 78 (September), 623–42; Esherick, Joseph, Hasan Kayalı, and Eric Van Young, eds. 2006. *Empire to Nation: Historical Perspectives on the Making of the Modern World*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield; Bell, Duncan. 2007. *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Bell, Duncan. *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007; Stoler, Ann Laura, Carole McGranahan, and Peter C. Perdue. *Imperial Formations*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007; Tully, James. *Public Philosophy in a New Key*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008; Pitts, Jennifer. 2009. "Liberalism and Empire in a Nineteenth-Century Algerian Mirror." *Modern Intellectual History* 6, no. 2, 287–313; Benton, Lauren. *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010; Burbank, Jane & Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010; Pitts, Jennifer. 2010. "Political Theory of Empire and Imperialism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13, 211–235; Mantena, Karuna. *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010; Rana Aziz. *Settler Empire: American Freedom and Its Consequences*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010; and Pagden, Anthony. *The Burdens of Empire: 1539 to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

[3] Hörnqvist (2004).

enabled resistance prior to supposed domination or colonization. In this respect, Sakuma (and Wei) offer new perspectives on anti-colonialism, domination, and empire insofar as they demonstrate how empire also operated as a form of *innovative* resistance. Such resistance to Western domination actively employed a range of bodies of thought and learning—some inherited, others adopted—toward ends not simply reducible to "modernization" and preceded, but shared important intellectual resonances to, later post-colonial efforts across Africa and Asia.[4] Sakuma's attempts—though ultimately overlooked for more "essentialist" alternatives[5]—nevertheless demonstrate the dynamism with which political thinkers in Asia imagined resistance to Western domination at this critical juncture in global history.

Much of the scholarship on Edo Japanese intellectual history written during the latter half of the twentieth century occupied itself with questions of "modernization". Sakuma has played a minor, but not insignificant, role in such narratives, primarily as an advocate of "Eastern ethics, Western technology".[6] And yet, at least since the end of the twentieth century, within both Japanese and East Asian historiography, scholars have challenged such narratives by pushing their audiences

[4] For a few examples of post-colonial narratives of Asia and Africa that relied on subverting Western-based systems of colonial rule and/or empire, see: Anghie (2004); Mantena (2010); Getachew, Adom. *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2019; and Parfitt, Rose. *The Process of International Legal Reproduction: Inequality, Historiography, Resistance*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2019.

[5] Here, I am drawing on the language of Kiri Paramore. See: Paramore, Kiri. "Liberalism, Cultural Particularism, and the Rule of Law in Modern East Asia: The Anti-Confucian Essentialisms of Chen Duxiu and Fukuzawa Yukichi Compared." *Modern Intellectual History* published online July 2018.

[6] Again, for a few examples, see: de Bary, William Theodore, Carol Gluck, and Arthur Tiedemann, ed. *Volume Two Sources of Japanese Tradition: 1600 to 2000*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959, 2001), 617. Hereafter, it will be cited as (*SOJT*, page number); Mitchell, Peter MacVicar. "Wèi Yüan and the Early Modernization Movement in China and Japan. PhD diss., Indiana University, 1970; and Harootunian, Harry D. *Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan*. Berkeley: UC Berkeley Press, 1970, 1991.

to consider precisely what underpins them and how such frameworks might be overcome as a means of recovering Asian historiography on its own terms.[7]

At the same time, other scholars have looked to East Asian diplomatic and legal history as a means of emphasizing Japanese sovereignty in the face of Western aggression. Michael Auslin is notable in this respect, arguing in his work, *Negotiating with Imperialism: The Unequal Treaties and the Culture of Japanese Diplomacy*, that, "much like subelite classes in colonized lands at the same time, Japanese officials selectively employed tactics designed to frustrate Western plans while maintaining the fiction of adhering to the [unequal] treaties."[8] Auslin's broader aim is to challenge narratives that deem the Tokugawa bakufu diplomatically incompetent through an exploration of what he calls the bakufu's "culture of diplomacy", which is premised on a distinct understanding of negotiation. In Auslin's words, "Negotiation was more than mere dialogue with the treaty powers…it encompassed the response to the West. In the Japanese case, negotiation is better understood as a form of resistance."[9] On Auslin's account, although diplomatic negotiation within the framework of the unequal treaty system was an effective approach for bakufu officials and early Meiji political leaders, it was ultimately abandoned in favor of re-negotiating the unequal Ansei treaty framework, altogether. Auslin's main aim is to demonstrate that the bakufu exhibited agency throughout its engagement with foreign countries in the 1850s and 1860s and that there is more continuity between bakufu negotiation tactics and those of early Meiji (1860s-1870s) than initially supposed.[10]

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[7] See: Cohen, Paul A. *Discovering History in China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985, 2010; Kuhn, Philip A. *Origins of the Modern Chinese State*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002; Konishi, Sho. *Anarchist Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2013.

[8] Auslin, Michael. *Negotiating with Imperialism: The Unequal Treaties and the Culture of Imperialism*. Harvard UP, 2006, 4.

[9] Auslin (2006: 4).

[10] Of course, Auslin's book is not without critique. For a particularly illuminating example, see: Stefan Tanaka, Review of *Negotiating with Imperialism: The Unequal Treaties and the Culture of Japanese Diplomacy*, by Michael R. Auslin, *American Historical Review* 110/4, October 2005, p. 1147. Tanaka argues that Auslin neglects the moment's complexity by eliding a range of important developments including Satsuma and Choshu's utilitarian engagements with the West (despite widespread strident

Par Cassel, in his work *Grounds of Judgment: Extraterritoriality and Imperial Power in Nineteenth Century China and Japan*, builds on Auslin's Asia-centered approach by focusing on the evolving role of extraterritoriality in China and Japan. Unlike many scholars who focus on the "unilateral" impact of Western law in China and Japan during this time, Cassel focuses on the triangular relationship between China, Japan, and Western powers and how extraterritoriality was a process of dialogue both between local Sino-Japanese precedents and Western legal frameworks as well as between China and Japan themselves.[11] For instance, although Cassel acknowledges that "the extraterritorial privileges of Westerners had a greater significance in national Japanese political debates than those of the Chinese, the extraterritorial privileges of the Chinese community arguably meant more in the everyday life in the treaty ports, given that the Chinese constituted roughly half of the population."[12] Cassel thus continues to foreground the actions of the Japanese political leaders while also reorienting the larger narrative away from a focus on the West and toward a focus on Sino-Japanese relations, particularly in the period leading up to, and following, the 1858 Treaty of Tianjin[13] and the 1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki.[14] Indeed, Cassel writes later that current scholarship has been limited insofar as it has rested predominately on Western-language primary sources and thus, "has produced a skewed narrative that attributes too much importance to the agency of foreign actors in the treaty

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anti-foreign sentiment in both domains) as well as the reform efforts of a range of actors including, Honda Toshiaki, Sakuma Shozan, Yoshida Shoin and Yokoi Shonan.

[11] Cassel, Par Kristoffer. *Grounds of Judgment: Extraterritoriality and Imperial Power in Nineteenth Century China and Japan*. Oxford University Press, 2012, 180.

[12] Cassel (2012: 114).

[13] Considered by many Chinese of the time as a part of the series of "unequal" treaties signed in the aftermath of the Opium War, The Treaty of Tianjin (*Tianjin tiaoyue*) was a bundle of documents signed at Tianjin in June 1858, that ended the first phase of the Second Opium War by opening more Chinese ports to foreign trade, permitting foreign legations in the capital (Beijing), allowing Christian missionary activity in China, and legalizing the import of opium.

[14] The Treaty of Shimonoseki (*Shimonoseki Jōyaku*) was an agreement signed after China's defeat by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95). It stated that China was obliged to recognize the independence of Korea, to cede Taiwan, the Pescadores Islands, and the Liaodong (south Manchurian) Peninsula to Japan (the latter of which Japan would cede following the Triple Intervention by France, Russia and Germany in 1895), and to pay Japan a hefty indemnity.

ports and has failed to see that consular jurisdiction rested not only on the presence of Western gunboats but also on the active participation and cooperation of Qing authorities."[15] Although Cassel's argument is primarily focused on extraterritoriality and international law in China, his critique of Western-centric narratives is true of the broader historiography of Japan over the last half-century.

I begin first by defining Sakuma's understanding of "mastery" through his critiques of contemporary governance in late Edo Japan. I look at a range of memorials he submitted to the bakufu as well as some of his personal correspondence as a way of tracing the first step of Sakuma's vision of mastery: overcoming present ineptitude. In the next section, I spell out his approach to "mastering the foreigners" by connecting the aforementioned critiques to Sakuma's broader analysis of diplomacy as a tool of resistance. I foreground the military, political, and economic elements of Sakuma's thought as it pertains to treaty ports and the shifting global political economy. More specifically, I frame Sakuma's diplomatic idealism through his analysis of the problems with the Ansei treaties (1858) and the officials who negotiated them. Then, I focus on Sakuma's counter-intuitive arguments for opening a treaty port in Yokohama, as opposed to Shimoda. I then use this proposal as a launching point for foregrounding the economic logic Sakuma employs for avoiding opium bans (a mistake, Sakuma thinks, China made) and prioritizing locations closer to the capital when conducting trade. I conclude the chapter by reviewing the stakes of Sakuma's efforts at non-domination for the history of political thought.

II. Defining "Mastery" and "Foreign Conditions"

A key aspect of Sakuma's political thought centered on revising extant scholarship and governing practices. Toward this end, Sakuma's critical assessments of contemporary governance in

[15] Cassel (2012: 182).

Asia across his writings are largely directed at the Tokugawa bakufu and the Qing government in China. In this section, I show that one of his main concerns in these writings is to establish a basis for resisting domination by foreign actors through political and economic reform which, itself, depends crucially on an awareness of foreign conditions (*ijo*).[16] That said, Sakuma's focus on awareness also informed his later shifts away from calling Western foreigners "barbarians" and thus, will be addressed throughout the chapter. This section explores how Sakuma thought about Japan's "mastery" of foreigners while the following section foregrounds his push for mastery through political and military reform policies as well as his increasing push for commercial trade with foreign countries.

As with Wei Yuan in chapter four, the key to understanding Sakuma's imperial vision is the concept of *gyo* (馭, or 御 as it was sometimes rendered), which functioned across his works as a multidirectional action—something both foreigners and Japanese officials could engage in against the other. To briefly rehash the contextualization from chapter four, historically, *gyo* literally referred to the driving of a carriage, or more abstractly as "rule", "governance", or "management" of political affairs, as seen in the *Rites of Zhou*, the *History of the Southern Dynasties* (659AD) and the *Historical Events Retold as a Mirror for Government* (*Xu Zizhi Tongjian*; composed by Sima Guang who lived from 1019-1086). Sakuma's usage of the term in his *Reflections on My Errors* and his various memorials and personal writings, like Wei, might suggest a reading of "control" or "restrict", but in light of the

[16] Sakuma's conception of "awareness" (*bin*, 敏)—which can also be translated as "quickness", "agility", "cleverness" or "alertness"—seems very similar to what some ancient and later Chinese thinkers associated with "timeliness" (*shi,* 時), "responsiveness" (*shi*, 適), or "strategic opportunities" (*ji*, 機). I have chosen to translate it as "awareness" because the basic idea is being aware of, or attentive to, changing circumstances and responding accordingly. For more on the latter associations, see: Caldwell, Ernest (2015) "Opportune Moments in Early Chinese Strategic Thought: The Concept of ji 機 in the Warring States Period Bamboo Manuscript Cao Mie's Battle Arrays." In: Lorge, Peter and Roy, Kaushik, (eds.), *Chinese and Indian Warfare: The Classical Age to 1870*. London: Routledge, pp. 17-31.)

similar circumstances at play in his work (i.e. increasing foreign economic and political incursion in Asia) as well as the translations of earlier scholars who have worked on Sakuma's political writings, I have opted for the translation "master". That said, Sakuma—like Wei—uses related terms as well throughout his works that connote a similar sense of domination, control, or rule by political powers. My aim in this chapter is to explore the connected constellation of these concepts as they bear out in Sakuma's political, economic, and military analyses—particularly, as he seeks to stem foreign "mastery" or domination of Japan through a kind of imperial resistance that would, in turn, "master the foreigners" (*gyo-i*) in Asia.[17]

Before one could speak of resistance via "mastery" of the foreigners, though, Sakuma felt that various forms of ineptitude among the Japanese elite must be overcome. In his 1854 *Reflection on My Errors*, after outlining why people generally fail to respect scholar-officials in positions of authority, Sakuma turns specifically to the scholars of his time: "What do the so-called scholars of today actually do? Do they clearly understand the way in which the gods and sages established this nation, or the way in which Yao, Shun, and the divine emperors of the three dynasties governed?"[18] Sakuma continues on, citing a litany of activities including learning rites and music, punishment and administration, the classics and governmental systems, the elements of the art of war, military discipline, and the principles of machinery. Skeptically, he asks, "Do they make exhaustive studies of conditions in foreign countries? Or effective defense methods? Of strategy in setting up strongholds, defense barriers, and reinforcements? Of the knowledge of computation, gravitation,

[17] When I refer to *i* generally as a concept in Sakuma's writings, I translate it as "foreigner". I acknowledge his earlier dismissive language with regard to foreign countries (and how he shifted from using *i* ["barbarian"] to *gaiban* ["foreigner"]), but given his later trajectory and increasing respect for foreigners, translating *i* as "foreigner" when referring generally to his thought (and not to specific, earlier documents) seems best in keeping with the overall tone of his writings and outlook.
[18] *NST*, 249; Terry (1951: 71). Yao and Shun are Chinese sage-rulers of antiquity. They are both considered rulers of great virtue as, according to legend, they each chose their successor on the basis of virtue and not heredity. Both are often invoked in Chinese and Japanese literary, philosophical, and political works as examples of ideal rule.

geometry, and mathematics? If they do, I have not heard of it! Therefore, I ask what the so-called scholars of today actually do."[19] Throughout this section, Sakuma levels his critique at bakufu scholar-officials whom he deems as insufficiently attentive to both past and present "foreign conditions" (i.e. geo-political realities). Therefore, it was to be expected that Japanese officials could not resist the foreigners, let alone comprehend how the British defeated China in the Opium war. Much in the same way as Wei urged Chinese officials to expand their global vision, Sakuma argued that Japanese officials needed to expand (but not reject) their horizons beyond their immediate or inherited frameworks to consider what realms of learning remained unexplored.

Eight years later in 1862, in another memorial written to the bakufu on the "sorrowful" state of current affairs, Sakuma picked up this thread of argument again, this time arguing that a conceited attitude toward foreigners had even negated the beneficial presence of Japan's emperor or "sagely ruler" (*kunshi*).[20] He traces such conceited attitudes toward the foreigners to Chinese views that influenced Japanese ones, concluding that because the classic teachings of the sagely kings which centered on rites, music, politics and punishment advanced this view, at present in Japan and China "the people of the frontier [of Japan] to whom [the benefits] of literacy have not reached and who lack moral principles…are thought to be like birds, beasts, and insects. Thus, it is the case that [Japanese officials] call [these Japanese frontier people] 'Ebisu foreigners'[21] and 'savage peoples.'"[22] Sakuma draws larger conclusions about adopting such a view of these peoples:

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[19] *NST*, 249; Terry (1951: 71). Also, Harootunian (1970: 152-3).
[20] Sakuma, Shozan. "A Memorial Draft to the Bakufu of a Deeply Sorrowful View of Current Affairs [1862]" [時事を痛論したる幕府へ上書稿 {文久二年九月}] in *Shōzan Zenshū* [*Collection of Sakuma Shozan's Works*], vol. 2 (Nagano: Shinano Mainichi Shinbun Kabushiki Kaisha, 1934). Hereafter, I will cite references to documents from the *Zenshū* as: *SZ*, page number. *SZ*, 185.
[21] Ebisu refers both to a region of northeastern Honshu (the main island of Japan) and the ethnic group living in this region during the Edo period. They were often considered "backward" and "unrefined" by the Japanese scholarly elite.
[22] *SZ*, 185.

> Because of this habit [of referring to our frontier people as barbarians] has already become the norm, even our country which has moral principles and is led by a sagely ruler (*kunshi*), is called barbaric and mistaken for the Chinese. In this same way, our country imitated this mistake and denigrated foreign countries even though we are trying to obtain scholarly learning, moral conduct, technical knowledge, organizational knowledge, and [humanistic knowledge] from them. How can we call [these] great and powerful countries barbarians?[23]

Although Sakuma's causal connection between Japanese officials referring to the Ebisu as "barbaric" and others—Western foreigners or Chinese, the passage is unclear—referring to Japan as "barbaric" is tenuous, his point is to highlight the negative effects of developing a habit of denigrating that which is largely unknown. In the case of the Western foreigners, they actually possessed a high level of moral cultivation and learning, but Japanese (and Chinese) officials, on Sakuma's reading, could not see this. To Sakuma, outside of Japan, the Japanese elite were mistakenly referred to as "barbaric"; the Japanese elite, on the other hand, mistakenly referred to Westerners as "barbaric" even as they attempted to gain knowledge and insight from them. Sakuma's rhetorical question not only points to hypocrisy among the Japanese elite, but also highlights what he takes to be the fundamental problem with such approaches: they blind those who hold them to the real advantages that supposed "barbarians" possess, thereby limiting what can effectively be leveraged from such countries in order to resist (or master) them.

In another memorial written around the same time in response to his daimyo's request for a method of expelling foreigners (*jō-i*) from Japan, Sakuma once again emphasizes incapable ministers in Japan and their deleterious effects on government as well as broader efforts at the mastery of foreigners. In addition to failing to coordinate Japan against foreign invasions, Sakuma criticizes the bakufu for not "mak[ing] efforts to know the enemy", thus jeopardizing Japan's ability to resist foreign control in treaty port affairs.[24] Sakuma links an awareness of one's (foreign) enemy to a

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[23] *SZ*, 185.

[24] *NST*, 322; Sakuma, Shōzan. "Report to the Daimyo Concerning a Policy for the Expulsion of Foreigners," [1862] trans. Richard Reitan, in *Readings in Tokugawa Thought*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Center for East Asian Studies, University of Chicago, 1998), 275.

government's ability to manage its affairs, including military defense. Moreover, he does not see a contradiction in being willing to learn from the inventions and tactics of foreign (enemy) countries even while resisting their military and political efforts at domination. In other words, it is ludicrous, in his view, for the government to solicit opinions on how to expel foreigners (as the bakufu had) when it lacks the requisite knowledge and receptivity to employing foreign military technology in its own affairs. In this sense, and in a somewhat tongue-in-cheek manner, Sakuma thus laments, "I am to present my proposal to the daimyo with all due haste. Yet I am unable to formulate the requested policy."[25] Sakuma even alluded to revered military thinkers like Sun Zi, arguing that even such figures would not be able to carry out this task because of the inferior status of Japan.[26] Sakuma, throughout the memorial, combines these twin themes—small global stature and inferior awareness of foreign conditions—to show that Japan, as it currently exists, is ill equipped to resist foreign domination.

Two years later, reflecting on negotiations with the American diplomats, Sakuma echoes similar themes. He excoriates the previous shogun and the bakufu again for leasing *Gotenyama*, and even for signing a treaty with America, because the bakufu itself acknowledged that, "[the provision] of land for the [American] minister's residence is in accordance with American law but is outside the framework of our country's legal system."[27] For Sakuma, "[The presence of] those who are not imperial subjects (*ōshin*) [living on] imperial land in fact represents a dramatic and unprecedented change in our country."[28] Here, one sees a clear distinction between Sakuma's commitment to learning from foreigners and his defense of (what he takes to be) Japanese territorial integrity. This is

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[25] *NST*, 321; Reitan (1862, 1998: 273).
[26] *NST*, 321.
[27] *SZ*, 250; Sakuma, Shōzan. "A Draft of the Imperial Injunction," [1864] trans. Richard Reitan in *Readings in Tokugawa Thought*. Chicago: Center for East Asian Studies, University of Chicago, 1998), 279.
[28] *SZ*, 250-251; Reitan (1864, 1998: 280). I explore Sakuma's analysis of the port of Gotenyama more later in the section on treaty ports.

not to say that Sakuma was closed to change; his shock merely demonstrated his opposition to extraterritoriality. If foreigners were to reside in Japan, these must be subject to Japanese control just as the Dutch had been for centuries—a fact Sakuma was well aware of. Despite this departure from precedent, the overall tenor of Sakuma's draft imperial injunction strikes a more hopeful tone, noting that the current shogun "drives off corrupt officials and makes use of virtuous men. He corrects abuses, removes evils, attends to the military preparations of the realm, and endeavors to fulfill the duties of his office as a military officer."[29] The shogun's purging of government officials does not, however, prevent Sakuma from embracing foreign learning and noting that, "there are many aspects of learning and skills that foreign countries have developed, but that our country has not yet grasped, and while foreign countries have amassed ships and weapons, our country has yet to make such preparations."[30] In fact, Sakuma uses this opportunity to turn to the past for inspiration in his efforts toward reform, resistance, and mastery. Sakuma paraphrases the *Simafa*'s admonition to "look at the condition of things and achieve parity among abilities."[31] He goes on to quote Sun Zi's advice to develop a well-planned strategy and the *Book of Zhou*'s balancing of power with virtue and righteousness.[32] Sakuma's point is to emphasize, through classical examples, that proper reform must be preceded by proper reflection on relative strengths. Through proper reflection, Japan will be able to surpass Western countries in knowledge and imperial strength. Thus, Sakuma's view was neither dismal nor in opposition to classical sources, at least as he viewed them. Japan was not

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[29] *SZ*, 251; Reitan (1864, 1998: 280).
[30] *SZ*, 251.
[31] The *Simafa* ("Methods of *Sima*" or "Methods of the Minister of War") is an ancient Chinese book on military strategy and attributed to Sima Rangju, a general of the state of Qi (*qiguo*) during the Warring States period (5th cent.-221 BCE).
[32] *SZ*, 251-252; Reitan (1864, 1998: 280). The *Sunzi bingfa* ("Master Sun's *Art of War*") is another, perhaps more popular, ancient Chinese book on military strategy. There has been some debate about its authorship, but traditionally authorship was attributed it to Sun Wu who lived during the Spring and Autumn period (770-5th cent. BCE). The *Book of Zhou* was an imperial history of the Western Wei and Northern Zhou dynasties, composed by Tang dynasty (618-907) historian Linghu Defen (582-666) in 636AD.

inherently inferior to the West, the future was not inevitably dim, and classical sources could provide visions for effective reform and eventual mastery. Proper reform, for Sakuma, began with proper awareness of one's geo-political situation. Once apprehended, such reform could recover a lost sense of power and undergird Japan's resurgence in the future.

Even on the eve of his assassination in 1864, Sakuma maintained a critical view of the capacity of Japanese political figures to enact reform by being attentive to broader geo-political circumstances. In a private letter to his mistress, Sakuma wrote,

> You are correct to surmise that I am worried. Yet other people are not really concerned about the things I worry about…I have heard that I will be cut down in my house, and whenever I go out I am confronted by opposition in several directions, but I have thought little about it. During these times, when I am out, I have been using a Western-style saddle on my horse…Even though there are foolish men who have criticized me for this, it is because they are not open to good things, and it is for this reason that I use the saddle. Even though there have been many who have opposed me and who have tried to change my views, especially military ones, I have defended them single-mindedly for nearly thirty years. This has not begun today. Since it has been my hope to plan for the future of Japan, I do not intend to change this possibility…During this time I have also felt deeply about the Emperor and the shogun…I am convinced the fall of the country will accompany my death. I am not afraid of the criticisms of people; my mind is always at peace.[33]

If Sakuma was given to embellishment at times, his comments nevertheless reveal something of his own self-understanding with respect to current trends in Japanese political life. As I have argued above, Sakuma's main critique was that "foolish men" were not open to the possibilities presented by foreign things and this "pragmatic" view itself is informed by an overall vision of resistance to foreign domination. In other words, Sakuma's criticisms of contemporary actors in Japan are informed by a desire to expose influential actors to the possibility of flexible engagement with, and mastery of, the unfamiliar. In this correspondence, Sakuma firmly believes he has been defending

[33] Harootunian (1970: 182). For more on the historical context surrounding Sakuma's assassination, see: Jansen, Marius B. *Sakamoto Ryoma and the Meiji Restoration* (Stanford UP, 1971), 142; Mitchell (1970: 296, ff 91).

this cause since at least the late 1830s and that the stakes could not be higher—not only is his life on the line in defending this cause, but also the future of Japan.

Moreover, in a letter to his poet and anti-bakufu political reformer friend Yanagawa Seigan (1789-1858), Sakuma expresses respect for Westerners as carriers of respectable traditions and chastises contemporary bakufu officials for insisting on referring to the Westerners as "barbarians".[34] Importantly, this represents a shift in Sakuma's own thinking and his move away from using the term "barbarian" (*i*) toward "foreigner" (*gaiban*) is emblematic of the type of circumspection he was hoping to encourage in other Japanese political actors.[35] Perhaps even more importantly, Sakuma marvels at the scientific acumen of the West and explicitly ties the scientific inventions of Western countries to their respective power and dignity as countries.[36] For Sakuma, scientific knowledge was deeply tied to political, military, and economic power, just as it was for Wei.

And yet, as is apparent from the above quote, Japan was not Sakuma's sole focus. Many of his critiques across his writings of Japan were also leveraged against Qing China. When Sakuma was trying to secure backing for publishing a Dutch dictionary in Japan, he cited the ancient Chinese practice (at least until Confucius and the Duke of Zhou) of studying the military skills of several

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[34] Harootunian (1970: 170, 171). Harootunian notes that Sakuma preferred the term *gaiban* ("foreigner", "foreign land") to the various forms of *i* because it signified Western countries' difference, but not inferiority. Sakuma seems to offer a justification of this term in his 1862 petition to the bakufu on current affairs (*SZ*, 187). For more examples of Sakuma's uses of the term *gaiban* throughout the document, see: *SZ*, 176, 178, 184, 185, 186, 188, 191, 192, 193).

[35] Sakuma's shift is interesting in light of Lydia Liu's analysis. According to Liu, the use of the term "barbarian" for *yi* highlights Britain's successful use of a framework of "coloniality of injury" in the life-or-death struggle between British and Manchus over the global meaning of Chinese words (69). Liu also writes, "Although the textbook history has endeavored to portray the super-sign *yi*/*barbarian* as a reflection of Chinese xenophobia, what it truly reflects is the important shift of geopolitical power that transformed international relations and modern society in the nineteenth century." (95-96) Sakuma was likely not thinking in these terms, but his shift is indicative of increasing respect for Western countries, though likely not of increasing respect for Qing China. Perhaps then, Sakuma's experiences reinforce the type of narrative about China that Liu is trying to challenge.

[36] Harootunian (1970: 170).

nations in order to strengthen one's own nation and concluded that China, particularly in the wake of the First Opium War, had paid a high price for remaining indifferent to global developments.[37] Further, in his eight point policy on naval defense, he not only criticized the Qing state for failing to take up the technological challenge posed by Western armies, but also concluded that China's failure meant a withdrawal of civilization, a loss of true principles, and a gradual substitution of complacency and conceit for a prior commitment to inquiry and investigation.[38] Moreover, the Chinese insistence on referring to Westerners as "barbarians", in Sakuma's view, blinded them to the possibility of adopting aspects of the arts, learning, legal systems, and culture developed in the West.[39] China thus functioned for Sakuma as another paradigmatic example of governance that failed to sufficiently consider foreign conditions (*ijō*). His respective solutions to these problematic approaches (to the extent they affected Japanese leaders) was to push for foreign learning, to recover classical learning as a basis for justifying technological innovation, and to view foreign countries as different, but nevertheless respectable. Sakuma's arguments were meant to enact political reform through greater awareness of geo-political developments for the sake of resisting foreign domination.[40]

Notably, though, Sakuma's criticisms of Chinese lack of political awareness (and, by extension, prestige) extended even to Wei Yuan. By the time he composed *Reflection on My Errors* in 1854 (prior to his rejection of the term "barbarian"), Sakuma had read two of Wei Yuan's texts: the *Haiguo Tuzhi*, a gazetteer meant to illustrate the variety of nations in the world to better educate

[37] Harootunian (1970: 146); See also: Maruyama, Masao. 1965. "Bakumatsu ni okeru kenza no henkaku." ["Changing Viewpoints on the Bakumatsu Period"] *Tenbō* 77, 13-41.
[38] Harootunian (1970: 149); Murayama (1965: 25, 27-28, 32).
[39] Harootunian (1970: 171); Murayama (1965: 31, 33).
[40] For a more detailed analysis of the concept of the "geo-political" and "geo-bodies" in Asia, see: Winichakul, Thongchai. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994; and Duara, Prasenjit. *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

Chinese officials, and the *Shengwuji*, a military history of the Qing dynasty. In *Reflection on My Errors*, he offered commentary. Initially, Sakuma's tone was quite relieved:

> At the time when my former lord assumed office in the government, and later, when he took charge of coastal defense, the English foreigners were invading the [Qing] Empire, and news of the war was sensational. I, greatly lamenting the events of the time, submitted a plan in a memorial. Later I saw the [*Shengwuji*] of the Chinese writer Wei Yuan…Ah! Wei and I were born in different places, and did not even know each other's name. Is it not singular that we both wrote lamenting the times during the same year, and that our views were in accord without our having met? We really must be called comrades from separate lands.[41]

In subsequent sections of *Reflection on My Errors*, Sakuma highlights how both he and Wei are concerned with engaging in foreign learning to better understand foreign actors. In particular, he emphasizes—as Wei did—the point that "learning a foreigner language is not only a step toward knowing the foreigners, but also the groundwork for mastering them."[42] And although his plans were not as fleshed out as Wei's on colonial expansion, Sakuma did advocate for preemptive military deterrence abroad and the establishment of hierarchical relations between Japan and foreign countries—points I explore in detail in the next section. Still, as noted above, Sakuma's "barbarian" language and lack of respect for foreign countries would change in a few years' time, but perhaps more important for the present analysis is the continuity in imperial thinking on the part of Sakuma and Wei. At least on Sakuma's reading, both figures viewed comprehension of foreign knowledge as the key to resisting Western domination and establishing Asian imperial influence. Both Wei and Sakuma acknowledged how the British, in particular, gained an advantage in the war with China precisely because they translated Chinese materials and understood Chinese political life better than Chinese officials did British political life. If the British could use such means to gain the upper hand in their imperial efforts, Wei and Sakuma argued that China and Japan ought to be able to marshal

[41] *NST*, 251; Terry (1951: 73-75); Mitchell (1970: 285, ff 67).
[42] *NST*, 251; Terry (1951: 74).

their knowledge of "foreign conditions" to resist countries like Britain and even establish their own global influence.

III. Political, Military, and Economic Reform as Imperial Resistance

For Sakuma—as with many late Tokugawa political actors—the bakufu's policies toward political, military, and economic issues from the 1840s through the 1860s were a continual source of distress and consternation. In Sakuma's case, the frustrations boiled down to two things he believed the bakufu had done to illustrate its failure to sufficiently comprehend foreign conditions for the sake of mastery: (1) conducting a faulty treaty negotiation and treaty port selection process and (2) failing to leverage trade with foreign countries. For Sakuma, both avenues offered a means for strengthening Japan's economic and political power and thereby mastering the foreigners. Against more stridently nativist views from intellectuals, samurai, and political figures who favored full expulsion of the "foreigners" (*sonno-joi*), "closed country" (*sakoku*) policies or various combinations of the two, Sakuma (especially later in life) increasingly identified with a group of *kaikoku* ("open country") advocates pushing for greater exposure to the foreign world—politically, military and economically.

In this section and the next, I argue that Sakuma's vision of Japanese empire was premised on a broader strategy of resistance in the face of Western aggression that foregrounded political, economic, and military "mastery". As noted at the outset of the chapter, the late Tokugawa period in Japanese diplomatic and political history has typically been viewed by historians as a period of bakufu ineptitude, but recent scholarship has challenged this view, arguing that this period is perhaps better understood as one of active bakufu negotiation through increasing familiarity within Western legal and political discourses.[43] Taking into account Sakuma's substantiated (and

[43] Auslin (2006: 4, 21, 207, 208); Cassel (2012: 9, 11, 12, 86, 92-93, 180).

unsubstantiated) criticisms of current bakufu practices, his idealism, and his engagement with various forms of "Western" learning, I argue that, for Sakuma, the then nascent (and evolving) bakufu diplomacy represented an opportunity for Japan's mastery of foreign and domestic conditions through informed treaty re-negotiation, judicious opening of territory, and the embrace of trade with foreign countries. Citing both Qing and bakufu past failed efforts at stemming concessions to Western powers, Sakuma consistently argued that the reality of Asia's present political circumstances showed that the combination of re-negotiation, opening, and trade could enable effective Japanese political, military, and economic resistance while the utter rejection of such—especially foreign trade—would lead, conversely, to Japan's domination by the foreigners, as evidenced by China following the first Opium War.

Writing scarcely seven months after bakufu officials had signed the *Treaty of Amity and Commerce* on July 29, 1858,[44] Sakuma had his work cut out for him. Four years prior, he had been put under house arrest and narrowly escaped execution for aiding his student, Yoshida Shōin (1830-1859), in attempting to board Commodore Matthew Perry's ship in order to learn English abroad.[45] Nevertheless, even in the midst of virulent anti-Western sentiment, Sakuma pulled few punches in his memorial to the bakufu, calling attempts to limit foreign influence in Japan as little more than a "child's delusion".[46]

Such audacity was not uncommon for Sakuma, both in his private and public writings, but his specific concerns with Japanese officials' roles in the "Harris treaty" (as it came to be known) stemmed from two main sources: the lack of consultation with the imperial court and the

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[44] *SZ*, 135-144.
[45] Terry (1951: 27).
Terry (1951: 27); Wakabayashi, Bob T. *Modern Japanese Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998, 48.
[46] *SZ*, 143-144.

"contradictory" logic of the bakufu officials who negotiated the treaty.[47] On the former front, Sakuma argued in his 1859 draft memorial to the bakufu that because bakufu officials failed to consult with the imperial court before negotiating the treaty, this had led pro-imperial forces to push for dismissing the treaty altogether. However, Sakuma also warned that ignoring the treaty (as many pro-imperialists had) could lead both to Western hostilities and disobedience toward the imperial command to revoke the treaty.[48] In arguing both of these things, Sakuma gestured toward the more fundamental problem. The divisions among domestic political actors undermined the key effort toward which everyone ought to be striving: resisting domination by the foreigners in Japan through knowledge of foreign conditions.

That said, Sakuma placed the blame squarely in the bakufu's court. In a separate draft memorial written to the bakufu at about the same time, Sakuma noted that, prior to negotiations, the bakufu and the court had been on the same page. However, as time went on, Hotta Masayoshi (1810-1864)—the head of bakufu negotiations with the American Counsul General, Townsend Harris (1804-1878)—on Sakuma's account, adopted a logic that was "exceedingly contradictory": "[A]lthough feelings of amity were spoken, this was mistaken for deceptive and threatening swindling. [Amity] was lacking at each point, it evidently was not disguised, and the emperor's misgivings were not voiced."[49] In other words, the bakufu had slighted the emperor and imperial court.

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[47] Cassel (2012: 91). It should be noted that Sakuma was also concerned with deceit on the American part (through Harris). For more on this see: Wakabayashi, Bob Tadashi. "Opium, Expulsion, Sovereignty. China's Lessons for Bakumatsu Japan." *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 47 No. 1 (Spring 1992), 18.

[48] *SZ*, 138-139. Earlier, the imperial court had issued a decree forbidding contact, let alone, negotiation with foreigners. Many pro-imperialists saw the bakufu's engagement with Western powers as a breach of this decree. Sakuma's argument is meant to show that the bakufu's "secret" approach would fail both to appease foreign countries and the imperial court.

[49] *NST*, 294.

Because of this perceived "disjuncture" between the court and the bakufu on the one hand, and the implied "naïve, incoherent, and deceptive" logic of the bakufu on the other, Sakuma later in that same draft memorial argued, somewhat naïvely himself, for the revision of the Harris treaty, altogether and for diplomatic engagement abroad:

> Consequently, each of these contradictions [should] be revised from the beginning and an inquiry made [into this]. If things are done in this manner, we will dispatch ambassadors to all of the foreign countries, they will dialogue with [other] foreign government officials, and it will be difficult to fill [these dialogues] with the deception and threats. If [we] clearly distinguish and clarify the merits of the case while drawing on the emperor's will to write up articles on separate [sheets of] paper, still more if [we] modify these words in a good manner, polish [them], and show this to the aforementioned delegates while also doing things that are naturally honorable and that ought not be slandered, [we] will be able to say that these words will definitely perform their role.[50]

That "role", for Sakuma, was shoring up Japanese political and military power by connecting the court and shogunate under a unified vision—a vision which would later develop into support for the influential *kobu-gattai* ("union of court and bakufu") ideal—and asserting Japan's dignified status on the international stage.[51] In Sakuma's view, the bakufu's "deceptive" and "secret" negotiation of the Ansei treaties with Western powers was a symptom of the bakufu's own lack of understanding of domestic and global politics. Indeed, Sakuma, writing on behalf of the imperial court five years later in 1864, echoed this sentiment and juxtaposed the policy of exclusion (which he disagreed with, but

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[50] *NST*, 295. Footnote: When Sakuma refers to "polishing", he is referring to translating into Western languages while skillfully detailing the logic and selection of words, while desiring to speak exhaustively of refinement.

[51] *Kobu-gattai* was a short-lived ideal and meant many things to differently situated actors. Scholars have claimed that its apogee came in 1861 with the marriage between Shogun Tokugawa Iemochi (bakufu) and Princess Kazunomiya (court). However, due to tensions brought about by both the shogun's and emperor's death five years later as well as long-standing competing interests of influential regional lords (*daimyo*) like Shimazu Hisamitsu (1817-1887), Matsudaira Shungaku (1828-1890), Yamauchi Toyoshige (1827-1872), Matsudaira Katamori (1835-1893), and Date Munenari (1818-1892) among others, *kobu-gattai* became untenable by the mid-late 1860s. For more on the competing dynamics among domainal political actors and the bakufu, see: Totman, Conrad. "Tokugawa Yoshinobu and *Kōbugattai*. A Study of Political Inadequacy." *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. 30, No. 4 (Winter, 1975), pp.393-403; Wilson, Noell. *Defensive Positions: The Politics of Maritime Security in Tokugawa Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015.

upheld as a model of joint decision-making on the part of the court and the bakufu) with the bakufu's increasingly "selfish" (i.e. non-court approved) concessions to the Americans. On this reading, the opening, first of Shimoda and Hakodate and later of other ports and territories, was a deep source of indignation for Sakuma and the court because it represented a "disjuncture" between the court and the bakufu. As a result, according to Sakuma (writing on behalf of the emperor),

> Hotta [Masayoshi] was summoned [to the court] and an imperial order prohibiting [American settlements in Japan and the like] was issued. However, while Hotta gave the appearance of following the imperial order [in Kyoto], he had secretly signed a treaty with America. Following this, within the bakufu the authority of corrupt officials was extended and virtuous [officials] were driven away. [The bakufu] acceded to the foreign countries' demands, and loaned them [the use of] the Edo government's number one stronghold *Goten-yama*. Could there be anything as disgraceful as this? Finding this intolerable, an imperial proclamation was issued to sympathetic daimyos requesting that we attack and expel the foreign countries immediately and return to the policy of isolation.[52]

Thus, on the "Sakuma-court" perspective, the bakufu was ultimately to blame for the rise in anti-foreign hostilities. By undermining a presumed joint court-bakufu decision-making process that had ostensibly existed for centuries, the bakufu opened the way for a fissure between the two. To be sure, although Sakuma wrote (on behalf of the court) that such moves by the bakufu led to imperial calls for a return to a policy of exclusion, this was not a justification of the seclusion policy. The main issue was Sakuma's push for a joint-decision making process between the court and the bakufu in the wake of the Perry and Harris visits. While opening the country remained one of Sakuma's main goals in the latter part of his life, unified political decision-making was at least equally important. Effective resistance through political negotiation with foreign powers, on Sakuma's account, required a unified realm (i.e. both bakufu and court) where major political decisions, as they pertained to foreign powers, were subject not only to bakufu, but also to imperial, oversight. For Sakuma, the lack of unity on this front spelled disaster for Japan's efforts to resist Western powers. Like many others of the time, he argued that, on this basis, the Ansei treaties needed re-negotiation.

[52] Reitan (1862, 1998: 279-280).

Re-negotiating the Ansei treaties would pave the way for greater engagement in global diplomacy on an equal footing with the West.

The bakufu's general approach toward mediating the pressures of foreign diplomatic demands has been described by Michael Auslin as a process of negotiation along ideological, intellectual, and physical boundaries.[53] Auslin's conceptualization of the bakufu's approach as one of negotiation is meant, as I noted at the beginning of this chapter, to recover the bakufu's agency from historical narratives that have often situated it as a passive actor in the face of foreign demands, but Auslin notes that the bakufu's policy of negotiation ultimately sowed the seeds of its own downfall.[54] Although Sakuma's arguments shared much with some leading bakufu officials, I argue that his views on trade, foreign learning, treaty ports, and the court—despite never being seriously considered within higher bakufu circles for any extended period of time—were distinct enough to suggest an alternative route that could square foreign demands with domestic anti-foreign ones.

Early on, Sakuma adopted a view akin to that of more conservative scholars who argued that Japan should simply use the *techniques* of the "foreigners" to control them.[55] Sakuma, like these scholars, the shogunate councilors, and others, had adopted this view in light of reading Wei Yuan's *Military History of the Qing Dynasty* (*Shengwu Ji*) and *Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms* (*Haiguo Tuzhi*).[56] Sakuma modified this position sometime during the late 1840s, calling for more respect for foreign countries, but he never abandoned the importance of both inherited and foreign forms of learning as a source for reform. In this sense, his approach was more similar to the later efforts by bakufu officials Kuze Hirochika (1819-1864) and Ando Nobumasa (1819-1871) who, from 1860-1862, tried adapting to changing geo-political relations while maintaining some traditions through

[53] Auslin (2006: 9-10).
[54] Auslin (2006: 108-111, 142-145).
[55] Murayama (1965: 18, 21, 23-25, 28, 32); Auslin (2006: 28).
[56] *NST*, 251; Auslin (2006: 28-29); *SOJT*, 632.

direct negotiation.[57] Sakuma's defense of increased public access to Western learning in memorials and writings from the late 1840s onward both predated and was contemporaneous with Kuze's and Ando's efforts in the 1860s, but I do not overestimate the importance of this fact, given that it is unclear whether or not Sakuma was aware of the diplomatic challenges surrounding the Ikeda mission's failed attempt to close the Yokohama port.[58] It is also unclear if Sakuma's push for embracing Western learning would have offered a substantially better alternative to bakufu solutions, given the contingent nature of his knowledge base—largely a product of his aforementioned house arrest and limited access to foreign documents due to strict bakufu controls on foreign texts circulation.[59] Nevertheless, Sakuma's might have had some measure of influence on the bakufu's embrace of Western learning insofar as at least one main figure involved in the bakufu *Institute for Western Studies*,[60] Tsuda Mamichi (1829-1903), was a student of Sakuma's for a time.[61] In this sense, although Sakuma's approach was more idealistic than the bakufu's and his knowledge base was more contingent, his fuller support of increased access to foreign learning may have offered a more salutary alternative to the delayed, and ultimately self-subverting, approach the bakufu ended up taking.[62]

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[57] Auslin (2006: 61-62).
[58] The Ikeda Mission was an 1863 trip by several Japanese officials with the aim of obtaining French agreement to close the harbour of Yokohama to foreign trade. While the first embassy traveled to Europe in large part to learn about Western civilization, both missions had a shared aim of reasserting Japanese sovereignty over domestic ports through delay of port openings to foreign trade.
[59] Auslin (2006: 108); *SOJT*, 631.
[60] The *Institute for Western Studies* (or *Bansho Shirabesho*), was an institution created by the Tokugawa government in 1856 to translate Western materials, provide a school for Japanese scholars, and to censor the translations of Western works. It gave language instruction in Dutch, English, French, German, and Russian as well as other practical subjects such as military science and production. See: James Mitchell Hommes. "The Bansho Shirabesho: A Transitional Institution in Bakumatsu Japan" (unpublished thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 2004), iii.
[61] *SOJT*, 696, 715; Hommes (2004: 14); Okubo, Takaharu. *The Quest for Civilization: Encounters with Dutch Jurisprudence, Political Economy, and Statistics at the Dawn of Modern Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 25.
[62] Auslin (2006: 142).

This dovetails with another distinction one could draw between Sakuma and the bakufu—their relative positions on including the imperial court at every stage of negotiations. As noted above, Hotta had excluded the court from negotiations in 1858 until he requested approval for the treaty[63] and, as a result, he was denied approval and stripped of his power. Ii Naosuke (1815-1860) took it a step further (in light of mounting anticipation of British presence in Japan following their defeat of China in the Arrow War) and signed the U.S. commercial treaty without imperial approval.[64] Of course, the logic behind Hotta's and Ii's respective decisions to prioritize the threat of international aggression over domestic pressures was understandable, but such approaches lent themselves to the criticisms levied at the bakufu by supporters of the imperial court who favored the expulsion of foreigners. Sakuma, taking what might be called a more "centrist" (and perhaps idealistic) approach from 1862-1864, criticized ignoring the court and was much more in line with Ii's successors—Ando and Kuze—who, from 1860-1862, attempted to push for the aforementioned *kobu-gattai* ideal.[65] Ultimately, such a move was too little too late as the 1860s had already seen pro-imperial forces growing bolder in their anti-bakufu sentiment and the court increasingly taking an inflexible posture toward maintaining open treaty ports in Japan.[66] It seems unlikely that Sakuma's defense of *kobu-gattai* would have fared very well in the 1860s (had it received attention at the highest levels) not only in light of Ando's and Kuze's ultimate failure, but also because Sakuma was murdered by a pro-imperial samurai in 1864 on his way from a failed attempt in Kyoto to negotiate with the court, precisely because he was seen as too sympathetic to foreigners.

For this reason, one could potentially fault Sakuma's approach to mastery of the foreigners as being too idealistic, naïve, or ignorant of the political realities surrounding the Perry visits, the

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[63] Auslin (2006: 45).
[64] Auslin (2006: 46).
[65] Auslin (2006: 65); For more on Sakuma and the court, bakufu, and kobu-gattai, see: Murayama (1965: 23, 30, 38).
[66] Auslin (2006: 105, 204).

Ansei treaties, and the foreign and domestic pressures on the bakufu. For instance, it is not clear to what extent Sakuma was aware on the concrete pressures facing the bakufu, especially by the British. Without a doubt, Sakuma knew of the results of the Opium War and British desire for trade in Japan in a general sense, but it is unclear how much he knew concretely, again given the contingent nature of his sources. Whereas Ando and Kuze made efforts, from 1861-1862, to find areas of accommodation between domestic priorities and foreign interests by explicitly explaining Japan's political system to Alcock,[67] it is unclear to what extent Sakuma had a detailed idea of what form these negotiations with the British would take.

Treaty Revision and Port Location as Resistance: The Case of Shimoda

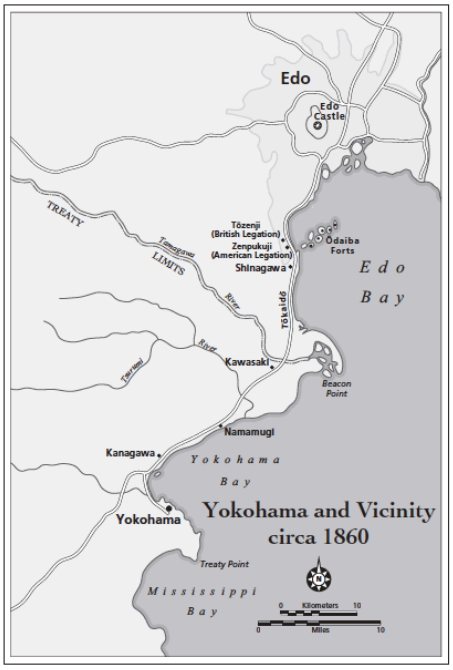

Figure 9: Yokohama Port Area in 1860[68]

Figure 10: Yokohama Area in 2018 (including Shimoda)[69]

[67] Auslin (2006: 75-77).
[68] Adapted from: Auslin (2004:59).
[69] "Google Maps", Google. Accessed September 17, 2018, https://www.google.com/maps/place/Shimoda,+Shizuoka+Prefecture,+Japan/@35.2326509,138.9992851,9z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x6019e2f50ca17c2b:0x4912e3140f0805e0!8m2!3d34.6795334!4d138.945316

At the same time, Sakuma also argued that the specific ports the bakufu had opened were ill-advised, as they did not help Japan resist foreign domination. Confined to house arrest in 1854 for the aforementioned Yoshida Shōin affair, Sakuma recounted his exchange with a bakufu official in March of that year, addressing this very point: "On the night of the twentieth day of the second month (March 18, 1854), I heard that the conference on Shimoda had almost reached a conclusion. The next morning, I arose early, went to Mochizuki, and argued as follows: 'Shimoda is a strategic point for this nation. Its situation (with regard to Japan) may be compared to that of the Cape of Good Hope to the entire world. If foreigners lease it and occupy it as their haven, the damage to this nation would be unspeakable.'"[70] On first glance, Sakuma's analogy between Shimoda and the Cape of Good Hope—with all of the latter's importance to European merchants as a maritime access point for direct trade relations with the East Asia—might suggest that he was opposed to opening any ports in Japan, due to how it might facilitate greater economic domination of Asia by Europe. However, Sakuma's subsequent detail on the geographical advantages of Shimoda actually undergird his argument about opening Japanese ports in a prescient and informed manner, rather than supporting an argument for remaining secluded, altogether: "[I]f we lose Shimoda, the positions of host and guest would be reversed, and that which might provide defensive strength for us would become offensive strength for them. This is not at all a desirable plan. The person who can dominate a situation always keeps his natural advantages to himself and lets disadvantages remain with his adversary."[71] Sakuma's commitment to maintaining land-based strategic advantages led him to conclude that opening Yokohama would better facilitate Japan's resistance to Western domination:

> If we now must inevitably lease land to the enemy [due to Western pressure], we should certainly plan for the future and select a place to which we can easily send troops by either

[70] *NST*, 255; Terry (1951: 79).
[71] *NST*, 255; Terry (1951: 80).

> sea or land. I personally have inspected the topography of Yokohama, and I deem it eminently suitable for our purposes. Moreover, if foreign ships be permitted constantly to be in that location, very near Edo, it would be impossible for the people to escape the feeling of "lying in the firewood and tasting the gall";[72] consequently, our guard and defense would automatically and inevitably be strict. Again, we could closely observe the enemy's [strengths] and thereby quickly increase our own knowledge and skill. For these reasons, I consider my plan very advantageous.[73]

For Sakuma, the issue with opening Shimoda was not that it was too close to Edo, but precisely the opposite—its distance would not encourage enough Japanese officials to treat the presence of foreigners with the seriousness that it demanded: "If, on the other hand, the foreigners retire to Shimoda, the people will doubtless become complacent, and defense and guard will surely be relaxed. Moreover, the foreign ships are swift and cannot easily be held back. There is, therefore, not a hairbreadth's difference between their being in Yokohama and their being in Shimoda, as far as their ability to inflict grief on the heart of Edo is concerned. I think, then, that there is no better plan than to let them have Yokohama—this is the great plan for our nation."[74] In a somewhat counter-intuitive manner, Sakuma argued for the opening of Yokohama over Shimoda precisely because it would better facilitate Japanese resistance to the West by forcing Japanese officials to learn more about Western countries and not remain complacent with their insufficient knowledge. Sakuma's reasoning seems two-fold: first, with respect to the level of political influence Western powers were likely to have on Japan, the difference between choosing to open Shimoda or Yokohama was negligible; second, with respect to encouraging Japanese learning and effective political and military reform, Yokohama was the obvious choice.

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[72] Terry notes that Sakuma draws this phrase from the *Spring and Autumn Annals of Wu and Yue* (吳越春秋), an unofficial history from the time of the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220AD) that consists of a collection notes on historical events. According to Terry, the phrase means "to inflict punishment on oneself in order to increase one's bitterness toward an enemy on whom revenge must be inflicted." (1951: 97) Sakuma seems to think that choosing Yokohama would force the Japanese officials to pay close attention to foreign presence there and how to make it work in favor of Japan.
[73] *NST*, 255; Terry (1951: 80).
[74] *NST*, 255; Terry (1951: 80-81).

Indeed, Sakuma had argued a similar point in 1854, prior to his arrest, while he was stationed on guard in Yokohama during the second American visit. Building on the observations and experiences recounted in his *Encampment Journal* (*Jinchū Nikki*), Sakuma wrote a letter to Fujita Tōko, the most trusted retainer of Tokugawa Nariaki (1800-1860), pushing for the replacement of Shimoda with Yokohama:

> Last night I had an interview with members of the Nagaoka clan and learned that the Shimoda plan had, as I had already suspected, originated with Egawa.[75] Although this is only a temporary policy, taken up because of this one man, it will result in irreparable loss to the country of our Emperor. Even a child three feet high would recognize the damage in bringing the enemy into a territory which we could neither attack nor defend against conveniently. Yet this man fondly advances his plan, hoping that he will, as the saying goes, "win glory through an act of cowardice". The territory is in his own jurisdiction, and I believe that, taking advantage of its being cut off from other places and hard to get to, he is scheming to conceal western science and craftsmanship from others and learn it himself alone.[76]

As Terry notes, Sakuma's assessment of his former teacher (Egawa) must be taken with a grain of salt, as Sakuma had a tendency to be hot-headed and hold grudges.[77] With specific regard to Egawa, Sakuma had fallen out of favor with him several years prior over a scholarly debate and it is possible that he felt slighted by Egawa's prominence in the *sakoku-kaikoku* debates. Grudges aside, Sakuma's arguments clearly reveal a man bent on spreading Western learning widely among the Japanese elite and one who viewed Shimoda as less defensible than Yokohama. Ultimately, Sakuma's efforts to appeal to Tokugawa Nariaki and Abe Masahiro (1819-1857) failed (as he noted in *Seiken Roku*),[78] but they nevertheless indicate his desire to raise awareness about Western learning among Japanese officials for the sake of resisting the foreign political and military threat.

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[75] Sakuma is referring to Egawa Tan'an (1801-1855), one of the figures from whom he first learned about Western gunnery. Later, they would have an irreconcilable conflict that would prefigure Sakuma's contempt toward Egawa.
[76] Terry (1951: 26).
[77] Terry (1951: 26-27).
[78] *NST*, 255; Terry (1951: 81).

Lack of awareness of Western learning and its connection to political reform is the other major theme one sees in Sakuma's criticism of the bakufu's handling of another case—the *Gotenyama* affair.[79] As I alluded to above, one reason Sakuma was critical of the bakufu's "deception" and failure to consult the court before considering *Gotenyama* was because it would break down his imagined version of the "long-standing", joint court-bakufu decision-making process. The other major reason for Sakuma's criticism of the bakufu was its lack of awareness of Western learning, despite having begun the process of engaging with Western learning some years earlier. Although Sakuma was certainly given to embellishment in his writings, it should be noted that his critique seemed leveled at the bakufu's supposedly "insufficient" level of engagement with Western learning rather than its wholesale rejection of Western learning.

Maritime Interception and Development as Resistance

Sakuma was, perhaps, at his most imperial in his thinking on military interception as a form of resistance. Interestingly enough, in his *Reflection on My Errors*, this came in the form of a critique of Wei Yuan. As noted above, before he had lambasted Wei's military writings as "the doings of a child at play", Sakuma had acknowledged the ways in which he and Wei were engaged in a similar project of reform at roughly the same time. That said, Sakuma simplified Wei's proposals in order to set up distinctions between his own military proposal and that of Wei's: "Wei says that China from ancient times until the present has had naval defense, but has had no naval warfare; therefore, as the method of defense against attacks from the sea, she should strengthen castles and clear fields, in order to be able to push back the landing invaders."[80] Sakuma's point in drawing attention to Wei's emphasis on

[79] As I noted in chapter 3, *Gotenyama* (or "Palace Mountain") was one of the most popular cherry blossom viewing spots in Edo and highlights how geographical space was crucially tied to efforts to resist Western domination.
[80] *NST* 251; Terry 73-74.

land (i.e. castles, fields) as the basis for maritime defense seems to be that such approaches were insufficient, strategically, and emblematic of limited ability to inquire into foreign conditions, due to lack of familiarity with foreign languages on Wei's part.

Sakuma's selective engagement with Wei's naval defense proposals aside—despite the irony of him critiquing Wei for ignoring foreign conditions—one can see that the distinction Sakuma aims to draw emphasizes the imperial nature of his military plan: "I, on the other hand, wish to promote to the full the teaching of techniques for using armored warships and to form a plan of attack whereby an enemy could be intercepted and destroyed, in order that the death sentence may be given to plunderers before they have reached the country's shores."[81] On Sakuma's rendering, Wei had not gone *far enough*; he contented himself with defending against foreign aggression by maintaining land-based forms of resistance. In Sakuma's mind, effective resistance meant bringing the battle to the foreigners on the sea. If Japan could develop its military technology sufficiently, it could maintain a naval presence in the waters surrounding Japan and intercept any foreign vessels the Japanese government deemed hostile to Japanese interests. In short, Japan needed to spread its military influence abroad in order to resist foreign domination.

Moreover, in the 1862 memorial on foreign expulsion mentioned earlier, Sakuma explicitly emphasizes the connection between knowledge of foreign conditions (political, economic, military, scientific) and one's ability to resist foreign domination. He writes: "Because we lack the national strength and ability, measures devised to maintain isolation do not live up to expectations. In addition, because learning and superior skills refine one another and lead to mutual growth, our country's constant isolation [has only served to make] both our political strength and ability, in the end, inferior to that of foreign countries."[82] Again, while this is cause for alarm for Sakuma, it

[81] *NST* 251; Terry 74.
[82] *NST*, 323; Reitan (1862, 1998: 276).

neither indicates an inherent or immutable superiority of these foreign countries nor an inherent inferiority of Japan. He argues for the opening of Japan in order to surpass foreign countries in political strength, gunnery, armies, talented leadership, defense, and military training and argues that, "if this is done, [even as] other nations harbor evil intent, it is natural that they will respect us, and be unable to rival us. In addition, these other polities will admire our virtue and therefore will be obedient and pay us tribute. This too is an argument for a return to fundamentals."[83] The potential contradictions of Sakuma's hyperbole concerning paying tribute aside,[84] it nevertheless is striking how flexibly Sakuma views world politics amidst what was then a crisis of national identity in Japan. Political and military reform were practicable and a qualified leadership could enact them not only to repel American (and other) encroachers, but also as a means of securing respect and admiration from these very same actors. For Sakuma, Japan's expansion of military and political power was intimately tied to its knowledge of foreign conditions.

Indeed, Sakuma had adopted a similar approach to military reform earlier in 1850 in a memorial to Abe Masahiro on Dutch publishing. Noting the differences between the "prepared" or "resolute" (*kakugo*) Western military systems and those of China and Japan in the wake of the Opium war, Sakuma asserted that, "from that season onward [I] have borne [this] in mind, researching the aims of writings and the like from Western military and firearm strategies. [I have] concluded that by thoroughly investigating (*kiwame*) those ingenious military techniques China and Japan will, at all times, possess no small amount [of them]. And, having gone this far, if the Sino-

[83] *NST*, 324; Reitan (1862, 1998: 276).
[84] I do not engage with Sakuma's use of the trope of paying tribute and what it might suggest about the constraints of his "Neo-Confucian" framework here, but it could be read variously. On the one hand, scholars like Harootunian have read this as the inescapability of Neo-Confucian categories for Sakuma. However, one might also read this as a strategic move on Sakuma's part, intended (however unsuccessfully) to gain an audience with the court and/or bakufu. Moreover, this move raises further questions about Sakuma's willingness to contradict his own arguments for not treating foreigners disrespectfully.

Japanese military specialists' definitive judgments, battle formations, and war techniques completely change toward this end, it will make it difficult for war to occur."[85] Sakuma's emphasis on thorough investigation is predictable given that the nature of the document was to push for increased emphasis on Western learning and publishing translations of foreign language documents. However, what is less predictable is his close connection between foreign learning and military reform. Across his writings, Sakuma emphasizes a similar approach—"thorough investigation" (*kiwame* or *kyūri*)—for a variety of ends and here we see that he employs it for the sake of stemming the possibility of war in the future. At no point does he seem to think Japan is destined to have an inferior army to Western countries. On the contrary, Sakuma indicates that Japan can overcome its present flaws and actually become militarily and economically more powerful than Western nations. In fact, this emphasis on awareness of foreign conditions would inform his concrete efforts at bolstering Japanese trade against the potential for Western domination—the topic of the next section of this chapter.

Treaty Revision and Controlling Trade as Resistance

Despite his frustration with the disjuncture between the court and the bakufu and the lack of attentiveness to maintaining control of the area around the Edo treaty port, Sakuma's efforts at pushing for reform of the Japanese political economy against the potential for Western domination included another potentially positive realm—the opening of Japanese ports to trade with foreign countries. Throughout his public and private writings, Sakuma displays an increasing awareness that trade is a major way in which Western countries like Holland, Britain, and the United States justify and extend their imperial efforts. In response, Sakuma increasingly comes to view trade as a means

[85] *NST*, 289.

by which Japan might resist such efforts at domination and reverse them in its favor.[86] One of Sakuma's clearest articulations of this came in an 1862 draft memorial to the bakufu. He writes, "Although I have not studied finance, I know how foreign countries use the principles of trade to establish the foundation of their countries. In addition to the [established] ways of managing the economy, we should use the methods of trade of the Western countries and select someone from among the *roju* [to] fix prices, and use *bakufu* ships to go back and forth, establishing trade with not only the Qing, but also the [rest] of the world. Using this approach, we will have the money for maritime defense and even for [the diplomatic reception of] foreign countries."[87] As with other areas, Sakuma's later thought on the question of trade reflects a combination of Japanese learning ("the established ways") and openness to foreign learning ("methods of trade of the Western countries"). Sakuma even shows that things that are beyond his particular experience are not outside the realm of possibility, in terms of reform. He pushes for trade with China and the rest of the world ultimately to enable military reform and international diplomacy.

This dual emphasis on military reform and international diplomacy is not simply a product of Sakuma's later thought, though. As early as 1842, Sakuma expressed a view that such moves were more effective than the Qing approach of strict bans. Recounting a quarrel between the British and the Chinese over the return of seven castaways in Guangzhou (Canton) and its relationship to trade in China, Sakuma argued that, "This period of not allowing trade in those early years in order to return those castaways, [I'd] like to confirm, is the reason why the ships came close to the shore and endlessly fired their cannons and, as a result, [why] the British reside [in China]."[88] Taking the Chinese failure to stem British trade as an example, Sakuma goes on to say that, in light of British

[86] For more on Sakuma's view on the inevitability of foreign trade, see: Wakabayashi (1992: 20).
[87] *SZ*, 191. The *rōjū* were the highest "cabinet" or council of elders to the bakufu and held significant political sway over domestic and international affairs.
[88] *SZ*, 26-27.

incursions in Nagasaki, Satsuma, and Edo, Japan should embrace trade with Britain, rather than ban trade until all diplomatic hostilities are addressed.[89] Sakuma elaborates on this claim:

> If what was said before is the case, then [the British] will definitely open hostilities, weakening our country just as the northern foreigners[90] ruined the Song house. Therefore, the desire for enormous trade will suck up our fertile soil, weaken our national power, and in the end, make it as it if we were a vassal state. This is what I think and so, bearing in mind the course of things mentioned above, from the beginning my desire is that you do this thoughtfully and calmly like the land of the august Jimmu, which has until now rejected [foreign contact]…If we fear the British battle cry this time and simply reject trade then…there will be no greater shame for the bakufu…Moreover, even if the facts of the case in the preceding section are incorrect, and this did not exist, that very first request to trade in some way or another would have definitely been difficult for our country to resist. For instance, even if Holland [had acted] in a similar manner, [and] these circumstances failed…year after year those who were well-informed as to the copper that is sent to Holland [from Japan] would harbor doubts. More than this, if trade was opened with Britain, the realm's useful goods would be taken, foreign countries would exchange their useless goods [for them] and as soon as [this happens], I believe it would become difficult for the realm to have a long-range plan. Furthermore, once [we] allow trade with the British, it will be difficult for Russia to remain silent. Since there is a Bunka era account of the Russian delegate Rezanov's coming [to Japan], just as we might turn over our hands, if the palm and back of our government's intent appears to them as a difficult problem, how might we answer such a claim? I will say what I've said before, again: we should open trade with Russia! Since this depends on what was said before, I believe it would also be difficult to excuse trade with Britain.[91]

Post-Opium war China, for Sakuma, not only offered a warning that strict bans will ultimately lead to British domination (just as the Northern Song dynasty was conquered by the Jurchens), but also that such bans would ultimately wrest the ability to determine the rules of trade away from Japan to its ecological, political, and financial detriment. In a word, the Chinese had failed to understand how to leverage international commerce for a broader aim—namely, economic (and eventually, political) resistance. His exhortation to engage in trade in a thoughtful and calm manner "like the land of the

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[89] *SZ*, 26-27.

[90] The "northern foreigners" to whom Sakuma refers are the people of the Jurchen Jin dynasty who sacked the Han Chinese Northern Song first in 1125AD, thus ushering in the Southern Song period (1127-1279AD). The Jurchen conquer of the Northern Song was widely seen by Han Chinese as a geo-political upheaval and it is likely this result that Sakuma imagines might happen for Japan. Sakuma also seems here to emphasize recovery over expansion, which is distinct from Wei's approach.

[91] *SZ*, 30-31.

august Jimmu" at once ties the long-venerated first emperor of Japan to efforts to reform Japanese international commerce so that it might include trade with Britain and Russia. In all of this, Sakuma's aim is to generate economic power for Japan and resist domination.

Indeed, Sakuma's emphasis on economic reform and power is such that his argument suggests, at points, that he is even open to introducing opium to the Japanese populace through trade, a point most Japanese officials found odious. In his 1859 draft memorial to the bakufu concerning the Harris treaty, Sakuma writes that, "if treaties with the U.S. are fixed, it will also be difficult to speak of the ability of erasing the British [influence] and even if the treaties are curtailed [and] we [treat] these prohibitions [as] crimes, the harm to the people [from opium] will be the same."[92] As with his earlier statements, Sakuma draws on the Chinese example to forward the view that bans on opium did not ultimately achieve their intended effect. In some ways, this argument might read as fatalistic and one might reasonably inquire as to whether or not Sakuma is resigned to accepting the British and American influence in Japan without putting up a fight. Indeed, although he writes earlier in the same document that, "We should bear in mind, most of all, the great damage caused to the Chinese people [affected] by opium"[93], the tone of his conclusion seems quite resigned: "If trade routes are opened between Britain and our country, like China, opium will gradually cross [our borders] in keeping with their desire to sell [it] widely. Already, China, despite being a great country, has been arranged [in such a way] as to make interference difficult. If strict prohibitions are destroyed, and selfishly wicked selling takes place, it will be difficult for small countries to rein in the treaty prohibitions."[94] In short, it is not clear Sakuma believes that Japan (as a relatively smaller country) can prevent the negative effects of the opium trade from reaching Japan.

[92] *NST*, 297.
[93] *NST*, 297.
[94] *NST*, 297.

However, around that same time in his draft American negotiation plan to the bakufu, Sakuma argued that, the harm of opium could, in fact, be stemmed:

> The reason that the Chinese have been greatly harmed by the reception of opium is because China's government has always reasoned that it ought to institute strict bans. In this way, it has [only] profited the British nation by [creating] an intercourse bound by amity [and thus, favorable to Britain]. Because China [has instituted] strict bans [subject to] criminal [punishment], has not examined the lingering harm to their people, has prepared large cannons and the like on [their] ships [for war with Britain], and has restricted assistance to [the British] to the extent that it is difficult for [them] to be easily helped, [China] has arbitrarily [enacted] wickedness.[95]

Here, Sakuma employs the familiar trope of ineffective bans on opium in China, but he ties it to an inability on the part of the Chinese to actually *examine* the nature of the harm to their own people. Sakuma implies, by consequence, that had Chinese officials inquired into British motivations and the nature of the harm to the Chinese, they would have seen that there are more effective ways to approach the opium trade than through bans. Sakuma's thinking seems to be that had Chinese officials made been more cooperative with Britain in negotiating trade, they may have been able to secure commercial terms favorable to China. Here, he offers few concrete solutions in this respect, but he does note that because of its moral failings, Britain could never rightfully rule Japan—an argument that reads less as entertaining the possibility of British rule (pending morally upright behavior) and more as a convenient mode of dismissing the legitimacy of British rule in Asia.[96] Thus, Sakuma does envision Japan as possessing the ability to manipulate trade to counteract British interests in favor of Japanese ones. He does not spell out the specifics in detail, but relies on the more general category of "inquiry" as a method of overcoming difficulty, a move he employed in other areas as well when it came to the question of political reform and Western learning.

Both with respect to treaty ports and other areas of Japanese political life, Sakuma employed strategic approaches that drew on an awareness of foreign learning and an emphasis of political and

[95] *SZ*, 141-142.
[96] *SZ*, 141-142.

economic power to enact reform. On the treaty port front, Sakuma consistently argued that the possibility of Japan's domination by foreign powers necessitated a careful re-negotiation of the Ansei treaties, a judicious selection of which ports and territories to open, and a whole-hearted embrace of foreign commercial relations. Thus, this emphasis on treaty re-negotiation should be viewed as part of his broader emphasis on understanding foreign conditions as well as developing effective forms of Japanese political and economic resistance. Moreover, effective treaty re-negotiation required careful consideration of what factors had led to China's domination following the Opium War and resolving to employ, sometimes counter-intuitively, approaches to ensure that Japan did not face the same fate.

The area where Sakuma perhaps differed from most bakufu officials on the treaty port question was in conducting foreign trade.[97] Although Sakuma understood, just as the bakufu had, that the demands for free trade issued by the U.S. Consul General Townsend Harris in 1858 (and the potential for other foreigners to do the same later on) could pose a serious threat to domestic sovereignty in Japan if unchecked,[98] Sakuma's approach was much more welcoming of trade than that of many bakufu officials, perhaps due to his own ignorance, idealism, or lack of knowledge. For instance, in response to the 1861 landing of a Russian ship (the *Posadnik*) in Tsushima (colloquially termed the "Tsushima incident"), Ando Nobumasa moved to convince British diplomat Rutherford Alcock (1809-1897) and the commander of the British China squadron, Vice Admiral James Hope (1808-1881), to support Japan's effort to resist the demands of Nikolai Birilev (the captain of the *Posadnik*) for open trade between Russia and Japan. By appealing to common British-Japanese interests, Ando and the bakufu effectively countered the Russian demands, but highlighted the bakufu's weakness in the process.[99]As I noted earlier, Sakuma, however, had argued for opening

[97] Iwase Tadanari (1818-1861) is a notable exception. See: Auslin (2006: 37-39).
[98] Auslin (2006: 30-31).
[99] Auslin (2006: 80-82).

trade with Russia as early as 1842, arguing that whatever seemed like a disadvantage to the Japanese in Russian eyes, could be flipped to benefit the Japanese, just as one flips over one's hand.[100] Sakuma, like many bakufu officials, understood that free trade was the core of the British economic strategy,[101] but it is less clear whether Sakuma had considered tariffs as seriously as the bakufu had. He certainly seemed to think the bakufu could maintain control of trade, but did not outline the specifics of this process. In any case, the bakufu ultimately jeopardized its own sovereignty through its failed attempts to leverage the larger tariff controversy of 1862-1866 for political ends,[102] leaving one to wonder, perhaps fruitlessly, if the bakufu had initially opened ports to British, Russian, and even Chinese trade as Sakuma had advocated for[103] and as the Nagasaki magistrates Okubo Tadahiro (1833-1870) and Kawazu Sukekuni (1821-1873) would later do in 1871,[104] if the situation would have turned out better for the bakufu.

Moreover, Sakuma's logic around opening the treaty ports seems to fly in the face of bakufu efforts, despite the fact that his arguments were in line with the position at least some officials who adopted a more conciliatory approach. For instance, as I alluded to above, Sakuma's 1854 argument for the opening of Yokohama (and not Shimoda) anticipated a similar logic to that of top bakufu negotiator Iwase Tadanari (1818-1861) who argued from December 1857 onward that trade should opened to the West, but still under bakufu control.[105] Iwase's adoption of this logic is perhaps understandable, given his role as one of the first appointees (in 1855) to the aforementioned *Institute for Western Studies*. Of course, the bakufu was divided on this issue and more conservative figures like Mizuno Tadanori argued for keeping treaty ports in remote locations like Nagasaki and Hakodate, as

[100] *SZ*, 30-31.
[101] *SZ*, 30-31; Auslin (2006: 121).
[102] Auslin (2006: 121, 124-5, 129).
[103] *SZ*, 191.
[104] Cassel (2012: 94-98).
[105] Auslin (2006: 37-39).

opposed to political and economic centers like Osaka and Edo.[106] Hotta Masayoshi, the head of the shogunal councilors and the same one whom Sakuma faulted in 1854 as being inattentive to the desires of the imperial court, ultimately chose Iwase's plan but this proved ineffective as the court rejected Hotta's decision to negotiate in May 1858 and stripped him of his position.[107] Further iterations of opening trade in Yokohama while maintaining Japanese control and giving Japan time to build were articulated by Ii Naosuke from 1858-1860,[108] but intra-bakufu tensions would flare up again in 1863 over balancing a court order calling for the closure of Yokohama with foreign pressures to keep it open. Those who sided with Hitotsubashi Keiki (1837-1913) would emphasize the importance of addressing the threat of the court to bakufu authority while those who sided with Ogasawara Nagamichi (1822-1891), the leader of the senior councilors, would emphasize addressing the threat of foreign pressure. The tension would spill over into the Shimonoseki incident, whose result was not only the loss of the Shimonoseki straights (which was a Choshu based, anti-foreign, pro-imperial territory) to foreigners, but also a deepening of the court-bakufu divide in ways that ultimately undermined the bakufu authority.[109] Furthermore, Sakuma's logic behind not opening Shimoda (due to his belief that it was too distant to be taken seriously by the bakufu) seems contrary not only to the bakufu's actual decision to open Shimoda to the U.S. and Russia,[110] but also the overall framework shared by many bakufu elite—conservative, progressive, or otherwise—of keeping foreigners far from centers of power in Japan. This is important because it suggests a view of domination on Sakuma's part at odds with those of the reigning officials. Whereas most officials understood efforts against Western domination and exploitation as stemming from the government's ability to keep foreigners at bay, Sakuma's vision of resistance relied on inviting the

[106] Auslin (2006: 39-40).
[107] Auslin (2006: 40, 45).
[108] Auslin (2006: 58-60).
[109] Auslin (2006: 99-102, 105, 117).
[110] Cassel (2012: 88-89).

enemy closer. Put more colloquially, Sakuma argued that keeping one's friends close, but one's enemy closer benefited Japan both economically and politically, as it could control (or "master") the flow of goods and foreigners in the area.

Nevertheless, it is not clear that Sakuma was aware of the London Protocol (1862) and if he would have championed such an attempt to forestall further physical incursions—via the delayed opening of Edo, Osaka, and Hyogo until 1868—for the sake of greater trade benefits on the part of the British.[111] Of course, since Sakuma, by this time, was in full support of increased trade with Britain (not to mention Russia and China) as well as the strategic opening and monitoring of ports by Japanese officials, this may well be a moot point. Furthermore, despite the fact that Sakuma was assassinated almost a month before Western powers would ultimately cede control of the Shimonoseki straits from the Choshu domain in 1864,[112] it is not clear if the result would have changed his stance all that much. Sakuma argued early on for the importance of involving the court in negotiations and perhaps he would have decried the Shimonoseki affair as an unnecessary consequence of the bakufu's failure to involve the court and its allies in negotiations sooner. Nevertheless, Sakuma's approach, idealistic as it may appear, in some ways bears resemblances to the later efforts of Mutsu Munemitsu (1844-1897), insofar as Mutsu effectively negotiated the end of the Ansei Treaties in 1894 in a manner that preserved Japanese sovereignty while also satisfying the desire for trade on the part of Western countries.[113] This is not to say Sakuma uniquely foreshadows Mutsu's efforts (for there were many others in Sakuma's time who made similar arguments on better

[111] Cassel (2012: 86-88). Under London Protocol, Britain ceded some of its rights under the Harris treaty for a period of five years beginning in 1863. In exchange, the Japanese government reiterated its responsibilities under the Harris treaty to fully open the ports of Nagasaki, Hakodate, and Kanagawa.
[112] Cassel (2012: 117).
[113] Cassel (2012: 159); Perez, Louis G. "Revision of the Unequal Treaties and Abolition of Extraterritoriality" in Hardacre, Helen and Adam L. Kern. *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*. Leiden: Brill, 1997, 331-334.

evidence), nor is it to say that Sakuma's and Mutsu's historical contexts were entirely identical. It is merely to suggest that Sakuma's somewhat idealistic approach was similar to what the bakufu initially entertained (only to later abandon) and to what the Meiji government revisited in negotiating for the end of economic and political domination of Japan by Western powers via the end of extraterritoriality.

IV. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to argue that Sakuma, like Wei, employed imperial infrastructures to resist Western military, political, and economic domination of Asia. I began by defining Sakuma's understanding of "mastery" through his critiques of contemporary governance in late Edo Japan and then looked at a range of Sakuma's memorials to the bakufu as well as personal correspondence as a way of tracing his main critiques of "incompetent officials". For the bulk of the chapter, I detailed the military, political, and economic elements of Sakuma's efforts to "master the foreigners" while comparing them with Wei's efforts. All of this was intended to highlight how integrated Sakuma's approach was to resisting European and American domination in Asia: by rooting internal economic, political, and military failings in a lack of awareness of "foreign conditions" on Japan's part, Sakuma argued that the only way Japan could master the foreigners was by understanding and utilizing imperial techniques of resistance on all three fronts.

By drawing attention to these aspects of Sakuma's political thought, I have attempted to interrogate the bounds of empire by recovering a neglected discourse of resistance to foreign domination in nineteenth century East Asia. During this period, European empires encountered several difficulties in expanding into East Asia, due in no small part to how actors like the Qing statecraft reformers and Tokugawa daimyo and political elite resisted Western colonial ambitions in these contested spaces. However, recent scholarly accounts have placed too much emphasis on how political elite in China and Japan either modernized technology or pushed for treaty renegotiation to

the neglect of the broader discourses about domination that informed these efforts. In this chapter, I have argued that by recovering the discourses around domination and resistance, we nuance our theoretical and historical understanding of global realms of empire (European, American, and Asian), while also resisting teleological narratives of "Asian modernization". In that sense, Sakuma's thought expands our understanding of the possibilities of empire in the mid-nineteenth century global moment precisely because it illustrates how strategies of empire were leveraged to resist European and American domination of Asia, well before the onset of the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

IV. CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 6 : IMPERIAL FUTURES

"If we change [ourselves], we will change; if we don't change, we will still change [anyway]. If we change [deliberately], then the powers of change will be in our hands.

- Liang Qichao, *A General Discussion of Changing Referents* (*Bianfa Tongyi*, 1896-1897)[1]

"Gong [Zizhen (1792–1841)] and Wei [Yuan]'s time witnessed the decadence and corruption of Qing politics. When the whole nation was still indulged in [imagined] peace, people like [Gong and Wei] were deeply anxious about the crisis, and pointing to heaven and drawing on the earth together, they designed and planned important state affairs."

- Liang Qichao, *An Introduction to Intellectual Trends in the Qing Dynasty* (*Qingdai xueshu gailun*, 1920)[2]

I. Introduction

Less than a year after penning the lines above on deliberate change, but on the heels of a failed Wuxu Reform (*Wuxu Bianfa*; or "Hundred Days' Reform") movement during the summer of 1898, Liang Qichao (1873-1929)—a young visionary and advocate of widespread institutional reform in China in the wake of China's loss in the Sino-Japanese War—fled China to Japan to avoid threats on his life by Empress Dowager Cixi. Indeed, the threat was imminent enough that Liang remained in Japan for the next fourteen years, notwithstanding trips abroad to Canada, Australia,

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[1] Liang, Qichao. "Bianfa Tongyi" in Liang, Qichao. *Yinbingshi heji-wenji* [*Collected Works from the Ice-Drinker's Studio*] vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994), 8. The *Collected Works from the Ice-Drinker's Studio* (飲冰室合集) is a collection of Liang Qichao's representative works in literature compiled into 148 volumes. Liang gained his idea of calling his work the *Collected Works of Yinbingshi* from a passage of the *Zhuangzi*: "Every morning, I receive the mandate [for action], every evening I drink the ice [of disillusion], but I remain ardent in my inner mind" (吾朝受命而夕飲冰，我其內熱與). As a result, Liang called his workplace as "The Ice-drinker's studio" (*Yinbingshi*) and addressed himself as *Yinbingshi Zhuren* (飲冰室主人)—the "*Host of the Ice-drinker's studio*"—in order to situate himself as one who was concerned about political matters, but who still attempted to reform society through writing. The English translation is compliments of Jenco, Leigh. *Changing Referents: Learning Across Space and Time in China and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 110.

[2] Liang, Qichao. *Qingdai xueshu gailun* [*An Introduction to Intellectual Trends in the Qing Dynasty*] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998). This English translation is a modification of the following: Man, Li. "'To change' or 'to be changed': the dialectics of a decaying empire and the political philosophy of Wei Yuan (1794–1857)." *Global Intellectual History*. 1.3 (2016), 261-274.

and the U.S. The reason for his persecution was that Liang (with others) represented the vanguard of a new, more radical reformism that viewed the more moderate "Self-Strengthening" reforms of the previous four decades as a woefully inadequate vision for China's global future. Liang, like his fellow reformer Yan Fu, argued that while Self-Strengthening works like Wei's *Illustrated Treatise* had played an important role in Chinese history, they represented little more than "patchwork" efforts to address structural issues with Chinese knowledge production and governance.[3] Unless institutions were fundamentally reformed in such a way as to allow more than just the adoption of military technology or economic proposals, China's future looked bleak indeed.

And yet, even considering Liang's critique and the various limitations of the statecraft reformers I have explored in this project, perhaps there is more to be said for figures like Wei. Liang (like Sakuma) had critiqued Wei's proposals as "childish", but Liang's call for reforming institutions through the building of schools, the training of doctors, and even the development of cartography all seem quite similar to many of the approaches Wei took toward pushing for political, economic, and military reform nearly two generations earlier.[4] Moreover, while Liang *rightly* critiqued Wei's (and other mid-nineteenth century reformers') reliance on the *ti-yong* dichotomy (i.e. "China as essence, the West as function") as insufficiently attentive to the *intellectual* foundations of Western techniques,[5] Liang's own approach to change raised concerns as well, indebted as it was to looking to the West and Japan as primary referents for enacting institutional reform. In contrast, Wei's espoused vision of change as constant, necessarily active, open-ended, and comprehensive, sanctioned reform from a variety of origins beyond and within China (even if not actually achieved in his lifetime) while not *presuming* that the intellectual or material resources necessary for China's

[3] Jenco (2015: 107-108); Man (2016: 262).
[4] For Liang's proposals, see: Jenco (2015: 150).
[5] Jenco (2015: 108-109, 123-124).

reform were to be found only in more "advanced" contexts.[6] Indeed, as Meng Yue has noted, Liang Qichao and Tan Sitong (1865-1898) overlooked how prior, more culturally ambiguous understandings of science (*gezhi*)—the very term used by Wei and other mid-nineteenth-century reformers—had been consciously reinvented as "old learning" (*jiuxue*) and replaced with "new learning" (*xinxue*)—namely, Western learning (*xixue*).[7] The overall effect of Liang's and Tan's shift was to conflate "modernization" with "Westernization" thereby re-entrenching the very China-West binaries they sought to overcome.[8] In short, if Liang and other reformers modeled for us a way of moving beyond our own parochialism by adopting "new" foreign disciplinary referents in the present—as Leigh Jenco argues[9]—they ostensibly did so by "throwing the baby out with the bathwater" and depriving what was deemed "old" (i.e. Chinese learning) of any ability to contribute to that reform process.

Part of my aim in this project has been to recover that "old" manner of innovating empire to show how it might inform our current thinking on the legacies of imperialism, both in Asia and globally. Throughout this project, I have attempted to offer a comparative analysis of the political thought of Wei Yuan and Sakuma Shōzan as a means of exploring how imperial domination and resistance were understood in mid-nineteenth century East Asia and what implications these understandings hold for how we view imperial legacies in the present. In what follows, I build on the analyses offered in previous chapters and show how the legacy of post-Opium War imperialism can inform current debates around nationalism and federalism in the history of political thought, economic history, and East Asian history. Further, I contend that recent international claims that China's Belt and Road Initiative is "imperial" in nature are crucially informed by Xi Jinping's efforts

[6] Man (2016: 271); Jenco (2015: 112).
[7] Meng, Yue. "Hybrid Science versus Modernity: The Practice of the Jiangnan Arsenal, 1864-1897." *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine*. 16 (1999), 32, 41-42.
[8] Meng (1999: 45).
[9] Jenco (2015: 227, 231).

at raising China's international and economic stature, which is itself partially informed by these nineteenth century legacies of imperialism. In exploring the connection between Wei's and Sakuma's moment and our contemporary one, this project offers an alternative narrative of resistance to Western empire to the prominent post-colonial nationalism-federalism debates in political theory.

II. Modernization's "Inevitability" – The Rise of Republican and Nationalist Discourses in China and Japan

As I alluded to in the introduction, the mid-nineteenth century was, for many reformers in China and Japan, a period in which resistance to Western domination entailed grappling with perceived deficiencies in domestic forms of politics, economics, and learning. In China, this process largely began with the "Self-Strengthening" movement (*ziqiang yundong*) of the 1860s which, according to prominent Chinese historians John Fairbank and Kwang-ching Liu, was a gradual process of developing a view of economic and political nationalism among the Chinese elite. They note that, "In [Qing] officialdom, the awareness of national sovereignty and the adoption of the theory of balance of power in international affairs were unmistakable indications of political nationalism. In the treaty ports, the idea of engaging in commercial rivalry with the West was the cornerstone of mercantile nationalism."[10] More specifically, Fairbank and Liu argue that, economically, views like Wei's—ones which centered on "using trade to control barbarians"—had lost their value and were increasingly replaced with new conceptions of *liquan* ("economic control").[11] Yet, while later reformers did develop increasingly complex economic proposals after Wei, the seeds of this "modern" economic nationalism—a critique of foreign silver dollar circulation in China and a desire to limit Western profits in trade through expansion of Chinese trade—were

[10] Fairbank, John K. and Kwang-Ching Liu. *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 2: Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 188.
[11] Fairbank and Liu (1980: 190-194).

evident in Wei's earlier writings, thereby undermining a neat, linear narrative of modernization among statecraft thinkers.[12] The same argument for Wei's prescient vision might also be said with respect to the seeds of political nationalism in Fairbank and Liu's account—namely, the increasing emphasis on critiquing extraterritoriality, imposing regulations on tariffs, undermining most-favored-nation privileges, and ascertaining international law by promoting translations of Western books.[13] Wei made similar arguments to these ends a generation before the Self-Strengtheners and radical reformers of the 1890s.

This is not to say that Wei anticipated all subsequent developments of the Self-Strengtheners, but it is only to say—as Peter Mitchell has shown in briefly comparing Wei with a younger contemporary, Feng Guifen (1809-1874)—that it is not accurate to claim that Wei was superseded in *every* respect by later thinkers. Feng, for example, developed a more concrete military plan than Wei had and even materialized Wei's abstract thinking on translation in calling for a school of Western languages and sciences to be established in Shanghai in 1863.[14] However, Feng's explicit critique that "only one sentence of Wei Yuan is correct: 'Learn the strong techniques of the foreigners in order to control them.'", in Peter Mitchell's words, was "superfluous", precisely because it missed how Wei accounted for changes throughout time and how Wei anticipated many of Feng's other critiques.[15] Moreover, because Feng's own proposals closely paralleled Wei's in certain respects, it is difficult not read him as echoing many of Wei's proposals on studying foreign

[12] Fairbank and Liu do note that Wei's writings were never presented to the emperor until 1858—two years after his death—which may explain why his ideas did not circulate much during the initial phases of the Self-Strengthening movement (1980: 186).
[13] Fairbank and Liu (1980: 194-197).
[14] de Bary, William Theodore and Richard Lufrano, ed. *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From 1600 Through the Twentieth Century, second edition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 235.
[15] Mitchell, Peter MacVicar. "Wèi Yüan and the Early Modernization Movement in China and Japan" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1970), 268. For more on Wei's understanding of change, see: Man (2016).

languages, using foreign materials, and developing military technology and shipyards, among other things.[16]

A similar process of "modernization" was developing around the same time in Japan, with the internal daimyo feuds and international pressure of Western imperialism reaching a fevered pitch only four years after Sakuma's death. These pressures eventually led to the fall of the Tokugawa bakufu and the beginning of the imperial Meiji government in 1868. As many historians have noted, this was a watershed moment in Japanese, East Asian, and global history and has been the subject on ongoing revisionist historiography.[17] Marius Jansen, a prominent historian of Japan, notes that readings of the Meiji restoration have varied widely from early nationalist accounts that sought to exalt selfless imperial patriots (*shishi*) to defenses of the Meiji oligarchs designed to forward "modern" liberal reforms to Marxist critiques of the Meiji restoration as a bourgeois movement.[18] Nevertheless, an enduring framing has been one of political, economic, and cultural "modernization" in which Japan, confronted by an apparently superior "civilization" represented by the states of Europe, set for itself the various tasks of achieving "modernity" by making themselves into a 'nation', creating a central government, training bureaucrats to run the state, instituting an army and a navy based on universal conscription, organizing a legal system, fostering capitalism, abolishing feudal privilege, consolidating a system of education, and reforming their customs.[19]

Indeed, it was precisely in the early, tumultuous years of Meiji that many figures pushed for legal, political, economic, and social reform as an effort at "civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*). Prominent figures included oligarchs like Ōkubo Toshimichi (1830-1878), Kido Kōin (1833-1877), and Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909), but a particularly strident and influential pioneer in the realm

[16] Mitchell (1970: 269-270).
[17] For a classic account of this general period, see: Jansen, Marius B. *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 5: The Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[18] Jansen (1989: 360-362).
[19] Jansen (1989: 432-433).

of education and Western learning was Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) and he spared no critique of what he took to be an "uncivilized" Japan. In the second chapter of his widely influential 1875 work *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization* (*Bunmeiron no Gairyaku*), entitled "Western Civilization as Our Goal", Fukuzawa noted, "When we are talking about civilization in the world today, the nations of Europe and the Unites States of America are the most highly civilized, while the Asian countries, such as Turkey, China, and Japan, may be called semi-developed countries, and Africa and Australia are to be counted as still primitive lands."[20] Particularly relevant for Japan and other Asian countries was Fukuzawa's deep criticism of Confucian modes of learning as "stagnant" and as "lacking freedom" when compared to those of the West. And while Fukuzawa's views were by no means representative of all Japanese elite, his new nationalist narratives—which sought to deploy new interpretations of conceptual categories like "culture" and "civilization" through European mid-nineteenth-century classical liberalism in order to sideline Confucian learning as parochially "Chinese" or "Asian", and thus backward[21]—were influential in Japan's process of "modernization", particularly as it continued to rise as a formal empire in the late nineteenth-century.

Just a generation later (and in many cases, under the influence of Fukuzawa and like-minded educators), radical reformers in China would voice similar internally-directed critiques of "traditionally" Asian forms of learning, politics, and economics. Particularly in the aftermath of the first Sino-Japanese war—in which the "modernized" Japanese army and navy defeated Qing military forces and took control of Korea—these reformers issued a flurry of critiques of the Qing empire and called for radical change in China. Yet, as Leigh Jenco notes, even as reformers like Kang Youwei (1858-1927), Tan Sitong, and Liang Qichao sought to transform what they saw as stagnant

[20] Fukuzawa Yukichi, *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, trans. David A. Dilworth and G. Cameron Hurst (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1973), 13.
[21] Paramore, Kiri. "Liberalism, Cultural Particularism, and the Rule of Law in Modern East Asia: The Anti-Confucian Essentialisms of Chen Duxiu and Fukuzawa Yukichi Compared." *Modern Intellectual History*. 15.3: (2018), 13.

Qing modes of learning and engaging with the world, in practice, they often pushed for reform by finding precedents or sanctions within classical Chinese literature, just as Wei Yuan had before them (albeit to different ends).[22] Jenco further claims that although this approach to Western learning was something these reformers shared with earlier figures like Wei Yuan (and the Self-Strengtheners), the later reformers, in light of the 1895 defeat by Japan and their developed logics about Western knowledge depending for its intelligibility and continued production on wider institutions and relationships alien to existing Chinese practices, challenged the widely held view that Chinese value commitments were inherently worthy of being upheld.[23] Still, even if Wei's view was limited by his historical circumstances and his assumption that Western learning could still be subsumed under Chinese categories, Wei's works (especially the *Illustrated Treatise*, in particular) played a critical role in offering many Chinese elites a way to replicate foreign ways of knowing by pointing to the external practices and standards—a point that Jenco avers was foundational to the 1898 and early republican reformers' vision of change.[24]

At the same time, precisely due to its recent military victories and many reformers' emphasis on "civilization" and "enlightenment", Japan saw a surge in imperial nationalism at the end of the nineteenth-century and into the twentieth. To be sure, nationalism—loosely defined—was not an entirely novel phenomenon in Japan, with various iterations finding expression from the early Yamato period to medieval times and even during the late Edo era.[25] Nevertheless, the rise of nationalism in Japan from 1880 to 1945 in Japan took a distinctly new character and was marked by an emphasis on Pan-Asianism—a shared identity among Asian nations and cultures—that was put in

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[22] Jenco (2015: 64, 105-7); Schell, Orville and John Delury. *Wealth and Power: China's Long March to the Twenty-first Century* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2013), 94.
[23] Jenco (2015: 75, 105-7).
[24] Jenco (2015: 141-142).
[25] de Bary, William Theodore and Richard Lufrano, ed. *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume Two: From 1600 to 2000, second edition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 789. Hereafter, it will be cited as: *SOJT*, page number.

the service of Japanese imperialism in East Asia and beyond.[26] Emblematic of this type of thinking was Tokutomi Sohō, a prominent historian, journalist, and publicist. Following the Triple Intervention in 1895 (in which France, Germany, and Russia forced Japan to return the territory it had seized from China following the Sino-Japanese war), Tokutomi wrote, "The countries of the Far East falling prey to the great powers of Europe is something that our nation will not stand for. East Asia becoming a mire of disorder is something that our nation will not tolerate. We have a duty to radiate the light of civilization beyond our shores and bring the benefits of civilization to our neighbors. We have the duty to guide backward countries to the point of being able to govern themselves. We have the duty to maintain peace in East Asia for this purpose."[27] Tokutomi, like many others, saw the spread of Japanese influence abroad as a means both of stemming Western aggression and of promoting the self-government of Asian nations. Indeed, many figures, drawing on knowledge of Western imperialism, assumed that Japanese imperial influence abroad went hand in hand with one's status as a modern nation-state.[28] While the twentieth-century reality of Japanese overseas influence would be quite different from any espoused ideals of self-government on the part of other Asian nations, imperial ideologies held sway with many in Japan who saw the Meiji Restoration as a sign of Japan's ability to adapt and resist Western aggression—a preoccupation of even earlier reformers in the Edo period like Sakuma Shōzan.

If Japan's pre-1945 reform efforts could be seen as "successful" insofar as they shored up the legitimacy of its emerging nation-statehood and the efficacy of its imperial ambitions, the radical reforms in China had quite the opposite effect on the empire, leading to the downfall of the Qing

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[26] For a fuller account of this period, see: Iriye, Akira. "Japan's Drive to Great-Power Status" in *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 5: The Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 721-782.
[27] Tokutomi, Sohō "Jishuteki gaikō no igi" {"Objection to Independent Diplomacy"} *Kokumin no tomo* {*Friend of the People*} [February 8, 1896] (Cited in *SOJT*, 805).
[28] Iriye (1989: 782).

dynasty in 1911 and the dawn of the republican period (1912-1949). Nevertheless, at this turbulent moment, questions of nationalism were equally as salient among Chinese reformers as their Japanese counterparts, particularly among those who had spent time abroad in Japan.[29] Prominent republican figures like Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), Chen Duxiu (1879-1942), Lu Xun (1881-1936), Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975), and Liang Qichao all developed revolutionary nationalist visions for China while in Japan, even as their visions led to vastly differing ends, perhaps best captured their involvement in opposing—but significant—events like the May Fourth Movement and the subsequent New Life Movement. Predictably, a plurality of nationalist visions—liberal, ethnic, statist, populist, and more—arose in the ensuing years in the midst of civil war between the KMT and the CPC and even after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949.[30] And much like global developments elsewhere in the world, many of these nationalist visions would continue (even into the present)[31] to reinforce the notion that empires were a relic of the pre-modern past while a world of equal nation-states was the way of the future.

III. Imperial Futures – Nationalism, Federalism, and Beyond

Yet, even if the model of nation-states has formally replaced empires as the modus operandi for large political communities across the globe, this is not to say that nation-states *in and of themselves* are entirely—or even primarily—benign in nature. Jürgen Habermas has argued that nation-states have an "uneasy tension" about them, precisely because they have both a republican self-

[29] Schell and Delury (2013: 100).
[30] See: Duara, Prasenjit. *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Zhao, Suisheng. *A Nation-State by Construction: Dynamics of Modern Chinese Nationalism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004); Leibold, James. *Reconfiguring Chinese Nationalism: How the Qing Frontier and its Indigenes Became Chinese* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Mullaney, Thomas S. *Coming to Terms with the Nation, Ethnic Classification in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).
[31] Salvatore Babones, "The Birth of Chinese Nationalism," *Foreign Policy*, May 3, 2019.

understanding as well as a nationalist one.[32] Drawing on the history of European nation-states, Habermas critiques nationalism as an ever-present ethnic-based threat to democracy and human rights that can only be resolved "on the condition that the constitutional principles of human rights and democracy give priority to a cosmopolitan understanding of the nation as a nation of citizens over an ethnocentric interpretation of the nation as a prepolitical entity."[33] For Habermas, this allows a nation to combine itself with a universalistic self-understanding precisely because it is rooted in constitutional law and not in shared culture or identity. Still, as Adom Getachew has noted (drawing on Margaret Canovan and Joan Cocks), Habermas' idealism about overcoming the dilemmas of nationalism is somewhat misguided in how it renders the challenges posed by nationalism. According to Getachew, strong communal feelings, cultural distinctiveness, love of particular lands, pride in historical accomplishments, and collective political agency cannot be disentangled so easily from suspicion of internal critics, foreign contempt, conquering new territory, and possessing a self-mystified relation to the past, among other things.[34]

It is for this reason (among others) that Getachew instead turns to the imaginative efforts of Black Atlantic figures in their efforts to rethink a particular form of nationalism: *anticolonial* nationalism. Drawing on Partha Chatterjee's critique of the claim that anticolonial nationalism was a doomed, derivative, and inferior, version of European nationalism, Getachew contends that the figures of the Black Atlantic—much like Chatterjee's South Asian nationalists—were responding to particular political, economic, and cultural conundrums and that, because of this, the failures of their anticolonial nationalisms must be understood as emerging from historically produced contradictions

[32] Habermas, Jürgen. "The European Nation State. Its Achievements and Its Limitations. On the Past and Future of Sovereignty and Citizenship." *Ratio Juris*. 9.2: (1996), 130.
[33] Habermas (1996: 131).
[34] Getachew, Adom. *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019). See also: Canovan, Margaret. *Nationhood and Political Theory* (Northhampton: Edward Elgar, 1996); Cocks, Joan. *Passion and Paradox: Intellectuals Confront the National Question* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

and dilemmas.[35] On this reading, (anticolonial) nationalism was not separate from the realities of international racial hierarchy or empire, but fundamentally constituted by them. Put differently, these Black Atlantic worldmakers sought to usher in a universal postimperial world order through anticolonial nationalist understandings of self-determination and regional federalist projects designed to realize the principle of nondomination globally.[36] Further, Getachew leverages this analysis of the Black Atlantic worldmakers' projects to forward a postcolonial cosmopolitianism that aims to continue to resist the persistence of empire in the contemporary world.

In turning to federalist projects in the Black Atlantic, Getachew has continued a line of scholarship in political theory (and related fields) on federalism as an alternative to empire and the nation-state. Perhaps most notable in this "federalist turn" are Frederick Cooper's *Citizenship between Empire and Nation* and Gary Wilder's *Freedom Time*. Cooper, for his part, recovers the political thought of two African political leaders in particular—Mamadou Dia (1910-2009) and Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906-2001)—to argue that between 1946 and 1960, both key figures in the metropole of the French empire as well as key African leaders in the colonies looked to versions of federalism as alternatives to the failing French empire and the nation-state model increasingly adopted by other empires during this period.[37] Wilder, on the other hand, turns to Aimé Cesaire (1913-2008) and Senghor's promotion of self-determination (apart from state sovereignty) and their struggle to transform imperial France into a democratic federation that included former colonies as autonomous members of a transcontinental polity rather than reducing colonial emancipation to national sovereignty.[38] While the two works employ distinct methods and focus on different aspects

[35] Getachew (2019: 27-28).
[36] Getachew (2019: 28).
[37] Cooper, Frederick. *Citizenship between Empire and Nation: Remaking France and French Africa, 1945-1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).
[38] Wilder, Gary. *Freedom Time: Negritude, Decolonization, and the Future of the World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

of these figures' thoughts and actions, the narrative is strikingly similar—nationalism was not the only available option for those engaged in decolonization efforts; federalism remained a live option not encumbered by the trappings of nation-statehood that continue to beset African nations in the present.

If Cooper's and Wilder's efforts have rejuvenated recent attempts at recovering the possibilities of federalism—both historically and in the present—their efforts have also sparked strident criticism, particularly from Samuel Moyn. On the heels of the publication of both books in an article entitled, "Fantasies of Federalism", Moyn argued that Cooper's and Wilder's books counterintuitively reveal the limits of imperial federalism. In Moyn's rendering, Dia, Senghor, Césaire and even Arendt—sought federalist alternatives to the nation-state to no avail. Of Arendt's attempts, Moyn writes: "After embracing federalist possibilities, Arendt never did find an adequate account of non-national belonging that avoided the tragedies of the past as well as nearly meaningless appeals to common humanity which she denounced." Moyn continues: "She held out for 'the right of every individual to belong to humanity,' but after she saw federalism collapse in continental Europe and the Middle East even before it was tried in the French empire, she acknowledged that 'for the time being a sphere that is above the nations does not exist.'"[39] This leads Moyn to the rather somber conclusion that our forebears were ultimately not inventive enough to create or even imagine a different world than one organized around nation-states.[40] Nation-states, with all of their limits, remained the reigning form of governance that anticolonial nationalists chose in favor of utopian visions of federalism.

Getachew, however, takes up Moyn's pragmatic nationalist challenge by noting how the situation facing the federalists in the Black Atlantic was distinct, even if these figures were—to

[39] Samuel Moyn, "Fantasies of Federalism," *Dissent*, Winter 2015.
[40] Moyn (2015).

varying degrees—reliant on defending the nation-state even while they fought for federalist visions. Moreover, while the Black Atlantic federalists' initial postcolonial critiques of the limits of nation-state sovereignty (and their respective turns to federalism) ended in an institutional apparatus that zealously protected this very same limited nation-state-based sovereignty, Getachew maintains that, "Recovering the foreclosed political horizon of postcolonial federation and the debates that it engendered illustrates that the culmination of empire in nation-states continued to be challenged even at the highpoint of decolonization."[41] These figures' continual challenging of the nation-state model even after the collapse of political federalism is important not only because it engendered new regional economic projects rooted in non-domination like the New International Economic Order (NIEO), but their continual challenges, according to Getachew, also informs present efforts at non-domination. While anticolonial worldmaking appears far removed from our present and quite unrealistic in its aims in light of the failures of the Black Atlantic project, Getachew contends that "it would be a mistake to collapse the partiality and eventual decline of a set of languages and strategies for making a world after empire with the demise of the moral and political vision that looked forward to an egalitarian and domination-free world."[42] In short, these visions' "moments of closure" remain open for re-articulation, remaking, and reformulation in our efforts to rethink our imperial past and re-imagine an anti-imperial future.

Still, how are Black Atlantic anti-imperial economic and political visions relevant for mid-nineteenth-century East Asian political actors and vice-versa? One major aspect of my recovery of Wei's and Sakuma's political thought has been to highlight how both figures *innovated* empire—they combined pre-colonial Chinese and Japanese notions of empire with Western military, political, and economic models in an effort to resist domination and reassert their authority. To my knowledge,

[41] Getachew (2019: 141).
[42] Getachew (2019: 181).

there has been a lack of emphasis in the federalist and imperial citizenship literature on *hybridized* imperial genealogies and their capacity for innovation. "Empire" or "federation"—particularly for Cooper and Wilder—has tended to be straightforwardly European, even as it is being invoked for non-European anti-colonial ends. In this respect, Wei and Sakuma indicate a distinct approach—their more hybridized approaches to anti-colonial imperialism combined Asian lineages and European models toward an innovatively distinct vision of East Asian empire.

In other words, while I do not dismiss the idealism behind Getachew's push for an anti-imperial future, I contend that China's more recent history (since 1978) and its resonances with earlier strategies of resistance to Western domination like those of Wei and Sakuma, demonstrate a third—albeit, less sanguine—option for resisting Western empire that contributes to debates in political theory even now: namely, fighting fire with fire. China's most recent iteration of resistance to Western global political and economic hegemony has been rooted in an emphasis on a distinct kind of capital-driven economic development since 1978 that is as different from American capitalist forms as it is similar. While most economists, political scientists, and historians agree on the "capitalist turn" in China's recent history, many, over the last three decades, have placed more emphasis on the degree to which China's capitalist rise since 1978 is attributable to local activity or more nation-wide policies. Montinola, Qian, and Weingast influentially argued for understanding China's rising political economy as a distinct form of federalism, premised on a special type of institutionalized decentralization that offered credible commitment to markets. According to Montinola, Qian, and Weingast, this federalist approach was effective precisely because it fostered competition that encouraged local government experimentation with new forms of enterprises, provided incentives for local governments to promote local economic prosperity and protected local

governments and their enterprises from political intrusion by the central government.[43] Montinola, Qian, and Weingast have not been alone in this emphasis, as several comparative politics scholars and historians of China have noted that local state corporatism and entrepreneurship, national decentralization, commercialized bank policies, political incentives, and mutual adaptation between markets and the government have each been key to China's rise as a global economic power.[44] Especially when considered within the political context of China's distinct brand of authoritarian socialism, China's economic rise and challenging of Western global hegemony has perhaps demonstrated an alternative form of federalism to the ones on display in Western Europe, the U.S., and the Black Atlantic.

Still, scholars have noted several challenges to China's "federalist" growth model that affect the viability and longevity of China's approach to contesting Western hegemony. On the international institutions front, Dorothy Solinger noted in 2003 that the bi-lateral celebration of China's introduction into the World Trade Organization (WTO) was hardly a cause for celebration because it was likely to lead to an intensification a number of negative trends already underway: insolvency among state firms, replacement of the older urban Chinese workforce by machinery and

[43] Montinola, Gabriella, Yingyi Qian, and Barry R. Weingast. "Federalism, Chinese Style: The Political Basis for Economic Success in China." *World Politics*. 48.1: (1995). For an important critique of the attribution of "market-preserving federalism" to the Chinese economic case, see: Yang, Dali L. "Economic Transformation and Its Political Discontents in China: Authoritarianism, Unequal Growth, and the Dilemmas of Political Development." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (2006), 143-164.

[44] See: Oi, Jean C. "Fiscal Reform and the Economic Foundations of Local State Corporatism in China" *World Politics* 45.1 (1992): 99–126; Shirk, Susan L. *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*, Vol. 24. (Berkeley: Univ of California Press, 1993); Yang, Dali. *Beyond Beijing: Liberalization and the Regions in China* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997); Oi, Jean C. *Rural China Takes Off* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Li, Hongbin, and Li-An Zhou. "Political Turnover and Economic Performance: The Incentive Role of Personnel Control in China." *Journal of Public Economics* 89.9-10 (2005): 1743-1762; Huang, Yasheng. *Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics: Entrepreneurship and the state* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Walter, Carl. *Red Capitalism* (Hoboken, NJ.: John Wiley and Sons, 2012); Ang, Yuen Yuen. *How China Escaped the Poverty Trap* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016).

younger employees, and increases in the migration of rural laborers into the urban job market due to job insecurity.[45] On the environmental front, Ross Garnaut, Frank Jotzo, and Stephen Howes noted in 2009 that because China's economic growth was largely reliant on coal for energy use (making China one of the world's most carbon-intensive countries), "the combination of China's large, rapidly growing economy and its carbon intensity means that in the coming years it will have an influence on greenhouse gas emissions unmatched by any other country."[46] Beyond challenges with domestic labor markets and environmental degradation, there is also the challenge of mounting debt. Michael Pettis has argued in this vein that if China does not rebalance and restructure its economy by increasing household income and reducing its reliance on investment, it will fall.[47] Further, Victor Shih has argued that China's economy will be faced with two stark options—a vigorous growth trajectory rooted in rapid financial deepening accompanied by relatively stable prices or a troubling future occasioned by China's large store of non-performing loans in the banking sector—that will largely be determined by China's elite politics.[48] Labor, environmental, and debt concerns, while certainly not prohibitive of an alternative model of Chinese economic federalism, nevertheless pose significant challenges to its efficacy as an alternative mode of economic development to that which undergirds global Western hegemony.

Still, one might object that China's economic rise hardly represents a conscious form of *resistance* to Western "empire", as such, much less does it represent a form of resistance that is *imperial* itself (or draws on imperial logics). To the first part of the objection, one might consider

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[45] Solinger, Dorothy. "Chinese Urban Jobs and the WTO." *The China Journal* 49 (2003), 62.
[46] Ross Garnaut, Frank Jotzo, and Stephen Howes. "Chain's Rapid Emissions Growth and Global Climate Change Policy," in Ligang Song and Wing Thye Woo, eds., *China's Dilemma: Economic Growth, the Environment and Climate Change* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2008), p. 171.
[47] Pettis, Michael. *Avoiding the Fall: China's Economic Restructuring* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013).
[48] Shih, Victor C. *Factions and Finance in China: Elite Conflict and Inflation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

how Xi Jinping and the Chinese Communist Party have often framed China's rise within the context of ongoing recovery from a "century of humiliation" (*bainian chiru*) that began with British victory in the First Opium War (1842) and only ended with the rise of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949. As Zheng Wang has argued, part of the reason Chinese popular sentiment turned toward anti-Western nationalism despite the anti-dictatorship democratic movements of the 1980s (e.g. Tiananmen square) is because of widespread "re-education" efforts by the government to encourage the Chinese public to "never forget national humiliation" (*wuwang guochi*). In short, these efforts center on portraying China as the victim of foreign imperialist bullying during the one hundred years of humiliation.[49] And Xi Jinping, for example, has explicitly used this narrative to stir patriotism and unity within China—specifically, in Hong Kong—when tensions have risen with growing calls for autonomy.[50]

To the second objection that China's economic rise hardly represents a form of resistance that is *imperial* itself, one might consider how the international community has received Xi Jinping's "Belt and Road Initiative" (BRI) in recent years. Some in the West have argued that the BRI—which aims for infrastructural development and investment initiatives that would stretch from East Asia to Europe—is a Trojan horse for China-led regional development, military expansion, and Beijing-controlled institutions.[51] Moreover, French President Emmanuel Macron has been quoted not only as calling Xi an "imperial president" in light of his centralization of political power within China and

[49] Wang, Zheng. *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).
[50] Neil Connor. "China's Xi Jinping recalls national 'humiliation' to Britain as he seeks to stir patriotism in Hong Kong." *The Telegraph*, July 1, 2015 (https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/07/01/chinas-xi-jinping-recalls-national-humiliation-britain-seeks/).
[51] Andrew Chatzky and James McBride. "China's Massive Belt and Road Initiative." *Council on Foreign Relations*, January 28, 2020.

his initiatives abroad over the last decade,[52] but also as having worries that other countries accepting aid from China or participating in the BRI will eventually make partner countries "vassal states" of China.[53] This fear of Chinese imperialism has been an increasing concern for countries in Central Asia, Southeast Asia and Africa as many are increasingly vulnerable to debt crises because of the BRI, according to a 2018 report by the Center for Global Development.[54]

However, Ching Kwan Lee has persuasively argued—based on six years of extensive fieldwork in copper mines and construction sites in Zambia—that global debates about China's "neocolonial scramble" or "exploitative neo-imperialism" in Africa, in particular, have been based more on rhetoric than on empirical evidence. Lee interrogates these claims by distinguishing between Chinese state capital and global private capital in terms of their business objectives, labor practices, managerial ethos, and political engagement with the Zambian state and society and asserts that Chinese state investment presents *both* unique potential and perils for African development.[55] Indeed, Lee's account raises the fundamental question of which is actually worse for the third world—Chinese state investment or competing private capital from other countries. She writes

> The irreducibility of Chinese state interests to financial profit was an abiding characteristic that, instead of making Chinese state capital more dominant or "imperialistic," compelled it to be more embedded in and willing to negotiate with the host country's government and labor. On the other hand, globally mobile firms were less concessionary toward Zambian interests, because the valorization of finance- and profit- driven capital was much less dependent on any nation-state and wage labor.[56]

Put simply, if any economic initiatives have been "imperial" or exploitative of developing countries like Zambia, it has been those of globally mobile firms—which are often based in the West; China's

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[52] Elizabeth C. Economy. "China's Imperial President: Xi Jinping Tightens His Grip." *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2014.
[53] Chatzky and McBride (2020).
[54] John Hurley, Scott Morris, and Gailyn Portelance. "Examining the Debt Implications of the Belt and Road Initiative from a Policy Perspective." *Center for Global Development*, March 4, 2020.
[55] Lee, Ching Kwan. *The Specter of Global China: Politics, Labor, and Foreign Investment in Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).
[56] Lee (2017: 155).

economic initiatives have offered countries and citizens alike more say in what Chinese firms can do within their nation's borders. Thus, Lee warns against resorting to sweeping generalizations about the "imperial" or "neocolonial" nature of Chinese capital; rather Chinese state capital abroad, "improvises, negotiates, and transforms itself in the process of engagement with local politics and global pressures."[57] Indeed, to continue to suggest nefarious motives on the part of the Chinese state might achieve the *opposite* of its intended effect of stopping imperialism in our present moment—it might bolster Chinese state exploitation of, and propaganda toward, citizens by convincing Chinese expatriates working on these global projects (among others) of China's long-standing assertion that it continues to be humiliated and victimized by foreigners in the present, just as Lee observed in Zambia.[58]

Where does this all leave us? Throughout this project, I have argued that there is another story to anti-colonial resistance beyond nationalism and federalism. In certain parts of East Asia (which were never fully colonized), anti-colonial resistance took the form of empire-building; put differently, empire begot empire, albeit in new and innovative forms. And yet, whether or not these novel forms count as "empire" or "imperial" is largely dependent on the historical consensus of the international community and actors in question precisely because "empire" is a contested term. Within the context of East Asia, there is greater consensus among scholars that Japan from 1895-1945 was an empire proper while there is relatively less consensus among scholars that the Qing dynasty was one, as evidenced by the ongoing debates between New Qing historians and other historians of China. In contemporary politics, this debate also unfolds with regard to Xi Jinping's China (as well as post-9-11 America, if considered in a global context). Moreover, even when there is broad consensus on the status of an empire like Japan, there are sticking points in the narratives, as

[57] Lee (2017: 161, 163).
[58] Lee (2017: 157).

evidenced by international critiques of Japan's ongoing issues with textbook revision and acknowledging comfort women during World War II. My claim in all of this has been that Wei and Sakuma innovated empire insofar the tools and techniques they appropriated were used by Europeans and Americans—who viewed *themselves* as empires—to dominate Asia. Further, because Wei and Sakuma simultaneously understood their efforts as resisting Western domination and ensuring China's and Japan's respective hierarchical influence over diverse populations across contexts even beyond their own polities—I have labeled their efforts as imperial (to varying degrees). Wei and Sakuma are not novel in this respect as many East Asian political figures, both in the nineteenth century and since, have also innovated what might be called "empire" to a variety of ends—building a "modern" Japanese nation-state, undoing a "backward" Chinese dynasty, and even challenging American global hegemony in the present. Yet given scholarly skepticism over whether China's efforts will ultimately unsettle American hegemony in the future,[59] it remains to be seen if, and how, China will continue to innovate capitalist imperial legacies in its effort to potentially shape its own "world of repeating fragments"[60] and remake the present global order.

[59] Ikenberry, G. John. *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Schweller, Randal L. and Xiaoyu Pu, "After Unipolarity: China's Visions of International Order in an Era of US Decline." *International Security* 36.1 (2011), 41-72; Beckley, Michael. *Unrivaled: Why America Will Remain the World's Sole Superpower* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018).

[60] See: Benton, Lauren. *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 299. This phrase, according to Benton, refers to an "interimperial" regime marked less by uniform sovereignty than by legal pluralism and fragmented jurisdictions. Benton extends this "transfer of elements of sovereignty" to the U.S.'s involvement in Iraq, Afghanistan, Native American reservations, and Gaza. In a similar vein, it is not difficult to see how critics of Chinese expansion in Africa and Central Asia might read recent developments also as a process of China creating its own "world of repeating fragments".

Character Appendix

Abe Masahiro	阿部正弘
Ando Nobumasa	安藤信正
A-zhan-ya	阿占牙
Bainian chiru	百年恥辱
Bakumatsu	幕末
Bang	棒
Bansho Shirabesho	蕃書調所
Bao Shichen	包世臣
Beidi	北狄
Bin	敏
Bingqiang	柄強
Bo-lin-shi-e	勃林士遏
Bo-lu	伯路
Bunmei kaika	文明開化
Bunmeiron no Gairyaku	文明論之概略
Buzhengshi	布政使
Caiyong	財用
Cao Wei	曹瑋
Chayi	差役
Chen Duxiu	陳獨秀
Chen Hongmou	陳宏謀
Chen Lunjiong	陳倫炯
Chiang Kai-shek	蔣中正
Chokuyu Sōan	勅諭草案
Chuanbi Caoyue	穿鼻草約
Cixi Taihou	慈禧太后
Daimyo	大名
Dalusong	大呂宋
Dan	石
Daoguang	道光
Date Munenari	伊達宗城
Daxue	大學
Dayitong	大一統
Di	敵
Diguo zhuyi	帝國主義
Dinghai	定海
Dingyong	丁庸
Dongyi	東夷
Dun	躉
Dzufu Haruma	ヅーフ・ハルマ
Ebisu	戎
Egawa Tan'an	江川坦庵
Fa-er-xi	法耳西
Feng Guifen	馮桂芬
Fubing	府兵
Fukuzawa Yukichi	福沢諭吉
Fuqiang	富強
Fuzhou	福州
Gagyo	駕馭
Gaiban	外番
Gezhi	格致
Gong Zizhen	龔自珍
Gotenyama	御殿山
Guangzhou	廣州
Gu Yanwu	顧炎武
Gui-bei	貴北
Guo	國
Guoqi Yingwu	彊騎營伍
Guweitang Neiwaiji	古微堂內外集
Guyi	僱役
Gyo	馭, 御
Gyo-i	馭夷
Ha-da-a-li	哈達阿裏
Haidao Yizhi	海島逸志
Haiguo Tuzhi	海國圖志
Haiguo Wenjianlu	海國聞見錄
Hailu	海錄
Haiwai	海外
Han	藩
Hanxue	漢學
Hatamoto	旗本
He Changling	賀長齡
He-ding-tu	和鼎圖
He Wei-lian	賀威廉
He Zuqi	賀族乞
Hitotsubashi Keiki	一橋慶喜

Hotta Masayoshi	堀田正睦
Huangchao Jingshi Wenbian	皇朝經世文編
...Wulie	...五列
Huangchao Wugong Jisheng	皇朝武功紀盛
I	夷
Ii Naosuke	井伊直弼
Ijō	夷情
Ishin Shishi	維新志士
Itō Hirobumi	伊藤博文
Iwase Tadanari	岩瀬忠震
Ji	機
Jia-fu-la-chan	加付臘厘
Jia-mo-li-dun	甲墨裏頓
Jiaqing	嘉慶
Jia-wu-ke	加兀科
Jia-yu	駕馭
Jinchu Nikki	陣中日記
Jing	競
Jingnei	境内
Jingshi	經世
Jingshi Tongwen Guan	京師同文館
Jinshi	進士
Jinwen	近文
Jiuxue	舊學
Jo-i	攘夷
Juren	舉人
Kaigun denshusho	海軍伝習所
Kaikoku	開国
Kakubutsu Chichi	格物致知
Kakubutsu Kyūri	格物窮理
Kakuchi	格致
Kakugo	覚悟
Kakurō	閣老
Kang Youwei	康有為
Kaozheng	考證
Katsu Kaishū	勝海舟
Kawaji Toshiakira	川路聖謨
Kawazu Sukekuni	河津伊豆守
Kido Kōin	木戸こういん
Kiwame	極め, 窮め
Kobu-gattai	公武合体
Koutou	叩頭
Kuan	款
Kunshi	君子
Kurokawa Ryōan	黒川良安
Kuze Hirochika	久世広周
Kyōkotsu	輕忽
Kyūri	窮理
Li	理
Liang Qichao	梁啟超
Liangshui	兩稅
Libu	禮部
Lin Weixi	林維喜
Lin Zexu	林則徐
Linghu Defen	令狐德棻
Liquan	利權
Lu Xun	魯迅
Lu-ji-li-fu	律記利付
Lulaobei	律勞卑
Lunyu	論語
Luo-a-jia-na-da	羅阿加那達
Ma-di-ya	摩底牙
Maixi	麥西
Matsudaira Katamori	松平容保
Matsudaira Shungaku	松平春嶽
Matsushiro	松代
Men-da-ya-li	門答亞利
Meng-a-la	孟阿臘
Mengzi	孟子
Mogu	默觚
Mo-shu-a-na	磨舒阿那
Mo-ye-si-man	摩耶斯滿
Mutsu Munemitsu	陸奥宗光
Nagai Naoyuki	永井尚志
Na-gui-shi-ge-di-a	那窪士葛底阿
Nanman	南蠻
Nanyang	南洋
Ningbo	寧波
Ninjō	人情
Ninjō ni futsū	人情に不通
Niu-fang-lan	紐方蘭
Ogasawara Nagamichi	小笠原長行

Okubo Tadahiro	大久保忠恕
Ōkubo Toshimichi	大久保利通
Ōshin	王臣
Qi	氣
Qi Shan	琦善
Qi Shiyi	七十一
Qianlong	乾隆
Qiguo	齊國
Qingdai Tongshi	清代通史
Qingdai xueshu gailun	清代學術概論
Qingyi	清議
Qiujia	丘甲
Ri	里
Rencai	人材
Rōju	老中
Sakoku	鎖国
Sakuma Shozan	佐久間象山
Sanada Yukitsura	真田幸貫
Sa-yi-gu-di	薩依姑底
Seikenroku	省譽録
Seiyō Geijutsu	西洋芸術
Seiyō no kyūri	西洋の窮理
Shengwuji	聖武記
Shi	師
Shi	時
Shi	適
Shimoda	下田
Shimonoseki Joyaku	下関条約
Shimosone Kinzaburo	下曽根金三郎
Shinagawa daiba	品川台場
Shishi	志士
Shixue	實學
Shiyi Changji Zhiyi	師夷長技制夷
Shōshōjutsu	詳証術
Shu	屬
Shun	舜
Si-ma-fa	司馬法
Si-ma-guang	司馬光
Si-ma-rang-ju	司馬穰苴
Siyi	四夷
Sizhouzhi	四州志
Songxue	宋學
Sonnō Jōi	尊王攘夷
Su-la-zha-dao-la	蘇拉札道臘
Sun Wu	孫武
Sun Yat-sen	孫中山
Sunzi	孫子
Sunzi bingfa	孫子兵法
Takashima Shūhan	高島秋帆
Tan Sitong	譚嗣同
Tao Zhu	陶澍
Tenka	天下
Tianjin tiaoyue	天津條約
Tianxia	天下
Tiaobian	條編
Ti-yong	體用
Tokugawa Nariaki	徳川斉昭
Tokutomi Sohō	徳富蘇峰
Tongyi	統一
Tōyō Dōtoku…	東洋道徳…
…Seiyō Gakugei	…西洋学芸
Tsuboi Shindo	坪井信道
Tsuda Mamichi	津田真道
Tuntian	屯田
Wai	外
Wakon Yōsai	和魂洋才
Wang Dahai	王大海
Wang Yangming	王陽明
Wangdao	王道
Wanguo Ditu	萬國地圖
Wei Yuan	魏源
Wu-he-xia	兀賀峽
Wuwang Guochi	毋忘國恥
Xiamen	廈門
Xianggang	香港
Xian Luo-lun-shi	鮮羅倫士
Xi-lun-dao	西倫島
Xie Qinggao	謝清高
Xin	心
Xin Mo-lan-shi-dian	紐墨蘭士埝
Xin Su-ge-lan	新蘇各蘭
Xin-Qingshi	新清史

Xinxue	新學	Yu	馭
Xin-Zhao-di	新著地	Yu Qian	裕謙
Xirong	西戎	Yu Tai	裕泰
Xixue	西學	Yu Xie	俞燮
Xiyu Wenjianlu	西域聞見錄	Yuan	元
Xu Zizhi Tongjian	續資治通鑑	Yu-i	馭夷
Yamauchi Toyoshige	山内豊信	Zhao Yi	趙翼
Yanagawa Seigan	梁川星巖	Zha-zhi-da	渣治達
Yange	沿革	Zhejiang	浙江
Yao	堯	Zhenfu	楨富
Yi	夷	Zhenjiang	鎮江
Yijing	易經	Zhi	制
Yingjili Xiaoji	英吉利小記	Zhifang Waijitu	職方外紀圖
Yiqing	夷情	Zhongyong	中庸
Yiyi Kuanyi	以夷款夷	Zhu Xi	朱熹
Yiyi Zhiyi	以夷制夷	Ziqiang	自強
Yoshida Shōin	吉田松陰	Ziqiang Yundong	自強運動

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