

NAKARAI TOSUI'S NOVEL, *KOSAFUKUKAZE (THE WIND BLOWING YELLOW SAND)*

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Nakarai Tosui was one of the most popular newspaper novelists in Tokyo. He became a novel journalist (*shosetsukisha*) for the Tokyo Asahi Shinbun in 1888. Tosui wrote *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand* for Asahi Shinbun from November 1890 to April 1891.

The main satage of the novel is the Korean peninsula, and the hero is a half Japanese half Korean boy. Before becoming a novel journalist for the Tokyo Asahi Shinbun, Tosui worked from 1880 to 1887 as a correspondent for the Osaka Asahi Shinbun in Pusan.

Tosui put into his novel *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand* all of his knowledge about Korean culture and all of his experience as a Korean specialist journalist. He wove into his novel many incidents that took place between Japan and Korea in the late 19th century. The hero Hayashi Masamoto becomes friends with the progressive aristocrats in Seoul, and finally succeeds in concluding the East Asian three countries' alliance and prevents the interference of the Russian empire with Korea. The novel was enjoyed by newspaper readers, and it was published in the form of a book in two volumes in 1893.

Tosui was asked to write a sequel to *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand* at the time of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, but this novel was suspended, presumably because Tosui expressed his ideal of the harmonious coexistence of three East Asian countries in *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*, and the sequel went against readers' taste.

After the failure of *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand* and its sequel, Tosui wrote very little about Korea. Japan's policy toward Asia was now moving in a completely opposite direction to Tosui's ideal, towards the invasion by force of Asian countries.

Key words: NAKARAI TOSUI, *KOSAFUKUKAZE*, KOREAN-JAPANESE RELATIONSHIP, OSAKA ASAHI SHINBUN, TSUSHIMA, KANGHUADO TREATY, KAEHUADANG, SEOUL, PUSAN

Nakarai Tosui (1860-1926)¹ is now a totally forgotten novelist. Only a few readers of Higuchi Ichiyo remember his name, as it was he who taught her the art of novel composition and was her supposed lover. The readers of Higuchi Ichiyo's diary will be impressed at how much she admires Tosui as handsome, gentle and kind.²

When Higuchi Ichiyo first met him in 1882, Nakarai Tosui was one of the most popular newspaper novelists in Tokyo. Tosui was a *shosetsukisha* (novel journalist) for the Tokyo Asahi Shinbun. Tosui wrote *shinbunshosetsu* (newspaper novels) for the Asahi Shinbun for more than thirty years. Among his newspaper novels, *Kosafukukaze*,³ (*The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*) is regarded as one of his most successful works.⁴ As the novel's subtitle, *Chosenshosetsu*, (*Korean Novel*) indicates, the main stage of the novel is the Korean peninsula. The hero is a half Japanese and half Korean boy. Tosui included many incidents which occurred between Japan and Korea in the 1870's and 1880's, such as the soldiers' rebellion of 1882 and the coup of Kim Okkyun in 1885. Before becoming a novel journalist for the Tokyo Asahi Shinbun, Tosui worked from 1880 to 1887 as a correspondent for the Osaka Asahi Shinbun in Pusan. Tosui put into his "Korean

novel" all of his knowledge about Korean culture and all of his experience as a Korean specialist journalist. To understand how Tosui became a popular newspaper novelist in the 1890's, we should look at the special characteristics of early Meiji Japanese newspapers.

Japanese Newspaper Novels and Asahi Shinbun

Most Japanese daily newspapers have newspaper novels. This seems to be one of the unique characteristics of present-day Japanese newspapers, although in the early stage of newspaper development in Japan, Japanese newspapers imitated the newspaper novels of Western countries. In the early Meiji period, Japanese newspapers were divided into two categories, — *ooshinbun*, (big newspaper), and *koshinbun*, (small newspaper). The words big and small do not refer to the size in number of newspapers, but the character of them. *Ooshinbun* specialized in political reports and discussions, and never included newspaper novels. *Koshinbun* reported news close to common people, murders, crime and gossip. Such articles were written in a colloquial style and were often accompanied by illustrations. Asahi Shinbun started one such *koshinbun* in Osaka in 1874. During a severe competition with previously existing *ooshinbun* in Osaka, Asahi greatly increased its publication in 1880, because the newspaper novel *Dokufu Umeji* (*Poisonous Girl Umeji*) by Ono Yonekichi attracted many Osaka readers. Umeji was a real person, who committed all sorts of crimes, including murder, robbery, fraud, and prostitution in the 1850's and 1860's. After the Meiji Restoration, she repented her corrupt past and led the life of an ordinary citizen. The tale of Umeji became so popular that it was dramatized and performed in theaters in Osaka, and *rakugo* storytellers recited Umeji tales in *yose*, (small *rakugo* theaters) in downtown Osaka. Since the newspaper novel *Dokufu Umeji* helped greatly to increase Asahi subscribers, the Asahi Shinbun came to treat newspaper novels as the most important part of its newspaper.⁵ As Asahi grew to become a large newspaper in the 1880's and defeated the "big" newspapers like Tokyo Nichinichi, newspaper novels became a regular program in Japanese newspapers.

The fact that Asahi Shinbun invited Natsume Soseki to become a newspaper novelist for Asahi in 1907 shows how highly Asahi regarded the newspaper novel as an important promoter of its reputation.

Nakarai Tosui as Korean Correspondent

Tosui started his career at Asahi Shinbun not as a novelist, but as a private journalist working in Pusan. He wrote anonymous articles for the paper in 1881.⁶

Nakarai Tosui was born in 1860 in Tsushima, an island between Kyushu and the Korean peninsula. The Tushima clan carried out diplomatic negotiations with Korea with the trust and supervision of the Tokugawa Shogunate. After the Meiji Restoration, the new Meiji imperial government intended to notify Korea of the change of Japanese governments and to declare that the new diplomatic counterpart to the Korean kingdom government would be the newly founded Meiji imperial government.

Korea refused the diplomatic letter as a violation of precedent. While the negotiation concerning the new diplomatic relationship between Japan and Korea was deadlocked, the Meiji government reformed the diplomatic system on the Japanese side, and the Tushima clan's

business with Korea was absorbed into the newly founded Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo.⁷

Tosui's father was a doctor, serving the Tsushima clan. His father was rich, because the import of Korean ginseng was the main business of the clan and Tosui's father inspected the quality of the ginseng. However, the new Meiji government denied the monopoly of Korean trade by Tsushima, and permitted Tokyo and Osaka merchants like Mitsui to go to Pusan, which was the only open port for Japanese in the Tokugawa and the early Meiji period.

As Tsushima's trade business declined, Tosui's father lost his position as an official doctor to the Tsushima clan. Tosui's father took his son Tosui with him to Pusan to do trade business, which was not very successful. Tosui worked as a waiter in Wakan, the office of the Tsushima clan. He read Chinese heroic stories, like *History of Three Kingdoms* and dreamed of becoming a heroic samurai, not a doctor. In Pusan, Tosui also became interested in learning the Korean language, and he associated with the Korean candy and rice cake merchants who were coming daily to the Tsushima office.⁸

In 1875, Tosui's father decided to send his son to Tokyo and make him study the new Western science. Tosui entered Kyoritsugakusha, the private English school of Seki Shinpachi, who was known as one of the best English scholars in Japan and who had translated Webster's English dictionary.⁹

While he was studying at Seki's school, it is believed that Tosui contributed an article to the Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun, which was one of the most authoritative newspapers in Japan.¹⁰ Exactly what kind of article he wrote is not known. Presumably, however, this article was on the Korean-Japanese relationship, because on August 30, 1875, a Japanese warship Un'yo had approached Kanhua Island, which is the entrance to the Korean capital, Seoul. The Un'yo had been fired upon by Korean battery.¹¹ Un'yo immediately counterattacked, destroying the battery and killing Korean soldiers. In Japan, people were in an uproar with the news that a Japanese navy ship was "insulted" by Korean artillery.¹² Tosui was only 15 years old at that time, but he was one of the very few Tsushima persons in Tokyo who knew the special, close friendly relationship between Korea and Japan in the Tokugawa period, because the Tokugawa Shogunate used to keep secret all details concerning negotiations between Japan and Korea.

According to the "Biography of Ueno Riichi", Tosui enthusiastically began to contribute articles to newspapers, and he became known even by local newspapers as a talented article writer.

In 1877, Tosui entered the Mitsubishi Trade Company. Mitsubishi was earning an enormous profit from military goods and transportation during the Seinan War, but to Tosui's eyes all of the businessmen in the Mitsubishi company appeared to be mammonists. He resigned immediately, went to Kyoto and entered Enryakuji temple on Mt. Hiei. In that Buddhist temple he came to realize that without money it is difficult to lead a monk's life. He came down to Kyoto and became a journalist for the Saikyo Shinbun.¹³

The Saikyo Shinbun was founded in 1877 and had only a very few experienced journalists. Tosui was already known as a talented article writer, so he was treated favorably by the Saikyo Shinbun and wrote all sorts of articles for the newspaper.

Newspaper articles were divided into two categories in the early Meiji period, *nanpa*, (soft articles), and *koha*, (hard articles). Hard articles meant mainly political articles and editorials, and *nanpa* meant gossip, murder, adultery, and trivial but interesting topics from everyday life.¹⁴ Because Tosui was the only qualified journalist at the Saikyo Shinbun, he wrote both *nanpa* and

koha articles. His talent became well known among journalists in the Kansai area.

In 1880, Tosui was invited by Kochoen Wakana to join Sakigake Shinbun in Osaka. Kochoen Wakana was one of the many *gesakusha* (popular novelists) who became journalists in the early Meiji period. Tosui himself had met one of these popular novelists, Somezaki Enbo, at the Tsushima office in Tokyo, when he was student at the Kyoritsugakusha. Somezaki was a samurai of the Tsushima clan. He had been writing popular novels and had succeeded to the name of Tamenaga Shunshui the second. At that time Somezaki was writing a documentary novel, *Kinseikibun*, (Document of the Restoration War), and told Tosui that he intended to found a newspaper.¹⁵ *Gesakusha* were adapting themselves to the new trend of the Meiji period, changing their style to that of realistic documentaries and newspaper articles. At the same time, those popular novelists did not forget their dreams to write novels, the best example being Fukuchi Ochi, who was the most important journalist of the early Meiji period. Fukuchi also wrote many *gesaku* works. Most newspaper novels in the Asahi in the 1870's and 1880's were written by such *gesakusha*-journalists.

Thus it is not surprising that Nakarai Tosui, who started his career as a journalist for the Asahi Shinbun, became a newspaper novelist.

The Sakigake Shinbun was founded in 1880 by Tsuda Tei, in Osaka. Tsuda Tei was editor in chief of the Osaka Asahi Shinbun which was founded in 1879. When Tsuda came into conflict with executives concerning editorial policy, he resigned from Asahi and founded the Sakigake Shinbun. The competition between Asahi and Sakigake was most severe in 1880, with Asahi defeating Sakigake. Because of a deficit at the company, Tosui did not receive his salary for months in 1881. His father had already gone bankrupt in Pusan and Tosui had been remitting money to him.

Tosui was now thinking about going to Pusan and starting a trade business. Kochoen Wakana, who invited him to Sakigake Shinbun, had already moved to Asahi Shinbun. He persuaded Ueno Riichi, one of the most important Asahi executives besides the president Murayama Ryuhei, to send Tosui to Pusan as a private journalist. Asahi would pay for the travel expenses, and Tosui in return would write articles for Asahi Shinbun.¹⁶

Yi Dongin Assassination

When Tosui arrived in Pusan in April 1881, the Korean government was preparing to dispatch a mission to Japan, Shinsayurandan, a kind of study tour group of aristocrats to inspect all of the new projects which the new Meiji government was putting into practice. However, after the conclusion of the Kanhuado Treaty in 1876, which prescribed a friendly relationship with Meiji Japan, the conflict between the Sugu (conservative) party which is opposed to the present government's open door policy, and the so-called Kaehua (enlightenment) party, was becoming more and more severe.¹⁷

Tosui's first correspondence from Pusan was a report on the assassination of the Kaehua party monk, Yi Dongin. Yi Dongin first came to Japan in 1879 by the assistance of the Higashihonganji branch temple in Pusan. He learned Japanese at Higashihonganji in Kyoto. In the next year, 1880, the Korean ambassador Kim Hongjib visited Japan and had many talks with the Chinese minister to Japan, He Ruzhang and his secretary Huang Zunxian. Huang wrote the "Essay on the Foreign Policy of Korea", and Kim Hongjib presented the essay to the Korean

king. The Korean monarchy led by the Queen's relatives, the Min family, decided to promote a friendly relationship with Japan.

Yi Dongin met Kim Hongjib at the Higashihonganji branch in Tokyo in September 1880, and Kim Hongjib was so impressed with Yi Dongin's ability that he took him back to Korea. Yi Dongin started working as an assistant officer for the newly founded Korean foreign ministry, making preparations for the visit to Japan of the gentlemen's study group. In March 1881, Yi Dongin suddenly disappeared, and there was no more accurate news about him afterward.¹⁸ It was almost certain that he had been assassinated by someone, and Japanese newspaper readers seemed to be greatly interested in the incident, because many articles concerning the assassination of Yi Dongin appeared in Japanese newspapers in April and May, 1881, alongside the articles on the Korean gentlemen's study group.

Tosui's article on Yi Dongin concluded that Yi Dongin was assassinated at the order of Taewongun, the King's father. Taewongun was resolutely opposed to the open door policy and a friendly relationship with Japan.

According to the Choya Shinbun, which was one of the best *ooshinbun* in Japan and had good news resources for Korea, Yi Dongin was assassinated through a conflict within the enlightenment party.¹⁹ A study on Yi Dongin by Prof. Yi Kuangrin in "Kaehuangdangyonggu, A Study on the Enlightenment Party" supports this theory.

Tosui wrote his article on Yi Dongin's assassination presumably based on one of the many rumors which prevailed among people in the premodern Yi dynasty society, where no newspaper was yet published.

According to Prof. Yi Kuangrin's study, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs presumed that Yi Dongin was killed by the order of Kim Hongjib, who came into conflict with Yi Dongin because they had differing opinions as to how to cope with Western countries. Yi Dongin recommended an alliance with England, which was the most reliable power for preventing Russian invasion, while Kim Hongjib placed more importance on the relationship with the United States, which was described in Huang Zunxian's essay on Korean policy as the least dangerous nation among Western great powers.²⁰

Tosui was staying in Pusan, as a private journalist, and had no attendants or office workers to help him. He was just a newcomer in Pusan who did not yet have a good connection with the Japanese Consulate. Tosui wrote different interpretations of the incident from that of the foreign ministry.

Although the accuracy of his article is doubtful, his descriptive style of the incident is vivid and attractive. He described how Taewongun deceived Yi Dongin by pretending that he had repented his old closed door policy and was willing to support Yi Dongin to promote the open door policy. Taewongun asked Yi Dongin to bring a secret message to Kimpo province in the suburbs of Seoul. Yi Dongin, believing that Taewongun had changed his mind and was now supporting him, accepted the proposal, and left immediately for Kimpo, where he entered the office of Kimpo province. After that nothing was heard of him.²¹

What is interesting about his novel, *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*, is that Yi Dongin appears with the name of Ri Dojin, Yi Dongin's Japanese pronunciation being Ri Tojin.²² Many Korean politicians of the 1870's and 1880's appear in the novel. Kim Okkyun (Kin Gyokukin, in Japanese), for example, appears as Kin Shokin.

Tosui incorporated a great deal of material from incidents between Japan and Korea, which

Japanese newspaper readers knew in detail, because the news concerning Korea was popular with Japanese readers in the 1870's and 1880's. When the soldiers' rebellion occurred in Seoul in July 1882, Asahi Shinbun put the news about Korea on the top of its first page everyday for two months. Tosui wrote many articles from Seoul about this rebellion. It is generally thought that Tosui's articles on the incident were important in promoting an increase of Asahi's subscribers.²³

Soldiers' Rebellion of 1882 and Nakarai Tosui

Imogunran, or the Soldiers' Rebellion of 1882 occurred in Seoul in July. Korea had suffered a severe famine in 1881. Soldiers did not receive rice for six months, and when at last rice was supplied, soldiers found that it was all rotten. Taewongun, who despised the queen and her relatives, and also the friendly foreign policy with Japan, incited soldiers to attack the queen and her relatives as well as Japanese military officers who were training the Korean newly founded Western-style army. Soldiers attacked the palace and the queen. The queen actually fled the palace and hid in the countryside in Chunchong-do, and was said to have been later killed. The Prime Minister Yi Chongun and the Japanese military officer Major Horimoto were killed by rebels, and the Japanese legation was burned.

Qing China sent troops to Seoul quickly and brought Seoul under Chinese control. Chinese generals, who concluded that the rebellion was caused by the agitation of Taewongun, arrested Taewongun and confined him in Paoting, China.²⁴

In Japanese newspapers, the harmonious relationship between Korea and Japan was emphasized in the first half of the year 1882. Fukuzawa Yukichi also anticipated optimistically in his article in *Jijishinpo* that the Japanese relationship with Korea would develop in ways similar to the relationship between Japan and the United States after the conclusion of a friendship treaty in 1856.²⁵

Tosui himself translated *Chunhyangjun*, a masterpiece of the Korean *hangul* novel and published it in Asahi Shinbun in serial form in June and July, 1882. In the preface to the novel, Tosui commented that his translation of the tale of Chunhyang would provide Japanese people with knowledge about the emotional character and customs of Korea, which would be indispensable in doing trade business in Korea. Ironically the anti-Japanese rebellion occurred on the exact same day that the last part of *Chunhyangjun* appeared in Asahi Shinbun.²⁶

Tosui was staying in Pusan when the rebellion occurred, and he went into Seoul as an interpreter for the Japanese troops, which guarded Japanese Minister Hanabusa who had been returning to Seoul.²⁷ Tosui reported the execution of the rebellion leaders, and the dramatic procession of the queen, who returned alive to Seoul, after the Chinese troops recovered control of the capital.²⁸ When Seoul became calm again, he reported on the everyday life of Seoul people, even the famous Kiseng.²⁹ Tosui made use of all these topics in composing the novel *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*.

Tosui's correspondence from Seoul attracted Asahi readers, and it is said that the Asahi increased greatly its publications. Tosui was now appointed as the official correspondent of Asahi in Pusan, which was Asahi's first permanent overseas correspondent post.³⁰ However, Tosui did not write as many articles from Pusan afterwards. When the coup of Kim Okkyun occurred in 1884, Tosui was staying in Pusan, and Asahi sent Matsumoto Kan'ichi as special correspondent to Seoul. Only a few articles written by Tosui appeared in Asahi at this time. After

the incident in 1882, Tosui continued to stay in Pusan, and the important news was sent from Seoul, the capital. Until 1883 Pusan was the only Korean city where Japanese could enter. When Inchon became an open port according to the trade treaty, after 1883 news from Pusan, the peripheral port, appeared rather trivial compared with the news from the capital.

After Kim Okkyun's coup occurred, the governmental inspection of newspaper articles, especially concerning Korea, became more and more strict. The Japanese Minister Takezoe had joined Kim Okkyun's coup plan, and ordered Japanese guard troops to aid Kim Okkyun's party. After the Japanese troops were defeated by the Chinese army, which was superior in number, the Japanese government decided to settle the incident through negotiations with China, and made an effort to hide the fact that the Japanese minister and army had joined Kim Okkyun's intrigue. Because of the heavy censorship, the fact that Japanese troops had moved first and that Minister Takezoe had ordered it was never disclosed in Japanese newspapers. Japanese people knew nothing but the resentment towards the Chinese, who, according to Japanese newspapers, had suddenly attacked Japanese troops which had been hurrying to the palace to rescue the king.

Censorship and the Osaka Incident

From 1885 to 1892, censorship by the Ministry of Inner Affairs strictly regulated Japanese newspapers. The Asahi Shinbun had declared itself to be politically neutral and had avoided interfering, in contrast to the *ooshinbun*, which tended to be political and often criticized the government's policy. Even a "neutral" newspaper such as Asahi Shinbun was punished by suspending its publication of a serial novel which apparently criticized the Prime Minister Ito Hirobumi, and governmental policy concerning the Osaka incident. The leaders of the Osaka incident belonged to the Jiyuto, Liberal Party. The Liberal Party's activities had been severely oppressed by the government. It is believed that radical leaders of Liberal Party moved their field of action overseas in order to aid Kim Okkyun's group, who were the Korean militant leaders of the freedom movement. The Liberal Party leaders, Oi Kentaro and his comrades, intended to assassinate Korean conservative ministers with bombs.

The newspaper novel in Asahi Shinbun, which took its source from the Osaka incident, was titled *Gosui no Yume*, or *Dream in an Afternoon Nap*. Its subtitle was *Bakuhatsukitan*, (A Strange Tale of Bombardment). The author Udagawa Bunkai set the tale in the Bakumatsu period, the last days of shogunate. The Liberal Party leader Oi Kentaro appeared in the novel with the pseudonym Oe Sentaro. Oe intended to reform the neighboring clan, Shiraki, i.e. Korea, Shiragi being the old name of Korea. Oe conspired together with his comrades to bring bombs to Shiraki to assassinate reactionary ministers. The minister of the clan, Eto (=Ito Hirobumi, Japanese prime minister at that time) came back from the Chuka clan, i. e. China. This plot caricatured Ito's negotiation with Li Hongzhang to settle the coup of Kim Okkyun in 1884.

The Merchant Ogura Ihachiro held a garden party to thank Ito for his efforts. Ogura must have been Okura Kihachiro, who was known as an armament trader, and who had special connections with government ministers. At the party Ito courted a geisha who was mistress to Ogura. There were many scandalous rumors about sex regarding Ito. No doubt the tale was making fun of Ito's scandal.

Soon after the publication of the party scene, the Ministry of Inner Affairs ordered the publication of Asahi Shinbun to be stopped. Although the punishment ended in a week, Asahi

canceled its publication of the novel.³² The direct cause for the punishment seems to have been the caricaturization of the Prime Minister, but, presumably, the real reason was that Asahi had reported in detail the trial of the Osaka incident wherein the accused Jiyuto members were vindicated. Furthermore, it had published a novel which appeared to be sympathetic with the accused anti-government leaders.

As this *Dream in an Afternoon Nap* case indicates, news concerning the Japanese-Korean relationship was the most dangerous topic in terms of censorship. We can only find a few articles written by Tosui, who stayed as a correspondent in Pusan until 1888, partly because Pusan was no longer the center of political news in Korea, and partly because, even if Tosui could obtain a source for a scoop, it was almost impossible to publish it in Japanese newspapers.

Tosui finally returned to Japan in 1888, and became a novel journalist for the Tokyo Asahi Shinbun. Asahi had won the intense survival game among Osaka newspapers, and now in 1887, the company president Murayama Ryuhei intended to make inroads into the Tokyo newspaper market. The Tokyo Asahi Shinbun had two editors-in-chief — Kohashunin, editor of 'hard' or political articles and Nanpashunin, editor-in-chief of soft articles, novel and gossip. The editor of *nanpa* or soft articles was Kochoen Wakana, who had first invited Tosui to work for the Osaka Asahi Shinbun. Tosui started to write serial novels in the Tokyo Asahi Shinbun,³³ and in 1891 he began his "Korean novel".

The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand as a Political Novel

Because the direct expression of political opinion was strictly regulated by the government, the so-called *seijishosetsu*, (political novels,) which expressed political thoughts in fictional, implicit ways, became popular in the 1880's and 90's. The most popular political novel in this period was *Kajin no Kigu* (Romantic Encounter of Ladies), which was first published in 1886. The author, Tokai Sanshi, became acquainted with Kim Okkyun shortly after Kim's immigration to Japan in December 1884. However, Sanshi's political novel began in Philadelphia in the United States, and continued to describe the history of battles for freedom in America and Europe. Tokai Sanshi was deeply interested in the Korean problem. The only reason the author did not publish articles on Kim Okkyun's affair was that it was too dangerous a subject to publish at that time. Kim Okkyun's tale finally appears in the novel's sequel, published late in November 1891.³⁴

Tosui's 'Korean novel', *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*, first appeared in the Asahi Shinbun in October 1891. Kim Okkyun appears in both novels. In Tokai Sanshi's novel, he retains his real name, while in Tosui's novel he has the fictional name, Kin Shokin, Kin Gyokukin being the Japanese pronunciation of his real name. The memoir of Inoue Kakugoro, "Kanjo no Zamu, (Hovering Dreams of Seoul)", depicts Kim Okkyun as a real, historical person. Inoue was disciple of Fukuzawa Yukichi, and was staying in Seoul working for the Korean foreign ministry as an editor of a newspaper in classical Chinese, Hansoensunbo. It is said that Inoue Kakugoro joined Kim Okkyun's coup with arms provided by Fukuzawa Yukichi. Inoue Kakugoro's memoir included a detailed description of Kim Okkyun's coup d'état. This memoir was also published in 1891.³⁵

For some reason, the censorship of the Kim Okkyun incident weakened in that year, and the three Japanese writers all at once started writing about Kim Okkyun's coup d'état which happened seven years earlier. The reason for the change in censorship policy is not known;

however, it is probably because the government judged that the incident had helped to form a national consensus to approve the budget, which intended to greatly enlarge the Japanese navy. After Japanese troops were defeated by the Chinese army in Seoul in 1884, Japan was always threatened by the powerful Chinese Beiyang or North Ocean fleet, and the Prime Minister Matsukata Masayoshi proposed to the imperial Diet in December 1891 an increased budget that would complete the military buildup.³⁶ Informing people how Japanese troops were unfairly defeated by the Chinese army and how the coup of the 'anti-Chinese party' had failed would help to stimulate public desire to force the tyrannical Chinese out of Korea. For this Japan would have to increase her military power.

In 1890, the former Prime Minister Yamagata Aritomo made a speech at the Diet that the imperial government would aim to protect the 'interest line'. Yamagata did not mention to the Diet what the interest line meant; however, in a secret pamphlet that he gave to the cabinet, Yamagata disclosed that the interest line was the Korean peninsula.³⁷ In the Diet session held in December 1891, the Matsukata cabinet's budget, especially that of navy, was severely cut.

The three books concerning Korea which were published in the latter half of 1891 did not argue explicitly about the Japanese armament. Nevertheless, readers could understand what they were implying concerning the political discussion on Korea, because of the expression of sympathy with Kim Okkyun in their articles.

From their writings it was clear that Inoue Kakugoro and Tokai Sanshi were undoubtedly sympathetic with Kim Okkyun's coup. In Tosui's novel, the hero Hayashi Masamoto is opposed to Kim's coup because Masamoto wanted to realize the reform plan of Korea through peaceful means.

The Plot of The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand

Tosui wove into his novel many incidents that took place between Japan and Korea in the late 19th century. The novel begins in the last days of the shogunate with the story of hero's father, Hayashi Shokuro. Hayashi Shokuro was a samurai of the Satsuma clan. He killed two samurai in a quarrel, fled Satsuma, and started on a wandering journey. He came to Tsushima Island and became friends with a samurai of Tsushima, Kojima Naminoshin. Although non-Tsushima people were forbidden by the Korean government to enter the Tsushima office in Pusan, Naminoshin accompanied Shokuro to Pusan.³⁸ One day, Shokuro went out of the Tsushima office for an excursion, and rescued a beautiful Korean girl who was being attacked by rascals. The girl, Gen Shoen, was the daughter of a former mayor of Yangsan, Gen Teiyo. Gen refused a proposal of marriage for his daughter Shoen from the governor of a neighboring province, Tei Shiyo. Shiyo, resenting the refusal, gave out secret information against Gen Teiyo. Teiyo was arrested and executed. Tei Shiyo forced Gen Shoen to become his mistress, and Shoen fled from Yangsan city. On the way to her relative's home, Shoen was attacked by palanquin bearers and rescued by the Japanese samurai Hayashi Shokuro.⁴⁰

Shokuro hid Gen Shoen in the Tsushima office, and he fell in love with her. Shoen gives birth to a boy, Hayashi Masamoto, who is the hero of the novel.⁴¹ Shokuro goes back to Satsuma, leaving Shoen in Pusan and his child Masamoto in Tsushima. Shoen is later arrested by Tei Shiyo, and executed. Masamoto was brought up first as a fisherman's son. Shokuro writes a letter about Masamoto to Kojima Naminoshin. Naminoshin discovers Masamoto in a fisherman's

village, and brings him up at his home.⁴²

Shokuro is now working as a *shishi*, (noble patriot) to overthrow the shogunate. Naminoshin sends Masamoto to Satsuma, and Masamoto joins the Restoration War with his father. Shokuro is wounded in the battle of Aizu. Shokuro gives Masamoto Shoen's gold ring as a memento, then dies. Masamoto performs great exploits in the Restoration War, and is honored by the new government. Masamoto then goes back to Tsushima to see Kojima Naminoshin, who tells Masamoto that his mother is Korean, Gen Shoen.⁴³

On hearing that, Masamoto decides to go over to Pusan. Naminoshin takes Masamoto with him to Pusan. Masamoto learns Korean at the Tsushima office in Pusan, and masters his mother's language so well that no one notices he is Japanese when he speaks Korean.⁴⁴ By chance, on the way to Yangsan, Masamoto saves a rich merchant Kin Shumei by killing the robbers with his sword. Masamoto goes to live at Kin Shumei's home and he becomes loved by two girls, Koran, the daughter of Kin Shumei, and Seiyo, the daughter of a rich landlord. His foe, Tei Shiyo is now governor of Yangsan. Tei wanted Kin Koran as his mistress. Kin Shumei refuses Tei's proposal. Tei conspires with Kyo Issan, Seiyo's father, to share Kin Shumei's assets. They arrest Kin Shumei for a frame-up crime and torture him. Koran accepts Tei's proposal to relieve her father, and goes to Tei Shiyo's official residence. That night, Masamoto invades Shiyo's house and kills him in his bedroom, freeing Koran.⁴⁵

After his successful revenge, Masamoto returns to Japan. With his award for merit during the Restoration War, Masamoto goes to Europe to study Western sciences for three years. In Europe Masamoto realizes the world situation, that Western great powers are now invading Asia. He comes to embrace an ambition to conclude the alliance of three East Asian countries, i.e. Japan, China and Korea.⁴⁶

For that cause, Masamoto goes again to Korea. He is captured at a bandit's den, kills their two leaders, and frees Seiyo, who has become mistress of the bandit chief. He meets the monk of the enlightenment party, Ri Dojin, at the bandit's fort. Dojin introduces his comrades in Seoul. Masamoto goes to Seoul, and gets acquainted with the high-ranking aristocrat, Ri Kayu. Ri Kayu is moderately progressive and loyal to the king. He wants to ally with Japan in order to force the two great powers, China and Russia, out of Korea.⁴⁷

Masamoto again meets Kin Koran, who has been working as a *kiseng* in Seoul after her father's death. They marry.⁴⁸

Relatives of the queen, the Min family, represent the enemy party in Tosui's novel. In the end, the Mins intend to form an alliance with Russia. Masamoto persuades Taewongun to cooperate with the Chinese minister Li Hongzhang. With the help of the Japanese navy and Chinese army, Masamoto and Ri Kayu at last succeed in preventing the interference of the Russian empire with Korea. Masamoto, who has been working as a Korean, announces his nationality, and that he is half-Japanese and half-Korean. Masamoto concludes the East Asian three countries' alliance and becomes its chairman.⁴⁹

Historical Persons in the Novel, Kim Okkyun and the Korean King

The novel *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*, begins in the last days of shogunate. In the end the novel describes the failed plot of the Korean-Russian alliance, which occurred in 1886.⁵⁰ Tosui inserted the incidents between Japan and Korea, the soldiers' rebellion of 1882, and Kim

Okkyun's coup in 1884. Many historical persons appear in the novel. Kim Okkyun is Kin Shokin, and his comrade Pak Yonghyo is Boku Eiko in Japanese. Pak Yonghyo was the husband of a princess; thus his official rank was higher than that of Kim Okkyun. He immigrated to Japan with Kin Okkyun after the failed coup, and got acquainted with many Japanese politicians and intellectuals. His name is especially associated with Tosui's novel because Pak Yongkyo contributed his Chinese calligraphy to the first volume of *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*, when it was published in the form of books in 1893.

However, if we read the novel in detail, Tosui did not assimilate his political view on Korea with Kim Okkyun and Pak Yonghyo. Tosui's highest aim was the alliance of the three East Asian countries. Because Kim Okkyun was leader of the anti-Chinese movement in Korea, he became a symbol of anti-Chinese emotion among Japanese people. When Kim Okkyun was assassinated in Shanghai in 1894, Japanese people assumed the assassination was part of a cooperative intrigue of China and Korea. Anti-Chinese emotion among Japanese people reached a climax, and this incident led Japan towards the Sino-Japanese War.⁵¹

In the novel, the hero Masamoto persuades his comrade Ri Kayu to give up the dangerous coup plan. Ri Kayu agrees with Masamoto, but it was too late. Masamoto makes every effort to cooperate with the Chinese minister Yuan Shikai to prevent the Russian invasion of Korea. The king's father Taewongun approves Masamoto's policy, and calls Kin Shokin (Kim Okkyun) and Boku Teiko (Pak Yonghyo) back as royal retainers.

In actuality, the Korean court governed by the Min family never forgave Kim Okkyun. They sent an assassin to Japan who persuaded Kim to go out to Shanhai, and killed him. Tosui's ideal never came true.

One of the most important real persons is the Korean king, who appears as a timid, but conscientious ruler. The king acknowledges Masamoto's ability, and wants to promote Masamoto as the king's advisor. Masamoto thanks the king for his favor, and swears to work as the king's loyal 'dog' while he is alive, and to reappear as the spirit of national protection (*gokoku no oni*) in his afterlife.⁵² The original serial newspaper novel had one illustration for each day's article. The last illustration depicts the king and the king's father with dignity, and Masamoto wearing the Korean official uniform is prostrating himself before them. Masamoto, the Japanese, serves Korean rulers with absolute loyalty.⁵³

On the contrary, the Queen Min seldom appears in the novel. In an article in the *Asahi Shinbun* Tosui once described the soldiers' rebellion and Queen Min's dramatic flight from the palace. He reported the queen's magnificent procession when she came back from her retreat to the capital. Most Japanese regarded Queen Min as a center of intrigues, but Tosui, out of his sympathy with the queen, did not write much about her in his novel. Tosui knew too well how much the Korean people worshipped her as a mother of the nation.

The hero Masamoto's life resembles that of the author himself. Tosui grew up on Tsushima Island, and went to Pusan as a young boy, where he learned the Korean language, socializing with the candy and rice cake merchants who came to the Tsushima office everyday.⁵⁴ After Masamoto came back from Korea, he went to Europe to study Western science. Tosui left for Tokyo from Pusan to learn new Western science. Going to Europe and the United States must have been the dream of Tosui himself. Some actions of Masamoto are modeled after those of Tosui himself, while some are Tosui's dreams and ideals, which were never realized, such as the alliance of the three East Asian countries.

In the novel Masamoto writes a letter to the Japanese cabinet to appoint an expert diplomat to be minister to Korea. The Japanese minister to Korea, through his experienced diplomacy, obtains the Korean king's trust, and thus the king often listened to the Japanese minister's advice. In reality, the Japanese prime minister Ito Hirobumi appointed Oishi Masami, a politician of the Liberal Party, as minister to Korea in 1893. Oishi's amateurish diplomacy disgusted the Korean court, and in the end the Korean king refused to meet with him. Oishi was attempting to receive a fine from the Korean government for the damage of Japanese merchants in Wonsan, a port city on the east coast, caused by the Korean embargo of grain exports. Minister Oishi sent an ultimatum to the Korean government to obtain a fine. Ito Hirobumi was startled and negotiated with Li Hongzhang to order the Korean government to concede.⁵⁵ Korea agreed to pay the fine, but with great resentment. This incident became the prelude for the Sino-Japanese War.

In *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*, Tosui describes ideal persons who deal with Korean-Japanese relations very tactfully. In creating such ideal persons' activities, Tosui was almost warning that if there had not been such tactful diplomats and volunteers who understood the Korean language and culture completely, the relationship between the two countries would be disastrous.

The Sources from Classical Novels and Common People's Tales

The *Nihon Kindai Bungaku Kenkyusoshō*, (Study handbook of Japanese modern literature,) classifies Tosui's *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand* as a *denkishosetsu*, (Romanesque novel.) There are many plots which reminds us of Korean and Chinese classical novels.⁵⁶

One such source among classical novels is *Chunhyangjun*, which he translated nine years earlier at Asahi Shinbun. The heroine of the novel, Koran, shares one Chinese character with Chunhyang, namely *ko*, using the same Chinese character for perfume as *hyang* in Korean.

Chunhyang is a *kiseng*, who is loyal to her lover Yi Doryong. After her lover left her in Namwon because his father was promoted to minister of the central government, the new governor of Namwon courts her. She refuses to obey the order of this new official. The new governor arrests her and tortures her, but she keeps her chastity, always remaining loyal to her first lover.

Koran is the daughter of the rich merchant Kin Shumei, but she later becomes a *kiseng* in Seoul after her father dies. The new governor of Yangsan, Tei Shiyo, courts her and is refused. The governor arrests Koran's father and tortures him, instead of her. Koran promises to obey the governor for the sake of her father, but she is rescued by her lover Hayashi Masamoto.

After the incident, Koran's father sells all his assets and goes to Seoul to work as a merchant. However, he loses all his property in a fire, and dies of illness, leaving nothing to his wife and daughter. Koun begins to work as *kiseng*, and becomes famous for her supreme beauty, and for not selling her chastity, but only entertaining guests with music and song.

Tosui is using some plots from *Chunhyangjun* in his novel, but has changed certain aspects. For example, while in *Chunhyangjun*, it is the heroine herself who is tortured by the new governor, in Tosui's *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*, the new governor tortures the heroine's father.

Tosui makes use of *Chunhyangjun*'s one plot, changing the gender of the person. Tosui uses one other episode in *Chunhyangjun* in his novel. In *Chunhyangjun*, the hero Yi Doryong is

appointed to go on a secret royal mission to Amhaeng'oesa, who is inspecting the administration of local officers. The hero disguises himself as a very dirty servant, and he rescues his lover Chunhyang from the prison in Namwon.⁵⁸

In the last chapters of *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*, Hayashi Masamoto is guarding a fort that is surrounded by his enemy Min's army. Masamoto's lover Koran disguises herself as a very dirty servant, painting her beautiful face with mud. She brings a secret message to Masamoto in order to rescue her husband.⁵⁹ In this plot also, Tosui changes the gender of the original tale's person and uses almost the same plot.

Another source of *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*, is *Shuihejuan*, (Tale of One Hundred and Eight Heroes), one of the most famous Chinese colloquial novels of the Ming dynasty. Chinese traditions were governed by Confucian bureaucracy very strictly on the surface. However, there existed an underground society which in actuality ruled the common people. In *Shuihejuan* there appear many local feudal lords, low rank officials, bandits and outlaws. Such people were the real rulers of local society in the Ming dynasty. The Korean Yi dynasty imitated basically the administration system of Ming China, so that the same phenomena appeared in Yi dynasty local society. When the central government declines, many bandits appear in the countryside.

In *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*, Masamoto is captured by the bandits, who have a fort on Mt. Reishu and run a pub at the foot of the mountain. They offer rice wine mixed with a sleeping drug. They kill the travelers who have fallen asleep, robbing them of all their assets, and take as captive those who look strong enough to work as their servants.⁶⁰ This bandit's pub appears to be very similar to the bandit's pub of Fort Liangshan, which becomes the base for the heroes in *Shuihejuan*.

Another setting similar to *Shuihejuan* in *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand* is that the hero Masamoto commands the rebellion troops, and their fort will be surrounded by the government army, which his enemy, Bin Eishun is commanding. In the Chinese novel, the heroes gather at Liangshanbo fort and fight with the government army, which is commanded by vicious officers. The heroes are real loyalists and the commanders of the government army turn out to be the rebels.⁶¹ In Tosui's novel, too, Bin Eishun turns out to be a rebel, and the king acknowledges Masamoto's loyalty in the end.

The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand also borrows from Korean folk tales and legends. The most significant example of this is the tale of the *kiseng* Nongie, who killed a Japanese general during Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea. Hayashi Masamoto went to Jinju after he conquered the bandits, and visits the famous Chuksoklu, (Chuksok pavilion,) where, according to legend, after the surrender of the city the *kiseng* Nongie entertained the Japanese general, caressed him, and jumped with him into the river that flowed under the pavilion.⁶²

This tale does not have any specific connection with the main plot of the novel. Tosui adds many notes to each installment, explaining Korean customs of which the Japanese readers might be ignorant. Tosui wanted to "instruct" Japanese readers about Korean matters. Tosui writes in the novel how Korean people hate the Japanese because they suffered so much from Hideyoshi's invasion. Tosui also intends to show Japanese readers that there are some Koreans who are really brave and virtuous.

Another tale, which was prevalent in contemporary Korea, was the prophecy that the Chung (Tei, in Japanese) family would succeed the Yi family as the Korean monarchs. There was a legend that the Yi dynasty is doomed to last only five hundred years, and the next dynasty will be

governed by the Chung family.⁶³ The year 1891, in which Tosui's serial novel first appeared in *Asahi Shinbun*, was the five hundredth year of the Yi dynasty. The hero and the heroine's enemy, — the Tei brothers — belonged to this Chung (Tei) family.

Bandits in the mountains and the superstitious prophecy seem to be fictional and derived from classical novels. However, according to the report of Inoue Kakugoro in 1886, there appeared a group of 'tomb diggers' who destroyed and excavated the ancestors' tombs of the victims, who refused to pay money to the 'tomb diggers'. To lose the resting place of one's ancestors is the greatest shame for Koreans. Inoue reports that besides such strange gangs, there were so many bandit groups that the entire nation became ill at ease. In addition to bandits, there was a rumor that the Yi family would concede the throne to the Chung family according to the prophecy which was already made at the beginning of the Yi dynasty.

Tosui took many materials from the Korean classical novel *Chunhyangjun*, but the old society which is described in the *Chunhyangjun* was still alive in the 1890's, the last days of the Yi dynasty. As a newspaper journalist Tosui reported in the *Asahi Shinbun* in 1881 a story of a real officer, Kan Keishoku, (Han Gyesik in Korean), who wanted to buy very cheaply rice from a merchant, who refused to sell the rice. The officer tortures the merchant, and executes him.⁶⁵ The tyranny of the Yi dynasty officer is described in *Chunhyangjun* in the scene of Chunhyang's torture, and Tosui was reporting a similar story as a real article in the newspaper. Tosui could make use of many scenes from Korean and Chinese classical novels, because the old society, which was the background for the novels, was still alive in China and Korea. Although the influence of Confucianism was still superficial in the Tokugawa period, the traditional Japanese society shared the same Confucian morality with China and Korea. Now the traditional morality of Japan, which was a mixture of samurai spirit and Confucianism, was being changed by modernization. However, most of the old customs were still alive at the level of the everyday life of Japanese people, and social institutions like administration of justice were changing very slowly.

The prohibition of torture by the police first came true in 1882 in Japan, through the endeavors of a French lawyer, then adviser to the Ministry of Justice, Boissonade.⁶⁶ Through such revisions in every type of social institution, Japan became a modernized country. However, outside the law and economic system, especially in morality and personal feeling, Japanese people were still living in the traditional way. In the field of literature, which reflects the people's feelings and morals, the so-called modern, Western-style novels, Shimazaki Toson's *Hakai* for example, first became popular only in the late 1890's.

Conclusion — Why was Tosui's novel forgotten?

Tosui's *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*, was appreciated by newspaper readers, and it was published in the form of books in two volumes in 1893. Higuchi Ichiyo, who read the novel, wrote in her diary:

The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand is titled as a Korean Novel, in 150 installments. Mr. Tosui's style is rough, and he writes things which are brilliant, deep and solitary. He apparently did not make an effort to polish his style, considering only the interests of the plots and other materials. However, Masamoto's wisdom and courage, Koran's fidelity,

and Seyo's painful constancy, all in all have been fully expressed. I enjoyed each of the scenes, and could not stop my tears at the lamentable tales.⁶⁷

Ichio here criticizes the roughness in Tosui's style; however, she is completely sympathetic with the hero Masamoto and the heroines Koran and Seiyō. The words, *Chiyu*, *Sesso* and *Kusetsu*, wisdom and courage, fidelity, as well as painful constancy with which Ichio praises the characters are derived from the morality of traditional society.

Japanese society was seemingly modernized in the fields of administration, military, and economy, but the majority of people were living with the morality and feelings of the old Tokugawa society, which had been influenced partly by Confucianism. In the early Meiji period, *kanshi*, (Chinese poetry) was still popular, or even more popular than in the Tokugawa period among the young generation. Natsume Soseki (1868-1910), who was eight years younger than Tosui, studied English literature at the newly founded Tokyo Imperial University, but at the same time he was eagerly learning the composition of Chinese poems, and known as one of the best poets in Chinese. The enthusiasm for Chinese poetry continues until around 1900.⁶⁸ Political novels like *The Romantic Encounter of Ladies* are written in a style very similar to the Japanese reading of Chinese (*kakikudashibun*). The Chinese poems attached to the scenes of the novel were highly appreciated by Japanese readers. *Suikoden*, the Japanese translation of *Shuihejuan* with illustrations by Tsukioka Honen, was first published in 1885, and was still popular in the 1890's.

Tosui learned English and Western science in Seki Shinpachi's school, but his taste in literature was traditional. *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand* is a didactic novel in which a virtuous hero overcomes the evil enemies. Tsubouchi Shoyo, professor in English literature at Waseda University, criticized this kind of didactic novel in 1885 in his "Shosetsushinzui", (The essence of a novel), and praised realism as the most important principle of the modern novel.⁶⁹ In the academic world, a didactic novel like Tosui's was sentenced to be out of date, but in the real world, Tosui's novel gained popularity.

Not only the flavor of the novel, but the topic of *The Wind Blowing the Yellow Sand* became out of date. Fukuzawa Yukichi declared in 1885, in his editorial in *Jijishinpo*, that Japan should leave Asia and enter Europe (*Datsua Nyuo*).⁷⁰ Fukuzawa was deeply disappointed by the failure of Kim Okkyun's coup in Korea, and began to attack China and Korea as stubborn, anachronistic, conservative countries. Tosui never shared that kind of standpoint with Fukuzawa, at least until 1891, when he wrote *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*. In March 1892, there appeared an editorial in the *Asahi Shinbun* which argued for strengthening the Sino-Japanese alliance.⁷¹ This article must have been written by Komiyama Keisuke, editor-in-chief of *Asahi Shinbun*, and Tosui's friend.

After the Sino-Japanese War, the ideal of the East Asian Three Countries League became completely unrealistic for the Japanese, and Tosui stopped writing about Korea. At the time of the Sino-Japanese War, Tosui was asked to write a sequel to *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand*, but this novel was suspended because of "the illness of the author".⁷² The real reason for the suspension seems to be that his novel still idealized the harmonious co-existence of East Asian countries, which was against readers' taste.

After the failure of *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand* and its sequel, Tosui wrote very little about Korea. Japan's policy towards Asia was now going in a completely opposite direction from

Tosui's ideal, that is, toward the invasion by force of Asian countries.

Notes

- 1 Tosui's childhood name (Yomyo) was Sentaro (泉太郎). He used many pen names, with Tosui (桃水) being the most popular.
- 2 Ichiyo wrote about Tosui in her diary, *Wakabakage* (若葉かけ) on 15 April, 1891. *Higuchi Ichiyo zenshu*, vol. 3. Chikumashobo, 1976. pp. 23-24.
- 3 *Kosafukukaze* (胡砂吹く風) first appeared in the Asahi Shinbun on October 2, 1891 and continued until April 8, 1892. It was published in two volumes, the first volume in December 1892, and the second volume in January 1893. Asahi Shinbun in 1891 and 1892 is now available in reprint. Tosui's *The Wind Blowing Yellow Sand* is included in 4 volumes of the reprint version; Asahi Shinbun Fukkokuhan (朝日新聞 復刻版) Nihon Tosho Senta (日本図書センター) 1993, Vols. 14, 15, 16, 17. The difference between the two versions is negligible, and as it is more convenient to refer to the independent volumes. I make reference to the novel from the 1892-93 version in two volumes.
- 4 *Kindai bungaku kenkyu sosho* (近代文学研究叢書), Vol. 25. Showa Joshi Daigaku Kindai Bungaku Kenkyu Shitsu (昭和女子大学近代文学研究室) 1976, pp. 353-355.
- 5 *Murayama Ryuhei Den* (村山竜平伝), Asahi Shinbunsha, 1953, pp. 71-139. Murayama was president of Asahi Shinbun from 1881.
- 6 The most detailed biography of Tosui is included in *Ueno Riichi Den* (上野理一伝). *Ueno Riichi Den*, Asahi Shinbunsha, 1961, pp. 198-199. Ueno was the one of the two most important founders of Asahi Shinbun, besides Murayama Ryuhei.
- 7 Tahohashi Kiyoshi (田保橋 潔), *Kindai Nissen Kankei no Kenkyu* (近代日韓関係の研究), Chosensotokufu Chusuin (朝鮮総督府中樞院) 1940, pp. 133-226.
- 8 *Ueno Riichi Den*, p. 199.
- 9 "Seki Shinpachi Sensei" (尺辰八先生), *Taiyo* (太陽), No. 1, Vol. 1, pp. 190-194, 1896.
- 10 *Ueno Riichi Den*, p. 201.
- 11 *Kindai Nissen Kankei no Kenkyu*, Vol. 1, pp. 398-400.
- 12 Kinebuchi Nobuo (杵淵信雄), *Nikkan Koshoshi* (日韓交渉史), Sairyusha (彩流社), 1992, pp. 33-34.
- 13 *Ueno Riichi Den*, p. 203.
- 14 Nishida Nagatoshi (西田長寿), *Meiji Jidai no Shinbun to Zasshi* (明治時代の新聞と雑誌), Shibundo (至文堂), 1966, pp. 54-58.
- 15 *Ueno Riichi Den*, p. 201.
- 16 Text Ibid., pp. 195-204.
- 17 Yi Kuangrin (李 光麟), *Hanguksa Kangja V Kundaepyeon* (韓国史講座V 近代編), Ilchogak (一潮閣), 1994, Seoul, pp. 132-145.
- 18 Yi Kuanrin, *Kaehuadang Yonggu* (開化党研究), Ilchogak, 1973, Seoul, pp. 93-110.
- 19 Kum Byoendong (琴 秉洞), *Kingyokukin to Nihon* (金玉均と日本), Ryokuinshobo (緑陰書房), 1991, pp. 37-38.
- 20 *Kaehuadang Yonggu*, pp. 105-108.
- 21 Osaka Asahi Shinbun, May 7, 1881. Osaka Asahi Shinbun is available in the form of microfilm, published by Asahi Shinbunsha.
- 22 Nakarai Tosui, *Kosafukukaze*, Kinkodo (今古堂), 1893, Vol. 1, pp. 293-294.
- 23 *Ueno Riichi Den*, p. 231.
- 24 *Hangukshi Kangja V*, Kundaepyeon, pp. 145-157.
- 25 *Jijishinpo* Fukkokuhan (時事新報 復刻版), Ryukeishosha (竜溪書舎), 1986, Vol. 1-1, p. 37.
- 26 July 23, 1881, Osaka Asahi Shinbun.
- 27 *Ueno Riichi Den*, p. 230.
- 28 September 23, 1881, Osaka Asahi Shinbun.
- 29 September 30, 1881, Osaka Asahi Shinbun.
- 30 *Ueno Riichi Den*, p. 231.
- 31 *Kindai Nissen Kankei no Kenkyu*, Vol. 1, pp. 999-1062. Concerning the censorship in this period, see *Asahi Shinbun Shashi Meijihen* (朝日新聞社史 明治編), Asahi Shinbunsha, 1990, pp. 96-97
- 32 *Asahi Shinbun Shashi Meijihen*, pp. 154-155.
- 33 Text Ibid. p. 190.

- 34 Tokai Sanshi (東海散士), *Kajin no Kigu* (佳人之奇遇), *Meiji Seiji Shosetsu Shu*, Vol. 2 (明治政治小説集 二), Chikuma Shobo, pp. 3-110.
- 35 Inoue Kakugoro (井上角五郎), *Kanjo no Zamu* (漢城遁残夢). The first version was published in 1891 and reprinted in 1924. The memoir is now available in a reprint published in 1984. *Kankokugaku Bunken Kenkyusho* (韓国学文献研究所), *Kyukanmatsu nittei shinryaku shiryō* (旧韓末日帝侵略史料) VII, Seijihen (政治編) 7, Ajia Bunkasha (アジア文化社), 1984.
- 36 Toriumi Yasushi (鳥海 靖), *Hanbatsu Tai Minto* (藩閥対民党). This paper is included in *Nihongi kaishi roku* (日本議会史録), Vol. 1, Daiichi Hokishuppan (第一法規出版), 1990, pp. 108-117.
- 37 Fujimura Michio (藤村道生), Yamagata Aritomo (山県有朋), Yoshikawa Kobunkan 吉川弘文館, 1961, p. 140.
- 38 Nakarai Tosui, *Kosafukukaze*, Part 1, Kinkodo, 1893, pp. 3-6.
- 39 Text Ibid. pp. 7-13.
- 40 Text Ibid. pp. 14-18.
- 41 Text Ibid. pp. 30-34.
- 42 Text Ibid. pp. 44-64.
- 43 Text Ibid. pp. 65-70.
- 44 Text Ibid. pp. 71-74.
- 45 Text Ibid. pp. 99-246.
- 46 Text Ibid. pp. 247-251.
- 47 Text Ibid. pp. 261-362.
- 48 Nakarai Tosui, *Kosafukukaze*, Part 2, Kinkodo, 1894, pp. 5-9.
- 49 Text Ibid. pp. 355-356.
- 50 *Hanguksa Kangja V*, Kundaepyeon; *Kosafukukaze*, Part 2, 109-122.
- 51 *Kindai Nissen Kankeishi no Kenkyu*, Part 2.
- 52 *Kosafukukaze*, Part 2, pp. 152-153.
- 53 The illustration of this scene appears separate from the chapter, in the first pages of *Kosafukukaze*, Part 2. The original illustration is included in the last installment of the novel. See *Asahi Shinbun*, Vol. 17, Nihon Tosho Senta, 1993, p. 187.
- 54 In the article by Tosui, "Jin'yo nikki" (榎余日記) written in 1898, *Asahi Shinbun*, Vol. 58, Nihon Tosho Senta, p. 82.
- 55 *Kindai Nissen Kankei no Kenkyu*, Part 2, pp. 53-97.
- 56 *Chunhyangjun* has various versions. Concerning the difference among the versions, see Kim Dong'uk (金 東旭), *Chunhyangjun Pigyo Yonggu* (春香伝比較研究), Samyongsa (三英社), 1979, Seoul, pp. 25-27.
- 57 *Kosafukukaze*, Part 2, pp. 5-7.
- 58 *Chunhyangjun Pigyo Yonggu*, pp. 345-432.
- 59 *Kosafukukaze*, Part 2, pp. 309-316.
- 60 *Kosafukukaze*, Part 1, 261-276.
- 61 Suikoden Ge, (水滸伝 下), Chugoku Koten Bungaku Zenshu (中国古典文学全集), Heibonsha, 1961, pp. 82-84.
- 62 *Kosafukukaze*, Part 2, pp. 278-295.
- 63 *Kosafukukaze*, Part 1, pp. 317-319.
- 64 *Kanjo no Zamu*, p. 270.
- 65 Osaka Asahi Shinbun, July, 27, 28, 30, 1881.
- 66 Okubo Yasusuke (大久保泰甫), *Boisonade* (ボワソナード), Iwanami Shinsho (岩波新書), 1977, pp. 96-112.
- 67 Higuchi Ichio (樋口一葉), *Higuchi Ichio Zenshu* (樋口一葉全集), Vol. 3, Chikumashobo, 1976, pp. 23, 26.
- 68 Meiji Kanshibunshu (明治漢詩文集), *Meiji Bungaku Zenshu* (明治文学全集), Vol. 62, Chikumashobo, 1983, p. 401.
- 69 Tsubouchi Shoyo (坪内逍遙), *Shosetsu Shinzui* (小説神髓). Tsubouchi Shoyo Shu (坪内逍遙集), Meiji Bungaku Zenshu 16 (明治文学全集16), Chikumashobo, 1969.
- 70 *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshu* (福沢諭吉全集), Vol. 10, Iwanami Shoten (岩波書店), 1960, pp. 238-240.
- This editorial "Datsuaron" (脱亞論) first appeared in *Jiji Shinpo* on March 9, 1885.
- 71 *Asahi Shinbun*, Vol. 17, Nihon Tosho Senta, p. 38.
- 72 *Asahi Shinbun*, Vol. 35, Nihon Tosho Senta, p. 319.

半井桃水の小説「胡砂吹く風」

上垣外憲

要旨：明治二十一年の東京朝日新聞の創刊以後、同紙の小説記者であった半井桃水は、明治十四年から二十一年にかけて、釜山駐在の大阪朝日新聞の特派員を勤めていた。その間、明治十五年の壬午軍乱に際しては、ソウルに特派されその精彩ある報道によって記者としての名声を確立する。また同じ明治十五年に朝鮮のハングル小説「春香伝」を朝日紙上に翻訳、紹介した。

その桃水が彼の朝鮮の社会、政治に対する知識と中国、朝鮮の古小説の小説作法をもち込んで「朝鮮小説」と題して明治二十四年十一月から翌年四月にかけて百五十回にわたって連載したのが、「胡砂吹く風」である。

この小説は中国、朝鮮、日本のいわゆる伝奇小説と共通する、冒険活劇調、波乱万丈の筋立てと、山賊や悪徳官吏などの類型的な登場人物を持っている。また、女主人公の造形には、彼が十年前に翻訳した「春香伝」の影響が認められる。一方、おりから朝鮮半島で清国に対抗できる軍備を想定した予算が国会で問題になっていたこともあり、この小説は桃水の政治論、日韓清の同盟という主張が表明されている。「胡砂吹く風」は読者の好評を博して明治二十五年十二月に単行本で出版されるが、東アジア三国同盟という政治主張と朝鮮に対する共感の表明は、日清戦争以後の日本人の大陸進出への思い入れとは、あまりに相反するものであった。桃水自信、日清戦争に際して「続胡砂吹く風」を朝日に連載するが、七十回で恐らく読者の不評のゆえに、中断している。その後桃水は二度と朝鮮を舞台とする作品を書かないのである。