

ジョン万次郎一日米の夜明けに生きた日本人

宮 下 和 子

John Manjiro : A Cross-Cultural Life in the Light of Japan-U. S. Relationship

Kazuko MIYASHITA

要 約

激動し続ける世界情勢のもと、日本にとって「国際化」は具体的な「国際貢献」へとその議論が移っているように思える。つまり、これまでともすると「国家」対「国家」という概念として捉えられていた国際交流が、国民一人一人の意識の覚醒をも促し始めているといえよう。こうした「グローバルイゼーション」進行中の日本で、近年注目を集めている人物にジョン万次郎(1827-1898)があげられ、1990年には「ジョン万次郎の会」の発足までみている。

土佐の貧しい漁村に生まれた万次郎は、1841年、14才で仲間4人と出漁中、嵐に出会う。鳥島で漂流生活を送ること143日目、ホイットフィールド船長指揮下のアメリカの捕鯨船「ジョン・ハウランド号」に救助される。その150年目にあたる1991年は、万次郎に関する様々な本が出版され、テレビでも特別番組が組まれたことは記憶に新しい。さらに、ハワイで仲間と別れた万次郎は乗組員の一人として捕鯨に取り組み、1843年、16才で

「ジョン・ハウランド号」の母港ニュー・ベッドフォードに到着する。この万次郎のアメリカ到着150年目にあたる1993年は恐らく、更なる関心と注目が日米両国で寄せられるであろう。

ホイットフィールド船長の故郷フェアヘブーンに住むことになった万次郎は、学校や教会に通い、英語、数学、航海術などの勉強に打ち込む。3年後、捕鯨船で捕鯨に従事中等航海士となり、選挙で副船長に選ばれるが、同時に日本の鎖国の苦々しい実態も経験、3年後帰港する。やがて帰国の決心を固め、ゴールド・ラッシュのカリフォルニアで資金を蓄え、1851年、琉球を経て帰国する。

幕末の日本はペリー提督の来航など万次郎を必要としたが、士分にまで取り立てられながらも、アメリカに近すぎる危険人物ということで、やがて歴史の表舞台から姿を消していく。本稿では、万次郎の今日的意味と、「異文化コミュニケーション」の先駆者として、その潔い生き方から学ぶ意義を考察する。

KEY WORDS : ジョン万次郎, 日米関係, 鎖国, 捕鯨, 異文化コミュニケーション

1. Introduction

In accordance with worldwide drastic changes and turmoil in recent years, the term “globalization” seems to be taking the place of its predecessor, “internationalization,” on a daily basis. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, in particular, the year 1991 marked the end of the Cold War, leaving our “Global Village” in further disorder. Under these circumstances, Japan is confronted with an important question: “What role should we play in terms of global contribution?” Because of recent

global awareness, John Manjiro (1827-1898) has come into the limelight for his stormy life, including his significant contribution as a Japan-U. S. go-between in terms of grass-roots communication.

The year 1991 was remembered as the 150th anniversary of the fateful encounter of the 14-year-old Manjiro with the 36-year-old William Whitfield, the captain of a U. S. whaler, who in 1841 rescued Manjiro from an island on which he had been shipwrecked. A number of books were published, depicting his life and the long-lasting human bond of two families living apart from each other across the Pacific Ocean: the Nakahama family in Japan and the Whitfield family in the United States. Among the TV programs commemorating the occasion was one featuring Manjiro as a prominent figure who spiritually lived through his motherlands during both the pre-and post-Meiji Restoration era of Japan.

In 1992, a special exhibition to commemorate Manjiro and his life was held at the Meijimura Museum in Aichi prefecture from October 10 to November 8. Among the 165 articles displayed, either left by Manjiro himself or related to his life, were included the Bible he had used in the U.S. and several portraits of those people influenced greatly by him. Everything considered, the 1993 will draw even more attention as the 150th anniversary of his arrival in the United States and the start of his life in Fairhaven, New England in 1843.

The recent popularity of John Manjiro probably dates back to 1976, when the United States marked and celebrated, the 200th anniversary of her independence from Britain. As part of the celebrations, the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D. C. held a special exhibition, from May through November, to commemorate 28 foreign individuals and one group who once visited the United States and later shared part of their U. S. experiences with their own people. Among them was John Manjiro from Japan, ranking with Alex De Tocqueville (1805-1859) from France and Charles Dickens (1812-1870) from Britain.

Invited to the opening reception for the exhibition, Dr. and Mrs. Hiroshi Nakahama, Manjiro's direct descendants, visited the U. S. and extended their tour as far as Fairhaven, Manjiro's second hometown. The whole town welcomed the Nakahamas by holding a convivial party. That was the third visit paid by the Nakahama family: Manjiro's oldest son, Toichiro, showed his respect by giving a set of traditional Japanese swords to the town in 1918, followed by a second visit in 1924, when he was accompanied by his son, Kiyoshi.

According to Shunsuke Kamei, there were three very distinctive figures, all seafarers, who accidentally drifted as far as the United States during *sakoku* or Japan's national seclusion¹⁾. They were Otokichi from Owari in 1832; Manjiro from Tosa in 1841; and Hikozo from Harima in 1850. Among them, Kamei notes, Manjiro survived the most extraordinary hardships in his extreme efforts to introduce and transmit whatever he had learned in the United States into his mother country, Japan²⁾.

This paper aims to trace Manjiro's life history, discuss his philosophy in terms of his global identity, and to search for certain hints as to how each of us as individuals should educate himself or herself to work through the changing current social conditions. This may help us to eventually realize our own mission in our voyage on the planet Earth and to pave the way towards the 21st century.

2. History of Manjiro's Stormy Life³⁾

Manjiro was born into a poor family of five children at Nakanohama, a small fishing village in Tosa or Kochi, in 1827. To make the matter worse, when he was nine his father died, and soon after he worked out at sea on a bonito boat. He was reportedly a talented and quick learner in many ways. In January 1841, the 14-year-old Manjiro went fishing in the Pacific Ocean with four other fishermen; he was the youngest on the boat. Hit by a sudden storm on the third day, however, their boat was adrift on the ocean for six days. On the seventh day, they finally found an uninhabited island, Torishima. Landing there safely, they were able to survive mainly by living on albatross for 143 days until they were rescued by a U.S. whaler on June 27 1841.

The whaling vessel was the 'John Howland,' weighing 376 tons, 55 meters long and 11 meters wide, commanded by Captain William H. Whitfield and with 34 other crew members. Leaving New England in October, 1839, they were at sea for almost two years and tired of eating dehydrated meat. On that day, they took down a boat to catch a turtle for fresh meat, which led to their finding Manjiro and four other drifters. Under the command of Captain Whitfield, they were warmly welcomed by all the crew members. Soon Manjiro was recognized as both a hard worker and a quick learner on the whaler, including his ability of picking up English. Gradually Manjiro came to be called 'John Mung,' a compilation of the first part of the ship's name and 'Man,' the first syllable of his own name, 'Man-ji-ro.'

In November 1841, the 'John Howland' cast anchor at Honolulu on Oahu Island, Hawaii. In the course of their three to four-year voyage, whaling vessels needed to stop at several ports to supply themselves with wood, water, food, to have the vessel repaired, and to have some recreation, as well. Because of Japan's *sakoku*, Hawaii naturally became one place visited by a large number of whaling vessels. Accompanied by Captain Whitfield, Manjiro and his companions landed at Honolulu, where they were provided by the Honolulu public office with a small hut to stay in for the time being.

Ten days later, however, Captain Whitfield visited them and offered to take only Manjiro back to the United States with him. According to Kazuo Narita, the Captain perceived Manjiro's ability, whereas Manjiro found a father's love in him⁴⁾. In other words, by that time, they had forged a strong interpersonal relationship⁵⁾. In January 1842, Manjiro parted from the other drifters, leaving Hawaii as a crew member of the 'John Howland.' Thus Manjiro joined the U. S. whaling industry, the first and biggest enterprise in 19th-century America before crude oil was discovered in Pennsylvania in 1859. The 'John Howland' continued her voyage, passing the Gilbert Islands, Torishima and Hawaii, back to Guam Island, whence they set a course back to America. Navigating around Cape Horn, South America, the then 16-year-old Manjiro was on northward bound for the United States.

In May 1843, the 'John Howland' returned to New Bedford, after her departing three years and six months previously. Captain Whitfield took Manjiro to his home in Fairhaven and introduced him to the townspeople as his son, and also arranging for him to attend Oxford School. That was the first schooling for Manjiro, who had never attended *tera-koya*⁶⁾ back in Japan. A faithful Christian, Captain Whitfield even left his former church in his efforts to have Manjiro accepted by the Unitarian church. In 1844, the 17-year-old Manjiro went up to Bartlett Academy, where he studied at an advanced level subjects such as English, literature, history, mathematics, commensuration, and

navigation.

Three years passed since Manjiro arrived in Fairhaven ; he grew to be 19 years old. One day in 1846, Manjiro was invited to work on a whaler the 'Franklin,' and he decided to put to the test whatever knowledge he had learned through his school education. In May, Manjiro left Fairhaven on the 'Franklin,' and was engaged in whaling for over three years. Undergoing all the routines of whaling, Manjiro, showing exceptional ability, was promoted to first officer and vice-captain by voting. Despite the vessel's close location to Japan, however, he was not able to land in his own country due to the *sakoku* policy. In August 1849, the 'Franklin' returned to New Bedford, Where Manjiro was welcomed by Captain Whitfield.

Since gold was discovered in January, the year 1849 saw thousands of "forty-niners," not only from America but also from the rest of the world rush to California. The gold rush rapidly spread and eventually made Manjiro determined to return to Japan by earning money through gold mining himself. In October, he left for California, where he was involved in gold mining for months. In September 1850, he boarded a vessel which was to navigate to Honolulu from San Francisco. Eighteen days later, he arrived in Hawaii and met his former companions. One of them had already died, but two of those who remained agreed to accompany Manjiro back to Japan. They spent months preparing for their return journey, persuading a captain to have them on board his merchant ship and purchasing a whale boat, which was named the 'Adventure.' Leaving Hawaii in December 1850, the 'Adventure' finally succeeded in getting to Mabuni in Ryukyu or Okinawa on February 3 1851.

From Ryukyu, Manjiro and his companions were sent to Satsuma or Kagoshima, where they were treated as guests while questioned by the clan chief Nariakira Shimazu (1809-1858). About 40 days later, they were sent to Nagasaki, following the rule that any returnee from drifting should be investigated by Nagasaki-*bugyo*⁷⁾. They had to undergo cross-examinations 18 times, including *fumie* or 'treading picture⁸⁾.' A year later, they were ordered to be sent back to Tosa, with most of their belongings seized by the Tokugawa *bakufu* or Shogunate. In June, they left Nagasaki for Tosa, where they were again interrogated for over two months.

In October 1852, Manjiro returned home at last and saw his mother after an 11 years' interval ; he was 24 years old. Before long, he was summoned to Kochi Castle and appointed as professor at its school, honored with the rank of *samurai* or warrior. Manjiro enthusiastically engaged in teaching young students, including Shojiro Goto (1838-1897), and Ryoma Sakamoto (1835-1867). In July 1853, Commodore Perry (1794-1858) appeared at Uraga Port, accompanied by four warships or *kuro-fune*, demanding that Japan should open herself to foreign trade and diplomatic relations⁹⁾. The news did not surprise Manjiro, for he had anticipated such U. S. demands, judging from his own experience on the two whaling navigations.

In August, Manjiro was called to Edo by the Tokugawa *bakufu* or government and directly questioned by *roju*¹⁰⁾ Masahiro Abe about the U. S. situations. According to Narita, "Manjiro explained the power of the U. S. Navy and pointed out the possibility of its approach to Japan in large numbers, reinforced by advanced navigation techniques and steam power. He showed a world map and pointed to the two routes for reaching the Far East : one starting from the U.S. east coast and passing around Africa's Cape of Good Hope ; the other, passing around Cape Horn, South America. He had followed both courses himself, he added. During their navigation of all the Seven Seas, they

greatly need to stop at several ports for supplies of food and water, adding that Japan had been criticized in America for seclusion from a humanitarian viewpoint¹¹⁾.”

Thus taken into the service of *bakufu*, Manjiro settled down in Edo with his official family name ‘Nakahama.’ In January 1854, Commodore Perry returned to Yokohama as previously announced. In March, the Japan-U. S. treaty of peace and amity was signed. Despite his efforts, however, Manjiro was not finally chosen as its interpreter ; it was suspected that ultimately he would be biased in favor of the United States, the country to which he was so greatly indebted.

In April 1857, he was appointed as professor of navigation at the navy school. In the mean time, he was invited twice to Hakodate to instruct whaling. In 1858, *bakufu* signed the Japan-U. S. treaty of amity and commerce. In January 1860, *bakufu* decided to dispatch a steam ship the ‘*Kairinmaru*’ to Washington as a ratification mission, with 96 crew members, including Manjiro as an interpreter and Yukichi Fukuzawa (1834-1901). In March, they reached San Francisco, where Manjiro bought a copy of Webster’s American Dictionary, a sewing machine and a camera as souvenirs. Then they stopped by Honolulu, where he wrote a letter to Captain Whitfield, describing how he had returned to Japan nine years before as well as asking him to visit Japan. Upon his return, however, Manjiro was dismissed from his teaching post owing to his association with Americans during the journey.

In December 1862, Manjiro went aboard a whaling vessel the ‘*Ichiban-maru*’ as captain and caught two whales off the Ogasawara Islands, but he had to abandon whaling on the way because of a robbery on the boat. After that, he spent most of his life engaged in teaching at several schools across the nation. He was invited twice, for example, by Satsuma to teach at their Kaiseijo school. In 1869, the year following the Meiji Restoration, he was nominated by the Meiji government as a professor at Kaisei-gakko school, the forerunner of Tokyo University. In August 1870, he left Yokohama having been chosen as a member of the investigative mission to Europe. On the way, in October, he visited Fairhaven and met Captain Whitfield after a 21 years’ interval. In March 1871, however, he had to give up further journeying because of his poor health.

In the Spring of 1886, Manjiro received a letter from Captain Whitfield’s son, announcing that his father had died in February. In November 1898, John Manjiro died in Tokyo at the age of 71.

3. Cross-Cultural Lessons in the Light of Manjiro’s Global Identity

The 150-year-old relationship between the Nakahama and the Whitfield families may be regarded as a private bond of friendship. From a historical perspective, however, it must have been interrupted by a number of diplomatic crises. In fact, the visit to Japan in 1940 by Willard Whitfield, the Captain’s direct descendant, was initially planned by Franklin Roosevelt (1882-1945), American president from 1933-45, in an effort to ease the Japan-U. S. tension. Despite the following four-year antagonism, the Nakahama-Whitfield personal bond was never broken. What made it possible to endure and survive over the generations?

First of all, why did Manjiro dare to return to Japan after 10 years, in the knowledge that he would be punished or killed for violating *sakoku*? If he had not, he could have continued to live a peaceful life in the United States. What made him be so resolute as to challenge the status quo? For the answer one should go back to his encounter with Captain Whitfield, the opening of their positive

and decisive relationship, ensuring their following mutual trust.

The dramatic encounter of Manjiro and Whitfield illustrates the world of humanity, foretelling their lasting bonds of friendship. Rescued from his 143-day shipwrecked island life, Manjiro must have found in Whitfield both the kindness and paternal love, which he had been missing for years. On the other hand, Whitfield, then a widower, seems to have gradually noticed that Manjiro was a man of exceptional capabilities. Their mutual trust must have been reinforced by their sharing of the whaling navigation for months before arriving in Hawaii. In addition, whaling was then in its hey-day¹²⁾ with its crew consisting of all races. As Kazuo Narita cites, "Whaling could then be identified as a popular Yale or Harvard University¹³⁾." Thus, Manjiro learned English, navigation, democracy, individualism, enterprise, and hunting whales through his association with the multi-cultural crew of the 'John Howland,' which can be seen as a microcosm.

Life in Fairhaven provided Manjiro with a school education, something Manjiro had never experienced before. He attended elementary school, starting from the first grade and making rapid progress in his studies and grades. Another experience he had never had was Christianity. Thanks to Whitfield's endless efforts, he was accepted by the Unitarian church as a family member of its congregation. In my view, his rejection by some churches due to his color made him experience certain racial discrimination, whereas the warm welcome from others made him believe in American democracy. The course of these events seem to show the specific development of Manjiro's self-discovery and self-confidence as a Japanese.

The United States was then a young democratic nation, still on the way to westward expansion. Manjiro must have observed in the community the idea of democracy working in terms of freedom, equality and individualism. Despite their external differences, community members were linked to each other by common values. It goes without saying that these experiences in the U. S. made Manjiro awaken to his own identity as Japanese, as well as an individual being. Those who have studied and lived in the United States would agree to this point.

I assume that Manjiro just wanted to introduce to and share a part of his experiences in the U.S. with Japanese people. In other words, he wanted to have them enjoy those values and the ways of life he himself had appreciated. Also, looking at Japan from the outside assured him of her isolationism. In return for those favors he had received from America, he wanted to open her door for the sake of both U.S. whaling vessels and Japan as a whole.

Manjiro's challenge in returning to Japan, therefore, was the result of an accumulation of firsthand experiences of various U.S. values : democracy, Christianity, frontier spirit, etc. He not only saw them practiced at all levels of society by people from all walks of life, but practised them himself. His resolution was reinforced by his belief and confidence in his mission. These things considered, his sense of obligation to the U. S. should belong to the Japanese tradition, whereas his resolute conviction to return to Japan belongs to the American tradition. Thus, he tried to incorporate these two elements from different cultures into one integrated adventure. In other words, his return to Japan can be considered as the combined result of his 10-year cross-cultural studies in American society.

Nevertheless, Japan's situation then was far from accepting such liberalism, leaving Manjiro alienated from the main stream of history. In a way, the Japanese authorities failed to perceive

either Manjiro's capabilities or his vitality. Even today, the failure to appreciate such grass-roots movements still exists in Japanese society : for example, each year an increasing number of Japanese return from abroad after living there for years. Regarded as "returnees," *kikoku-shijo* in Japanese, they then face difficulties in getting along with their peers or the educational system here. Generally speaking, they find themselves unable to blend back into the Japanese community, where people still tend to unconsciously behave according to static values, or spiritual continuation of *sakoku*.

When concluding her research into Manjiro's way of life, Masayo Duus¹⁴⁾ said, standing at Mabuni in Okinawa, where Manjiro returned to Japan in 1851 at the age of 24 :

A border only exists for the benefit of each nation in terms of political sense. Nobody in the world is born with one bud in his or her heart. As I proceed to research into Manjiro, I strongly feel that he held to his self-identity, which was neither Japanese nor American, but always strongly individualistic. Throughout his life, he appears to have identified with his decisive self, and to have never been confused by others' views. I'm proud to say that Manjiro, who lived at the dawn of the Japan-U.S. relationship, proved to be a noble Japanese man with a global sense of his own identity¹⁵⁾.

Her remarks seem to emphasize that, despite living in such a chaotic era, Manjiro sustained his decisive stance not on a diplomatic basis but rather on a civilian basis. In that sense, he left a legacy or lesson for Japanese people, who are currently confronted with the crisis of chaotic globalization.

4. Epilogue

Manjiro was far from being a statesman with political ambition. It should be noted, however, that U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt sent to Manjiro's son a letter dated June 8, 1933 :

You may not know that I am the grandson of Mr. Warren Delano of Fairhaven, who was part owner of the ship of Captain Whitfield which brought your father to Fairhaven. Your father lived, as I remember it, at the house of Mr. Tripp, which was directly across the street from my grandfather's house, and when I was a boy I well remember my grandfather telling me all about the little Japanese boy who went to school in Fairhaven and who went to church from time to time with the Delano family. I myself used to visit Fairhaven, and my mother's family still own the old house.

The name Nakahama will always be remembered by my family and I hope that if you or any of your family come to the United States that you will come to see us.

Believe me, my dear Dr. Nakahama¹⁶⁾,

Nation-to-nation diplomatic relations generally depend on mutual diplomacy, but all of us cannot be engaged in diplomatic professions. Nevertheless, to develop our global awareness will foster in each of us the spirit of Manjiro. There is no formula for that, but an appreciation of his stormy life will help us search for our identity and to work through the global circumstances we currently face.

“Globalization” or “internationalization” should not embrace diplomatic issues only, but it should be discussed on a grass-roots basis. In other words, it should start with positive communication with those next to us, regardless of where they are from : they could be Japanese, Americans, Europeans, Chinese, other Asians, or other foreigners. The only principle we should keep in mind is that we all belong to the same human race, living on the same planet. Manjiro reportedly maintained the same behavior and spoken manner no matter to whom he was talking.

Furthermore, diplomacy itself should follow the same path, starting with close connections with our neighboring countries. In order to promote such a network, each individual should play a role as both a diplomat and an individual civilian within their own social context. Compared to Manjiro’s life, full of hazards and risks, including the violation of *sakoku*, we fortunately live in a nation where we could challenge anything in an effort to establish Japan’s status and eventually to enhance her reputation in this age of globalization.

NOTES

- 1) According to Shinzaburo Oishi, “Among the important policies adopted by Ieyasu was that of national seclusion. Because the *bakufu* had managed only with great difficulty to subdue the Shimabara Rebellion a year before this policy was put in its final form in 1639, the policy of seclusion is usually linked to the *bakufu*’s policy of banning Christianity.” Chie Nakane and Shinzaburo Oishi ed. , *TOKUGAWA JAPAN : The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan* (Tokyo : University of Tokyo Press, 1990), p. 25.
- 2) Kazuo Narita, John Manjiro : *Amerika-wo Hakkenshita Nihonjin* (John Manjiro : A Japanese Who discovered America) (Tokyo : Kawade Bunko, 1990). An afterword by Shunsuke Kamei. p. 220. trans. by Auther
- 3) Most of Manjiro’s biographical descriptions are based on Kazuo Narita, *John Manjiro: Amerika-wo Hakkenshita Nihonjin*. Trans. by Auther
- 4) *John Manjiro : Amerika-wo Hakkenshita Nihonjin*. p. 29. trans. by Auther
- 5) See Kazuko Miyashita, “Japanese and English Communication Patterns : Vertical Vehicle vs. Horizontal Vehicle.” *Annals of Fitness and Sports Sciences No. 7*, National Institute of Fitness and Sports in Kanoya, 1992. p. 178.
- 6) “Since the time of the *Kamakura Shogun*, public instruction declined gradually. The bonzes then opened small schools in most of their temples, where boys from the ages of 10 to 15 were received and taught the most ordinary Chinese characters. The instruction consisted in reading and writing the copies placed in the hands of the children. These schools, called *tera-koya*, continued till the Restoration.” E. Papinor, *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan* (Tokyo : Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1972), p. 652.
- 7) “Official charged with the administration of the town of *Nagasaki*, overseeing the commerce with Holland and China, the defence of the neighboring coast, etc. In 1603, *Ieyasu* placed a *bugyo* or governor there in the name of the Shogun. From 1640 to 1859, *Nagasaki* was the only town in Japan where foreigners--Dutch and Chinese only--were permitted to traffic.” *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan* p. 421.
- 8) “At first *Ieyasu* was more tolerant. But in 1606 he began issuing anti-Christian edicts, and he started a full persecution in 1612, culminating in large-scale executions two years later. From then on the missionaries were methodically driven out and native Christians forced into apostasy or martyrdom. Suspects were made to trample on a Christian icon, known as *fumie* or ‘treading picture.’”
Edwin O. Reischauer, *Japan : The History of a Nation* (Tokyo : Charles E. Tuttle Co. , 1981), p. 88.
- 9) “In the first half of the nineteenth century the Americans, British, and Russians repeatedly sent expeditions to Japan in efforts to persuade the Japanese to open their ports to foreign ships, and the Dutch urged the

Tokugawa to accede to these demands. But Edo stood firm on its old policy....

The American government eventually decided to try to force the doors open. For this purpose, it dispatched under Commodore Matthew C. Perry a fair-sized fleet that steamed into what is now called Tokyo Bay in July 1853. After delivering a letter from the president of the United States demanding the inauguration of trade relations, Perry withdrew to Okinawa for the winter, with the promise that he would return early the next year to receive a reply. Edo was thrown into consternation over this sudden crisis, and the remaining decade and a half of Tokugawa rule, known as the *bakumatsu*, or the 'end of the *bakufu*,' was a period of great unrest." *Japan: The history of a Nation* p. 110.

- 10) "At the top of the administrative structure were the *roju* (senior councillors) and immediately below them the *wakadoshiyori* (junior councillors). In 1634, the *bakufu* defined the limits of their authority and functions, with ten articles pertaining to the senior councillors and seven to the junior councillors. According to these regulations, the latter were to oversee affairs relating to *hatamoto gokenin* (shogunal retainers with stipends of less than 10,000 *koku*), while the senior councillors' duties concerned daimyo (those lords with holdings of over 10,000 *koku*), foreign affairs, and financial matters." TOKUGAWA JAPAN P. 29.
- 11) *John Manjiro: America-wo Hakkenshita Nihonjin.* p. 150. trans. by Author
- 12) "From New Bedford and other New England ports, bold skippers and their crews, having driven most of the whales from the Atlantic, voyaged far into the Pacific in their hazardous tracking of the source of spermaceti for candles, whale oil for lamps, and whalebone for corset stays and other uses." T. Harry Williams, "Part Three Expansion and Disunion 1820-1860" AMERICAN HISTORY (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1987), p. 252.
- 13) *John Manjiro: Amerika-wo Hakkenshita Nihonjin.* p. 50. trans. by Author
- 14) Masayo Duus (1938-) Japanese writer living in the U.S. since 1968, having written a number of books, including her recent work, *Nihon-no Inbo (Japanese Conspiracy)*.
- 15) "*John Manjiro: Bakumatsu Futatsu-no Sokoku-ni Ikita Nihonjin*" (John Manjiro: A life Through Two Homelands in the late Tokugawa Period) NHK TV special program, 'Rekishi Tanjo' (Birth of History) Televised on June 25, 1990. trans. by Author
- 16) Meijimura Museum ed. for Special Exhibition from October 10 to November 8, 1992, *Nichibei Yuko-no Kakehashi: John Manjiro (The Bridge of Japan-U.S. Friendship)* (Nagoya Railway Co., 1992), p. 24.