

The First Japanese Who Resided in the Ottoman Empire: the Young Journalist *NODA* and the Student Merchant *YAMADA*

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Introduction

In the second half of the 19th Century, when the *TOKUGAWA* Shogunate regime made a complete turnaround, from ‘the national isolation policy’ to ‘the positive diplomatic policy with the Western countries’, Japanese people began to come to the Mediterranean World on a large scale. With the start of the *Meiji* Era in the year of 1868, the new Japanese government accelerated this new policy. In those days, Japanese people, who had the intension to visit the European countries, firstly must enter the Mediterranean World, via Suez Canal. But almost of them had few intentions to visit the Eastern Mediterranean World, the Ottoman Empire. It took more time for Japanese people to decide to reside in her capital, Istanbul.

The Tragedy of the Ottoman battleship *Ertuğrul* (1890), the wreckage off the coast of *Wakayama* Prefecture in the way to the Ottoman Empire after her mission in Japan, later led two Japanese to reside in Istanbul.¹ It is not said that not a single Japanese had visited the Ottoman Empire before two of them, but these who had earlier visited the Ottoman Empire stayed for quite short period and there is no doubt that no other Japanese had taken root to reside there for a certain long period before the two did. One of the two is *Shôtarô NODA* (1868-1904), the young staff journalist of *Jiji Shinpô*, and the other is *Torajirô YAMADA* (1882-1957), ‘the student merchant’ as the expression of the famous novelist *Rohan KÔDA*.² *YAMADA* had the other name ‘the master of *Sansan Bunbô*’, with the aspiration to embody on private trade business between Japan and the Ottoman Empire. *NODA* continued to stay in Istanbul from January 1891 for nearly two years, and *YAMADA* resided in Istanbul for as many

1 There are many previous studies about the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul* in both Turkey and Japan. But almost of all did not use the Japanese source materials (newspapers, magazines, official documents and so on) in those days (see MISAWA 2010). At the viewpoint of investigations about the Japanese source materials, (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan (ed.) 2005) was the first authoritarian study. This report is based on series of MISAWA’s studies, mentioned at the bibliography of this article.

2 *YAMADA* was one of the closest friends of *KÔDA*, before they got famous. *YAMADA* promoted to publish the first novel of *KÔDA*. See DEGUCHI 2006.

as approximately 10 years from 1893 to 1905.³

Japan and the Ottoman Empire began to attempt to approach each other regardless of geographical distance between them.⁴ The two countries took that measure not with purely intention to establish diplomatic relation, but as a part of the respective national strategy in construction of the international circumstance at that time when ‘Imperialism’ flourished in the world. Therefore, the bilateral diplomatic relation between Japan and Turkey had never been achieved until the Ottoman Empire fell down. In such a circumstance, *NODA* and *YAMADA* played intermediary roles to introduce the Ottoman Empire to Japan and to introduce Japan to the Ottoman Empire, apart from any national strategic diplomacy.

I. *Shōtarō NODA and Jiji Shinpō*

Shōtarō NODA was born in the family of the *Samurai* class in the *Nanbu Morioka* feudal clan in then *Hachinohe* town of *Aomori* Prefecture in January 1868, and he grew up enjoying the reputation as a prodigy. In September 1886, he came up to *Tokyo* and became a student of *Keio Gijuku*, the oldest private institute of higher modern education in Japan. *NODA*’s talent was highly evaluated by *Yukichi FUKUZAWA*, the founder of *Keio Gijuku*, and later he joined as a staff journalist of *Jiji Shinpō*, a prestigious newspaper with the influence by the *Keio* academic cliques.⁵

‘The Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*’ in the year of 1890 formed a crucial turning point for the life of the young journalist.

In those days, Japanese newspapers were in cut throat competition to achieve greater circulation by ‘making prompt reports’ and ‘carrying editorials agitating the public’. It is worthwhile to gather attention to the fact that each newspaper started fierce competition in making news reports swiftly with the introduction of issuing extra editions on the occasion of promulgation of the *Meiji* Constitution on February 11, 1889. *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun*

3 *YAMADA* himself said in his autobiographies and biographies that he stayed in Istanbul from his first visit in 1892 until the outbreak of the World War I in 1914. But according to various descriptions of newspapers, magazines and official documents in those days, actually *YAMADA* began to stay in Istanbul from 1893 until 1905. *Chūta ITO*’s postcard proved *YAMADA* came home in 1905 (see, ESENBEL, AOKI-GIRARDELLI, KÜÇÜKYALÇIN 2010). *YAMADA* also came back to Japan for several months in 1899. Actually *YAMADA* himself supervised his famous biography, *SANSHŌTEI-SHUIJIN* 1952, written by his close friend, there are many exaggerations and false information. The previous studies about *YAMADA*, such as ESENBEL 1994, 1996, 1999, 2002, 2003 ; MATSUTANI 1986, 1998 ; NAGABA 1996, were misled by his autobiographies and biographies. As usual in the academic studies of historiography, it requires to verify the contents of *YAMADA*’s autobiographies and biographies with the various source materials. See DEGUCHI 2006, DÜNDAR & MISAWA 2009.

4 For example, Japan sent the diplomatic mission under *Masaharu YOSHIDA* to the Qajar Dynasty and the Ottoman Empire in the years 1881-2. See Cabinet Office, Government of Japan (ed.) 2005 : 19-21.

5 The manuscript written by *FUKUZAWA*’s hand to be included as an editorial of *Jiji Shinpō* was kept at the *NODA* family, and this fact reflects that *NODA* had a close tie with *FUKUZAWA*.

released the extra edition at as early as 10:00 AM on the same day in *Tokyo*. *Ôsaka Asahi Shinbun* reported the Imperial Mandate and the full text of the Constitution by the extra edition in the evening of the day in *Ôsaka*. The success of *Ôsaka Asahi Shinbun* in making the swift report was brought by the telegram of the Constitution full text reported by *Ryôhei MURAYAMA*, the representative of *Tokyo Shinpô*, who attended the ceremony of the promulgation of the Constitution. Thus, newspapers started to shift the priority from the traditional mission of ‘freedom of speech’ to the newly emerging mission of ‘prompt report’. Nevertheless, coincidentally with the emergence of the trend of emphasizing the new mission, the *Minyû-sha* formed by *Sohô TOKUTOMI* facilitated to rescue the new idea of ‘freedom of speech’ different from the past manner on the other hand.⁶

With regard to ‘the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*’, three newspapers surpassed others in reporting the incident immediately. Following the occurrence of the incident on September 16, 1890, envoys were sent to *Kôbe* and *Tanabe* as late as on September 18. Governors of *Hyôgo* Prefecture and *Wakayama* Prefecture informed *Tokyo* before dawn on September 19. *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun* and *Kôbe Yûshin Nippô* reported the incident by the extra issue on September 19 respectively in *Tokyo* and *Kôbe*. *Ôsaka Asahi Shinbun* reported this carrying the telegram report from *Wakayama* in the marginal notes.

These affairs showed the reporting competition among newspapers. Each newspaper responded to this incident uniquely in the way of reporting and writing editorials. Donation collection campaigns, as one of the media’s activities, had come into usage before this tragedy. In this case, *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun* and *Jiji Shinpô* pioneered this activity by large spaces to announce the donation collection on each newspaper dated September 20. *Mainichi Shinbun* and *Ôsaka Asahi Shinbun* are confirmed to have started the donation collection on September 21 and 26 respectively. Noteworthy is the activity by *Jiji Shinpô*. Although the coverage by *Jiji Shinpô* was later than others, it started to collect the donation as early as on the same day as *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun* did. This clearly shows how insightful *Jiji Shinpô* was. The insight of *Jiji Shinpô* was reflected not only in the donation collection campaign itself, but also in the way of remittance of the collected money that, in turn, came to influence *NODA*’s life greatly. The donation collected by *Jiji Shinpô* added up to as high as 4,248,976 yen, albeit this amount included the sizable contribution from the navy circle at the amount of 1,500 yen.⁷ The success by *Jiji Shinpô* makes sharp contrast with others in comparison with the amount collected by others. The amount collected by *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun*, *Mainichi Shinbun*, and *Ôsaka Asahi Shinbun* was 608,346 yen, 128,534 yen and about 154 yen respectively.⁸

6 Later in October 1896, *TOKUTOMI* stayed in Istanbul for a week during his round trip to Europe and America, with assistance of *YAMADA* (see *DÜNDAR & MISAWA 2009*).

7 *MISAWA 2002b* : 82-84, *MISAWA 2003a* : 62-64.

8 Thus the total amount of the Japanese donation reached about 5,000 yen. According to the price of rice, as usual as the Japanese historiography, it corresponds 70,000,000 yen in the year of 2011. Falsely it rumored that all donation was collected by only *YAMADA*. It was quite mistaken. This wrong

Jiji Shinpō made remarkable performances in gathering wide attention to its editorials as well. The complete change took place in the public opinion when the editorial titled “Again about sending the victims back to Turkey” was released on *Jiji Shinpō* dated September 24. In this editorial, *Jiji Shinpō* revealed that the Japanese Navy lagged behind the German Navy in rescuing survivors of the shipwreck and the Japanese Foreign Ministry received a contact from Russia about sending of the survivors back to the Ottoman Empire, and argued that the Japanese battleship must send back to enhance ‘the Honor of Japan’. Other newspapers aligned themselves with *Jiji Shinpō* all at once on the following day. They spread out criticism against the Japanese Foreign Ministry, and support for the Japanese Naval Ministry. The demand that the survivors should be sent back by the Japanese battleship was ignited among the Japanese public opinion. It was the outbreak of ‘Nationalism’ rather than ‘Sympathy’ to the same non European country or ‘Humanism’ on the tragedy.⁹ For, there was a background that antagonism and hostility against Europe was stirred up in Japan those days in relation to the issue to address unequal treaties favorable to foreign countries unilaterally. This public demand culminated in the Emperor’s decision to dispatch two battleships, *Hiei* and *Kongō*, to the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the government’s approval to expend the considerable 126,487.60 yen from the second reserve did not get exposed to the public repulsion in spite of the financial predicament in those days.

This decision to dispatch *Hiei* and *Kongō* changed the destiny of *NODA*. As mentioned before, *Jiji Shinpō* was successful in not only collecting the sizable donation but also in disposing of, that is to say, in reminding the collect money. It is not too much to say the donation collection for ‘the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*’ became the first Japanese donation collection for foreign victims in Japan. Then, none of newspapers that collected the donation was decided about how to remit the collected money at the time of collecting. The earliest way to deliver the money was to hand the cash directly over to the survivors that were going back. In fact *Kōbe Yūsin Nippō*, a local newspaper in *Kōbe* where survivors were taken care of until they left Japan, executed the opinion of handing over the money amounting to 53.75 yen to survivors through the mediation of *Hyōgo* Prefecture Office.¹⁰ However *Jiji Shinpō* made

rumor wastes the good will of the donators, including schoolchildren. Almost donation was collected by the Japanese newspapers, which was unrelated to *YAMADA*. The donation that *YAMADA* handed to the Ottoman Empire amounted about 97 yen (only about 2% of the total Japanese donations), according to the official receipt preserved in Maritime Museum in Istanbul (see MISAWA 2007 : 68-69, 86).

⁹ According to my investigation of the Japanese newspapers in the years 1890-91, the Japanese people immediately lost interests about the tragedy and the Ottoman Empire. Awaken ‘Nationalism’ converted to the election of the first National Assembly in November 1890. On the other hand, depending on odd comprehension about Japanese history, such as *ROKUMEIKAN* Diplomacy continued at the time of ‘Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*’, there is quite a opposite argument (see PENN 2006 : 40-48). But, in fact, the Foreign Minister *AOKI* strictly abandoned *ROKUMEIKAN* Diplomacy and rejected to establish any diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire. In those days, the almost Japanese people did not regard Turks as ‘Asian brothers’.

¹⁰ MISAWA 2003a : 60-61. On the other hand, *Ōsaka Asahi Shinbun*, published in *Ōsaka*, adjoining

another choice.

The action that *Jiji Shinpō* took was to send a staff journalist on board a Japanese battleship. *Jiji Shinpō* exchanged all the amount of the collected donation for the foreign exchange in French franc terms at the *Yokohama Shōkin Bank*, and let the staff journalist to deliver the money order directly to the relevant authority of the Ottoman Empire. Of course, *Jiji Shinpō* ordered to the staff journalist to send reports on board. It was *Shōtarō NODA* that assumed this important mission.

The decision to send *NODA* to Istanbul was not planned from the start of collecting the donation, but was thought up hastily in response to the determination to dispatch *Hiei* and *Kongō*. *Jiji Shinpō* or *NODA* himself managed to obtain the authorization from the battleships or the Naval Ministry to get *NODA* on board of *Hiei* with the negotiation process unknown. *Shōtarō NODA* assigned for the honorable task of the money remittance made the following announcement on the second page of the 2800th issue of *Jiji Shinpō*, dated October 7 in the form of a private notification.

“I am sorry that I could not afford having the time to say goodbye to everybody since I was suddenly assigned to go to Istanbul by the battleship *Hiei*. I hope everybody will forgive me for thanking you on this newspaper.

October 6

Shōtarō NODA

Jiji Shinpō Corporation”

As mentioned above, *NODA* got on board of *Hiei* on October 6 at the *Yokosuka Port*. However *NODA* did not receive the essential money order at hand as he left. This illustrates that the entire plan was suddenly prepared. After *NODA* had left *Yokosuka* for *Kōbe* where the survivors were supposed to be picked up, *Shōtarō IMAIZUMI*, one of *NODA*'s colleagues at office, chased him.¹¹ He went to *Kōbe* with the money order at his hand by getting on the train running along the *Tōkaidō* line. The line was constructed in the preceding year, 1890. He caught up with *NODA* at *Kōbe* on October 10. *Hiei* and *Kongō* departed *Kōbe* in the early morning of October 11. *NODA* barely completed the preparation immediately before the departure. The detailed story was carried on the 2804th issue of *Jiji Shinpō* dated October 11.

On the way to Istanbul, *NODA* sent detailed reports to *Jiji Shinpō* by mail whenever the battleships *Hiei* and *Kongō* stopped at any foreign ports. These reports were carried on *Jiji*

Hyōgo Prefecture, failed to hand over their collected donation, totally about 152 yen (op.cit. : 67-69).

¹¹ *IMAIZUMI* is one of the nephews of *Yukichi FUKUZAWA*. He is famous as the founder of Japanese caricature. He retraces the memory of *NODA* and his Turkish students, with the letters of the students, in his book, entitled as *Ippyō Zatsuwa* published in Tokyo, 1901 (see *MISAWA & AKÇADAĞ* 2008 : 242-4).

Shinpô under the title of “Reports of voyage to Turkey on board of the Japanese battleships”.¹²

Hiei and *Kongô* arrived at Istanbul on January 2, 1891. Even after *NODA* landed, he continued to send reports to *Jiji Shinpô* about activities of his own and the crew of the Japanese battleships in Istanbul under the title of “Memoir of Constantinople”. The reports depicts to how earnestly he was devoted to handing over the donation after the arrival. He attempted to hand over the money order to the Foreign Minister *Sait Paşa*, designated as the payee of the donation. However, he was requested to bring it over to the bereaved family relief committee established in the Naval Ministry of the Ottoman Empire instead of the Foreign Minister since the committee supervised the donation collected within the empire. In reaction to this, he visited the Naval Ministry on January 6. He met the Naval Minister *Hasan Paşa* and explained to him the whole story about the donation collection campaign, and successively met *Rıza Hasan Paşa*, the chairman of the bereaved family relief committee, and presented to him the money order and a letter signed by *Kinsuke ITÔ*, the proprietor of *Jiji Shinpô Corporation*. This letter is still preserved at the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi) in Istanbul.¹³ The Japanese version of the letter included the list of primary donors carried by *Jiji Shinpô*. Albeit this may be unnecessary information, notepapers used by *ITÔ* were letterhead of the *Kôjun-sha*, social club for *Keio Gijuku* circle according to *ITÔ*'s preference or the custom in *Jiji Shinpô*. Hand written English translation counting 6 pages are attached with the original Japanese version. The actual letters are preserved at the Ottoman Archies in Istanbul. The Ottoman Empire delivered a receipt under the name of *Rıza Hasan Paşa* to *NODA* in exchange for the donation on the same day of his visit. The Japanese translation of the receipt was shown on the 2542nd issue of *Jiji Shinpô* dated Februrary 26, 1891 (The original language used for the receipt is unknown.) On May 7, the 3012nd issue of *Jiji Shinpô* carried the Japanese translation of the letter written by the Foreign Minister *Sait Paşa* with the date of January 21 and the letter written by *Rıza Hasan Paşa* with the date of January 20, both of which were addressed to *ITÔ* (Both were originally prepared in French with the attachment of English translation.) *Jiji Shinpô* claimed that the donation was disposed of in a fair manner by also encouraging those who would like to see the actual letters to come to the office (The long interval between the issuance of the letters and the publication of them on the newspaper may be due to the time taken for the transport of the actual letters planned to be shown at office.) . *Jiji Shinpô* also went so far as to mention that the official receipt for the donation was still kept by *NODA* in Istanbul for fear of accident in the process of the mailing.

The report by *NODA* carried on *Jiji Shinpô* described that the donation was hailed by the Ottoman Empire. A large crowd of people gathered when *NODA* visited the Naval Ministry on January 6, 1891, and every newspaper in Istanbul widely reported the presentation of the

12 All reports of *Jiji Shinpô* written by *NODA* are completed as the catalogue as MISAWA 2004.

13 BOA, HR.MTV. (=Hariciye Nezareti Evrakı Mütenevvia) 507-57 (see MISAWA 2003b : 62-64, 81-85).

donation on the following January 7. In fact, various actions of *NODA* and crews of *Hiei* and *Kongô* during their stay in Istanbul as well as the issue of the donation itself were widely covered by various newspapers published in Istanbul at that time as not only daily newspapers published in the Ottoman Turkish, like *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, *Sabah*, and *İkdam*, but also newspapers published in English and French like *The Lebant Herald*, *The Oriental Advertiser*, and *La Turquie*. Then he suddenly leaped into fame, gathering the public's attention in the Ottoman Empire. In due course, *NODA*, on account of this warm reception, was resolved to continue to stay in the Ottoman Empire as *Hiei* and *Kongô* were going to return home to Japan. Sultan *Abdülhamit II* wished the Japanese naval officers to remain one officer as the lecturer of the Japanese language for the Ottoman officers. Although they could not accept this royal request, they recommended *NODA*.¹⁴ In this way, *NODA* decided to remain in Istanbul with favorable treatment by the Ottoman Empire for nearly two years, to teach the Japanese language to several officers and learned the Ottoman Turkish and Islamic studies at the Ottoman Military School.¹⁵ He also continued to report the affairs in the Ottoman Empire to *Jiji Shinpô*. Consequently, the donation campaign of *Jiji Shinpô* unexpectedly yielded the first Japanese newspaper correspondent dwelled in the Islamic World.

In addition, *NODA* was converted to a Muslim and given the name of *Abdülhalim* in June, 1891.¹⁶ Although he himself did not mention this fact at all in his reports to *Jiji Shinpô*, many newspapers and magazines in the Ottoman Empire were zealous in reporting this event. At this moment, he is recognized to be the first Japanese Muslim, whose conversion was confirmed with sorce materials. However, judging from his later life in Japan, this conversion turned out to be based on superficial conversion or temporary curiosity. Although it is conventionally said that *Torajirô YAMADA* was the first Japanese Muslim for a long time, it is a fallacy mistaking *YAMADA* for *NODA*.¹⁷ It is true that the possibility of *YAMADA*'s conversion to Muslim cannot be totally denied, but he himself never claimed his conversion.

II. Encounter of the two Japanese in Istanbul

Torajirô YAMADA was born as the son of *Yûzaemon NAKAMURA*, a chief retainer for the *TOKI* Family, who were the feudal lord governing *Jôshû Numata* clan in August 1866, and

14 *NODA* himself reported the details of his decision in the articles of *Jiji Shinpô*. Actually he did not get the permission of *Jiji Shinpô Corporation*. But *NODA* was not informed that he was the substitute of the Japanese naval officer. The lieutenant *Hajime SAKAMOTO*, the translator of the naval mission, gave a full account of this affair (see MISAWA 2004 : 124-126).

15 For detailed information about *NODA*'s lectures and students at the Ottoman Military School, see MISAWA & AKÇADAĞ 2008.

16 BOA, Y.PRK.ASK. (=Yıldız Perakende Askeri Maruzat) 72/21. For the original documents and the transliteration, see MISAWA & AKÇADAĞ 2007 : 99-101, 107-109.

17 It was proved that *NODA* was the first Japanese Muslim with the Ottoman documents (see MISAWA & AKÇADAĞ 2007).

succeeded to the *YAMADA* Family in 1882.

The starting point of *YAMADA*'s contact with the Ottoman Empire dates back to the donation collection campaign for 'the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*'. The concrete examples of his own campaign are found raising through a series of lectures titled 'Lectures for the condolence of the Turkish battleship' organized with some acquaintances in Tokyo, two days' event titled under 'Entertainment for the donation collection of the Turkish battleship' co-organized with *Baki KAWAKAMI*, and some announcements for donation on several newspapers through small private message.¹⁸ Unlike the long believed common knowledge about the donation collection 'the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*', *YAMADA* was not the key person of the whole donation collection campaign in Japan. As described above, the scale of his donation campaign was very small by contrast with the others by newspapers like *Jiji Shinpō*, *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun*, *Mainichi Shinbun* and so on. A series of donation campaign with his involvement is filled with obscurity as well. It is not known whether all the planned 15 series of lectures were implemented, and the scale of those lectures are not certain either. More crucial is how much was collected in total is still not confirmed above all.

It is not certain that how *YAMADA* attempted to hand over the collected donation when *Hiei* and *Kongō* started on the voyage to send back the survivors to the Ottoman Empire in October 1891. Actually, at this moment, *YAMADA* failed to hand over the donation. It was January 1892 when *YAMADA* made up his mind and left Japan to Istanbul. It took more than one year for *YAMADA* to make up this decision. Why *YAMADA* made the decision to go to Istanbul? There is the following the reasons.

Except for *Jiji Shinpō*, other newspapers and some private persons publishing campaigns were undecided about how to dispose of the collected donation. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, they could not close the donation application before the departure of *Hiei* and *Kongō* and start the procedure to send the money. They cannot be blamed for this delay in consideration of the fact that even *Jiji Shinpō* completed the money remittance procedure at the last minute. Secondly, the Japanese Foreign Ministry refused to assume the money remittance procedure on behalf of them. The Foreign Ministry asserted it was not possible to undertake the procedure on account of the fact that there was no formal diplomatic relation between Japan and the Ottoman Empire, while it was not impossible to remit the money to the Ottoman Empire through commercial banks even those days.

Therefore *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun* and *Mainichi Shinbun* made the money remittance procedure by themselves. Actions that both newspapers publishing companies took to dispose of the collected donation can be guessed from documents retained at the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul, there are two letters prepared in Japanese and French and addressed to the Foreign Minister *Sait Paşa*; both of which were under joint signature by *Naohiko SEKI* and *Ryū*

18 There is also the false recognition that *YAMADA* went on a pilgrimage all over Japan for the donation collection, strongly influenced by popular TV program, which did not verify the details.

KOIZUKA SEKI is the president of the *Nippô Corporation* publishing *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun*, and *KOIZUKA* is the president of *Mainichi Shinbun Corporation*.¹⁹ These letters were enclosed with a money order by which the collected donation was sent. These letters prove that, as *Jiji Shinpô* had done, the money order at the value of 2,984.36 French franc was prepared at *Yokohama Shôkin Bank* in exchange for 726.88 yen totaling 608,346 yen (collected by *Nippô Corporation* and 128,534 yen collected by *Mainichi Shinbun Corporation*). They presented the money order to the Ottoman Empire. The Japanese version of the letters was dated June, 1891 only, but the French version was dated June 22, 1891. The date recorded on the letters implies that both newspapers were making efforts to settle the money remittance issue before the departure of *Hiei* and *Kongô*. In fact, on the letter it is admitted that the procedure could not be completed before the departure of the Japanese battleships with a straightforward expression that "...unfortunately we could not finish the remittance procedure on time for the departure of the two Japanese battleships, *Hiei* and *Kongô*, because of the lack of time...".

However, the complete process of the donation remittance was not disclosed on either of the two newspapers, and then no more detailed information is not available than the information obtained from those letters. Those letters provide only the fact the money was certainly sent and the total amount of their collected donations. Namely, nothing cannot be known about how the money was sent. It is not made clear whether some envoys from the two companies were sent to the Ottoman Empire with the money order and letters as *Jiji Shinpô* had done, or their donations were sent indirectly by means of postal service, postal money order or something else. It is hard to guess that envoys were sent in consideration of the inconvenience of the transportation between Japan and the Ottoman Empire at that time.

Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun and *Mainichi Shinbun* somehow managed to send their collected donations by themselves, but *Ôsaka Asahi Shinbun* proud of the largest circulation throughout Japan at that time abandoned the remittance of the donation following the advice of the Japanese Foreign Minister, and appropriated the collected donation to the budget for the cenotaph, planned by *Wakayama Prefecture*, at *Ôshima* island where *Ertuğrul* suffered from the tragedy.²⁰

This circumstance may have certainly influenced *YAMADA*, only one of private citizen. We can find the evidence of *YAMADA*'s activities about his collected donation at the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul. It is an English letter composed of three pages and addressed *Sait Paşa*, which also bears names of four other cooperators as well as joint signatures by *YAMADA* and *KAWAKAMI* who co-organized a charity entertainment.²¹ Together with condolatory words for 'the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*', it was written that they hoped the donation brought would be

19 BOA, HR.MTV.507-64 (see MISAWA 2003a : 64-67, 87).

20 Ibid.

21 BOA, HR.MTV.507-29 (see MISAWA 2003a : 70-72, 89).

accepted although the amount might small. Noteworthy is the date of November 1890 written on the letter above all, while the exact amount of the donation is also among the interest. This date signifies this letter was prepared almost only one month after the departure of *Hiei* and *Kongô* if this date was written at the same time when the letter was prepared. Nonetheless, it was as late as January 30, 1892 when *YAMADA* left Japan, and it was April 4, 1892 when he arrived in Istanbul, as a matter of fact. Therefore, it can be supposed that this English letter had been sent by mail to the Ottoman Empire before his departure, or he himself brought the letter in 1892 to the Ottoman Empire without revising the date formerly written. At the Ottoman Archives, this letter is simply filled according to the date written on the letter without any information attached about the date and situation which this letter was practically accepted. His very short autobiographies, and biographies written by his friend, does not prove that the donation was sent on this date. Then, it is more probable that he himself handed it over to the Ottoman Empire without revisiting the date formerly written. Incidentally, we can know a part of his outlook on the world through this letter. *YAMADA* insisted that Japan, China and the Ottoman Empire must promote exchanges among them because these three countries are major independent countries in Asia. Apparently his thought was influenced by the concept of ‘Pan Asianism’ (or, ‘the Great Asianism’) that burgeoned in Japan at that time. According to his biography, although it is not confirmed by any other materials, he met *Minoru* [*Katsunan*] *KUGA* and *Nichinan* *FUKUMOTO*, who were the opinion leaders of this ideology, to ask for advice about the donation collection campaign.²² The ideology of ‘Pan Asianism’ has not deeply rooted in Japan yet at that time. He may have been influenced by the ideology at the early stage among the Japanese people. The emotion aroused among the Japanese people after ‘the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*’ was not ‘Pan Asianism’ as *YAMADA*, but ‘the anti-European sentiment’ as proved earlier. If *YAMADA* was engaged in collecting the donation with being stimulated by the ideology of ‘Pan Asianism’, it is crucial whether the donation campaign was successful or not since the degree of the success can measure how widely the ideology of ‘Pan Asianism’ was prevailing in Japan at those days. It is also interesting how the Ottoman Empire received his letter, including such an ideology. In the Ottoman Empire, it is needless to say the Ottomans have no self-assertion to acknowledge the Ottoman Empire as one of Asian countries like Japan and China. It must be extremely hard for the Ottomans to understand his letter.

Actually at first *YAMADA* seems to have had the will to send the collected donation to the Ottoman Empire in November 1890, as mentioned above. Although the fact is not confirmed until today, his biography describes that *YAMADA* met the Foreign Minister *Shûzô AOKI*.²³ It

22 SANSHÔTEI-SHUIJIN 1952 : 3. But this description in the biography was not certified by any other source materials about *KUGA* and *FUKUMOTO*.

23 The biography told that *AOKI* petitioned him to undertake the procedure to send the collected donation to the Ottoman Empire, as the following words. *AOKI* replied “I would like to suggest you should bring this collected money by yourself to Turkey since this came out of your sincerity. ...

is highly likely that *YAMADA* made a contact with the Japanese Foreign Ministry while it is not for sure that he practically met the Foreign Minister *AOKI*. As *Ôsaka Asahi Shinbun* did, *YAMADA* needed to petition it to undertake the procedure of the money remittance on behalf of him. Because he had pledged “the detailed procedure to send the money to the victims will be later notified after discussion with relevant authorities” on the announcements of the donation collection on newspapers before. However, it is hard to imagine that the Foreign Ministry really made the application to the Naval Ministry for *YAMADA* as reported by the biography in spite of the fact that the Foreign Ministry made a contrary and negative response to *Ôsaka Asahi Shinbun*.

On the other hand, in the short autobiographies of *YAMADA*, the issue of the contact with the Foreign Ministry is not raised, but it is mentioned there that he approached *Tsunatsune TANAKA*, the Captain of *Hiei*, who returned home from Istanbul in May 1891. Thanks to a letter of introduction written by Captain *TANAKA*, in January 1892, *YAMADA* was able to get on board the British vessel chartered by the Japanese Naval Ministry to hand over the new battleship *MATSUSHIMA*, constructed in Italy. *YAMADA* left this vessel at *Port Sait*, and managed to go to Istanbul, via Cairo and Alexandria by himself.²⁴

This story is reliable in consideration of the fact that, as the case that *Shôtarô NODA* got on board of *Hiei* shows, the Japanese Naval Ministry was generous about business associated with the Ottoman Empire unlike the Japanese Foreign Ministry under fire of the public opinions and unwilling to establish a diplomatic relation with the Ottoman Empire. In this way, *YAMADA* was provided with convenience from the Naval Ministry by approaching the Captain *TANAKA* after May 1891, although he had received unfavorable response from the Foreign Ministry about his request of the money remittance.

On the other hand, we must verify the purpose of *YAMADA*'s visit to the Ottoman Empire. It used to be believed that he visited to the Ottoman Empire to bring the collected donation based upon his biography.²⁵

But *YAMADA* himself suggests a different and real reason in his biographies. He himself

Therefore, I will ask the Naval Ministry to allow you to get on board of the vessel, but you should also apply for the permission by yourself.” (SANSHÔTEI-SHUIJIN 1952 : 7). This incredible story cannot be certified by any other source materials, like the memoirs of *AOKI* and the official documents of the Foreign Ministry. *YAMADA* himself also did not talk about this anecdote in his any autobiographies. It is impossible to admit this anecdote as true by two reasons. First, it is very difficult for the unknown young people like *YAMADA* to meet the Foreign Minister. Second, *AOKI* and the Foreign Ministry never provided any convenience for the donation, like the cases of *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun*, *Mainichi Shinbun* and *Ôsaka Asahi Shinbun*, as aforementioned. So it is supposed that *YAMADA* was failed to get any help from the Foreign Ministry, and found a way out when he contacted with the Captain *TANAKA* at the public lecture in 1892.

²⁴ *YAMADA* kept contact with the Japanese naval mission to Italy. In July or August 1892, after three months' short stay, *YAMADA* left Istanbul and got abroad on *MASTUSHIMA* to return to Japan (for the details of this story, see MISAWA 2007).

²⁵ SANSHÔTEI-SHUIJIN 1952 : 6-7, 12-13.

says "...It was not in vain that I made efforts to launch the exchange between the two countries by visiting Turkey and getting to know the circumstance of the country. This is the reason of my planning to go to Turkey at that time...", and namely he declared that the main purpose of the visit to the Ottoman Empire was to try to realize the private trade business between the two countries.²⁶ This can be also confirmed in *NODA's* reports published on *Jiji Shinpô*. He contributed to *Jiji Shinpô* while he resided in Istanbul. We can find the situations about *YAMADA's* arrival in *NODA's* 6 serial reports titled "Waiting for the ship at the Golden Horn" published from 3374th to 3380th issues dated June 21 to 28, 1892. These reports says the arrival of *YAMADA* to Istanbul and the brokerage efforts of *NODA* for *YAMADA*. *NODA* vividly described he ardently welcomed *YAMADA* as a fellow countryman despite of a total stranger for him. According to *YAMADA's* memoir, he arrived in Istanbul on April 4, 1892 by way of Cairo and met the Foreign Minister *Sait Paşa* in the afternoon of the same day. On the other hand, *NODA's* report on *Jiji Shinpô* describes *YAMADA* did not smoothly arrived as *YAMADA* claimed. In the morning of April 4, *NODA* was suddenly awakened by a message from the residence of *Sait Paşa*. The message told him the following.

"A Japanese came to the residence of *Paşa* in the morning and it seems he has some business to do here because he speaks by showing some letters of introduction. But nothing to do each other since people in the residence of *Paşa* are fluent in French instead of English although one or two hours have already passed. I came up to you because you live near the residence. It is kind of you if you could go there immediately."

At once *NODA* rushed to the residence of *Sait Paşa* on getting this surprising news and helped *YAMADA* out of trouble. On the arrival in Istanbul, *YAMADA* probably was not proficient in French which was the first foreign language in the Ottoman Empire, while his biography tells the story that he was said to have learned French in his youth. Thus, *NODA* took such laborious works for *YAMADA* as introducing him to *Sait Paşa* safely, and invited him to his own office and residence at the Ottoman Military School and making an arrangement of the hotel at the instruction of *Sait Paşa*. In such a way, *NODA* worked for him to solve any troubles, because *NODA* had good impression with him. Along with taking care of him, *NODA* also sent the following reports to *Jiji Shinpô*.

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

26 For the details, see MISAWA 2003a : 72.

“...spending time in preparing for the start of business promptly...”²⁷

Furthermore, *Rohan KÔDA*, one of the closed friends of *YAMADA* in those days, wrote the short novel, entitled as “*Shosei Shônin* (=the Student Merchant)”, representing the episode of *YAMADA* to come up from a poor student to a rich merchant. *KÔDA* gave the detailed and conclusive evidences about reason why *YAMADA* went to the Ottoman Empire, to set up the trade business.²⁸

These evidences suggest the primary purpose of *YAMADA*'s visiting Istanbul in April 1892 was to collect the information for setting up trading business between Japan and the Ottoman Empire, with the excuse of bringing his collected donation as an incidental purpose. In addition, the aforementioned affairs about *YAMADA*'s arrival in Istanbul described in *NODA*'s reports in *Jiji Shinpô* are quite a different from the descriptions in his autobiographies and biographies.

Therefore, it is true that disposing of the collected donation was among the purposes of *YAMADA*'s visit to the Ottoman Empire, but it is for sure he did not make a trip purely for the donation matter only.

III. Torajirô YAMADA in Istanbul

In this way, two Japanese *NODA* and *YAMADA* accomplished the encounter in Istanbul. It was so lucky for *YAMADA* to meet *NODA* at the visiting day. Rash *YAMADA* succeeded to arrive in Istanbul owing to *NODA*'s heartfelt assistance. *YAMADA* was welcomed to stay in the Ottoman Military School where *NODA* lodged, and sometimes helped the Japanese lessons as the guest.²⁹

NODA, who was very famous among the upper class of the Ottoman Empire, introduced *YAMADA* to the very important person, and wrote the petition to the Ottoman Imperial Court to assist the trade project of *YAMADA*.³⁰ There was a very important person for *YAMADA* among them. Spiraki Alexisandridi, the general secretary of ‘Osmanlı Sanay ve Ticaret Odası’ (‘Chambre de Commerce d’Agriculture et d’Industrie de Constantinople’ in French) was interested in the trade business between Japan and the Ottoman Empire.

27 Ibid.

28 DEGUCHI 2006. Thanks to the excellent study of DEGUCHI, we got the detailed accounts about *YAMADA*'s young days before he went to Istanbul to begin the trade business in 1893.

29 *YAMADA* himself told he became the Japanese lecturer at the Ottoman Military School. Actually there is the one photograph that showed *NODA*, *YAMADA* and the students, but there is no official Ottoman document about his appointment. It was very reasonable that *YAMADA* only assisted *NODA*'s lesson as the guest for a few months (see MISAWA & AKÇADAĞ 2008).

30 Unless *NODA*'s efforts, *YAMADA* could not be granted audiences with the sultan. It takes more than 2 years and half for *YAMADA* to meet Sultan *Abdülhamit II* in 1896, after he stated to stay in Istanbul (see, MISAWA & ISHIMARU 2010 : 357-366).

In this way, *YAMADA* met with great success in beyond his imagination during his first short stay in Istanbul. In July 1892, *YAMADA* left Istanbul to return to Japan for collecting the investments among the Japanese merchants.

It is not clear that *YAMADA*'s short stay effected *NODA* to feel homesick. Shortly after *YAMADA*'s return to Japan, *NODA* began to think of returning to Japan after a year had passed since he came to the Ottoman Empire. He left Istanbul in the end of December 1892, and returned home by way of Europe and the United Staes. Although there is a groundless rumor that he returned to home because he became ill, it is more likely nothing but an excuse to the Ottoman Empire. He made a triumphal return and wrote reports of the Ottoman Empire on *Jiji Shinpô* by utilizing his experiences in Istanbul. However he gradually came to be apart from the Ottoman Empire issues. He resigned from *Jiji Shinpô Corporation* for the unknown reason, and the fame he enjoyed at one time vanished when he caused criminal cases twice. He passed away at the young age on April 27, 1904.

Actually *YAMADA* and *NODA* were in Japan in the early months of 1893. But both never meet again. *YAMADA* made public lectures, calling himself as the agent of the Ottoman Chamber of Commerce, for the Japanese merchants to collect inetivments to set up the trade business with the Ottoman Empire. In the second half of 1893, after one year's stay in Japan, *YAMADA* returned to Istanbul. At first he lodged in Spiraki's home and began to introduce the Japanese goods at the corner of the Ottoman Chamber of Commerce. Then he opened the small Japanese Store at the most flourished modernized region in Istanbul, *Péra*. His biography tells Sultan *Abdülhamit II* and the Ottoman Empire requested him to open the shop, unless he himself had no idea (!) As aforementioned, the fact has to be that *YAMADA* himself opened the shop at his own will in consideration of the main purpose of his residence in the Ottoman Empire. But in very short time, probably due to the shortage of investiments, *YAMADA* obliged to vacate his store for the *NAKAMURA* family in *ÔSAKA*. In this way, *NAKAMURA* Store, facing *Grand Rue de Péra*, opened in January 1896. *YAMADA* himself remained at *NAKAMURA* Store as the manager and served for the master, *Kenjirô NAKAMURA*.³¹

It is not certain whether the business was profitable, but the famous Japanese guests visited his shop. The guests enjoyed the short stay in Istanbul owing to *YAMADA*'s mediation and guide. After *YAMADA* returned to Japan, he published his memories in Istanbul as a book entitled *Toruko Gakan* (= Illustrated Memory of Turkey), in 1911. This book contained paintings of Istanbul drawn by him depending on many postcards printed in Turkey, and private greetings of famous Japanese people who experienced hospital attends by *YAMADA* in Istanbul. *YAMADA* is praised as 'a consul without name or official position' on his biography of *SANSHÔTEI-SHUJIN*, but there is no facts that the Japanese Foreign Ministry or the Ottoman Empire sought for the possibility of establishing diplomatic relation through

31 For the details of the Japanese Store in Istanbul, including *NAKAMURA* Store, see DÜNDAR & MISAWA 2009, MISAWA 2011.

YAMADA.³² What he did was just nothing more than entertaining those famous Japanese guests. Unlike *NODA*, it was rare for *YAMADA* to report the situation of the Ottoman Empire to Japanese media. There was also few reports or articles about *YAMADA* himself in the any media of the Ottoman Empire.³³ In this sense, it is fair to say that the role and contribution of *YAMADA* for the media of the two countries was much smaller than one of *NODA*, regardless of the length of *YAMADA*'s long stay in the Ottoman Empire.

In January 1905, shortly after the Russo-Japanese War,³⁴ *YAMADA* returned home to Japan for setting up the paper-manufacturing company in Japan. Subsequently *Kenjirō NAKAMURA* also returned to Japan in 1906. Thus *NAKAMURA* Store in Istanbul was managed by *Eiichi NAKAMURA (TOSAKA)*.³⁵ But the store was obliged to close at the out break of the World War I in 1914. After the end of war, Japan made the official diplomatic relation with the Republic of Turkey. In this situation, *YAMADA* tried to reestablish the trade business with the newly born Turkey. *YAMADA* established the Association for the Trade Business between Japan and Turkey, in collaboration with *Katsutarō INABATA* (1862-1938), the president of the *Ōsaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry* in the year of 1925.³⁶ He became the chairman of this Association. Furthermore he tried to establish the economic relationship with the Balkan countries by approaching Greece. In this way, he became the honorary consul of Greece (not Turkey) in October 1933. However all his approach came to nothing because of hard times after the Great Depression (1929) and the World War II (1939-45). He could not get the expected economic relations with not only the Middle East countries including Turkey, but also the Balkan countries. In other words, *YAMADA*'s aspiration was not achieved in the economic relation. Nevertheless, his own paper-manufacturing business was prospered considerably, and gained fame as the master of the Japanese traditional tea ceremony as well. *YAMADA* closed his natural span of life in 1957.

32 SANSHŌTEI-SHUIJIN 1952 : 48-50.

33 *YAMADA* sent a few reports for *TAIYŌ (=the Sun)*, the popular magazine published by *Hakubunkan*, and introduced some Turkish fairy tales in the magazines for children in Japan.

34 There is a famous anecdote that *YAMADA* himself was contributed the victory for Battle of *TSUSIMA* (1905), as monitoring the Russian ships entering to the Bosphorus Canal at the Galata Tower. Actually the staff of *NAKAMURA* Store, including *YAMADA*, engaged in the intelligence activities in Istanbul as the request of *Kametarō IJIMA*, an official in Japanese Council in Odessa. According to *INABA*'s investigations of various diplomatic documents, their activities had resulted in nothing (see *INABA* 2003). This anecdote is also one of the exaggerations in his biography.

35 *Eiichi NAKAMURA (TOSAKA)* had the same family name of the master of the store. So occasionally he was called the family name of his wife. Although his wife was died from a disease, with the son, and buried in Istanbul. See *MISAWA* 2011.

36 For the details of this association, see *MISAWA* 2008a, *MISAWA* 2011. There is also the famous anecdote in his biography that *YAMADA*, as the chairman of the Association, met and told with *Mustafa Kemal ATATÜRK* at the party on October 29, 1931. His visit Turkey, not in 1931 but in 1930. *YAMADA* himself did not mention this honor in the report of official visit, published in the bulletin of the Association. It is reasonable to think about *YAMADA* attended the party on October 29, 1930, but had no chance to talk with the Turkish president.

Conclusion

NODA and *YAMADA* made active performance between Japan and the Ottoman Empire. They possessed of peculiar personality. Their respectable performances, played as pioneers of the relation between Japan and Turkey, did not directly lead to the establishment of the diplomatic relation on to the promotion of the bilateral economic relation. After the end of the World War II, people of both Japan and Turkey started to learn the story of ‘the Tragedy of *Ertuğrul*’, they also started to pay attention to the remarkable performances of *NODA* and *YAMADA* with interests. *YAMADA*’s activities turned to be legends depended on only his autobiographies and biographies without any objective and academic inspection of other source materials. Although *NODA*’s premature death caused to his important role to be overlooked.

At last, in due course, the diplomatic relation came to be constructed between Japan and Turkey gradually after the end of the World War II.

* This article is the full-scale revised version of MISAWA 2003c, in English. Special thanks to *Curators* for giving me chance to complete my idea about this subject.

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Shôtarô NODA



Torajirô YAMADA



Kenjirô NAKAMURA



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