

## Foreign Settlements and Modernization: The Cases of Yokohama and Kobe

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### Abstract

*Certainly the modernization of Japan was attained by the Meiji government's policy of "Enrich the country, strengthen the military" but the foreign settlements also made a great contribution to drastic reformation in the country. The foreign settlements were places where Westerners brought in their own cultures and Japanese learned their technology and culture directly from them. The foreign settlements were not isolated islands separating foreigners from Japanese; rather, many Japanese worked in cooperation with foreigners and created new things. Japanese began studying English with Hepburn's Japanese-English dictionary which was created in the Yokohama foreign settlement. John W. Hart's original plan of the Kobe foreign settlement is known as the "best-planned foreign settlement in the Orient." Japanese learned civil rights and autonomy through foreigners in the foreign settlements. This paper examines how both the Yokohama and the Kobe foreign settlements were directly connected with the modernization of Meiji Japan.*

**Keywords:** modernization, Japan, Meiji, foreign settlements, Hepburn, Yokohama, Kobe

### Introduction

The Japanese term *kyoryuchi* 居留地 means a foreign settlement as designated in the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Japan and the USA *nichibei shuko tusho joyaku* 日米修好通商条約 in 1859. In accordance with this treaty, the Edo government allowed foreigners to reside and work in open ports (*kaiko* 開港) and open towns (*kaiichi* 開市) in Japan during a specific time. *Dejima* 出島 (housing Portuguese and later Dutch) and *Tojin Yashiki* 唐人屋敷 (housing Chinese) existed in the Edo era in Nagasaki and they are *similar* in the sense that they confined foreigners to restricted areas, but the term *kyoryuchi* is used in the contexts of Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Japan and the United States, which involve extraterritoriality and tariff autonomy issues. This paper will explore foreign settlements in Japan, specifically the Yokohama foreign settlement and the Kobe foreign settlement. In the first section, I will seek to answer why the Yokohama and Kobe foreign settlements existed in the history of Japan. In the second section, I will explore how they related to Japan's modernization. I will examine the modernization in the fields of religion, sports, entertainment, and architecture, leading to my conclusion that the foreign settlements made a great contribution to modernization in Meiji Japan. In the third section, I will summarize what I've found, comparing the Yokohama foreign settlement with the Kobe foreign settlement.

### 1. Why did the Yokohama and Kobe Foreign Settlements exist in the history of Japan?

#### 1.1. The Industrial Revolution and the Foreign Settlements

In the late eighteenth century the Industrial Revolution transformed Britain and other Western countries. As industrialization progressed in those countries, they began to seek natural resources and new markets for their products in Asia, and Britain and France decided to interact with Qing China. The British wanted to sell opium to China, but China rejected its import into the country and this resulted in the Opium War. China was defeated, and the Nanking Treaty was concluded in 1842 and opened five ports including Shanghai.

## 1.2. Commodore Matthew Perry's Visit to Japan

Americans also wanted to interact with China, and they expressed a desire to make Japan a way station on the long journey to China. Perry visited Uruga near Yokosuka of Kanagawa Prefecture in 1853 and Yokohama in 1854. He requested that Japan open its doors to America, showing off their military power. Having learned a lesson from the Opium War, Japan reluctantly accepted America's request, and the Convention of Peace and Amity between the United States of America and the Empire of Japan *nichibei was hin joyaku* 日米和親条約 (the Kanagawa Treaty) was concluded in Yokohama in 1854.

## 1.3. Kanagawa or Yokohama

America wanted to open Kanagawa, which was geographically closer to Edo (Tokyo); however, the Edo government wanted to keep foreign powers at a distance for its own safety. During negotiations with Japan, the Perry Expedition stayed in Yokohama, where they displayed the steam locomotive and the telegraph, which up to this point had never been seen in Japan. As the Edo government began to establish a foreign settlement in Yokohama, many people began to move to Yokohama from all over Japan to trade there. Although Kanagawa was ultimately designated the open port in the treaty, it was Yokohama where the treaty was signed. Around this time Yokohama Village quickly changed to an urban area with traders and foreign residents coming both from within and outside of Japan.

## 1.4. The Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Japan and the USA

After the Convention of Peace and Amity between the United States of America and the Empire of Japan 日米和親条約 the Treaty of Amity and Commerce Between the United States and the Empire of Japan 日米修好通商条約 was concluded between these two countries. Town send Harris, the first US Consulate General, signed the treaty in 1858. Within a few months the Tokugawa government concluded similar treaties (the Ansei Five-Power Treaties 安政の五力国条約) with the Netherlands, Russia, the United Kingdom, and France which resulted in the termination of the *sakoku* 鎖国 ("closed door") system. Main parts of the Treaty are as follows:

Article 1: to exchange diplomatic agents

Article 3: to designate five ports to open; Kanagawa in 1859 (Yokohama, not Kanagawa, would open in 1859), Hakodate in 1859, Nagasaki in 1859, Niigata in 1860 (officially 1869), and Hyogo in 1863 (Kobe, not Hyogo, would open in 1868), and two towns; Edo in 1862 (officially 1869) and Osaka in 1863 (officially 1868).

Article 4: to not allow Japan to have a tariff autonomy.

Article 6: Japan's acknowledgement to subjugate foreign residents to their own consular courts instead of Japanese laws

## 2. Why did I choose Yokohama and Kobe as research sites?

One reason is that these two functioned more fully as ports than the others. These two ports alone occupied 90% of the total exports and imports of the nation in 1897. Another reason is that these ports were located in the central parts of Japan. Kanagawa (Yokohama) was located next to Edo and Hyogo (Kobe) was situated next to Osaka and Kyoto. I think that to seek common features of these two reveals characteristics common to all Japanese foreign settlements.

## 3. The Sight and Design of the Yokohama Foreign Settlement

Richard H. Brunton (1841-1901), a British civil engineer, came to Yokohama in 1868 as an *oyatoi gaikokujin*, a foreigner employed by the Japanese government. He designed the Yokohama foreign settlement. The settlement consisted of only the Yamashita area in the beginning. It had the foreigners' area and the Japanese' area, which consisted of five divisions. In 1866 the Japanese area was heavily damaged by the Big Fire, and right after the fire, the Yamate (cliff side) area was added in 1867 and the foreign settlement greatly expanded. Refer to Fig. 1 the Map of the Yokohama Foreign Settlement.

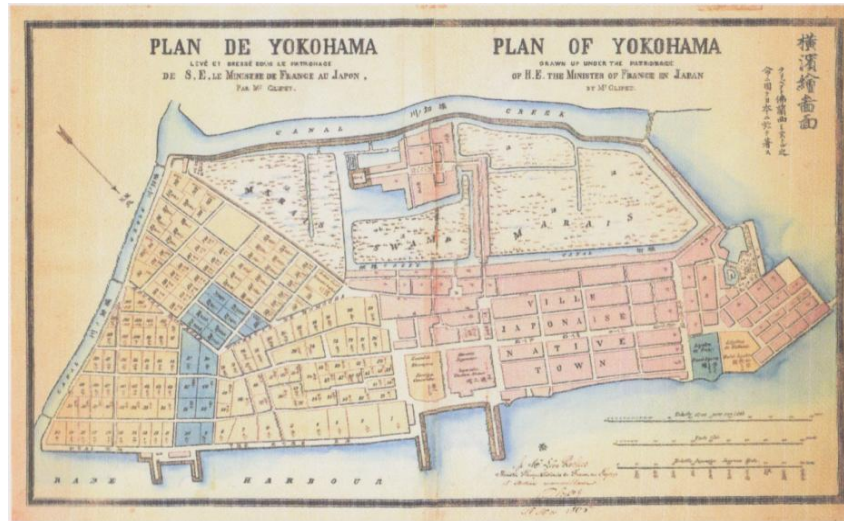


Fig.1 Map of the Yokohama Foreign Settlement

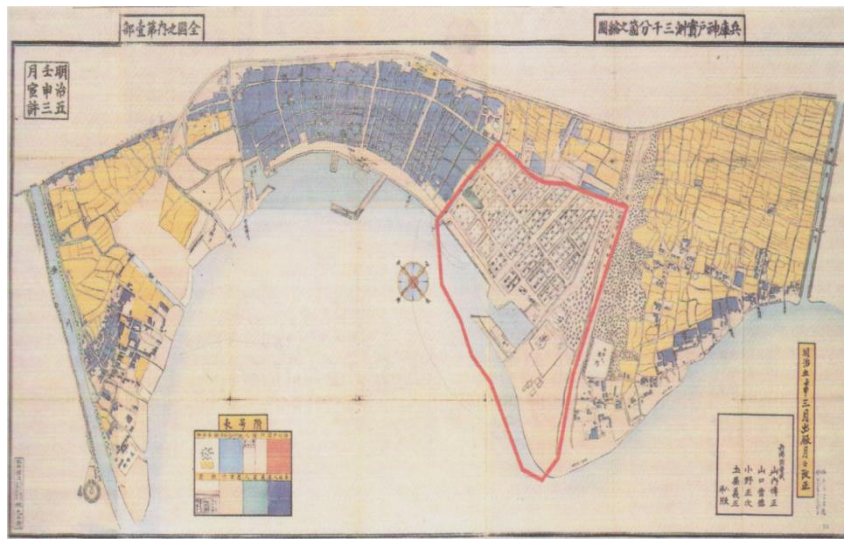


Fig. 2 Map of the Kobe Foreign Settlement

#### 4. The Site and Design of the Kobe Foreign Settlement

The opening of the Port of Hyogo was in 1863 according to the treaty; but in reality, it was in 1868 five years later because the Emperor was unwilling to include Hyogo, which was close to Kyoto, where he lived. In fact, the open port was not Hyogo but Kobe because it was speculated that Hyogo had already been a more thriving port with lots of foreigners and the Edo government wished to minimize possible conflicts with them by selecting Kobe, which was a quieter place.

John W. Hart (1837-1900), a British civil engineer, went first to Yokohama and then on to Kobe in 1868. Hart was engaged in dike protection, reclaiming the seacoast, and planning drainage. His original plan was useful with the proceeding Japanese civil engineers' improvements for the design of the town of Kobe. For the selection of the Kobe foreign settlement, there were some villages 3.5 km to the east of Hyogo, and a foreign settlement was established using these villages. The sea around there was deep and mild and the eastern area of the villages had lots of fields and land and was fit for settlement. Specifically, the site of the foreign settlement was between the Ikuta River 生田川 to the east and the Uji River 宇治川 to the west (later after the expansion of the Mixed

Residential Zone to the Koi River 鯉川), and the sea (the Pacific Ocean) to the south and the Saigoku Kaido 西国街道 highway to the north. It had an area of 78,000 *tsubo* (257,850 m<sup>2</sup>).

The Kobe foreign settlement had three parts: the foreign settlement, *Nankinmachi* Chinatown, and *zakkyochi* (amixed residential zone). Refer to Fig. 2 the Map of the Kobe Foreign Settlement.

#### 4.1. *Nankinmachi* 南京町 the Kobe Chinatown

Since China was not one of the countries included in the Ansei-Five-Power Treaties, the Chinese were not allowed to live in the foreign settlement. Kobe Chinatown is in the area west of the foreign settlement where Qing Chinatown first developed. In the mixed residential zone, foreigners and Japanese lived side by side, producing international exchange on a level helpful for daily life. Kobe's current status as a city where multiple ethnicities and cultures coexist arose from this relationship.

#### 4.2. *Zakkyochi*, Mixed Residential Zone 雜居地

A mixed residential zone was an area where Japanese originally lived, and foreigners were permitted to live together with them. In response to the delay in the settlement's construction, the Meiji government allowed foreigners to live outside of the settlement in *zakkyochi*. The area was between the Ikuta River to the east, the Uji River to the west, the southern shore of the foreign settlement to the south, and the mountains to the north. Within this area, foreigners could lease land and lease or purchase houses. "At the end of 1885, the mixed residential zone had expanded to cover 26,756 *tsubo* (88,449 m<sup>2</sup>)" ("Kobe foreign settlement", n.d.) It existed until the abolishment of the settlement in 1899. The city was described as the "best-planned foreign settlement in the Orient." (Koshiro, 2014).

### 5. The Population of the Foreign Settlements

Yokohama

The population of the Yokohama foreign settlement in 1888 was 4,494 (3,470 men, 1,024 women). The population breakdown by country in 1893 was China 67.2%, Britain 16.3%, America 5.1%, Germany 3.1%, France 2.7%, other countries 5.6%. As for the gender breakdown of the population, men were 53.8%; women were 17.7%; girls were 12.7%; boys 15.9% (Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan-31, 2007). The Chinese came to Japan soon after the openings of the ports as *baiben* 買弁 or chefs from Hong Kong and Shanghai. Since the Chinese were able to communicate with the Japanese using *kanji*, established Chinese business men worked as interpreters called *baiben*.

Kobe

The population of the Kobe foreign settlement in 1888, the same year as Yokohama, was 1,110 (930 men, 180 women). The population breakdown by country in 1893 was China 56.8%, Britain 19.9%, Germany 10%, America 5.8%, Other countries 7.5% (Kobe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan-5, 1999).

### 6. Attack on foreigners and conflicts with foreign powers

Yokohama

Once Yokohama was open to foreigners, more foreigners began to reside there. They were very positive in interacting with the Japanese community, but at the early stage of foreign settlements the "expel the Barbarians" movement was strong. There were conflicts between Japanese and foreigners and quite a few attacks on foreigners took place. The attacks included:

#### 6.1. The Tozen-ji Temple 東善寺 Incident occurred in 1861 and 1862:

The anti-alien *ronin* (masterless samurai) of the Mito domain attacked the British legation in Tozen-ji Temple in Takanawa, Edo (now Tokyo). Sir Rutherford Alcock was the first British diplomatic representative at that time.

#### 6.2. The Richardson (Namamugi 生麦事件) Incident occurred in 1862:

An English merchant based in Shanghai named Charles L. Richardson tried to cross over the procession of Hisamitsu Shimizu at Namamugi near Kawasaki. This incident resulted in the Anglo-Satsuma War 薩英戦争.

Kobe

The port of Kobe opened nine years after Yokohama Port and Kobe learned many lessons from Yokohama regarding how to interact with foreigners. Consequently, there were less misunderstandings and conflicts between Japanese and foreigners in Kobe.

### **6.3. The Kobe Incident 神戸事件 occurred in 1868:**

When the Bizen procession came across the road, the French soldiers attempted to across it. The Bizen got furious at that unmannered act and speared the French. It became the first international diplomatic Incident which occurred inside the Kobe foreign settlement.

### **6.4. The Sakai Incident 堺事件 occurred in 1868:**

French sailors engaged in violence at Sakai near Osaka and a samurai of the Tosa domain captured and killed them. Upon the French minister's complaint, the samurai committed hara-kiri.

## **7. Autonomy derived from the foreign settlement**

Yokohama

A municipal council 居留地参事会 was formed in the Yokohama foreign settlement in 1865 and with it came autonomy. It consisted of 26 citizens selected from various countries, which are independent from councils 領事団. The council was made up of only foreigners, but this was the origin of town autonomy in Japan. The council was in charge of roads, sewage, hygiene, police, etc. (Yokohamashi 1979.1). In short, there were many conflicts in the Yokohama foreign settlement. Conflicts were not only found between Japanese and foreigners but between councils, or a council and citizens of a country. Therefore, foreigners in Yokohama returned their relinquished autonomic status to the Edo government in 1867. However, the foreigners left Japanese ideas of civil rights and autonomy.

Kobe

In 1868 the Meiji government acknowledged the Municipal Council 居留地会議 in the Arrangement Relative to the Foreign Settlement at the Port of Hyogo and Osaka 「大阪兵庫外国人居留地約定書」. Although the autonomy was lost over a short period of time in Yokohama, in Kobe the self-government by the settlement residents continued until the abolishment of the foreign settlement in 1899. In Kobe, the settlement enjoyed 30 years of smooth operation, and relations were generally good between the foreign and Japanese sides. However, it was forbidden for Japanese to live within the foreign settlement, and their entrance to it was also restricted.

## **8. Trade**

Yokohama

More boats came in the Yokohama port year by year; 103 boats came in 1860, and 255 boats came in 1867 (Kanagawa Shinbun-sha.2009.149). Seventy-one merchants moved to Yokohama until the port opening in June 1859. There was lots of trade between Japanese and foreigners in the settlements at that time. Major goods for trade in the settlement were silk, a silkworm-egg or *kaiko*, tea for exports, cotton fabrics and wool goods for import. Because of different customs, trade wars often occurred between foreigners and Japanese. Typically, Japanese giving foreign buyers samples of silk put goods in storage. After the goods were inspected the Japanese were supposed to be paid. However, if the market became bad for foreign buyers, the foreigners canceled the contract, making it difficult for Japanese sellers to deal with the surplus/unwanted goods. Hara Zenzaburo 原善三郎 was engaged in silk export in 1865 and made a huge fortune. He developed Sankeien Garden and Nogeyama Park in Yokohama. Jardine Matheson & Co., the largest factory 商館 *shokanin* the Yokohama foreign settlement established English House No. 1 英一番館, where their goods were stored and displayed. Although there were conflicts between the Japanese and foreigners, the gap between the peoples became smaller as time went by and

more Japanese came in contact with foreigners. The foreign settlements were not isolated islands separating foreigners from Japanese.

Although foreigners were not allowed to live and work outside the foreign settlements, Japanese were able to work and live inside with the admission of the governor and the consul. In fact, many Japanese worked for companies inside the foreign settlements. Those companies were, for example, Dent & Co. (British, established in 1882, bought silk), Isaacs & Brother (American, established 1868, dealt with silk and iron), and Peterson Engineering Co (Sweden, established about 1885, 300 Japanese employees at its peak). Also, Japanese workers studied foreign languages inside the foreign settlement. Takashima School was created in 1872 and Minister Ballagh Brothers (Ballagh, James Hamilton 1832-1920, Ballagh, John Craig 1842-1920) taught English to Japanese so that their students would work in the Yokohama foreign settlement.

Kobe

Charles Burton Bernard (1853-1947), British, established Bernard & Wood Co. was very successful in exporting Japanese tea in Kobe. "The Kobe foreign settlement is said to be the birthplace of the popular Japanese drink. Ramune. Sim and Co., managed by Alexander Cameron Sim, began to produce and distribute Ramune under the name *Juhachi-ban* (18 番), which was based on the company's location in Lot 18 of the foreign settlement." (Wikipedia: Kobe foreign settlement page 14).

## **9. How were the Foreign Settlements connected with Modernization?**

### **9.1. Social Changes after the Openings of the Ports**

Modernization was Westernization in Japan, at least in the Meiji period. To bring in western ideas and technology was the way Japanese promoted the modernization of their country. In order to reform its unequal status with the West, the Japanese government encouraged Westernization. In 1868 the Meiji Restoration took place, with the motto, "Enrich the country, strengthen the military". The Meiji Government spent a huge amount of money in employing experts from other countries with the purpose of learning their science and technology. In 1872 Yokohama was connected by railway with Shinbashi, which was the entrance of the Tsukiji foreign settlement. Japanese called it a steam boat running on land, "Land Steam Boat" (陸蒸気船). The railway had become the symbol of *Bunmei Kaika* 文明開化 (Civilization and Enlightenment).

### **9.2. Oyatoi gaikokujin お雇い外国人**

*Oyatoi gaikokujin*, foreign advisors employed by the government in Meiji Japan, were a great force to promote the modernization of Japan. They assisted Japan to attain her goal in various fields such as agriculture, medical science, law, administration, economics, military, natural science, mathematics, engineering, art, music, education, missionary activities, etc. The total number of *oyatoi gaikokujin* is estimated to have reached more than 3,000. They were highly paid. The *oyatoi gikokujin* system was officially terminated in 1899 when extraterritoriality came to an end in Japan.

### **9.3. The Foreign Settlements directly contributed to modernization**

Certainly, the Meiji government contributed to modernizing the country, but it was also the foreign settlements that were a direct force for the development of the country. Modernization did not just mean political changes like from the Tokugawa to the Emperor but did include social and cultural changes such as transfer from kimono to Western clothes or prevalence of Western styles of music. Westerners in the foreign settlements brought in their own cultures to Japan. Many of the Western products and ideas were absorbed by Japanese, and cooperation between foreigners and Japanese produced new things. The data shows that there were lots of Japanese workers in the foreign settlement. In the (Kobe) foreign settlement there were 317 foreigners but 1171 Japanese (936 males, 235 females) and 168 Chinese. (Tai, 81)

### **9.4. Food and Daily Things**

Yokohama

Many foods and drinks we see now at supermarkets were originally brought to Japan by foreigners at that time. In 1862 Rutherford Alcock brought in seeds from Britain and Eduardo Loureiro cultivated parsley, cabbage, lettuce, tomato, asparagus, and cauliflower and made a vegetable garden. In 1866 a pasture for milk was opened by

Risley, R. Carlisle. In 1860 three British men made a farm in the Yamate area, namely Thomas S. Smith, Buckworth, M. Bailey, and William Curtis. Beer brewing began at Yamate in 1869 and ship industry began in 1860. Foreigners kept cattle and ate beef for the first time in Japan in 1860.

Kobe

Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904) is known by the Japanese name Koizumi Yakumo for his books such as ghost stories. He stayed in the Kobe foreign settlement nearly two years. In October 1894, he secured a journalism job with the English-language newspaper *Kobe Chronicle*.

## 9.5. Religion

Yokohama

The Christian missionaries were an important source of knowledge about Western countries. Churches and mission schools were built by missionaries in Yokohama. Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus 横浜天主堂, the oldest Catholic church (the former Yamane Catholic Church), was opened in 1862. Christ Church, the oldest Protestant church in Japan was built in 1863. James Curtis Hepburn compiled a Japanese-English dictionary, which was the oldest comprehensive English dictionary in Japan, with the help of some Japanese such as Masatsuna Okuno 奥野昌綱. A missionary group, led by Hepburn and S.R. Brown, aided in translating the Bible into Japanese. The Japanese translations of the Old and New Testaments were completed in 1880. Hepburn's wife Clara taught English at their own house in the foreign settlement which developed into Meiji Gakuin University and Ferris Women's College. Foreigners' right to reside in Japan was secured by the Treaty of Amity and Commerce in 1859. Measures were taken immediately by three American churches to establish mission stations in the Empire of Japan, and before the close of 1859 the missionaries of these churches had arrived. Of the Reformed Church missionaries Rev Guido F. Verbeck, D.D., settled at Nagasaki, and Rev. Samuel R. Brown, D.D., Simmons N. D. settled at Kanagawa. Dr. Simmons withdrew from the mission the following year and in 1861 Rev. James H. Ballagh settled at Kanagawa.

Kobe

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was formed for mission activities in Japan and began its activities at Kobe as its headquarters. Both Eliza Talcott and Julia E. Dudley worked to establish a school in 1873, presently named Kobe College 神戸女学院. Jerome Dean Davis was sent to Japan and established Doshisha University with Niihama, Jo in 1875.

## 9.6. Sports and Entertainment

Undoubtedly, the foreign settlements were some of the major places of global cultural exchange in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Japan. Western sports and entertainment were introduced to Japan and widely spread.

Yokohama

The Yamate Koen, which was the first western style park, was opened in the Yamate area in 1870. Western sports such as soccer, cricket, and tennis originated in the Yokohama foreign settlement. Horse races by foreigners began around Motomachi in the Yamate area in 1860 and a Western horse racetrack was first constructed in the Negishi area of the settlement in 1866. The Yokohama Cricket and Athletic Sport in the Yamate area of the settlement was the body where many Western sports such as badminton, billiards and bowling began (later named The Yokohama Country and Athletic Sport in 1912). In the foreign settlement, a high-class society was formed by wealthy and cultured foreigners and they met at Yokohama United Club and 'Gaiety Theatre' ゲーテ座 (renamed to 'Public Hall' in 1872). Torakichi Nishikawa, learning how to make an organ under a German and an Englishman, manufactured an organ factory at Hinodecho (near the Yokohama foreign settlement) around 1880. (Tokyo Shinbun December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2001) Nishikawa, who used to be a *shamisen* (a three-stringed Japanese instrument) craftsman, made an organ in 1884 for the first time in Japan.

Kobe

The first horse racing was held by foreigners in 1868 in Kobe when the port of Kobe was first opened. Hyogo Race Club, which was the first sport club, was organized in 1869. It was renamed "Hiogo & Osaka Race Club", making a horse racing track with the space 5,113 $tsubo$  (16,902 m<sup>2</sup>) east of Ikuta Shrine in the foreign settlement.

## 9.7. Architecture

### Yokohama

The Yokohama Foreign General Cemetery 横浜外国人墓地 was made in the Yamate area of the Yokohama foreign settlement. A crew from Perry's Expedition in 1854 was buried at "a quiet place where you can command a view of the port" and that is the origin of the cemetery. The cemetery includes the grave of Charles Richardson, murdered in the Namamugi Incident.

### Kobe

Houses in the Yokohama Settlement were Japanese style but all of the buildings in the Kobe settlement were constructed under the direction of Western architects, and most of the clients who ordered construction were foreign-owned enterprises. The former American consulate in Kobe at No. 15 318 *tsubo*(1,051 m<sup>2</sup>) was an exemplar of this style, with two floors and a veranda adorned with columns on the second floor.

## 10. Roads toward Abolishment of Treaties: The Iwakura Mission

Japan wanted to revise the unfair parts of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce 日米修好通商条約. In order to improve the treaty, the Iwakura Mission made a diplomatic voyage to the USA and Europe between 1871 and 1873. The voyage carried a message of being recognized as a modernized country by the West with the aim of revision of the unequal treaties. The influential Dutch missionary, Guido Verbeck, who was an *oyatoigaikokujin* at that time, influenced and encouraged the Iwakura Mission. The goal of the Iwakura Mission was not achieved but the attempt raised unfavorable feelings of the West over Japan. Following Iwakura, the Foreign Minister, Kaoru Inoue took the policy of Westernization 欧化主義 (*okashugi*); to let European countries recognize that Japan is as civilized as Western countries by adopting Western manners, customs, and systems. For example, Rokumeikan 鹿鳴館, a guest house building in Tokyo was made in 1883, where Western ballroom dance parties were held. The policy of Westernization was not necessarily successful but foreigners' living out of the foreign settlement in mixed residential zones had been prevalent.

## 11. The Normanton Incident

As modernization accelerated and the Japanese became more informed about other countries, Japanese opposition to the unfair treaties became stronger. The Normanton incident triggered a vocal resentment. The British cargo ship Normanton sank on her way from Yokohama to Kobe in 1886. Twenty-five Japanese passengers died while British crewmen survived; however, due to extraterritoriality for foreigners, the British crewmen's punishment was less severe than the Japanese expected. These judgments made the Japanese raise their voices to abolish the unfair treaties; 領事裁判権 *ryoji saibanken* allowing extraterritoriality for foreigners and Japan's limited tariff autonomy 関税自主権. In 1894 Japan successfully signed into law the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation 日英通商航海条約. Although the country had minimal import taxes for foreign goods until the closing of the foreign settlements in 1911, extraterritoriality for foreigners was removed in exchange for 'mixed residence in the interior' 内地雜居 (*naichi zakkyo*). This change signaled the beginning of modern times in Japan, when foreigners were able to live and work more freely in the country and become more familiar to the Japanese.

## 12. Mixed Residence in the Interior 内地雜居

According to the Ansei Five-Power Treaties in 1859, foreigners were allowed only to live and travel in foreign settlements and within 10 *ri*(about 3.9km), but that situation was no different from Dejima in the closure period. On the other hand, because expulsion of foreigners was becoming more prevalent, the Japanese government insisted that restriction was necessary for the sake of protecting foreigners. The Japanese also worried that mixed residency in the interior would increase foreign influence and destroy traditional Japanese culture and lives. On the other hand, *oyatoi gaikokujin* and missionaries claimed that the mixed residence zones should be necessary even if foreigners lose their merits of extraterritoriality in the foreign settlement.



### **13. The Abolishment of the Foreign Settlements**

Thanks to the efforts of Mutsu Munemitsu and Aoki Shuzo, in 1894 the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation 日英通商航海条約 was concluded between Britain and Japan, which included the mixed residence in the interior and the removal of extraterritoriality. The Japanese government decided to abolish the foreign settlement with the risk of the mixed residence in the interior, declaring that the ownership of housing by foreigners should be admitted but not land (land was restricted to perpetual loan.) So, whether they were Japanese or not, people were able to live anywhere they liked while at the same time always being under Japanese jurisdiction.

### **14. Summary**

How did modernization take place in Japan? A common answer is that modernization occurred in the Meiji Restoration, which was triggered by Perry's expedition to Japan. Japan realized a big gap and felt it necessary to catch up with the West, inviting *oyatoi gaikokujin* and dispatching the Iwakura Mission. Such political strategies are worth mentioning for modernization, but it is also important to mention the foreign settlements. Foreigners, who were not necessarily *oyatoi gaikokujin*, and Japanese worked together in the foreign settlements and helped to create the new Meiji Japan. First, the selection of ports was an issue in both Yokohama and Kobe because the Edo government wanted to keep the ports distant from the center of Japan, Edo. In both cases unknown ports, Yokohama (not Kanagawa) and Kobe (not Hyogo) were selected. In other words, the Japanese government took an initiative in deciding the locations of the ports for the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Japan and the USA without following the opinion of the USA. In the beginning, there were conflicts and attacks between Japanese and foreigners in both Yokohama and Kobe foreign settlements, but one important difference was that the Kobe foreign settlement, learning lessons from Yokohama, had less conflicts. The strong "expel the barbarians" movement no longer existed, and trade went smoother in Kobe than in Yokohama. Once the ports were opened, the relations between Japanese and foreigners became less strained. The foreign settlements were not confined places, giving Japanese people the opportunity to directly communicate with westerners. Many Japanese were employed by westerners and there were lots of transactions between Japanese and foreigners. Western ideas, techniques, customs and manners were shared, and traditional Japanese ideas were given new life. The import and export sparked from silk trade and there were many other items created in the Yokohama and Kobe foreign settlements.

It is also notable that the foreign settlements were self-governed bodies: in the Yokohama foreign settlement the Municipal Council lasted until 1867 and in the Kobe until 1911 when the foreign settlement came to an end. In the Edo samurai feudalism, decisions were made from the top down, while the Western style in the foreign settlements respected individual rights and civil citizen voices were more reflected and this formed a foundation of the modern Japanese communities. As the seclusion ended and Japanese people began to go overseas, they realized that the treaties were unfair to Japan and needed to be amended. Japan negotiated with the other countries to change the treaties. With much effort, the Edo government successfully got rid of extraterritoriality and gained tariff autonomy. Turning to the choice of whether foreign settlements or mixed residency in the interior was an issue, for foreigners it was a big concern whether they could remain in Japan and whether the abolishment of the foreign settlements would rob them of extraterritoriality. Foreigners protested against the mixed residency in the interior; in 1899, the treaties were finally abolished. Afterwards, foreigners lived under Japanese law without extraterritoriality and came to reside and work anywhere in the country they liked.

### 15. Comparison of the Yokohama Foreign Settlement and the Kobe Foreign Settlement

	The Yokohama Foreign Settlement	The Kobe Foreign Settlement
<b>The periods of the foreign settlements</b>	1859-1911	1863-1911
<b>The areas of the settlements according to the Ansei-Five-Power Treaties</b>	Kanagawa (officially Yokohama): the Yamashita area and the Yamate area	Hyogo(officially Kobe):between the Ikuta River to the east the Uji River (later the Koi River) to the west, and the sea to the south and the Saigoku Kaido Highway to the north
<b>Size</b>	351,256 <sup>tsubo</sup> (1,161,175 m <sup>2</sup> )	78,000 <sup>tsubo</sup> (257,850 m <sup>2</sup> ) (upto the Koi River)
<b>China Town</b>	<i>Chukagai</i> 中華街, swamp area of the foreign settlement	<i>Nankinmachi</i> 南京街, west of the Kobe foreign settlement
<b>Population</b>	4,494 (men 3,470 and women 1,024) in 1888	2,039(total of the foreign settlement and mixed residential zone) in 1890
<b>Autonomy</b>	the Municipal Council 居留地会議  The foreign settlement returned its autonomy to the Edo government in 1867.	the Municipal Council 居留地会議  The Municipal Council lasted until the closing of the foreign settlement in 1911.
<b>Who designed the foreign settlement</b>	Richard H. Brunton (1841-1901), British	John W. Hart (1837-1900), British
<b>Trade</b>	Trade did not go smooth because of poor relations between Japanese and foreigners.	Trade went better because of better relations between Japanese and foreigners.
<b>Major Companies</b>	Jardine, Matheson & Co. Dent & Co. Isaacs & Brother	Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Delecamp. MacGregor & Co.'s

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