

外国語要旨

Title: The Making of Meiji Japan and Lorenz von Stein

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The purpose of this study is to reconsider the influence of Lorenz von Stein (1815-1890) in the making of the modern Japanese state and to define his role therein. Von Stein was born in Schleswig (Denmark). There, he studied jurisprudence, and subsequently socialism and communism in France. Later, he was discharged from the University of Kiel because he had joined a Schleswig-Holstein independence movement. From 1855 until his retirement in 1885, he was a professor of political economy at the University of Vienna. From around 1880 until he died, many Japanese visited von Stein. Later, this came to be called *Shutain mōde* シュタイン詣で, which means “Stein-pilgrimage”.

There is a lot of research about von Stein and Meiji Japan. A main part of this research concerns Itō Hirobumi's 伊藤博文 adoption of the ideas of von Stein as a major example of the Meiji government's activities for the establishment of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan and modern institutions. However, such research is mainly interested in the reception of von Stein's theories. For this reason, research is still needed on why von Stein's theories were necessary and specially regarded during the making of the Meiji state. Moreover, the roots of von Stein's interest in Japan also has to be made clear.

This study – while re-examining historical materials already used in scholarship – focuses von Stein's articles on Japan to clarify his influence on and role in Meiji Japan, and also argues that the introduction of von Stein's knowledge corresponded to the problematic points concerning the planning of Japan's various systems that derived from designing a modern state while facing the revision of the unequal treaties. This study not only shows, like former studies, that von Stein's theories contributed to solving the domestic problem of creating the Meiji state, but also makes the process clear by which his theories were adopted in response to international relationships, especially national issues concerning the other countries, during this phase.

The study is divided into two parts. In the first, von Stein's interest in Japan is made clear and the relationship between von Stein and major Japanese figures are discussed by focusing on Japanese diplomats in Europe as second actors beneath von Stein. In the second, von Stein's theories about the Imperial Household, the police, and economy and trade are

examined in terms of their correspondence to various problems and inadequacies concerning these systems that the Meiji government had been confronted with during negotiations on the revision of the unequal treaties. To make the acceptance of von Stein's theories clearer, I describe here the diplomacy with Germany carried out by the country's Japanese envoy Aoki Shūzō 青木周蔵 and Japan's Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru 井上馨 as two examples of positions contrary to von Stein.

The beginning of the first part of this study discusses relationships between von Stein and Japanese before Itō went to Europe. After a political change in 1881 (*Meiji jūyon-nen no seihen* 明治十四年の政変), the main direction of the Meiji government's plan for the constitution was defined and a state that took the system of Germany as a model (strong constitutionalism) became the core of the government. During this phase, von Stein was thought of highly within the network of the Japanese envoys in Europe and his theories came to be introduced. One main figure in this regard was the Japanese envoy in Russia Yanagiwara Sakimitsu 柳原前光, who introduced Watanabe Renkichi 渡邊廉吉 to Itō. Watanabe, secretary of the embassy in Austria, was very familiar with von Stein's theories and had a good personal relationship with him.

One more important point is the diplomacy of Germany and Japan during this time. Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru attached importance to Germany, which showed a cooperative attitude in negotiations on the revision of the unequal treaties. Information about Itō's mission to Europe came also in advance from Inoue to the German envoy in Japan. Further, Itō's mission to Europe in 1882/83 should not be reduced – as is generally done – to only “research for the constitution” or “research for constitutionalism,” but has to be seen also in its aspects concerning diplomatic negotiations.

During Itō's visit to Europe, a connection between the Meiji government and von Stein was formed. From this point onwards von Stein's works were translated and a lot of Japanese visited him to the extent that the expression “Stein pilgrimage” came into use. During his employment by the Meiji government Von Stein wrote articles on Japan. His work on consular courts correctly predicted the economic developments that would accompany Germany's policy regarding advancing into the Pacific Ocean. Von Stein's views and articles on Japan were used at different occasions by the country to avoid disadvantages during the negotiations on the revision of the unequal treaties. Tani Tateki 谷干城, who studied under von Stein, concentrated on not only Germany's political course but also its science, military affairs, trade, and clothes. He criticized the unpardonable preferential measures of Germany that even extended to trade,

and also pointed out that the police should be made into an administrative one.

The beginning of the second part of this study analyses the development of the Imperial Household, the basis for Japan's constitutional monarchy – one task of Itō's mission to Europe. Therefore, von Stein's writing on the subject (「スタイン氏帝室家憲意見」) matches the Imperial Household Law, and we can therefore conclude that he influenced it.

Later, a need emerged for Japan's police force to be reformed into a more modern administrative one, as had Tani advocated, and research was carried out on this through the writings of von Stein. It is clear that the increase in lectures by von Stein and in translations of his writings regarding police corresponded with foreign demands in the negotiations on the revision of the unequal treaties.

Von Stein was also considerably interested in construction of railways. This is discussed at the end of this study. This was one of his main interest in East Asia and Japan, and it derived from German studies on national economy.

This analysis shows that von Stein contributed most to the various systems of modern Japan and the country's selection of systems of civilization. The reason that so much importance has been attached to von Stein's role during the formation of the Meiji state lies in him having been active in a wide range of fields that extended beyond national economy, political science, and administrative studies.