

Hanbatsu Influence in Premodern Japan's Foreign Policy

Guanlin Li

School of Arts and Sciences, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC V6T 1E7, Canada

Abstract: The Japanese Meiji government was established and controlled by four Anti-Bakufu Hanbatsu, especially the Satsuma and Choshu Domains (Sa-Cho). Sa-Cho's attitude towards the West transferred from hostility to intimacy, promoting the foreign relationship with the British Empire, forming the basis of Anglo-Japanese Alliance. On the contrary, establishing the route of continental expansion, which was an aggressive attitude towards China and Russia, and reinforced Japan's military strength by looting resources from its East Asian colonies. The other two Hanbatsu, Hizen (or Saga) and Tosa failed to compete with Sa-Cho within the government, thus initiating the Liberal Civil Rights Movement opposing Sa-Cho, establishing the earliest political parties in Japan. In the name of promoting democracy and preserving the constitution, Saga and Tosa activists constantly challenged the Sa-Cho cabinets.

Keywords: Hanbatsu; Sonnou-Joi movement; Japanese militarism; Liberal civil rights movement; Anglo-Japanese alliance

1. Introduction

The Meiji Restoration marked a major turning point in Japan's modernization and the reconfiguration of power in East Asia. While existing studies largely emphasize Japan's adoption of Western institutions, less attention has been paid to the internal political structure that shaped its strategic choices. In particular, the dominance of Hanbatsu elites played a crucial role in directing both domestic governance and foreign policy.

Leaders from the Satsuma and Choshu domains (Sa-Cho), rooted in the Sonnō Jōi Movement, shifted from anti-Western sentiment to pragmatic cooperation with the United Kingdom, contributing to the formation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Meanwhile, they pursued expansionist policies toward China and Russia, fostering early militarism.

In contrast, marginalized elites from Hizen and Tosa initiated the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, promoting constitutionalism and political participation. This paper uses historical analysis to examine how Hanbatsu competition shaped Japan's political development and foreign strategy, offering a more comprehensive understanding of Meiji Japan's transformation. This research presents several key innovations. Firstly, it shifts focus from Western institutions to Hanbatsu competition shaping strategy. Secondly, it contrasts dominant (Sa-Cho) militarism versus marginalized (Hizen-Tosa) constitutionalism. Thirdly, it links power struggles to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and expansion toward China and Russia.

2. Southwestern four Domains under Bakuhan System of Edo Period

Speaking of the dominant motivators of the Meiji Restoration, they were the four southwestern domains—

Satsuma (nowadays Kagoshima and Miyazaki Prefectures), Choshu (Yamaguchi), Tosa (Kochi), and Hizen (Saga). A Han refers to the domain of a Japanese feudal lord. During the Edo Period, the Tokugawa shogunate established the Bakufu outside the Imperial Court. Under the Bakufu's hierarchical system, the Shogun directly controlled the largest cultivated land, making him the most powerful feudal lord and the supreme leader of all samurai in Japan.

The Shogun's collateral relatives owned three domains—Kishu, Owari, and Mito. If the Shogun had no male heir, a successor would be selected from these three clans, known as the Gosanke. The Shogun's distant relatives retained the Tokugawa surname Matsudaira, while those who supported Tokugawa before the Battle of Sekigahara were classified as Fudai Daimyo. Samurai from Fudai domains were eligible for high-level positions within the Bakufu. In contrast, the lowest-ranking domains were Tozama, to which all four southwestern domains belonged. As they pledged allegiance only after the Battle of Sekigahara, they were considered less trustworthy [1]. Under the Bakuhan system, Tozama lords and samurai were politically marginalized. They were required to follow the Sankin-kotai system, frequently moving between Edo and their domains [2]. This system kept them under strict surveillance and imposed heavy financial burdens, preventing them from accumulating sufficient strength to challenge the Shogun [3]. The high costs severely damaged domain finances; for instance, by 1835, Satsuma's debt exceeded five million taels of gold, which would take over 250 years to repay. Fiscal crises forced domains to implement reforms, which in turn intensified internal political conflicts. Meanwhile, Tozama domains were monitored by nearby Fudai domains, ensuring rapid suppression in case of rebellion. This restrictive system became a key motivation for the southwestern domains to oppose the Tokugawa rule.

However, their geographical position also provided advantages. Located far from the political center yet close to Nagasaki, the only open port under Japan's isolation policy, the four domains were able to develop their strength relatively independently. Satsuma, for example, produced 770,000 kokus of rice annually, ranking second nationwide. Strong economic resources enabled these domains to build military capacity and eventually challenge the Bakufu. In addition, Satsuma controlled the Osumi Strait, while Choshu controlled the Kanmon Strait, both vital maritime routes. Their proximity to foreign trade routes, particularly with China and the Netherlands, facilitated access to advanced technology and information.

Satsuma's control over the Ryukyu Kingdom after 1609 further enhanced its strategic position. The Ryukyu Islands functioned as a crossroads of the Asia-Pacific, where Western ships frequently passed. Even before Perry Expedition, Western vessels had already appeared in the region, seeking trade or gathering intelligence. These encounters, both peaceful and hostile, heightened the sense of crisis among samurai in the southwestern domains.

As a result, Satsuma and Choshu became centers of political activism. Facing growing external pressure, samurai debated whether to maintain isolation or engage with the West. These positions evolved into the Kaikoku (open the country) and Joi (expel the foreigners) factions. This division of political strategies significantly shaped both internal domain politics and the broader trajectory of Japan's transformation.

3. Westernization Reform and Sonnou-Joi

3.1. The Character of Samurai

Samurai were the social class that played the most significant role in premodern Japan's transformation. During the Edo period, they were less frequently involved in military conflict compared to earlier eras, and many turned to education and political thought, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi and Yoshida Shoin. The latter had a particularly deep influence on leaders of the Satsuma-Choshu samurai. Before the Perry Expedition, Yoshida Shoin studied under Sakuma Shozan, a master of traditional military strategy and Rangaku. Rangaku referred to knowledge transmitted from the Netherlands, including mathematics, astronomy, the Dutch language, and artillery. It had already become popular among Japanese intellectuals, as the Netherlands was the only Western country permitted to trade with Japan during most of the Edo period.

Shozan's proficiency in both Western and traditional knowledge gave him a dual perspective. He proposed learning Western technology while preserving Japanese spirit, summarized as "Wakonyosai". This idea inherited from "Wakonkansai" of the Heian Period, which promoted learning from China while maintaining Japanese

identity. In essence, Shozan encouraged Japan to shift from learning China to learning the West after the First Opium War. Influenced by Wei Yuan's Records and Maps of the World, he supported the idea that "learning from foreigners is for eventually overcoming them". At the same time, both Shozan and Shoin were alarmed by China's defeat. Shozan believed Western nations relied on military power, and thus strengthening military capacity was the only way for Japan to survive.

Yoshida Shoin, deeply influenced by Shozan, combined Westernization with militant nationalism. In 1854, when Perry's fleet arrived in Edo Bay, Shoin attempted to secretly travel to the United States but was arrested. After his release, he founded the private school Matsushita Sonjuku with his uncle Tamaki Bunnoshin. His students later became key figures of the Choshu Hanbatsu, including Kido Takayoshi, Ito Hirobumi, Yamagata Aritomo, and Inoue Kaoru [4]. In 1858, the Bakufu signed unequal treaties with Western powers, provoking outrage among samurai. Shoin viewed the Bakufu as an obstacle to modernization and planned to assassinate its officials. The plot failed, and he was executed in 1859 [5].

During imprisonment, Shoin wrote Yushuroku, advocating rapid military expansion, especially naval development. He proposed colonizing Ezo (Hokkaido), advancing into Kamchatka and Okhotsk, reclaiming Ryukyu and Joseon, and annexing territories such as Taiwan and Luzon [6]. He argued that territorial expansion would strengthen national defense against Western aggression. He further suggested three strategic routes: pressuring Russia via Manchuria, threatening China through Joseon, or expanding into Southeast Asia [6].

Although Shoin died early, his students, including Ito and Yamagata, inherited and expanded his ideas during the Bakumatsu and Meiji periods. His thought significantly influenced Japan's later foreign policies and expansionist strategies.

Meanwhile, in 1841, Sakuma Shozan proposed coastal defense reforms based on the Opium War. These ideas were adopted by Shimazu Nariakira, who promoted military and industrial modernization. He established Shuseikan to imitate Western machinery and built facilities to recruit foreign technicians. Although Nariakira also died early, he cultivated followers who later played key roles in the Meiji government.

3.2. "Sonnou-Joi" Movement

Affected by the First Opium War and the Perry Expedition, the Tokugawa shogunate's attitude toward the West quickly shifted toward openness and accommodation. Its opponents, led by Mito, Satsuma, and Choshu, recognized this as an opportunity to challenge the authority of the Bakufu. Consequently, an intensive Sonnō Jōi movement arose nationwide.

It was said that Emperor Kōmei disliked foreigners, and he issued the "Order to Expel Barbarians" on 11 March and 11 April 1863. He required all domains to expel foreigners by 10 May 1863, according to the traditional calendar. Participants believed they acted under the emperor's will to remove Westerners from Japan. The slogan "Sonnō Jōi" (Revere the Emperor and expel the barbarians) summarized this ideology. Although it appeared xenophobic, the movement functioned as a political tool for anti-Bakufu domains, which accused the shogunate of compromising national interests. Reformist domains such as Satsuma and Choshu used the movement to seize power, arguing that meaningful reform required overthrowing the Bakufu.

As a result, samurai supporting Sonnō Jōi established various organizations. Influential groups included the Seichu Group from Satsuma, with members such as Saigō Takamori and Ōkubo Toshimichi; the Kinō Party from Tosa, led by Takechi Hanpeita and Sakamoto Ryōma; and the Tengu Party from Mito, known for active assassination groups. These organizations were often not directly controlled by their domains. Participants typically declared detachment from their domains before acting, allowing domains to avoid responsibility. They assassinated pro-Western officials and attacked foreign residents. Following this pattern, samurai killed Ii Naosuke in 1860 and British citizens in the Namamugi Incident of 1863. They also killed British sailors at Tōzenji [7].

In contrast, Choshu more openly encouraged Sonnō Jōi activities. In 1862, its samurai burned the British consulate in Shinagawa. From June 1863, Choshu forces fired on Western ships passing through the Shimonoseki Strait, using European-built steam warships to attack American, Dutch, and French vessels without warning.

These radical actions provoked retaliation from Western powers and the Bakufu. Britain attacked Satsuma in

1863, and in 1864 a multinational force of the United States, France, Britain, and the Netherlands defeated Choshu and occupied Shimonoseki. Meanwhile, the Bakufu mobilized other domains against Choshu, forcing it into an armistice. These failures demonstrated that Satsuma and Choshu were not yet strong enough to confront Western powers.

As a result, both domains abandoned the goal of expelling foreigners and shifted toward cooperation. With mediation from Sakamoto Ryōma, they formed the Satsuma-Choshu alliance (Sa-Chō) and began to treat the Bakufu as their primary enemy. The slogan changed from “Revere the Emperor and Expel the Barbarians” to “Overthrow the Bakufu and Renew Japan” [7]. Satsuma also established closer ties with Britain after 1863 to gain support.

The Sonnō Jōi movement significantly weakened the Bakufu. The Imperial Court in Kyoto gained influence as Sa-Chō aligned with it. Through assassinations and military actions, these domains challenged the political order. In January 1868, conflict escalated into civil war. Edo surrendered quickly to Sa-Chō forces, while pro-Bakufu domains formed the Ōuetsu Alliance and continued resistance. Satsuma artillery, equipped with Armstrong guns and supported by Britain, played a decisive role in defeating opposition forces [8]. By late 1868, major resistance collapsed, and remaining forces in Ezo were eliminated the following year.

4. Hanbatsu Oligarchy and Conflicts among Four Domains

Nominally, the Meiji Restoration restored the authority of the emperor after the Boshin War, but real political power was largely controlled by elites from Satsuma and Choshu. Before the establishment of the cabinet system in 1885, Japan operated under the Dajokan system, in which officials acted in the emperor’s name while decision-making was dominated by ministers and counselors, most of whom came from these domains. Key reforms led by figures such as Okubo Toshimichi abolished the feudal domain system, centralized power, and introduced conscription, fundamentally weakening the traditional samurai class. These policies triggered widespread dissatisfaction among former samurai, whose privileges and social status were eroded. At the same time, political divisions emerged within the government. Saigo Takamori and his allies advocated the invasion of Korea (Seikanron) to stabilize domestic unrest, while Okubo and his supporters opposed external expansion in favor of internal consolidation. The conflict led to a political split in 1873, forming a dominant Sa-Chō oligarchy and an opposition movement. Opposition groups further diverged into constitutional activism, such as the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement, and violent resistance, including samurai rebellions. These tensions shaped the political landscape of early Meiji Japan and influenced its subsequent development.

Following 1868, Japan struggled to form party politics due to the Hanbatsu system—an oligarchy where samurais from the Satsuma and Choshu (Sa-Chō) domains monopolized high-level government, military, and police positions. This aristocratic structure remained largely closed to outsiders. The establishment of the first Japanese cabinet in December 1885 further strengthened this monopoly. Ito Hirobumi, a Choshu samurai and student of Yoshida Shōin, was appointed the first Prime Minister. He served as the 5th, 7th, and 10th PM, maintaining the longest administration of the Meiji Period. Other prominent Choshu figures included Yamagata Aritomo, who served as PM twice and held various military and domestic leadership roles, and Inoue Kaoru, who shaped foreign policy alongside Ito and Mutsu Munemitsu. In the later Meiji period, Katsura Taro (Choshu) served three terms as PM, becoming the longest-serving PM until Abe Shinzo. Similarly, Kodama Gentaro and Oyama Iwao (Satsuma) were instrumental in developing the Imperial Japanese Army. Oyama, a founder of the IJA and a Field Marshal, chose to follow Okubo Toshimichi during the 1870s conflicts. While Choshu dominated the Army and civil administration, the Satsuma clique almost exclusively monopolized the Navy. Four out of five Meiji-era Navy Ministers were from Satsuma, including figures like Kabayama Sukenori, who also served as the first Governor-General of Taiwan. Ultimately, Hanbatsu internal conflicts eased after the removal of Tosa and Hizen rivals and the passing of the first-generation leaders, allowing the remaining Sa-Chō officials to consolidate their influence over Japanese diplomacy and governance.

5. Bunmei Kaika and Expansionism

5.1. Charter Oath

The Meiji government seized power from the Bakufu through a series of mutinies and rebellions, which resulted in the overwhelming influence of the military on political decisions. Moreover, high-level military officials were mostly followers of the militarist theorist Yoshida Shoin and the Westernized reformist Shimazu Nariakira. Some of them, such as Inoue Kaoru and Yamamoto Gonnohyoe, were even appointed as Minister of Foreign Affairs, thus shaping the style of Meiji Japan's diplomacy. The consequences of such influence were the "Mainland Policy", which displayed aggressiveness toward Japan's neighboring countries, while simultaneously proposing Bunmei Kaika to continue learning technology and institutions from the West.

In April 1868, Emperor Meiji issued the famous Charter Oath, which outlined the main aims of Japan's modernization. Choshu samurai Kido Takayoshi also participated in editing the final version of the Charter Oath. The main idea of the oath can be summarized in five clauses, including Westernized reforms in politics, education, culture, and diplomacy. The new Meiji government formally abandoned Sa-Cho's previous slogan, "Sonnou-Joi", from the Bakumatsu Period, emphasizing the abolition of outdated customs and seeking knowledge from the whole world.

Through the Charter Oath, Emperor Meiji differentiated himself from his predecessor, Emperor Komei, who had insisted on isolationist diplomacy. The Meiji government proposed new slogans for its reformation: "Enrich the Country, Strengthen the Military" (Fukoku Kyohei), "Promote Industry and Enterprise" (Shokusan Kogyo), and "Bunmei Kaika", which meant becoming "civilized" and modernized. Bunmei Kaika was not limited to imitating Western customs and developing friendly diplomatic relationships with the West; it also urged learning from Western military tactics and constructing a modernized artillery and navy.

The influence of Yoshida Shoin's Yushuroku toward the Charter Oath was revealed in the emperor's annotation, where he stressed the need to "exploit thousands of miles of waves and spread Japan's prestige worldwide". While the Emperor's statement remained somewhat obscure, Japan's expansionist policies were gradually specified and implemented from then on. Japan was eager to acquire natural and mineral resources to further boost its industry while simultaneously seeking to prevent European expansion in East Asia.

5.2. Expansion

Seikanron, proposed by Saigo and Kido, served as a blueprint for mainland expansion. Although pro-Seikanron officials were expelled in 1873, the Meiji government continued implementing this expansionist ideology. In 1875, the Japanese warship Unyo clashed with Korean forces at Ganghwa Island. Consequently, Joseon signed the Treaty of 1876, its first pre-modern unequal treaty, opening three ports and granting extraterritorial rights, marking the first step toward Japanese annexation. To the south, Japan targeted the strategically significant Ryukyu Islands. In 1874, Saigo Judo led an expedition to Taiwan following the 1871 murder of Ryukyu envoys. In the north, the government renamed Ezo as Hokkaido, establishing a Development Commission to occupy the island and assimilate the Ainu people. Saga samurais like Nabeshima Naomasa and Shima Yoshitake led these colonial efforts and the construction of Sapporo. Seeking to avoid war with great powers, Japan signed the 1875 Treaty of Saint Petersburg with Russia, recognizing Sakhalin as Russian territory in exchange for the Kurile Islands. In 1871, the Meiji government dispatched the Iwakura Embassy to the United States and Europe, marking the formal beginning of the Bunmei Kaika policy. Led by Iwakura Tomomi and key Sa-Cho leaders like Kido Takayoshi, Okubo Toshimichi, and Ito Hirobumi, the mission investigated Western industrialization [9]. This experience stimulated further domestic reforms. Following Fukuzawa Yukichi's "Datsu-A Ron" (Departing from Asia), Japan sought to establish superiority in East Asia, believing it must expand regionally to accumulate the strength necessary to eventually challenge Western powers. To stabilize the military after mutinies like the Takebashi Incident, Emperor Meiji issued the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors, emphasizing absolute loyalty to the throne. Consequently, a bipolar structure emerged: the Choshu-led Army and the Satsuma-led Navy.

The Choshu clique advocated a Northward theory, prioritizing the colonization of the Korean Peninsula and Manchuria to counter Russian aggression. They transitioned their military model from France to Germany,

exemplified by Akiyama Yoshifuru's training. Conversely, the Satsuma clique favored a Southward theory, focusing on maritime mastery over islands like Ryukyu and Taiwan. They modeled the Navy after the British Royal Navy, with cadets like Togo Heihachiro training in Britain. This naval cooperation strengthened ties with the UK, laying the groundwork for the future Anglo-Japanese Alliance. These routes reflected the dual influence of Yoshida Shoin's Yushuroku.

Japanese officers also served as observers in Western conflicts, such as the Franco-Prussian and Spanish-American wars. Figures like Akiyama Saneyuki studied Alfred Mahan's naval theories and the importance of torpedo warfare [9]. This comprehensive tactical learning prepared Japan for inevitable conflict with China and Joseon. While this strategic split increased Japan's diplomatic flexibility, it also deepened the Hanbatsu divide, occasionally leading to irrational foreign policy decisions.

6. Riekisen and Invasion of Joseon-China

To establish its own regional order, Japan aimed to dismantle the Chinese tributary system, prioritizing the annexation of Joseon. In 1890, Prime Minister Yamagata Aritomo introduced the concept of "Riekisen" (Line of Interest)-regions outside Japan's territory, like Korea and Taiwan, essential to national security. Yamagata argued that if neighboring powers like China or Russia occupied these areas, Japan's sovereignty would be at risk, necessitating military expansion to secure or neutralize them. Internally, the Choshu clique consolidated power as the Satsuma clique's influence waned. In 1900, Ito Hirobumi founded the Rikken Seiyukai. Though presenting as pro-constitutional reformists, the party was a powerful coalition of Hanbatsu cliques and financial oligarchs (Zaibatsu) like Mitsui. The Seiyukai prioritized national interests, with members stating they "feel that parties all have the deep responsibility towards the state [10]". This structure eventually replaced the old Sa-Cho system with a new generation of aristocrats.

Following the Ganghwa Island Incident, Japan fueled internal Joseon conflicts to challenge Chinese influence, though early military interventions in 1882 and 1884 were defeated by Chinese and conservative forces. This failure led Japanese leadership, under the guidance of Ogawa Mataji's expansionist proposals, to launch the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894. However, Japan's sudden victory triggered the Triple Intervention by Russia, Germany, and France, forcing Japan to return the Liaoning Peninsula despite its military gains.

From the experience of the Triple Intervention, Japan found it necessary to ally with Britain, which was also hostile to Russia at the time. During the Eight-Nation Alliance invasion of China in 1900, Japan temporarily abandoned its claims to the Yangtze River and Pearl River basins, which were core British, French, and American interests. Japan sought British support and the neutrality of the other two nations by not intervening in their spheres of influence.

Two years later, Japan formed an alliance with Britain. Despite this, Ito Hirobumi still sought negotiations to avoid a war with Russia, which was much stronger than Japan. In the 1903 negotiations, Japan proposed two compromise plans: the first was to split the Korean Peninsula, making the 39th parallel the Russo-Japanese border; the second was a replica of the 1875 Treaty of Saint Petersburg, where Japan would recognize the Russian occupation of Manchuria in exchange for Russian recognition of Japanese interests in Korea. At this time, the hawk clique led by Katsura and Yamagata once again gained the advantage over Ito. In 1904, Japanese troops assaulted Russian-controlled Port Arthur without a declaration of war. The Russo-Japanese War, which actually took place in Manchuria and Korea, resulted in a Japanese victory and the occupation of Lvshun and southern Sakhalin. In the aftermath of the war, Japan established its influence in Manchuria and solidified its rule in Korea. Japan stationed forces in Lvshun, which were later called the Kwantung Army; they launched a much larger-scale invasion of China within twenty years. Korea was annexed by Japan five years after the end of the Russo-Japanese War, as Japan constructed its new colonies as bridgeheads to acquire more land.

7. Conclusions

In conclusion, Satsuma-Choshu Hanbatsu dominance was gradually established within the Japanese government following the Meiji Restoration, through the Boshin War and the suppression of a series of samurai rebellions. The Hanbatsu administration served as the primary driver of Japanese modernization by allying with

industrial oligarchs. In terms of foreign policy, the Choshu militarist ideology inherited from Yoshida Shoin evolved into continental expansionism and the concept of Riekisen. Research on Hanbatsu influence in Meiji Japan is helpful in clarifying a common misconception that defines the Meiji Restoration solely as a capitalist reform or revolution. The essence of the Restoration was actually a countermeasure taken by feudal lords to deal with civil unrest.

However, this research has its shortcomings and insufficiencies. Further research could be extended to the Hanbatsu influence on diplomatic negotiations between Japan and China, Russia, or the United States regarding Japan's regional security concerns. Such research may explain why Japanese geopolitical ideas were unable to solve these issues peacefully and inevitably led to armed conflicts.

Funding

This research received no external funding.

Institutional Review Board Statement

Not applicable.

Informed Consent Statement

Not applicable.

Data Availability Statement

Not applicable.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflict of interest.

References

- 1 Available online: https://kotobank.jp/word/%E8%96%A9%E6%91%A9%E8%97%A9-69258#goog_rewarded (accessed on 10 March 2026).
- 2 Mass JP, Hauser WB. (Eds.) *The Bakufu in Japanese History*; Stanford University Press: Redwood City, CA, USA, 1987; p. 150.
- 3 Elison G, Smith BL. *Warlords, Artists, & Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century*; University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, HI, USA, 2021; p. 18.
- 4 Available online: <http://yoshida-shoin.com> (accessed on 13 March 2026).
- 5 Huber TM. *Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan*; Stanford University Press: Redwood City, CA, USA, 1990.
- 6 Yoshida Shoin: The Revolutionary and Teacher Who Helped Bring Down the Shogunate. Available online: <https://www.nippon.com/en/views/b04203/> (accessed on 13 March 2026).
- 7 Akamatsu P. *Meiji 1868: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Japan*; Routledge: London, UK, 2010; p. 111.
- 8 Hashimoto G. Echigo and History of Aizu, Edo Period (No. 134). Ameba Blog. 2013. Available online: <https://ameblo.jp/araigakuinhashimoto/entry-11502332821.html> (accessed on 13 March 2026).
- 9 Koyama N. *Japanese Students at Cambridge University in the Meiji Era, 1868–1912: Pioneers for the Modernization of Japan*; Ruxton I, Translator; Lulu Press: Durham, NC, USA, 2004.
- 10 Ikeda K. Admiral Togo Heihachiro. In *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*; Nish I, Ed.; Japan Library: Tokyo, Japan, 1994; p. 110.

© The Author(s) 2026. Published by Global Science Publishing (GSP).



This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.