

# The Iwakura Embassy and British Industrial Cities\*

**Young-Suk LEE**

Gwangju University

Gwangju, Korea (Republic of)

longstone21@hanmail.net

## **Abstract**

*The second volume of the Iwakura Reports is the writing on Britain. What is interesting, here, is the fact that the mission had visited the large factories in the major industrial cities. The editor of the reports in particular recorded the productive processes of goods at many factories, and wrote his own impressions of the landscapes of those cities. Those records let us know the real situation of the British economy at the time. Japanese historians admit that the activities of the Iwakura mission largely contributed to Japan's modernization. But there are few studies that analyzed the second volume of the reports which had mainly described modern factories and industrial cities. The purpose of this paper is to summarize the records of the reports on the British industry, and to examine what they recognized from the industrial civilization. The Iwakura Reports would furnish important information to the notables that had initiated the early industrialization in Japan. After the mission's visit,*

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some British companies' export to Japan increased rapidly. What is more important, however, is that the British economy was losing its own vitality in the late Victorian age in which Japan began to be rapidly industrialized. During the Japanese industrialization, some Japanese diplomats and factory-owners might have realized the decline of the British industry. Britain began to be overtaken by her rival countries such as the United States and Germany.

The Iwakura Reports do not let us know the change of the British manufacture in the late nineteenth century. Later, the leading figures of Japan's industrialization might focus on the rise of Germany or America. As the Iwakura mission had visited Britain in the early stage of the competition between Britain and other rival states, they could not know the real situation of the British economy. Furthermore, with compiling his manuscripts, the editor of the reports could not help being based upon the factory-owners' explanations and their brochures. This is the reason why he focused only on the excellence and competitiveness of British manufacture.

## Keywords

*Iwakura mission, industrial city, factory, British economy, modernization*

## INTRODUCTION

In November 1871, the Japanese Government delegated a large diplomatic mission to revise the unequal commercial treaties which it had concluded with Western countries since the 1850s. The mission headed by Iwakura Tomomi (岩倉具視), the plenipotentiary ambassador, consisted of over 100 attendants such as higher officers, scholars and young students.<sup>1</sup> But the main purpose of the Iwakura Embassy, the revision of the commercial treaties, had al-

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<sup>1</sup> The diplomatic mission was at first planned in order to cope with some protests of Western countries against religious persecution in Japan, but later the purpose was changed into the revision of the commercial treaties and the observation of Western civilization. What was more important, is the fact that three influential higher officers, Kido Takayoshi (木戸孝允), Okubo Toshimichi (大久保利通), and Ito Hirobumi (伊藤博文) attended the mission as the post of a vice ambassador. See the following studies. Albert Altman, "Guido Verbeck and the Iwakura Embassy," *Japan Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (1966): 54-61; W. G. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 159-60; John Breen, "Earnest Desires: The Iwakura Embassy and Meiji Religious Policy," *Japan Forum* 10, no. 2 (1998): 151-65; Ian Nish, ed., *The Iwakura Mission in America and Europe: A New Assessment* (Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library, 1998).

ready become frustrated in its negotiations with the United States, and after that, the negotiations with European countries also fell through. In spite of these frustrations, the mission tried to observe the politics, economy, society and culture of the countries that they had visited, and made an effort for knowing the reason why the Western states could build up a stronger national power than the non-European countries. It means that the original purpose of the Iwakura Embassy was changed into the collecting of information useful to the development of Japan in the future. The mission's reports consisting of five volumes are the result of those efforts.<sup>2</sup>

The Iwakura Reports, so-called '*The True Account*' (實記), were compiled by Kume Kunitake (久米邦武),<sup>3</sup> an official attendant, who wrote those reports on the basis of his own observations during the Embassy's tour. His writings, of course, would not be largely different from the other attendants' views of Western countries. The second volume of the Iwakura Reports is the writing on Britain. What is interesting, here, is the fact that the mission had not only looked around the famous places in London, but had also visited the large factories and works in the major industrial cities of Britain. When the Iwakura Embassy arrived in London, at

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<sup>2</sup> Kume Kunitake, *The Iwakura Embassy 1871-73: A True Account of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary's Journey of Observation Through the United States of America and Europe*, ed. Graham Healey and Chushichi Tsuzuki, 5 vols. (Matsudo: Japan Documents, 2002). The original version of the Iwakura Reports [特命全權大使 米歐回覽實記] was published in 1878. The reports were translated into English in 2002, and into Korean in 2012. On the analytical comments upon the English translation, see the following study. F. G. Notehelfer, I. R. Savelief, and W. F. Vande Walle, "An Extraordinary Odyssey: The Iwakura Embassy Translated," *Monumenta Nipponica* 59, no. 1 (2004): 83-119.

<sup>3</sup> Kume was a young scholar who had studied Chinese and traditional canons for a long time. After compiling the Reports, he served as a member of the National Institute of History, and became a professor of Tokyo Imperial University in 1888. But he was dismissed from the university because of his writing that had defined 'Shinto' as one of activities for the worship of Heaven.

first they hoped that they could be received by the Queen, but the Queen was holidaying in Scotland at the time. Up to the Queen's return to London, they traveled round industrial cities. Kume in particular recorded the productive processes and stages of goods at every factory that they had visited, and wrote his own impressions of the landscapes of those cities. Those records let us know the real situation of the British economy in the late Victorian age.

Although Kume wondered at industrial civilization, he also pointed out its negative aspects such as poverty, social bipolarization, and the air pollution of industrial cities.<sup>4</sup> Especially he criticizes that the increase of the poor in Britain stemmed from the modern legal system by which the wealth of the ruling class could be safely accumulated.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the delegation of a large diplomatic mission was very exceptional in European history. Major newspapers such as *The Times* and *The Manchester Guardian* were concerned about their visit, and used to report their schedules and movements several times. In addition, those newspapers introduced the Japanese revolutionary reform to the readers through their long commentaries. According to those commentaries, the reform was very noticeable, and it meant the first effort for civilizing a country outside the Western world.

Japanese historians admit that the activities of the Iwakura mission largely contributed to Japan's modernization. But for a long time only a few historians have been interested in the concrete contents of *The True Account*. The reason was that the mission did not succeed in revising the unequal commercial treaties with the Western countries, and the editor of the reports was indicted for his writings on Shinto. After the mid-1970s when the original version of the reports was republished, historians began on the synthetic study of the mission. While some scholars focused on the political aspects of the formation of the mission,<sup>6</sup> the others

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<sup>4</sup> Kume Kunitake, *Iwakura Embassy, II: Britain*, trans. Graham Healey (Matsudo: Japan Documents, 2002), 26, 116.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-27.

<sup>6</sup> 大久保利謙 編, 岩倉使節團の研究 [Okubo Toshiaki, ed., *The Study of the Iwakura Embassy*] (Tokyo: Takamunesyobo, 1976);菅原彬州, “岩倉使節團のメンバ構成” [Sugawara

were interested in the encyclopedic descriptions of the reports.<sup>7</sup> Recently, British scholars also published some results that inspected the mission's activities and itinerary more deeply.<sup>8</sup> But there are few studies that analyzed the second volume of *The True Account* which had mainly described the modern factories and industrial cities in Britain.<sup>9</sup> The purpose of this paper is to summarize the records of the reports on the British economy and industry, and to examine what they recognized from the industrial civilization in Britain.

### THE IWAKURA EMBASSY'S ITINERARY IN BRITAIN

Immediately after their arrival in Liverpool on August 17, 1872, the Iwakura Embassy left for London by special train. On August 20, Iwakura visited Lord Granville, the Foreign Minister, and requested a formal audience with the Queen Victoria. At the time the Queen was enjoying her summer holidays at Balmoral Castle. The mission decided to stay in Britain until the Queen's return, and began to al-

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Morikuni, "On the Composition of the Members of the Iwakura Mission"], *Hougakusinpo* 91, nos. 1&2 (Law Society, Juo University, 1984).

<sup>7</sup> 田中彰, 高田誠二, 歐美回覽實記の學際的研究 [Tanaka Akira and Takada Seizi, *Interdisciplinary Studies on the Real Account*] (Sapporo: Hokaidodaigakutosyokankoukai, 1993); 西川長夫, 松宮秀治, 歐美回覽實記'を読む [Nishikawa Nagao and Miyamatsu Hidenao, *Reading the Real Account*] (Tokyo, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> Andrew Cobbing, "Early Meiji Travel Encounters," in *Iwakura Mission in America and Europe*, 36-53; Ian Ruxton, "The Mission's Aims, Objectives and Results," in *ibid.*, 54-68; D. W. Anthony and G. H. Healy, *Itinerary of the Iwakura Mission in Britain* (Occasional Papers No. 1, Centre for Japanese Studies, University of Sheffield, 1987; revised, the Cardiff Japanese Studies Centre, University of Wales, 1997).

<sup>9</sup> For example, Cobbing's and Ruxton's articles let us know the mission's objectives, activities and itinerary in Britain, but those articles do not focus on British industry or industrial civilization in itself. Rather the following study deals with that issue. Olive Checkland, "The Iwakura Mission: Industries and Exports," in *The Iwakura Mission in Britain, 1872*, ed. Andrew Cobbing (London: Santory Center, 1998), 25-34.

ter the existing itinerary in Britain. While re-planning their schedule for visiting the industrial cities, they went to some suburbs around London. For example, on August 20, when they went to Brighton, they were met by the mayor and other notables at the railway station. After seeing the museum, they attended a class on Japan at an elementary school.<sup>10</sup> On August 27, they visited Portsmouth and looked around a shipyard of the Royal Navy.<sup>11</sup>

In fact, members of the mission almost gave up the revision of the treaty in London because of their frustration in the United States. They were rather interested in collecting information and knowledge on industry, technology, or commerce in the major industrial cities of Britain. The re-planning of their itinerary was largely indebted to Sir Harry Parkes, the British envoy in Japan and William Ashton, a diplomat, who both had returned home and stayed in London at the time.<sup>12</sup> It was very natural that the two diplomats themselves participated in rescheduling the itinerary of the mission in Britain. Especially Parkes's return seems to have been permitted by his talk with the Foreign Office.<sup>13</sup> Actually, on June 3, before the mission's visit, there was a talk of their visit at

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<sup>10</sup> Kume, *Iwakura Embassy* II, 61.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 62-63.

<sup>12</sup> See Cobbing, "Early Meiji Travel Encounters," 42-43. At first Harry Parkes (1828-85) stayed at his uncle's house in Macao in the early 1840. Some years later he served as a translator during the Opium War. From 1854 to 1865, he was the British envoy in Amoy, Guangdong and Shanghai, and after that he moved to Japan and was the British consul-general in Japan between 1865 and 1883. He was also Minister to Korea in 1883 and 1884. At the time he represented the British in negotiations of the United Kingdom-Korea Treaty of 1883. Especially on the relation between Parkes and the Iwakura Embassy, see Gordon Daniels, *Sir Harry Parkes: British Representative in Japan 1865-83* (London: Japan Library, 1996), 133-35. William G. Ashton (1841-1911) studied classics and modern languages at Queen's University in Belfast. After the graduation, he was appointed as a translator of the British legation in Japan in 1865. He largely contributed to Britain's diplomatic policy towards Japan. In 1884, he was appointed British consul-general for Seoul. On his life career, see P. F. Korniski, "William George Ashton" in *Britain and Japan 1859-1991: Themes and Personalities*, ed., Hugh Cortazzi and Gordon Daniels (London: Routledge, 1991), 64-75.

<sup>13</sup> On May 22, 1871, Parkes left Japan by steamship for America. After crossing the American Continent, he returned home on 8 August. At the time he was very weak healthily, and his wife became pregnant with child. With a talk with the Foreign Office, he emphasized that in Japan, Britain's rival would be not European countries but the United States, and hoped that he could manage their schedule and itinerary during the Iwakura Embassy's visit of Britain. *The National Archives* (Kew), Foreign Office 391/15, Hammond Papers, June 15, 1871. 'Parkes to Hammond.'

the House of Commons. When Arthur F. Kinnaird, M.P. of the Liberal Party, asked the Under Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs, George Byng, "whether the Government are preparing to take steps to receive the eminent Japanese statesman Iwakura and the other distinguished persons of composing the Japanese Embassy," Byng's reply to Kinnaird was that "Sir Harry Parkes and Mr. Ashton, interpreter to the Legation in Japan, have been appointed to attend to the Japanese Embassy on their arrival and during their stay in this country."<sup>14</sup>

At the time, Queen Victoria was to return to London on November 11. The Iwakura mission had an opportunity to experience advanced civilization by traveling around Britain for about forty days. The overall supervision of their itinerary arrangements was left to Parkes. He selected cities and factories that the mission could visit, and organized their schedule of all the events that they were to attend. In fact, Parkes was undergoing his family's hardships. His elder son hung between life and death by suffering from a fever during his returning home, and his elder daughter died of diphtheria immediately after his wife's delivery.<sup>15</sup> In spite of the misery, he continued to accompany the mission to all the cities that they were to visit.

How was the itinerary of the Iwakura Embassy in Britain? After they stayed in London from August 17 to September 28, they had a tour around Britain. Between September 29 and November 9 they visited Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Highland, Newcastle, Bradford, Sheffield, Staffordshire, Coventry, Birmingham, and Cheshire, and returned to London.<sup>16</sup> On December 5,

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<sup>14</sup> *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser., 1872, vol. 211, 1030. In addition to Parkes and Ashton, the Foreign Office asked G. G. Alexander, Major-General of the Royal Marines to act as escort to the mission. See Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, 165.

<sup>15</sup> Daniels, *Harry Parkes*, 131.

<sup>16</sup> On the concrete itinerary of the mission, see Ruxton, "The Mission's Aims, Objectives

they had an audience with the Queen, and a few days after left for France. Iwakura and his followers were favorably welcomed by members of the chambers of commerce in all the cities to which they went. What was the reason that many traders and manufacturers had been interested in the mission's visit? It would be because the amount of trade between the two countries rapidly increased. Between 1869 and 1870, for example, the amount of imports of Japan increased from 12,617,174 dollars to 23,428,966 dollars. It was indebted to the importation of cotton yarn and woolen goods from Britain.<sup>17</sup> While the number of British residents in five ports and Edo stood at 782 residents, that of all foreign residents excluding the British accounted for only 804. The British represented the mainstream of all foreign residents in Japan.<sup>18</sup>

The British Government knew that the main objective of the mission was to revise the commercial treaty between Britain and Japan. The government took a flexible stand on that issue. Iwakura and his followers were confronted with the negative attitude of the American Government towards the revision of the treaty during their stay in the United States. The British Government also tried to hold off the talk of the revision until the return home of a special mission from Japan, and at the same time, made an effort for providing them some opportunities to visit various industrial locations. On March 1, 1872 when the mission stayed in the United States, there was a question of the revision of the treaty at the House of Commons. As John Whitwell, M.P. of the Liberal party, asked about this concern, the Under Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs, George Byng, answered as follows:

Sir, Her Majesty's Government have complied with the request of the Japanese Government, put forward in November last, that the revision of the Treaty may be postponed until the return home of a special mis-

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and Results," 58-66.

<sup>17</sup> C. 431, "Commercial Reports from her Majesty's Consuls in Japan, 1870-71," *Parliamentary Papers*, 1871, vol. 67, 2.

<sup>18</sup> Except the British, American residents were 229, German 164, French 158, and Dutch 87, and the others 166. "Commercial Reports from Her Majesty's Consuls in Japan," 123-24.

sion from Japan, which is expected to arrive from Japan, which is expected to arrive shortly in this country, and is charged, among other objects, with the discussion of this treaty.<sup>19</sup>

According to the Under Secretary's answer, the British Government decided to reserve the issue of the revision until the Embassy's returning home. Although the government maintained an uncertain attitude towards the revision like this, it entertained the mission warmly, and tried to let them know Britain's industrial civilization. This dual policy would be influenced by the counsel of Parkes who had been well informed on the present situation of Japan.

But except for this question, there is no evidence of talks about the Japanese mission in the parliament before their visiting or during their stay in Britain. It seems that the mission's visiting was perceived to most members not as an important national affair but as one of simple diplomatic matters. Compared with this, some major newspapers were deeply concerned about the mission's visiting. *The Times* looked over some important changes of Japan after the Meiji Restoration in an editorial on the Japanese mission. It defines those changes as 'the experiment of Westernization' in a word. "We shall watch them with keen interest, for they are trying a grave experiment, of which the world offers no other example." The experiment means the process of "the introduction of European education, laws, and usages among a population." They began to destroy all social models which had been preserved for over 2,000 years, and the traditional ruling class also gave up their own privi-

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<sup>19</sup> *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 1872, vol. 209, 1213-14. Whitwell (1812-80) was a manufacturer, and was also a member of Kendal Chamber of Commerce between 1868 and 1880. For a long time, he had been the mayor of Kendal, and served as the president of its Chambers of Commerce. It is natural that he was interested in the revision of the treaty.

lege and prestige. An important social revolution has just started.<sup>20</sup> The newspaper sent a reporter to Bradford, and let the readers know the mission's visit to the city accurately as follows:

The members of the Japanese Embassy, accompanied by the mayor of Bradford (Mr. Thompson) and the President of the Bradford Chamber (Mr. Law), visited Saltaire on Friday, and after having seen the various works and public institutions, they then returned in a special train to Manningham, and there visited the new silk works of Messrs. S. S. Lister and Co., in passing through which particular interest seemed to be excited from the fact that the silk thread and velvets produced there are from the refuse silk cocoons of Japan. Several hours in the morning were passed at Saltaire, and the whole of the afternoon at Manningham mills. In the evening the visitors were entertained at a banquet at the Victoria Hotel as the guests of the President and the Council of the Chamber of Commerce. On Saturday they went to Halifax, and there visited the far-famed carpet manufactory of Messrs. John Crossley and Sons, and other industrial establishments. Returning to Bradford in the afternoon, they left by train for Bolton bridge.<sup>21</sup>

This article on the mission's visit to Bradford coincides with the content of the second volume of the Iwakura Reports. This let us know that the reporter gathered materials while accompanying the mission, and at the same time, that Kume's records were very accurate. *The Manchester Guardian* also reported the mission's travel several times. Especially when the members of the mission went to Manchester, the newspaper introduced to the readers their movements minutely from their arrival to the visiting of factories. As soon as the mission arrived at the railway station, they were welcomed by the mayor and many citizens. They attended some official events with Parkes and Ashton, and enjoyed the performance at the Royal Theater in the evening. The newspaper also dealt with the mission's visit to Whitworth's factory on the next

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<sup>20</sup> "Japan," *The Times*, September 5, 1872. In addition, see *The Times*, August 2, 19, 20, 1872.

<sup>21</sup> *The Times*, October 28, 1872.

day in detail.<sup>22</sup> In addition, it had already introduced their schedule and itinerary during the mission's stay in London in August, and even reported their departure for Scotland after their visit to Manchester.<sup>23</sup>

## UNDERSTANDING BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION

During their travel in Britain, the Iwakura Embassy visited the representative factories and industrial establishments in the cities to which they were scheduled. The British Government seems to hope that the mission's understanding of British industrial excellence could lead to the rapid growth of trade between the two countries. On the other hand, as the revision of the treaty was impossible at the time, the visiting of industrial establishments would be more important to the Japanese mission. According to the second volume of the Iwakura Reports, during their travel in Britain, the mission visited 48 factories and works in the fields of iron, steel, textile, chemistry, rubber, glass, pottery, and others. There were 9 factories in the textile industry, 7 in shipyards and machinery, 4 in iron and steel, 6 in iron ware, and 5 in chemistry or rubber among the total. Those factories were representative of the staple industries in Britain.

What did members of the mission see and feel at those factories? It is difficult for us to answer the question. We cannot know whether they who had not been accustomed to modern industry indeed observed industrial cities and modern factories accurately or not. Moreover, most descriptions of factories in the second volume of the reports would be relied upon the sources that factory

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<sup>22</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, October 5, 1872.

<sup>23</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, August 30, October 10, 1872.

managers or staffs gave to them. In spite of these limits, those descriptions let us know important information on the real situation of the major industries in Britain.

According to the reports, “Britain’s form, geographical location, size and population are very similar to those of Japan.” The British people used to describe Japan as “the Britain of the East.”<sup>24</sup> From the perspective of the Japanese people, Britain appears to be ‘the Japan of the West.’ But its situation as being the strongest power in Europe was unlike Japan’s. The wealth and power of Britain were indebted to its industrial development. What was the reason for Britain’s successful industrialization? Whenever the mission visited factories, Kume used to consider this question in depth. Largely he focuses on entrepreneurs’ attitudes, natural conditions favorable to industrialization, and the national character.

First, Kume was interested especially in the factory-owners’ innovations and attitudes during their visit to the factories. The second volume of the reports gives a full account of a woolen factory in Bradford. In spite of the residents’ ridicules, Titus Salt, the factory-founder, had also been pondering the right techniques for spinning and weaving cheap Alpaca wool. Some years later, he succeeded in weaving a fine cloth using machinery of his own design. His business prospered increasingly, and he built beside the river Aire a large factory. The appearance of a large town near the factory was indebted to the success of his business.<sup>25</sup> Here the factory-owner’s effort and devotion are especially emphasized. When the mission visited Charles Cammell & Company, a large iron works, Kume appraised the entrepreneur’s foresight highly. Mr. Cammell, the factory-owner, foresaw the increase of steel demand in the future, and increased investment in plants and equipment for producing steel. Of course, his staffs and followers were all opposed to his enormous investment. At the time, his factory had been no more than a small works simply making files. But twenty years later, it became one of the largest factories in the field.<sup>26</sup> And there

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<sup>24</sup> Kume, *Iwakura Embassy* II, 10.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 310-11.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 329.

were many entrepreneurs who carried a good reputation due to their social conduct. Kume introduces Mr. Salt's good deed as follows:

Titus had built a primary school in the village and arranged that the villagers' children, both boys and girls, went to the factory to work at their trades for half of each day and for the rest of the day attended school to receive an education. By this excellent method, theoretical understanding and practical skills progressed side by side. Moreover, not only did the children benefit by receiving a wage from the mill, but their work there was, in return, of benefit to the enterprise. The British regard it as a point of honor to look after their employees and to do their utmost to aid the poor. The provisions made by this factory-owner are also to be admired.<sup>27</sup>

The education of the factory-children, Kume thinks, would be possible by the factory-owner's benevolence. But this system was established by the factory act of 1833, which had compelled the factory-owners to give factory-children an education of reading, writing and arithmetic. In the process of the factory legislation, some large factory-owners rather approved of protecting factory-children and giving them an elementary education. It originated not only from their morality but from their view that those measures would be helpful for improving factory management.<sup>28</sup> But the Iwakura mission focused only on the factory-owners' morality. For example, looking at careful and costly packing of goods, Kume used to admire the factory-owner's attitude that attached more importance to long-term profit than to a short-sighted one, or when focusing on the relation between their morals and religion, he observed a social

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 317.

<sup>28</sup> See H. P. Marvel, "Factory Regulation: A Reinterpretation of Early English Experience," *Journal of Law and Economics* 20, no. 2 (1977): 394-401.

efficiency of religion, especially with regards to Christianity.<sup>29</sup>

This view is the result that the mission considered the social relation between capital and labor from the perspective of a capitalist. They regard the working class as an important social force necessary for the increase of national wealth, and at the same time, they think that laborers are also the object of capitalists' benevolence. Perhaps this consciousness stemmed from the fact that the mission had been composed of higher officers and intellectuals. In fact, the Iwakura Embassy visited industrial cities in order to attain some lessons helpful for developing their home country. But there was a limit in that they were only able to rely on the sources which the factory side had issued for public relations.

Next, to the reason why Britain could establish a highly industrial civilization, Kume focuses on the natural conditions and economic bases of Britain. Her civilization was based upon coal and iron. At the time, the major industries in Britain were cotton, wool, flax, coal, iron, steel, machinery, and shipbuilding. The most important foundations were coal and iron from the perspective of the industrial connection between those fields. This was the result of abundant natural resources in Britain.

Britain's wealth is essentially founded on the exploitation of mineral resources. The national production of coal and iron is the greatest in the world. Its people have, by exploiting these two resources, developed steam-powered machinery, steamships and railways. Britain has harnessed the power of steam, has thereby multiplied its power to produce, has come to monopolize the profit to be derived from textiles and sea transport, and has thus become the country which bestrides the world. As a result, the huge scale of the metal-manufacturing industry in Britain was such as to astonish our party.<sup>30</sup>

Finally, Kume thinks that this wondrous industrial civilization could be accomplished by the character or nationality of the British people. Perhaps it is derived from natural thinking. There is no so-

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<sup>29</sup> Kume, *Iwakura Embassy* II, 28, 181.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

ciety that is comfortable from its beginning. "Comfort is the fruit of hardships undergone, and wealth is a flower which hard work has caused to bloom."<sup>31</sup> How has Britain become the wealthiest country in the world? It is because her people's industriousness exceeds that of other nations. Kume views the British people's nationality not as innate, but as *a posteriori*. It is the result of their response to their own environment.

The author of the reports seeks the historical reasons why Britain's trade has flourished in the aspect of infertile land. The poor quality of land compelled the British people to secure a livelihood by depending on trade with other countries, and as a result, they could build up a powerful maritime state, which enabled the first industrialization in the world. They transformed their own iron and coal into machines and steam-power, and used these to manufacture goods. Britain imported raw materials such as cotton, hemp and raw sugar from America, India, and the West Indies, and turned the materials into textile or refined sugar to export those goods to the rest of the world.<sup>32</sup> In short, the British people were enjoying their economic prosperity by coping with their poor surroundings appropriately.

Kume also observes the use of the machinery from this perspective. "The products which Eastern peoples by the skills of their hands display refined elegance and embody exquisite artistry. So, they are highly valued in the West." This shows that Asian peoples have attained the high standards of handicraft. In contrast to this, the Western peoples developed "three basic sciences such as physics, chemistry and mechanics" in order to cover some defects of their handicraft, and devised "machines to provide them with addi-

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 19-20.

tional power.”<sup>33</sup> This means that through the efforts for covering their inferior ability in one field they have developed a new ability in another to change the world.

What did the Iwakura mission investigate at the factories that they had visited? Above all, they are observing the productive processes of industrial goods and each stage of the process minutely. The descriptions of *The True Account* on the productive process of the factories in the fields of iron, steel, cotton and dyeing are wonderfully concrete and detailed. In fact, it would not be easy for an intellectual from a pre-industrial nation to describe modern industrial establishments so accurately. Only careful investigation and observations enabled Kume to describe those processes. On October 7, for example, the Iwakura embassy had visited a calico-printing factory in Manchester. Kume writes on one of its principal processes as follows:

A huge number of copper cylinders engraved with patterns from printing the cloth were kept in stock at this works—more than five hundred in all. The most intricately and delicately engraved of them, we were told, cost as much as £ 60 or £ 70 each...The engraved copper cylinder revolves over a trough filled with dye before coming into contact with the surface of the cloth. A thin steel blade [the color doctor] is mounted on the machine so as to be in close contact with their surface of the roller. As the roller rotates, this blade wipes off the superfluous dye, causing it to fall, leaving not a speck on the surface of the copper. Dye remains only in the etched pattern.<sup>34</sup>

The dye-stuffs used were the various kinds of aniline. These were dissolved in acetic acid or alcohol, then sugar of lead, alum, or nitrate of tin were added, and the resulting liquid was mixed with starch before being heated. “Imported grains are one of the principal processes in which cereals are used. This is an important point, to which we should give careful consideration in relation to our exports of agricultural product.”<sup>35</sup> Like this, Kume used to write

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 273.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 178-79.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 179.

the facts which, he thought, would be helpful for the commercial trade of Japan even in observing the productive process of goods.

At the time Manchester was one of the representative industrial cities in Britain. It was especially the center of the cotton industry. The mission visited the spinning and weaving factories located in the suburbs of Manchester, by turns. "The works," on the process of spinning, Kume says, "employed 900 hands, more than half of them women and children. The cotton came mostly from America, but some was obtained from India. Cotton with a long staple and a high luster is produced in America. The produce of other countries is invariably inferior...The yarn was reeled by machine. Ten spindles went into one skein. The yarn was then put into a steam-powered packing machine. The whole was then tied by steam-power into a parcel."<sup>36</sup> After that, they entered a weaving works. "There were six hundred looms in the mill. One woman was in charge of two looms. Each loom wove thirty-seven yards of cloth a day. The finished cloth was sent to another department, where a girl examined surface and picked out any burls with iron tweezers. The cloth was then folded. The textiles manufactured at this mill were mostly striped cotton."<sup>37</sup>

The author of the reports describes the process of production more concretely during the mission's visit to the iron and steel works. On October 22, the Iwakura mission went to the Armstrong Company in Newcastle. They saw a giant blast furnace, and realized the power of industrial civilization. "The iron-stone, having been first roasted, then pulverized, is heaped up in alternate layers with coal and 'coke' so as to fill the interior of the furnace. Fire is then applied to the bottom of the pile, and a blast of air is introduced through a nozzle at the side. As the coal and coke burn, the

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 180-81.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 186.

iron present in the ore melts, combines with the oxygen in the air and runs down.”<sup>38</sup> With observing this magnificent spectacle, Kume thinks that the secret of iron-manufacture might be in the construction of the furnace. Originally, William Armstrong, the founder of the company, was an engineer who was working on inventing breech-loading artillery. His company succeeded in achieving the vertical integration of production exceptionally in Britain. It took only a few years to attain the integration between coal, iron, steel and artillery manufacture since he had established a weapon works. In addition, Kume talked about the productive processes of steel more accurately when the mission visited a steel company in Sheffield. The city was the most famous center of steel manufacture at that time. On November 29, the Iwakura Embassy entered a steel works in the city.

We were first shown a furnace where pig-iron was refined and converted into steel. The fire had been lit and the conversion process was under way, so it was not possible to make a proper inspection of the interior of the furnace. To make steel in this furnace, wrought-iron is stacked together with charcoal in the furnace and refined by the application of heat. As the iron becomes hotter the carbon gradually makes its way into the pores in the metal and forms a chemical combination with it, thus producing steel. Coke is sometimes used instead of charcoal, but because it includes impurities such as sulphur and silicon, a converting of the quality of the steel is unavoidable. The whole process of converting iron to steel in this furnace takes two weeks. Samples of steel were brought out of for us to examine closely, and we were told that converting iron into steel doubles its value.<sup>39</sup>

The furnace that the Iwakura mission looked at was a Bessemer converter which had been newly introduced into the steel works. After showing the structure of the converter as a type of fig-

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 282-83. W. Armstrong's company was one of the largest munitions factories in the world. Perhaps he would give the mission a cordial reception for the purpose of arms sale. In fact, in the 1880s the company exported artillery and warships to Japan. See Marie Conte-Helm, *Japan and North East of England: From 1862 to the Present Day* (London: Athlone, 1989), 11-13, 20-23.

<sup>39</sup> Kume, *Iwakura Embassy II*, 329-30.

ure, Kume explains the basic principle of the process of manufacturing steel from iron. Wrought is to eliminate carbon from iron. Steel was traditionally made of the method that melted down wrought mixed with carbon solvent. But it was very expensive, and could not produce steel on a large scale. In the mid-nineteenth century iron-makers developed a new method which could produce steel by stopping suddenly de-carbonic operation in the iron-manufacturing process. The Bessemer converter was a furnace available to this new method.<sup>40</sup> Kume understands the method accurately.

During their visiting of the representative factories in Britain, the mission would get some information mainly through the factory-owners' explanations or from their brochures. In fact, the real situation of the British economy was somewhat different from the Iwakura mission's observation. It is true that the cotton industry was the most important field of the British economy at the time. The amount of exporting cotton goods was 31 per cent of the total exports of the industrial products at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>41</sup> But, this field was losing its vitality from the aspect of technical innovation. When the spinning mule began to be substituted by a new ring frame in the mid-1870s, British cotton-spinners were not interested in the new machine.<sup>42</sup> In addition, the trend of the integration between spinning and weaving shrank, and cotton factories that specialized in spinning or weaving rather increased.<sup>43</sup> Factory-owners did not have an ability and intention to seek reorganization of the industry or adapt new machinery because of a

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<sup>40</sup> U. Wengenroth, *Enterprise and Technology: The German and British Steel Industries 1865-1985*, trans. S. H. Tenison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 17-30.

<sup>41</sup> B. R. Mitchell, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 305.

<sup>42</sup> R. Robson, *The Cotton Industry in Britain* (London: Macmillan, 1957), 355.

<sup>43</sup> J. S. Lyons, "Vertical Integration in Britain Cotton Industry," *Journal of Economic History* 45, no. 2 (1985): 419-25.

highly competitive industrial structure and stubborn trade-unions.<sup>44</sup>

How was the real condition in the field of steel? Although the Iwakura mission had visited a large steel company establishing a Bessemer converter in Newcastle, that type of factory was rather very exceptional. The Bessemer method was first developed in Britain, but most British steel-makers continued to produce goods in the small establishments using the traditional acid open hearth process. In contrast, steel-makers in the United States and Germany adapted the Bessemer method which was mostly suitable to mass-production. As a result, they could be successful in the vertical integration of production, and in turn this large-scaled productive organization stimulated new technological innovation. By the end of the nineteenth century, the British steel industry began to be challenged by that of the United States or Germany.<sup>45</sup>

There have been various debates on the decline of the British economy in the late Victorian age. Although some economic historians see the economy from an optimistic perspective,<sup>46</sup> most historians agree that the economy began to lose industrial competitiveness and to be outstripped by its rival states. On the reason for the decline, economic historians largely tend to focus on the theory of entrepreneur's failure or the institutional interpretation. While the former emphasizes how the British entrepreneurs hesitated in introducing new technologies into the process of production during the second industrial revolution,<sup>47</sup> the latter emphasizes that

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<sup>44</sup> William Lazonick, "The Cotton Industry," in *The Decline of the British Economy*, ed. B. Elbaum and W. Lazonick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 20.

<sup>45</sup> See B. Elbaum, "The Steel Industry" in *Decline of the British Economy*, 51-81.

<sup>46</sup> On the optimistic views of the British economy in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, see R. C. Floud and D. N. McCloskey, eds., *The Economic History of Britain since 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), vol. 2: W. D. Rubinstein, *Capitalism, Culture and Decline in Britain, 1750-1990* (London: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>47</sup> On the theory of entrepreneur's failure, see D. S. Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technical Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 326-58; D. H. Aldcroft and H. W. Richardson, *British Economy, 1870-1939* (London: Macmillan, 1969), 101-89; A. L. Levine, *Industrial Retardation in Britain, 1880-1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967). In addition, the views on entrepreneur's gentrification are somewhat similar to the theory of entrepreneur's failure. See M. J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980*

some institutions formed in the Industrial Revolution such as the competitive character of production and market, vertical specialization and disperse of production, family companies, small-scaled productive establishments, and skilled workers' rule of labor process, had served as obstacles for economic growth.<sup>48</sup> But these views all stemmed from the studies of posterity. The contemporaries would regard their own technical adoption as the best thing, and would not consider any alternatives. Kume also detected no sign of the economic decline of Britain, and at the same time, would underestimate the industrial potential of Germany immediately after the Franco-Prussian War. It is very natural that the Iwakura Reports spoke on behalf of the factory-owners.

#### LIGHT AND SHADE OF INDUSTRIAL CITIES

As mentioned above, whenever they visit industrial cities, the Iwakura mission wonder at industrial civilization and eulogize the factory-owners' efforts. The wonder would enable them to have favorable impressions of the factory-owners. But, on the other hand, it was also indebted to Parkes' detailed planning and the citizens' warm hospitalities. For example, when they arrived in Coventry, the mayor and his staffs greeted them with a warm welcome at the railway station. They visited several factories in the fields of cotton, lace-making and silk under the guidance of the mayor. In the evening, the mayor held a reception for them at the city hall. After having dinner, Iwakura gave a lecture for those in attendance. Kume writes the reception as follows:

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); C. Barnett, *The Collapse of British Power* (London: Methuen, 1972).

<sup>48</sup> See B. Elbaum and W. Lazonick, "An Institutional Perspective on British Decline," 1-2.

The mayor greeted us on this day in civic state, accompanied by attendants bearing maces. This was a mark of great respect. It was the first time that we had seen these ancient usages. The attendants walked behind the mayor carrying the two maces, which in form closely resembled Buddhist monk's *nyoi* (stick). They were large, cylindrical in shape, and silver-plated, and their surfaces were covered with carving. The mace-bearers wore long, sweeping robes of an antique style which was most picturesque. These robes would broadly correspond, perhaps, to the coats bearing their lord's crest worn by the samurai.<sup>49</sup>

The Iwakura mission was fascinated by the modern landscapes of London and other local cities as well as the modern industrial establishment and factories. They were also surprised to know that the modern character of the cities had been formed only from within two generations. There were their own distinctive features not only in London but in all other cities that they had visited. Glasgow, for example, was no more than a small local city even in the early nineteenth century. But with the help of the Atlantic trade and modern transportation means such as trains and steamers it grew up rapidly. It took only 50 years for the city to become a famous international center of trade and industry.<sup>50</sup>

With considering different features of the cities, the author of *The True Account* reflects the frame of British politics deeply. According to his explanation, the diversity of the features represents a true nature of the British society. The visitors would imagine the value of the constitutional monarchy around the Westminster palace, the value of the free republic system at companies and factories of local cities, and the authority of aristocracy in rural areas.<sup>51</sup> This is, of course, somewhat different from Polybius' theory of the mixed constitution of the Roman Republic. But it is interesting that Kume had related various landscapes of Britain to the diversity of the British constitution.

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<sup>49</sup> Kume, *Iwakura Embassy* II, 363.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 200-1.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 207.

When we had earlier been told that the British had put these three types of government together into a single polity we were skeptical, but when we actually travelled round the country and observed conditions for ourselves we felt that some kind of marvelous mechanism was indeed at work here.<sup>52</sup>

The mission could understand modern Western civilization and culture by reading the text of an industrial city. A museum seemed to be an embodiment of the civilization. They used to enter the museums in all the cities that they visited. With examining exhibits of museums in turn, Kume recalled a Chinese proverb, "seeing but once is better than hearing a hundred times." The exhibitions at the museums provided him insight into the real meaning of progress. "No country has ever sprung into existence fully formed. The weaving of the pattern in the nation's fabric is always done in a certain order. The knowledge acquired by those who proceed is passed on to those who succeed; the understanding achieved by earlier generations is handed down to later generations; and so we move forward by degrees. This is what is called progress."<sup>53</sup> Progress does not mean discarding what is old and continuing something which is entirely new. It is covering the old and the new together. But such eulogy is apt to lead to the 'Western complex' as follows:

Among the peoples of Europe, once a house has been built it is inherited by succeeding generations, who not only keep it in good repair but also improve it, so that it becomes more and more beautiful. The people of China put a great deal of thought into building a house, but when it is finished they do not trouble to keep it in good repair, so it becomes dilapidated. Even so, they do not demolish it. We Japanese differ from both. We build a house quickly, giving little thought to the

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 207.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 109.

workmanship, and no sooner is the house finished than we knock it down and build again.<sup>54</sup>

This complex is found here and there in the reports, For example, during their stay in Manchester, the Iwakura mission had an opportunity to talk with the members of the Temperance Society. There were many voluntary societies for the temperance movement in America and Britain. According to those societies, drinking promotes idleness, is bad for health, and disgraces human independence. In the East, nonetheless, “no one feels shame at drinking.”<sup>55</sup> In fact, the temperance movement in nineteenth-century Britain was deeply related to some ideologies of the middle class. It included an intention of social control for oppressing the drinking culture of the lowering class and teaching them a new work ethic. Paradoxically speaking, the voluntary societies’ activity proves the spread of drinking culture in the British society.<sup>56</sup>

Even so, the members of the mission did not always see only the lightened aspects of Britain. During their travel, they could also observe its dark aspects casting shadow over the British society. First of all, they were surprised to see the gap between the haves and have-nots. Every year most of the national wealth fell into a few rich peoples’ hands. In addition, their wealth was perfectly protected by the existing laws. The mission heard that the number of land-owners in Britain was no more than 20,000.<sup>57</sup> To that extent, land was highly concentrated into the landed interests. Furthermore, the landowners tried to convert their arable land into pasture for breeding sheep and cattle. It was natural that many villagers left for cities.

The concentration of land would be more shocking to the dip-

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 110-11.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>56</sup> On the temperance movement, see B. H. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England* (London: Farber, 1971).

<sup>57</sup> Kume, *Iwakura Embassy II*, 26. This is close to the fact at that time. In the 1870s, about 7,000 land-owners held over 80 per cent of the total private land in Britain. In the case of England, all estates of 360 landlords that owned over 10,000 acres were 25 per cent of the total private land. See F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), 27-28, 31.

lomatic mission from Japan, an agricultural state. They realized that many beggars and vagabonds in London stemmed from the concentration. Although London was the capital of the wealthiest country in the world, "beggars and poor children congregated at cross-roads brooms with which they sweep street in front of people crossing and brush their shoes for them." Child thieves loitering in streets where there were few passers-by, approached the chosen victim from the front and behind, and within a few paces the victim's gold watch or chain will have disappeared.<sup>58</sup> This let them know the discrepancy between prosperity and poverty.

In fact, the long-term depression between the early 1870s and the 1890s originated from the agricultural crisis in Europe. Its signs would have appeared in the British society even during the mission's visiting. According to historians, steamers and the opening of the Suez Canal had a harmful influence on British agriculture. With those changes, cheap agricultural products were imported from the New Continent and Australia. Especially Britain which was in close cooperation with these areas directly suffered a blow by this trade. The total area of wheat-cultivation diminished from 3,688,000 to 2,890,000 acres between 1869 and 1879.<sup>59</sup> After the harvesting in 1872, the price of agricultural products rapidly fell, and this influenced rural society badly. Many rural residents gave up farming. In England and Wales, the number of the farming population decreased from about 1.6 million to 1.3 million between 1871 and 1901.<sup>60</sup> The growth of beggars and vagabonds was the result of this economic situation at the time.

The members of the mission used to observe an evil effect of industrial civilization. When they went to Liverpool on October 2,

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<sup>58</sup> Kume, *Iwakura Embassy* II, 26.

<sup>59</sup> Mitchell, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, 78

<sup>60</sup> S. B. Saul, *The Myth of the Great Depression*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Macmillan, 1985), 34

they had a distant view of the city from the south bank of the Mersey River. The smoke of coal fires soared highly to the sky. It seemed to them that the people of the city had to breathe in the midst of the black haze. They also heard from a guide that the average life-span for the upper class was thirty-five, for the middle class twenty-three, and for the lowest class, that of the workers, only fifteen.<sup>61</sup>

To the Iwakura mission, nonetheless, an industrial city was a symbol of Western civilization. They realized that the economic prosperity of urban society was based upon Britain's industrialization. If so, what were the basic principles of it? The author of the reports could not analyze them systematically. Even so, he seems to have understood a few important principles during his visit to the cities. He emphasizes the use of machinery, the division of labor, and the application of scientific knowledge to production.<sup>62</sup> According to Kume, the development of industrial cities was the result of applying these principles to production and human life. His view is very similar to that of Charles Babbage and Andrew Ure who had focused on the introduction of the machinery and the division of labor with analyzing the factory system systematically in the 1830s.<sup>63</sup>

On the other hand, Kume points out the short history of British industrialization. Those changes appeared only after the early nineteenth century. Some symbols of an industrial city such as the train, steamer, and telegraph were not used until two generations ago.<sup>64</sup> Here, Kume makes an expression of Japanese self-confidence. If the Japanese were to embark on the path for development as a nation-state, it would be not difficult for them to succeed in industrialization.

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<sup>61</sup> Kume, *Iwakura Embassy* II, 116.

<sup>62</sup> On the introduction of the machinery, see *ibid.*, 164-67; On the principle of division of labor and the importance of science, see respectively, *ibid.*, 142, 273.

<sup>63</sup> See Charles Babbage, *On the Machinery and Manufactures* (London: Charles Knight, 1832); Andrew Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufacture* (London: Charles Knight, 1835).

<sup>64</sup> Kume, *Iwakura Embassy* II, 57.

## WHAT DID THE IWAKURA EMBASSY LEAVE BEHIND?

The second volume of *The True Account* would furnish important information to the notables that had initiated the early industrialization in Japan. It seems that a great boost was given to "the industrialization of Japan as a result of the many factory visits."<sup>65</sup> After the mission's visit, some British companies' exports to Japan increased rapidly. Armstrong Company is a case in point. Until 1905 the Japanese Navy purchased from foreign countries 26 battleships and cruisers, among which 11 ships had been made by the company.<sup>66</sup> And between 1871 and 1911 Japan had 1,023 steam locomotives made in Britain, among which 505 ones were exported from the two companies, Dubs and North British in Glasgow which the mission had visited.<sup>67</sup>

But, what is important is the fact that the British economy was losing its own vitality in the late Victorian age in which Japan began to be rapidly industrialized. During the Japanese industrialization, some Japanese diplomats and factory-owners might have realized the decline of the British industry. Britain, so-called 'the first industrial state' or 'the factory of the world', began to be overtaken by her rival states. The weight of British industry in the manufacturing production of the world declined from 40 per cent to 14 per cent between 1850 and 1914. In this period the rate of the economic growth of Britain was also lower than that of rival countries.<sup>68</sup>

The Iwakura Reports do not let us know the change of the British manufacture in the late nineteenth century. Later, the leading figures of Japanese industrialization might focus on the rise of

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<sup>65</sup> Ruxton, "The Mission's Aims, Objectives and Results," 67.

<sup>66</sup> Olive Checkland, "The Iwakura Mission: Industries and Exports," 30-31.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-27.

<sup>68</sup> R. C. Floud, "Britain, 1860-1914: A Survey," 8.

Germany or America. As the Iwakura mission had visited Britain in the early stage of the competition between Britain and other rival states, they could not know some difficulty of the British economy. Furthermore, with editing his manuscripts, Kume could not help being based upon factory-owners' explanations and their brochure. This is the reason why he focused only on the excellence and competitiveness of British manufacture. In spite of this limit, the Iwakura Reports are very helpful for us to understand the actual conditions of the British economy and industrial cities. It seems to be a snapshot of Britain in the early 1870s.

On the other hand, the mission's visit seems to have influenced the British peoples' recognition of Japan continuously in the later age. The content of the editorial of *The Times* on September 5 talking about the fact that the ruling class of Japan gave up their privilege and prestige willingly, appeared again in other articles on Japan in the later years. What was the reason that the British intellectuals and politicians set such a high value on this concession? It was because it took several centuries for the British to get such a concession. The short-termed accomplishment in Japan was very impressive to them. A few days before the mission left Britain, *The Times* appraised the radical change of the Japanese society again in an article on the visit.

If we may believe all we read of it, the state of society must be very similar to that existing in England some five centuries ago. Feudalism is the chief institution of the country. The Daimios, or great noblemen, enjoy incomes as large as those of our richest Peers, and they exercise a territorial jurisdiction unknown in England since the Wars of the Roses. Their retainers are numerous enough to form small armies...they has burst upon Japan with the abruptness of a social convulsion.<sup>69</sup>

As mentioned above, the newspaper already introduced in depth some changes of the Japanese society in an editorial on September 5, 1872. The national desire for learning would allow for all people to read and write in the later period. It reports that ordinary

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<sup>69</sup> "Japan," *The Times*, December 7, 1872.

readers are fond of reading the books especially on history, culture and the arts of foreign countries. After the visiting, the news of Japan continued to be introduced to the British people. This friendliness would be more strengthened because of its successful modernization. The Iwakura Embassy raised the British people's interest in Japan, and later it would be related to the conception of Japanese exceptionalism.