

The origin of the commercial relationship between Japan and the Ottoman Empire : the Tactics of young *Torajirô YAMADA*, as a “*Student Merchant*”

日本とオスマン朝との間における通商関係の起源
: 「書生商人」たる若き山田寅次郎の戦略

Nobuo MISAWA
三 沢 伸 生

I. Introduction

It is said that the origin of the relationship between Japan and the Ottoman Empire is “the Tragedy of the Ottoman battleship *Ertuğrul*” (1890).

Before this tragedy, the new Japanese government under the *Meiji* Emperor had tried to contact with the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire also tried to contact with Japan for the first time, by sending her battleship *Ertuğrul* with the ambassador. After her official visit to Japan, *Ertuğrul* was sank at the near point of *Ôshima* belong to *Wakayama* Prefecture. After this tragedy, both countries tried to construct the official relationship with the amicable treaty.¹

Besides both countries started to construct the relationship at the diplomacy level, one of the private Japanese people tried to set up the commercial relationship through the trade business between Japan and the Ottoman Empire.

His name is *Torajirô YAMADA*, [山田寅次郎] who had no experience of the trade business before. It is possible to say that the tactics and activities of *YAMADA* to begin the trade business created the origin of the commercial relationship between Japan and the Ottoman Empire. Today, *YAMADA* is told legendarily as the pioneer of the relationship between Japan and Turkey. But the details of his trade business are not studied. Furthermore, there are many misunderstandings and exaggerations about his trade business.

Especially it is the largest question which side had intention to make the commercial relationship at the time of the establishment. Which country had the intention at the first?

There is an uncertain anecdote that the establishment of the commercial relationship between both countries was owing to the positive intention of the Ottoman Empire. It is said that the commercial relationship between both countries started by the Ottoman imperial order to establish the trade business for a Japanese citizen YAMADA, who carried the donation for *Ertuğrul*. In brief, the Ottoman Empire was so active, and Japan was so passive to establish the commercial relationship. But it can not be verified any policy of the Ottoman Empire to promote the commercial relationship with Japan on the mission of *Ertuğrul*, or after “the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*”. How about the real fact ?

Furthermore, it is possible to find such lack and complication of facts about not only the commercial relationship but also all kinds of relationship between Japan and Turkey. But the history of the relationship between this two countries continues to be told legendarily through the various media communication, without any sufficient research.²

It is necessary to recognize the real relationship between Japan and Turkey to promote the amicable relationship. Therefore, depending on the various source materials preserved in both Japan and Turkey, it requires to settle the true facts and correct various misunderstandings and exaggerations. For the first time, at the viewpoint to settle the true facts, I would like to try to inspect the origin of the commercial relationship between Japan and the Ottoman Empire, with focusing at young *Torajirō YAMADA*.

II. The Previous Studies

Generally speaking, there were few academic studies about the relationship between Japan and Turkey, such as not only the commercial relationship by private section but also the diplomatic relationship. As the hundredth anniversaries of “the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*” in 1990, it attracted interests on the relationship between the both countries. The various mass communication media also took up this topic. In this circumstance, some academic studies began.

In Japan, the Ph.D. thesis of *Chishū NAITŌ* was the only study about this topic for a long time [NAITO 1931].³ Although his thesis is the full-scale study depended on various documents of both countries, it is very difficult to confirm the documents that he analyzed because he did not indicate any source materials in detail. And as a Japanese diplomat, he draw up the history of the diplomatic relationship between both countries. Therefore, the commercial relationship such as the private trade business is not treated in his thesis. Pass through a long blank afterwards, the full-scaled studies appeared such as the study of “the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*” depended on various the Ottoman official documens by *Kaori KOMATSU* [KOMATSU 1989],

and the study of *Torajirô YAMADA* depended on the Japanese source materials by *Hiroshi NAGABA* [NAGABA 1996, 2000]. We can get some information about the commercial relationship through such studies. Recently, there are some studies about the later commercial relationship between Japan and Turkey (the Republic of Turkey, 1923–), such as [IKEI 1999] and [MISAWA 2006].

In Turkey, there are some studies about “the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*”. But they do not mainly treat the relationship of both countries. Furthermore, they are depended on only the Ottoman source materials, not the Japanese source materials. For example, although the study by *Şahin* [ŞAHİN 2001] should be appraised as the high quality study of the full-scaled analysis of the Ottoman official documents, but unfortunately it includes many mistakes because it did not use any Japanese source materials.⁴ In Turkey, only *Esenbel* made some studies depended on the analysis of the Japanese source materials such as the autobiographies and biography of *Torajirô YAMADA* [ESENBEL 1994, 1996, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2005]. But we find some mistakes in her studies because she trusts the contents of the descriptions about the activities of *YAMADA* easily without sufficient criticism. Recently, there are some studies depended on the various Japanese source materials by young generation [ERDEMİR 2007].

When I inspected the previous studies in both countries in this way, I noticed that the source materials are not searched sufficiently (there are more source materials which are not analyzed in both countries), and not verified with sufficient criticism and comparison.

Unfortunately, there are many mistakes about the basic facts in not only popular mass media communication (such as TV programs, literary works and the private web-sites), but also descriptions of public institutions and the academic studies. So we must inspect and verify the source materials in the next turn.

III. The Source Materials

1) The Old Source Materials

As the main source materials, the previous studies about *YAMADA* has adopted the autobiographies of *YAMADA* himself [YAMADA 1911b, YAMADA 1939] and the biography written by one of his friends (and probably under *YAMADA*'s supervision) [SANSHÔTEI SHUJIN 1952]. For example, *Sakamoto* commented as follows ; “There were many clues concerning him in the source materials, such as his book *Toruko Gakan* and the autobiography at the end of this book, “Souvenir de mes cinquante ans en Turquie”, and the biography *Shingetsu Yamada Torajirô*. Depending on these clues, there were many researches about the first half life of *YAMADA* until his return home to Japan when the World War I broke out at

the time of his 48 years old.” [SAKAMOTO 2005; 382]⁵

I can not have such an optimistic idea. The problems of the previous studies just originated in such his autobiographies and biography. First, the other source materials were not searched sufficiently according to the existence of his autobiographies and biography. Second, many researchers recognized the descriptions of his autobiographies and biography as facts very easily without sufficient criticism.

As details verify afterwards, there are various problems in his autobiographies and biography. First, these descriptions have scarce information. Second, we can admit they contain some intended concealment or deletion of information. We can also notice they contain the exaggerated information, the wrong information and the unreliable information. So there are contradictions among these descriptions. Especially, it is difficult to trust the biography which was written lastly under his own inspection. I can not admit these descriptions have high value as the previous researchers did. As admitted in the general scientific historical researches, autobiography and biography can not be the main source materials without sufficient criticism by the other source materials.⁶

Sometimes the public memorial books about “the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*” [ASSOCIATION COMMERCIALE TURCO-JAPONAISE 1930, TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ TOKYO BÜYÜK ELÇİLİĞİ 1937] were quoted in the previous studies to reinforce his autobiographies and biography. But it is impossible to rely on these books because they are so limited information and probably depended on testimonies of *YAMADA* himself.

2) The New Source Materials

1. The New Source Materials (in Japanese)

The newspapers and magazines in the *Meiji* Era can be admitted as the most important source materials that verify the descriptions in the autobiographies and biography of *YAMADA* objectively.

I learned the value of such source materials through my studies about “the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*” [MISAWA 2003]. Of course, there are some studies that used them as the source materials, but such studies used them as only limited usage for showing the date.

Recently in Japan, we are comparatively endowed circumstance about the research of the newspapers. For example, we can use 20 out of 21 newspapers that were published in the time of “the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*” in September, 1890 ; 7 newspapers are reprinted as book, 1 newspaper is reprinted as CD-ROM edition, and 12 newspapers are preserved as microfilm⁷

As for the magazines, we will be able to use as the newspapers in the future. However so

many kinds of magazine were published in the *Meiji* Era, they require to take more time for the total research as the source materials. It needs the talents and efforts of the researchers to use the magazines as the source materials.

In this circumstance, we recently got a great study in the modern Japanese literature research field depended on various source materials about *YAMADA*. The study about *Rohan KÔDA* [幸田露伴] [DEGUCHI 2006] showed the role of *YAMADA* for the debut of *KÔDA* to the literary world, and the details of his novel “Student Merchant [書生商人]” [KÔDA 1893], designated from *YAMADA*. Among the Japanese researchers about Turkey, it was well known that *YAMADA* and *KÔDA* were acquaintances from the biography of *YAMADA*. But it was not known that there was a novel which reveals the activities of *YAMADA*. As for me, even the imagination did not do the existence of such a novel until I read. In this way, according to this study, we can get new information that was not known so far, such as the life of *YAMADA* before “the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*”, and the details of his shift to begin the trade business between Japan and the Ottoman Empire. Thanks to the study of *DEGUCHI*, we can also get various new source materials such as descriptions of *YAMADA* himself among the magazines published in the those days, as shown in the bibliography of my study. Probably we can get more new source materials when we research the magazines as *DEGUCHI* did.

On the other hand, the official and private documents are also important. Recently we can admit the progress of the arrangement and exhibition of Japanese official documents on web-sites. According to this circumstance, there are many important studies depended on the official document in the Japanese Diplomacy Archives [INABA 2003, 2006]. As for the private documents, for example, there are some mementos of *YAMADA* preserved in the *YAMADA* family⁸, *YAMADA*'s letters addressed to the famous Japanese journalist *Sohô TOKUTOMI* [徳富蘇峰], which were studied by *Erdemir* [ERDEMİR 2007], the hearing investigation of the *NODA* family by *MISAWA* [MISAWA 2004], the trial of the investigation of the *NAKAMURA* family by *INABA* [INABA 2006], and some materials preserved in the Turkish Museum in *Ôshima*, Japan. As some new materials are still donated to the the Turkish Museum even today, it is possible to find and get any new source materials in the future.

2. The New Source Materials (in the Ottoman Turkish)

As we can find some new source materials in Japan, we can also find some new source materials in Turkey. As mentioned before, there were few studies to investigate about the trade business of *YAMADA* or the commercial relationship between Japan and the Ottoman

Empire, depended on the source materials of the Ottoman Empire preserved in Turkey.

As well as the new source materials in Japan, we can admit the newspapers and magazines published in the end of the 19th Century as the important source materials. According to my investigation of the two famous Ottoman newspapers, *Sabah* and *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, issued from April to December 1892, I can not find any information about *YAMADA*. This fact does not mean that the newspapers in the Ottoman Empire had no attention to Japan. We can find various information about Japanese guests of the two battleship *HIEI* [比叡] and *KONGÔ* [金剛] in the Ottoman newspapers issued during January and February, 1891. So I can not believe the description of the autobiographies and biography of *YAMADA* as mentioned that he was welcomed by the Ottoman Empire with the great scale. I can find only short information about the letter from the Colonel *Tsunatsune TANAKA* (the Captain of *HIEI*), perhaps handled by *YAMADA*.

As for the Ottoman magazines, there are many kinds of the magazine published in those days and preserved now in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and so on. The future investigation on the Ottoman magazines will make it possible to get some information about the commercial relationship between the two countries.

On the other hand, we got some results of research depended on the official and private documents. The various Ottoman official documents are preserved in the Ottoman Archive of the Prime Minister in Istanbul. Recently we can take the benefit of the catalog on the web site in this archive. For the moment of 2007, we can find 10 documents related to *NODA* [MISAWA and AKÇADAĞ 2007] and 17 documents related to *YAMADA*, as shown in the bibliography of this article. Furthermore, there are some mementos of *YAMADA* at the display of the Maritime Museum in Istanbul. We can find very important private documents, such as the receipt of the donation that he brought to Istanbul and his passport. And we can not forget the documents of the Chamber of Commerce in Istanbul, that gave many supports to *YAMADA* when he began the trade business. We can find some source materials in the collection of the library belong to this chamber.

As above mentioned, we must search the more new source materials to investigate the commercial relationship between both countries such as the trade business of *YAMADA*, in both Japan and Turkey.

Although we need to find the new source materials, next I would like to verify the details about the origin of the commercial relationship between both countries, especially the trade business of *YAMADA*, depended on the source materials as possible as we can use at the present.

IV. The Birth of a “Student Merchant”

1) The Student Life

It is said that the commercial relationship between Japan and the Ottoman Empire began when *YAMADA* arrived at Istanbul on the day of April 4, 1892.

However we have few details about his trade business such as when and how he began the business clearly. Actually we only knew that he engaged in the private campaign to collect the donation in Japan for “the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*” before he came to Istanbul. We believed that there was no information about his career in the youth except the only short description of his biography.

As above mentioned, the recent great study [DEGUCHI 2006] suggests the various source materials about problems such as when and how he happened to begin the trade business between two countries. We can find the novel of *Rohan KÔDA*, “Student Merchant”, designated from the activities and mentality of *YAMADA* in his youth, as the most important source material. As most of the young men in the *Meiji* Era, he also had the many kinds of ambitious dreams on literature and political affairs in his student life. At last he chose to be a great merchant who engaged in the trade business between Japan and the Ottoman Empire, as ‘Student Merchant’ that *KÔDA* described. Actually the concept of this ‘Student Merchant’, that means the merchant who abandoned the dreams of the student, gives the important clues to understand his way of life.

As described in his biography, *Torajirô YAMADA* was born as the son of the *NAKAMURA* family in the town of *Edo* (Today’s *Tokyo*) on August 23, 1866. The *NAKAMURA* family was belonged to the *Samurai* class, especially as the senior retainer in the area of *Jôsû Ueda* (Today’s *Tochigi* area) [SANSHÔTEI SHUJIN 1952; 1].⁹ Unfortunately we have no details of his childhood. In 1880 at the age of 16 years old, he became an adopted child to the *YAMADA* family, that has blood relation to his mother’s family, the *MURAKAMI* family.¹⁰ According to the recent study [DEGUCHI 2006; 81], in 1881 or 1882 he became the student of *Tokyo Medical School*. With six friends, he became one of the first graduates of this school in October 23, 1884.¹¹ Then he went to *Yokohama* to continue his student life at *Yokohama Eichi School* and *Salabelle School* (*Bay View House Academy* ?) [SANSHÔTEI SHUJIN 1952; 2, DEGUCHI 2006; 81]. Unfortunately we have no information of his student life in *Yokohama*. Probably after the graduation, he came back to *Tokyo*.

2) The First Business as a Publisher : *Yûyû-sha*

It became clear that he begun the first business as a publisher after he finished his student

life. Later this publishing business connected to the idea of the trade business.

In October 1888, the magazine named “*Magazine for Ladies and Gentlemen* [君子と淑女]” (See **Appendix 1**) was started to publish by *Yūyū-sha* [呦々社], located at *Higashi-Morishita-chō, Fukagawa-ku, Tokyo* [深川区東森下町]. We can find *YAMADA* as the editor and publisher of this magazine, with *Kisei SUGINO* [杉野喜精].¹² Although there are no information such as the establishment of the company and the source of the capital, actually *YAMADA* was the central figure at the both management and editing.¹³ As *DEGUCHI* pointed out, he wrote various descriptions by pen name such as ‘*Yūyū-shi* [呦々氏]’ or ‘*Fūdō Jozan* [不動如山]’ as the chief writer with his friends ‘*Josui* [如水]’ and ‘*Keison Sanshi* [溪村散史]’ [DEGUCHI 2006; 81–82]. We can also find the information of *Salabelle School* in the first issue, without any author’s name (but it must be written by *YAMADA*).

This magazine regards promotion of the girl education as the principal objective. As the suggestion of *DEGUCHI* [DEGUCHI 2006; 81–82], this objective was the result of the influence of the *MURAKAMI* family that provided various supports to him, located at *Yokozuna-chō, Honjo-ku* [本所区横綱町]. His cousin *Shihoko MURAKAMI* [村松志保子] established *Ansei-dō Maternity Hospital* [安生堂産院] in about 1882, and *Shukjo-kan Girls’ School* [淑女館] in 1887. We can find the advertisements and descriptions of both institutions in this magazine. His publishing business owed to the *MURAKAMI* family in both found and contents.¹⁴

What we must pay attention to is that this magazine handled various fields such as not only the girl education but also literature or current political affairs. These contents were the reflections of the interests of the young editors including *YAMADA*. At the first issue of his magazine, we can also find the advertisement of *Garakuta-Bunko* [我楽多文庫] published by *Kenyū-sha* [硯友社], became the famous literary company later. In this circumstance, *YAMADA* became the acquaintance with *KÔDA* before he became the famous writer. If the description of *KÔDA*’s ‘*Student Merchant*’ is true, it was probably in October 1888 when *YAMADA* began to publish the magazine. At the literary circle of the students, named as *Kisho-kai* [奇書会] in *KÔDA*’s novel, *YAMADA* became the acquaintance with *KÔDA*. According to the literary studies [YANAGIDA 1942; 167–7, 1947; 89], *YAMADA* and his friend succeeded in the sale of the first novel of *KÔDA* to the publishing company named ‘*Kinkô-dō* [金港堂]’ on December 31, 1888. *KÔDA*, *YAMADA* and his friend did the celebration of the success with the traditional liquors and went for a trip to *Jōshū Sano* [上州佐野]. *KÔDA* wrote the traveling diary, named as ‘*Suikyō-ki* [酔興記]’ [KÔDA 1893]. This story agrees with the advertisement of the 4th issue of his magazine, that told the neighbor area trip of *YAMADA* and *SUGINO* in January 1889.¹⁵ Then as a friend of *YAMADA*, *KÔDA* wrote some

descriptions in his magazine. Unfortunately we can find the 2nd and 3rd issues of his magazine, we can read *KÔDA*'s articles in the 4th and the 5th issues at the time of his early literary career.

Furthermore, if the *KÔDA*'s novel reflected the truth, his magazine named as "*Magazine for Ladies and Gentlemen*" came to have a deficit in the 3rd issue and was discontinued in the 5th (or 6th) issue.

3) The Political Activities

Then *YAMADA* shifted to the political activist in very short period.

When the management of the publishing company, *Yûyû-sha*, fell into dullness, he was concerned with '*Hoshu-tô Chûsei-ha* [保守党中正派]', the centrist group of the Conservative Party, established in November 1888. It is unknown why he joined the political activity, but it is not strange that he was interested in the political affairs like the most young students in those days, as reflected in the political comments in his magazine "*Magazine for Ladies and Gentlemen*". Furthermore, if the *KÔDA*'s novel reflected the truth, the party needed the publishing staff to launch *Hoshu-Shinron* [保守新論], the bulletin of their party, when the party was established. In this way, the expectation of the party accorded with that of *YAMADA*. Then he was concerned with the political activity rapidly. We can find the advertisement of *Ansei-dô* Maternity Hospital in the 3rd issue of the bulletin and the advertisement of the 6th issue of "*Magazine for Ladies and Gentlemen*" in the 4th issue. Of course it is impossible to judge from only these advertisements, but it is possible to imagine that he became a staff of the party very soon.

As the evidence about the heydays of his political activity, his first book was published in April 1889. This book entitled as *Treaties Revision: The Loss and Gain of the Mixed Residence*, vol. 1 [YAMADA 1889d, See **Appendix 1**]. The problem of the mixed residence related to the treaties revision was the extremely important political and social problem in those days. Many disputants preached the loss and gain about the mixed residence with foreigners in Japan. *YAMADA* took the negative viewpoint because he thought that it is impossible to compete with foreigners due to the low Japanese domestic production capacity. In the chapter 5 of this book, he insisted on danger of the extraterritoriality as showing the example of the capitulation system of the Ottoman Empire [YAMADA 1889d; 57-59].

This book has three interesting characteristics. First, although the Japanese people had few information about the Ottoman Empire before "the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*", he had some knowledge. Second, he had a kind of thought as the ultra nationalism even before the

Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War. Third, he knew the power of the commercial relationship due to the history of the economic policy of the European Great Powers. Such a his thought will be connected directly with the later his trade business between Japan and the Ottoman Empire.

After his first book was published, he wrote a short article in the bulletin of the party [YAMADA 1889e], and gave a lecture in the speech society [YAMADA 1889f]. But he was separated from the political activity. His political activity was less than one year. Even he gave up the political activities, he continued to give some lectures as a custom. Later at the time of “the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*”, he planned 15 times of consecutive lectures of small scale in the small towns of *Tokyo*. It was the only profit for him to learn the effects of the lecture through his short political activities.

On the other hand, did his first book give any influence to the argument of the mixed residence? We find the advertisements of the book in the bulletin of the party only during June to November 1889. Because he left the party, we can not find any advertisement of his book, and the second volume was not published. There were various books about the mixed residence in those days. Today we can find these books in both the various public libraries and the shelves of the second-handed bookstores in Japan. But his book is possessed only in the National Diet Library, and it is impossible to purchase in the second-handed bookstores. Furthermore, it is impossible to find the name of his book among the studies of the mixed residence. Although it was announced the reprinting the book in the bulletins of the party, today his first book is completely forgotten as unimportant book.

4) The Second Business to be a “Student Merchant” : *Sansan-Bunbô*

The second shift of his life was the second publishing business.

If the *KÔDA*'s novel reflected the truth, on December 31, 1890, *KÔDA* visited *YAMADA*, who became a poor apart from the political activities. In *KÔDA*'s novel, *YAMADA* told the seacret plan to earn money, using the old student colleagues [KÔDA 1892; 68 : 44-46]. The plan was the establishment of the publishing company, named ‘*Sansan-bunbô* [三三文房]’. There is the great difference between the first publishing business and the second publishing business. This time his main purpose was to earn money in the opposing position of the first publishing business was to realize dreams as young students. As pointed by *DEGUCHI* [DEGUCHI 2006; 82], he made the strong decision to be a merchant. Then as the phrase of *KÔDA*, *YAMADA* chose to be ‘a Merchant from a Student’ [KÔDA 1892; 68 : 44-45]. We find the birth of a ‘Student Merchant’.

In July 1890, he published the original full-scaled guide book of *Tokyo* which was never published by the other publishers. The title of this book is '*Tokyo Hyaku Ji Ben* [東京百事便]' [NAGAI 1890]. *KÔDA* described the detail of his skillful editing and sale system of this book in his novel. He gathered the old student colleagues with low wage to collect the detailed data of all stores and institutions in *Tokyo*. The coverages became the purchase customers at the same time. So he could sell this book easily, and at last he profited from selling the dealership of the remaining books.

When this books appeared in the bookstores, the Ottoman battleship *Ertuğrul* has been mooring at the *Yokohama* Port. Then the two matters, the success of his second publishing business and "the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*" on September 16, 1891, led *YAMADA* begin to the trade business between Japan and the Ottoman Empire.

V. The Departure of a "Student Merchant" to the Ottoman Empire

1) "The Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*" : The Campaign of the Donation

It is "the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*" that led the successful 'Student Merchant' *YAMADA* to the trade business between Japan and the Ottoman Empire as his final shift of career.

From time before the *Meiji* Era in Japan, there is the social custom to donate in case of accident and disaster. After the *Meiji* Era, through with the newspapers and public education, the idea of donation was spreaded widely between not only the social leaders but also the lowest social class such as boys and girls in the elementary school.

Above all the newspaper companies was so positive to make the campaign of the donation with the intention of sale competition among companies. Although "the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*" was the first big scale sea disaster of the foreign ship in Japan, the newspaper companies also made the campaign of the donation for the disaster. It was the first case of the Japanese donation for foreign afflicted people [MISAWA 2002, 2003a-b]. In this circumstance, *YAMADA* did not send the donation to the newspaper companies as the politicians and the bureaucracies did, and began the private small scale campaign of collecting the donation by the announcement through the advertisements in newspapers. According to this campaign, he made the aforementioned 15 times of consecutive lectures of small scale in the small towns of *Tokyo*.¹⁶

We can not imagine the reason of his intention about this private campaign. Actually there is his sympathy and chivalrous spirit for the tragedy, we can also admit his media tactics for the advertisement of his company through his career of the publishing business.

In October 1890, the Japanese government sent two battleships, *HIEI* and *KONGÔ* to

Istanbul in order to send back 69 survivors, as the training voyage of the cadets.

At this moment, the only two newspapers, '*Kôbe Yûsin Nippô* [神戸又新日報]' in *Kôbe* and '*Jichi Shinpô* [時事新報]' in *Tokyo*, succeeded to handle the donation. Especially the skilful way of *Jichi Shinpô* was so splendid. The company sent his own reporter, *Shôtarô NODA* [野田正太郎], on board in *HIEI* to Istanbul with the exchange certificate of the donation to handle for the Ottoman Foreign Minister [MISAWA 2002, 2003b]. Later, *NODA* helped *YAMADA* overall during his stay in Istanbul. The other newspaper companies and the private persons including *YAMADA* failed to handle the donation because it was the first case of the donation for foreigners. There is no description about this failure in the autobiographies and biography of *YAMADA*. He also did not present the amount of the donation in detail. But we can learn his failure of the handling the donation according to the fact that it was November 1890 that *YAMADA* wrote a English letter addressed to the Ottoman Foreign Minister, preserved in the Ottoman Archive in Istanbul [see **Appendix 2 & 3**]. This fact suggests that *YAMADA* tried to send the donation in November 1890 soon after *HIEI* and *KONGÔ* started on voyage.

On the other hand, the Japanese society rapidly lost the interests with “the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*” and the Ottoman Empire [MISAWA 2003a]. After the departure of the two Japanese battleships, the Japanese society was devoted to the establishment of the National Diet in November 1890.

2) The Preparations for Departure

There is no argument about the activities of *YAMADA* in the period during the departure of two Japanese battleships in October 1890 to his departure on January 30, 1892. We have no information about him during this 14 months. Before his departure, his friends, *Nobutami KOJIMA* [小島信民] and *Mochikazu DOI* [土井用和], hold the farewell event at the *Yûrakan* Theater [友楽館], which was so familiar with him, on October 2, 1891¹⁷ We must find the reason why he decided to go to Istanbul after more than one year later of the disaster.

What would *YAMADA* do for more than one year after he failed to handle the donation ?

We can find many clues to understand his activities during this period in *KÔDA*'s novel [KÔDA 1893; 32, 35-36]. In 1891, he began to publish the reprint series of the famous Japanese literature like *Bunzaemon CHIKMATSU* [近松文左衛門] and *Saikaku IHARA* [井原西鶴] depended on the success of the guide book of *Tokyo* [YAMADA 1891; 1-2] [CHUKAMATSU 1891 a-e, 1892] [IHARA 1891] [MIYAKO-NO-NISHIKI 1891].¹⁸ As the well known story in the Japanese modern literature, the suggestion of the value of *Saikaku* by *Kangetsu A WASHIMA*

[淡島寒月] to *KÔDA* enabled the rival of his novels in the *Meiji* Era. Probably *YAMADA* learned the value of *Saikaku* and *CHIKAMATSU* through the student colleagues, and decided to publish the reprint series. Although there is noted the name of *Kôsaku YOSHIDA* [吉田廣作] (later *Kenosuke IWAGAKI* [岩垣健之助]) as the editor and publisher in these reprint series, we can admit the management of *YAMADA* because there are the advertisements of *Ansei-dô* Maternity Hospital. Perhaps he engaged in the management of the company. According to *KÔDA*'s novel, he did not feel the importance of the publishing business, and deepened the interchange of the famous entertainers and influential persons, who he got the acknowledgement by the publication of the guide book of *Tokyo*.¹⁹ Later, these interchange gave him the chance of the next success.

On the other hand, we can find the relationship between Japan and the Ottoman Empire through only the reports of *NODA*, who decided to stay in Istanbul, issued in *Jichi Shinpô* [MISAWA 2003b]. In this report, *Jichi Shinpô* announced the success of their donation campaign. After the return of *HIEI* and *KONGÔ* in May 1891, the Japanese society regained the memory of the tragedy and the Ottoman Empire.²⁰ This is supported by the fact that *Nippô-sha* [日報社] and *Mainichi Shinbu-sha* [毎日新聞社] sent the donation to the Ottoman Empire in June 1891. Furthermore, the colonel *TANAKA* (the Captain of *HIEI*) made some lectures about his duty in the Ottoman Empire in *Tokyo*. It is probably this lecture (or by some kind of method to approach the colonel *TANAKA* that *YAMADA* remembered the memory about his failure of handling the donation to the Ottoman Empire

“... When I made efforts in preparation for departure, the colonel *TANAKA*, the captain of *HIEI* came back to Japan from that country. He praised my plan and gave some detailed advises. He said that the Sultan would like to welcome the Japanese people. He suggested that recently the maritime mission consisted over 170 staff under the colonel *SAMEJIMA* (later he would be the general) will depart for the port of *Toulon*, France, on the board of the English ship *PASAN* to accept the new battleship *MATSUSHIMA* [松島]. I asked him to give me the permission to ride the ship and get the permission. On January 30, 1892, I departed from the port *Yokohama*.”

「…即ち一意出發の準備に力むる折しも、比叡艦長田中大佐の同國より歸朝せらるゝあり、予が企圖を讚し、訓誨示導せらるゝこと深く、且つ土帝の日本人を待つことの切なる由を説かる。偶々新造軍艦松島回航の爲め、同委員長鮫島 [員規] 大佐 (故海軍大將) の士官以下水兵百七十餘名を以て、英船パサン號に搭じ佛國ツーロンに向ふあり。予即ち請ふて便乗の榮を得、廿五年一月卅日を以て横濱港を出發す。」 [YAMADA 1911b; 5-6]

There is no evidence that he had engaged in the preparation for the departure before May 1891. We must pay attention that he got the acquaintance with the colonel *TANAKA*, and with his mediation he got the permission from the Maritime Ministry to go to Istanbul and handle the donation to the Ottoman Empire, that he had failed once before. The colonel *TANAKA* helped *YAMADA* to ride on *PASAN* as he helped *NODA* to ride on *HIEI* in October 1890.

However it is so strange that the Foreign Minister *Shuzô AOKI* [青木周蔵] appeared as the key person in place of the colonel *TANAKA* in the later autobiography and the biography of *YAMADA*.

“... Then I went to the Foreign Ministry with the donation that I collected. I asked the Foreign Minister *Shuzô AOKI* for sending the donation to Turkey. He thought for a while and said to me that it was better that you would go to Turkey to handle the donation...”
「…かくて集った慰問金を携へて外務省に赴き、外務大臣青木周蔵氏にこの意を傳へて、同省よりトルコへ送金して貰はうとすると、青木氏は暫く考へられたうへ、それより君がトルコへ持つて行った方が好いといはれ、…」 [YAMADA 1939; 154-5]

“... He went to the Foreign Ministry and met the Foreign Minister *Shuzô AOKI*. He told the his donation campaign and asked him for sending the donation to the Turkish government. The Foreign Minister thought for a while and said to him how about you will go to Turkey to handle the donation because this donation owed to your campaign... So he was affected by this words...”

「氏は外務省に至り、外相青木周蔵氏に面会し、今度の一切を述べて携える処の義捐金を土耳其政府へ送附の手續を請ひたり、外相熟考の末云へらく、之は君の義心に出でしものなれば君自ら携へ土耳其に赴きては如何……氏はその言に動かされ……」 [SANSHÔTEI SHUJIN 1952; 7]

Although this story about the Foreign Minister is accepted as the true fact in the many popular descriptions and academic studies, I can not accept it as the true fact. The reasons are as follows. First, it was impossible to verify the meeting of *YAMADA* with the Foreign Minister *AOKI*. Although we can not find any official documents about the daily activity records of the Foreign Minister *AOKI*, it is doubtful whether one of the ordinary people, like *YAMADA*, could meet the Foreign Minister or not. Actually it was possible he went to the Foreign Ministry to ask for the sending the donation in November 1891, due to the date of his English letter. Even if he went to the Foreign Ministry, it is difficult to believe that he could

meet the Foreign Minister. Second, it is well known that the Foreign Ministry was passive or negative to conclude any treaty with Ottoman Empire even after “the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*”. This attitude was reflected by the policy of the Foreign Minister *Shūzō AOKI*. For example, the Foreign Ministry declined the request of *Ōsaka Asahi Shinbun* [大阪朝日新聞], one of the big newspaper companies, to send their donation to the Ottoman Empire because the ministry had no intention to send the money to any countries without the treaty with Japan. So the company gave up to handle the donation and used them to build the memorial monument by the governor of the *Wakayama* Prefecture *ISHI*. Actually it is natural to think that the Foreign Ministry did not meet *YAMADA* and declined his request in the same way.²¹ Third, as the cabinet system in the *Meiji* Era was quite different from the cabinet system of today, each ministers acted originally and did not cooperate with each other. In the case of “the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*”, we can not find any cooperation of the ministries. Even if he met the Foreign Minister *AOKI*, it was difficult that the Foreign Minister asked the Maritime Minister to his board on *PASAN*. So I judge that this story is not the true fact but the only creation in the later age. I think that the description of the first short autobiography reflected the true fact.

If the *KŌDA*'s novel reflected the truth, *YAMADA* visited *KŌDA* after his trip plan to Istanbul was fixed. He told to *KŌDA* about his plan to use the donation as the excuse to begin the trade business between Japan and the Ottoman Empire [KŌDA 1893; 37]. This visit was also one of his tactics. He asked *KŌDA*, not as the friend but the famous success writer, to introduce his acquaintances who had visited the Ottoman Empire before, or who can be interested in the trade business with the recognition of the later accounting, and who can be related to his plan. *YAMADA* had prepared such strategy tactics in the extent as *KŌDA* was surprised very much, which made him to write the novel about him.

On January 30, 1892, *YAMADA* departed from *Yokohama* to Istanbul with ‘some trade materials and the donation’ [KŌDA 1893; 37].

3) The Short Inspection in Istanbul

On April 4, 1892, *YAMADA* arrived at Istanbul via Egypt, with the assistance of the Maritime Ministry, especially the colonel *TANAKA* and the colonel *SAMEJIMA*.

YAMADA described that he was welcomed by the Ottoman Empire in his autobiographies and biography. But it is quite different from the true story. Although he visited the residence of the Foreign Minister *Said Paşa*, he was not understood because he could not speak French, the common foreign language in the Ottoman Empire, fluently. He could meet

Said Paşa with the full-scale assistance of *NODA*, who lived in Istanbul more than one year and served the Japanese teacher in the Ottoman Military Academy. We can easily learn the activities of *YAMADA* though the articles of *NODA* in *Jichi Shinpō* [MISAWA 2004]. As above mentioned, we can not find any information about *YAMADA* in the Ottoman newspapers. Therefore I can not believe the descriptions of his autobiographies and biography.

Then I would like to verify the main theme of this article. How about the origin of the commercial relationship between the Japan and the Ottoman Empire ?

We can find the following description in his auto biography ;

“After the dinner, *Said Paşa* invited me and told me that he reported my arrival to Sultan. Sultan ordered to him to arrange my stay for a while, according to the his wish with the pleasure. When I asked him what shall I do during the stay, he answered to me for some preparations of the trade business between both countries in the future. . .”

「食後パシヤは別室に私を招かれ、先刻貴所のことを奏上したところ、陛下は御喜びでトルコに留まるやうにとの御希望だから、暫く滞留して貰ひ度いとの言葉。私はここに留つて何を致すべきかと尋ねたところ、パシヤいはく、将来日本國とトルコ國との通商貿易を開き度い…」 [YAMADA 1939; 156]

And we can find the following descriptions in his biography,

“... and owing to the Foreign Minister, recently Turkey would like to establish the diplomatic relationship and the trade business with Japan for a long time. . .”

「…且外相を経て、土耳其は日本との修交及び貿易とを年来希望しつあるも、…」 [SANSHÔTEI SHUJIN 1952; 14]

“... during my stay, I was ordered to collect the Japanese rare materials by the Sultan. Some of my friends in Turkey also advised me to establish the trade business between Japan and the Ottoman Empire. . .”

「…滞在中皇帝より日本の珍らしき品を取寄せよとの命あり、又彼地にて心安くなれる友人よりも日土両国間の貿易をすゝめられしより…」 [SANSHÔTEI SHUJIN 1952; 26]

According to these descriptions, it is said that the leaders of the Ottoman government such as the Foreign Minister *Said Paşa* (or sometimes the *Sultan II. Abdürhamid*) had the strong positive intention to establish the commercial relationship between Japan and the

Ottoman Empire. On the contrary, *YAMADA* was said that he did not idea to establish of the trade business between both countries, because he just came to Istanbul to bring the donation. And he also said as he finally accepted the Ottoman imperial order, abandoning his passive feeling.

However this story is apparently mistake or forgery. I can not admit this story is the true fact the previous researchers did [TAKAHASHI 2007; 24]. As above mentioned verification of various source materials, it is impossible to believe all descriptions of his autobiographies and biography. We must verify them with sufficient criticism.

Actually *YAMADA* had the strong intention to establish the trade business between both countries as described in *KÔDA*'s novel. This figure agrees with the descriptions of following *NODA*'s articles,

“... The visitor is Mr. *Torajirô YAMADA*, the master of the *Sansan-Bunbô* Publishing Company in *Tokyo*. It seems he came here with a view to starting trade business between Japan and Turkey, bringing several commodities with him and also the donation he collected for *Ertuğrul*...”

「…客は東京三々文房主山田寅次郎氏にして今度日土貿易の端緒を開かんが為め若干の商品並に彼の頃より残りしエルドグロウ号の義捐金を携え此地に到りしものと…。」 [NODA 1892]

“... It passed some days to talk about the future trade business...”

「…今後の商方等の話に早くも日を過ごすうちに…」 [NODA 1892]

Furthermore, we can find his own description to announce his real aim to establish the trade business between two countries in his first short autobiography, on the contrary to the descriptions of his later autobiography and biography.

“Although there are many countries in Asia, there are only three countries ; the Japanese Empire, China and the Turkey, which keep the position of the independent country and have enough power to oppose to the World Great Powers. Recently Turkey loses its power, but sends the ambassadors to each European country, and has some 10,000 of soldiers and horses. Turkey does not resemble the other poor countries. We, Japanese lives in the same Asia as Turkish lives in. It is regrettable that we do not know Turkey. Furthermore, Turkey tries to send her battleship to establish the diplomatic relationship with us! Although the battleship was sank unfortunately on the way to home, and lost her duty, we

must not forget her idea. It is not useless that now I would like to go to Turkey in order to investigate her circumstances, and to try to establish the relationship between two countries. This is just my idea when I planned to go to Turkey.”

「亜細亞洲中國を立つるもの少からずと雖、儼然獨立國の體麵を保ち、世界列疆と比肩し得べきものは、我が帝國の外、唯土耳其と清國とあるのみ。近者土國勢振はずというも、歐洲の各國に大使を派し、兵馬數十万を備ふるが如き、決して他の貧弱國の比すべきに非ず。我が邦人地を同洲に占めて、而して未だ土國の情勢に通ぜざるは、殊に遺憾といふべし。況や彼遠く軍艦を派して我に修交を求めたるをや。不幸にして其艦は歸途沈没の厄に遭ひ、使命を全うすること能はざりしと雖、其情義は永く没すべからず。今日土國に航し、其國情を尋ね、彼我交通の道を開かんこと、決して無用の事にあらざる可し。是れ實に予が土耳其行を其當時に企てたる所以なり。」
[YAMADA 1911b; 5]

According to this idea, *YAMADA* handled his donation [HR.Mtv. 507/29], and the old Japanese traditional armor and helmet as the gifts [Y.PRK.ASK. 80/107, Y. Mtv. 61/19, 62/19] to get the acquaintance with the Ottoman leaders to establish the trade business.²² But these tactics were not sufficient to begin the trade business. It was impossible to realize his idea without *NODA*. Extensively *NODA* helped *YAMADA*, who suddenly arrived at Istanbul without any introduction. It is quite strange that there is no description about such a great benefactor *NODA* in his autobiographies and biography. According to the official document of the Ottoman Empire preserved in the Ottoman Archive in Istanbul, *NODA* wrote an application letter to assist *YAMADA* to establish the trade business in June 1892 [Y.PRK. AZJ. 21/116]. In this way, *YAMADA* succeeded in establishing some relationship with the Ottoman Empire, and was gifted the 4th Mecidiye decoration in June 1892 [Ī.DH. 100542].²³ Furthermore, *NODA* appointed him as the private assistant in his Japanese lectures at the Ottoman Military Academy for a while. There is also the misunderstanding that *YAMADA* was appointed the official Japanese teacher by the Ottoman Empire.²⁴

Furthermore, there is also the big misunderstanding about the donation that *YAMADA* brought to Istanbul. As above mentioned, there is no description about the amount of the donation in all of his autobiographies and biography. Although his English letter, preserved in the Ottoman Archive in Istanbul, was dated November 1891, he handled the donation during his first stay in Istanbul [HR. Mtv. 507/29, see **Appendix 2 & 3**]. Probably he did not rewrite the letter after he failed the first trial to handle the donation through the Japanese Foreign Ministry. In this letter he was ashamed the small amount of his donation.

Some previous studies suggested the amount of his donation as about 5,000 Yen in those

days [MATSUTANI 1986; 44, ESENBEL 1999]. This is the clear mistake. This number is total amount of the Japanese donation, mainly collected by not the private persons like *YAMADA* but the newspaper companies.²⁵ There is the receipt for the donation of *YAMADA*, dated on May 15 26, R.1308 (=June 7, 1892), displayed at the Maritime Museum in Istanbul [see **Appendix 4 & 5**]. According to this receipt, he donated 1,823 *kurus* (=about 96,91 Yen). It is only 2% of the amount of all Japanese donations. It is the reasonable number as the amount which the individual such as *YAMADA* could collect. Actually he had the sympathy and chivalrous spirit with the tragedy, he could collect only small amount of donation through his private campaign.

Furthermore, in the previous studies, there is also the big misunderstanding about the period of his first stay in Istanbul. Actually he stayed in Istanbul only a few months. But this misunderstanding is owed to not the previous studies but the descriptions of his autobiographies and biography. The descriptions are in quite a mess.

As reported in some Japanese newspapers, *YAMADA* returned to *Tokyo* on board of the new Japanese battleship *MATSUSHIMA* on October 25, 1892.²⁶ Actually before his trip, he had the plan to come back home with *MATSUSHIMA*. Either his trial to establishment of the trade business between two counties ended in success or failure, he decided to get on *MATSUSHIMA*. From the beginning to the end, or for the round trip between *Tokyo* and Istanbul, he depended on the assistance of the Maritime Ministry.

There is no description about his return way to home in any source materials. According to the official documents of the Maritime Ministry, *MATSUSHIMA* departed from Toulon on July 23, 1892. This new battleship arrived at Napoli on July 28, 1892, and departed from there on August 3, 1892. Then it arrived at Alexandria on August 13, 1892, and arrived at Port Said on August 14, 1892. From Port Said it departed for Aden and the Indian Ocean [*Kôbunbikô Besshû Shinkan Seizôbu : Matsushima & Hashidate*, 1893]. Although we have no information where *YAMADA* joined *MATSUSHIMA*, he must leave Istanbul in July or August 1892, and joined it in France, Italy or Egypt. So it is possible to calculate his first stay for the inspection in Istanbul about 3-4 months. This fact agrees with the following description of his first short autobiography ;

“... After a few months' stay, I grasped the general information of Turkey. I returned to Japan for the present. But a few months later, I made passage to Istanbul again, and stayed here for a few years. . .”

「…滞留數月、粗ぼ土京の事情を了解し、一旦本邦に歸りしが、數月の後、再び土京に遊び、

留まる數年…」 [YAMADA 1911b; 10]

Furthermore it agrees with the fact that after July 1892, we can not find his activities in the articles of *NODA* in *Jichi Shinpō* as before.

On the contrary to this fact, we can find incredible confusion in the following descriptions of later autobiography and the biography ;

“... In this way I was welcomed for a long time. The revolution happened in Turkey and the Sultan was removed to *Thessaoniki*. . . . I was advised about return to home, so I did.”

「…かくのごくにして永い間眷顧をうけてゐたところ、たまたまトルコに革新派が起り、皇帝をサロニカにお移して…。この際は一時日本へ歸へられた方がよくはないかといはれたので歸朝した。」 [YAMADA 1939; 157-8]

This suggests as if he did not come back home to Japan until 1914. Otherwise, we find the other following description in his biography ;

“... in this way, I gradually gathered information in this country (=Turkey) , also was interested in this country. About two years passed before I noticed.”

「…かくて日を経るにつれてこの國の事情も明かに判り、従て興味も湧き、不図二年餘の日子を送りぬ。」 [SANSHÔTEI SHUJIN 1952; 14]

This suggests he came back home to Japan after two years' residence in Istanbul. Furthermore, we can find the following description in his biography without any indication of year.

“... When he returned to *Tokyo*, he was interviewed by some newspaper reporters immediately. In addition, he had some visits from his seniors and the officials of the Agriculture and Commerce Ministry. In particular, his great acquainted senior Mr. *Takeaki ENOMOTO* [榎本武揚], who became the Foreign Minister as the successor of *Shûzô AOKI*, held a seminar of the great businessmen in *Tokyo* for him. Later he was invited by Ôsaka Chamber of Commerce for the lecture about Turkey. In this way, he arranged with the traders of East and West Japan about the trade business between Japan and Turkey. After one year he went to Turkey again. . .”

「…氏は一先づ東京へ歸着するや、直に新聞記者の來訪をうけ、又先輩よりも招かれ、農商務省よりも訪問を受けたり、わけて青木外相の後任にてかねて知遇を得たる大先輩榎本武揚氏は東京

の大実業家を集めて氏の為に懇談会を開かれたり、氏は更に大阪商業会議所に招かれて同所にて土耳其事情を語り、関東関西の貿易業者と日土間の貿易につき打合せをなせり、かくて一年後に再び渡土…」 [SANSHÔTEI SHUJIN 1952; 7]

Through this description, we can learn at least he stayed in Japan in 1893. Because the seminar that he described is the ‘the Seminar of the Colonial Association [殖民協会]’ that was held at the *Kôsei-kan* [厚生館] in *Kobiki-chô, Ginza* [銀座木挽町] on April 16, 1893.

VI. The Inducements to the Trade Business in Japan

As soon as *YAMADA* returned to Japan in October 1892, he positively developed the inducement activity to the trade business between Japan and Turkey.

Unfortunately, we can not verify that he was welcomed in the large scale as described in his biography. According to the newspapers, he made a lecture for the invited 50 audiences at *Uehiro-tei* [上廣亭] in *Ueno* on November 12, 1892.²⁷ After this small seminar, the above mentioned bigger seminar was held.²⁸ But we can find the exaggeration of the description in his biography. This seminar was not held for only him, but was held for the members of the Colonial Association, that was established under *ENOMOTO* as the chairperson in January 31, 1893. According to the bulletin of the association, *YAMADA* became a member from the establishment of the association [*The Reports of the Colonial Association*, 1, 115-8]. As the merchant who had the great ambition to establish the trade business between Japan and the Ottoman Empire, he was very interested in this new association. We can not find any evidence that he had the acquaintance with *ENOMOTO* as described in his biography. He was only one of the over 400 members, and he was also selected as the councilor consisted by 30 core members.²⁹ At this seminar, 10 members (12 member registered, but 2 of them canceled) made each lecture. *YAMADA* made a lecture entitled, ‘The real circumstances of Turkey and Egypt’ [*The Reports of the Colonial Association*, 2; 271-2]. Fortunately we can read the abstract of his lecture [*YAMADA* 1893]. It is very interesting that he called himself as the ‘the Agent of the Turkish Commercial Museum’. It is not clear whether he called this title under the permission of the Ottoman Empire or only his private tactics. This title suggested that he was so active to call any inducements for his trade business.

According to his private letter addressed to *Kenzô IKEDA* [池田謙三], who was related to the 100th Bank [第百銀行], on June 30, 1894,³⁰ *YAMADA* departed from *Kôbe* to Istanbul in the summer of 1893. As the descriptions in his biography, he came back to Istanbul after his inducement activities in *Tokyo*, *Ôsaka* and *Kôbe*. Unfortunately we can not find the original

of this letter, it contains many information about his activities after he returned to Istanbul. First, he exhibited some Japanese commodities at 'the Commercial Meuseum in Istanbul' (perhaps 'Istanbul Chamber of Commerce' = 'İstanbul Ticaret ve Sanay Odası') before he came back to Japan. Second, he established 'the Japanese Shop', as the attachment organization of 'the Commercial Meuseum in Istanbul'. Third, he contracted with *Jogorô ASADA* [浅田徐五郎] in *Kôbe*, as the agent of 'the Japanese Shop'. Actually we can not verify his various activities for the establishment of the trade business between countries, this letter suggests that *YAMADA* succeeded to begin the trade business in Istanbul for the time being in 1893.

VII. Conclusion

It was confirmed that the origin of the commercial relationship between Japan and the Ottoman Empire is one of the private Japanese merchants, named *Torajirô YAMADA*. Neither Japanese government nor the Ottoman government had any intention to promote the commercial relationship between two countries in the end of the 19th Century, even after "the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*". It is the clear mistake that the Ottoman Empire had the positive intention to promote the trade business with Japan as the uncertain anecdote we believed. *YAMADA* was not the passive honest man, but the positive ambitious merchant with the various strategic tactics to establish his own trade business between two countries. The commercial relationship between Japan and the Ottoman Empire had opened up by a 'Student Merchant'.

In the next, it requires for *YAMADA* to set up the firm foothold of the trade business in Istanbul. It was very important for him to find any Japanese investors for his trade business because he himself lacked the enough fund. It is the *NAKAMURA* family who agreed to invest to his trade business in Istanbul. They established the '*NAKAMURA* Store' in Istanbul, and sent one of the member, *Kenjirô NAKAMURA* [中村健次郎], as the owner of the store. As the employed manager of this store, *YAMADA* seeks to realize his dreams. Although we have few information about this store, we got recently the detailed study depended on the hearing investigation of the *NAKAMURA* family [INABA 2006, TAKAHASHI 2007]. It is the next subject of my study that I would like to verify the second stage of the commercial relationship between Japan and the Ottoman Empire, with more research of new source materials as possible.

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Notes

- 1) It is possible to know the details of this disaster depended on the official report [CHUÔ BÔSAI KAIGI SAIGAI KYÔKUN NO KEISHÔ NI KANSURU SENMON CHÔSA IINKAI 2005] which was published recently by the Central Disaster Prevention Council under the Japanese Cabinet.
- 2) Especially the influence of the television programs is so large to the spread of such erroneous information, or beautiful legend with no historical facts. In addition, the local favor also makes such beautiful legends with no historical source material criticism [JÔSHÛ FÛ 2003].
- 3) Later *NAITÔ* wrote the small booklet depended on his Ph.D.thesis [NAITO 1959]. *MATSUTANI*, who is also the diplomat at the post war period, wrote a book about the relationship between Japan and the Ottoman Empire [MATSUTANI 1986]. Although it has many precious information related his own duty, it has few new information about the relationship during the end of the 19th Century to the beginning of the 20th Century. He also wrote a popular book about the people related to Istanbul [MATSUTANI 1998]. We can find a typical sample of the legend of *YAMADA* in this book.
- 4) Although we can find some Japanese book in the bibliography of this book, there are many mistakes in the transcription of Japanese words, even the title of the most important book published by *YAMADA*.
- 5) This study describes the outline of *YAMADA*'s life, especially from the viewpoint of the tobacco industry. *SAKAMOTO* introduces some directories published in Japan as the new historical source materials. But it is difficult to designate these reference books as the historical source materials. But in this study we can find no new source materials except some new reference book published in Japan.
- 6) As for my investigation, it is only *INABA* who tried to verify the descriptions of his autobiographies and biography [INABA 2003, INABA 2006]. According to his study, we got the real fact about the monitor of the Bosphoras straits by *YAMADA* during the Russo-Japanese War It was confirmed the legend that Japan won the war due to the his heroic activities is mistake. The monitor of the straits is not planned by him but the Japanese Foreign Ministry. He was only an assistant. Furthermore the information from Istanbul was not important to investigate the status of Baltic Fleet.
- 7) According to the analysis of these Japanese Newspapers, the author made studies about the disaster of *Ertuğrul* [MISAWA 2002, 2003a, 2003b].
- 8) For example, some materials belong to *YAMADA* family were displayed at “*The Exhibition about the History of the Friendship between Japan and Turkey* (『日本-トルコ友好史展』)” at *Wakô (Ginza, Tokyo)* in September-October 2003.
- 9) *Sôhen YAMADA*, the son of *Torajiroô*, wrote his birthday as 21 August, 1866 [SADÔ SÔHEN-RYÛ HUSHIN-AN 1980, 131]. But *Onur YÛKSEL*, the Turkish researcher who investigated the private

- archives belong to *YAMADA* family at *Kamakura, KANAGAWA*, made the verification about the accurate birthday as 23 August, 1866 depended on *Torajirō*'s career sheet.
- 10) *DEGUCHI* suggested the date of adoption as the year 1881 [DEGUCHI 2006, 81]. But according to the above-mentioned *Torajirō*'s career sheet, he was adopted by *YAMADA* family in the year 1880.
 - 11) "The opening Ceremony of Tokyo Pharmacy School", *Pharmacy Magazine*, 33, 1884, 462-468. [「東京薬學校開校式」『薬學雜誌』33, 1884年, 462-468頁] The other 6 students are *Yoshikazu YAMATO* (山登義和), *Genemon SAWADA* (澤田源右衛門), *Isotarō IWANAMI* (岩波磯太郎), *Seijirō YASUKAWA* (安川政太郎), *Kamasaburō FUJITA* (藤田蒲三郎), *Eijirō KOIZUMI* (小泉榮次郎).
 - 12) I wonder *SUGINO* is the same person who established *Yamaichi* Stock Company. If it is true, it is very interesting that *YAMADA* and *SUGINO*, who got the great success in later, worked together in youth.
 - 13) We can read only the 1st, 4th and 5th issues of this magazine. As we can find the advertisement of the 6th issue, it is possible that the 6th issue was published [DEGUCHI 2006, 81-82]. The editor and publisher was changed from *YAMADA* by *Kamekitsu MIZUNO* [水野亀橋]. As *YAMADA* was still the editorial stuff, he probably gave up the management. However, this magazine was discontinued before long. In February 1889, there must be any circumstances driven into discontinuance of publication to this magazine.
 - 14) There is the announcement that the address of *YAMADA* was changed as *Torigoe-chō, Asakusa* [浅草西鳥越町] in the 4th issue of his magazine. It is thought that he began a single life, not depended on the *MURAKAMI* Family with some reason.
 - 15) I suppose that it was *SUGINO* who tried to sell the first *KŌDA*'s novel and went to the travel to *Jōshū Sano YAMADA* and *KŌDA*. According to the previous studies [YANAGIDA 1947, 89], the name of two persons as *Rizan Chōsui* [李山張水] means *YAMADA* and *HA YASHI*. I wonder that *Chōsui* means *Josui* [如水] as addressed in his magazine. I suppose *Rizan Chōsui* are *Jozan* and *Chōsui*. *DEGUCHI* suggested that *JOZAN* is *YAMADA* [DEGUCHI 2006, 81]. I can not confirm who is *Josui*, but I suppose he is *SUGINO*.
 - 16) According to the newspapers we can confirm only 6 or 7 out of 15 were carried out [MISAWA 2002]. In the later mention, at last he gave up lectures and promoted the entertainment show to collect the donation.
 - 17) This farewell party was held as so large scale at the *Yūaku-kan* Theater, including the various entertainment show, such as *Jōruri* by *Harimadayū* [播磨太夫の浄瑠璃], *Kanjinchō* by *Shōzaburō KINEYA* [杵屋正三郎], and so on. As he had knowledge of the power of media, we can find the advertisement of this party in the newspapers [*Yomiuri Shinbun* [読売新聞], no. 5139, October 1, 1891; *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun* [東京朝日新聞], no. 2052, October 2, 1891].
 - 18) As the a graduate of Tokyo Medical School, he published a book about medicine [HIRSCH 1891]. As we can not find any book after a book related to old Japanese songs [SHIKAMA 1891-92], the publishing company was closed soon after *YAMADA* departed for Istanbul in 1892.
 - 19) In this way, *YAMADA* had the acquaintance with famous entertainers. They helped him at the donation campaign and farewell party.
 - 20) However, according to the assassination attempt of the Russian Prince, the Japanese society lost the interests of the return of the two battleships.
 - 21) The Foreign Ministry send no diplomat to the Ottoman Empire with *HIEI* and *KONGŌ*. The Foreign Minister *AOKI* had no idea to conclude any treaty with the Ottoman Empire. He only sent a diplomat *Zenjūrō HORIKOSHI* [堀越善十郎] to research the economic circumstance of the Ottoman Empire. According to his reports, *AOKI* found no need to establish any commercial relationship with the Ottoman Empire.
 - 22) There is the anecdote that *YAMADA* had an audience with *the Sultan Abdūrrhamid II*, and gave the Japanese armors as the gift. But we cannot find any evidence that he could have an audience in 1882.
 - 23) *NODA* was gifted the 3rd Mecidiye decoration in 1891, and 2nd Mecidiye decoration in 1892 when he returned to Japan [MISAWA and AKÇADAĞ 2007]. This fact suggests that the Ottoman Empire admitted him the most important Japanese guest in Istanbul.

- 24) I would like to verify the first Japanese education in the Ottoman Empire in near future.
- 25) As for the donation from Japan, most of them are collected by the newspaper corporations (*Kôbe Yushin Nippô* 53.75 Yen, *Jichi Shinpô* 4,248.976 Yen, *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shinbun*, 608,346 Yen, *Mainichi Shinbun*, 128,534 Yen, *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* 152,040 Yen). As for the private person, *Torajirô YAMADA* collected 1,823 kuruş (=96,91 Yen). so it is possible to count 5,288.556 Yen as the donation from Japan [CHUÔ BÔSAI KAIGI SAIGAI KYÔKUN NO KEISHÔ NI KANSURU SENMON CHÔSA IINKAI 2005].
- 26) *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, no. 2387, on November 9, 1892
- 27) *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, no. 2387, on November 9, 1892, *do*, no. 2393, on November 16, 1892. According to this article, he planned the other lecture about the trade business between two countries.
- 28) According to the newspapers, the number of the audience was over 1000 people. [*Yomiuri Shinbun*, no. 5659, on April 18, 1893].
- 29) Among the councilars, we can find some people related to the Ottoman Empire , such as *Kôki WATANABE* [渡辺洪基], *Shirô SHIBA* [柴四朗], *Ryô KOEDUKA* [肥塚龍], *Jûkô SHIGA* [志賀重昂] [*The Reports of the Colonial Association*, 1, 108].
- 30) *Yomiuri Shinbun*, no. 6128, on August 24, 1894.

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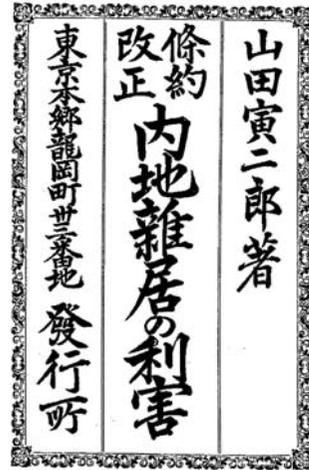
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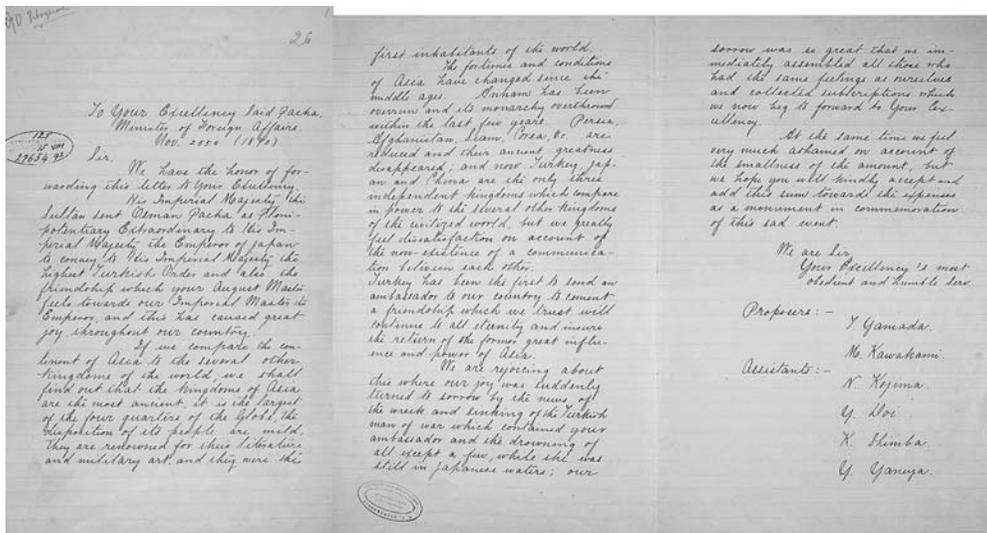
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Appendix 1 : The First Publications of YAMADA [The Magazine for Ladies & Gentlemen (left) and Treaty Revision : Loss & Gain about Mixed Residence (right)]



Appendix 2 : The Letter to Said Paşa (BOA : HR.MTV 507/29) [original photograph]



Appendix 3 : The Letter to *Said Paşa* (BOA : HR.MTV 507/29) [transcription]

To Your Excellency Said Pasha,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Nov. 2550 (1890)⁽¹⁾

Sir,

We have the honor of forwarding this letter to Your Excellency.

His Imperial Majesty the Sultan sent Osman Pacha as Plenipotentiary Extraordinary to His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan to convey to His Imperial Majesty the highest Turkish Order and also the friendship which your August Master feels towards our Imperial Master the Emperor, and this has caused great joy throughout our country.

If we compare the continent of Asia is the several other kingdoms of the world, we shall find out that the kingdoms of Asia are the most ancient, if is the largest of the four quarters of the Globe, the disposition of its people are mild, they are renowned for this literature and military art, and they were the first inhabitants of the world.

The fortunes and conditions of Asia have changed since the middle ages. Annam has been overrun and its monarchy overthrown within the last few years. Persia, Afghanistan, Siam, Corea, etc. are reduced and their ancient greatness disappeared ; and now Turkey, Japan and China are the only three independent kingdoms which compare in power to the several other kingdoms of the civilized world, but we greatly feel dissatisfaction on communication between each other.

Turkey has been the first to send an ambassador to our country to cement a friendship which we trust will continue to all eternity and insure the return of the former great influence and power of Asia.

We are rejoicing about this where our joy was suddenly turned to sorrow by the news of the wreck and sinking of the Turkish man of war which contained your ambassador and the drowning of all except a few, which she was still in Japanese waters ; our sorrow was so great that we immediately assembled all those who had the same feelings as ourselves and collected subscriptions which we now beg to forward to Your Excellency.

At the same time we feel very much ashamed on account of the smallness of the amount, but we hope you will kindly accept and add this sum towards the expenses as a monument in commemoration of this sad event.

We are Sir

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble sent.

Proposers : -

T. Yamada

M. Kawakami⁽²⁾

Assistants ; -

N. Kojima

Y. Doi

K. Shim

Y. Yaneya

【Notes on Appendix 3】

(1) 2550 is the year depended on the Japanese own calendar year according to the Imperial reign. It means the 2550th year from the throne of Emperor Jinmu, the first emperor. In Japan, the nationalists prefer to use this calendar year. It suggests *YAMADA* was also a nationalist.

(2) *Maki KAWAKAMI* [川上馬喜] and *YAMADA* promoted the event entitled “The entertainment show to collect donations for the Turkish Battleship [土耳其軍艦義捐の演芸会]” at the famous popular theater “*Yûraku-kan* [友楽館]” located at *Kakigara-chô, Nihon-bashi, Tokyo*, on 11–12 October, 1890. Before this event, *YAMADA* promoted the series lecture about the Turkish Battleship at the downtown of Tokyo from 21 September to 5 October. We cannot find any evidence that *KAWAKAMI* related to the series lectures. On the other hand, in this letter we cannot find any persons who assisted the series lecture, such as *Yasuzô YUBIHARA* [指原安三] and *Takichi YAMAZAKI* [山崎太吉]. This fact suggests this letter (and therefore the donations that *YAMADA* brought to Istanbul) was only connected to the above mentioned the entertainment show. Unfortunately we have no detail information about four assistants.

Appendix 4 : the Receipt of the donation belong to *YAMADA* (Deniz Müzesi, İstanbul)



Appendix 5 : Transcription of the Receipt of the donation belong to *YAMADA* Turkish
(Deniz Müzesi, İstanbul)

Numara 81

Cilt 3

【Birinci ve ikinci satır】

Tecdi-i berat-ı mefahir-i hazret-i padişahîden olmak üzere *Ertuğrul Fırkateyni* hümay-ununda vefat edenlerin ailesine iane için daire-i bahriyede teşekkül eden komisyona teslim edilen meblağa mahsus makbuz-ı seniyyedir.

Japonya tüccarından *YAMADA Efendi*'ye, ianeten ita olunan 1823 kuruş iane komisyon-ı âlisi sandığına teslim olmuştur.

Fi 26 Mayıs, sene (1) 308

【Yan taraftaki yazı】

***Ertuğrul Fırkateyni* hümayununda vefat edenlerin ailesine asûb-ı iane mekbuz-ı seniyyeleridir.**

【日本語抄訳】

日本とオスマン朝との間における通商関係の起源 ：「書生商人」たる若き山田寅次郎の戦略

三 沢 伸 生

日本とオスマン朝との関係史は、1890年の「エルトゥールル号事件」に始まると言われる。

この事件を契機に、民間においても貿易業創始して両国間の通商関係を構築しようという動きが現れた。こうした通商関係の起源は、それまでに貿易事業の経験をもっていない一民間人である山田寅次郎に求めることができる。現在、日本とトルコとの関係史において伝説的に語られる山田であるが、しかし彼の活動をめぐる貿易事業の起源の詳細は必ずしも解明されておらず、加えて彼にまつわる逸話には誤謬・誇張も少なくはない。とりわけ最大の疑問は、この通商関係の創設において、どちら側に意図があったのかということである。従来まで、通商関係の構築はオスマン朝側の積極的な意図の結果であり、偶々エルトゥールル号の義捐金を持参した山田が思いがけず命じられるままに任されたことに始まると言われている。すなわち通商関係の構築においてオスマン朝が能動的で、日本側は受動的であったという。

日本とトルコにおいて決して多くはない先行研究は、山田の短い自叙伝および本人の監修下に友人によって執筆された評伝を主たる史料として用いてきた。しかしながら学術的な歴史学研究において日記・伝記の類は他の史料によって十分な検証が行われなくてはならない。日本とトルコの双方において、新聞・雑誌・公文書・私文書といった最近になって新規に発見された諸史料によって、山田の自叙伝・評伝の記述内容を検証するならば、それらには数多くの混乱・矛盾・誇張・情報の隠匿があることを容易に見てとることができる。

とりわけ最近の日本近代文学研究によって指摘された、山田をモデルとした幸田露伴の小説『書生商人』の記述、さらに様々な史料に基づいて若き山田の様々な活動を検証するならば、彼がはっきりとした貿易業起業の強い意志と戦略とをもって、イスタンブルへと渡った事実が確認される。

こうして日本とオスマン朝との間における通商関係は、山田寅次郎という一民間人のもつ貿易事業に対する積極的な意思と行動力とによって創始されたことが確認されるのである。従来言われてきたような、通商関係構築に積極的なオスマン朝主導のもとで、山田が受動的に貿易事業に着手せざるを得なくなったわけではなかった。事実は全く反対である。実際、「エルトゥールル号事件」後の19世紀末の段階において、日本とオスマン朝の双方において国家も社会も通商関係の構築にほとんど関心を有していなかった。山田という強い個性を持つ一人の若者の、考え抜いた戦略と破天荒な行動力とによって、両国の通商関係は幕を開けるに至ったのである。