

# Japanese Humanitarian Aid for Belgium During the First World War

## Charity as a Tool for International Acknowledgement

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## Abstract

Het duurde niet lang voor nieuws over België's geschonden neutraliteit de wereld rond ging in augustus 1914. Terwijl het Duitse leger door het land trok en geallieerde troepen terug drong tot het westen van het land werden wereldwijd liefdadigheid organisaties in werking gezet om het leed van de Belgen te verzachten. De daden van het Amerikaanse Rode Kruis of de Commission for Relief in Belgium zijn dan ook tot op heden gekend als voorbeelden bij uitstek wanneer het op humanitaire hulp voor de inwoners van bezet België aan komt.

Maar minder is geweten over de honderden Japanse schoolmeisjes die in 1915 handgemaakte poppen verkochten om geld in te zamelen voor verhongerende Belgen. Minder is nog geweten over de 74 jaar oude Japanse man die in het zelfde jaar een deel van zijn eigen fortuin schonk aan dakloze Belgen nadat hij zelf zijn huis het verloren had. Er zijn talloze voorbeelden van barmhartige daden die tijdens de Eerste Wereldoorlog plaats vonden in Japan om Belgische soldaten en burgers te steunen.

In deze thesis zullen we enkele van deze humanitaire organisaties en activiteiten onder de loop nemen, met het doel om te begrijpen waarom mensen in een land dat niet enkel geografisch ver weg lag van het conflict, maar ook amper direct aangetast werd door de ellende die de Grote Oorlog veroorzaakte. Voor we kunnen begrijpen wat niet enkel de Japanse overheid maar ook gewone burgers en industriëlen aanzette tot het financieel ondersteunen van Belgen, moeten we kijken naar welke humanitaire evenementen plaatsvonden. Dit zullen we voornamelijk doen aan de hand van de Japanse media, bijvoorbeeld door het analyseren van kranten artikels uit de *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* en de *Yomiuri Shimbun*. Daarbij kijken we ook naar de toon en de manier waarop de berichtgeving met betrekking tot België plaats vond. Dit alles kan ons helpen begrijpen hoe een nationaal bewustzijn over de penibele situatie van België werd gecreëerd, een bewustzijn dat tot een emotionele band kon leiden die mensen mogelijk aanzette om deel te nemen aan liefdadigheid.

Uiteindelijk zullen we tot de conclusie komen dat het antwoord op de vraag waarom Japan deelnam aan de internationale humanitaire inspanningen voor België eerder genuanceerd is. Daarenboven zullen we ook zien dat het niet altijd even gemakkelijk is om emotionele van praktische karaktertrekken te scheiden wanneer het of humanitaire organisaties aankomt. We sluiten deze thesis af met de conclusie dat zowel politieke, economische en emotionele

motivaties, alsook een gevoel van transnationale verbondenheid, de grootste drijfveren waren voor Japanse humanitaire hulp voor België tijdens en net na de Eerste Wereldoorlog.

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## 要旨

ベルギーの永世中立が1914年にドイツ軍に違反された直後に、世界中に人道支援運動が苦しんでいるベルギー人のために同情金と他の救援物資を集めるようになった。アメリカ赤十字のような西洋人道支援運動がよく知られているけど、これまで日本国内のベルギーへ多様な慈善活動についての研究が殆どない。そして、第一次世界大戦中のベルギーへの日本人道支援運動が戦争後に両国の関係だけではなくて、一般に全連合国との関係にとって重要な役割を果たしたから、この論文で第一次世界大戦中におけるベルギーへの日本の人道支援活動を分析している。

1914年から1918年まで日本全国内でベルギー戦況報告程度で日本のマス・メディアが非常に重要な役割を果たしていた。朝日新聞や読売新聞のような全国新聞各紙が日ごとにベルギー人の悲哀について報告して、様々な人道支援運動の活動を広告した。さらに、あるメディアが自分で慈善活動を組織したこともあった。例えば、1915年に朝日新聞社の社会長村山良平はベルギー国王アルベールに伝統的な肥前太刀を献上した。新聞だけではなくて、ベルギーの破壊を表している演劇と幻灯展覧も日本中に広めていた。結果として、日本からベルギーへ人道支援が案外に多かった。

其れでも、日本人がベルギーへの国際人道支援活動に参加した理由や動機などが明らかではないと言える。結局、青島の戦い以外に殆どの戦闘が遠い欧州で行われていたから、ベルギー人の哀れが余り日本人と関係なくて、個人的な関心もなかっただろう。他に、朝日新聞社が人道支援活動を整理しても、一目見ただけで金銭的な利益が別になかった。メディア以外に愛国婦人会のような婦人会も色々な慈善活動を行なわれたけど、日本人として国際人道支援が婦人会と関係もなかっただろう。以上のような問題に解答を与えることが本稿の目的である。

日本の国際同情金募集活動に参加した動機を明らかにする前に様々な日本で大戦中の人道支援運動と慈善活動を検討する。方法としてはまず1914年6月から1918年12月までの朝日新聞と読売新聞で出版されたベルギーと関係がある記事を分析する。そして、新聞の報告だけではなくて、欧州戦争実記という戦争雑誌と戦争幻灯展覧のようなビジュアル・メディアにも集中することになる。その際、日本国内の欧州大戦の民衆意識構造を全体的に検討できるようになる。日本マス・メディアの分析以外に、1921年の裕仁皇太子殿下のベルギーへの訪問と1924年の日本からの全焼されたルーヴェン・カトリック大学図書館ための国際的復旧活動の寄付も検討する。

このようにベルギーへの日本人道支援活動にいくつかの刺激があった結論づけられる。一方、政治的な動機があったと言える。日本が1853年の開国により欧州国との同じ文明



程度と近代化に達成されたことをベルギーへの同情運動と証明するようになった。日本がこの風に国内軍事に興味を持っている確信を反証できるからだ。それだけではなくて、欧州戦争のおかげで日本経済と各産業が成長したが、連合軍から批判される恐れがあったから、批判を避けるように、ベルギーへの同情を表したこともあった。そうすれば、戦後時代に日本が連合軍とまだ良い関係続けるという希望があったと思われる。他方、政治的ではない動機もあった。まず、新聞各紙が非常に感情的にベルギー人とベルギー難民の艱難について報道した上に、多くの日本人が1904年から1905年までの日露戦争で家族や知り合いの人など失ったから、ベルギー人と共感できる日本人もたくさんいただろうと思われる。以上のことから明らかになるのは、日本人がベルギーを第一次世界大戦中に支援的に支持した動機問題に様々な微妙な解答があるのではないかと思われる。

## 各章抄訳

### 第一章: 日本と第一次世界大戦

#### 1.1 青島

日本は1914年8月8日にドイツに戦争布告を出した。イギリスが開戦後自分の東アジアであった征服された領土をドイツ軍の影響から守るために、日本軍と日本海軍の支持と軍事的な協力を頼んでいた。そのために1902年の日英同盟が呼び出された。さらに、日本がイギリスと協力すると日本も東アジアでの影響範囲を拡大できるという目標に達成できるから、両国が27日8月に青島であったドイツ軍を攻撃し始めた。結局、ドイツ軍が7日11月に降伏した。青島の戦いが連合軍の最初の大勝利になって、日本が「五大国」のメンバーになってきた。其れで、大戦が継続中であり、日本政府が1915年に対華21ヶ条要求を中華民国政府に渡した、日本が中国であった影響範囲権益を確保できた。

#### 1.2 青島以外の日本軍

まず、連合軍が日本の戦参に反対を伝えてたけど、青島の戦い後で日本と協力するしかはなかった。其処で、日本海兵隊がドイツ軍をドイツ領ミクロネシアから追い出した。しかし、イギリス、フランスとロシアがヨーロッパ領土での塹壕戦での日本軍隊の参加を繰り返し要請したが、日本軍が連合軍からの要求に認めなかった。その代わりに、日本海兵隊が連合船を地中海に沿って保護するとともに、オーストラリアとニュージーランドからの連合船をヨーロッパに護送した。そして、1918年から1922年まで日本がロシア革命に対する73,000人ほどの軍士をシベリアに発遣した。このシベリア出兵によって、日本軍隊が東

清鉄道とシベリア鉄道まで赴けた。しかも、参戦国産業がもはや生産できなかったから、日本が連合国から軍需品の注文を受けて、自分の産業と工業を発展して、経済好景気が1918年のインフレーションのピークまでに続けた。

### 1.3 国際連盟

明治時代の開国により、日本が西洋諸国のような国際的な権力をなるために国内の産業を近代化したし、西洋文化の一部を適応させたし、西洋諸国と新たな郊外関係に従事したし、平等に文明化された国家として受け入れられるように努力した。そして、1919年にパリ講和会議でイギリスとアメリカのように「五大国」として参加させて、ある程度まで国際的に正式な列強と認められた。また、1920年からの国際連盟の常任理事国になった。しかしながら、1919年、日本に主張された人種的差別撤廃提案が否決されたことによって、西洋諸国は日本を平等と見なしていないことが明らかになった。

其れでも、以下の研究から、この否定は日本を挫折したのに、国家が西洋同国として受け入れることをあきらめていなかったということが分かる。

## 第二章: 日本のマスメディアと慈善活動、1914年-1918年

### 2.1 日本のマス・メディアと第一次世界大戦

本章では日本でのベルギー戦況と日本慈善活動についての報道を分析してから、ベルギーに関する国内民衆意識を考察して、そこから日本人のベルギーへの関心や同情の原因が明らかにする。しかし、20世紀の初めに新聞や大戦雑誌がどのぐらいに日本人に影響を及ぼしたか全く明らかではないから、有山輝雄の「近代日本のメディアと地域社会」論文を採用する。論文で、有山が福島県の梁川町を例として20世紀初めの新聞の地域的な普及率を検討しながら、新聞が日本人にどんな影響を与えたことがうかがえる。1903年から1915年まで梁川町で新聞を買った家庭が倍増して、これは主要都市だけではなくて、梁川のような小都市でも諸人が国際的なニュースに手を入れて、ベルギー人の苦難に直面されたことを示している。そして、ベルギーの憂き目に幾重にも直面された人々がベルギーへの人道支援活動に参加する可能性があるだろうと思われるから、メディア報道を分析するに利益があるかもしれない。

### 2.2 東京朝日新聞のベルギーについての報道

1888年から東京において出版された東京朝日新聞が大戦開戦から大戦について広く報道した。毎日、大戦に関する記事が「全欧州戦乱」と「連合側事情」というコラムで出版された。本稿の研究のために1914年6月1日から1918年12月31日までのベルギーと関係ある記事に限定して、全部の記事を四つのカテゴリーに分類することになった。

一番大きいカテゴリーはベルギーと関係がある軍事的出来事や戦略に関する一般的な報告を含んでいる。例えば、1914年8月5日に出版された「独逸中立侵害 独軍の白国侵入」という記事がベルギーの永世中立の侵害について報告する。

次のカテゴリーは特にベルギーの兵士と国民の勇気を強調する記事を含んでいる。この記事で「勇敢」、「勇気」と「勇武」がキーワードで、国民の苦難や軍事敗北について報告しても、できるだけベルギー人の勇気を強調する。勇気だけではなくて、愛国心と関係がある記事もかなりあった。この記事でいつも感情的な言葉を利用している。そして、三番目のカテゴリーはベルギー難民について報告する。これらの記事の多くは、杉村楚人冠というロンドンの海外特派員によって寄稿された記述であった。

最後のカテゴリーの記事はベルギーへの日本における慈善活動と慈善運動について報告した。このカテゴリーはまだ二つのサブカテゴリーに分類できる。最初のサブカテゴリーは朝日新聞が設立した慈善活動について報告する。例えば、1915年2月10日に「白国義金募集」という社説が著されて、社説がベルギーで起こっている無残なドイツ軍の行動と飢えたベルギー人の非惨な状況について解説する。そして、3月10日まで毎日新聞の中心にベルギーのために少なくとも新聞1通につき50銭の同情金寄付が評価されると述べていた。結局、28.802円と67銭が募集された。他の例は三章で検討する太刀献上である。二番目のサブカテゴリーは朝日新聞社と関係がない慈善活動を宣告する記事を含んでいる。例として、外交官が主催した慈善音楽会がいくつかあった。

東京朝日新聞のベルギーへの報道に興味深い点がいくつかある。まず、よく感情的な言葉を使いながら、センセーショナルに報告した。其れで、新聞が自分で人道支援活動を主催したことも興味深い。

### 2.3 読売新聞のベルギーについての報道

読売新聞社が1874年に成立されて、朝日新聞と同じよう頻りにベルギーについて報道した。ベルギーと関する記事を四つのカテゴリーに分類すると一番目のカテゴリーは軍事事件について報道する。

二番目のカテゴリーが「よみうり婦人附録」というコラムで出版された記事を含んでいる。婦人附録コラムで記述された記事が特にベルギー難民と婦人について報道して、愛国

心と正義の名にかけて勇気を失わずに国と子供を守っていることを報告した。さらに、山脇房子と津田梅子などの有力な婦人に設立された日本婦人白耳義同情会の慈善活動と同情金募集活動について報告する上に、同情会を支持するように同情会の活動も新聞で宣告した。日本婦人白耳義同情会の一つの活動は人形展覧会で、一ヶ月で40,000円を募集した。また、他の慈善活動が女性を手工その他自身の労力より得たるものによって得た金額ほんの一部を寄付するよう奨励された。1915年6月まで同情会が5万円以上の寄付を集めたことが読売新聞に報告された。

三番目のカテゴリーはまた日本婦人白耳義同情会と関係ない人道支援活動についてはどうして、最後のカテゴリーはベルギーの難民の件について報道した。

## 2.4 欧州戦争実記のベルギーについての報道

他のベルギーについて報告した印刷メディアは戦争雑誌であった。この論文で分析する大戦雑誌は「欧州戦争実記」という1914年から1917年まで東京で出版された雑誌である。欧州戦争実記が難民、軍事戦略など、戦争の複数の側面について報告してい、ベルギーはそのことの一つであった。それなのに、東京朝日新聞と読売新聞と比べると記事が違うことに強調して、感情的やセンセーショナルに報道していないと言える。それは、著者が日本人だけではなく、外国人の外交官と西洋国国民の記述も特集されたからだ。その風に、大戦が欧州戦争実記で様々な意見と視点から分析されていた。それに加えて、記述の書き方のみならず、記事のトピックも違っている。

欧州戦争実記で出版された記事記事をトピックによって分類すると、次のように三つ主なカテゴリーに分析できる。最初のカテゴリーは朝日新聞と読売新聞と同じようにベルギーに関して軍事事件を解説する記事を含めている。二番目のカテゴリーは特にベルギーの王室の戦前と戦争中の行動に集中している。三番目のカテゴリーはベルギー戦惨状を目撃したベルギー人の日記からの通訳である。

最初の60巻に日本慈善活動や日本人道支援運動についての記事が一つもなかった。これは、すべての印刷媒体が読者から感情的な反応を得ようとはしていないことを示している。

## 2.5 ベルギーと日本の非印刷メディア

新聞と雑誌以外に他のメディアもベルギーの戦争状況についての情報を普及していた。その上、このメディアが多く場合で消費資金を慈善運動に寄付することで国際人道支援活動に貢献した。例えば、1917年4月27日に本郷小学校でベルギーと戦争イメージが幻燈展覧

で映して、学生の両親が展覧を見るために払った入場料がベルギーに寄付された。他のビジュアル・メディアは「白国義の悲哀」というような演劇とニュース映画であった。演劇、幻燈展覧やニュース映画のようなメディアが印刷メディアと比べたら情報ばかりではなくて、画像も見せられたから、こういう像が人々にもっと感情的な影響を与えたのではないだろうか。

以上の分析から分かっているのはベルギー戦争惨状に関するニュースが日本のマス・メディアに諸々な方法で日本中に普及された。それに、新聞が感動的に報道して、ビジュアル・メディアも感情的な画像を展示したから、読者と視聴者は感情的に触れられている可能性があり、それによって慈善事業に貢献することが思われる。

### **第三章: 日本におけるベルギーへの慈善活動**

#### **3.1 ヨーロッパの戦争特派員杉村楚人冠**

杉村楚人冠が1914年8月12日、ドイツ軍がベルギーを侵攻してからわずか数日後、東京朝日新聞の欧州特派員としてロンドンに派遣された。ロンドンから何月日々にイギリスの戦況とロンドンに到着する難民について朝日新聞で報告した。その間、朝日新聞社は、ベルギー人とその国王の勇敢さを支持し、国と国民を称賛するために、ベルギーの王様に伝統的な肥前剣を献上する計画を策定した。

#### **3.2 ベルギー国王への太刀献上**

10月7日ベルギーへの太刀献上に関しての指示を最初に受けた。其処で、1915年1月30日に楚人冠は朝日新聞と日本を代表するようにベルギー王アルベールに剣と献上した。そして、ベルギー国王は朝日新聞社長と日本人の支持に感謝した。1915年4月20日から5月12日まで「太刀献上記」タイトルで太刀献上について報告した。これは両国の良好な関係に貢献した一つの出来事だろう。別の両国の良い関係に貢献したイベントは1921年の裕仁皇太子のベルギーへの訪問であった。

#### **3.3 裕仁皇太子殿下御外遊**

1921年に、裕仁皇太子はイギリス、フランス、オランダ、ベルギー、マルタとイタリアを訪問した。ベルギーで皇太子はイーペルとリエージュのような戦争に破壊された町を訪問して、戦死者に敬意を払った。それで、面白い点は皇太子の活動を描写しながら、「皇太子

殿下御外遊記」の著者が朝日新聞と同じように何回もベルギー人と王国の勇敢と愛国心を強調していた。

6月20日ルーヴェン大学の全焼された図書館も訪問した。もう1919年から図書館が国際協力で復旧されることが決まって、裕仁皇太子の訪問の直後日本中の金と書物募集活動も始まってきた。

### 3.4 ルーヴェン・カトリック大学図書館復旧ための日本寄付

1921年から1924年まで日本で13,000以上の冊が集まれて、ルーヴェン・カトリック大学に寄付された。書物の募集が東京帝国大学図書館の司書長和田万吉に監督されて、明治維新前と後の書籍と巻物が大学図書館内に成立された「日本部屋」に展覧された。そして、書物の寄付と日本部屋は日本の文化と文明を代表する所になった。言い換えれば、日本の貢献は同情に由来していても、決して政治的な目標にも役立った。

### 3.5 他の人道支援

以上に並んだ人道支援活動以外にまだ個人的なイニチアチブもあった。例えば、1915年に日本赤十字の60名の看護婦と3名の医者がフランス、イギリス、とロシアに派遣された。日本赤十字は、日露戦争中のロシア捕虜の慈悲深い治療法で既に価値を見出したが、第一次世界大戦中に連合軍兵士を看取るようにまた日本の医学的知識と腕前証明できたと思われる。

また、茶業組合中央会は1914年の10月にベルギーとロシア兵士へに25,000袋日本茶を送るという計画を立った。そして、1917年に大谷嘉兵衛という茶業事業家がベルギー帝に花瓶を献上して、また1915年に鈴木吉五郎という横畑に住んでいた74歳の男性が50銭をベルギー同情会に寄付した。鈴木は前年自分の家と家財を火事で失ったから、ベルギー人の苦難を心得たからベルギー人を支持したかったと言われた。以上の例は、人道援助を行ったのは常に政府と業界に主催されていなかったことを証明しているだろう。

## 第四章: 日本人道支援の動機

### 4.1 日本政府と産業界の人的取り組み

#### 4.1.1 非政治的な人道支援はない？

以上のことから日本人道支援運動と活動が官民運動であったことが明らかになっていたのに、市民的と政治的な動機の明確な境界線を描くのは難しいと言える。井竿富雄の「第一次世界大戦と民衆意識:二つの官民合作募金運動をめぐって」という論文がこの問題を示す。論文

で、井竿は二つの第一次世界大戦と関しての官民合作募金運動を分析して、政治的や市民的な組織によって運動の有効性を検討する。井竿によって、1917年に渋沢栄一と他の業界の有力者に設立された「連合国傷病兵罹災害経済会」という運動は政治的と経済的な性格のため、1920年の「尼港事件慰問金募集運動」という市民運動より同情金を有効的に募集できなかった。「連合国傷病兵罹災害経済会」より多くの資金を集めたが、金募集過程には問題がかなり多かつたし、日本人はヨーロッパで苦しんでいる人々と個人的な関心を持っていなかったため、元の300万円の目標を達成することはできなかった。その上、日本のメディアは尼港事件についてよりセンセーショナルに報告して、事件で死亡した人が日本人であったから、「尼港事件慰問金募集運動」のほうが同情金を有効的に募集できたと言っている。

しかし、この結論には問題点がある。それは、井竿は「尼港事件慰問金募集運動」が市民運動と言っても、運動の創立者が貴族や有力者と結婚していた婦人で、「尼港事件慰問金募集運動」の主要メンバー「愛国婦人会」が政治に支持されたから、政治的な特性もあっただろう。つまり、第一次世界大戦中の日本人道支援運動に政治的や市民的な性格というレッテル貼るのは簡単なことではないと思われる。

#### **4.1.2 世界的な地位と国際謝辞**

前の章に述べたように、日本は19世紀の開国から西洋国のように平等な国際有能力的な国に認められることを目指していた。この国際的承認を得るために、苦しんでいる連合国ベルギーに対する同情を表したいくつかの行動を取った。1921年の裕仁皇太子のベルギー訪問はその一例であり、ルーヴェン・カトリック大学図書館復旧への貢献及び朝日新聞社によるベルギー王国もその人道支援の例である。しかし、これらは政治的または経済的行動の例に過ぎないのではないだろう。そのためには、エリートではない人々によって行われなかった人道支援活動も考慮すべきと思われる。

### **4.2 市民の人道支援**

#### **4.2.1 日本婦人と慈善活動**

第一次世界大戦日本人道支援に関する興味深い側面は、女性の参加である。これは別に日本だけの現象ではなくて、世界中で見えることだった。連合国で女性が兵士のために服を編むし、愛の小包を準備するし、様々な慈善活動に従事した。兵士と国軍を人道的に支持するのは愛国心を証明したから、20世紀の初めの女性日常生活に重要な役割を果たしていた。そして、日本女性はもう日露戦争のような第一次世界大戦前の戦争にもう慈善活動に貢献した

ので、大戦中のベルギーへの人道支援活動が特に完全に新たな行動よりも、以前の慈善活動の連続ではないだろうか。おまけに、日本の女性が連合国の女性と同じように行動したことを示すことによって、日本は主要な西洋国と同じように文明化されたことがもう一度証明されたと思われる。

#### 4.2.2 グローバル公民権

ゴルドン・ウインダ(Gordon Winder)よりまた他の動機もあったかもしれないと考えられる。「ネットワーク化された新聞のグローバル公民権を想像する：ラ・ナシオンが1914年サラエボで暗殺の報告」(Imagining World Citizenship in the Networked Newspaper: La Nación Reports the Assassination at Sarajevo, 1914)という論文でウインダがアルゼンチンの新聞「ラ・ナシオン」がフランツ・フェルディナント大公の暗殺事件を報道して、想像した世界共同体に読者を巻き込むことを望んでいたことを示していた。アルゼンチンは日本と同じように西洋国の平等と認められなかったから、感動的に暗殺事件について報道するように国際的な承認を得る可能性があったと言っている。それにより、朝日新聞と読売新聞が同じ理由センセーショナルにベルギーについて報道して、自分でベルギーへの人道支援活動を主催したように思われる。

## 結論

以上の研究からベルギーのための国際的な人道援助への日本の貢献にいくつかの動機があったと分かる。主な動機は連合国による平等に文明化され近代化された国家として認識されることであった。これも日本の大戦参加に見ることができると言える。結局、戦争に参入したため、東アジアでの影響力の範囲を拡大し、国際連盟の常任理事国になって、ある程度までとして同程度に文明化され受け入れられた。そして、この国際的な認知を得る動因がベルギーへの日本の人道活動にも反映されていたと言える。裕仁皇太子殿下御外遊はその一つの例であった。ベルギーの国際的な人道的努力に貢献することによって、日本は連合国の親善を育てたことを見せて、ヨーロッパの失敗した経済から利益を得たばかりであるという考え方にも矛盾する。このように、多くの日本企業も国際的な営業関係に従事する慈善活動に参加した。朝日新聞がベルギー国王に献上した太刀はこの野望の一例である。

もう一つの動機は、愛国心のような国家の美徳を再確認することであった。例として、愛国婦人会のような婦人会は、20世紀初めに現代西洋女性の日常生活からいくつかの側面を採用することを望んでいて、慈善活動と愛国心が現代女性の生活の二つの側面であった。



さらに、1912年からの大正政変のために、このベルギーへの人道援助は一時的に国内に新たな方向観念と目的を与えることができたように思われる。

だが、慈善活動と運動が組織できた前に、ベルギー人の苦難報道が全国に広がっていなければならなかった。そうすることによって、日本人はベルギー人への関心が高まり、慈善活動に貢献する可能性が高まるだろう。日本マス・メディアはこのベルギーへの意識と感心を高めることに重要な役割を果たした。例えば、朝日新聞と読売新聞は感動的にベルギーについて報道して、自分の慈善活動を主催して、欧州戦争実記のような大戦雑誌は戦争日常生活と難民と関しての情報を広めていた。さらに、演劇と幻燈展覧というのビジュアル・メディアは視聴者を直接的にもっと感動的な画像と直面した。

だが、メディア、政府と業界の意思以外に慈善活動にはもっと個人的な次元もあったかもしれない。多数の日本人は日清戦争や日露戦争で家族や知り合いを失ってしまったため、自分自身の経験から、苦しんでいるベルギー人との個人的なつながりを感じたのではないだろうか。なお、ベルギーに関する絶え間ない報告によって、メディアはグローバル公民権という感覚を生み出し、読者が国際人道的活動に積極的に関与するよう促した可能性があったと思われる。

要するに、以上のことから日本からベルギーへの人道支援活動に貢献することを刺激する多様な異なる動機があったのである。結論を言えば、政治的と経済的な動機があっても、感情的な動機もあったということである。

## Introduction

Soon after German troops invaded Belgium in August 1914, news of the violation of the country's neutrality travelled across the globe. The following acts of violence aimed at its inhabitants were internationally condemned. Media reporting on the miserable situation of the starving Belgian population and the growing refugee crisis ensued a great amount of international humanitarian efforts to relief Belgian civilians and soldiers of their suffering. Organizations such as the Commission for Relief in Belgium and the Comité National de Secours et d'Alimentation became worldwide known for their efforts in raising money and collecting other provisions such as food and clothing for Belgians.<sup>1</sup> We know of Australian women and young girls who prepared care packages for soldiers or knitted and sewed clothes for those who needed, as well as the many humanitarian efforts made by the American National Red Cross.<sup>2 3</sup> However, even until this day not much is known about the hundreds of Japanese girls who made dolls or donated some of their private savings in order to raise money for the people living in occupied Belgium, or any other Japanese charities for Belgium during the First World War at that.<sup>4</sup>

Japanese newspapers such as the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* were as fast as any European or American newspaper to report on the war and the suffering of the Belgian population. With the help of the Japanese mass media such as newspapers, but also wartime magazines, theatres, lectures, newsreels and magic lantern shows presenting the courage and misery which moved Belgian soldiers and civilians during the war, many Japanese people became aware of the disastrous situation which the small European nation had fallen victim to. During the war many fundraising events were being organized in order to relief the pain of this nation, a country which was widely proclaimed to be headstrong and valiant in its patriotic resistance against the German oppression. Events such as the offering of a traditional Japanese sword to the Belgian King Albert I by the president of the *Asahi Shimbunsha* in 1915,

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<sup>1</sup> Commission for Relief in Belgium, also referred to as the CRB was a mainly American organization led by Herbert Hoover active from 1914 until 1919. The Comité National de Secours et d'Alimentation, also known as het Nationaal Hulp- en Voedselcomité, was a Belgian relief organization. Both organizations attempted to help Belgian refugees or those living under the German occupation during the war. Michel Dumoulin, *Nouvelle Histoire de Belgique: Volume 2 1905-1950* (Brussels: Editions Complexe, 2005), pp. 102-107.

<sup>2</sup> Joy Damousi and Marilyn Lake (ed.), *Gender and War: Australians at War in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 33. For more on wartime charities, refer to Peter Grant's book *Philanthropy and Voluntary Action in the First World War: Mobilizing Charity*.

<sup>3</sup> Marian Moser Jones, *The American Red Cross from Clara Barton to the New Deal* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), pp. 158-166.

<sup>4</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). "[Yomirui Fujin Furoku] zenkoku joshikō yori *Berugī* e kifu toka kaku onnakōchō hokki" [よみうり婦人付録] 全国女子高よりベルギーへ寄付 都下各女校長発起. 08 March 1915.

as well as the visit of Crown Prince Hirohito to the by war destroyed country in 1921 widely displayed Japan's sympathy for the Belgian cause. In addition, the fact that charity for Belgium moved through several layers of the Japanese society, as not only diplomats but also industrialists, university students, women and young girls contributed to the humanitarian efforts, showed that a sense of mass consciousness concerning the Great War had been forming throughout most parts of the Japanese society.

In this paper we will take a look at the humanitarian relief Japan provided for Belgium from 1914 until 1924 in order to understand what motivations were at play for these fundraising campaigns. In the first chapter we will take a look at the Japanese military participation during the First World War. By doing so we want to understand why the country was moved to engage in a war which mostly played out on the other side of the globe in the first place. For this will look at how Japan entered the war on the premise of the 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance and managed to expand its sphere of influence in East Asia while securing its grip on China. Then we will look at the fruits this war bore for the nation, as it spurred economic and industrial development and growth for a certain period, and allowed for Japan to become a permanent member of the League of Nations in 1920 as a member of the Big Five.<sup>5</sup> By understanding Japan's contribution to the war, as well as the incentives which motivated the country to become an Ally, we might be able to see why Japan also engaged in the international relief efforts which supported Belgium.

In the second chapter we will continue this search to the motivations of Japanese humanitarian aid to Belgium by looking at how the Japanese mass media reported on the small European nation. We will do this mainly by analysing the Belgium related newspaper articles published from June 1914 until December 1918 in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, as well as the articles published in the Japanese wartime magazine *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 (Authentic Accounts on the European War). By analysing these publications, in addition to some other more visual media, we might come to see to what extent, and in what way, the readers of newspapers or the audience watching newsreels were being informed on the wartime events taking place in Belgium. We will see that some of these media did not only report on the tragedies taking place in Belgium, but also actively informed its consumers on Japanese fundraising campaigns for the country. Some media even organized several charity events themselves.

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<sup>5</sup> The Big Five were the five allied nations who dominated the talks at the Paris Peace Conference in 1915. These countries included France, Great-Britain, Italy, Japan and the United States.

In the third chapter we will take a closer look at the activities of the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*'s correspondent in London Sugimura Sojinkan 杉村楚人冠 and his role in shaping the newspaper readers' image of Belgium through his reporting on the country. From there on, we will continue to look at what part he played in the offering of a traditional sword to the Belgian king. In the same chapter we will also look into Crown Prince Hirohito's visit to Belgium and the way it spurred Japan's contribution to the post-war international efforts to restore the Louvain university library. This will serve as an example of a more diplomatically profiled approach to humanitarian aid.

Finally, in the last chapter we will use Japan's participation in the Great War, as well as all the examples of charity or fundraising discussed in the previous chapters in order to understand what could have motivated the Japanese elite, such as diplomats and industrialists, as well as non-elite civilians to engage in these charity events for Belgium. All of this is meant to lead us to understand Japan's contributions to the international humanitarian efforts for Belgium made during and after the First World War, with most of it happening within the framework of the nation's attempt to grow as a global power and gain international acknowledgement for its actions.

# 1. Japan and the Great War

Before we have a look into the Japanese humanitarian aid which was being organized in order to support Belgium we need to understand Japan's role in the First World War, together with the reasons as to why Japan participated in this war. While Japan's participation in the Second World War seems to be general knowledge, the story of Japan becoming a member of the Allied Powers during the First World War is one which seems to have enjoyed less attention so far, both in Japan as in the rest of the world.<sup>6</sup> Although Japan's part in the First World War might often seem to be overshadowed by its participation in the Second World War, it was a crucial point in history which secured Japan's position in East Asia as well as on the international stage.

Since this paper is mainly meant to explore the humanitarian aid Japan provided for Belgium during and after the First World War, we will not give a too lengthy description of the war itself. This paper is also not meant to inspire a quest for any kind of justice or post factum appreciation of Japan's contribution to the victory of the Allied Powers, nor is it aiming to supplement the already done research by providing entirely new insights about Japan's actions during the war. What we will do in this chapter is provide a concise depiction of several key military events involving Japan, as those might support the idea that Japan entered the war in order to succeed in being promoted as an international power. As we will later understand, this aspiration, which is the search for international recognition as a global power, will be the main issue which we will have to keep in mind when trying to understand the motivations which might have pushed charities for Belgium on the agenda of the Japanese elite.

## 1.1. Qingdao

Geographically speaking, most of the battles during the First World War took place far away from Japan itself. On top of that, the instigation of the war, being the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the ultimatum forced on Serbia, together with the motivations as to why Western nations engaged in the war are difficult to relate directly to Japan itself. While it is true that Japan joined the war, at the same time we will see that it did not

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<sup>6</sup> A number of reasons can be given as to why there has been more focus on the Second World War. First of all, one could argue that the Second World War clearly marked a pivotal moment in history when the consciousness of Japanese people and ideologies broke with the past. The war left a much bigger impact on the Japanese society than the First World War, taking away its army, constructing a new constitution and also enabling economic growth. However, this does not mean that no throughout research has been done on Japan's participation in the First World War. Publications such as Xu Guoqi's *Asia and the Great War: A Shared History* or Frederick Dickinson's *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914-1915* give detailed accounts on Japan's participation on the war and the influence which it had on the country.

necessarily feel obliged to mingle itself in the conflict which took place at the European fronts, as it refused to send troops on numerous occasions.<sup>7</sup> The one specific catalyst which Japan did share with its Western partners was that it wanted to prevent the German empire to spread its influence and dominance further throughout East Asia, as that would harm Japan's chances in achieving the same objective. While Japan mainly wanted to spread its own influence and Great Britain mostly intended to protect its own territories like Hong Kong and Weihaiwei (*Wēihǎiwèi* 威海卫), it was mainly the mutual fear of German presence in Shandong which brought the two nations together in the Chinese harbour city Qingdao (*Qīngdǎo* 青岛).<sup>8</sup>

At first, Great Britain and other Western powers, including Germany, did not intend on having Japan participate in the war, and most certainly not to the extent it eventually did. While some influential figures in the Japanese government, navy and army were most eager to contribute to the fights restricted to East Asia, the British government was reluctant to have Japan join them.<sup>9</sup> With the colonization of Korea in 1910 and the colonization of Taiwan before that in 1895 freshly imprinted in the memory of the future Allies, a latent fear of Japan possibly joining the war in order to spread its presence in the region was definitely bothering the Allies.<sup>10</sup> However, there was not much time for the Allies to evaluate its chances as Japan moved very swiftly and almost overeagerly prepared to join the war. Great Britain certainly desired assistance in a battle so far away from the home front, but remained reluctant to allow Japan too much liberty in their military actions, especially considering that British areas of interests such as Hong Kong or Australia lay within reach of the Japanese navy. Nevertheless, when Great Britain requested for aid in attacking armed German merchant ships under the name of the 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Japan said it could only comply if it was allowed “a free hand and no limited liability”.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> We can see that Japan had been requested to send troops to Europe, but never complied. For example on the 6<sup>th</sup> of November in the year of 1914, the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain Edward Grey requested the British ambassador to Tokyo to ask for Japanese troops which could be sent to the fronts in France, Belgium and Germany. Another example is when in 1915 informal requests had been made by France to send 500.000 Japanese troops to the Balkan Peninsula. With nothing to be gained than goodwill in European territories and it possibly being a risky undertaking, these requests were not granted. Xu Guoqi, *Asia and the Great War: A Shared History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 34.

<sup>8</sup> Hong Kong stayed under British rule from 1841 until 1997 and Weihaiwei from 1898 until 1830 in the form of leased territories.

<sup>9</sup> As explained before, there was disagreement as to how to handle the situation in both the government as the military.

<sup>10</sup> For more on the Japanese colonization of Taiwan and Korea, refer to *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* edited by Ramon Hawley Myers and Mark R. Peattie.

<sup>11</sup> The Anglo-Japanese Alliance had been established in 1902 and renewed in 1911. By reaffirming that both Great Britain and Japan would maintain an open door policy related to China, it was meant to create a regional balance in South East Asia. In a way it did allow Japan to rise a bit closer to the international level of a Western counterpart

No more than two days after Great Britain declared war on Germany and Austria-Hungary, Japan already openly express its endeavour to obtain permission from the emperor to do the same and be allowed to engage in the war as an Ally.<sup>12</sup> The timing of the war was most opportune, since Japan had, politically speaking, gotten stuck at a turning point in history. Because of the death of the Meiji emperor and the interlude of a new period two years ago, the purpose of the nation seemed to have died together with its emperor and his era, leaving politicians divided in the search for a new unifying mission during this Taishō political crisis. With the Great War distracting the Western nations from East Asia, new objectives could be put in place for the Japanese government to strive for: revenge on Germany, gaining appreciation from the Western Allies as an equally civilized nation, the expansion of influence in East Asia and the reviving of its domestic politics. In a way the Great War served as a stabiliser in a time when domestic and international Japanese politics seemed to be slacking. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of August in 1914, merely four days after Great Britain declared war on Germany, Japan issued an official declaration of war which would be announced the next week.<sup>13</sup>

Although suspicions as to why Japan was so fast and willing to expel German influences from East Asia never really disappeared, there was not much that Great Britain could do except for allowing Japan to join its military actions. As said before, most of the cooperation between these two nations was a result of the 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance, or at least the alliance was used in order to officially invoke and legitimise Japan's involvement in the war. This alliance, which had originally been forged in order to challenge Russian influence in the area, could now be used as a foundation for the cooperation between Japan and Great Britain in the conflict with Germany.<sup>14</sup> On top of that, Japan still held bitter feelings towards Germany from the time it joined France and Russia in forming the Triple Intervention in 1895, an intervention which reprimanded Japan for taking the Liaodong Peninsula (*Liáodōng Bāndǎ* 辽东半岛) from China,

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by being allowed the same imperialistic rights. In the end, however, both countries did not follow the agreements as closely as had been hoped. Antony Best, *The International History of East-Asia, 1900-1968: Trade, Ideology and the Quest for Order* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 21-32.

<sup>12</sup> On a side note, one should bear in mind though that during the war Japan was not shy of flirting with either sides of the war. There are records of German-Austrian representatives trying to establish talks between the two empires, with Germany also being very displeased that Great Britain dragged Japan in the war, arguing that the war was an European conflict and there was no need to seek the help of the Japanese for that. John Morrow, *The Great War: An Imperial History* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 36.

<sup>13</sup> Xu Guoqi, *Asia and the Great War: A Shared History*, p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> Frederick Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914-1915* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

while Germany itself took hold of a part of the Shandong region (*Shāndōng Shěng* 山东省) only three years later in 1898.<sup>15</sup>

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1914, Japan announced an ultimatum to Germany to hand over the German concession in Shandong, including the strategically located harbour city of Qingdao (*Qīngdǎo shì* 青島市), expecting a reply on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August.<sup>16</sup> As Germany did not comply with the order to surrender the territories, Japan seized the moment as an opportunity to overrule the German presence in China. On the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, Japan officially announced a blockade on the German leased territory in Shandong. From the third of September, Japanese troops made their way through China to Qingdao from the port in the city Longkou (*Lóngkǒu* 龍口市). While doing so the Japanese army occupied several cities and towns they crossed, while the British troops only arrived in Qingdao twenty days later. The bombings and the fights started soon after and seized on the 7<sup>th</sup> of November with the surrender of the German commander Alfred William Moritz Mayer-Waldeck. The fights resulted in roughly seven hundred German, seventy British and almost two thousand Japanese casualties. It is worthwhile to mention that the surrender of the German army in Qingdao was the first major defeat for Germany in the Great War. On top of that, this European conflict had enabled Japan to continue its military actions in China without the watchful eye of the West controlling its every action, as it was too distracted and did not make it a priority to intervene.<sup>17</sup>

The Siege of Qingdao offered Japan the chance to let its influence in China spread deeper into the land itself, which first happened by seizing the administration of the Qingdao port.<sup>18</sup> The presence of Japanese troops grew along the Jiaozhou-Jinan (*Jiāozhōu-Jīnán* 膠州 -

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<sup>15</sup> For Germany the most prominent reasons to join the Triple Intervention alongside Russia and France were to avert Russia's attention from its activities in Europe and to gain acceptance for its activities in China. Kajima Morinosuke, *The Diplomacy of Japan, 1894-1922: Sino-Japanese War and Triple Intervention* (Tokyo: Kajima Institute of International Peace, 1976), pp. 293-306.

<sup>16</sup> The city can be referred to as Tsingtao, Tsingtau, Tsingtaü or Qingdao, with Qingdao being the transcription which is currently used the most.

<sup>17</sup> That the West did was not intended on intervening as Japan seized the chance to spread its presence throughout China can be seen in Great Britain's attitude, as it presumably joined the war because Germany blighted Belgium's neutrality but did not undertake any actions when Japan did the same to China in the Twenty-One Demands. More detailed accounts on the Siege of Qingdao can be found in Xu Guoqi's *Asia and the Great War: A Shared History* who based much of his writing on the works of Frederick R. Dickinson, but while doing so also focusses more on the general and international aspects of the Siege of Qingdao rather than the internal struggles Dickinson described in his works as *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan, 1919-1930* and *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914-1919*.

<sup>18</sup> On top of that, Japan also ignored China's hesitant position towards allowing Japan to appoint forty Japanese subjects to the Maritime Customs by taking possession of Chinese Customs documents and properties. The civil administration that the Japanese government established on the first of October 1917 in Qingdao executed more jurisdiction than had been allowed during the period it was a German lease territory. This once more obviously



济南) railway which led them even closer to the centre of the Shandong province. Armed with the excuse of preventing Western influence from spreading through East Asia and guaranteeing Japan's safety by controlling and protecting China, Japan further expanded its own presence and influence in China.<sup>19</sup> This ambition was openly mirrored by the Twenty-One Demands which were already presented to the Chinese president Yuán Shikǎi 凯袁世 in January 1915.<sup>20</sup> The Great War, which was mostly fought on far away Western territories provided Japan with the perfect opportunity to achieve its dream to establish a solid sphere of influence on Chinese grounds.<sup>21</sup>

## 1.2. Japanese Troops Outside of Southeast Asia

Another step which Japan took in order to become an indispensable Ally to the Great War was when Japan replied to the request in 1915 to intervene in a mutiny of Indian troops in Singapore. At first, the Japanese navy was not too willing to give a positive response to the request, seeing as it might have been ill-advised to plunge into another nation's conflict which had or would have no direct effect on Japan itself. However, it ultimately did send the Third Squadron to Singapore to aid the British and other Allied naval dispatches. While the British claimed that the presence of Japanese forces did not make too much of a difference and actually were inclined to get rid of these troops as soon as possible, Japan did manage to show itself as an important Ally only several months after the siege of Qingdao.<sup>22</sup>

The Imperial Japanese Navy also made use of the situation to take over the German administrative centres located in German New Guinea, also called German Micronesia. These territories included the Carolina, Mariana and Marshal Islands and Palau, islands which had been German colonies.<sup>23</sup> Japanese naval operations continued to stay of importance in the

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depicts how Japan neglected the sovereignty of the region and refused to comply with the wishes of Chinese authorities and civilians. Michael Dillon, *China: A Modern History* (New York: I.B. Taurus, 2012), pp. 152-154.

<sup>19</sup> We could describe this as a "Japanese Monroe Doctrine". George H. Blakeslee, "The Japanese Monroe Doctrine" *Foreign Affairs* 11, 4 (1933): 671-681.

<sup>20</sup> The Japanese expeditions and the formulation of the Twenty-One Demands came in a time when the central Chinese government was very weak and stable governing was often overruled by the actions of individual warlords. An internal political scramble for power, ignited by the power vacuum left by the death of Yuán Shikǎi in 1916, did allow Japan to perpetrate Chinese rights easier and fight for domination itself. Sixteen of the twenty-one demands were accepted. Willy Vande Walle, *Een Geschiedenis van Japan: Van Samurai tot Soft Power* (Louvain: Acco, 2009), p. 324.

<sup>21</sup> Xu Guoqi, *Asia and the Great War: A Shared History*.

<sup>22</sup> The 1915 Singapore mutiny was carried out by half a regiment of sepoy, or Indian soldier, aimed at the British present in Singapore. The mutiny broke out on the 15<sup>th</sup> of February 1915 and went on for a week, resulting in the deaths of several foreign residents and the execution of several of the mutineers. A more detailed account of the events can be found in Kuwajima Sho, *Indian Mutiny in Singapore (1915)* (Kathmandu: Ratna Prakashan, 1991).

<sup>23</sup> Xu Guoqi, *Asia and the Great War: A Shared History*, p. 33.

Pacific and the Indian Ocean well after the siege of Qingdao or its intervention in Singapore. In 1916, the Japanese First Special Squadron was used to protect ships from Australia and New Zealand on their voyages to Aden. The squadron also escorted ships which went from Asia to the Suez Canal, in addition to the four destroyers which patrolled the straits of Malacca. From the 6<sup>th</sup> of March 1917, an increase in unrestricted German submarine warfare and commerce raiders allowed the Third Special Squadron to take over the patrolling duties related to Australian and New Zealand ships. This allowed the First Special Squadron to focus more on ensuring the safe transport of troops to Europe.<sup>24</sup> The ultimate goal for engaging in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, apart from pleasing Allies by transporting their overseas soldiers, was to expel the remains of the German East Asia Squadron from the Pacific Ocean.<sup>25</sup>

Since an alarming amount of Allied ships was being sunk in the Mediterranean Sea by German forces, Great Britain persistently sought out marine assistance of Japan. Seeing as Japanese merchant ships were also being attacked in these European waters, the Japanese navy send out its Second Special Squadron, which was based in Malta, to resist the German attacks by accompanying British ships from Malta to France (Marseilles), Egypt (Alexandria) and Italy (Taranto). Although the Japanese navy eventually complied to do so in February 1917, it had taken many pleads from Great Britain before Japan agreed to send help, with the reason for being reluctant to do so being that it seemed like a risky intervention. Nonetheless, offering a limited amount of support to the Allies with their naval activities was another act which won Japan the goodwill and positive consideration of its Western Allies after the war was over. In total the Second Special Squadron brought seventeen ships, of which one cruiser, fourteen destroyers and two sloops to Mediterranean Sea.<sup>26</sup> Under the orders of British commands the Japanese Squadron escorted 788 ships, transported 700.000 Allied troops and reportedly saved 7.065 lives from damaged ships by the end of the war.<sup>27</sup> Their assistance was being rewarded by allowing the Japanese navy to take home seven German submarines. Japanese ships were also used to transport materials and goods to the Allies while they were preoccupied with fending off German attacks. Later in this chapter we will see that this was also a main drive behind the growth of Japanese industries and export to the by war maimed European industries.

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<sup>24</sup> This increase in duties was also linked to the entrance of the United States in the Great War in 1917, which meant more ships were in need of being escorted or protected against German attacks, because of which the territory of Japanese operations expanded itself to the American Hawaiian Territories.

<sup>25</sup> The actions of the First Special Squadron, which contained three cruisers and four destroyers, were limited from January 1917 until October 1918. Phillips O'Brien, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance* (New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 143-144.

<sup>26</sup> During their missions, one of the, the destroyer *Sakaki*, got damaged and resulted in more than fifty casualties. A commemorative grave has been erected for them in Kalkara, Malta.

<sup>27</sup> Phillips O. Brian, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance*, pp. 144-145.

Another important part of Japan's contribution to the war was the Siberian Intervention. Ignited by the Bolshevik Revolution in November 1917 and the unclear future of Russia, the relationship between the Allies and the Russian Empire was shaking in its foundations and a collapse of the Russian front was being feared. As the revolutionist Bolsheviks had caused great disturbance in the governing and alliance of Russia, the other Allies wanted to launch an anti-Bolshevik movement so it could secure the former empire before the defeat of Germany. A Japanese intervention in Siberia, on the other hand, offered Japan an opportunity to erect a puppet state which could serve as an anti-revolution buffer which could be used in order to protect Japan from future Russian threats. However, it was not until a formal request came from Washington that the Japanese government and the Japanese Imperial Army decided to indeed intervene in Siberia.

The Japanese response to the formal request to support White Russians was overwhelming, and its participation took longer than expected, to say the least. The army sent ten times the requested amount of troops, a response which by far transgressed the response which the Allied forces were hoping for. The unexpected turn of events did not simply stop there, as the Japanese army also entered the Russian harbour city Vladivostok remarkably faster than its Allies did, securing itself a position in the region before any Ally could meddle with Japan's strategy to apprehend Siberia.<sup>28</sup> Another reason for the sudden actions was a discord between the navy and the army as to whether to intervene in Siberia or not, with the Navy Minister Katō Kanji 加藤寛治 being not as convinced of the advantages of the intervention as the army Major-General Nakajima Masatake 中島正武 was. When they finally agreed on sending troops, the number of over 72,000 soldiers far exceeded the expectations of their Allies, sowing dismay amongst the American government. The Japanese troops then went further by crossing points along the Manchurian border, and occupying the desolate land along the Trans-Siberian Railroad, east of China. In addition, Japanese troops stayed in Siberia until October 1922 while the Allied forces already withdrew two years before.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> E. Dunscomb, *Japan's Siberian Intervention, 1918-1922: "A Great Disobedience Against the People"* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2011), p. 205.

<sup>29</sup> There were many complaints and disagreements when it came to the actions which both nations took in the region. For example, in 1919 the Japanese army refused to remove itself from the Chinese Eastern Railway and Trans-Siberian Railway after the American government requested it. The Japanese army also did not want recognize the authority of the Inter-Allied Railways Technical Control Board, claiming that they were merely engaging in the protection of the railways and did not need to remove themselves from the area.

In the end, the refusal of Prime Minister Hara Takashi's cabinet to have the Japanese troops leave the area at the same time as the American troops resulted in a military and political disaster. It showed that the bill of this Siberian impasse was a high one to pay, with more than three thousand Japanese lives lost and over a billion yen in additional costs. The combination of the seemingly hopeless future for Japan in Siberia and persistent domestic protests made sure that the Japanese troops were finally repatriated in October 1922.<sup>30</sup> The Japanese ambiguous contribution to the expedition certainly had helped the Allies' cause. However, it had been a dangerous game to play and had both inspired suspicion from the Allies as well as offered no real reward.<sup>31</sup>

The Great War brought another wave of industrialization and domestic investment over Japan's economy. With European countries at each other throats, these nations were forced into the uncomfortable position from which they could no longer export textiles or machinery to other parts of the world, leaving a trade gap in the international market. Other nations such as Japan and the United States reaped success from the by war paralyzed European industries.<sup>32</sup> Although the economic advantages did not immediately influence Japan at the outbreak of the war in 1914, over a year time the European countries changed more and more into import dependent countries. Japan made good use of this opportunity to invest in producing the in Europe absent import products itself, and making sure its industry was developed in such was that it would be adept enough to continue this production. At the same time that the American economy expanded, the demand for export goods from Japan surged remarkably and the Japanese market substituted much of the previously dominant European market, both domestically as in other parts of Asia where European products were no longer distributed.<sup>33</sup> As more capital was accumulated in Japan, more money could be invested in strategic actions involving foreign policy, or foreign loans to be more precise.<sup>34</sup> By 1920 the exports surplus reached 2.7 billion yen which enabled the country to provide more foreign loans. It also allowed

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<sup>30</sup> Willy Vande Walle, *Een Geschiedenis van Japan: Van Samurai naar Soft Power* (Leuven: Acco, 2009), p. 325.

<sup>31</sup> Xu Guoqi, *Asia and the Great War: A Shared History*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>32</sup> Ross F. Collins, *World War I: Primary Documents on Events from 1914 to 1919* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2008), pp. 67-70.

<sup>33</sup> Kozo Yamamura, *The Economic Emergence of Modern Japan, Volume 1* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 101-115.

<sup>34</sup> For example, capital exports were used to provide the Nishihara loans from 1917 until 1918. These loans were given to one of the provincial warlords, who wanted to unify China for which he needed more capital than was at hands. On the Japanese side, these loans served to reaffirm that the Kiautschau Bay Concession, gain control over its railways as well as secure their interests in Manchuria.

the establishment of more Japanese-owned factories in other parts of Asia, cancelling the domination of its European competitors.<sup>35</sup>

### 1.3. League of Nations

The 11<sup>th</sup> of November 1918 put an end to the ongoing war and marked a period of the creation of new world orders. During the war Germany and Austria-Hungary had shown themselves to be untrustworthy, the tsarist Russian Empire had gone through a by revolution and Japan had risen to the level of a global power driven by military performances and a roaring economy. Japan's contribution to the war had existed out of a calculated participation in which it had managed to avoid major risks and had gained several spoils of war which contributed to its empire's expansion aspirations. It had been able to force the Twenty-One Demands on China, had gained new territories from which it could operate such as Shandong and the previously German South Pacific Islands, was allowed as a participant in the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and became a prominent member in the League of Nations in 1920. While the nation succeeded in its two main motivations for entering the war, being the evolution into being an international power and the acquiring of new territories, it also succeeded in temporarily expanding and developing its economy.

That Japan's contribution to the war was one which was often regarded with suspicion is something which remained visible in the attitude which other Allies adopted when approaching the Asian nation in following years. The Lansing-Ishii Agreement (*Ishii-Ranshingu Kyōtei* 石井・ランシング協定) in November 1917 is only example of the Allies' suspicion towards Japan. This agreement made between Japan and the United States aimed to guarantee that the two nations would not let a rivalry over China get in the way of international affairs and relationships, all the while acknowledging that the former did have special interests in China. Generally speaking the countries wanted to secure their own interests in China through an "Open Door Policy" while being covered under the pretence that they respected the China's integrity. The underlying reason for the agreement was of course that both nations did not trust each other's actions in China.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> For example, in 1920, the Japanese-owned cotton spindles in China reached a total number of 801.662 while Western-Owned spindles in China amounted only to 256.284. Frederick R. Dickinson, *World War One and the Triumph of a New Japan, 1919-1930* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 39.

<sup>36</sup> While the agreement's ambiguity allowed for both nations to steer away from any temporary tensions in years following the war, the ambiguity and possibility for rather unlimited interpretation of the agreement was exactly one of the things which later strained the friendly ties between the two nations. Ellis S. Kraus and Benjamin Nyblade (ed.), *Japan and North America: First contacts to the Pacific War, Volume 1* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 156-164.

While Allied Powers clearly stayed suspicious of Japan's actions, they could not deny Japan's contributions during the Great War. As such, Japan became an important participant to Versailles Peace Conference in 1919. The invitation of the country was a true crowning feat for the Asian nation which had kept its nose to the grindstone in order to receive international acknowledgement. Apart from being recognized as a new industrial and military power, another objective which the Japanese delegation at the peace conference had come to defend was the acquisition of the spoils of war which Japan had long set its eyes on. This ambition would be embodied in the demand for a transfer of German rights in Shandong and the South Pacific Islands. Japan defended its request fiercely by threatening it would walk out of the negotiations if an integral agreement on their demands would not be granted. By allowing this, China's sovereignty in the mentioned regions was placed in Japan's hands.<sup>37</sup>

Gaining these new territories was a considerable victory for Japan. However, saying that this proved that other nations considered Japan to be an equal who deserved the same treatment as themselves would be more an illusion than reality. The hope that Japan would be put on the same pedestal from which countries such as France and the United States claimed their authority and superiority over the world was overturned when Japan's racial equality was denied. This happened by not including the racial non-discrimination clause in the Covenant for the League of Nations. This humiliation certainly left a bitter aftertaste for Japan, one which also has been referred to as one of the many elements contributing to the Second World War.<sup>38</sup> The Racial Equality clause had been proposed at the conference by Japan in order to gain an equal status for Japanese civilians free of discrimination. At its roots lay the fact that Japanese, as had Chinese, Vietnamese and other East Asian nationalities, often been discriminated by Western nations such as the United States. For examples, principles like the extraterritoriality which the nineteenth century's Unequal Treaties had imposed on Japanese ground discriminated Japanese in their native country. On top of that, forcing Japanese into inferior positions under the rule of Western dominance was not only an issue within Japanese borders, it also affected Japanese immigrants living abroad. The Californian Alien Land Bill in 1913 which obviously targeted Japanese, as well as Korean, Chinese and Vietnamese, is an example of that.<sup>39</sup> Racial inequality was also something which embedded itself in political discussions or alliances. For example, the 1911 Anglo-Japanese Alliance had been renewed in 1911 because British dominions

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<sup>37</sup> This did not happen without any protest from the Chinese side, it even sparked the demonstrations later dubbed the May the Fourth Movement. Joseph T. Chen, *The May Fourth Movement in Shanghai: The Making of a Social Movement in Modern China* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), pp. 66-70.

<sup>38</sup> Frederick R. Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914-1915*.

<sup>39</sup> Xu Guoqi, *Asia and the Great War: A Shared History*, pp. 188-191

pressed their rulers to limit Japan's naval range in order to avoid more Japanese immigrants from entering the countries. The growing number of Japanese immigrants convinced the British dominions that some kind of predatory intention was at work, and wanted assurance that Great Britain had Japan under control by renewing its restricting alliance with Japan.<sup>40</sup>

While achieving a position which would allow Japan to take upon the role of a leader for East-Asia, racial equality would launch Japan as a full-fledged equal to any big Western power at the same time. The first time the issue was officially brought up in the League of Nations was in February, after which it was rebuked. In April, the clause was once more proposed, now constructed with a language which left more open for interpretation and also did not call for an immediate realization. A third attempt was made to push the amendment through, but fear for further debates and the continued opposition from Great Britain and its dominions, such as Australia which stubbornly wanted to hold on to its discriminating "White Australia" policy, did not allow for the amendment to be installed.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, Woodrow Wilson needed to comply with Great Britain's wishes to achieve the realisation of his pacifist ideology of a world without war. However, to do so the support of Great Britain in the League of Nations was crucial, which made him reluctant to ignore Great Britain's protests.<sup>42</sup> The rejection of the clause stood in stark contrast with Wilson's ideology, one which called for world peace by embracing universal brotherhood. Since he did not manage to practise what he preached and chose the pleas of his Western fellows over that of Japan, it is understandable that this caused for many Japanese to dispute the legitimacy of the League.<sup>43</sup>

Even if the main objective of Japan to join the League was to secure its new gained territories and be recognized as an industrial and military power, the victory of being admitted to the League of Nations was only a half full one since racial equality was not allowed by its Western Allies.<sup>44</sup> This duplicity of Japan's Allies was a great blow for the country and once

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<sup>40</sup> At the same time, while we may understand this quest for racial equality as an outcry made by Japan for global acceptance of non-Caucasian nationalities, one must not be led to believe that the intentions of the Japanese delegates were inspired by compassion for all other nationalities. Japan still handled very double standards for other Asian nationalities, even referring to them as their "second-rate" Asian neighbours. Tosh Minohara, Tze-ki Hon and Evan Dawley (ed.), *The Decade of the Great War: Japan and the Wilder World in the 1910's* (Boston: Brill, 2014), p. 24.

<sup>41</sup> For more specific information on Australia's White Policy, refer to Keith Windschuttle's *The White Australia Policy*.

<sup>42</sup> Naoko Shimazu, *Japan, Race and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919* (London: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>43</sup> In addition to that, the fact that the country which had originally requested Japan's participation in the war, being Great Britain, was also the one who now stopped it from gaining a fair treatment, might be seen as another reason why Japan stepped away from the Anglo-American friendship in the following decades and was driven into the arms of Germany during the Second World War.

<sup>44</sup> The debate and battle for equality flared up once more in 1924 when the US Anti-Japanese Immigration Act was established in America, aiming to discriminate the growing numbers of Japanese immigrants, especially in

more forced it into a partially inferior position in comparison with its Western counterparts. Apart from doubting the legitimacy of the League, several voices in Japan also called for the need to leave the League, something it only did in 1933 when the League demanded Japan to give back Manchuria to China.<sup>45</sup>

To summarize Japan's participation in the Great War, we could say that much of it had to do with the international opportunities which the conflict provided for Japan. On the one hand, one of the aspirations to join the war might have been to gain the goodwill and positive assessment of large Western powers. On the other hand, another drive would have been the will to expand its own empire through enlarging its sphere of influence in East Asia, something which we again can relate back to the first issue as that was the same as many Western nations had been doing until that point. While we can explain Japan's participation in the First World War by these motivations, we are still left with the central question of this paper, which is why Japan engaged in the international humanitarian efforts to relief Belgium's suffering. For that we will look into how Belgium's situation in the Great War was being reported and represented in the Japanese mass media, especially focussing on newspapers.

## 2. The Japanese Mass Media and Charity for Belgium, 1914-1918

### 2.1 Japanese Mass Media and the Great war

While it is true that no fighting took place in Japan itself, and only a relatively small number of Japanese soldiers and marines were actually deployed, this does not mean that the war went unnoticed in Japan. The Japanese mass media made sure to cover many aspects of the Great War, ranging from Japanese military actions to Belgian refugees. As soon as news about the international frictions in Europe blew over, a rush to send journalists to the European fronts ensued and Japanese newspapers scrambled to be the first to report on the course of the events.<sup>46</sup> Japanese overseas correspondents were mostly send to Russia, Great Britain and America. The

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California. Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 102-105.

<sup>45</sup> Xu Guoqi, *Asia and the Great War: A Shared History*, pp. 205-210.

<sup>46</sup> Information on the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand had already reached the *Ōsaka Mainichi Shimbun* 大阪毎日新聞 and the *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun* 東京日日新聞 on the day of the murder itself. Asahi Shimbun received notice from Vienna two days after. In other words, Japanese newspapers were very aware and attentive to what went on in Europe, already before any declarations of war had been made. Yamamoto Fumio 山本文雄. *Nihon Masu-Komyunikēshonshi* 日本マス・コミュニケーション史. Hiratsuka: Tōkaidagaku shuppankai 東海大学出版会, 1998, p. 112.



same happened when the battles in Qingdao took place. For example, the *Asahi Shimbun* send at least two journalists and one photographer to the China at the beginning of the attacks on the German army.<sup>47</sup>

In this paper we will only discuss a limited number of media which were used at the time, starting with newspapers and wartime magazines. However, before we go into that it is important to understand the change which newspapers had undergone in the first two decades of the twentieth century. By doing so, we might get a better understanding of what number of people had been reached out to by newspapers and to what extent printed media formed a national consciousness of the Great War, an awareness which eventually might have encouraged Japanese citizens to engage in charity events for Belgium.

It is no easy task to fully analyse and understand the actual effects which newspapers in Japan had on people at the beginning of the previous century. We can see, however, that more newspapers were being distributed at the beginning of the twentieth century. One case study which analyses this change has been made by Ariyama Teruo 有山輝雄 and published in his book *Kindai Nihon no Media to Chiikishakai* 近代日本のメディアと地域社会 (Modern Japan's Media and Regional Community).<sup>48</sup> Ariyama used the city Yanagawa 梁川町 located in the Fukushima Prefecture as a case study to see how the popularity and distribution of newspapers developed in Japan during the first decades of the twentieth century.<sup>49</sup> First of all he discusses how newspapers started to grow in numbers and readers. For example, we can see that from 1903 until 1915 the number of households in the city hardly grew, going from 987 to 990. However, at the same time we can see that the number of households which bought newspapers doubled in the same period, going from 205 up to 436, meaning that the number of people reading newspapers also doubled. At the same time, we can see that the number of households buying the same newspaper for a whole year rose from 51 in 1903 to 123 in 1915, which means that by 1915 up to 12% of households in Yanagawa had newspapers at their

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<sup>47</sup> The journalists dispatched to Qingdao by the *Asahi Shimbun* were Ōe Soten 大江素天, Midoro Masuichi 美土路道昌一 and the photographer was 高浦吉三郎 Takaura Kichisaburō. Yamamoto Fumio 山本文雄. *Nihon Masu-Komyunikēshonshi* 日本マス・コミュニケーション史, pp. 113-114.

<sup>48</sup> Ariyama Teruo 有山輝雄. *Kindai Nihon no Media to Chiikishakai*, 『近代日本のメディアと地域社会』, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2001.

<sup>49</sup> One could argue that one city like Yanagawa is not representative for the whole of Japan. However, it is a valuable case study which helps us understand how newspaper were distributed in more local regions.

disposal for the entire year, compared to only 5% ten years ago.<sup>50</sup> There are several reasons for this rise in households buying newspapers. Generally speaking we could say that because of urbanization, new developments in printing techniques and compulsory education more people had access to newspapers from the 1870's on, although the growth of the pool of newspaper readers was slow at first.<sup>51</sup> Lower costs could be guaranteed by the publication of advertisements in the newspapers themselves, which allowed more people to buy them.<sup>52</sup> The commercialization of newspapers also grew with the use of cartoons, sketches and sensational headlines, which made this daily product even more attractive to potential readers.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, as Ariyama argues, the growing interest of people in the Russo-Japanese War made sure that coverage of the overseas news became more common.<sup>54</sup> People were particularly interested in this war because there always was the possibility that they knew a soldier or family member of a soldier who served in the war, leading to a personal connection and interest in the war. Even after the Russo-Japanese War, the public's interest in politics did not decline. Whereas interest in politics had mostly been reserved for those who were eligible as qualified voters and were already invested in local politics or international trade, people who did not have the privilege of universal suffrage now started to be interested in politics as well. These people had directly witnessed the effects of politics in the shape of a war which had influenced their own family or acquainted households. The Russo-Japanese War might also have made people more self-conscious and aware of their place in the world as a nation, which might have contributed to even more genuine interest in international affairs.<sup>55</sup> This case study shows us that even people in smaller cities also had more possibilities to get their hands on newspapers and by doing so

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<sup>50</sup> Ariyama Teruo 有山輝雄. *Kindai Nihon no Media to Chiikishakai*, 『近代日本のメディアと地域社会』, pp. 28-29.

<sup>51</sup> James L. Huffman, *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), pp. 310-311.

<sup>52</sup> Anthony S. Rausch, *Japan's Local Newspapers: Chihōshi and Revitalization Journalism* (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 31-35.

<sup>53</sup> James L. Huffman, *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan*, pp. 360-362.

<sup>54</sup> It should be noted though that this growing coverage of international news and the readers' interest in global conflicts was already starting to take shape from the First Sino-Japanese War from 1894 until 1895. James L. Huffman, *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan*, pp. 204-205.

<sup>55</sup> While it is true that more people started to be interested in politics and read newspapers, it is important to note that it is possible that at the time this mostly meant that more men started to read newspapers. There are no clear numbers of the amount of women who started reading more newspapers. In addition, although cheaper, the rise in newspaper purchases mostly took place in those more wealthy families. It is also incredibly hard to estimate to what extent those people who did have access to printed news actually passed news on to people who did not have access to newspapers. However, when it comes to the case of Belgium, it seems rather unlikely that news of the severe tragedies and horrors taking place in Belgium did not travel from mouth to mouth and purely remained restricted to those with access to newspapers. Ariyama Teruo 有山輝雄. *Kindai Nihon no Media to Chiikishakai*, 『近代日本のメディアと地域社会』, pp. 31-32.

could develop their interests in global affairs. When we project these developments upon the national reporting on wartime Belgium, we could say that with more people being confronted with the sensational stories published in newspapers, more people might have eventually been encouraged to contribute to humanitarian efforts or charity.

Considering the more practical side of the reporting of the Great War, when it comes to the newspaper articles themselves, either direct reports from Japanese correspondents in Europe such as the *Asahi Shimbun*'s overseas correspondent Sugimura Sojinkan 杉村楚人冠 or translated information provided by other newspaper companies such as Reuters, The Times or The Daily Telegraph was used. Much of the war related articles were published in daily sections of the newspapers which were explicitly dedicated to the war such as *Ōshū Taisen Ran* 欧州大戦乱 (Europe's War Chaos) and *Rengōgawa Jijō* 連合側事情 (State of Affairs for the Allied Forces) in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* or *Zenōshū Senran* 全欧州戦乱 (Chaos of the Total European War) and *Ōshū Denpō* 欧州電報 (European Telegrams) in the *Yomiuri Shimbun*.<sup>56</sup>

In addition to the newspapers, there were also wartime magazines such as the *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 (Authentic Accounts on the European War) which we will discuss later in this paper.<sup>57</sup> These magazines specialized in the wartime activities at the front, provided pictures of soldiers and civilians, gave more detailed information about the forces which moved behind the fighting, introduced the key players of the war such as ministers or royalty, and also could provide maps of the moving fronts. In these kind of magazines the use of pictures was crucial, as they often accompanied articles or even took up complete sections of the publication. The magazines gave more in-depth reports than newspapers, often written by foreign authors.

Other printed media which dealt with the Great War were individual publications such as books. While we will not linger too much on considering these, it does seem interesting to mention these books and papers since they also contributed to the perception of wartime Belgium in Japan. As Kurosawa Fumitaka 黒沢文隆貴 and Sakurai Ryōju 桜井良樹 explain in *Japan & Belgium: Four Centuries of Exchange*, generally speaking we can divide Belgium related individual publications during the war in two sections: publications written by Japanese

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<sup>56</sup> The title *Zenōshū Senran* 全欧州戦乱 was traditionally written as 全歐洲戰亂. For the title, *Ōshū Denpō* 歐洲電報 was used.

<sup>57</sup> The title was originally written as 歐洲戰爭實記. In this paper we will use the modern kanji 欧州戦争実記 to refer to the magazine.

authors about the violation of Belgium's permanent neutrality and publications which were written by Belgians to appeal to the readers for donations in order to support the struggling country.<sup>58</sup> Authors which serve examples of the first group were the councillor of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Nagaoka Shunichi 長岡春一 and the scholar Tachi Sakutarō 立作太郎 who published works on Belgium's neutrality.<sup>59</sup> Examples of Belgians who wrote in order to raise sympathy for Belgium were the Belgian Minister to Japan in Tokyo Georges Della Faille de Leverghem who wrote an article titled "An appeal to the righteous spirit of the Japanese to support the Belgian people" for the newspaper *Jiji Shinpō* 時事新報, published on the 8<sup>th</sup> of October 1915, and the Belgian Consul in Yokohama Charles Basten who wrote the work *Berugījin no Mitaru Ōshū Sensō* ベルギー人の見たる欧州戦争 (The European War as seen by the Belgian people).<sup>60 61</sup>

One of the most representative works which bundled the opinions of several influential Japanese diplomats, politicians, academics and industrialists at the time was the work called *Hakkoku no Gisen* 白国の義戦 (Belgium's Righteous War).<sup>62</sup> This book, published in 1918, gave detailed accounts on the military events which had taken place in Belgium during the war and had many prominent Japanese figures write contributions to the work. Amongst them were the industrial Shibusawa Eiichi 渋沢栄一, former Minister of Foreign Affairs Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平 and Minister of the Army Tanaka Giichi 田中義一.<sup>63</sup> Every one of these contributors described the brave actions of Belgians fending off the attacks launched by the German army. Kurosawa and Sakurai argue that by spreading sympathetic publications of this kind, Japanese

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<sup>58</sup> Willy Vande Walle and David De Cooman (ed.), *Japan & Belgium: Four Centuries of Exchange* (Brussels: Brussels : Commissioner-General of the Belgian Government, 2005).

<sup>59</sup> Nagaoka wrote a book called *Belgium and the Belgians* (*Berugī oyobi Berugījin* ベルギー及びベルギー人) right after the outbreak of the war and Tachi wrote an academic article titled *The Neutrality of Belgium* (*Berugī no Chūritsu* 白耳義ノ中立) in 1914.

<sup>60</sup> Basten did not attempt to hide his plead for support for Belgium as he wrote in the introduction of the mentioned article: "In the current international situation, anyone who has no intention either to know Belgium or to help Belgians must be publicly denounced as a criminal and an enemy of the human race." Willy Vande Walle and David De Cooman (ed.), *Japan & Belgium: Four Centuries of Exchange*, pp. 229-231.

<sup>61</sup> *Jiji Shinpō* (Tokyo), "Berugī kokumin no sanjō nit suki Nihon kokumin no gishin ni utau" 白国義国民の惨状に付き日本国民の義心に訴ふ. 8 October 1915.

<sup>62</sup> This work was originally edited by the Belgian Royal Army officer Camille Baron Buffin under the title *Récits de Combattants* and translated by translator at the Belgian Consulate in Yokohama Machida Shirō 町田梓楼.

<sup>63</sup> Shibusawa Eiichi pp. 28-29, Gotō Shinpei pp. 23-24 and Tanaka Giichi p.21.

national values like bravery in the face of a crisis and unconditional patriotism were being projected on Belgians.<sup>64</sup> In other words, they mean to say that Belgium was being used as an example in order to reaffirm national virtues. By doing so, one could have hoped that the Japanese population also would support on national values during a time of crisis, being the Taishō crisis. However, while much of this interpretation sounds quite plausible, when we further examine the media coverage of the war and humanitarian aid undertaken by Japanese citizens, we will see that more was at play than securing national values as a foothold during the Taishō crisis. Donations for Belgium were much more the result of a multi-faceted process rather than a single, rather politically inclined motivation. In addition, referring back to the notion that all individual publications could be divided in merely two groups, one concerning the violation of Belgium's neutrality and another concerning pleas for humanitarian relief, one should keep in mind that this is only justifiable when it comes to this kind of academic and diplomatic publications. As we will see, topics covered in newspapers and wartime magazines cannot be that easily divided into only two categories. On top of that, newspapers aimed their content at a bigger pool of readers, and not purely at academics, diplomats or any other members of the elite who could afford to buy these individual publications. In other words, this raises the question that if these publications were really meant to encourage Japanese citizens to embrace national values during a time of crisis, to what extent were these rather diplomatic and academic publications effective when it came to more ordinary Japanese citizens? Surely salaryman, housewives, youngsters, factory workers and others would not have gotten that much in contact with these books and papers? In other words, because these individual publications most likely only contributed to the perception of the war of a limited group of people in Japan, it is important for our objective, which is understanding how and why Japan contributed to humanitarian relief efforts for Belgium, to understand how all layers of the Japanese society were being reached out to. Only by doing so we might get a more realistic image of what happened. Finally, there were also other non-printed media involved in wartime reporting such as newsreels, magic lantern shows and theatres, which we will talk about later.

Focussing on printed media, we will first of all take a look at the depiction of and references to Belgium in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*. To do so, all Belgium related articles published in both newspapers between the beginning of the war in 1914 until 1918 have been analysed. For this paper, the articles with the most important content

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<sup>64</sup> Kurosawa and Sakurai argue that wartime Belgium was being used by Japanese intellectuals as a model for Japan to follow. Willy Vande Walle and David De Cooman (ed.), *Japan & Belgium: Four Centuries of Exchange*, p. 232.

related to Belgium will be highlighted. By analysing the language and the content of these articles we will see to what extent the events taking place in Belgium were of interest to the newspapers and its readers. In the end, this should help us understand to what extent Japanese printed media contributed to raising awareness about the ongoing war and encourage people to engage in humanitarian aid.

## 2.2 Belgium in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*

The *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* 東京朝日新聞 was one of the first Japanese newspapers that send correspondents to Europe in order to report on the ongoing war. The first newspaper was published 1879 in Osaka and in 1888 the first *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* was published in Tokyo. The company has since then grown out to be one of the largest newspaper companies in Japan.<sup>65</sup> At the time the Great War broke out the president of the company was Murayama Ryōhei 村山龍平, one of the key figures who contributed to the donation of a Japanese sword to the Belgian King Albert I in 1915. Another person who played an important role in this matter was Sugimura Sojinkan, the *Asahi Shimbun*'s overseas correspondent who stayed in London during the beginning of the war.

If we first take look at the amount of reports involving Belgium that were made from June 1914 until December 1918 we can conclude the following.<sup>66</sup> In 1914 the amount of articles reporting on Belgium, which was referred to as 白耳義 (*Berugī*) or 白国 (*Hakkoku*), was quite substantial with roughly 665 articles mentioning Belgium, including around 70 articles specifically mentioning the Belgian army and its strategies or military actions. We can see that in 1915 that number declined slightly to 489 articles mentioning Belgium, of which not more than a dozen specifically mention the Belgian army. The year after the number declined even more with only 368 articles mentioning Belgium, while in 1917 it rose to 446 articles related to Belgium. Finally, in the last year of the war Belgium was mentioned 506 times. If we compare all of this to the years before the war started, we can see that in 1913 Belgium is mentioned 91 times and 217 times in 1912. That there is a decline in the first three years of the war can be

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<sup>65</sup> Information taken from the Asahi Shimbun's homepage. "Asahi Shimbunsha Kaisha Annai" 朝日新聞社会社案内. *Asahi Shimbunsha*. Last viewed July 15, 2018. <http://www.asahi.com/corporate/guide/>.

<sup>66</sup> For this all articles published between July 1914 and December 1918 were used and taken from *Asahi Shimbun*'s electronic database Kikuzō II Visual. Kikuzō II Visual (聞蔵IIビジュアル). Kikuzō II Visual (聞蔵IIビジュアル). "Asahi Shimbun Kiji Dētabēsu Kikuzō II Bijuaru" 朝日新聞データベース 聞蔵 II ビジュアル. *Kikuzō II Visual*. Last viewed June 22, 2018. <https://database.asahi.com/help/eng/help.html>.

understood if we take the following aspects into consideration. First of all, it is understandable that the outbreak of a war, especially one of this size, gave life to a great influx of constant, daily and detailed news, which explains the peak in 1914. In addition, most people, not only in Japan but in the whole world, did not expect the war to take as long as it eventually did. Because of this we might consider that during 1914, when the war just broke, many detailed accounts were being published in Japanese newspapers. As time went by, the war spread to many parts of the world, and while what happened in Belgium was still regularly reported in the newspapers, there was no need to remind the readers every day of the events which took place in Belgium. On top of that, once most of the battles confined themselves to the west of Belgium from the beginning of 1915, the reporting in Japan on Belgium slipped into a sort of status quo. These might be several reasons as to why a slightly smaller number of articles were being published in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*. Moreover, we should take into account that not every article focussed completely on Belgium. The country could also simply be mentioned once in a longer article treating military actions in the whole of Europe in general. However, we can still agree that the number of publications involving Belgium were substantial higher during then before the war.

After analysing the content of the Belgium related articles from 1914 until 1918 we can divide the articles in four main groups. The largest category of articles involves the reporting on specific and factual events such as military strategies and the course of the war in general. In this category we can also find several articles which stressed the violation of Belgium's neutrality. One example of such an article which mentioned that both Holland and Belgium intended on defending their neutrality was published just three days before the German army entered Belgium on the 4<sup>th</sup> of August.<sup>67</sup> On the 5<sup>th</sup> of August, a longer article written by Sugimura Sojinkan appeared in the newspaper announcing that Germany had turned its threats into actions and had violated Belgium's neutrality.<sup>68</sup> The language used in most of these articles is rather neutral in the sense that while it did not avoid pointing out the atrocities committed by the German army, it also did not seem overly sensational or emotional.

The second category can be related back to the above mentioned group as well. This category includes articles which almost exclusively concerned the courage of Belgian soldiers

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<sup>67</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). "Haku no chūritsu / Oran chūritsu" 白の中立 / 和蘭中立. 1 August 1914.

<sup>68</sup> In this article the word *seichūritsu* 永世中立 is described to describe Belgium's neutrality. During the course of the war it is used in seven different articles to refer to the violation of Belgium's neutrality, meaning that the topic stayed important throughout the war. *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). "Doitsu chūritsu shingai dokugun no Hakkoku shinyū" 独逸中立侵害 独軍の白国侵入. 05 August 1914.

and civilians. Belgium was more than once described as a relatively young and small nation, with less inhabitants and a smaller army than its much stronger and older enemies. Nonetheless, the newspaper made sure to mention on several occasions throughout the war that Belgium was standing up bravely to its invader. Keywords which were often used to refer to this bravery are *yūki* 勇氣、*yūkan* 勇敢 and *yūbu* 勇武, which all translate as brave, heroic or full of valour.<sup>69</sup> Other articles in the same category formulated and approached this courage differently and focussed on the high morale of the Belgian army (*kiōsei* 気旺盛 and *shiki takaburu* 士気昂る), adding that the army continued to stubbornly (*gankyō* 頑強) fend off the enemy, even when the war was taking longer than expected. At first glance, these words might not come across as particularly interesting. However, what is noteworthy is that the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* insisted on proclaiming the Belgian civilians and its army as stubborn and brave, instead of opting for a more neutral vocabulary. This does not take away, however, that the newspapers did report honestly on the miserable condition of Belgium. The heroic speech was not used in order to hide or disguise reality. Nevertheless, these articles never failed to honour the courage of the Belgian army and population. For example, the article titled “The praiseworthy Belgian army” (*Tanshōsubeki Hakugun* 嘆称すべき白軍) and published on the 30<sup>th</sup> of October 1914 gave an honest description of the tragic conditions in which Belgian soldiers were living, but stressed even more that Belgian soldiers continued helping their wounded companions without surrendering any courage.<sup>70</sup> And when on the 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1914 an article was published which gave a rather lengthy account on the many Belgian soldiers who were gravely wounded, it again did not fail to mention in the last sentence that the Belgian army kept on fighting without

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<sup>69</sup> The same observation has been made in the 1989 book *Nihon-Berugi Kankeishi* 日本・ベルギー関係史 by Isomi Tatsunori 磯見辰典, Kurosawa Fumitaka 黒沢 文貴 and Sakurai Ryōju 櫻井良樹, on page 275. *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Hakugun hōdai shishu” 白軍砲台死守. 10 August 1914. / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Hakugun shiki ōsei” 白軍士気旺盛. 19 October 1914. / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Hakkoku kōgō mo jinchū ni ari shiki takaburu īzeru no Hakugun” 白国皇后も陣中に在り 士気昂るイーゼルの白軍. 27 October 1914. / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Hakugun iki ōsei” 白軍意気旺盛. 22 December 1914. / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Hakugun no katsuyaku” 白軍の活躍. 29 July 1916. / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Hakugun shinshutsu dakkai berugi-gun iki ōitsu / kūrutorē shi ni taiji” 白軍進出奪回 白耳義軍意気横溢 / クールトレー市に対峙. 22 October 1918.

<sup>70</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tanshōsubeki Hakugun” 嘆称すべき白軍. 30 October 1914.



losing any of its ancient fighting spirit.<sup>71</sup> It is this pattern of verbal emotionality and sensation which might explain how people were drawn to the articles and eventually were moved to contribute to charity for Belgium. As we will discuss later in this paper, this view on Belgium as a heroic nation was also embodied in the offering of the traditional Japanese sword to the Belgian king by the *Asahi Shimbunsha*.

Moving on to the third category of articles, the newspaper also published several articles on Belgian refugees. For this their correspondent in London, Sugimura Sojinkan, provided many first hand writings as he witnessed many Belgian refugees coming to the British capital. In an almost daily segment published from the 19<sup>th</sup> of October 1914 until the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 1915, he dedicated thirty articles under the title “Ranka no naka yori” 乱渦の中より (From within the chaos) which told the readers about the issues resulting from the arrival of the Belgian refugees in the British capital. These articles were often accompanied by pictures and were each time featured central on the sixth page of the newspaper. The articles described how fleeing families had to fight starvation and protect themselves from the cold weather during their escape to the ports in Belgium where they could be taken to Great Britain.<sup>72</sup> Other articles which were not written by Sojinkan generally focused more on the situation of the Belgian civilians remaining in Belgium. They described the harsh conditions which refugees experienced when they fled for the occupied cities, how houses and factories were destroyed and how there were accidents at the ports where refugees boarder the ships which would carry them over the Channel.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Santantari Hakugun” 惨憺たり白軍. 10 December 1914.

<sup>72</sup> When Sojinkan referred to these Belgian refugees he preferred to use the term *Berugī no ochiudo* 白耳義の落人, whereas other articles used the word *Haku hinanmin* 白避難民 more.

<sup>73</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Haizan no Hakkoku / jūrinsetaru Hakkoku” 敗残の白国／蹂躪されたる白国. 05 November 1914. / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Zenkazoku o agete hinan suru *Berugī no min* <utsushi>” 全家族を挙げて避難する白耳義の民<写>. 01 October 1914. / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Hakkoku hinanmin shochi/ Hakkoku hinanmin toei” 白国避難民処置/白国避難民渡英. 15 October 1915. / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Hakkoku no hisan/ Hakuhinanmin jōsen no sanjō *osutendo kūkyo to naru*” 白国の悲惨／白避難民乗船の惨状 オステンド空虚となる. 16 October 1914. / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Igirisu ni hinanchū no *Berugī koku ōji kōjo* <utsushi>, *Berugī no hinanmin* (hatoba ni shūgō shita kōkei) <utsushi>” 英国に避難中の白耳義国皇子皇女<写>, 白耳義の避難民 (波止場に集合した光景) <写>. 12 February 1915. / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Zaiei no Shirakujin Eikoku hinannsha kōgū” 在英の白国人 英国避難者厚遇. 30 March 1916.

The last main category exists out of articles which described Japanese charity events organized for Belgian people. This category can be divided into two more subsections. On the one hand there were articles which reported on charity events which were not directly related to the newspaper. These articles often only featured a description of what or when the event was, and who had attended it. Most of these publications covered charity concerts, referred to as *jizenongakukai* 慈善音楽会. These concerts were often attended by foreign consuls and their families or Japanese nobility. As the articles reported, most of the time the money which was gathered as entrance fees or other collected by selling Japanese products during the concerts was donated to charity. The articles never mentioned what sums had been gathered, but they did to mention who organized the event.<sup>74</sup>

On the other hand there were also a series of publications which informed the newspaper readers about a fundraising operation which was organized by the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* itself. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 1915, a large editorial (*shasetsu* 社説) was published on the third page of the newspaper. The editorial first explained once more how Belgian as a small country was being violated by German troops, described the misery its people were enduring and the brave fights the Belgian army was delivering. The article was published with the title “Fundraising for Belgium / Editorial” (*Berugī kinboshū / shasetsu* 白国義金募集／社説) and took up half a page. At the centre of the article was a small frame which provided more specific information about the fundraising campaign, stating that a donation of at least fifty sen per newspaper would be appreciated and that the shipping costs of the money to the company would be paid for by the newspaper company itself.<sup>75</sup> After this first publication the central frame with specific information was published sixteen more times on the same place and the itself campaign went on for a month until the 10<sup>th</sup> of March. The donations were referred to by the word *dōjōkin* 同情金, which would translate to solidarity money. Already on the 14<sup>th</sup> of February an article with

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<sup>74</sup> It is interesting to note that not all the events took place in Japan, some were also organized in territories Japan managed to get a hold of due to its victory in Qingdao, such as Longkou, or in Western concessions such as Tianjin (*Tiānjīn* 天津). This means that quite some thought and effort went into the organization of these charity events. *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Honsha Ryūkō tokuden / Hakkokumin kyūsai shaishi” 本社竜口特電/白国民救済資. 17 January 1915. / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Honsha Tenjin tokuden / hakumin kyūsai jizenkai” 本社天津特電/白民救済慈善会. 07 March 1915. / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Ongaku jizenshi” 音楽慈善市. 09 April 1918.

<sup>75</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “*Berugī kinboshū / shasetsu*” 白国義金募集／社説. 10 February 1915.

the title “A letter of gratitude from Belgium’s Minister to Japan to our company for the collected money” (*Hakkoku kōshi no kanshajō honsha no gikinboshū ni taishi* 白国公使の感謝状 本社の義金募集に対し) was published in which the Belgian Minister to Japan, Georges Della Faille, expressed his gratitude to the company president Murayama for the fundraising in the name of his king, his government and all the Belgians.<sup>76</sup> On the 15<sup>th</sup> of May another letter of gratitude was published together with an announcement of the total sum of money which had been collected, which resulted in a sum of 28,802 yen and 67 sen. President Murayama was then thanked again thanked by the Belgian Minister to Japan. During the period when these articles involving the fundraising campaign were being published, 47 more announcements were published under the title “Sympathy money for Belgium” (*Hakkoku dōjōkin* 白耳同情義金). These articles announced how much money had already been collected from individual donors and companies. Amongst the contributors we can, of course, find *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and its president Murayama.

The newspaper also offered a platform for Belgian diplomats to reach out to Japanese readers and tell them about the horrible events which were taking in the European country. An example of this was when on the 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1915 the newspaper published an article in which Minister Della Faille and his wife expressed their hopes that they might once more count on the Japanese people’s compassion, since many Belgians were still suffering now that the winter added an extra hardship to the lives of the starving people.<sup>77</sup> Reporting on fundraising campaigns in general went on until the end of the war, as on the 13<sup>th</sup> of July 1918 information about another fundraising campaign organized by the Belgian consulate in Tokyo was published.<sup>78</sup>

To summarize the articles on Belgium published by the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* during the Great War, we could say that most of the articles can be divided into four different categories.

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<sup>76</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “*Hakkoku kōshi no kanshajō honsha no gikinboshū ni taishi*” 白国公使の感謝状 本社の義金募集に対し. 14 February 1915.

<sup>77</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “*Hakkoku kyūmin gien bōshū*” 白国窮民義捐募集. 13 October 1915.

<sup>78</sup> The article was published under the title “Relief for wounded Belgian soldiers” (*Hakkoku shōhei kyūgo jigyō* 白国傷兵救護事業) and informed the readers of a new donations campaign where money was being raised by the sales of original pamphlets, propaganda and pictures coming from occupied Belgium. These were being sold for prices between 15 sen and 112 yen. *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “*Hakkoku shōhei kyūgo jigyō*” 白国傷兵救護事業. 13 July 1918.

The biggest category includes articles reporting on the military events in which Belgium was involved. These could be a short mentioning of the country in a general article or more extensive report on Belgium and its army. The second category includes articles which stressed the bravery of Belgian civilians and soldiers, followed by a third category of articles which gave accounts on Belgian refugees. The last category exists out of announcements of fundraising events, some of which were organized by the newspaper company itself. Throughout the whole period of the wartime reporting on Belgium we notice a language which is rather sensational. In addition, whenever the misery of Belgium and its population was exposed, the article would still mention the bravery displayed in the face of danger.

### **2.3 Belgium in the *Yomiuri Shimbun***

As it would not be sufficient to only analyse one newspaper's content in order to produce an image as to how printed media reported on Belgium, we will now take a look into the articles published by another large Japanese newspaper at the time, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* 読売新聞.<sup>79</sup>

Generally speaking, the *Yomiuri Shimbunsha* was established in 1874 and is currently the biggest newspaper in Japan which sells the most copies throughout the country. As many other Japanese companies it is enweaved in a conglomerate structure and also possesses other media companies such as Nippon TV, in addition to publishing the biggest English newspaper in Japan which is The Japan News.<sup>80</sup>

When looking at how many times Belgium is mentioned throughout the course of the war, we can see a similar trend as was visible in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*. In 1914 Belgium, which was also referred to as 白耳義 (*Berugi*) or 白国 (*Hakkoku*), was mentioned 351 times, in 1915 that number dropped to 265, the year after in 1916 the number reached its lowest number with 68 times mentioned while it went up to 70 times in 1917. In the last year of the war the number rose again to a 109. During the year of 1913 the country was mentioned 48 times and the year before that 77 times. That the number went down after a while is again understandable when we consider that from the moment that the German occupation took place,

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<sup>79</sup> Identical to the process when analysing the articles published in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* all articles published from June 1914 until December 1918 have been taken into account. For this, *Yomiuri Shimbun*'s electronic database "Yomidase Rekishikan" has been used. "Yomiuri Shimbun Yūryō Dētabēsu Yomidase Rekishikan" 読売新聞有料データベース ヨミダス歴史館. *Yomidase Rekishikan*. Last viewed July 17, 2018. <https://www.yomiuri.co.jp/database/en/>.

<sup>80</sup> Information taken from the *Yomiuri Shimbun*'s homepage. "Yomiuri Shimbun Nenpyō" 読売新聞歴史年表. *Yomiuri Shimbun*. Last viewed 15 June, 2018. <https://info.yomiuri.co.jp/group/history/nenpyou/index.html>.

only major fall backs or advancements were covered in the media. When dividing the Belgium related articles in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* which were published during the Great War we can also divide them into four categories.

First there were articles which described military strategies and battles, quite similar as what was done in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*. While the objective information given on military actions in Belgium was indeed rather similar to what was being published in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*, the language which was used did differ. To begin with, these articles were often published under a segment which was titled “The War Situation at the French and Belgian Border” (*Furansu-Berugī kokkyō senjō* フランス・ベルギー国境戦況). Even when events which took place in a Belgian city were described, the segment’s title would still remain the same, meaning that Belgium was not singled out for these articles.<sup>81</sup> This generalizing title is used from the 5<sup>th</sup> of December 1914 until the 30<sup>th</sup> of May 1915, which is from the moment that the biggest battles in Belgium were indeed limited mostly to the regions surrounding Ypres in the west of the country. In other words, from the moment that the battles throughout the whole of Belgium were mainly restrained to one part of the country, journalists referred to the front as “France and Belgium”, even when the article itself only mentioned Belgium. The reason why this observation is interesting is because it shows an obvious difference with the way in which journalists of the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* reported on Belgian soldiers and civilians. As pointed out before, words as bravery, courage and high morale were often being used when referring to the Belgian army in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*. And while the *Yomiuri Shimbun* also published some articles which described Belgians as brave civilians who were courageously fighting for their small nation, the amount of such sensational articles seems to be smaller. Titles like “The spirit of Belgian workers, a summary of the presentation from the Belgian Legation ” (*Berugī rōdōsha no iki Berugī kōshikan happyō yōshi* ベルギー労働者の意気 ベルギー公使館発表要旨) and “[Editorial] The Belgian people’s disposition” ([Shasetsu] *Berugī kokumin no iki* ” [社説] ベルギー国民の意気 ) using the word *iki* 意気, meaning disposition or heart, provided a slightly more demure representation of the bravery of which the *Tōkyō Asahi*

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<sup>81</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “[*Furansu-Berugī kokkyō*] *Antowāpu* dakkan no keikaku hoka” [フランス・ベルギー国境戦況] アントワープ奪還の計画 ほか. 11 December 1914.

*Shimbun* often reminded its readers.<sup>82</sup> On top of that, in comparison to the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* was not as careful with referring to the actual defeats which Belgium and the Allied armies faced. Two examples of such articles are titled “[War at the French and Belgian border] Allied armies are somewhat slumping” (*[Furansu-Berugī kokkyō senjō] rengōgun yaya fushin* [フランス・ベルギー国境戦況] 連合軍やや不振) and “The Sorrows of Belgium” (*Berugī no hiai* ベルギーの悲哀).<sup>83</sup> To sum it up, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* did not use the same kind of enthusiastic language as the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and gave of the impression of being slightly harsher on the Allied Powers in general.

The second category has a particular feature which was focused on much more in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* and shows it offered a platform to a very specific audience. Much of the news about the situation of Belgian civilians was published under the forum which was called *Yomiuri Fujin Furoku* 「よみうり婦人附録」 (Yomiuri’s Lady’s Appendix), which was first published on the third of April 1914.<sup>84</sup> The brain behind this section of the newspaper was a man named Gorai Kinzō 五来欣造. From the end of the Russo-Japanese war in 1905 the sales of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* had started to slack, partly because the newspaper only had one overseas correspondent, because of which coverage of the war was limited. In addition, the newspaper seemed to lack a real future vision or identity for the reader to identify with. In order to boost the sales, Gorai, who had become editor-in-chief of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* in 1914, wanted the newspaper to shed its political colours and aim more of its content towards women.<sup>85</sup> Inspired by the French women’s magazine *Figaro*, which he saw during his time as an exchange student in France, he worked out a plan for the a women’s appendix in the newspaper with fellow editor Hani Yoshikazu 羽仁 吉一. The latter already had several years of experience

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<sup>82</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “*Berugī rōdōsha no iki Berugī kōshikan happyō yōshi*” ベルギー労働者の意気  
ベルギー公使館発表要旨. 02 September 1915. / *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “[Shasetsu] *Berugī kokumin no iki*”  
[社説] ベルギー国民の意気. 20 October 1914.

<sup>83</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “[*Furansu-Berugī kokkyō*] *rengōgun yaya fushin*” [フランス・ベルギー国境戦況] 連合軍やや不振. 2 February 1915. / *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “*Berugī no hiai*” ベルギーの悲哀. 7 May 1918.

<sup>84</sup> In 1919 the name changed to *Yomiuri Fujin Ran* よみうり婦人欄 (Yomiuri Lady’s Column).

<sup>85</sup> Kuwabara Momone 桑原桃音. “Taishōki 『Yomiuri Shimbun』 「Yomiuri Fujin Furoku」 kankeisha no jinbutsuzō ni miru 「mi no jōsōdan」 ran seiritsu katei” *Ryūkoku Daigaku Shakaibungaku Kiyō* 龍谷大学社会学部学紀要 46 (2015), p. 102.

with publications aimed at women as he and his wife Hani Motoko 羽仁もと子, who is considered to be the first female journalist in Japan, established the women's magazine *Fujin no Tomo* (Women's friend 婦人之友).<sup>86</sup> The *Yomiuri Shimbun* was the first newspaper in Japan which dedicated a full page to an advisory section aimed at women.<sup>87</sup>

The content mostly included issues concerning the daily lives of Japanese women, education, literature and so on.<sup>88</sup> A large amount of Belgium related articles were being published in this section of the newspaper, often highlighting and praising the bravery of Belgian women which was expressed through the love for their king, country, family and justice. For example, the article “[*Yomiuri*'s Lady's Appendix] Woman and children also pick up their swords Awaking Belgium” (*[Yomiuri Fujin Furoku] Onna ya kodomo mo tsurugi o motte Okiteru Berugi* 「[よみうり婦人附録] 女や子供も剣を持って 起てるベルギー」) described the valour and the courage of Belgian women, adding how protecting their children was their main priority, even in the face of danger.<sup>89</sup> A very substantial amount of articles published in this forum concerned the fundraising organization the *Nihon Fujin Berugi Dōjōkai* 日本婦人白耳義同情会, which translates to the Japanese Ladies' Solidarity Organization for Belgium. These articles described the establishment of this organization and announced the charity events it organized. Originally established on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1915, the headquarter of the organization was located in Tokyo and was headed by two well-known noblewomen,

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<sup>86</sup> Kuwabara Momone 桑原桃音. “Taishōki 『Yomiuri Shimbun』 「Yomiuri Fujin Furoku」 kankeisha no jinbutsuzō ni miru 「mi no jōsōdan」 ran seiritsu katei”, pp. 100-118.

<sup>87</sup> Kuwabara Momone 桑原桃音. “Taishōki 『Yomiuri Shimbun』 「Yomiuri Fujin Furoku」 kankeisha no jinbutsuzō ni miru 「mi no jōsōdan」 ran seiritsu katei”, p. 102.

<sup>88</sup> It also featured articles or poems written by the famous feminist poet Yosano Akiko 与謝野晶子 and other prominent Japanese women. Similar advisory newspaper or magazine sections could be found in the women magazine's *Fujin no Tomo* 婦人之友 (Women's Friend) under the title “*nayamere tomo e*” 「悩める友へ」 (To our Troubled Friend) or *Fujin Shūhō* 婦人週報 (The Woman's Weekly) under the title *mi no “jōsōdan”* 「身の上相談」 (Personal Advice).

<sup>89</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “[Yomiuri Fujin Furoku] onna ya kodomo mo tsurugi o motte okiteru Berugi” 「よみうり婦人附録] 女や子供も剣を持って 起てるベルギー」

being Yamawaki Fusako 山脇房子 and 津田梅子 Tsuda Umeko.<sup>90 91</sup> What brought these two women together was the fact that they both were pioneers when it came to the education of girls and women in Japan, the participation of women in patriotic duties such as national saving, managing the upbringing of their children, etc. These ambitions can also be discovered when taking a look at the charity organization itself. While the organization was established to collect money and donations to ease the suffering of Belgians, it also related world politics to women and, through the articles published in the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, showed that even in these dire times Belgian women did not abandon their families or their country.<sup>92</sup>

An example of these patriotic values expressed through charity can be seen when we consider charity events which engaged young women and girls. For example, one of the events which even managed to raise the most money of all their activities was the selling of handmade dolls, an event which had been organized through the cooperation of young women and girls from different universities and schools such as the Aoyama Women's Junior College (*Aoyama Joshi Gakuin* 青山女子学院), *Joshi Eigakujuku* 女子英学塾 (Women's Institute for English Studies) and *Yamawaki Kōtō Jogakkō* 山脇高等女学校 (Yamawaki Higher School for Women). At the event, many of the leading members of this charity organization, such as the marchioness of Nabeshima 鍋島, Yamawaki Fusako and former students of the Yamawaki Higher School for Women, did their best to sell as many dolls as possible, which resulted in a total collected sum of more than four thousand yen in twenty-eight days.<sup>93</sup> Another event which tried to involve female students in charity efforts for Belgium was when several girls schools

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<sup>90</sup> Yamawaki Fusako was a leading figure in the social mobilization of women during her time as she was the principal of the *Yamawaki Kōtō Jogakkō* 山脇高等女学校 (Yamawaki Higher School for Women) and was a founding member of many women's organizations (*fujinkai* 婦人会) in Japan such as the *Dainihon Fujin Kyōikukai* 大日本婦人教育会 (Japan Women and Education Organization). James L. Huffman. *Modern Japan: An Encyclopedia of History, Culture, and Nationalism* (Routledge: London, 2013). pp. 294-295.

<sup>91</sup> Tsuda Umeko was also a leading figure when it came to women's education as she established her own school for girls in 1900 which was called *Joshi Eigakujuku* 女子英学塾 (Women's Institute for English studies), now known as the *Tsuda Jukudaigaku* 津田塾大学 (Tsuda University). More on Tsuda Umeko can be found in Barbara Rose's book *Tsuda Umeko and Women's Education in Japan*.

<sup>92</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). "[Yomiuri Fujin Furoku] senji no *Berugi* fujin teki ni kokka o danzu ▽ Taishō Fujin Shūkai" [よみうり婦人付録] 戦時のベルギー婦人 敵に国歌を弾ず▽大正婦人集会. 16 June 1918.

<sup>93</sup> As one can see, most of the charity events announced in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* took place in Tokyo, and sometimes in Osaka, which most likely has to do with the fact that the company was based in Tokyo. *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). "[Yomiuri Fujin Furoku] uriage yon go sen en ningyō tenrankai owaru" [よみうり婦人付録] 売上四五千円 人形展覧会終わる. 1 March 1915.



agreed to teach their students about the ongoing war and ask them, if possible and without forcing them (*meirei ni yorazu* 命令によらず), to put aside some of the money which they earned by doing handicrafts or other things they felt confident at (*shukō sono hoka jishin no rōroku yori etaru mono* 手工その他自身の労力より得たるもの). This money would then be donated to a better cause (*kokki ken'yaku* 克己儉約), which in this case meant Belgium.<sup>94</sup> These are some examples of how charity events of this organization served several purposes. They were not only intended on collecting money to help victims of war, but also taught girls and women that they themselves could contribute to world politics, showed how they could save money for a greater good and how there is virtue in fulfilling your patriotic duties, in the same way as Belgian women were doing during the war. In the end, the organization gathered around 50,041 yen and 90 sen by July 1915, a donation for which the Belgian Minister and even the Belgian Queen expressed their gratitude.<sup>95</sup> While this is a large donation, the organization is only mentioned once in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* during an interview with Yamawaki Fusako.<sup>96</sup>

The last two categories contain less articles than the previously mentioned categories. The third category involves articles which talked about charity events and concerts which were unrelated to the women's organizations we discussed above, similar to what the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* did. For example, one article reported on how the Belgian Minister had an audience with members of big companies and organizations such as the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Asahi Shimbun*, the Tokyo Chambers of Commerce, The Japan Times and more in order to get these companies to support Belgium by donating relief funding.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “[Yomiuri Fujin Furoku] zenkoku joshikō yori *Berugī* e kifu toka kaku onna kōchō hokki” [よみうり婦人付録] 全国女子高よりベルギーへ寄付 都下各女校長発起. 08 March 1915.

<sup>95</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “[Yomiuri Fujin Furoku] go man en o *Berugī* kōshi e Nabeshimatei no *Berugī* dōjō hōkokukai” [よみうり婦人付録] 五万円をベルギー公使へ 鍋島邸のベルギー同情報告会. 13 July 1915.

<sup>96</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Ryō o otte (8) Yamawaki Fusako joshi <utsushi>” 涼を趁て (8) 山脇房子 女史<写>. 8 July 1915.

<sup>97</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “*Berugī* ryōji yori Shōgyōkaigisho e buppin keiyo no irai” ベルギー領事より商業 会議所へ物品恵与の依頼. 6 September 1914.

The fourth category involves reports about Belgian refugees. These articles can be found in the *Yomiuri Fujin Furoku* section. Compared to the three categories mentioned above, this is the smallest category and no more than four articles mentioned Belgian refugees in their titles.<sup>98</sup>

## 2.4 Belgium in the *Ōshū Sensō jikki*

While newspapers such as the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* were one format of printed media which relayed news on the ongoing war back to Japan, another medium were the wartime magazines. Some magazines, such as the *Taisen Shashin Gahō* 大戦写真画報 (Gallery of Pictures on the European War) mainly existed out of pictures which visualized the ongoing war.<sup>99</sup> Another format of wartime magazines were those which published lengthy war related articles. When compared to newspapers which were bound to a limited space for war related publications, these articles offered more in-depth analyses of several aspects of the Great War and also often provided pictures. For this paper we will use the *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 (Accounts on the European War) as an example of wartime magazines.<sup>100</sup> Generally speaking it is not evident to compare newspapers to wartime magazines, as they target different groups in society and have different publishing formats. However, by analysing wartime Belgium related content from another printed medium we might be able to come to the understanding that every medium and publishing company had different ways of reporting on the same events. As such, the language, depth of the reporting, background of the author, targeted audience and more could influence the style, content and possible interpretations of the articles. Wartime magazines were also able to treat a wider variety of topics when compared to newspapers which often had to rely on foreign news agencies for information. For these reasons we will have to consider the different writing styles of the articles and the different topics which are featured when we analyse the content of the *Ōshū Sensō Jikki*'s articles. Before doing so, it should be mentioned that because of a limited access to the original source materials

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<sup>98</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “[Yomiuri Fujin Furoku] *Berugī fujin no hinan = e*” [よみうり婦人付録] ベルギー婦人の避難 = 絵. 13 October 1914/ *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “[Yomiuri Fujin Furoku] *Igirisu ni hinannshite sei o tanoshimu Berugī no min*” [よみうり婦人付録] イギリスに避難して生を楽しむベルギーの民. 20 January 1915/ *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “*Oranda ni hinannsuru Berugī no min = shashin*” オランダに避難するベルギーの民 = 写真. 24 October 1914 / *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “*Berugīte hinansezu kichō seru Berugī kōshidan*” ベルギー帝避難せず 帰朝せるベルギー公使談. 28 January 1915.

<sup>99</sup> The *Taisen Shashin Gahō* 大戦写真画報 was published in Tokyo by the publisher Fuzanbō 富山房.

only the first sixty of the total hundred published volumes were used. However, seeing as throughout the first sixty volumes the tone, style and format of the magazine hardly changed, we could say that these were equally representative as the forty volumes which were not used for this research.

First we take a closer look at the style and format of the Belgium related articles which are published in the *Ōshū Sensō Jikki*. The magazine was published three times a month by the Tokyo based publisher *Hakubunkan* 博文館 from the 25<sup>th</sup> of August 1914 until the 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1917. Every third publication had half of the respective volume dedicated to war related images, including pictures from the battles, civilians, refugees, soldiers, politicians, military officers and royalty.<sup>101</sup> The magazine usually existed out of more than a hundred pages worth of pictures and in-depth articles which could take up to ten pages per article. These articles were either written by foreign authors and translated to Japanese, as was the case with, for example, the article about the battle tactics of the Belgian army “This is how the Belgian army fights” (*Berugī rikugun no kaku no gotokushite tatakaeri* 白耳義陸軍の斯の如くして戦えり) written by Georges Della Faille or the article “The situation of Belgium under German occupation” (*Doitsu no shihaika ni aru Berugī genjō* 獨逸の支配下にある白耳義の現状) written by Princeton professor and First World War American army Major George Brinton McCellen Jr.<sup>102</sup> Apart from articles written for the magazine, there were also many articles translated from other newspapers, magazines or journals. An actual and more general topic such as “The Retaliation of the Allied Armies” (*Rengōgun kekki no shinsō* 連合軍決起の真相) was often introduced in the first pages of the magazine under the title “The chaos of war in all of Europe” (*Zenōdo no taisanran* 全欧土の大戦乱), after which articles followed which did not only describe the current state of affairs but also analysed several aspects of the war such as the activity of Red Cross nurses and so on.<sup>103</sup> As said before, compared to newspaper articles, the articles featured

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<sup>101</sup> 12 publications were produced in 1914, 36 in 1915, another 36 in 1916 and 16 in 1917.

<sup>102</sup> ジョージ・デラ・ファイエ (Georges Della Faille). “*Berugī rikugun no kaku no gotokushite tatakaeri*” 白耳義陸軍の斯の如くして戦へり. *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 (1916) No. 52. / ジョージ・ブリントン・マクケレン (George Brinton McCellen) “*Doitsu no shihaika ni aru Berugī genjō*” 獨逸の支配下にある白耳義の現状. *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 (1916) No. 49, pp. 71-78.

<sup>103</sup> “*Zenōdo no taisanran rengōgun kekki no shinsō*” 全欧土の大戦乱連合軍決起の真相. *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 (1915) No. 42, pp. 2-8. / “*Zenōdo no taisanran Barukan fūun mabuta akunaru*” 全欧土の大戦乱バカ風雲盆臉悪也. *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 nr 45. (1915), pp. 2-8.

in this magazine were much longer and often engaged in a more academic or diplomatic approach to the events and facts because of its great variety of contributing authors who had different backgrounds. The language which was used in these articles of course differ from author to author, but generally speaking the used vocabulary is less sensational than what we witnessed in articles from the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*.

Apart from these more academic articles one could also find translated pieces of diaries and other personal testimonies. These were diaries or a series of anecdotes about the daily life in Europe during the war, often written or translated by Japanese diplomats or other prominent figures residing in Europe during the war. Two examples of this are the translated journal of a Belgian man called Hubert Mansion, translated by Horiguchi Daigaku 堀口大学 who at the time resided in Madrid and published the diary entries under the title “A diary from occupied Antwerp” (*Anberusu rōjō nikki* アンベルス籠城日記). In this diary the Belgian man told about his duties in the people’s army.<sup>104</sup> Another example was a series of anecdotes given by a twenty year old Belgian Red Cross nurse named Jeanne Puriton who described her daily life as a nurse taking care of war victims. Her testimony was translated to Japanese from the original English publication in the newspaper *The Times*, and bundled under the title “The true accounts of a brave Belgian nurse” (*Yūkan naru Berugī kangofu no jitsuwa* 勇敢なる白耳義看護婦の實話).<sup>105</sup> In other words, when looking at the format of the magazine and the style of the articles we can conclude that this magazine featured articles which were both written by Japanese and non-Japanese authors, could take up several pages and included factual enumerations of events, as well as detailed analyses of events and diaries or other personal accounts. On top of that, we can also say that a less dramatic language was used throughout the articles which seemed to have set a not too emotionally invested tone throughout the first sixty published volumes.

Another interesting difference when compared to Japanese newspapers were the topics and the content of the articles published in the *Ōshū Sensō Jikki*. As mentioned before, considering that we want to have an understanding as to how printed media in Japan influenced wartime donations to Belgium, we will focus on Belgium related content. First of all, we notice

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<sup>104</sup> 堀口大学 (Horiguchi Daigaku). “*Anberusu rōjō nikki*” アンベルス籠城日記. *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 No. 15 (1915), pp. 71-80. This article was translated by Horiguchi Daigaku who had lived in Antwerp for a while.

<sup>105</sup> Even when the word brave is used in the title, the journal itself is very modest in the used language. “*Yūkan naru Berugī kangofu no jitsuwa*” 勇敢なる白耳義看護婦の實話. *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 (1915) No. 37, pp. 57-61.

that one of the major categories of Belgium related articles involves the general reports on wartime events. These articles more or less described military actions and strategies in detail and by doing so represent a category of articles which we also discovered in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*. These articles were the most devoid of any emotional or sensational language and simply described the latest wartime events. Articles which could serve as an example for these kind of publications are the articles titled “Diary of the attacks on Liège” (*Riēji bōgyo nikki* リエーヂ防禦日記) and “The situation of Belgium under German occupation” (*Doitsu no shihaika ni aru Berugī no genjō* 獨逸の支配下にある白耳義の現状).<sup>106</sup> Again, the tone of these articles was of course dependent on the author and his or her preferred way of writing, but these articles are seldom, if never, a direct outcry for justice.<sup>107</sup>

The second category of topics are the publications related to the Belgian royal family. These articles gave the readers detailed background information on the history of the royal family, personal achievements of King Albert I before the war and the actions which the royal household undertook during the war. Articles like “Anecdotes on the Belgian King” (*Berugī kokuō no itsuwa* 白耳義国王の逸話), “Belgium’s King and Great Britain’s Foreign Minister” (*Hakkokuō to Eikoku gaishō* 白国王と英国外相) and “Collecting popularity all over the world: Belgium’s King” (*Sekai no ninki o isshin ni atsumetamaeru: Berugī kokuō heika* 世界の人気を一身に集め給える:白耳義国王陛下) are some examples of this topic which was treated

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<sup>106</sup> チャールズ・ブロン (Charles Bron). “*Riēji bōgyo nikki*” リエーヂ防禦日記. *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 (1915) No. 31, pp. 20-35. / ジョージ・ブリントン・マクケレン (George Brinton McCellen). “*Doitsu no shihaika ni aru Berugī no genjō*” 獨逸の支配下にある白耳義の現状. *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 (1916) No. 49, pp. 71-78. These articles were not purely descriptive, they also had a more analytic nature such as the article in 1915 titled “The reason for the German army’s barbarity” (*Hakkoku ni okeru Dokugun bankō no riyū* 白国に於ける獨軍蛮行の理由) written by Olivier Pfeffer which tried to explain the reason or nature of the barbaric actions conducted by the German army. Another 1915 article “What will become of Belgium?” (*Berugī wa kekkyoku dōnaruka* 白耳義は結局どうなるか) which speculated as to how the future of a young state such as Belgium might change because of the German occupation.

<sup>107</sup> For example, in the article “*Anberusu rōjō nikki*” アンベルス籠城日記, the original author Hubert Mansion used several exclamations such as “An evening filled with hope and delight! (*Kibō to kanki no yoiyo!* 希望と歡喜の宵よ!)”

with a particular interest.<sup>108</sup> Although subtle, especially the relationship between the royal couple and Belgian civilians is highlighted in several of these articles. This again is something which we witnessed in the newspapers where the queen and king were depicted as monarchs with close bonds to their subjects. However, it should be noted that these articles did not mean to romanticize the actions of the royal family, or the relationship between the Belgian royals and civilians at that. Quite the contrary, as we can see from the article “Collecting popularity all over the world: Belgium’s King” where the author offered a rational and critical view on the heroic actions and admirable behaviour of the King Albert I. In this article the author urged the reader on to understand that dire times often produced well-constructed positive images of rulers which should be regarded with a certain level of critical rationality. However, in the same article the author also mentioned that while one should be a bit sceptical about the overall wonderful depiction of the Belgian king in the media, he actually was a brave monarch worthy of a certain level of admiration.

The third category of articles includes articles which involved the Belgian population. This includes the diary entries or personal accounts from the Red Cross nurse Jeanne Puriton or the home front soldier Hubert Mansion which we discussed earlier. Apart from these personal stories there were also articles, often accompanied by pictures, about Belgian refugees or the daily life in occupied areas. One example of this was the article titled “Belgians who mock the German army” (*Dokugun o kurōsuru Berugijin* 獨軍を愚弄する白耳義人) about Belgian civilians mocking Germans by playing pranks.<sup>109</sup> As opposed to the articles which purely described events in an objective way or involves the Belgian royal family, these articles might have been able to inspire more empathy with the magazine’s reader. The intimacy of the day to day activities described by people who witnessed the war at first hand might indeed have enabled the readers to create a more lively image of what was, most of the time, going on at the other side of the planet. For example, the accounts made by the nurse Jeanne Puriton show a very humane side to the war when compared to other more stoic articles. However, when miss Puriton told the readers that she felt no hatred for the German soldiers that she had encountered,

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<sup>108</sup> “*Berugī kokuō no itsuwa*” 白耳義国王の逸話. *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 (1915) No. 24, pp. 98-103. / “*Hakkokuō to Eikoku gaishō*” 白国王と英国外相. *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 (1915) No. 30, pp.41-44. / 摩天樓 (Mótiān Lóu). “*Sekai no ninki o isshin ni atsumetamaeru: Berugī kokuō heika.*” 世界の人気を一身に集め給える: 白耳義国王陛下. *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 (1915) No. 17, pp. 21-31.

<sup>109</sup> ジョージ・ロシェ (George Roche). “*Dokugun o kurōsuru Berugijin*” 獨軍を愚弄する白耳義人. *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* 欧州戦争実記 (1915) No. 45, pp. 117-119.

and had treated them in the same way as any Allied soldier, a more bottom-up or intimate sentiment was able to reach out to the reader.<sup>110</sup>

Nonetheless, in most cases much of the emotionality was left over to the reader's interpretation. In the end, the three general topics of articles related to Belgium, which include military events, the royal family and even personal narratives, served a more informative purpose which mostly meant to contribute to the reader's understanding of the situation. Furthermore, in the first sixty volumes of the magazine we do not come across any articles which described any of the relief efforts which were being organized in Japan. In other words, while the magazine did not try to actively rule out any emotionality, it seems as if it hardly meant to contribute to the direct relief of the people who became the victims of war. Of course, one could argue that the readers might still have been moved by the articles to undertake their own humanitarian actions, but this does not change the fact that the magazine as an individual medium did not directly speak to the readers in order to mobilize them for charity and other philanthropic activities.

In a way of concluding this part about the *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* we can say that there are stark differences between this wartime magazine and the newspapers at the time, namely in the degree of emotionality of the language, the format, and possibly the intentions of the publications, although one could argue that this again is subject to personal interpretations. While the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* each in its own way, whether through personal fundraising, engaging women in charitable actions or the use of an emotional language, tried to get its readers to actively engage and participate in the organization and collection of humanitarian relief, the *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* did not seem to follow the same path. It gave sober depictions of the war which mostly seemed to aim at informing its readers rather than having them engage in international humanitarian efforts.

## 2.5 Belgium in Japanese Non-Printed Media

Not only newspapers mobilized themselves to engage in humanitarian efforts for Belgian civilians and soldiers. Other media also contributed to creating an understandable, if not relatable, image of the Great War.

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<sup>110</sup> At the same time, by sharing this realization of Miss Puriton the *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* offered its readers a more moderate or nuanced view on the Germany enemy. German soldiers are not only depicted as the offenders, but also as victims of the war. This goes to show that the *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* to certain extent tried to provide multiple interpretations of the war through a great variety of authors, whereas newspapers such as the *Yomiuri Shimbun* were bound by the reports provided by overseas newspaper agencies which were less neutral in their opinions.

One form of entertainment media which made this possible was opera or theatre. These could be organized with the prospects of using the money gathered through entrance fees as donations to Belgium. As said before, we can find several articles in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* where these events were announced, often with additional information as to who was organizing the event. For example, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of February 1916 we can find the announcement of an opera performance of the famous play *La Mascotte* in the imperial theatre. It was performed for three days on the 26<sup>th</sup>, 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of February and organized by the Belgian Della Faille couple, the French and British ambassadors Renoir and Green and their wives, and the Russian ambassador Malevitsj. The collected money would be donated to Belgian orphans.<sup>111</sup> These kind of performances did not only contribute to humanitarian aid through fundraising, they could also serve as a medium which could visualize the war. An interesting example of this was the theatre piece written by the Russian writer Leonid Andrejev “The Sorrows of Belgium” (*Berugī no Hiai* 白耳義の悲哀).<sup>112</sup> This work was translated by Matsui Shōyō 松居松葉, also named Matsui Shōō 松居松翁, and was performed by the theatre society *Budaikyōkai* 舞台協会 in the Western styled theatre house *yūrakuzā* 有楽座 from the second of May until the 4<sup>th</sup> of May in 1918.<sup>113</sup> What is interesting about this performance is that even before the war the author Andrejev was very passionate about patriotism and clearly wove his own ideology into his writings and plays. “The Sorrows of Belgium” is one of his works which also clearly carried messages of patriotism and originally was meant to trigger patriotic feelings of Russian spectators. This means that once more a Japanese audience was being confronted with both the suffering which Belgians had to endure, as well as the nation’s patriotic virtues. In other words, although scarce, theatre plays like this could have reminded Japanese people of their own patriotic duties towards their own country and its Allies.<sup>114</sup>

Another medium were magic lantern shows, where scenes from the war were being projected, accompanied by narrated information. In 1915, the Belgian Consul General in Yokohama, Charles Basten, gave a lecture at Waseda University (早稲田大学) about the

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<sup>111</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “*Berugī koji no tame jizen daikagekikai*” ベルギー孤児の為 慈善大歌劇会. 13 February 1916.

<sup>112</sup> The play tells a story where Belgium is represented by the main character who gives refuge to a mad girl, who represents the suffering people of Belgium.

<sup>113</sup> *Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “*Yūrakuzā Berugī no hiai ichijikan no to*” 有楽座 白耳義の悲哀 一時間の賭. 3 May 1918. / *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “*Berugī no hiai*” 白耳義の悲哀. 7 May 1918.

<sup>114</sup> However, one could also argue that most plays at the time involved some kind of patriotic messages.



tragedies taking place in Belgium using magic lantern projections. The *Yomiuri* article also explicitly informed the reader that “The purpose of this lecture was to raise sympathy from the university students... (*Dōdaigaku daigakusei no dōjō ni uttaeru hazunarito ... 同大学大学生の同情に訴ふる筈なりと...*)”.<sup>115</sup> As we can see by the article published in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* on the 27<sup>th</sup> of April 1917, these magic lantern shows were also being performed for children and their parents, for example in Hongō Primary School (*Hongō Shōgakkō* 本郷小学校) where two thousand people paid to see the projections. Scenes from the destroyed landscapes of Namur, Antwerp and Liège were reported to be shown, together with images of Belgian refugees and the royal family. The article claimed that the show had a big impact on the people who came to watch the projections.<sup>116</sup> To show that not only *Yomiuri Shimbun* reported on these magic lantern shows, it might be interesting to mention that the *Asahi Shimbun* also jumped on the wagon and even organized its own magic lantern show displaying images involving Belgium.<sup>117</sup> During this event, organized by the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of February 1915 the translated testimony of the Belgian consul-general in Kobe was presented at the Tosabori Youth Centre (*Tosabori Seinenkan* 土佐堀青年館) in Osaka.<sup>118</sup>

Another medium were newsreels. These were shown in movie theatres and featured both national as international news. The images could be accompanied by the narration of a live narrator.<sup>119</sup> With titles such as “We Should Have Sympathy for Belgium – The German Army’s Tyranny (*Berugī ni Dōjōsubeki-Dokugun no Bōi* 白耳義に同情すべき・獨軍の暴威)”<sup>120</sup>

<sup>115</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Wadai no Berugī sanjō gentō” 早大のベルギー惨状幻灯. 15 February 1915.

<sup>116</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo). “[Yomiuri Fujin Furoku] Hongō shōgakkō no Berugī gentōkai” [よみうり婦人付録] 本郷小学校のベルギー幻燈会. 27 April 1917. The article ended with the sentence “The projections moved those present gravely. (*Raikansha ni tadaina kandō o okosashimeta to no koto aru.* 来観者に多大な感動を起さしめたとの事ある。)”

<sup>117</sup> *Asahi Shimbun* (Osaka). “Hakkoku sanjō kōenkai <ga>” 白国惨状講演会<画>. 28 February 1915.

<sup>118</sup> One should however bear in mind that the *Asahi Shimbun* only reported on three of these magic lantern shows (three times about the same show at that) and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* only about two. It would be strange if not more performances were given, as it would not have been cheap, nor without any difficulties to bring these Belgium involving images to Japan. However, these newspapers do not speak of any more performances.

<sup>119</sup> Louis G. Perez, *Japan at War: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barba: ABC-CLIO, 2013 ), p. 274.

<sup>120</sup> As published in an program leaflet of the Tokyo Shinkyōkyoku Kabukiza 新京極歌舞伎座 on the 28<sup>th</sup> of February 1915. This leaflet has been provided by the *Ritsumeikan Daigaku Kokusai Heiwa Myūjiamu* 立命館大学国際平和ミュージアム as a part of the Hatano Uichirō 波多野卯一郎 collection.

and “Belgium Louvain’s Misery After the War (*Berugī Rūban Sengo no Sanjō* 白耳義ルウー  
ヴン戦後の惨状)”<sup>121</sup> it is hard to imagine that these newsreels did not mean to invoke  
emotions with its spectators.

Not all of these media directly asked its consumers to support charity, but they did  
contribute to the people’s awareness about the war. And it might have been exactly this  
awareness which might have encouraged Japanese people to join the international humanitarian  
efforts for Belgium. On top of that, even more than newspapers, these visual performances or  
projections confronted people directly with images which might have created a bigger  
emotional impact. In addition, the theatre plays, lectures, magic lantern shows and newsreels  
all targeted different audiences, maybe even audiences like children or students who would  
normally not buy or read newspapers, leave alone wartime magazines. In other words, these  
media contributed to the fact that news on the suffering of Belgians reached into many different  
strata of the Japanese society.

### 3 Japanese Fundraising for Belgium

In the previous chapter we looked into how different media reported on occupied Belgium and  
the ongoing humanitarian crises in the country. We discussed several fundraising campaigns  
which had been announced in or organized by the media. In this chapter we will take a closer  
look at the offering of the Japanese sword made by the *Asahi Shimbunsha* and the 1921 visit of  
the Japanese Crown Prince Hirohito to Belgium, after which we discuss the restoration of the  
Louvain university library. Lastly we shortly discuss other interesting examples of charity  
which have been reported on in the Japanese newspapers as well. These are individual examples  
of charity which are not linked to the political efforts which we will discuss in this chapter, or  
the newspaper related charities mentioned in the previous chapter. First of all we will look at  
the contribution of *Asahi Shimbunsha*’s overseas correspondent during the beginning of the  
Great War and the role he played in the offering a Japanese sword to the Belgian King Albert  
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<sup>121</sup> Leaflet of the newsreel was provided by the *Ritsumeikan Daigaku Kokusai Heiwa Myūjiamu* 立命館大学国際  
平和ミュージアム as a part of the Hatano Uichirō 波多野卯一郎 collection. The newsreel, as shown on the 11<sup>th</sup>  
of November 1914, was narrated by a narrator named Aikō 愛光 and provided by the *Sanyūkurabu* 三友クラブ  
(also written as 三友倶楽部) movie company in Kyoto.

### 3.1 Sugimura Sojinkan as a War Correspondent in Europe

One of the main figures involved in the reporting on wartime Belgium is Sugimura Sojinkan 杉村楚人冠, also known as Sugimura Kōtarō 杉村廣太郎. Before Sugimura began to work at *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* in 1903, he had studied at the Tokyo Legal Academy (*Tōkyō Hōgakuin* 東京法学院) and dropped out in his second year to study at the National English Academy (*Kokumin Eigakkai* 国民英学会) where he improved his English skills. After graduating in 1888, Sugimura went on to become a journalist, first becoming the chief editor of the Wakayama Newspaper (*Wakayama Shinpō* 和歌山新報) in 1891. In 1898 he joined the Society for the Study of Socialism (*Shakaishugi Kenkyūkai* 社会主義研究会). There he became acquainted with other influential writers and journalists like Katayama Sen 片山潜 and Toshihiko Sakai 利彦堺.<sup>122</sup> A year later he became an interpreter for the American Consulate. During his time of employment at the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* he worked in the department of foreign news where he wrote editorials and articles concerning foreign affairs. During his career as a journalist he was sent to America and Great Britain on several occasions to serve as an overseas correspondent. In 1911 he was the first journalist in Japan to establish a Research Department (*sakuinbu* 索引部), an idea he had brought home from his experiences as a journalist abroad. He also became the head of the department.<sup>123</sup> By the end of his life in 1945 he had established himself as a well-known writer and journalist who published books and other publications which both concerned national as international matters.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Katayama Sen and Toshihiko Sakai, also known as Sakai Kosen 枯川堺, became founding members of the Japan Communist Party in 1922. More on these people can be found in Robert A. Scalapino, *The Japanese Communist Movement 1920-1966* (California: California University Press, 1967).

<sup>123</sup> Tomizuka Hideki 冨塚秀樹. *Nihon shinbungakushi no okeru Sugimura Sojinkan* 日本新聞学史における杉村楚人冠. *Kyōto Seika Daigakyū kiyō henshū iinkai* 京都精華大学紀要編集委員会 (2008). <http://www.kyoto-seika.ac.jp/researchlab/wp/wp-content/uploads/kiyo/pdf-data/no19/totsuka.pdf>.

<sup>124</sup> His publications include the 1924 series *Song of the Lakeshore* (*kohan gi* 湖畔吟) which were first published in the *Asahi Graph* and later on published as three books, the 1915 *Recent Journalism* (*Saikin Shibunshigaku* 最近新聞紙学) and the 1914 *Travels Around the Hemisphere* (*Taieiyūki Hankyūshūyū* 大英游記半球周遊). *Abikoshi Chiba* 我孫子市千葉. *Sugimura Sojinkan Dokusho Annai* 杉村楚人冠読書案内. *Shōgaigakushū sentā abisuta* 生涯学習センターアピスタ (2015). [https://www.city.abiko.chiba.jp/event/shiseki\\_bunkazai/sugimurasojinkan/shuhen\\_link.files/20121212-100951.pdf](https://www.city.abiko.chiba.jp/event/shiseki_bunkazai/sugimurasojinkan/shuhen_link.files/20121212-100951.pdf).

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of August 1914, only days after German troops had invaded Belgium, he was dispatched to Great Britain as a correspondent for the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* in London. During his stay in London he saw many Belgian refugees arrive in Great Britain and he published his observations in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*. His first six articles were published under the title “Tairan o yoso ni” 大乱を余所に (Outside of the turbulence) where told about his travel to London, the next twenty-eight publications with the title “Ranka no naka yori” 乱渦の中より (From within the chaos) explained the chaos taking place in the capital which involves his testimonies concerning Belgian refugees arriving in Great Britain, six more articles with the title “Sukoku no aki” 蘇国の秋 (The Scottish fall) described his visits to several Scottish cities like Glasgow and Edinburgh. The following eight articles were titled “Furansu tōchi chikachi” 仏蘭西遠ち近ち (Far and close from France) and described his visits to Paris and Lyon and nineteen more articles under the title “Tachi kenjō joki” 太刀献上記 (Notes on the Tachi sword) gave information on the Belgian royal family and Sugimura’s mission to offer the Belgian King Albert I the Japanese sword presented by *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*. Lastly he published three more articles titled “Hakkoku kōgō haietsuki” 白国皇后拝謁記 (Notes on an audience with the Belgian queen) where he gave more background information on the Belgian queen.<sup>125</sup> While many of his publications involved war related topics, such as the way aid for refugees was being provided or how daily life in a country like Great Britain started to change because of the ongoing war, he also wrote several articles which were not directly related to the war. For example, when he described his travel to Glasgow he talked about a family who took the same train to Glasgow as him and described how the mother was having a rough time trying to stop the children from playing with their dog. This shows that while he tried to relate military events and wartime situations to the readers of the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*, he also tried to offer them a direct glimpse into the daily life in Great Britain which was not necessarily always afflicted by the war. By doing so he might have provided the readers with a nuanced look on the war as it was not only misery and destruction but also included moments of peace. Although, in his accounts on his travel to Glasgow he did mention coming across a young seven or eight year old boy who was dressed in a Belgian army uniform and, together with his mother, would

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<sup>125</sup> He published nine more articles titled “Monako no kuni buri” モナコの国ぶり (The origins of the country Monaco) in which described the events in Monaco, followed by more individual publications which described his private holidays during Christmas and other travels he made in Great Britain during the wartime.

ask passers-by to spare some money for Belgian refugees.<sup>126</sup> When we do take a look at the war related articles he wrote, we could say that the content of his articles which involved Belgian refugees was quite similar to the articles which were being published in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* under the section of *Yomiuri Fujin Furoku*. He often told about these Belgian refugees in the British town Folkestone, a harbour city where many troops were dispatched from Great Britain and Belgian refugees arrived. In his reporting he was not shy from describing the problems these people faced, but he used a less romantic language to describe the events than the *Yomiuri Fujin Furoku*, or the other articles on Belgium published in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*.

### 3.2 The Offering of a Japanese Sword to the Belgian King by the *Asahi Shimbunsha*

As mentioned before, the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* hardly ever failed to mention Belgium's bravery and courage during the Great War. The country, while often described as being small, was depicted as a nation possessing of a population which was endlessly stubborn in its perseverance to protect their king, country and justice. Not only Belgian soldiers and civilians were described by the newspaper as courageous, their king was also often revered as a valiant defender of justice. Early in the war, a short publication in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* described the Belgian king in a rather stoic way, describing how he calmly continued to smoke his cigarette while a German plane scouted the air above the city Antwerp.<sup>127</sup> Another example was when the article titled “Hakuō jintō ni tatsu” 白王陣頭に立つ (The Belgian king at the head of the army) shortly mentioned how the king led his entire army through a downpour of bombs.<sup>128</sup> The newspaper also mentioned on several occasions how the king persevered in encouraging his soldiers during the worst times of the war.<sup>129</sup> Another article titled “Hakkokuō no yūkan” 白国王の勇敢 (The Belgian king's bravery) expressed how the king stayed in Antwerp with his wife, who also volunteered at a Red Cross hospital, despite the looming danger of German attacks.<sup>130</sup> Or when the king scouted the battlefield from a moored balloon while there was the possibility of being attacked by German troops.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Sukoku no aki 4, Gurasugō Sojinkan” 蘇国の秋4、グラスゴー 楚人冠. 20 November 1914.

<sup>127</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Yūyūtaru Hakkokuō” 悠々たる白国王. 30 September 1914.

<sup>128</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Shiraō jintō ni tatsu” 白王陣頭に立つ. 24 October 1914.

<sup>129</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Hakkokuō no gekirei” 白国王の激励. 2 November 1914.

<sup>130</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Hakkokuō no yūkan” 白国王の勇敢. 11 October 1914.

<sup>131</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Hakkokuō kikyū ni norite tekijinchi o teisatsusu <utsushi>” 白国王気球に乗りて敵陣地を偵察す<写>. 5 October 1914.

In a way to support and praise the bravery of the Belgian people and its monarch, the *Asahi Shimbunsha* devised a plan to offer the Belgian king a traditional Japanese sword. The sword itself was said to be forged in Hizen 肥前 in the sixteenth century and used by the famous *daimyō* Oda Nobunaga 織田信長.<sup>132</sup> On the 7<sup>th</sup> of October 1914, Sugimura Sojinkan first received instructions concerning the offering of the sword to the Belgian king. He claimed that presenting the sword to the King in person would have a bigger impact than simply having the sword delivered with a letter, so he asked permission to do so. His suggestion was published a month later in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* on the 7<sup>th</sup> of November. The next step in the plan was to officially ask the Belgian government, which was in exile in Le Havre, if there was a possibility of Sugimura presenting the sword to King Albert I himself on the occasion of the king's birthday. The request was handed in on the 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1914 and was granted by the Belgian government on the first of December. Sugimura departed from London after receiving the sword from Japan and he managed to meet the Belgian king on the 30<sup>th</sup> of January 1915. Within the thirty minutes in which Sugimura was allowed an audience with the king, he presented the sword and a message of dedication from the president of *Asahi Shimbun* Murayama Ryōhei to the monarch. The written message praised how Belgium as a country was unparalleled in its courage and endeavour to exterminate injustice and protect humanity, even with its own fate as a nation at stake.<sup>133</sup>

The first five daily articles which fell under the reports titled “Notes on the Tachi sword” and subtitled “*Berugī kōtei*” 白耳義皇帝 (Belgium's Monarch) were published from the 20<sup>th</sup> of April 1915 and gave lengthy background information on the Belgian king, sketched the monarch's life up until the moment he became king and his actions during the war.<sup>134</sup> The following articles covering the whole process of presenting the sword were published almost daily until the 12<sup>th</sup> of May 1915, with most of the articles taking up at least two paragraphs of text in the centre of the sixth page. The sixth article described the process of how the government was informed of the *Asahi Shimbunsha*'s plans and also explained how Sugimura had asked the help of a journalist of the British newspaper *The Times* to go over his English

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<sup>132</sup> Willy Vande Walle and David De Cooman (ed.), *Japan & Belgium: Four Centuries of Exchange*, p. 226.

<sup>133</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tachi kenjōki (5) *Berugī kōtei* (5) Sojinkan” 太刀献上記 (5) 白耳義皇帝 (5) 楚人冠. 24 April 1915.

<sup>134</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tachi kenjōki (1) *Berugī kōtei* (1) Sojinkan <utsushi>” 太刀献上記 (1) 白耳義皇帝 (1) 楚人冠 <写>. 20 April 1915.

telegrams to the Belgian king and his secretaries.<sup>135</sup> The following articles further described the response coming from the Belgian government and the arrival of the sword in Europe. As he mentioned, the arrival of the sword in London did not go as smoothly as had been hoped, as there were international problems with the Miyazaki Maru 宮崎丸, the ship which transported the precious gift from Japan to Great Britain. The ships had problems entering the Thames river because of its size, then customs wanted to open the box in which the sword had carefully been placed since they wanted to inspect the sword, turning the whole process into a complex series of problems involving four nations, as Sugimura described in one of the articles by saying that “It became a problem which transgressed negotiations between the four nations Great Britain, France, Belgium and Japan. (*Igirisu Furansu Berugī Nihon shikoku ni wataru kōshō mondai to natta. 英佛白日四国に渉る交渉問題となった。*)”.<sup>136</sup> Arriving in France he met with the The Times correspondent named Hargrove in Calais and there the two continued their travel to Dunkirk. In his first article describing their stay at Dunkirk, Sugimura told how only the night before eight people had been killed by bombs dropped on the city. He sketched the scenery from the window in their hotel the Chapeau Rouge, told about the Belgian government which moved to Le Havre, while also mentioning that the Belgian king had not left Belgian grounds since the war had started “*Waga Arubēru heika wa kaisen irai mada katte Berugī no ryōdo o sarareta towanai. わがアルベール陛下は開戦以来未だ嘗て白国義の領土を去られたとはない。*”, saying that the king preferred to stay in the small Belgian coast city Veurne and rule his country from there.<sup>137</sup> Sugimura wrote in lyric details about the day when the sword was presented, told how their car reached the house in Veurne where the king was staying after

<sup>135</sup> Although, one could also imagine that the presence of a British journalist working for The Times might have ensured more publicity on the offering of the sword.

<sup>136</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tachi kenjōki (6) gotanshin no shukuji ni yosete.” 太刀献上記 (6) 御誕辰の祝辞に寄せて. 25 April 1915 / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tachi kenjōki (7) Kennōhin gokanō no seishi Sojinkan” 刀献上記 (7) 献納品御嘉納の聖旨 楚人冠. 26 April 1915 / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tachi kenjōki (8) tachi tōchaku Sojinkan” 太刀献上記 (8) 太刀到着 楚人冠. 27 April 1915 / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tachi kenjōki (9) Shuppatsu made no dosakusa Sojinkan” 太刀献上記 (9) 出発迄のどきくさ 楚人冠. 28 April 1915.

<sup>137</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tachi kenjōki (11) tankeruku no ichiya (ue) Sojinkan” 太刀献上記 (11) タンケルクの一夜 (上) 楚人冠. 2 May 1915 / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tachi kenjōki (12) tankeruku no ichiya (shita) Sojinkan” 太刀献上記 (12) タンケルクの一夜 (下) 楚人冠. 4 May 1915 / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tachi kenjōki (13) awaji no kuni hodo no Berugī Sojinkan” 太刀献上記 (13) 淡路の国ほどの白耳義 楚人冠. 6 May 1915.

crossing desert-like dunes, described how unreal it felt to come to the understanding that this peaceful place which so much resembled a comfortable summer holiday house was actually a house in which the king of Belgium resided. Together with the driver, who carried the box inside the residence of the king, Sugimura, the Japanese Minister to Belgium Yamanaka Chiyuki 山中千之, who had been staying in France, and the British journalist Hargrove awaited the appearance of King Albert I. First they were greeted by a military officer who turned out to be the king's aide-de-camp, whom he described as a tall but kind looking person. The company was thanked for coming so far to which Yamanaka responded in French.<sup>138</sup> In the following article, which described the actual meeting with the king, Sugimura made sure to describe the room where he was greeted by the king in detail, saying that the room looked plainly decorated, adding that if it were normal times one would never expect it to be a room in which a monarch could be found, after which he cut off the article with a cliff-hanger saying that King Albert and his aide-de camp entered the room.<sup>139</sup> In the article which followed the next day he explained to the readers how the encounter with the king had been conducted in English, adding that the telegrams he had used to contact the Belgian government had also been in English. The king thanked all three members for coming to visit from such a far place. After the formal greeting finished, Sugimura continued to read out the letter written for the king which accompanied the sword. The king both thanked the Japanese people and the president of the *Asahi Shimbunsha* for showing compassion through the offering of the sword. Sugimura was allowed to take the sword out of its box and present it to the king, after which the king inspected the decorations on the sword and praised them to be “very artistic”. Sugimura confessed that he felt deeply honoured to unsheathe the sword in front of the king, especially while knowing that the enemy had put a bounty on the head of the king, also claiming that the trust the king put in him as a unknown foreigner was not only aimed at him but also at the company he represented and the Japanese people in general.<sup>140</sup> After that he described how the king expressed how he admired

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<sup>138</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tachi kenjōki (15) kōshizai no ue Sojinkan” 太刀献上記（15）行所在の上 楚人冠 . 8 May 1915.

<sup>139</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tachi kenjōki (16) kōshizai no shita Sojinkan” 太刀献上記（16）行所在の下 楚人冠 . 9 May 1915.

<sup>140</sup> “That I was allowed to unsheathe the sword in front of the King made me feel deeply honoured, knowing that a price had been put on the King's life. (*Boku wa kono toki ni heika gomae ni tsurugi o nuku to no kōei o shimijimi to kanjita. Sore heika no seimei ni wa osoreoi to nagara shō ga kakatteiru.* 僕はこの時に陛下の御前に劔を抜くとの光栄を染み々と感じた。夫れ陛下の生命には畏れ多いとながら賞が掛かっている。)” And “At the same time I understood that I did not only represent myself and the *Asahi Shimbunsha* which I represented, but also the whole of Japan. (*Dōji ni kore wa jibun ni taisuru goshinninnn toiwa yorimo jibun ga daihyōsuru Asahi*



the way that Japan had developed itself as an industrial and military country, and if the chance would ever present itself he would like to travel to the country, seeing as he loved far travels. The following conversation touched upon several topics, such as the bravery of the Japanese army during the Russo-Japanese War and about the Japanese Red Cross nurses and doctors who would travel to Great Britain, France and Russia. Then the king brought up the subject of there being many great doctors in Japan and that there even are Japanese students studying at the university in Brussels. After half an hour King Albert I once more thanked the *Asahi Shimbunsha*, its president and the Japanese people for the present.<sup>141</sup> On the 12<sup>th</sup> of May 1915 Sugimura published the nineteenth and last article about the presented sword under the title “Shimei o hatashite *Karē made*” 使命を果してカレー迄 (Fulfilling the mission, returning to Calais). Soon after he met the Belgian queen in London he concluded his adventure and returned to Japan.<sup>142</sup>

Because of the British journalist who had joined Sugimura on his expedition, word about the presenting of the sword was soon being reported around the globe.<sup>143</sup> As a response to the message of appreciation given by the Belgian king upon receiving the sword, the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* sponsored a magic lantern event on the 27<sup>th</sup> of February 1915 which displayed the suffering of the Belgian people.<sup>144</sup> Throughout his reporting, Sugimura Sojinkan managed to cover many different topics such as the lives of Belgian refugees, the royal family and his encounters with the war even in places where it did not immediately affect people, like when he met the boy and his mother collecting donations for Belgian refugees during his holiday in Glasgow. His articles showed a variety of humane sides to the war which allowed the newspaper readers to feel as if they got a direct glimpse into the daily life of an European power engaging in the Great War. In addition, his lyrical way of writing was very comfortable and attractive to read, and easily provide any reader with an understandable image of reality without being too

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*Shimbun Sha oyobi ōkuieba nihon ni taisuru go shinnin to mita.* 同時にはは自分に對する御信任といはよりも自分が代表する朝日新聞社及び大きく言えば日本に對する御信任と見た。)”

<sup>141</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tachi kenjōki (17) ekken (shita) Sojinkan” 太刀献上記 (17) 謁見 (下) 楚人冠. 10 May 1915 / *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tachi kenjōki (18) ekken (shita) Sojinkan” 太刀献上記 (18) 謁見 (下) 楚人冠. 11 May 1915.

<sup>142</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tachi kenjōki (19) shimei o hatashite karee made Sojinkan” 太刀献上記 (19) 使命を果してカレー迄 楚人冠. 12 May 1915.

<sup>143</sup> For example, we can see the event being mentioned in The Telegraph in Australia. *The Telegraph* (Brisbane). “For King Albert: Japanese Sword”. 27 March 1915.

<sup>144</sup> *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* (Osaka). “Hakkoku sanjō no gentō Ōsaka Asahi Shimbun no shusai” 白国慘状の幻灯 大阪朝日新聞の主催. 1 March 1915.

romantic. While he never mentioned any charity events, except for the offering of the sword, and never directly tried to convince people to contribute to any fundraising for Belgian soldiers or civilians, it is hard to imagine that his testimonies did not contribute to the growing awareness and sympathy which led the newspaper's readers to engage in charity events for Belgium. To summarize Sugimura's contribution to the Japanese humanitarian aid for Belgium, we could say that his very detailed publications sketched quite lifelike depictions of the war and the hardships it brought along which. Together with the many other articles on the distressed Belgian population which were often laced with rather an emotional language, his accounts might have played a crucial role in the growing sense of empathy and a civil consciousness on the war within the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*'s readers.

### **3.3 Crown Prince Hirohito's Visit to Belgium in 1921**

Apart from the private fundraising campaigns which newspapers like the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* or women's organizations such as the *Nihon Fujin Berugī Dōjōkai* organized, there also were more public appeals to raise awareness for the miserable situation people in Europe found themselves in because of the war. As mentioned before, both Belgian diplomats such as Georges Della Faille, as Japanese diplomats such as the Japanese Minister to Belgium Adachi Mineichirō 安達峰一郎 lobbied in order to collect donations for Belgium.

When considering these kind of fundraising campaigns which came from more diplomatic or elite levels in society, the visit of Crown Prince Hirohito to the by war destroyed Belgium in June 1921 should also most definitely be taken into consideration. For six months the Japanese Crown Prince Hirohito travelled through Europe, leaving on the third of March and returning on the third of September. Soon after, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of November 1921 he was appointed regent of his father and took over his tasks as the emperor of Japan. The timing of the journey was not a coincidental one, as it was meant to show the Crown Prince the at that time still tangible destruction which had flooded through Europe and also prepared him for his future as the emperor of Japan.<sup>145</sup>

Several reasons can be given as to why this journey was of importance to the Japan's place in the international community. The break with a past marked by isolation could not have been bigger, as the country which had closed its borders for over two hundred years now send its future emperor abroad. It showed an effort coming from the Japanese government to establish the nation more as one engaging in, or at least interested in, international politics. In

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<sup>145</sup> Frederick R. Dickinson, *World War One and the Triumph of a New Japan, 1919-1930*, pp. 103-104.

addition, the final decision of sending the Crown Prince on this journey also finally dismissed the protests of those opposing the overseas journey. As the journal of the travel titled “The Crown Prince’s European Tour” (*Kōtaishi Denka Gogaiuki* 皇太子殿下御外遊記) mentioned, it provided a chance for the young Crown Prince to learn about many things which would be useful for when he succeeded his father.<sup>146</sup> At the same time, one could also perceive the journey as a goodwill campaign from the Japanese government for smaller allies, as the trip did not include North-America or Canada but did pay heed to considerably smaller allies such as Belgium and the Netherlands. Moreover, the visit of the future emperor also served a way of guaranteeing that Europeans would be reminded of the fact that Japan, while being a far Eastern nation, did help the West out during the Great War and, in its own way, contributed to the victory of the Allies. For example, the fact that the Crown Prince visited the memorial grave in Kalkara (Malta) which had been erected in order to commemorate the Japanese lives lost in the Mediterranean Sea due to enemy attacks showed that the envoy did not intend to let Japan’s contribution to the war go unnoticed.<sup>147</sup>

The book “The Crown Prince’s European Tour” also pointed out other objectives of the travel. One ambition was to rebuke stereotypes which might have led Europeans to believe that the Japanese were a population consisting of people who revelled in a prude politeness and that every Japanese woman walked around dressed like a geisha who lived in a picturesque world as depicted by Hokusai’s works. In order to denounce these flattering misconceptions, the royal envoy would be allowed to show that the Japanese enjoyed a similar level of sophistication and civilization.<sup>148</sup> This book also stressed that the visit to these overseas allies was a political one. The authors claimed that the visit had nothing to do with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which had not been renewed in 1920.<sup>149</sup> However, this does not mean that the visit was completely free of any political intention. First of all, as mentioned before it did allow the Japanese government to send the Crown Prince abroad and quiet the opposition on the matter, which we will discuss on the following pages. It also continued Japan’s efforts to paint itself as another

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<sup>146</sup> Futara Yoshinori and Sawada Setsuzo, *The Crown Prince’s European Tour* (Osaka: The Osaka Mainichi Publishing Co., 1926), pp. 6-7.

<sup>147</sup> The Crown Prince participated in a wreath-laying commemoration at the grave on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April. On the obelisk mounted on the grave the words “*Dainihon Teikoku Daini Tokumukantai Senshisha no Haka* 大日本帝国第二特務艦隊戦死者之墓” can be read, which translates to “The Grave of Members of the Second Imperial Squadron who died on Special Duty”.

<sup>148</sup> Futara Yoshinori and Sawada Setsuzo, *The Crown Prince’s European Tour*, pp. 7-9.

<sup>149</sup> Great Britain did not want to continue the Anglo-Japanese Alliance for several reasons, including the fact that tensions between America and Japan were rising and Great Britain wanted to avoid stepping on America’s toes through engaging in a renewed alliance with Japan.

modernized and civilized nation, reaffirmed its alliances with both big nations such as France as well as smaller countries such as the Netherlands, all the while rebuking persistent stereotypes about the nation and its inhabitants. The authors of the journal of the princely journey, Futara Yoshinori 二荒 芳徳 and Sawada Setsuzō 澤田 節蔵, also claimed that the Japanese emperor and his civilians prided themselves in their national solidarity, boldly claiming so under the title “Visit Not Political”.<sup>150</sup> However, we now know that this certainly is a statement which we should consider with a sense of criticism. In addition, from the diary of Prime Minister Hara it becomes clear that the tour did intend to strengthen ties with Great Britain.<sup>151</sup> Not only did it offer an occasion for Japan to present itself once more as an internationally relevant power, the unprecedented journey of a Japanese person of such high position also reaffirmed the relevance of maintaining diplomatic relationships with European nations.<sup>152</sup>

The matter had already been discussed with the *genrō* in 1919 by Prime Minister Hara Takashi where he met with favourable opinions of Saionji Kinmochi 西園寺公望, Yamagata Aritomo 山縣有朋 and Matsukata Masayoshi 松方正義. The fact that these elder statesmen had already travelled to Europe during their earlier careers contributed to their positive opinion on the matter. They also believed that the possibility for the Crown Prince to see this change Europe underwent because of the war at first hand, rather than relying on outdated accounts, could have proved to be crucial for his education as a future ruler.<sup>153</sup> This kind of royal journeys might have been unprecedented in Japan but had already been used before by other countries to entertain friendly ties and diplomatic relations with other nations.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Futara Yoshinori and Sawada Setsuzo, *The Crown Prince's European Tour*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>151</sup> The original accounts titled *The Crown Prince's European Tour* (Kōtaishi Denka Gogaiuki 皇太子殿下御外遊記) were written by Futara Yoshinori and Sawada Setsuzo who accompanied the Prince on his tour. The work was translated by the staff of the Osaka Mainichi and revised by Harold E. Palmer. Many of the printed works were destroyed in 1923 in the great Kanto Earthquake. The version used for this paper has been published in 1925. Futara Yoshinori and Sawada Setsuzo, *The Crown Prince's European Tour* (Osaka: The Osaka Mainichi Publishing Co., 1926).

<sup>152</sup> On top of reassuring international diplomatic and political relations, another reason why Prime Minister Hara Takashi instigated the debate about a foreign expedition for the Crown Prince was to assure that the future emperor would have the right background and set of tools to engage with a globalizing world. The father of the Crown Prince, Emperor Taishō, showed signs of a declining mental state, which made the Prime Minister aware of the fact that a regent might be in order sooner than expected. Ian H. Nish, *Collective Writings of Ian Nish* (Japan Library: Tokyo, 2001), p. 239.

<sup>153</sup> This can both be seen in a literal sense, as when he visited Oxford University on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May and the university library of Louvain and on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June, as well in a more subtle context by meeting foreign diplomats and officials.

<sup>154</sup> For example, in 1920, Japan was visited by the Romanian Crown Prince Carol and by King Vajiravudh of Thailand. On top of that, in June 1920 Hara also mentions the visit of the Prince of Wales to present day India and

In October 1920, Hara Takashi once more proposed his idea to the other ministers who agreed on making the notion public. The press covered the travel proposal heavily, as it posed an opportunity for the Japanese press to display its ability to cover such an international event through their overseas correspondents. As an example, the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* published an article on the third of May in 1921 with the title “The Emperor’s visit to Europe and the *Asahi Shimbun*” (*Tōgū gotō to Asahi Shimbun* 東宮御渡欧と朝日新聞) in which it expressed that the company had long been preparing for the opportunity to cover such an eventful international voyage, even listing all their journalists placed abroad as a way to prove that statement. The fact that this journey was a break with a centuries old tradition was also being mentioned in another article.<sup>155</sup> Japanese newspapers continued to report on the activities of the Crown Prince, specifying the people he met with and the places he visited.

The idea of sending the Crown Prince Hirohito overseas was not received everywhere with equal enthusiasm, as we alluded to the existence of an opposition before. Several individuals and groups opposed the proposal, including the private tutor of the Prince Sugiura Shigetake 杉浦重剛, who preferred a more conservative approach when it came down to preparing the Crown Prince for being emperor. He absolutely wanted to avoid the future emperor to be influenced by foreign influences. This opinion was shared by the mother of the Prince, Empress Teimei 貞明皇后, who followed after the advice of the Crown Prince’s private tutor. Nationalist organizations such as the *Genyōsha* 玄洋社 led by Tōyama Mitsuru 頭山満 and Uchida Ryōhei 内田良平 were also not keen on allowing the Crown Prince to break with centuries of tradition. They feared that the voyage would allow the Crown Prince to be afflicted by international influences which could harm the Japanese identity of the future emperor. In order to disturb the plans of setting up this European Tour, the media was used to distribute unsettling arguments as to why the tour might pose a danger to the life of the Prince, since the long and far travel by ship could be a risky undertaking, and even more problems could arise if the Crown Prince would be needed in his own country if any type of national crisis would erupt.<sup>156</sup>

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Australia and New Zealand in his diary. Willy Vande Walle and David De Cooman (ed.), *Japan & Belgium: An Itinerary of Mutual Inspiration* (Tiel: Lannoo N.V., 2016), p. 132.

<sup>155</sup> *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo). “Tōgū gogaiyū o hōsōsu / Shasetsu” 東宮御外遊を奉送す／社説. 3 March 1921.

<sup>156</sup> Ian H. Nish, *Collective Writings of Ian Nish*, p. 240. Although one can see that the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun*, while reporting on the process and protests prior to the journey, it seems that they did not quite criticize the plans very straightforward.

The opposition took its actions to such an extent that it started a movement called the Movement to Cancel the Crown Prince's Travel Abroad (*Kōtaishi Yōkō Chūshi Undō* 皇太子洋行中止運動). The tour itself was used also in another discussion, which was a possible betrothal of the Crown Prince with Princess Nagako 良子, who was a descendant of Prince Shimazu Tadayoshi 島津忠義 who had been the last daimyo of the Satsuma prefecture. With the rivalry between the several domains fresh in memory, the genrō wanted to avoid the marriage which had been proposed by the Crown Prince's private tutor Sugiura, for it brought forth the danger of having the journey delayed, or even cancelled. On the other hand, the tour served as a good excuse to delay the marriage plans.<sup>157</sup> Those in favour of the royal match threatened to obstruct any possibility for the Crown Prince to leave Japan, even physically blocking to way from the Imperial Palace to the departure quay in the harbour. Even so, the Japanese government devised a plan to collect the necessary budget of ten million yen to fund the travel. With the country already facing other budgetary problems due to the recession, protests followed the proposed plan, all leading up to a major rally in the capital on the 11<sup>th</sup> of February, during National Foundation Day. Protests were to no avail, as Prime Minister Hara pointed out that the plans would not be discarded and the European Tour would take place, no matter what protests the opposition came up with next. Eventually both the plans for the royal marriage as the overseas journey were confirmed to be carried out and Hirohito was allowed to visit Europe.<sup>158</sup>

While the main destination of the tour was Great Britain, it was decided that other wartime allies of Japan would also be visited.<sup>159</sup> This included Belgium, which brings us back to our story of Japanese humanitarian aid for Belgium after the Great War. With the Crown Prince visiting, the Japanese media would surely bring up to the suffering which the Belgian people had endured during and even still after the war. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1921 the Crown Prince made his way from France to Belgium, where he and his convoy arrived at four in the afternoon in the city Mons. There the Crown Prince was greeted by a Belgian welcoming party which was headed by the Governor of the Province of Hainault, Maurice Damoiseaux, and

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<sup>157</sup> Especially Yamagata Aritomo was not pleased by the proposed marriage, as the Satsuma clan had been a rival to his own Chōshū clan for centuries. Ian H. Nish, *Collective Writings of Ian Nish*, p. 239.

<sup>158</sup> The royal wedding took place on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 1924.

<sup>159</sup> The cruiser *Katori* and its escorting cruiser *Kajima* had been built some fifteen years ago in a British shipyard and served the British Empire, as well did the visits to British colonies such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Ceylon and Malta. However, other European allies from during the Great War, such as Belgium and France, were also visited. Ian H. Nish, *Collective Writings of Ian Nish* (Japan Library: Tokyo, 2001), p. 241.

ambassador Adachi Mineichirō, who played a big part in raising awareness on the suffering of Belgians during and after the war. An hour later the delegation arrived in Brussels where they were welcomed by King Albert I and his son the duke of Brabant, future king Leopold III.<sup>160</sup> The delegation was brought to the court where they met with Queen Elisabeth and other members of the court. During a banquet that evening both King Albert I and Crown Prince Hirohito made sure to include the importance of the relationship between the respective countries in their speeches. The Belgian king repeated in his speech how Japan had fought as a loyal ally according to its traditions or bravery, both in Asia as in Europe.<sup>161</sup> In his turn, Hirohito mentioned how Belgium had served as a hospitable host for the many Japanese students who studied at Belgian universities, all the while attributing part of the civilization of Japan to Belgium, not failing to also remark the bravery which the Belgian king and his people had displayed during the war.<sup>162</sup> While describing this reception in the journal concerning the European Tour, the authors refer several times to how the Belgian King was revered throughout Europe as the “Hero King”, adding that Belgian military officers at the reception only distinguished themselves from other citizens by applying a shoulder strap to their plain uniforms, which once more showed how the underlying patriotism of Belgians was ever present. At first glance, pointing out the simple changing of a shoulder strap in order to distinguish oneself as a war hero from normal civilians as a way of patriotism might be a mere *fait divers*.<sup>163</sup> However, it is interesting that the authors go to such an extent as to point out these patriotic elements about Belgian civilians, as was done in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*. On top of that, the aspect of the Belgian king being heroic is mentioned immediately on the next page, where he is described as being a gentle and self-possessed man, although being this war hero who used to visit soldiers in the trenches during the war. This passage about the king’s valiant behaviour was even marked with the title “A True Hero”.<sup>164</sup> The patriotic nature of the Belgians was once more highlighted as the authors repeated that even

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<sup>160</sup> Willy Vande Walle and David De Cooman (ed.), *Japan & Belgium: An Itinerary of Mutual Inspiration* p. 134.

<sup>161</sup> “Le Japon s'est résolument rangé de notre côté, en allié loyal, et que son armée et sa flotte, fidèles à leurs séculaires traditions de bravoure, ont joué en Asie comme en Europe, un rôle brillant.” Futara Yoshinori and Sawada Setsuzo, *The Crown Prince's European Tour*, p. 109.

<sup>162</sup> “Depuis lors n'a cessé d'augmenter le nombre des Japonais qui sont venus en Belgique pour puiser avec une gratitude incomparable à la source abondante de tous les enseignements relatifs au droit, aux arts, aux sciences économiques, militaires et financières. J'ose donc dire que si le Japon a pu contribuer tant soit peu au progrès de la civilisation mondiale, il le doit pour une part, et non des moindres, à la Belgique qui, pour nous, est réellement la terre des nobles leçons.” Futara Yoshinori and Sawada Setsuzo, *The Crown Prince's European Tour*, p. 111.

<sup>163</sup> Futara Yoshinori and Sawada Setsuzo, *The Crown Prince's European Tour*, p. 112.

<sup>164</sup> Futara Yoshinori and Sawada Setsuzo, *The Crown Prince's European Tour*, pp. 112-113.

while some Japanese might believe that patriotism is a uniquely Japanese value, it was displayed on many occasions during the harsh battles on Belgian grounds.<sup>165</sup>

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of June 1921, Adachi Mineichirō, who had been appointed as an official ambassador for only a few months, and his wife organized a banquet in their residence where other respected Belgians such as scientists and politicians were invited. The Crown Prince offered five thousand francs to the mayor of Brussels Adolphe Max in order to help the poor in the capital.<sup>166</sup> On the following day the Crown Prince, following the suggestion which the British King George V had made when Hirohito had met him in Buckingham Palace, also visited the battlefields and a military grave in Lettenburg, north of the front in Ypres. There he participated in a wreath-laying ceremony to commemorate the fallen soldiers.<sup>167</sup> The 14<sup>th</sup> of June marked the last day of his first visit, which was spent by making a tour through Antwerp and a reception organized by the Belgo-Japanese Society. The Crown Prince returned to Belgium on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June, with ambassador Adachi accompanying him during his visit to Louvain.<sup>168</sup> The city of Louvain still bore the visible marks of the brutality with which the German army had swept through the city. One could argue that the visit of the Crown Prince to the university city might have been the event which left the deepest impact on the Crown Prince, compared to the other visits Hirohito made through the country, as the destruction which the war had caused was still the most tangible and visible as the destroyed skeleton of the once grand and iconic university library left little to imagine the destruction which had taken place years before.<sup>169</sup> The tour through Belgium ended after a last visit to another city marked by the war, which was Ans (Liège), after which Hirohito travelled on to Paris. While the visit to Louvain might be seen as one of a more cultural nature, where the Germans had trampled civilization and culture by burning the library and most of the 300.000 books it contained, the visit to Liège might be seen as a strategic one as the city was thought of as a modern defence city.

In the end, there are several sides to the visit of the Hirohito to Belgium which are important to our story. First of all, it was one of the most direct and obvious ways for Japan to display its compassion for the Belgian people who had defended their country. While the tour

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<sup>165</sup> Futara Yoshinori and Sawada Setsuzo, *The Crown Prince's European Tour*, p. 116.

<sup>166</sup> De Telegraaf (Amsterdam). "Het bezoek van Kroonprins Hirohito aan België". 13 June 1921.

<sup>167</sup> Willy Vande Walle and David De Cooman (ed.), *Japan & Belgium: An Itinerary of Mutual Inspiration*, p. 136.

<sup>168</sup> Futara Yoshinori and Sawada Setsuzo, *The Crown Prince's European Tour*, pp. 126-127.

<sup>169</sup> At the same time of the visit, a committee in Tokyo under the direction of Prince Sajonji Kinmochi 西園寺公望 and Baron Hozumi Nobushige 穂積陳重 already made plans to collect books and other funds to contribute to the international efforts to reconstruct the university library.



in Europe of course could certainly have contributed to the education of the Crown Prince, the visit can also be interpreted as a very immediate representation of the endeavour of both countries to re-establish and continue the friendly commercial and diplomatic ties between both nations.<sup>170</sup> In addition the visit itself proved to the world that Japan and its rulers were as civilized as any great Western nation, and embodied their understanding of the tragedies of war through their solidarity and compassion expressed by the royal visit. Last but not least, Belgium might also have served as an example of a population which stood by its national values such as justice, patriotism and love for their monarch, no matter what crises was at hand.

That the royal visit might have had an influence on Japanese fundraising for Belgium even after the war becomes clear when we consider that while the Crown Prince returned on the third of September 1921, already in November the Japanese National Committee of L'Œuvre Internationale de Louvain was erected in order to contribute to the international donations for the university library in Louvain. In other words, the visit of Hirohito to the by war devastated sites might have sped up the fundraising activities as it put the subject out there in the Japanese media and brought the story of the wartime destruction once more into Japanese households.

### **3.4 Japanese Donations for the Reconstruction of the Louvain University Library**

More than 300.000 books, rare incunabula and ancient manuscripts had perished on the 25<sup>th</sup> of August 1914 as the university library of the Catholic University of Louvain had been destroyed by German troops. The brutality, which had been amplified by the chaotic manner in which the German army had combed through the city, executing both Belgian soldiers and unarmed civilians, had left the building in rubbles, leaving 248 civilians murdered and 1500 more to be deported to the Münster POW camp. As a reminder to this inhumane and cultural barbarism a banner spelling the words “Ici finit la culture Allemande” was put up on one of the remaining walls.<sup>171</sup> These words embodied an international sentiment of resentment towards the destruction which the German army had brought upon the city of Louvain and its inhabitants. The city was mostly seen as a centre of cultural and academic heritage, and many individuals

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<sup>170</sup> Although no merchants were included directly in the delegation, the tour which had been funded by government money did promote Japan abroad in non- commercial ways.

<sup>171</sup> Rumours had been spread that some civilians would rebel against the enemy troops and attack them. However, this proved to be no more than rumours as the civilians had been disarmed some days before by the Belgian government since individual rebellions wanted to be avoided. It was the brutality of this attack aimed at innocent civilians which attracted international attention. More about these events can be found in the following book: Alan Kramer, *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2008).

and academic institutes around the world felt that they should express their sympathy for the university. They did this through organising fundraising committees which would make the reconstruction of the building possible. In 1919 it was put to paper in the Treaty of Versailles under Article 247 that Germany would be responsible for funding the restoration of the library and would have to return the destroyed collection through monthly donations of books, maps, manuscripts and other valuable collectables until 1943. This would be overseen by the Inter-Allied Commission, also known as the Reparations Commission.<sup>172</sup>

The Japanese delegation which was present at Versailles quickly showed an interest in the actions of the commission and reported their intentions back to Japan. The Imperial Academy in Tokyo agreed with the proposal of a Japanese participation in the donation efforts. Eventually, the visit of Crown Prince Hirohito to the remains of the university library really set the activities in motion. Apart from the promise of the Japanese side that there would be enough contributors, there also needed to be confirmation from the Belgian side that there would be a Japanese Room arranged in the university library. There the Japanese books and the donated bookshelves would be able to be displayed in a manner which would completely appreciate the publications. The idea, as ambassador Adachi pointed out, was that this room would serve as a “concernant de la civilisation du Japon et de l’Extrême Orient”. In other words, not only would the room contain the donated books and manuscripts in a fitting setting, it would also represent Japanese culture, and in a way its society, in one of the oldest universities in Europe. The Japanese National Committee of L’Œuvre Internationale de Louvain was established after other international committees and their actions were studied. While ambassador Adachi made sure to engage in the foreign communication, commandant Yamamoto, who had accompanied the Crown Prince during his visit to the library, became one of the key figures who made sure that the establishment of the committee was put into motion as soon as he returned from the European journey.<sup>173</sup>

To organize the donations, the contacts between the Japanese and Belgian embassy as well as the university and the committee were frequent, especially in February 1922 when it needed to be confirmed whether there was space for a Japanese Room. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of March a banquet for the International Committee was hosted at the embassy in Brussels by ambassador de Bassompierre. One of the people who attended and represented Japan was commandant

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<sup>172</sup> Francesco Francioni and James Gordley, *Enforcing International Cultural Heritage Law* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2013), pp. 25-24.

<sup>173</sup> Willy Vande Walle, *Orientalia: Oosterse Studies en Bibliotheken te Louvain en Louvain-la-Neuve* (Louvain University Press: Louvain, 2001), pp. 66-74.

Yamamoto Aritomo. The day before Japanese members of the future Japanese National Committee of L'Œuvre Internationale de Louvain and members of the International Committee had come together and decided what kind of donations would be made, adding that a Japanese Room should be put in order. However, it was not until the 23<sup>th</sup> of October 1921 that the Japanese National Committee of L'Œuvre Internationale de Louvain was actually established. A month later on the 21<sup>th</sup> of December the committee announced to the Louvain university that it had collected 700.000 francs which could be used to purchase books, magazines, manuscripts and pieces of art. The committee featured the presence of some prominent Japanese figures, including the industrial Shibusawa Eiichi as president, prince Saionji as honourable president, baron Furuichi Kōi 古市公威 as vice-president and ambassador Adachi Mineichirō and baron Hozumi Nobushige 穂積 陳重 as honourable vice-presidents.

Universities, scientific institutes, libraries and individuals alike were approached to contribute to the donations. Possible donors first had to announce the donations they wanted to make by letter to Shibusawa, so that double donations could be avoided. Financial support from wealthy families and banks served to buy more books, or could also be used for the collecting, packaging and transporting of the donations. The head librarian at the Tokyo Imperial University Library Wada Mankichi 和田万吉 and bibliographer Urushiyama Matashirō 漆山 又四郎 were responsible for categorizing and screening the collected books and manuscripts. The criteria for the donations were quite clear: the books had to be written in Japanese and if they were written in Chinese, at least they had to be written and published in Japan. As the Great Kantō Earthquake in September 1923 destroyed many works, the search for donations became harder and the area for the collection of donations was spread out to the Kyoto, Nara and Osaka.<sup>174</sup> The actual collecting of donations began on the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 1924. An additional incentive which had made these activities possible was the financial support granted by the Ministry of the Imperial Household and more financial support which came from Sumitomo Kichizaemon 住友吉左衛門.<sup>175</sup> Other contributors were the Furukawa 古川, Mitsui 三井, Iwasaki 岩崎 and Shibusawa 渋沢 families. The Bank of Japan also contributed to the fundraising. The media was invited to cover the first shipment to Belgium on the 13<sup>th</sup> of June

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<sup>174</sup> It was at this time after the earthquake that Wada Mankichi resigned from his position as librarian at the Tokyo Imperial University Library seeing as much of the library which fell under his responsibility was destroyed.

<sup>175</sup> The head of the Sumitomi Honsha 住友本社.

1924. In general, however, the media did not cover the story too much all together. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* did publish a handful of articles about the committee's activities, for example when the Ministry of the Imperial Household donated ten thousand yen. But more reporting on the events did not exactly seem to have taken place.<sup>176</sup>

In the end, six shipments of books were brought to Belgium between August 1924 and August 1926.<sup>177</sup> A catalogue with 26 subsections was published where all the donated works were listed up. Eventually, the donations existed out of 3.202 titles which amounted to 13.682 books and scrolls. The three main categories of the books would be manuscripts and books from before the Meiji Restoration in 1868, scientific works from the Meiji and Taisho Period and reproductions of art from in these times. Many of these works reflected on Japanese culture and were perceived as a replacements for the valuable incunabula which had perished during the destruction of the Louvain university library. Although the focus lay on works which would describe and explain several aspects of Japanese culture, the subjects of the books were very diverse. The books covered subjects such as arts, science, religion, law, education, architecture and medicine. The variety of subjects made sure it would be able to speak to a larger audience, even when the number of people who could actually read Japanese must have been rather limited. Displayed in the Japanese Room, the donations also offered an opportunity to represent Japanese culture and other aspects of the country abroad. Additional items which were included in the collected donations were a tea set used for a tea ceremony, a decorated vase, engraved plates, a box with instruments used for calligraphy and bookshelves.<sup>178</sup> The donated books were placed in two rooms which formed the Japanese Room in the library. These rooms were destroyed once more during the Second World War. However, the books themselves were largely preserved.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Although media coverage of this fundraising was not that extensive, certainly not compared to the amount of coverage there was concerning the *fujinkai* or other fundraising. One might consider that while the goodwill of Japanese civilians towards this fundraising might have been another positive push for the activities, much of it went on a very high, elite level for which there was little need to speak to normal civilians. *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo), "Rūbandaigaku toshokan no fukkō hojo ni heika kara ichimanen o kizō" ルーバン大学図書館の復興補助に陛下から一万円を寄贈. 18 December 1923.

<sup>177</sup> Except for the more than 13.000 books and manuscripts which had been gathered, 63.189 yen was also collected, of which 60.684 yen and 46 sen was used for the binding, restoring, classifying, packing and transport of the books. Willy Vande Walle, *Orientalia: Oosterse Studies en Bibliotheken te Louvain en Louvain-la-Neuve*, p. 73.

<sup>178</sup> "Une Donation d'Exception" *Université Catholique de Louvain*. Last viewed July 5, 2018. <https://uclouvain.be/fr/bibliotheques/respat/une-donation-d-exception.html>.

<sup>179</sup> Between 1970 and 1971, the university split into the Flemish speaking Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in Leuven and French speaking Université Catholique de Louvain in Louvain-la-Neuve. With this, the financial funds were split between the two universities and the books, scrolls and manuscripts were brought to Louvain-la-Neuve where they can still be found.

Interesting is that there were books which were printed after 1868. These were often printed according to Western typography and resembled Western books in the way they were bound and formatted. While at first glance these books might seem less interesting as they do lack some of the original Japanese character which their older counterparts possessed. However, in their binding and formatting, as well as in the subjects they covered, the books managed to represent a new Japan, the Japan which had turned to modernization and the adaptation of Western standards after the opening of the borders. While they might not have reflected traditional Japanese values which were described and depicted in the older works, they did clearly show the interests that moved the (partly) reinvented Japan which strived to be accepted in the league of global powers. Although smaller in number, books which might also have supported this representation of a civilized and academic advanced Japan are the translated books about foreign nations or written by foreign writers, such as the books “The State” (*Seiji Hanron* 政治汎論) written by Woodrow Wilson (1918) or “The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris: First American Consul and Minister to Japan” (*Ishinhishi Nichibei Gaikō no Shinsō* 維新秘史日米外交の真相) (1913). The fact that these books were also present, translated to Japanese and present in the East Asian nation might have contributed to the believe that their academic development was close to that of their Western allies.

In the end, this Japanese donation of books and original manuscripts was the biggest of its kind to a European university before the Second World War. While it is a valuable collection, the question remains whether the donation at the time could have been appreciated to its fullest. The expertise concerning these works must have been very limited and the question whether non-Japanese students at the Catholic University of Louvain were actually able to use these documents is one many might ask. However, the purpose of the donation might have had more to do with the actual act of donating rather than the donated objects. It showed that Japan, as a member of the Allies who had conquered the enemy, also could be part of the post-war restorations. It could represent its own culture and values through the donations and the establishment of a Japanese Room. Another element which would represent Japanese culture and society in Louvain was the establishment of the Satsuma Chair class. Following the appraisal of ambassador Adachi Mineichirō to *honoris cause* for the contributions he made to the restoration of the library, Adachi paid this favour back by announcing that one of his fellow countrymen still wanted to contribute to the restoration. This person was Satsuma Jirohachi 薩摩治郎八, a man who had grown up in a wealthy family which had allowed him to study and

live in Europe.<sup>180</sup> In France he had already established a dorm for Japanese professors and students named *Maison du Japon*. During the time of the library reconstruction efforts he was approached by Adachi with the question if he wanted to offer any kind of donation to the University of Louvain. Satsuma agreed to the idea and related his intentions back to the vice-president of the university, baron Descamps. A new chair was established after approval came through the ministry of education. The Satsuma family gave five conditions for the establishment of the course for which they would pay 10.000 francs. First of all it would be called the Satsuma Chair and the donated money should be invested in such a way that the interests could be used to invest in the course itself. What is important for our case is that the family also mentioned that no subjects should be shunned, as long as the lectures concerned Japan and its society. The lectures also had to allow anyone to attend the chair's presentations and the Japanese embassy in Brussels would have to annually check and give permission for the proposed lectures. In other words, this course, which came as a donation, also served to represent Japanese culture and society at this prestigious European university.<sup>181</sup>

### 3.5 Other Humanitarian Efforts

Apart from the charities we have mentioned before such as fundraisings through theatres, the selling of handmade dolls, the organizing of magic lantern shows, there were also more charitable events or activities being organized. One of the better known examples of this was the sending of three groups of around twenty carefully selected Japanese Red Cross nurses and doctors on relief missions to the United Kingdom, France and Russia. This allowed for the nurses and doctors to act as representatives, or even medical diplomats, for the civilized and modern advancements that Japan had made when it came to organizing and training its Red Cross members in the same ways as its Western counterparts had done.<sup>182</sup> The Japanese Red Cross had already managed to display its appreciation of humanitarian values through the rather hospital treatment of Russian soldiers during the Russo-Japanese War.<sup>183</sup> That display of upholding humanitarian values was now demonstrated on European grounds as one group of

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<sup>180</sup> He was also known by the name Satsuma Jihei 薩摩治兵衛, which is the name his grandfather and father had.. Kobayashi Shigeru 小林茂, *Satsuma Jirohachi: Pari Nihonkan koso Waga Inochi* 薩摩治郎八: パリ日本館こそわがいのち (Kyoto: Minerva Shobō ミネルヴァ書房, 2010).

<sup>182</sup> Tomida Hiroko 富田裕子 and Gordon Daniels. "Medical Ambassadors: Japanese Red Cross Nurses in Great Britain 1915-1916" *Seijō Daigaku Hijōkin* 成城大学非常勤 4:1(2009), pp. 107-111.

<sup>183</sup> More on the matter involving the Japanese Red Cross and the Russo-Japanese War can be read in Nishikawa Yukiko's book *Japan's Changing Role in Humanitarian Crises*.

twenty-two nurses and two doctors engaged in their nursing duties of roughly 2500 patients in the Netley Royal Victoria Military hospital in 1915. They did this from February until December on a ward which had been appointed to them.<sup>184</sup>

Lesser known contributions to humanitarian aid for Belgium are those which came from private donors. While these are hard to track, sometimes the newspapers themselves reported on these private donors. For example, in October 1914 the Central Association for Tea Industry (*Chagyō Kumiai Chūōkai* 茶業組合中央会) planned on sending fifteen thousand one-ounce green tea bags to Russian soldiers and ten thousand of the same bags to Belgian soldiers. On the small packages an encouraging message was printed in French and Russian in order to help raise the morale of the soldiers.<sup>185</sup>

In 1917, a wealthy tea industrial named Ōtani Kaeru 大谷嘉兵衛 offered a valuable silver vase to the Belgian royal family as a way of supporting the King and his people.<sup>186</sup> In the *Yomiuri Fujin Furoku* section we find another short article about a donation of 50 sen made by a seventy-four year old man from Yokohama. The man, named Suzuki Kichirō 鈴木吉五郎, reportedly had lost his own house and belongings in a fire the year before, and was said to have understood the grief and the pain the Belgians must have been going through, which eventually moved him to make this donation in the name of his own country.<sup>187</sup>

While these are only a few examples of private donations which have been made by Japanese citizens during and after the war, it does show us that charity did not necessarily had to come from the higher strata in the Japanese society, meaning diplomats, the royal family or company presidents. All the examples of humanitarian actions and relief for Belgium mentioned in this and the previous chapter prove just how much the suffering of the Belgians

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<sup>184</sup> Barton C. Hacker and Margaret Vining, *A Companion to Women's Military History* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 204-205.

<sup>185</sup> The message read 「勇敢なる露白軍戦士よ我日本国民熱誠を籠めたるこの一包の日本茶を似て卿等連日の戦勝に於ける渴を慰し勇氣百倍して似て戦勝の美果を諦めれん事を祈る」, which could be translated to “To the brave Russian and Belgian soldiers, let this package of Japanese tea which carries the devotion of the Japanese people serve as a way to quench the thirst from you daily victories, and let it multiply your courage by hundred as we pray that you do not give up the beautiful reward which is victory.” *Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo) “Ro Hakugun ni nihoncha” 露白軍に日本茶. 4 October 1914.

<sup>186</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo) “*Berugitei ni kabin o kenjō Ōtanichaō kara ryōji o kaishite*” ベルギー帝に花瓶を献上 大谷茶翁から領事を介して. 9 December 1917.

<sup>187</sup> *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo) “[*Yomiuri Fujin Furoku*] shizu no onna no dōjōkin gojū sen o *Berugimin* he” [よみうり婦人付録] 賤の女の同情金五十銭をベルギー民へ. 21 February 1915.

reached all kinds of people in Japan, including diplomats, young girls and women, commercial representatives and other individuals, either through the Japanese media or diplomatic allies.

#### **4 Motivations for Japanese Humanitarian Aid for Belgium**

In this last chapter we will discuss the motivations which moved Japanese civilians, companies or diplomats to contribute to the international humanitarian efforts to relieve the suffering of the Belgian people during and shortly after the Great War. The first thing which should be made clear before we continue is that with this paper we do not try to invade the debate as to what humanitarianism or wartime charity exactly is.<sup>188</sup> We might be well aware of the fact that there are many different definitions and approaches when it comes to humanitarian aid or charity, but when we talk about humanitarian aid or charity in this case we mean the acts of compassion which support people during a time of humanitarian crisis, with the possibility of there being several motivations.<sup>189</sup> Whether stimulated by political, religious, goodwill, cultural, moral or hierarchical incentives, what matters to us is the effectual outcome of these charitable actions, which in this case were the donations of money or other relief supplies which supported the Belgian people during the war. This means that even when it proves to be so that less moral motivations such as the promise of economic gain or raising political goodwill were at the centre of the humanitarian efforts, this will not take away the fact that these efforts had humanitarian results and aided people.

In order to look at what possible motivations might have been at play, we will divide this chapter into two main chapters. The first part will focus on humanitarian acts performed by people who could be considered to be a part of the elite in the Japanese society, such as industrials and politicians. In the second subchapter we will look into what could have driven people who fell outside of this elite category to provide relief for Belgians.

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<sup>188</sup> For more information on humanitarianism, refer to Michael Barnett's *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*. For more specific information humanitarianism during the First World War, refer to Bruno Cabanes' book *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918-1924*.

<sup>189</sup> For example, we could attribute four principles to humanitarian aid which humanitarians attributed to themselves throughout the last two hundred years, being: neutrality, independence, impartiality and humanity from and for all of mankind. However, as discussed in *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*, because of political support or diplomatic results, humanitarian efforts seldom are completely neutral or impartial, leave alone independent. Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*, p. 33.



## 4.1 Humanitarian Efforts Undertaken by the Japanese Government and Industrials

### 4.1.1 No Such Thing as Non-Political Humanitarian Aid?

The first possible motivation could be generally described as being political of nature, or at least being influenced by political interests. Generally speaking there is much debate about the political nature of humanitarian aid. For this paper we will refer to the conclusion which Michael Barnett makes in his book *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*.<sup>190</sup>

Barnett argues that humanitarians need politics in order to remove the source of suffering, and that humanitarian actions have political effects whether they intend to stay out of politics or not. To this he adds that the practise of compassion, or the ability of expressing compassion, involves politics and privileges the power of the passionate.<sup>191</sup> In the same way we could say that the ability of expressing compassion is a privilege for those have the financial capabilities or political support to do so. One could, for example, imagine that it would have been incredibly hard for the *Asahi Shimbunsha* to donate a sword to the Belgian king if the Japanese government would have opposed it. On the other hand, it would be equally difficult for a government to organize a public humanitarian fundraising campaigns without the (financial) support of civilians. In other words, it is incredibly hard to draw a clear line between private and public humanitarian efforts as politics and compassion often engage when it comes to national and international humanitarian aid. One interesting publication which shows this difficulty of separating political from sentimental incentives in humanitarian actions is Izaō Tomio's 井竿富雄 work titled "The First World War and Mass Consciousness: About Two Public and Private Cooperative Fundraising Organizations" (*Daiichiji Sekaitaisen to Minshū Ishiki: Futatsu no Kanmin Gassaku Bokinundō o Megutte* 第一次世界大戦と民衆意識:二つの官民合作募金運動をめぐって). In this publication Izaō describes two Japanese fundraising organizations which he analyses in the light of a growing mass consciousness and the influence which the political and economic character of a charity organization has on its activities.<sup>192</sup> The first organization which he discusses is the Economic Association for the Sick and Wounded Soldiers of the Allied Nations (*Rengōkoku Shōbyōhei Risaigai Keizaikai* 連合国

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<sup>190</sup> Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

<sup>191</sup> Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*, pp. 221-232.

<sup>192</sup> Izaō Tomio 井竿富雄. "Daiichiji Sekaitaisen to Minshū Ishiki: Futatsu no Kanmin Gassaku Bokinundō o Megutte" 第一次世界大戦と民衆意識:二つの官民合作募金運動をめぐって. *Nihonshi Kenkyukai* 日本史研究会 535 (2007.3), pp. 103-128.

傷病兵罹災害經濟会), active in 1917 and established on the initiative of the industrialist Shibusawa Eiichi 渋沢栄一. We will refer to this association as the Association for the Allied Nations Soldiers. The second organization was active in 1920 and was called the Organization for Raising Money for the Nikolayevsk Incident (*Nikōjiken Imonkin Boshū Undō* 尼港事件慰問金募集運動), which we will refer to as the Nikolayevsk Incident Organization.

Much like the name of the first organization explains, the Economic Association for the Sick and Wounded Soldiers of the Allied Nations was established in order to raise money for soldiers from the Allied armies who had been wounded or fallen ill because of the war. Not only was this organization established and headed by the wealthy industrialist Shibusawa Eiichi, he also received support from the cabinet of Prime Minister Terauchi Masatake 寺内正毅. The board of this organization existed mainly out of wealthy industrialists, with board chairman of the Tokyo Stock Exchange (*Tōkyō Kabushiki Torihikijo* 東京株式取引所) Nakano Takenaka 中野武蔵 and the president of the Nihon Yusen Kaisha and chairman of the Kirin Beer company Kondō Renpei 近藤 廉平 being two examples of that. Needless to say that, as Izaō points out in his article, these people represented the economic elite of the Japanese society at the time. Although it did profile itself as a public and private cooperative organization (*kanminundō* 官民運動), the association did not really create a civil image considering that it was governed by tycoons supported by the government. Its fundraising activities were also organized in a rather autocratic manner as prefectures had to organize the local fundraising on their own without much help of the organization's central board. In addition, each individual contribution had to amount to at least ten yen, which was a rather large amount at the time and not that affordable for the middle or lower classes in society. By implementing these rules the organization claimed that it wanted to gather at least three million yen from all groups in the Japanese society, meaning that they also wanted citizens from the middle of lower classes to contribute to the fundraising. The organization was soon to draw criticism from several players in the media, with newspapers like the *Ōsaka Mainichi Shimbun* saying that it would be a hard task to get people to donate since no matter how chivalrous Japanese people were, an initiative taken by an unpopular cabinet was doomed to fail anyhow.<sup>193</sup> In the end the organization only

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<sup>193</sup> Izaō, "Daiichiji Sekaitaisen to Minshū Ishiki: Futatsu no Kanmin Gassaku Bokinundō o Megutte," p. 108.

managed to rake together 1.818.554,472 yen, hardly two thirds of the amount which was originally planned.<sup>194</sup> Considering the actions of the association, which existed out of the more or less compulsory fundraising demanded by an organization which was governed by affluent industrialists such and enjoyed the privilege of having the support of the Prime Minister's cabinet, it seems fair for Izaō to argue that this organization did not actively include any non-elites to participate in its activities. To this he adds that the reason why these companies wanted to raise money for the suffering in the far West did not have as much to do with morality or compassion as it had to do with the fear of Japan not managing to reserve its place in the new world after the war would end. With Japan not really contributing directly to the war and mostly profiting from its Allies failing economies and industries, Japan would show itself to be a loyal and caring Ally by engaging in humanitarian aid, Izaō argues.<sup>195</sup>

The second organization which Izaō discusses is the Organization for Raising Relief Money for the Nikolayevsk Incident (*Nikōjiken Imonkin Boshū Undō* 尼港事件慰問金募集運動). The organization's primary goal was to collect money in order to relieve the suffering of the families of those who had lost their lives during the Nikolayevsk Incident by providing financial support. The incident itself happened in 1920 when around seven hundred Japanese residents, including soldiers and civilians, were massacred on the 12<sup>th</sup> of March by red partisans in the Russian harbour town Nikolayevsk-on-Amur (*Nikolayevsk-na-Amure* Николаевск-на-Амуре).<sup>196</sup> Because of the brutality which marked this incident, it drew the Japanese media's attention and made for sensational coverage of the incident. As the government seemed to stand idly by those who suffered from the massacre, the Nikolayevsk Incident Organization was erected in order to offer some kind of consolidation for the grieving families. Izaō argues that unlike the Association for the Allied Nations Soldiers, the establishment of this Nikolayevsk

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<sup>194</sup> Of which France, Belgium, Italy and Russia each received a share of 363.000 yen, Great Britain 368.000 yen and Romania and Serbia both received 60.000 yen. Izaō, "Daiichiji Sekaitaisen to Minshū Ishiki: Futatsu no Kanmin Gassaku Bokinundō o Megutte," p. 112.

<sup>195</sup> Izaō, "Daiichiji Sekaitaisen to Minshū Ishiki: Futatsu no Kanmin Gassaku Bokinundō o Megutte," p. 106.

<sup>196</sup> From the start of the Siberian Intervention in September 1918, roughly 350 Japanese soldiers of the 14<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division were stationed in Nikolayevsk. In the following two years some 450 Japanese civilians went to live in the city as well. An army of roughly 4.000 partisans under the command of Yakov Ivanovich Tryapitsyn had surrounded the village on the 24<sup>th</sup> of February 1920, and while an agreement had been reached which confirmed the access of the Red partisans into the village, the Japanese army attacked the Russian troops, which resulted into three days of fighting and the death of around 700 Japanese and more local inhabitants and the complete destruction of the village. While some hundred Japanese civilians survived the fighting, as soon as a relief expedition approached the village, the remaining survivors were also executed. Eventually the Japanese government managed to use this incident as a permission to further occupy Northern Sakhalin until 1925. Jonathan D. Smele, *Historical Dictionary of the Russian Civil Wars, 1916-1926* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 793. Refer to Anatoliĭ IAKovlevich Gutman's *The Destruction of Nikolayevsk-on-Amur: An Episode in the Russian Civil War in the Far East, 1920* for more detailed information about the incident.

Incident Organization was not headed by wealthy industrials or supported by the government. Instead it was headed by several private organizations, with the *Aikoku Fujinkai* 愛国婦人会 (Patriotic Women's Association) as the most prominent leader of the organization.<sup>197</sup> Contrary to the Association for the Allied Nations Soldiers, the Nikolayevsk Incident Organization did not intend on making any of the fundraising activities compulsory, and its regional activities were headed by local branches of the *Aikoku Fujinkai* instead of leaving the responsibility with the prefectures administration centres. It is also interesting to note that it was only once the organization started to earn more appreciation for its humanitarian efforts and started to draw the media's attention that the government stepped up its own game by also providing support for the bereaved families.<sup>198</sup> That the Nikolayevsk Incident Organization had more civic characteristics can, according to Izaō, be explained by the fact that this incident stood much closer to the Japanese population than the Great War did. On top of that, he argues that the Japanese media reported in a more sensational way on the incident, adding that there were even magazines published which only focused on the Nikolayevsk Incident. In other words, with the help of the Japanese media's sensational reporting and the fact that people had a more intimate connection with the families who had suffered from the Nikolayevsk Incident, an emotional connection could be established between Japanese civilians and the Nikolayevsk Incident Organization itself.<sup>199</sup> Eventually the organization gathered around 358.000 yen, of which 343.000 yen came from regular donors, meaning donations which did not come from companies or governmental institutes.<sup>200</sup> This might seem considerably less than what the Association for the Allied Nations Soldiers gathered. Nevertheless, it was still a large sum of money at the time, especially considering that it would be used for a smaller amount of people when compared to the funds which were given to the Allied Nations in 1917. On top of that, it is also remarkable that this amount was gathered by an organization which had no governmental support at the time and acted only on voluntary contributions.

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<sup>197</sup> The *Aikoku Fujinkai* had around one million members across Japan and had been established in 1901 to support soldiers and their families. Other organizations which supported this Nikolayevsk Incident were Associations of Reservists (*Zaigōgunjinkai* 在郷軍人会) and young men's organizations (*seinendan* 青年団). Izaō, "Daiichiji Sekaitaisen to Minshū Ishiki: Futatsu no Kanmin Gassaku Bokinundō o Megutte," p. 118.

<sup>198</sup> In addition, apart from the recognition of the incident, the contributions of politicians to the fundraising activities of the Nikolayevsk Incident Organization itself was minimal to say the least. For example, Prime Minister Hara Takashi only donated two hundred yen, while Prime Minister Terauchi donated one thousand yen to the Economic Association for the Sick and Wounded Soldiers of the Allied Nations was. Izaō, "Daiichiji Sekaitaisen to Minshū Ishiki: Futatsu no Kanmin Gassaku Bokinundō o Megutte," p. 119

<sup>199</sup> Izaō, "Daiichiji Sekaitaisen to Minshū Ishiki: Futatsu no Kanmin Gassaku Bokinundō o Megutte," p. 116.

<sup>200</sup> Izaō, "Daiichiji Sekaitaisen to Minshū Ishiki: Futatsu no Kanmin Gassaku Bokinundō o Megutte," p. 120.

Finally Izaō argues that these two organizations proved how there was a clear difference between humanitarian organizations governed by the elite or non-elite civilians. He states that a personal interest or connection to a cause, something for which he uses the word *kanshin* 関心, could lead to a mass consciousness of Japanese civilians concerning the incident at hand. This *kanshin* and mass consciousness was eventually embodied in humanitarian efforts. As such, it was hard for the Economic Association for the Sick and Wounded Soldiers of the Allied Nations to raise the initially anticipated three million yen, as Japanese civilians did not experience the same familiarity or *kanshin* towards the cause of those involved in the Great War. In his conclusion he also argues once more that the sensational way in which the Japanese media covered the Nikolayevsk Incident had inspired even more people to contribute to the cause of the Nikolayevsk Incident Organization.<sup>201</sup> However, while this thorough research indeed offers us a glimpse into how differently public and private humanitarian organizations acted, some remarks seem to be necessary.

First of all, when it comes to the part which the media played in these two cases, it indeed seems more than plausible that the sensational coverage of the Nikolayevsk Incident moved civilians to engage in humanitarian efforts and made for a more intimate connection to the cause when compared to the Association for the Allied Nations Soldiers. However, as we saw in the previous chapters of this paper, the Japanese media also covered the Great War extensively, and on more than one occasion while using very sensational and emotional language. Second, when looking at the wartime charity events which had taken place in order to support Belgians, we can see donations coming from all kinds of layers of the Japanese society, including both the more elite such as the president of the *Asahi Shimbunsha* as well as private donors. This might mean that the mass consciousness, which Izaō describes as *minshū ishiki* 民衆意識, might not only have contained itself to events and incidents directly related to Japanese civilians, but also displayed itself during the Great War in a form of (partially) class descending transnational connectivity which we might describe as global citizenship or global consciousness, rather than a mass consciousness contained to Japan and its own population. We will go deeper into this in the next subchapter. Lastly, it seems slightly extreme to draw such a clear line between the two humanitarian organizations as one being a public and the other being a private entity. If the intentions of the Association for the Allied Nations Soldiers was to secure Japan's place in the future besides that of other global powers, was that not in a way quite in

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<sup>201</sup> Izaō, “Daiichiji Sekaitaisen to Minshū Ishiki: Futatsu no Kanmin Gassaku Bokinundō o Megutte,” pp. 126-128.

agreement with the patriotic aspirations which the *Aikoku Fujinkai* as a patriotic women's association held dear?<sup>202</sup> It almost seems as if Izaō wants to argue that the Association for the Allied Nations Soldiers seemed to operate purely out of self-interest, but then we could say the same for the *Aikoku Fujinkai*. It is true that this organization wanted to relieve the suffering of those who fell victim to war, but it seems naïve to only attribute their efforts to honest feelings of solidarity and compassion, while ignoring the very fact that the Nikolayevsk Incident Organization was mainly founded by a patriotic association. Moreover, one of the reasons why the *Aikoku Fujinkai* had been able to establish itself so strongly in 1901 was because many members of the ruling class had been recruited to take up executive positions in its governing body, meaning that the association which had established and controlled the Nikolayevsk Incident Organization was not a purely civic association to start with.<sup>203</sup> It is true that this organization was led by women, but the lion's share of these women were the wives of aristocrats, industrialists or politicians. The simple fact seems to be that, as we have seen before, most of the Japanese humanitarian organizations and actions from 1914 until 1924 involved a mix of people with several interests at stake.<sup>204</sup>

This analysis of Izaō Tomio's article was not meant to proclaim his conclusion as being incorrect, as he makes very valuable points which are definitely of importance to this paper. It just goes to show that it is not always as easy to draw a line between purely public and private organizations, if there ever is such a thing. With this example we can now see that whatever we will conclude from here on, we will have to be mindful of the reality that there might be more than one side to the Japanese humanitarian efforts for Belgium. However, this does not erase the reality of there having been political interests involved in the humanitarian relief, as we will see now.

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<sup>202</sup> Of course one could argue that companies just wanted to make profit by securing Japan's place on the international stage. But to do so surely the companies profited more from a nation with a healthy population which could both produce as well as consume. In the other way around, with internationally prospering Japanese companies the Japanese society and nation could continue modernizing, something from which civilians could profit as well. In other words, each involved organization or association had its own agenda which motivated it to contribute to this fundraising.

<sup>203</sup> Examples of political advisors to the organization when it was founded were future Prime Ministers Hara Takashi and Hatoyama Ichirō 鳩山一郎. Furthermore, most of the women who were at the head of this organization came from politically or military influential families or had been married to spouses who belonged to these upper classes, meaning that the leaders of the organizations itself were not too often people from middle or lower classes. From 1905 the association was also endorsed by the Ministry of Home Affairs and it established a Korean branch as well as in Taiwan. Maja Mikula, *Women, Activism and Social Change: Stretching Boundaries* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 49-57.

<sup>204</sup> In addition, the fundraising activities for victims of the Great War had already been taking place from the end of 1914, which could mean that by 1917 people might have felt bothered with the fact that now again money was being asked from them, this time from the government which had not contributed much before 1917 at that, which might explain why a lower amount of money was raised than expected.

#### **4.1.2 Global Status and International Acknowledgment**

One political motivation which might have led to Japanese humanitarian aid for Belgium was the quest for the country to be acknowledged as another member of the global powers, such as France or the United States. We touched upon this subject before in the first chapter when we discussed Japan's participation in the war. While the country's military contribution might have been limited, the country had supported its Western allies during the war, eyeing the opportunity of showing to the world that it was a military advanced nation engaged in international politics. Eventually, the acceptance to the Paris Peace Conference and its membership to the League of Nations at that time seemed like the ultimate sign of acknowledgement of Japan's international position as an equal. However, the fact that the Racial Non-Discrimination Clause was denied had disproven this fact and the international community had forced Japan back in its inferior position. Considering the fundraising campaigns from 1914 until 1924, several of the Japanese charities for Belgium might be perceived as campaigns to raise international goodwill. Maybe Japan's expressions of compassion and contributions to the international humanitarian efforts for Belgium might have made its Allies reconsider Japan's potential membership in the privileged club of global powers. The offering of a traditional sword to the Belgian king in 1915 by a newspaper company, the donation of 10.000 bags of green tea by a tea association and the donation of 363.000 yen mainly coming from companies in 1917 can be seen as several acts performed by Japanese companies in order to gain goodwill. After all, the acceptance of Japan as a global power would also reserve a place for Japanese enterprises in the international market after the war had ended. These are only a few examples as to how and why Japanese companies might have wanted to contribute to the Western perception of Japan.

The Japanese contributions to the international efforts for the restoration of the Louvain university library might have come after the rejection of the Racial Non-Discrimination Clause, but still show how Japan did not give up on being accepted as an equal. By erecting a Japanese Room in a library which at the time embodied Western culture and the destruction of it by Germany, Japan's own culture and civilization were guaranteed to be physically represented in Europe. On top of that, it managed to participate in the international restoration efforts alongside some of the very nations which had denied its racial equality, such as the United States. Before that there was the visit of Crown Prince Hirohito in 1921, which had spurred the contributions to the restoration and donations to the Louvain university library. It had showed the endeavour of Japan to want to engage in international relations with its wartime Allies, and also expressed Japan's sympathy for the Belgian cause as the Crown Prince visited multiple sites which had been destructed by the war. Even the envoy of Japanese Red Cross nurses can be seen as a

group of medical diplomats physically representing Japanese civilization through medical skills and compassion.<sup>205</sup> We can even see that these medical advocates for Japanese civilization were already used during the Russo-Japanese War with the treatment of Russian prisoners of war, and with German POW's during the First World War.<sup>206</sup> In addition, as Michael Barnett argues, humanitarianism has in many occasions flourished during a time where national sense of direction had been lost, with humanitarian aid giving a new sense of purpose to the nation.<sup>207</sup> The Taishō political crisis might be seen as one example of this, as Japan had lost its sense of direction after the death of the previous emperor.

Putting the emotional aspect of compassion and solidarity aside, we can attribute much of the above mentioned Japanese humanitarian efforts for Belgium to raising goodwill which would secure Japan's position in the new order of the post-war world. And while Japan was not accepted as an equal at the time, when it comes to Belgium we do have one specific example of how Japan's support to the Belgian people led to a diplomatic victory, as on the 31<sup>st</sup> May 1921 there was a raising in the status of Belgian-Japanese diplomatic relations from the consular to the ambassadorial rank.<sup>208</sup>

## 4.2 Civic Humanitarian Relief

After discussing the motivations which might have encouraged diplomats, industrials or other members of the elite to contribute to the international humanitarian efforts we can see that charity offered the possibility to Japan to present itself as a civilized counterpart to its Western Allies. However, this leaves us with the question as to why people who were no politicians of company representatives got involved in the humanitarian relief actions. Before discussing these people who did not belong to the elite, it should be mentioned that even if we call these women, young girls, private donors or newspaper readers “non-elites”, we should keep in mind

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<sup>205</sup> Susan R. Grayzel and Tammy M. Proctor (ed.), *Gender and the Great War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 15.

<sup>206</sup> The Japanese Red Cross had been worldwide renowned for its respectful treatment of Russian prisoners of war. The same goes for roughly 4.600 German POW's during the First World War who were also treated rather mercifully during their time of captivity. Atsushi Ōtsuru, “Prisoners of War (Japan)” *International Encyclopaedia of the First World War*. Last viewed July 16, 2018. [https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/prisoners\\_of\\_war\\_japan](https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/prisoners_of_war_japan).

<sup>207</sup> Great Britain had campaigned against slave trade after it had lost the American colonies as a similar way of giving the nation a new sense of direction and purpose. Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*, p. 227.

<sup>208</sup> The proposition to change the diplomatic status from legation to embassy was suggested to Adachi Mineichiro by King Albert I on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July 1919. This happened during a time where Belgium was focusing on reconstructing itself, which also included the consolidation of new diplomatic ties with nations all over the world, including Japan. Willy Vande Walle and David De Cooman (ed.), *Japan & Belgium: Four Centuries of Exchange*, pp. 234-235.



that these people must have been financially able to contribute to charity. To put it differently, while these people might not have been members of the upper-classes such as politicians or industrialists, they were also no members of the lowest classes in Japanese society.

The point that we try to make in this chapter is that these people had their personal reasons for engaging in humanitarian relief for Belgium, other than those which the government or companies had in mind. That being said, one of the first aspects about the Japanese humanitarian actions which catches the eye was the involvement of women and young girls in charity, as has been pointed out with the analyses of the *Yomiuri Shimbun*.

#### 4.2.1 Japanese Women and Charity

Before diving deeper into the matter of the participation of Japanese women to wartime charity, it is interesting to note that this was not only something which happened in Japan. Women in other Allied Nations did not only serve their country by taking over the work which men had left behind once they were dispatched as soldiers, they also supported their nation by engaging in charity or volunteering activities. Charity could come in the shape of preparing care packages for soldiers, sewing or knitting clothes, joining Red Cross Organizations or even baking biscuits for soldiers, some of them famously dubbed as Anzac biscuits.<sup>209</sup> There is an endless list of women's organizations which organized volunteering efforts of women all over the world in order to relief the suffering of those afflicted by the war. The Canadian Six Nations Women's Patriotic League, the Women's Patriotic Organization in Newfoundland, the American Young Women's Christian Association or the British Voluntary Aid Detachment as just a few examples of this.<sup>210</sup> Many of these women's organizations did not solely focus on helping their own soldiers but also on relief for Belgium and its population.<sup>211</sup>

In other words, the involvement of women in charity and other humanitarian efforts during a war was not something unique to the Japanese of Western societies. One could argue that there is nothing quite interesting about the fact that what Japanese women did was quite

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<sup>209</sup> Interesting examples of food send to Australian troops prepared by Australian women are described in the follow work. Barbara Santich, *Bold Palates: Australia's Gastronomic Heritage* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2012), pp. 203-210.

<sup>210</sup> For more on this subject, please refer to *Gender and the Great War*, edited by Susan R. Grayzel and Tammy M. Proctor and Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe, *Aftermaths of War: Women's Movements and Female Activists, 1918-1923* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

<sup>211</sup> An example is the in November 1914 established Women's Division of Belgian Relief Fund in New York. Ross J. Wilson, *New York and the First World War: Shaping an American City* (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 89-92. This kind of charity did not necessarily need to confine itself to women from global powers which found themselves in privileged positions. For example, the women of one of the Maori tribes named Taranaki organized themselves in Eltham Belgian Sewing Guild to sew clothes for Belgian children, women and homeless people. "Women Fundraising for Belgium, First World War" *New Zealand History*. Last viewed July 8, 2018. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/womens-fundraising>.

similar to what women in other parts of the world did. However, it is exactly this point which should raise one's attention to the matter. How could it be that an Asian country considered to be less civilized and modern was undergoing a similar process when it came to the active participation of women in public spheres? There are several aspects which we can contribute to this phenomena.

First we have to say that the involvement of Japanese women in public activities had been growing since the Meiji Restoration and their contributions during the Great War were a continuation of that. The Western ideal that women needed to care for their families and leave going out to work over to men had been brought to Japan together with the growing industrialization and capitalism which started to shape the Japanese economy as well. The thought of being "good wives and wise mothers" brought with it the patriotic notion that women caring for children and the elderly or the sick relieved the state of its burdens.<sup>212</sup> In other words, patriotism was displayed through fulfilling one's motherly duties, which had also meant supporting the nation during the Russo-Japanese war by engaging in charity for Japanese soldiers. The many young girls who prepared care packages or knitted pieces of clothing for Japanese soldiers are an example of this.<sup>213</sup> The end of the nineteenth century had, as it happens, made the organization and expression of compassion in the shape of charity a part of modern daily life, or at least in the West.<sup>214</sup> This thought of fulfilling one's patriotic duties through charity was also something which at the time was supported by the previously discussed *Aikoku Fujinkai*, an organization which sought to educate women on their roles and duties in society. Mirrored to the Western example, engaging in charity for one's own nation became one of those civic duties.<sup>215</sup>

Generally speaking these organizations most of the time did not intend on confronting the government on women related issues. In fact, they shared the aspirations of having Japanese women modernize with the government and therefore wanted the government to take up an active role in the social education of young women.<sup>216</sup> In this case, we could interpret

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<sup>212</sup> Sheldon Garon, "Women's Groups and the Japanese State: Contending Approaches to Political Integration, 1890-1945" *Journal of Japanese Studies* 19, No. 1 (1993), p. 41.

<sup>213</sup> Gail Lee Bernstein (ed.), *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945* (Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), p. 159.

<sup>214</sup> Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*, pp. 49-51.

<sup>215</sup> Sheldon Garon, "Women's Groups and the Japanese State: Contending Approaches to Political Integration, 1890-1945" *Journal of Japanese Studies* 19, No. 1 (1993), p. 15.

<sup>216</sup> Sheldon Garon, "Women's Groups and the Japanese State: Contending Approaches to Political Integration, 1890-1945" *Journal of Japanese Studies* 19, No. 1 (1993), p. 26. This does not mean, however, that the restrictions on the political activities of women went unchallenged. Protests concerning the law were taking place before as well as after the enactment. For more on this issue, refer to Marnie S. Anderson, *A Place in Public: Women's Rights in Meiji Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

humanitarian efforts for Belgium as fulfilling one's patriotic duty by displaying a sense of transnational compassion. This compassion could then again be perceived by the international community as a yet another aspect of Japanese civilization, as had been the case with the compassionate treatment of Russian POW's during the Russo-Japanese War. For this the noble ladies and other women from the upper-class who were in charge of organizing these women's organizations could serve as perfect representatives of Japan's refined civilization, and were actually consciously placed into these positions.<sup>217</sup> On the other hand, we should also keep in mind that while a sort of emancipation had indeed been taking place since the Meiji Restoration, much of it was being constructed and restricted by the Japanese government.<sup>218</sup> The fact that this kind of empowerment of Japanese women was in a way instigated or encouraged by the Japanese government might convince one even more of the political game which pulled the strings behind the humanitarian efforts made by Japanese women.

However, it is hard to imagine that the young girls sewing dolls or the parents visiting a magic lantern show about Belgium at the school of their children or even people visiting the theatre really donated money because they were convinced that this would contribute to the international perception of their nation. While the intention might have been in the minds of the journalists writing for the *Yomiuri Fujin Furoku*, or the governing board of the many women's organizations which encouraged young girls and women to engage in charity, we can only wonder to what extent these abstract convictions actually played a role in the actions of the people who eventually contributed to the charities.

#### 4.2.2 Global Citizenship

Another motivation which might have led these people who do not really belong to the political or economic elite to financially support Belgium was a growing sense of global citizenship. This was something which reached all kinds of people through several media. Media such as the magic lantern shows or theatre plays could have been a more visual instrument to spread this notion of transnational connectivity inspired by emotional bonding. Much of this sense of global citizenship also reached the growing group of newspaper readers. Because education had

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<sup>217</sup> For example, several imperial princesses and other members of the court acted as representatives of the Ladies' Volunteer Nursing Association of the Japan Red Cross. Gail Lee Bernstein (ed.), *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, pp. 154-161.

<sup>218</sup> While the notion of being a "good wife, wise mother" did indeed gain more ground in the growing capitalist society which Japan had become, the government was not keen on giving women access to all the things which Western women had achieved by this capitalist society. For example, it was ruled to be illegal for women to wear Western clothes or cut one's hair short in 1872. It was also illegal for women to attend or participate in political events from 1890 until 1922, according to the 1890 Law on Associations and Meetings (*Shūkai oyobi Kesshahō* 集会及び結社法). Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1998), pp. 112-139.

become compulsory in 1886, 98% of young girls attended school in 1911, opposite of only 30% in 1890.<sup>219</sup> With this higher number of young women being educated (nonetheless under the notion of educating them to be “good wives and wise mothers”), women were more likely to learn about the Great War, and this not only from class lectures but also from newspapers. Because of this not only Japanese men but also Japanese women, meaning the whole Japanese society could now be reached by this growing awareness of transnational identities.

Gordon M. Winder discusses the effect which the printed media reporting on the Great War had on this growing sense of global citizenship. In his paper *Imagining World Citizenship in the Networked Newspaper: La Nación Reports the Assassination at Sarajevo, 1914* he describes how three newspapers constructed national identities by creating international communities through reporting on international events.<sup>220</sup> As a case study he discusses the reporting which the Argentinian newspaper *La Nación* did on the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and also looks at the description of the same event in *The New Zealand Herald* and *The Los Angeles Times*. The Argentinian newspaper, located in a country which in 1914 was not considered to be a part of the global powers, converted the international news in such a way that it would be suitable for local consumption, similar as what Japanese newspapers had done. The assassination was dubbed as a “barbaric crime” and described with more dramatic language which clearly highlighted the cruelty of the crime. *The New Zealand Herald* also condemned the heinous crimes of the Slavs as uncivilized, and the same went for *The Los Angeles Times*.<sup>221</sup> All three of these clearly denounced the barbaric act and contributed many columns and articles to discussing the matter, as well as expressing and offering condolence to the Hapsburgs family. Eventually a commemorative service had been held in Buenos Aires, on which *La Nación* reported, while no service was held in Los Angeles or Auckland. Nor did the *The New Zealand Herald* and *The Los Angeles Times* report on the service held in Buenos Aires. As Winder argues, these last two newspaper companies were located in cities with different diplomatic statuses on a global scale when compared to Buenos Aires. With Auckland and Los Angeles located in countries which were part of the “West”, there might not have been a need for them to express their compassion any more by holding memorial service. For Buenos Aires that was not the case yet, which makes it understandable why they did hold a commemorative

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<sup>219</sup> Gail Lee Bernstein (ed.), *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, p. 157.

<sup>220</sup> Gordon M. Winder, “Imagining world citizenship in the networked newspaper: *La Nación* reports the assassination at Sarajevo, 1914” *Historical Social Research*, 35 (2010) 1, p. 147.

<sup>221</sup> Gordon M. Winder, “Imagining world citizenship in the networked newspaper: *La Nación* reports the assassination at Sarajevo, 1914”, pp. 154-156.

ceremony.<sup>222</sup> In his conclusion Winder also states that the readers of *La Nación* might have learned from the reports in the newspaper that members of the newspaper company and Argentinian diplomats served as respected members of an international community of civilized European and American nations, which might have given the readers themselves the feeling that as citizens of Argentina they were also accepted into this global community.<sup>223</sup>

Considering this research, we might come to understand the use of dramatic language in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*. The same goes for the way in which the *Yomiuri Shimbun* highlighted the role and brave acts of Belgian women. These could all be considered as different methods of trying to earn the newspaper companies themselves a place in this international community as well-established and informed media institutes. On top of that, by reporting heavily on the Great War, readers could also experience the feeling of acceptance of their nation and themselves in this growing community as global citizens, which then again might have encouraged them to engage in humanitarian actions. This assumption might solve the question as to why Japanese (newspaper) companies contributed to international humanitarian efforts for Belgium. The acceptance of a company in the international community as a civilized subject or trading partner would also imply that the nation in which the company was located would be accepted as a respected member of this global society and vice versa. And what better way to express that same high degree of civilization through the modern act of engaging women in the organization of international relief, or even the offering of a true warrior's sword to a European monarch? Apart from the recognition of Japan as being a nation worthy of international acknowledgement, the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* might have also certainly been eyeing the prospects of the financial gain which this international recognition might have brought along. In the end, foreign companies would more likely prefer to do business with well-established and internationally recognized companies and nations, rather than nations which are thought to be uncivilized. On top of that, sensational articles could also be used to catch the attention of potential buyers.

At this point we could say that humanitarian aid served both a national and international purpose. From an international point of view the participation of Japan in the international humanitarian aid for Belgium might have been to display the country's equal level of civilization, in addition to raising goodwill so that Japan would not simply be seen as profiting

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<sup>222</sup> Gordon M. Winder, "Imagining world citizenship in the networked newspaper: *La Nación* reports the assassination at Sarajevo, 1914", p. 159.

<sup>223</sup> Gordon M. Winder, "Imagining world citizenship in the networked newspaper: *La Nación* reports the assassination at Sarajevo, 1914", p. 160.

from Europe's damaged economies. Nationally speaking it might be interesting to refer back to what Kurosawa Fumitaka and Sakurai Ryōju argue in *Japan & Belgium: Four Centuries of Exchange* about national values. If we consider what we found out in this subchapter, we may say that charity for Belgium could also be used as a way to internally reaffirm national virtues. Values such as patriotism, bravery, love for the monarch and the protection of children were being projected on Belgian women. However, we should once more add to this that this was not only the work of publications such as *Berugijin no Mitaru Ōshū Sensō* ベルギー人の見たる欧州戦争 or the 1918 publication *Hakkoku no Gisen* 白国の義戦. Newspapers and other media played a crucial role in the process of distributing news on Belgium and might have influenced more civilians than the individual publications which Kurosawa and Sakurai mentioned.<sup>224</sup> It should also be noted that even when many Japanese people were engaging in these international humanitarian aid projects, this was certainly not true for the whole of Japanese society. People had to possess of enough capital to be able to spend money on charity, and certainly needed enough money to afford newspapers, wartime magazines or even a ticket to the movie theatre. While access to these media had become affordable, not everyone was able to afford, for example, buying newspapers or was interested in it. The question remains to what extent these values and the previously discussed mass consciousness actually affected the whole of the Japanese society. Until now we discovered several charities active in major cities like Osaka and Tokyo, but it is difficult to find informational on more local initiatives.

Last but not least, when we put political, economic, moral and other patriotic values and motivations to the side, we are left with a much less substantial and more humane aspect of the Japanese humanitarian actions for Belgium, being emotions. We should not forget that a substantial amount of Japanese had also come in contact with the devastation which war brought along, for example during the First Sino-Japanese War or the Russo-Japanese War. And if people had not lost their own family members to one of these wars, then they certainly heard about these kind of tragedies from acquainted families or from newspapers. As mentioned before, the news about Belgian refugees and wounded soldiers was not only distributed through written publication, but also through visual media such as pictures, illustrated magazines, newsreels, theatre and magic lantern shows. Being confronted by these images, the thought of

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<sup>224</sup> Charles Basten, trans. Machida Shirō 町田梓楼. *Berugijin no Mitaru Ōshū Sensō* 白国義人の観たる欧州戦争. Tokyo : Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu 早稲田大学出版部, 1915. / Camille Buffin (ed.), trans. Machida Shirō 町田梓楼. *Hakkoku no gisen* 白国の義戦. Tokyo: Teimi Shuppansha 丁未出版社, 1918.

Japanese people being emotionally affected and personally encouraged to do something about the ongoing atrocities in Belgium is not completely unfathomable, even if it is difficult to find hard evidence of this.

In other words, we can conclude that several motivations were at play when it came down to the Japanese participation in the international humanitarian relief actions for Belgium. First of all there were political and economic players who were interested in raising Japan's internationally perceived economic and political status. Newspapers such as the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* made it their business to engage in humanitarian actions as a way to show that Japan was as moved by what happened to Belgium as any other civilized Western Nation. On top of that, these newspaper companies also attempted to achieve international acknowledgement by involving its readers in international affairs by creating a sense of global citizenship. Women's organizations, as often featured in the *Yomiuri Fujin Furoku*, tried to encourage Japanese women to embrace modern (and some Western) patriotic values through national and international charity. And finally, the sensational and emotional way of reporting on Belgium, not to mention the personal experiences during previous wars might have led Japanese civilians to feel emotionally connected to the suffering Belgians. This feeling of shared memories and experiences might have also been another element which encouraged civic humanitarian efforts in Japan.

## Conclusion

While the incentives for engaging in humanitarian relief for Belgium during and after the Great War by nations such as the United States, Great Britain or Australia are widely known, the participation of Japan in this international movement seems less evident at first glance. As we discussed in the last chapter of this paper, we may say that the answer as to why Japan engaged in humanitarian actions supporting Belgium is rather nuanced and serves as a multifaceted aspect of Japan's even more complex quest for international recognition as a modernized civilized nation.

We might say that indeed the biggest drive behind the humanitarian aid for Belgium was exactly this need to establish Japan once more as a civilized nation interested in and empathic to international affairs. Japan's participation in the war itself could be seen as one representation of this search for international acknowledgement which had been going on from the moment the country was forced to open its borders and trade with other nations in 1853. In August 1914, Japan joined Great Britain in its fight to expel German influence from Qingdao, partly because it wanted to honour the 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance, but also because it presented the country with a perfect opportunity to expand its own interests in East Asia. After the victory in Qingdao Japan managed to gain control over the strategically located harbour city as well as German Micronesia. More of Japan's interests were secured when it managed to hand over the Twenty-One Demands to China in 1915, which would tighten its grip on its neighbour even more. When the German rights to Shandong and the South Pacific Islands were transferred to Japan, the country managed to follow in the imperial footsteps of its Western predecessors. By doing so, it seemed as if the country could elevate its own international status to one similar of that of its allies. However, when the Racial Equality clause was not accepted in 1919 at the Paris Peace Conference, the search for international recognition received an enormous blow.

This, however, did not keep Japan from continuing its struggle to obtain this long desired goal. We could see the post-war visit of Crown Prince Hirohito to Europe as another campaign to raise goodwill and clearly express Japan's sympathy for the by war destroyed countries. In addition, the participation of the Japanese National Committee of L'Œuvre Internationale de Louvain to the international restoration efforts of the Louvain university library might be seen as another effort to prove to the world that Japan valued culture and condemned the German destruction of civilization, as well as offered the possibility of directly showcasing Japanese civilization through the establishment of a Japanese Room in the



restored Louvain University library. Large companies such as the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* also represented Japan's civilized appreciation of justice by engaging in humanitarian efforts, for example by the offering of a traditional sword to the Belgian King Albert I. At the same time, this war also presented a chance for the companies to form new international and commercial alliances. An organization which both displayed this intention or forging new internationally commercial as well as diplomatic relations was the 1917 Economic Association for the Sick and Wounded Soldiers of the Allied Nations, which was headed by industrialists such as Shibusawa Eiichi, and was supported by Prime Minister Terauchi's cabinet. Although we saw that even organizations who profiled themselves as being civic charities were often influenced by political interests or supported by the ruling class, with the 1920 Organization for Raising Money for the Nikolayevsk Incident as an example of such an organization.

Newspapers such as the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* proved to be instrumental in the process to achieve international recognition from through the means of humanitarian aid for Belgium. Newspapers provided articles written in an emotional language which might have moved readers to contribute to the fundraising campaigns announced in or organized by the newspapers. Other more visual media such as the magic lantern shows, newsreels or theatres might have worked even more directly on people's conscience. By doing so, Japanese mass media constructed a mass consciousness of wartime Belgium, which might have led them to donate to charity as well.

The role which women's organizations played in the fundraising for Belgium was also significant. Organizations such as the *Aikoku Fujinkai*, which had been established by noblewomen with the support of the government, resembled a class of educated and civilized women in Japan who wanted to teach Japanese women and young girls several Western customs such as patriotism, managing a household and engaging in philanthropic activities. The importance of charity and volunteering for the nation had already been stressed during the Russo-Japanese War when girls were encouraged to knit or sew clothes for Japanese soldiers. By doing the same, only this time for Belgium, those same values could once more be reaffirmed and put on both national as international display. These organizations established themselves as progressive to the Western image, but at the same time kept the participation of women in public life, such as political rights and engagements, limited to what was deemed as suitable for women in the Japanese society. In other words, these women's organizations mirrored their views on patriotism and other national values in the shape of charity and household management to what was considered to be essential for women in the West, without giving Japanese women the complete reign over their own political freedom by, for example

allowing universal suffrage of the participation in political events. At the time, Belgian women who did not fear facing the enemy if it meant they could protect their own children, nation and king, served as a practical example of these patriotic values. Eventually, in addition to practically exercising these values on a national level, through fundraising campaigns Japanese women's organizations also attempted to establish an image to the outside world as holding the same values and principles dear as Western organizations such as the Canadian Six Nations Women's Patriotic League or the Women's Patriotic Organization in Newfoundland.

Another argument as to why Japanese people engaged in the international humanitarian efforts for Belgium was a growing sense of global citizenship. Newspapers all across the globe reported on Belgium's misfortune, and by doing so they created a sense of transnational connectivity which led to world-wide efforts to relieve Belgium of its misery. In a time of globalization, this allowed for countries such as Argentina, which at the time were seen as internationally less significant by Western nations, to establish themselves as well informed on international events and empathic to the Allies' cause. This was the same for Japanese newspapers, as joining the international humanitarian efforts for Belgium allowed for Japanese newspapers such as the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* to place themselves in the same league as other internationally acclaimed newspaper companies such as The Times or The Daily Telegraph. This also meant that they managed to once more display a certain level of educated interest of Japanese people in international affairs, as its readers clearly were interested in the reporting on the Great War.

However, while this consciousness intention of reflecting civilization or global citizenship on the Japanese people did seep through several layers of society such as the government, women's organizations and newspaper companies, it is hard to imagine that this was the main motivation which encouraged middle and lower class Japanese civilians to support Belgium. We should stay mindful of the emotional attachment which Japanese people had to the Belgian cause because of previous personal wartime experiences. To further encourage these emotional bonds to the Belgian people, visual stimuli like the magic lantern shows, illustrated wartime magazines or theatres, but also intimate diaries in the *Ōshū Sensō Jikki* or lectures given by Belgian diplomats like Georges Della Faille might have been essential as they confronted people frankly with the cruelties of war.

Generally speaking we could say that the main incentive to engage in the international humanitarian aid for Belgium was to establish Japan as a civilized nation equal to that of its Western counterparts. Together with the creation of this global status came the use of newspapers, women's organization, diplomatic and commercial relationships as well as a sense

of global citizenship as tools to establish this international perception. However, at the same time we should mind the emotional intimacy which Japanese civilians experienced with the Belgian population through personal experiences with wartime tragedies such as the Russo-Japanese War.

All of this leaves us with the question whether this humanitarian aid for Japan managed to fulfil the objective which moved it. Racial equality was not granted, and Japan eventually stepped out of the League of Nations, even siding with the Allies archenemy in the Second World War. On the other hand, the search for international recognition, with humanitarian aid as one tool for this purpose, did serve as a national objective during the Taishō crisis. In addition, after the war Japan and Belgium raised the status of their consuls to each other's country to ambassadors, meaning that the expressions of solidarity did get some sort of result. However, whether charity for Belgium enabled Japan to be perceived as a global power or not, the actual implementation and instrumentalization of humanitarian aid as a way of obtaining international acknowledgement stays a valuable insight. To summarize the findings brought forth in this paper, we can say that while humanitarian aid for Belgium had indeed not granted Japan racial equality or an equal treatment from its allies, it does serve as another interesting aspect of the country's struggle for international acknowledgement, as well as a tool to create a national sense of direction during a time of crisis.

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