

THE FORGOTTEN ENLIGHTENER: SHIGA SHIGETAKA (1863-1927)

by

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ABSTRACT

Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927) is generally known among scholars of Japanese intellectual history as the pioneering advocate of *kokusui shugi* (maintenance of Japan's cultural identity), a theory which called for spiritual solidarity in the late 1880s when Japan was facing increasing pressure from the West. He is also regarded as an intellectual opponent of his contemporary, journalist Tokutomi Soho (1863-1957), who advocated *heimin shugi*, total modernisation of Japan. Their so-called rivalry has been understood as Shigetaka being "conservative" and Soho, "progressive", despite the many parallels in their ideas regarding the necessity for industrialisation of Japan: the myth has been created that Shigetaka's ideas are synonymous with those of the "conservative" intellectuals, particularly the "Confucian" scholars (*jukyo shugi sha*).

In fact, Shigetaka strongly rejected the "conservative" label and criticised the "Confucian" scholars when their influence culminated in the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890 and also when the National Morality Movement gained nation-wide support after 1910. However, his criticism of them has not been sufficiently studied and existing discussions of his thought predominantly focus on the *kokusui* issue. Other studies deal with Shigetaka as geographer, political activist, and global traveller, but tend to be rather sketchy. Above all, they do not concern themselves with his thoughts on education, which are particularly significant in light of his opposition to the "Confucian" scholars' attempts to achieve national moral control. Despite his opposition, there has been another longstanding myth about him: his *kokusui* advocacy and his purpose of promotion as well as

popularisation of the study of the geography have been interpreted as leading towards Japan's later imperialism. One of the purposes of this study is to challenge these two myths, (Shigetaka as a "conservative" intellectual and Shigetaka as a forerunner of imperialism), by focussing on the areas of his work overlooked by the previous scholars.

This thesis presents a more realistic picture of Shigetaka's intellectual activity by examining his thought in two stages: the late 1880s when he advocated Japan's economic reform supported by national (spiritual) solidarity; and after 1910 when he began his outspoken criticism of the "Confucian" scholars. By analysing his criticism of the "Confucian" scholars, the discourse attempts to establish the following two points: first, that the "Confucian" scholars were Shigetaka's intellectual opponents; second, that he was an anti-imperialist who strongly opposed Japan's march towards the "suicidal" World War Two.

The thesis also identifies the close relationship between Shigetaka's beliefs regarding education and economic reforms and those of Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), the most influential enlightener of 1870s in Japan. Both Fukuzawa and Shigetaka had participated in missions overseas and both believed in Western studies, although Shigetaka warned against too indiscriminate an adoption of Westernisation because of his findings of the demeaning effect of Western culture in the South Seas. This thesis demonstrates how Shigetaka supported his reform advocacy with first-hand observations of current world affairs. He believed that Japan's survival and respect in the fast-changing world order depended on education and it was vital to promote and popularise geography as a curricular subject and as a way of understanding the contemporary world. He aimed at not only educating the people through

institutions, but also enlightening the general public through journalism. Consequently, this thesis suggests that his views on education, to which insufficient weight has been given until now, are essential to understanding the intellectual activity of this "forgotten enlightener".

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CHAPTER 1 THE FIRST MYTH – SHIGETAKA AS A "CONSERVATIVE" INTELLECTUAL

Introduction

As Carol Gluck has noted, the late 1880s saw "an upsurge in ideological activity" in Japan.¹ Widespread media coverage of the unequal treaties² had contributed to a sense of national humiliation and increased public awareness of Japan's situation. The second generation of the Meiji, such as Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927) and Tokutomi Soho (1863-1957), educated under the "Western" education principle, criticised the government's spineless attitude to the Western powers.

Despite this criticism, the Meiji government continued with its policy of indiscriminate Westernisation with the goal of quickly modernising Japan. Under the slogans of *fukoku kyohei* (enrich the country and strengthen the armed forces) and *shokusan kogyo* (industrialisation of Japan), the government concentrated its resources on state-owned industries such as military suppliers and on *shinsho*,³ business cliques favoured by and tied with the government. This, however, stimulated only a limited area of industry and a selected class of people, resulting in an unfair distribution of wealth and also failing to promote and support local industry.

Shigetaka, as one of the critics of the government's policies, identified five main approaches which dominated the debates over the course Japan should take.⁴ First, the Seikyosha (Society for Politics and Education), of which Shigetaka was a member,⁵ advocated *kokusui shugi* (maintenance

of Japan's cultural identity),⁶ which called for preserving what had been unique to Japan while modernising the country. The Seikyosha's magazine, *Nihonjin* (*The Japanese*),⁷ was used as a tool to advocate *kokusui shugi*, although definition of the concept itself differed according to various members of the society. Second, fellow journalist, Tokutomi Soho and his group, Min'yusha (People's Friends), argued for *Nihon bunshi daha shugi* (eliminating Japanese traditional elements), or *heimin shugi* (total modernisation/Westernisation of Japan from the grass roots). This called for constructing a productive, democratic society and for reforming the feudalistic, militant one. The Min'yusha also had a magazine, *Kokumin no tomo* (*The Nation's Friend*), which was used as the mouthpiece of the movement. Third, a group made up of intellectuals such as *jukyo shugi sha*, "Confucian" scholars,⁸ and *kokugaku sha*, scholars of National Learning, supported *Nihon kyubunshi iji shugi* (maintenance of Japanese traditional elements). Fourth, another cadre advised *secchu shugi* (syncretic or eclectic approach, "the blend of matter and spirit through which the scientific ethos of the West could be synthesised with the moral values of the Orient"⁹). The fifth group was represented by the government, whose policies for the indiscriminate Westernisation of Japan were criticised by most of the other groups as *nutakuri shugi* (disguising with coats of paint).

Although all were striving for the same goal of national solidarity, the Meiji intellectuals thus had differing viewpoints regarding the reformation of Japanese society. Shigetaka and Soho in particular have been seen as intellectual opponents, despite their basic agreement on several key issues in terms of the industrialisation of Japan.¹⁰ This is due

at least in part to an interpretation of Shigetaka's thinking which labels him as "conservative" in comparison to Soho. He and the other members of the Seikyosha were referred to as additions to the "new conservatives" of the 1880s by some of their contemporaries and are still regarded as such by some critics today.¹¹ This chapter first notes the points of congruence in the viewpoints of Soho and Shigetaka and establishes Shigetaka's own rejection of the "conservative" label. It then analyses why he refused this label and how his approach to national unity differed from the methods of the "Confucian" scholars. Finally, it argues that Shigetaka's main intellectual opponents were, in fact, the "Confucian" scholars — though he did not actively reveal his opposition until the National Morality Movement (*Kokumin dotoku undo*) began to gain nation-wide support after 1910.

1 - 1 Shigetaka and Tokutomi Soho: A Number of Parallels

In *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity 1885-1895*, Kenneth Pyle notes the apparent rivalry between the Seikyosha and the Min'yusha as two contemporary intellectual cliques. He points out that although both felt the need for "a national ideology" in order to reform the state, they differed on which standard of values could achieve this.¹² He describes Tokutomi Soho's perception of the Seikyosha as antagonistic:

Tokutomi regarded the Seikyosha members as additions to the "new conservative" group, which he described as a motley gathering that would offer good material for a sociological study. He characterised the "new conservative group" as being led by discontented generals and encompassing unreconstructed *samurai*, Confucianists, Shinto and Buddhist priests, Chinese-style doctors, young political toughs, and all others who wanted to destroy the progressive trend of Japanese society.¹³

Pyle argues that the Seikyosha members were in search of a "useable past" to define Japanese uniqueness and were seen as "conservative".¹⁴ He refers to the complaint of Miyake (Shigetaka's colleague) that *kokusui hozon* had been used as a catchword for conservatism; the Seikyosha's efforts to preserve a sense of "national individuality" in the modern world were distorted by traditionalists and made a pretext for opposition to needed reform.¹⁵ Pyle goes on to say that "to overcome the misunderstanding, however, what was really needed was a clearer, more definite expression of Japanese identity".¹⁶ (As the next chapter will show, although Shigetaka attempted to define Japanese uniqueness with regard to the natural environment, it was difficult to express this abstract concept in concrete words.) Furthermore, John Pierson claims that "Soho feared the harm this 'new conservatism' would bring to the nation and to the people even more than he feared indiscriminate Westernisation"; Pierson notes Soho's assertion that this movement had created "a predominantly conservative atmosphere that has corrupted the natural and presumably potentially democratic character of our country for the past 300 years".¹⁷

Pyle does acknowledge in a footnote that many years later, Yamaji Aizan (1865-1917), a member of Soho's Min'yusha and a prominent writer, did distinguish between the two styles of "conservatism":

Whereas the conservatism that appeared in 1881 and 1882 was nothing more than a rebirth of Chinese learning, the "conservatism" of the late 1880s represented the development of national consciousness. Of course in the latter case many backwoods priests and Confucianists were delighted to plunge into the movement, but ... the leaders of the group had an understanding of Western culture. They absorbed the spirit of European nationalist movements, and regarded the attempt to make Japan over into a Western state as a most

dangerous tendency. They observed that Western powers, through their language, literature, and customs, strove to preserve their nationality.¹⁸

However, by placing this comment as a footnote and by not referring to Shigetaka's criticism of the "Confucian" scholars (of which he may not have been aware), Pyle fails to give sufficient weight to the difference between Shigetaka and the "Confucian" scholars. Nevertheless, Pyle did recognise that, though Shigetaka and Soho may have disagreed on the value of Japan's past, they also shared a "common framework of experiences and concerns and were much closer ideologically than they were often thought to be".¹⁹ In particular, both perceived the people as the generating power for a "new" Japan. Furthermore, both believed that increased productivity and overseas trade were vital for establishing Japan's "new" economy.²⁰

In regard to increasing productivity, Shigetaka advocated a two-pronged scheme called *Nihonshugi* (Japanism) which would combine both a spiritual factor (*kokusui*) and practical approaches. On the practical side, he condemned the Japanese government's "make-believe" modernisation — designed to make foreigners think that Japan was rapidly modernising — for its failure to encourage productivity and to create an economy that would meet the basic needs of the people:

In order to be favoured by the white, the government has proceeded on with civil engineering work which has not been urgently needed, has stimulated unproductive projects in industry, has constructed unduly luxurious buildings, has repaired unnecessary roads, has learnt Western dancing, and has organised masquerade dance parties. Thus *nutakurishugi* has supported only the wealthy minority and has driven the people to oppression and poverty. How can Japanese men of spirit tolerate such a situation?²¹

Soho also saw productivity as essential for the people's well-being:

In order to provide people with comfort, society has to be productive ... this is the only way for Japan to survive ... Without such change, it will not keep up with the rest of the world.²²

Both men stressed that the benefits of productivity must be extended to all Japanese, though for different reasons. While Shigetaka criticised the government's emphasis on modernising a limited area of industry, Soho opposed class-based "Westernisation". He denounced unfair distribution of wealth in "*Aa Kokumin no tomo umaretari*" (*The Nation's Friend is Born*) in 1887:

Noble men gaily dancing in formal attire find winter nights all too short. At the same time, however, commoners do not have time to relax with their families even on Sundays ... Noble men enjoy wine under bright lights which dazzle people and make them think it's still daytime. Commoners, however, can only afford a small sip of local undistilled spirit in the weak firelight of homes with broken windows and roofs.²³

Soho called attention to the inequalities of the class system and called for the benefits of "Westernisation" to be made available to all. Although both perceived productivity as essential then, they reached this belief from different perspectives; Shigetaka was concerned with assuring the people's basic necessities, while Soho called for an equal distribution of wealth to all the people.

In a similar vein, Shigetaka was critical of *shinsho*, (the group of) businessmen who had a (traditional) "special connection" with the government, for not promoting economic development:

Political affiliation removes competition, terminates business thought and develops not only a will to depend on somebody else but also an evil mind to be lazy.²⁴

He believed that independent and competitive businesses were much more stimulative to the economy. Likewise, Soho opposed *shinsho*, claiming "today's 'well-known' *shinsho* were not different from feudal officials in seeking the government's protection and favourable interference".²⁵

Another area in which Shigetaka and Soho were in agreement was the question of military spending. Both noted the "burden",²⁶ in the form of constant tax increase, which government spending in this area imposed. Shigetaka maintained that expenditure for military affairs had to be drastically reduced to lessen the tax burden and create a little less pressure on the basic necessities of *i shoku ju* (food, clothing and housing).²⁷ Similarly, Soho believed that Japanese society had to be industrial, but not militant:

An excessively militant ... state such as our own Tokugawa shogunate can never accumulate wealth or improve people's quality of life, no matter how peaceful and productive the society, nor how hard the people — farmers, artisans and merchants work. Wealth earned by the state annually goes to feeding soldiers and to meet demands of the military. Such unproductive expenditure every year is just like sinking cargo deep into the sea where it is gone forever. This is the cause of Japan still being so poor and primitive despite 260 years of stable society.²⁸

Both Shigetaka and Soho thought that military spending should not be at the expense of the people, Shigetaka because it interfered with their ability to meet their basic needs, Soho because it kept them from more profitable activities.

Still another parallel can be seen in the way both Shigetaka and Soho called for vitalisation of Japan's economy through overseas commerce. Chapter 4 explores Shigetaka's views on this subject in *Nan yo jiji*

(*Current Affairs in the South Seas*). Soho seemed to share Shigetaka's enthusiasm:

I have no doubt that Japan could soon become a trade centre in the Pacific, in the Orient, and then an international wholesaler if we free people from the class stratification that still exists. Re-adjust the financial structure, secure people's possessions and allow them to choose occupations.²⁹

He believed that success in trade and commerce was achievable once Japan was freed from the shackles of class stratification, allowing people to choose their occupation and resulting in a more effective utilisation of human resources as well as greater productivity. Miwa Kimitada points out Soho's assertion that "*Kokumin no tomo* disagreed with Shiga's advocacy of a 'protectionist' policy, but was completely in agreement with Shiga when he wished to build a 'commercial Japan' (as expressed in *Nan yo jiji*)".³⁰

An interesting parallel can also be drawn from the way which both Shigetaka and Soho paid special attention to Japan's geographical position in recommending trade and commerce. As Chapter 4 explores, Shigetaka strongly recommended seafaring as a "new" economic foundation, in consideration of Japan's geographical configuration. Similarly, Pyle points out that Soho cited Japan's many natural advantages in pursuing industrial development and that none of these assets were cultural:

"Our land is small; clearly, then, we cannot by our size dominate other countries; but our location affords us the opportunity of becoming the centre of Asian trade". Japan was ideally situated for trade with China, Australia, Russia, and America; and the building of a transisthmian canal promised further advantages.³¹

Similarly, Shigetaka saw the advantage of Japan's geographical characteristics for establishing its economy. However, as Chapter 2 examines, Shigetaka saw something more — Japan's cultural identity — in Japan's natural environment.

Pyle also notes several similarities between the two groups (the Min'yusha, represented by Soho and the Seikyosha represented by Shigetaka, Miyake and Kuga):

... both sought to dissociate themselves from the extremes with which their ideas were often confused. Miyake, Kuga, and Shiga were at pains to distinguish their views from obdurate nationalism and xenophobia; and Tokutomi and other Min'yusha writers tried to separate their ideas from the indiscriminate Westernisation that characterised popular sentiment in the 1870s and 1880s. The Min'yusha could sympathise with goals and motives of the Seikyosha.³²

Although different in their approach then, the common goal of both Shigetaka and Soho was locally centred industrialisation by the people, who would provide the driving force for Japan in the future. Pyle suggests that with the views of others being so divergent from those of both the Seikyosha and the Min'yusha there would have been intellectual opponents to Shigetaka other than Soho.

Shigetaka and Soho certainly seemed to respect each other's views. Pyle points out Soho's recognition of Shigetaka upon the publication of *Nan yo jiji*; Soho invited Shigetaka to write for the column "Special Correspondence" in *Kokumin no tomo*, one year prior to the publication of *Nihonjin*.³³ Despite the fact that Shigetaka had written an article quite different to the one Soho requested (Soho had asked Shigetaka to write an article in support of his democratic approach, but the article Shigetaka

wrote warned of the radical Westernisation of Japan and asserted an urgent need for restoration of the national spiritual foundation), the tenth issue of *Kokumin no tomo* printed Shigetaka's article entitled "Tkanishite Nihonkoku o Nihonkoku tarashimu bekiya" (How Can Japan Be Made Japan?) on 21st October 1887.³⁴ As Matsuda Michio notes, Shigetaka showed a similar tolerance of Soho's *Nihon bunshi daha* (*heiminshugi*) advocacy, stating that he admired, "the liveliness of their activity which has dynamically brightened people's lives".³⁵

In her *Soho to sono jidai - Yoserareta shokan kara* (*Soho and his Contemporaries: Letters to Soho*), Kono Sizuko, a historian, maintains that Shigetaka's 61 letters to Soho, sent over the period from 1889 to 1927, (most of which are edited in the book), reveal that Shigetaka and Soho were just like "good brothers" throughout their lives, although they were believed to be "intellectual opponents" in journalism.³⁶ She gives an account of their acquaintance after Shigetaka's emergence as a journalist with *Nan yo jiji*; Shigetaka respected Soho as his senior in journalism and copied anything worthwhile regarding journalistic formalities, for example, inserting a PR stamp (in vermilion colour) of the Seikyosha on the corner of business as well as personal envelopes and cards; both shared the same interest in Chinese study and Shigetaka was one of the first 15 members of a literary club, *Bungakukai*, which Soho (and other Min'yusha members) organised monthly from September 1888 to April 1891.³⁷ It is noteworthy to point out that Soho was one of the guests invited for the inauguration ceremony of the Seikyosha.³⁸

If any controversy can be identified in the different approaches to a common goal taken by Shigetaka and Soho, it can be seen most

significantly in their perceptions of Japan's stance in world affairs. For example, Soho supported "mixed-residence" which would end closed-port policies and thus stimulate trade if the revision of the treaties came into effect.³⁹ On the other hand, as Chapter 4 reveals in exploring Shigetaka's economic recommendations in *Nan yo jiji*, "mixed residence" was one of his serious concerns and he vehemently warned his contemporaries that it could endanger Japan's "new" economy which was still at its formative stage.⁴⁰

In his *Meiji seishinshi* (*The Spiritual History of Meiji*), Irokawa Daikichi maintains that national independence was the primary concern of the Seikyosha members at the time of the group's establishment after Shigetaka's return from the South Seas.⁴¹ His advocacy of spiritual solidarity was for the purpose of maintaining independence and it was for this that he asserted *kokusui shugi*, criticised the government's spineless attitude to the West, and encouraged local centres of industrialisation.⁴² Soho, also believing in "the theory of evolution", advocated constructing a productive and democratic society, but not with the same sense of urgency.⁴³ Furthermore, Matsuda emphasises that Shigetaka was probably the only intellectual who witnessed the power struggle at that time in the South Seas.⁴⁴ As we will see in Chapters 1-4, 2-2 and 4, Shigetaka supported his own advocacy (and recommendations) by observations made in the South Seas. This was the crucial difference between Shigetaka and Soho, despite their basic agreement that industry and trade were vital for Japan's "new" economy.

1 - 2 "I am not a Conservative": Shigetaka & the "Confucian" Scholars

While Shigetaka, Soho and their respective colleagues are widely regarded as the most representative intellectuals of their time, the group which came to dominate ideological development in Japan at this time was the "Confucian" scholars.⁴⁵ Their influence was particularly evident in the area of education, and culminated in the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyoiku chokugo*, hereafter referred to as the Rescript) of 1890.⁴⁶ As Chapter 5 reveals, the Rescript marked an official return to the deeply Confucian values of loyalty, filial piety, diligence and thrift. It was allied with a new consciousness among the nation's leaders that education's primary purpose must be to serve the goals of a state under threat from Western influence. While the government had previously promoted the emulation of Western civilisation, the "Confucian" scholars believed to be behind the Rescript, such as Motoda Eifu (1818-1891) and Nishimura Shigeki (1828-1902), opposed it.⁴⁷ They feared "the effects of Western utilitarianism and materialism on morality and public virtue", and believed that, in its haste to lead the country towards a constitutional state, the government had contributed to moral disorder, which could only be resolved by restoring Confucian moral principles.⁴⁸ In other words, they looked toward Japan's past and believed that they found a solution for modern problems in feudal morality.

Shigetaka's *kokusui* could also be interpreted as looking toward the past. As we have seen earlier in this chapter and will see again in Chapter 2, *kokusui* was not precisely defined and even within the Seikyosha, the members had individual ideas of what actually constituted Japan's "uniqueness".⁴⁹ Matsuda Michio claims that this divergence of opinions allowed *kokusui* to be misinterpreted, to the point where it was thought

by Shigetaka's contemporaries and some current critics to be derived from *fukko/hoshu shugi*, the "conservatism" advocated by the "Confucian" scholars.⁵⁰ Nakanome Toru also points out that in contrast to Soho's *heimin shugi*, the Seikyosha's *kokusui shugi* was prone to be regarded as the same as the theories of the "conservative" opposition, and Shigetaka and his colleagues tried hard to differentiate their theory from those of the "conservatives".⁵¹ Shigetaka himself, as critics such as Matsuda and Pyle point out, vehemently denied the "conservative" label:

I am not a "conservative"; no I am rather a reformer. I am not a reactionary who advocates Confucian doctrine by displaying and chanting words such as *shinshu* (Japan, a state of God) ... in the manner as the *kokugaku sha*, scholars of National Learning. I do not revere *Shinron* (*New Theses*) written by Aizawa Seishisai (1782-1863) [the well-known Confucian scholar of the Mito school], nor *Hekija shogen* (*An Admonition to Expel Evils*) by Ohashi Totsuan (1816-1862), both advocates of anti-foreignism.⁵²

Shigetaka's rejection of the "Confucian" ideology and its representative intellectuals indicates his strong disagreement with their advocacy. However, Pyle identifies a contradiction between Shigetaka's rejection of "the old and the traditional" and his advocacy of "a unique and ancient spirit of Japan — *kokusui*".⁵³ Soho also perceived the fundamental error that Shigetaka was making in not defining *kokusui* clearly enough. He urged Shigetaka to clarify publicly what he meant by the word, *kokusui*. Kono suggests that Shigetaka's response to Soho, dated on 18th May 1888, a month after the first *Nihonjin* was issued, defines the meaning of *kokusui* better than any of Shigetaka's writings for *Nihonjin*:

My dear respected friend Soho,

Thank you very much for your comments and advice yesterday regarding *kokusui*. It is not at all my intention nor the Seikyosha's purpose to leave people with a misunderstanding about our *kokusui* as being "conservative" and to have them develop *fukkoshugi*, the reactionary "conservative" view ... *Kokusui* originally meant to maintain an independent national spirit unique to

our country and to break up the indiscriminate Westernisation. However, if anyone has thought that *Nihonjin* represents an espousal of "conservatism" and therefore anyone has been prepared to act accordingly, then I apologise for this misunderstanding. Having observed incapable people (people with little brain) trying to drive the masses to unnecessarily revere the West, I wanted to encourage people to stand on their own feet ... I had not even dreamed that "conservatism" would ever be the national principle. I contemplated this last night and it is truly shameful to have the *kokusui* theory misused.⁵⁴

Shigetaka's response to Soho indicates Shigetaka's clear denial of "Confucian" tendencies. Although his public criticism of the "Conservatives" was focussed on the government's economic policies in concentrating its resources on state-owned industries such as military suppliers and on *shinsho*, he also clearly rejected the claim that his ideas were synonymous with those of the "Confucian" scholars.⁵⁵ The next section studies the "Confucian" scholars' thought. Section 1-4 attempts to establish why Shigetaka opposed them and to delineate his views from those of prominent "Confucian" scholars.

1 - 3 The Late Mito School: Aizawa Seishisai and Nishimura Shigeki

We have seen in the previous section that Shigetaka took pains to dissociate his advocacy from that of the "Confucian" scholars. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, after 1910 he openly criticised the "Confucian" scholars on the grounds of their failure to stimulate productivity and their influence on the imperial education system. Before examining Shigetaka's criticism of the "Confucian" scholars' effect on productivity, (his criticism of the imperial education system will be discussed in Chapter 5), this section will outline the roles played by Aizawa Seishisai and Nishimura Shigeki in the restructuring of Japan's moral code. Aizawa was a founding father of the late Mito school and author of the

highly influential *Shinron* (*New Theses*) of 1825. Nishimura refined Aizawa's ideas and advocated the establishment of a new set of moral principles for Japan. Although Shigetaka openly criticised Aizawa and his *Shinron*, it is most probable that his criticism was directed particularly to the Aizawa disciples of his own time, namely Nishimura (and Motoda as discussed in Chapter 5-1-1), who were a generation older than Shigetaka (see Chapter 1-4). The following section first examines Aizawa's thought, then focuses on areas of Nishimura's ideas which reflect those of Aizawa.

1 - 3 - 1 Aizawa Seishisai: *Shinron* (*New Theses*)

In *Shinron*, Aizawa emphasised *kokutai* (Japan's fundamental essence) and argued that Japan had been able to maintain stability by loyalty and filial piety directed to the imperial lineage. He introduced the new concepts of *shinkoku* (a country of God) and *shinto* (the way of God) and claimed that *Amaterasu* (the Sun Goddess) had founded Japan and her holy descendants had maintained the country with loyalty and filial piety. Hashikawa Bunzo, a historian, claims that facing a national crisis at the end of feudalism, scholars of the late Mito school could not help but arrive at *kokutairon* (a theory of *kokutai*) to meet the need for absolutely eternal discipline which could survive even after the destruction of the Tokugawa feudalism, the Neo-Confucian world.⁵⁶ "*Kokutai* against foreign invasion", Aizawa insisted, "has to be maintained at all costs":

Our Emperors, descendants of the Sun Goddess, *Amaterasu*, have acceded to the Imperial Throne in each and every generation — a unique fact that will never change. Our Divine Realm rightly constitutes the head and shoulders of the world and controls all nations ... Our Divine Realm is at the top of the world. Though not a very large country, it reigns over the Four Quarters because its Imperial line has never known dynastic change. The Western barbarians represent the thighs, legs, and feet of the universe. This is why they sail hither and yon, indifferent to the distances involved ... These

barbarians court ultimate ruin by ignoring the moral laws of nature and refusing to accept the lowliness of their status ... Unable to suppress my anger and grief, I respectfully present my views to the *bakufu* (*kokka*); the major one is *kokutai* (what is essential to a nation) wherein I relate that *Amaterasu* founded our nation on the twin precepts of loyalty and filial devotion, that She esteemed martial virtues, and that She attached supreme importance to nurturing Her people.⁵⁷

As can be seen by this passage, Aizawa was one of the pioneers of Japanese nationalism. Though concerned about national defence when the Western powers approached Japan, he focussed on domestic consequences and Confucian countermeasures. He thought the Westerners were trying to invade Japan with new instruments, medicines and evil habits, such as the desire for things other than daily necessities.⁵⁸ He warned that the government propaganda, "enrich the country and strengthen the armed forces", was not effective enough, because once people's minds were captured by alien luxury products, the enemy had won without fighting:

One source of harm that has appeared of late is that of Dutch study. This discipline grew out of translation work — the reading and deciphering of Dutch books by specially trained interpreter-officials. There is no harm in Dutch study itself; the harm comes when some dupe with a smattering of second-hand knowledge of foreign affairs mistakenly lauds the far-fetched notions spun out by Western barbarians, or publishes books to that effect in an attempt to transform our Middle Kingdom to barbarian ways. There are, moreover, many curiosities and concoctions from abroad that dazzle the eye and entice our people to glorify foreign ways. Should the wily barbarians some day be tempted to take advantage of this situation and entice our stupid commoners to adopt beliefs and customs that reek of barbarism, how could we stop them? [The Book of Changes tells us,] "The lining of frost on which we tread [in early winter] soon turns into a hard sheet of ice". We must adopt appropriate measures to thwart them now, before it is too late.⁵⁹

Aizawa feared the possible destruction of the agrarian moral society resulting from the economic impact of imported goods.

Aizawa believed in *saisei icchi*, a unity of politics and ritual, including reverence of the imperial lineage. He thought that reverence of the Emperor would keep the people awed and thus obedient, consequently politics and education would be in unity and inseparable (*seikyo icchi*).⁶⁰ Reverence of the Sun Goddess and imperial descendants would also lead to spiritual unity which thus would be steadily maintained and not distracted by other beliefs.

Hence, Aizawa opposed Christianity because he thought it could endanger the spiritual belief on which *kokutai* was based, and consequently damage national unity. Evil beliefs, he argued, had disturbed only evil people within the country, but "Christianity", he denounced, "has invaded not only our people but also those in other countries through missionaries":

The barbarians ... all believe in the same religion, Christianity, which they use to annex territories. Wherever they go, they destroy native houses of worship, deceive the local peoples, and seize those lands. These barbarians will settle for nothing less than subjugating the rules of all nations and conscripting all peoples into their ranks. And they are becoming aggressive. Having overthrown the native regimes on Luzon and Java, they turned their predatory eyes on our Divine Realm. They instigated insurrections in Kyushu using the same methods as on Luzon and Java: Not only in Japan have nefarious commoners led people astray by spreading wicked doctrines. Fortunately, our enlightened lords and astute advisers perceived the foreigners' pernicious designs and took steps to exterminate them. Due to our leaders' wise policies, Christianity was utterly eradicated. Not a single adherent remained alive to subvert our Middle Kingdom, and our people have been spared from the foreigners' wiles for two hundred years.⁶¹

Among all the Western influences, Aizawa believed that Christianity was the most threatening.

Aizawa also argued that commerce with the West (Dutch in his time)⁶² was at odds with the Confucian virtue of thrift, which he saw as a

significant spiritual contribution to maintaining feudal economy during the national seclusion (1641-1854):

Once unnecessary modern commodities (other than the basics) are spread in the country, only the rich get even richer and the masses, *samurai* and farmers, become poorer. Traditional manners and customs would deteriorate and bribery would take place. Therefore, our conventional lessons show us that our national assets should be correctly managed and expenditures should be within the amount of income; only thus will national finance remain healthy and the social structure stable. Each lord should be a role model for teaching his people this. Abolish any redundant bureaucrats and their work, abolish complicated as well as over-severe laws, and eliminate any unnecessary luxury, by letting people abandon vain display and revere such 'true' loyalty.⁶³

Aizawa did not doubt that unnecessary Western goods would only be a hindrance to maintaining the thrift which supported the feudal economy.

1 - 3 - 2 Nishimura Shigeki: *Nihon Dotokuron* (A Thesis on Japanese Moral Principles)

Although a disciple of Aizawa in the late Mito school, Nishimura was not anti-foreign and was one of the forerunners in Western studies. He had learnt Western armoury from Sakuma Shozan (1811-1864),⁶⁴ and was concerned about Japan's defence. He submitted recommendations for maintaining its independence as early as 1853, when the whole country had just been shaken by the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry (1794-1858).⁶⁵

Nishimura based his moral theory on a fusion of Western rationality and traditional Confucian morality. Instead of advocating Confucian teaching *per se* in state education, as did Motoda (see Chapter 5-1-1), Nishimura endeavoured to establish an improved moral guideline for the people.⁶⁶

He thought that Western technology was necessary for modernising Japan, but Western studies, particularly law, did not teach the moral virtues which traditional statesmen once esteemed. This, he argued, was the reason for Japan's moral decay, and it was therefore essential to "reintroduce Confucianism", though in a slightly more modern form:

"You should not employ traditional pedantic Confucianists as teachers, but people who are versed at least in Japanese history and Chinese Confucianism, and also Western philosophy (especially moral philosophy), whose conduct is trusted by the public, and who have undertaken the study of cultivating peace of mind".⁶⁷

Although he respected Western studies, Nishimura still placed top priority on moral principles.

Nishimura saw the lack of a moral code particularly in the government. He believed in Aizawa's traditional unity of politics and moral education (*seikyo icchi*) and was himself a politician at the end of the Tokugawa government. He was concerned that the country had been too preoccupied with legal codification and industrialisation to observe "traditional" loyalty and filial piety:

Having heard that law is popular in the West, every young student nowadays discusses only how precious law is. Indeed law is precious, but it is merely instrumental to politics and not the way to rule the people. Without realising this fact, if anybody thinks that just a set of legal rules is sufficient to rule a country, he will be ridiculed.⁶⁸

In *Nihon dotokuron* (*A Thesis on Japanese Moral Principles*) published in 1886, Nishimura contended that national strength was dependent on the maintenance of spiritual solidarity and domestic stability.⁶⁹ Without these, the nation's strength would weaken, and the country would be

subject to foreign invasion just as had happened in ancient Rome and was now happening in India:

India has a population of 200,000,000 and is the second largest country in Asia. However, people's minds were not in accord and therefore the country was invaded and divided by the U.K., thus suffering disaster ... What we have to learn from this lesson is that we have to obtain national solidarity regardless of differences in scholarship, religion, political opinion (conservative or progressive), and one's status (bureaucrat or non-bureaucrat), giving patriotism top priority over individual interest by following moral principles.⁷⁰

The lack of a moral standard, Nishimura argued, put the entire nation at risk.

Like Aizawa, Nishimura believed that a nation's rise and fall depended on its people rather than on an institutional system; moral principle was necessary not only for the common people but also for the politicians who would, after all, govern the country. He believed the importance of moral principles, such as loyalty, to be eternal, existing even after one's death. "If the principle teaches the truth", he argued, "one can kill oneself on the death of one's lord".⁷¹ It is possible that he visualised the prototype of loyalty in the feudal sovereign-subject relationship. He presented the loyal relationship between a true lord and his retainers with the example of the case of *Ako shijushichishi* (the 47 loyal retainers of Ako, present Hyogo prefecture).⁷²

Again like Aizawa, Nishimura emphasised thrift, perseverance and the maintenance of the basic feudal standard of material existence. He claimed that thrift would foster virtue as well as maintaining assets. He also opposed the import of any Western products which were deemed redundant for basic needs. His definition of thrift, then, did not

encompass any concept of productivity or development. It accepted only what had been produced in the feudal, agrarian economy. In other words his goal was not to increase production but to make what was already being produced go further through disciplined behaviour.

Thus far, we have studied the thought of Aizawa and Nishimura in the restructuring of Japan's moral code. The following section shows Shigetaka's recommendations for increasing productivity, the areas which distinguish his views from those of Nishimura.

1 - 4 Shigetaka's Economic Recommendations for Productivity

There were many similarities between the ideas of Nishimura and those of Shigetaka. Both advocated Western studies and the adoption of at least some forms of Western technology. Both were concerned about Japan's security in an increasingly Westernised world and believed that national strength depended upon spiritual solidarity and domestic stability. Izumi Aki asserts, "Nishimura's thought can be interpreted as the direct forerunner for *kokusui shugi*".⁷³ Nevertheless, vital differences exist between Shigetaka's approach and that of Nishimura.

As will be discussed in Chapter 4, Shigetaka saw the development and maintenance of economic stability as the key element necessary to ensure national independence. Although he did not reveal his outspoken criticism of the "Confucian" scholars until their influence reached its apex after 1910, this is clearly one of the areas in which he disagreed with the "Confucian" scholars who placed the moral virtues well above "mere" economics. He did not see any practical outcome which would

emerge from moulding people's morals through Confucian doctrines, based on a feudal agrarian society. On the contrary, he believed that Confucian moral teaching could be observed only when people were relieved from the pressure of obtaining basic necessities (see p. 25).⁷⁴

In "Nihon seisanryaku" (Strategy for Japan's Industry), published in *Nihonjin* in 1889, Shigetaka outlined his practical recommendations for maintaining nationality through industrialisation. Having described the theory of *kokusui*, he declared, he would now put the theory into practice:

Preservation of nationality ... goes hand in hand with a positive increase of national production as well as individual capital. Even if people maintain spiritual independence, they cannot achieve a true civilisation unless they are financially sound ... I have already advocated the preservation of nationality over the last issues [of *Nihonjin*] and from this issue henceforth I shall make recommendations on how to increase productivity.⁷⁵

Shigetaka's recommendations included *bungyo* (specialisation) which the government's economic policies had not yet recognised. He believed that Japan's economic self-sufficiency should be realised by sound local industry and specialisation in various fields which concomitantly involved developing technical and/or scientific expertise in the specialised areas.⁷⁶ Shigetaka referred to the meat works (of a sheep farm) in Petone, near Wellington, in New Zealand as an example. In order to produce meat for export, the abattoir trained its staff to specialise in a practical skill, such as killing, skinning, cutting, cleaning, producing feed for pigs with the intestines of sheep, or utilising and packaging what was left for fertiliser. The workers thus trained were faster and more efficient, and the system allowed all materials produced to be used for profit.

The Petone abattoir also provided an example of the advantage of scientific training. Shigetaka had been impressed during his visit by a device which froze meat for overseas export. Instead of using tons of ice, as he expected, the abattoir had adapted an old steamship anchored behind the abattoir. To freeze the meat, they ran the steam engine with the windows on the upper deck tightly closed. Having removed the air, the temperature lowered until cold enough to freeze the meat, which was then maintained in this state on the steamship. When the ship which would transport the meat to Britain arrived, the workers transferred the frozen meat and the ship then departed. Shigetaka recalled his primary school days when he had learned that the snow caps of mountains are caused by the rareness of the air on the peaks. He was truly impressed by this application of science to practical production and thought that Japanese businessmen should learn from this example.⁷⁷

Shigetaka was not opposed to Confucian virtues, but thought they should be reinterpreted to suit the modern situation. He took issue, for example, with Nishimura's interpretation of *Ako shijushichishi*, as a model of "truth", "loyalty", "typical Japanese men" and so forth. In "Nichibei rikai no hissu joken" (Fundamentals for U.S. - Japan Mutual Understanding) in *Nihon ichi* (*Japan's Number One*) in 1919, he pointed out that the graves for Ako's retainers were built by donation from *geisha* in Yoshiwara, and asked how a loyal man could receive such tainted money.⁷⁸ True loyalty, he argued, could be seen in the case of an unknown American chaplain who refused to receive a donation from the American tycoon John Rockefeller (1839-1937); the chaplain claimed that the money was gained through stock speculation and was thus too impure to use for constructing a new church.⁷⁹

Shigetaka opposed Nishimura's emphasis on the primacy of "moral" teaching. He claimed that although the history of the late Mito school was famous even among foreign scholars, it had failed to offer practical recommendations as required for Japan's "new" economy. *The Mikawa nippo* (*The Daily Mikawa*) of 1925 reveals his criticism:

It has been thirty years since I warned scholars in the Mito school by reading and interpreting an article, "A Guide to Japan", published by Murray in London. It said, "Mito is a city of great history, however regarding its manufacturing, it has only bamboo brush made of *hagi*, Japanese bush clover, grown in *Kodokan*".⁸⁰

It seems clear that he thought that moral teaching alone was not practical enough to vitalise Japan's "new" economy. In other words, Nishimura's teaching might have been sufficient for supporting the feudal economy but not for competing in the world market.

Shigetaka also opposed Nishimura's interpretation of the virtues of thrift and perseverance. He depicted the problems of the "Confucian" approach with the writings of Shiga Risai (1762-1840), a Confucian scholar of the Tokugawa period. In his book, *Sanseiroku* (*Thrift by Curtailing Three Basic Necessities for Living*), Risai argued that the national survival depended upon curtailing daily consumption of the three basic necessities: clothes, food and housing. This viewpoint, Shigetaka argued in *Kokumin shimbun* (*The People's News*) in 1920, was incapable of going beyond the concept of "curtailment", in other words, it did not extend to concepts such as "increase" or "decrease".⁸¹

Shigetaka clearly took just the opposite stance — "increase", or economic development, was the one necessity for Japan's survival:

The reason I have to ask every Japanese, "How can Japan feed the country in the future?", may be attributed to the fact that the country has to rely on the importing of raw materials, not only clothing and food, but ... all kinds of raw materials including those for heavy and light manufacturing ... Throughout the past fifty years, I hated to be passive, in particular, to be theoretical in preaching to people without any practical methods to follow the teaching ... We must expand our productivity to meet the basic demand for living, clothing, feeding and housing. This should be the way to govern state affairs.⁸²

It is clear that he did not see how one could contribute to producing anything worthwhile by being in accord with the flood of state propaganda for observing thrift — "eating less", "two meals a day" and "not eating someone else's food" (see Chapter 5-2).⁸³ Instead of making do with existing production, he stressed the urgent need for production to be increased through creativity and science. He asserted that the only way to increase productivity, and particularly food production, in Japan was to first make people aware of the urgent necessity.⁸⁴ Given Japan's dearth of natural resources, it was also necessary to transfer plants and animals from different climates to Japan, for cultivation and growth in new areas of production.⁸⁵

Shigetaka cited a series of examples of the kind of initiative and productivity he thought necessary. One such was the development of Minami Torishima island (Ponafidin) by Tamaki Han'emon (1839-1911), a businessman in Meiji period. The history of this island began in a rather brutal fashion. In 1887, the government sent twelve people on the state ship, *Meijimaru*, to investigate the small uninhabited island which had no water supply. Failing to discover anything worthwhile to

develop, *Meijimaru* departed the island, abandoning the twelve people (who were then deemed redundant for any purposes).⁸⁶

So upset was Shigetaka that he joined the rescue team, which had argued that the government should not treat [new southern] frontiersmen so cruelly.⁸⁷ The twelve men had survived in a shelter made out of volcanic ash. Despite this inauspicious start, one of the twelve, Tamaki Han'emon, along with some fifty labourers, returned to the island in 1888 and developed it. They dug a well, constructed roads and fishing ports, ploughed the earth and planted trees, maintained livestock, built a primary school, stationed policemen and started regular sea transport services to the mainland. Taking advantage of the abundance of birds, Tamaki had exported feathers to Europe and thus had accumulated substantial capital.

With this capital, Tamaki developed two other deserted islands; Minami Daitojima (South Borodino) and Kita Daitojima (North Borodino). Minami Daitojima now had a population of some 3400 with 350 students at a primary school. On Kita Daitojima he had discovered a phosphorous deposit which he proceeded to develop. Shigetaka regarded this as an example of "modern" thrift (*haibutsu riyo*, utilisation of waste):

The three uninhabited deserted islands thus have been turned into islands of treasure. Look at the scale and productivity of the whole project. My interpretation of "utilisation of waste" (*haibutsu riyo*, a part of *ken'yaku*, thrift campaign), as compared to that of the government is well illustrated in this case.⁸⁸

Shigetaka was well aware that any production or "utilisation of waste", as called for by the government at that time, had to be realised on a much

larger scale and dimension than could be achieved by merely practicing "thrift".

As another example of initiative and productivity, Shigetaka cited the development of the Towada Lake, situated in northern Japan. Because of a waterfall at the mouth of the lake, fish could not swim back into the lake from the river. The lake had thus been known for over a thousand years as one without any fish. People had been afraid to do anything about this because of a legend since the era of Emperor Seiwa (858-876); if anybody even talked about fish, it would surely leave the God of the lake in rage.

In spite of local disapproval, Wainai Sadayuki (1858-1922) who was living by the lake as a guard for the water supply to a mine nearby, decided in 1884 to ignore the superstition and to establish a fish hatchery in this immense clear water lake. He did not spare any effort to carry out his plan, even forfeiting his property when his capital ran out. After endless trial and error, he released 30,000 baby trout in 1902. Within three years the lake held many trout and he had at last succeeded.⁸⁹ Since then, he had been releasing three to nine million baby trout every year and dedicated himself to research on hatching and cultivating trout in the region.

Thus Wainai had not only developed a new industry in the district, but was also able to contribute trout when the whole region later suffered a famine. On being asked by Wainai for his advice on new markets for the trout, Shigetaka advised that he should consider the potential overseas

markets because trout was a delicacy in the West. He applauded Wainai's success in turning a deserted lake into a treasure.

With the above examples, Shigetaka defined a new theory of thrift, which included "utilisation of waste", but which was relevant to the time. He perceived that reintroducing Confucian ideals *per se* to the new society was simply inappropriate. Izumi emphasises that it was the Seikyosha's productive view presented in *Nihonjin* which distinguished its aims from those of the "Confucian" scholars:

The watershed was the fact that *Nihonjin* had presented [the Seikyosha members'] advocacy from a viewpoint of consolidating both the social and economic foundation at a time when Japan needed its own capitalism established in the 1880s and mid 1890s. Therefore *Nihonjin* had respected Western science and technology despite their *kokusui hozon* (preservation of nationality).⁹⁰

As we have seen, though Nishimura respected Western science and technology, he did not concern himself with economic issues, while Shigetaka did.

Thus, we can see that despite the similarity of expressing a need for national solidarity, Shigetaka and the "Confucian" scholars were significantly opposed on the crucial issues of the primary reasons for this need. As can be seen from his criticism of the government's economic policies for concentrating resources on state-owned industries such as military suppliers and on *shinsho*, Shigetaka thought economic stability vital for Japan's survival. While the "Confucian" scholars emphasised observing loyalty and filial piety for Japan's survival, Shigetaka stressed the necessity of vitalising the people and increasing productivity. On this ground, Shigetaka opposed the "Confucian" scholars because he believed

that the agrarian life principle would only hinder the development of the new industrial society. Izumi maintains that while the "Confucian" scholars asserted the revival of the sovereign-subject relationship, Shigetaka (and the Seikyosha members) insisted that people first be relieved from the pressure of obtaining basic living necessities.⁹¹ Kamei Shunsuke contends that Shigetaka was well aware that in order to modernise Japan he could not agree with the elements advocated by Confucian scholars, such as Aizawa Seishisai and Ohashi Totsuan.⁹² For Shigetaka, such elements were simply not practical enough to stimulate industry.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore Shigetaka's "rivalry" with Soho and the placement of Shigetaka as a "conservative" intellectual. We have seen that despite their so-called rivalry, Shigetaka and Soho agreed with the need for industrialisation of Japan by the people. Likewise, although there were similarities in the views of Shigetaka and the "Confucian" scholars with regard to need for Japan's national solidarity in the power struggle, Shigetaka's reasoning in coming to this conclusion for the same goal clearly differed from theirs. Furthermore, his economic recommendations to put his theories into practice (and to maintain *kokusui* as Chapter 4 reveals) decisively distinguished Shigetaka's thought from theirs. The conventional myth of Shigetaka as a "conservative" intellectual has overlooked these qualities of his beliefs. By revealing his criticism of the "Confucian" scholars, this chapter has shown that they were, in fact, Shigetaka's intellectual opponents and therefore, his rivalry was not limited to Soho as is generally claimed.

Chapter 5 further examines Shigetaka's criticism of the "Confucian" scholars from an educational viewpoint. The next chapter studies another myth — Shigetaka as an imperialist. This has mainly resulted from distorted interpretations of his book *Nihon fukeiron* (*Japanese Landscape*) in which he praised Japan's geography to arouse nationalism in the people.

Notes to Chapter 1

Unless otherwise noted, all Japanese references were printed in Tokyo. In this thesis, all Japanese and Chinese names appear with the family name first.

¹Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*, Princeton University Press, 1985, p. 18.

² The unequal treaties refer to the treaties which were signed with the Western powers at the end of the Tokugawa era. They forced Japan into free trade at selected ports with the tariff autonomy waived. They were also unequal because the U.S. had extraterritorial privileges and treatment as a most favoured nation. The *Bakufu* government had signed the treaties without obtaining Imperial permission. Although they opened the country to the world, the treaties caused economic conflict as well as increased tension towards the West and reverence for the Emperor. *Nihonshi jiten*, Suken shuppan, 1969, p. 134.

The revision of these treaties became one of the most serious political and diplomatic issues in the Meiji period (1868-1911). With the establishment of the new government, negotiations were held by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Terashima Munenori (1833-1893), Inoue Kaoru (1835-1915), and Okuma Shigenobu (1838-1922), but all in vain. Kenneth Pyle provides the details of proposals by Inoue and Okuma in *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity 1885-1895*, Stanford University Press, 1969:

Inoue's proposals offered the establishment of mixed courts, whereby a certain number of foreign judges would sit on the Japanese bench. Inoue was further willing to make concessions on what the Japanese called "mixed residence" (*naichi zakkyo*), which would open the whole country for foreigners to reside, to own property, and to carry on trade in the interior.

Okuma's draft treaty was secretly submitted to London in January 1889.

Various legal codes scheduled for promulgation were enclosed, and Japan agreed to employ a number of naturalised foreign judges in her Supreme Court. The treaty also provided for opening the interior to foreign travel, trade, and residence. In return, extraterritoriality would end after five years, and tariff autonomy would be granted to Japan after twelve years (Pyle, pp. 101-109).

In 1894 Mutsu Munemitsu (1844-1897), Minister of Foreign Affairs, successfully waived the extraterritorial privilege with the U.K.. In 1911, after the Russo-Japan War, Komura Jutarō (1855-1911), gained the tariff autonomy and thus the elimination of the unequal treaties was finally realised. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 35 and p. 267.

Also see p. 123 and Chapter 4, footnote (hereafter referred to as f/n) 79 for "mixed-residence".

³ The literal translation of *shinsho* is "gentleman's business". As the translation suggests, it was a financial clique in Japan established in the formative stage of Japanese industrialisation.

⁴ Shiga Shigetaka, "Nihon zento no kokuze wa kokusui hozon shugi ni sentei sezarū bekarazu" (*Kokusui shugi*, Preservation of Nationality, for Japan's Future), *Nihonjin* (hereafter referred to as *NHJ*), no. 3, 3rd May 1888, p. 3, compiled in *Shiga Shigetaka Zenshu* (*Complete Collected Works of Shiga Shigetaka*, hereafter referred to as *SSZ*, vols. 1-8, published by Shiga Shigetaka Zenshu Kankokai, 1927-1929), *SSZ* 1, pp. 12-13. See Nakanome Toru, *Seikyosha no kenkyū*, Shibunkaku, 1993, pp. 149-150.

⁵ The key members of the Seikyosha were Shigetaka, Miyake Setsurei (1860-1945), Inoue Enryō (1858-1919), Kaga Shuichi (1865- ?), Kikuchi Kumatarō (1865-1908), Kon Sotosaburō (1865-1892), Sugie Suketo (1862-1905), Tanahashi Ichirō. The others were Shimaji Mokurai (1838-1911), Matsushita Jokichi (1859-1931) and Tatsumi Kōjiro (1860-1945). In addition, Sugiura Jūgo (1855-1924) and Miyazaki Michimasa (1852-1916) were senior members and supporters for these young intellectuals. Sato Yoshimaru, "Seikyosha no seiritsu", *Kikan Nihon shisoshi*, no. 30, 1988, pp. 57-62. Nakanome Toru, *Seikyosha no kenkyū*, p. 7.

Furthermore, Kuga Katsunan (1857-1907), a prominent journalist and an ally of the Seikyosha, commenced publishing a newspaper *Nihon (Japan)*, advocating *Nihonshugi* (Japanism) with a political viewpoint similar to the Seikyosha. Pyle claims that Kuga's ties with Miyake and Shiga were so close that he could be considered as an affiliate of the Seikyosha group. Together with *Nihonjin*, *Nihon* served to supplement the members' journalistic activities. Sato, "Seikyosha no seiritsu", pp. 62-63, Tsukamoto Mitsuo, "Seikyosha ni okeru soshiki to ideologi - Nashonarizumu no shiso kozo" (Seikyosha: its Organisation and Thought of Nationalism), *Todai shimbun kenkyū kiyo*, vol. 17, 1968, p. 70. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, pp. 71-75.

Izumi Aki maintains that Miyazaki named the group as the Seikyosha. However, Nakanome claims that Kaga named the group and the name could also stand for Society for Politics and Religion, instead of Politics and Education. Izumi Aki, "Nihonjin", *Bungaku*, April 1955, p. 412. Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyū*, pp. 114-115.

Tsukamoto maintains that the Seikyosha was an intellectual group which centred its intellectual activity directly on the question of nationalism. Evidently, this was not achieved by the liberal democratic movement during the early Meiji period. The foundation for the uniting phrase "men of the same spirit" was based on the fact that members were alumni of and in the same profession. This was a new pattern of

relationship in Japan, growing out of a traditional pattern of people being united through ties to their relatives and/or land. Tsukamoto, "Seikyosha", pp. 67-68.

It is also useful to refer to the Seikyosha member's primary interest in two fields — education and journalism. All the members had two careers. Firstly all were teaching staff at the same time at either the Tokyo Eigo Gakko (Tokyo English School) founded in 1885 by Sugiura Jugo or the Tetsugakkan (School of Philosophy) founded in 1887 by Inoue Enryo. Secondly all members were also involved with writing for other media. Shigetaka, for example, while at the Seikyosha twice a week, for two hours at each visit, spent most of his time either teaching at the Tokyo Eigo Gakko or writing for *Kokkai* (Parliament), a daily newspaper. Miyake, also, was teaching at the Tetsugakkan and writing for *Koko shimbun*, another daily press. Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, pp. 118-120.

It is also important to point out that the Seikyosha members considered education as the one essential for Japan's future. In his "Kokumin ishiki no keisei - Kokusui shugi ni okeru kokumin zo no koso o chushin ni shite", *Kindai Nihon no togo to teiko* 1, Nihon hyoronsha, 1982, p. 271, Sato Yoshimaru claims that while the Imperial education system attempted to control people through state-oriented education, *kokusui* advocates insisted that education system should operate independently of any political intervention and influence. For example, Miyazaki Michimasa who taught Shigetaka in Sapporo, stated in "Kyoiku no zento" (The Future of the Japanese Education System), *Ajia*, vol. 1/no. 7, 10th August 1891:

Every time a Minister changes his seat public schools have to change their principles ... Having thus learnt that public schools are so heavily subject to politics, we can trust only private schools for our destiny of future national education (Miyazaki, p. 6).

⁶ Shiga, "Nihonjin ga kaihosuru tokoro no shushi o kokuhakusu" (The Principles of *Nihonjin*), *NHJ*, no. 2, 18th April 1888, compiled in *SSZ* 1, pp. 1-2. Shigetaka argued that Japan needed to conserve its natural self respect and applied the theory of evolution and natural selection to define *kokusui*:

The influence of all the environmental factors of Japan — her climate and her weather conditions, her temperature and humidity, the nature of her soil, the configuration of her land and water, her animal and plant life and her landscape, as well as the interaction of all these factors, the habits and customs, the experiences, the history and development of thousands of years — the totality of all these factors has gradually, imperceptibly, developed in the Japanese race inhabiting this environment a unique *kokusui*. This so-called *kokusui* germinated, grew, and developed through adaptation to the influence of all environmental factors; the *kokusui* has been transmitted within the Japanese race from antiquity, has been purified, refined, and preserved down to the present. If it grows, is nurtured and encouraged, and becomes a foundation and norm for the present and future evolution and betterment of the Japanese, the process will be no more than the proper application of the fundamental principle of biology. (The translation is taken from Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 68.)

⁷ In terms of *Nihonjin* as a medium for communication, the history of the Seikyosha is generally divided into three stages. Shigetaka was principally involved in the first stage which spans from 1888 to 1906 and deals with *Nihonjin* as well as *Ajia* (Asia). The second stage includes the period from 1907 to 1923, and *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin* (Japan and the Japanese People); the third, from 1924 to 1945, and *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin*. Nakanome,

Seikyosha no kenkyu, p. 18.

Nakanome further divides the initial stage of the Seikyosha into three as follows; the first epoch stretches from 1888 to 1892 (*Nihonjin* 1), the second, from 1892 to 1895 (*Ajia* 1, 2 & 3 and *Nihonjin* 2), and the third from 1895 to 1900 (*Nihonjin* 3). Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, p. 133.

The frequent changes to the magazine title indicate the severity of the government's censorship. They also suggest gradual changes of the staff/members, changes in thought within the Seikyosha members, and the political changes which the Seikyosha had been criticising. The targets of the Seikyosha at the initial stage were internal problems such as the government's economic policies and the indiscriminate Westernisation of Japan. Later the target changed to international concerns, particularly with Asian countries. When the Seikyosha could no longer maintain its intellectual activity as a group sharing a common interest, it ceased existence. The end of the initial stage of the Seikyosha meant the end of Shigetaka's significant involvement with the group. Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, p. 192 & pp. 301-306. Goto Kyofu, Shigetaka's secretary, maintains that Shigetaka's involvement became much less frequent from 1899/1900. Goto Kyofu, *Waga kyodo no umeru sekaiteki sengakusha Shiga Shigetaka sensei (A Biography of Shiga Shigetaka)*, Keigansha, 1931, p. 43. After Shigetaka became involved with political activities, Miyake Setsurei took over the leadership for *Nihonjin*. Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, pp. 115-116.

Tsukamoto maintains that the Seikyosha members retained their initial condition of unity as *doshi*, men of the same spirit, until 26th December, 1892. After frequent changes of magazine titles from *Ajia* 2 (nos. 1-12) to *Nihonjin* 2 (nos. 1-18) and then to *Ajia* 3 (nos. 1-3), Miyake became the main writer from 1895. Other original members such as Shigetaka contributed articles to *Nihonjin* 3 (nos. 1-450) and to *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin*. Tsukamoto provides the history of *Nihonjin* as follows and points out that a member change took place from the second *Nihonjin* (*Nihonjin* 2); Miyake took over the leadership from the third *Nihonjin* (*Nihonjin* 3). Tsukamoto, "Seikyosha", p. 70.

- 1 *Nihonjin* (1st) no. 1 to no. 73, 3/4/1888 to 2/6/1891.
- 2 *Ajia* (1st, vol. 1) no. 1 to no. 71, 29/6/1891 to 26/12/1892.
- 3 *Ajia* (2nd, vol. 2) no. 1 to no. 12, 1/2/1893 to 15/9/1893.
- 4 *Nihonjin* (2nd) no. 1 to no. 18, 10/10/1893 to 3/2/1895.
- 5 *Ajia* (3rd, vol. 3) no. 1 to no. 3, 1/12/1893 to ?
- 6 *Nihonjin* (3rd) no. 1 to no. 450, 5/7/1895 to Nov. 1907.
- 7 *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin*, 1/1/1907 to Sept. 1912.

⁸ Throughout this thesis, the term "Confucian" scholars used to describe Shigetaka's intellectual opponents applies to the scholars who strove to revive and support the "new" Japan with the Confucian moral principles of loyalty, filial piety and thrift which had been maintained by the agrarian society of the past. In particular, the discourse is referring to those whose influence culminated in the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890 and also to the scholars of later times, namely Inoue Tetsujirō, who re-emphasised after 1910 via the National Morality Movement the Confucian moral principles expressed in the Rescript.

⁹ The translation is taken from Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 35.

¹⁰ Hijikata Teichi, *Hijikata Teichi chosakushu* 6 - *Kindai nihon no gakaron* 1, Heibonsha, 1976, p. 318 & p. 334. Irokawa Daikichi, *Meiji Seishinshi*, part 2, Kodansha, 1976, pp. 102-103 and *Nihon no meicho* 39 - *Okakura Tenshin*, Chuo koron, 1970, p. 22. Kono

Shizuko, *Soho to sono jidai - Yoserareta shokan kara*, Chuo koron, 1988, p. 166. Also, personal interview and correspondence with Kono, on 9th January 1995 and in May 1997, respectively (see f/n 37 for more of her view). Kojima Usui, "Nihon fukeiron kaisetsu", in *Nihon fukeiron*, Iwanami, 1995, p. 374. John Pierson, *Tokutomi Soho 1863-1957: A Journalist for Modern Japan*, Princeton University Press, 1980, pp. 186-189. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 5, pp. 21-22, pp. 55-59, pp. 67-71, p. 76, pp. 79-80, p. 84, p. 98, p. 107, p. 130, p. 146, pp. 170-171, pp. 173-174, & p. 191. Ui Kunio, *Shiga Shigetaka - Hito to ashiato*, Shinjuku shobo, 1991, p. 45. Modern Literature Studies Centre of Showa Joshi Daigaku Kindai Bungaku Kenkyushitsu, ed., *Kindai bungaku kenkyu sosho* (Modern Literature Studies), vol. 26, 1967, p. 145.

¹¹ Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 107. Pierson, *Tokutomi Soho*, pp. 186-189.

¹² Ibid., p. 66.

¹³ Tokutomi Soho, "Shin hoshuto no tame ni" (believed to be written by Soho), *Kokumin no tomo* (hereafter referred to as KMNT), no. 54, 22nd June 1889, pp. 897-903, KMNT reprint by Meiji bunken, 1966-1968, vol. 4, pp. 296-298. The translation is taken from Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 107.

¹⁴ Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 55.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 71.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Tokutomi Soho, "Shin hoshuto" (believed to be written by Soho), KMNT, no. 34, 4th November 1887, (KMNT, Reprint, vol. 3), p. 172. Pierson, *Tokutomi Soho*, p. 187.

¹⁸ Yamaji Aizan, *Gendai Nihon kyokaishi ron*, compiled in Sumiya Mikio ed., *Nihon no meicho 40: Tokutomi Soho/Yamaji Aizan*, Chuo koron, 1984, pp. 410-411. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 108.

¹⁹ Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 22 & 77.

²⁰ See Chapter 4-6, for Shigetaka's view of Japan's new economy. Tokutomi Soho, *Shorai no Nihon*, *Nihon no meicho 40 - Tokutomi Soho/Yamaji Aizan*, pp. 182-183. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 58.

²¹ Shiga, "Nihonjin ga kaiho suru tokoro no shugi o kokuhakusu", SSZ 1, pp. 3-4.

²² Tokutomi, *Shorai no Nihon*, pp. 182-183.

²³ Tokutomi Soho, "Aa, Kokumin no tomo umaretari", KMNT, no. 1, 1887, pp. 15-16. (KMNT, Reprint, 1966-68, vol. 1, p. 7) and *Nihon no meicho 40 - Tokutomi Soho/Yamaji Aizan*, p. 24.

²⁴ Shiga Shigetaka, "Jitsugyoka no yoi" (The Business World), NHJ, no. 97, August 1899, compiled in SSZ 1, pp. 88-89.

²⁵ Tokutomi, *Shorai no Nihon*, p. 173.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 156-157. Shiga, "Jitsugyoka no yoi", SSZ 1, pp. 88-89.

²⁷ Shiga Shigetaka, "Nihon seisanryaku" (Strategy For Japan's Industry), compiled in SSZ 1, pp. 76-85. See f/n 75 for more details.

²⁸ Tokutomi, *Shorai no Nihon*, pp. 156-157.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 145.

³⁰ Tokutomi, "Nan yo jiji", *KMNT*, no. 4, May 1887, p. 42 (*KMNT*, Reprint, vol. 1, p. 53). Miwa Kimitada, "Crossroads of Patriotism in Imperial Japan: Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927), Uchimura Kanzo (1861-1930) and Nitobe Inazo (1862-1933)", PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1967, p. 163. Kono Shizuko, "Tokutomi Soho to Shiga Shigetaka: Shigetaka no Soho ate shokan kara", *Shiso*, no. 25, 1984, p. 85.

³¹ Tokutomi, *Shorai no Nihon*, pp. 144-145 quoted in Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 41.

³² Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 77.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Shiga Shigetaka, "Ikanishite Nihonkoku o Nihonkoku tarashimu beki ya" (How Can Japan Be Made Japan?), *KMNT*, no. 10, p. 15, October 1887, *KMNT*, Reprint, vol. 2, 1966-68, pp. 126-127. (This article is not compiled in SSZ.) Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 56. Kono Shizuko, *Soho to sono jidai*, p. 108.

³⁵ Shiga Shigetaka, "Nihonjin ga kaihou suru tokoro no shugi o kokuhakusu", *SSZ* 1, p. 3. Matsuda Michio, "Shiga Shigetaka - Meiji no kokka shugi", *Asahi Journal* henshubu ed., *Shinpan Nihon no shisoka*, part 1, Asahi shimbun, 1975, p. 291.

³⁶ Kono, "Tokutomi Soho to Shiga Shigetaka: Shigetaka no Soho ate shokan kara", p. 83 and *Soho to sono jidai*, pp. 168-170 & 178-180. According to Kono, *Soho to sono jidai*, there are 58 letters, and to *Tokutomi Soho ate shokan mokuroku*, (ed. by Tokutomi Soho Kinenkan Shiozaki Zaidan, 1995, p. 163), 59 letters in all. His letters, in which Shigetaka addressed Soho as "respected brother", are kept at Tokutomi Soho Kinenkan (Tokutomi Soho Memorial Hall) situated in Ninomiya cho, Kanagawa prefecture, Japan. Kono is a director of the Hall.

³⁷ Kono, *Soho to sono jidai*, p. 115 & p. 168. Kono maintains that Soho and Shigetaka recognised and respected each other's advocacy and their so-called "intellectual oppositions" did not seem to reflect any hostility between them. Kono, *Soho to sono jidai*, p. 166. Personal interview and correspondence with Kono on 9th January 1995 and in May 1997, respectively.

³⁸ Sakata Masatoshi and Sakano Junji et.al. ed., *Kindai Nihonshiryō senshō* 7-5: *Tokutomi Soho kankei bunshō*, Yamakawa shuppan, 1987, pp. 336-337. Kono, *Soho to sono jidai*, p. 173. Nakanome, *Seikyōsha no kenkyū*, p. 4.

³⁹ Tokutomi, *Shorai no Nihon*, p. 145. Kono, *Soho to sono jidai*, p. 169.

⁴⁰ In *Nan yo jiji*, Shigetaka repeatedly opposed "mixed-residence" which would have resulted if the revision of the treaties was to become effective. He persistently insisted that Japan's economic foundation was not yet established enough to compete with foreign

investment in Japan, therefore he disagreed with "mixed-residence" which would allow such investment and foreign capital to flow into Japan. See Chapter 4, pp. 125-126.

⁴¹ Irokawa, *Meiji seishinshi*, part 2, pp. 101-102.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 102-103.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Matsuda Michio, *Nihon chishikijin no shiso*, Chikuma shobo, 1965, p. 27.

⁴⁵ Karasawa Tomitaro, *Karasawa Tomitaro chosaku shu 6 - Kyokasho no rekishi: Kyokasho to Nihonjin no keisei*, part 1, Gyosei, 1989, pp. 171-175, & p. 201. Yoshida Hikaru, et al. ed., *Nihon shisoshi dokuhon*, Toyo keizai shinposha, 1979, pp. 179-182.

⁴⁶ Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, p. 76. Herbert Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, Kodansha International LTD., New York, 1982, pp. 149-150. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 24 & p. 120. Karasawa, *Karasawa Tomitaro chosaku shu 6 - Kyokasho no rekishi: Kyokasho to Nihonjin no keisei*, part 1, pp. 171-175, & p. 201. Yoshida, *Nihon shisoshi dokuhon*, pp. 179-182. Tamaki Hajime, *Nihon kyoiku hattatsu shi*, San'ichi shobo, 1954, pp. 47-50.

⁴⁷ Hashikawa Bunzo ed., *Nihon no meicho 29 - Fujita Toko*, Chuo koron, 1974, an appendix commentary, p. 7. Hashikawa maintains that both early Meiji intellectuals were representative scholars of the late Mito school, which is believed to have been most influential to the drafting of the Imperial Rescript on Education. Karasawa, *Karasawa Tomitaro chosaku shu 6 - Kyokasho no rekishi: Kyokasho to Nihonjin no keisei*, part 1, pp. 171-175, & p. 201. Yoshida, *Nihon shisoshi dokuhon*, pp. 179-180.

⁴⁸ Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, p. 86. Hashikawa Bunzo, *Jidai to yoken*, Dento to gendai, 1975, pp. 339-341.

⁴⁹ Tsukamoto maintains that Shigetaka attempted to theorise *kokusui* in *NHJ* from no. 1 to no. 7. Tsukamoto, "Seikyosha", p. 73. Miwa points out that Shiga's concept of nationality was more a means than an end. What was imperative was not preservation of nationality itself but the national survival which would accrue from it. Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 303. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, pp. 69-71.

It appears that rather than advocating abstract ideas in a series of short articles, Shigetaka changed his approach to writing a book *Nihon fukeiron (Japanese Landscape)*. By transferring to the natural aesthetic plane, he could describe his beliefs in more realistic terms. He perceived *kokusui* to be a latent "provocative subconsciousness" (*senseiryoku*) which the Japanese already possessed. Shiga Shigetaka, "Yamato minzoku no senseiryoku" (Latent Subconsciousness of the Yamato Race), *NHJ*, no. 7, 3rd July 1888, compiled in *SSZ 1*, p. 308. Margret Neuss, "Shiga Shigetaka - Wirken und Denken eines Japanischen Nationalisten" (Shiga Shigetaka - Work and Thought of a Japanese Nationalist), *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Vöölkerkunde Ostasiens (Magazine for East and South Asian Culture and History)* no. 115, 1974. (translated into English in 1994 by Georgina Turner, V.U.W., New Zealand, unpublished), p. 10.

Shigetaka's view of nationality was essentially based on geography. In contrast, Miyake Setsurei took a more philosophical approach. He attempted to define Japan's identity in its spiritual tradition and in rationalising nationality on a universal basis:

Even if we adopt Western manners and customs and we destroy our traditional ones, we should still preserve and manifest our traditional spirit.

With such an interpretation of *kokusui*, Miyake further explained how Japanese traditional spirit (*nihon damashii*) could be achieved; firstly, revere the Emperor as the soul of the nation, suppress selfish desires and be of strict moral character; one could then become of credit to the nation:

Working for what is right for one's country means contributing for what is right elsewhere in the world, and refining the characteristics of a race contributes to the betterment of mankind ... Most importantly, Japanese need to take full advantage of skills they have that the white might lack. They must value truth (*shin*), goodness (*zen*) as well as beauty (*bi*), and strive for peace in the world.

For Japanese to be Japanese, Miyake perceived individual freedom and spiritual independence to be vital, and thus criticised indiscriminate Westernisation which sacrificed people (for a selected few). See Miyake Setsurei, *Sinzenbi Nihonjin* compiled in Kano Masanao ed., *Nihon no meicho* 37 - Kuga Katsunan/Miyake Setsurei, Chuo koron, 1984, p. 292. Tsukamoto, "Seikyosha", p. 79.

Unlike Shigetaka and Setsurei, Kuga Katsunan defined *kokusui* in terms of political theory. In his *Kinji seironko* (*Modern Political Thought*) published in 1890, he stated:

When we speak of culture, we mean a coalescence of national characteristics of unique quality which result in Japan being able to remain as Japan for ever. Just as a plant of the same species requires different fertiliser when planted in different soil, so does the constitutional government of Japan need to be cultivated by the spirit of the Japanese people ... Since the beginning of our history, unity of the Emperor and his people has been paramount; the people have been loyal to the Imperial house and should always remain so. It is considered that a government commissioned by the Emperor should be fully worthy of the people's trust; it should never belittle Imperial rights by abuse of public support nor denigrate people's rights by manipulation of Imperial authority. The Japanese national spirit can achieve such rights which, however, must be respected by both the bureaucrats and people alike regardless of change to constitutional policies, or in the event of governmental reorganisation.

Different from Shigetaka's theory of *kokusui* which he related to natural law, that of Kuga was of political application requiring implicit loyalty to the Emperor and support of government. See Kuga Katsunan, *Kinji seironko* (*Modern Political Thought*) compiled in *Nihon no meicho* 37 - Kuga Katsunan/Miyake Setsurei, pp. 161-162. Unlike Kuga and Miyake, Shigetaka refused to link historical elements to his nationalism.

⁵⁰ Matsuda, "Shiga Shigetaka - Meiji no kokka shugi", p. 293.

⁵¹ Shiga, "Nihon zento no kokuze wa kokusui hozon shugi ni sentei sezaruru bekarazu", *SSZ* 1, pp. 12-13. Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, pp. 149-150.

⁵² Shiga, "Yamato minzoku no senseiryoku", in *SSZ* 1, p. 308. The translation is taken from Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 67. Matsuda, "Shiga Shigetaka - Meiji no kokka shugi", p. 293.

- ⁵³ Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 67.
- ⁵⁴ Kono, *Soho to sono jidai*, pp. 168-170 & pp. 178-181. Sakata Masatoshi and Sakano Junji et.al. ed., *Kindai Nihonshiryō senshō 7-5: Tokutomi Soho kankei bunshō*, 1987, pp. 336-337.
- ⁵⁵ Shiga, "Yamato minzoku no senseiryoku", *SSZ* 1, p. 308.
- ⁵⁶ Hashikawa ed., *Nihon no meicho 29 - Fujita Toko*, an appendix commentary, p. 7.
- ⁵⁷ Aizawa Seishisai, *Shinron*, in Hashikawa ed., *Nihon no meicho 29 - Fujita Toko*, pp. 295-296. The translation is taken from Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, *Anti Foreignism and Western Learning in Early-Modern Japan: The New Theses of 1825*, Harvard University Press, 1986, pp. 149-150.
- ⁵⁸ Aizawa, *Shinron*, pp. 312-313.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 312-313. The translation is taken from Wakabayashi, *Anti Foreignism*, p. 169.
- ⁶⁰ Aizawa, *Shinron*, p. 301.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 312. The translation is taken from Wakabayashi, *Anti Foreignism*, p. 169.
- ⁶² Some trade was allowed with China and Holland through a small island, Dejima, in Kyushu during the feudal period. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 177.
- ⁶³ Aizawa, *Shinron*, p. 347.
- ⁶⁴ Sakuma Shōzan was a Neo-Confucian scholar of the Zhu-zi school and also a scholar in Dutch studies in the late Tokugawa period. He taught his students Western armaments from the viewpoint of academic harmony between the East and West at his private school in Edo (Tokyo). He was punished for recommending one of his disciples, Yoshida Shōin (1830-1859), to stow away to the United States. Later he was assassinated by an anti-alienist when he advocated the opening of the country. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 108.
- ⁶⁵ Matsumoto Sannosuke, "Nishimura Shigeki", in *Asahi Journal* henshubu ed., *Shinpan Nihon no shisoka*, part 1, *Asahi shimbun*, 1975, p. 101.
- ⁶⁶ Nishimura Shigeki, *Nihon dotoku ron*, compiled in *Meiji bungaku zenshū 3 - Meiji keimo shisoka shū*, Chikuma shobō, 1967, pp. 381-382. In 1881, he established a private school, the Tokyo Shyushin Gakusha (The Tokyo Morality School) which became expanded and renamed *Nihon kodokai* in 1888. Matsumoto, "Nishimura Shigeki", p. 100.
- ⁶⁷ *Nihon Kodokai* ed., *Hakuo Sosho*, vol. 1, 1909, pp. 422-423. Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, p. 243.
- ⁶⁸ *Nihon Kodokai* ed., *Hakuo sosho*, p. 453. Nishimura, *Nihon dotoku ron*, pp. 372-377. Matsumoto, "Nishimura Shigeki", p. 107 and "Meiji zenki hoshushugi shiso no ichidanmen o chushin ni", in Sakata Yoshio ed., *Meiji zenhanki no nashonarizumu*, Miraisha, 1958, p. 145.
- ⁶⁹ Nishimura, *Nihon dotokuron*, pp. 370-373 & p. 384. Nishimura's *Nihon dotokuron* was

denounced by the then Prime Minister, Ito Hirobumi, as being critical of the government. Consequently Nishimura had to revise part of the book. See Matsumoto, "Nishimura Shigeki", p. 104.

⁷⁰ Nishimura, *Nihon dotokuron*, p. 384.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

⁷² In 1702, the 47 retainers of an ex-lord, Asano Naganori (1667-1701), took revenge on Kira Yoshinaka (1641-1702) who had put their ex-lord, into shame, ordered him to commit suicide and confiscated his domain. All the retainers committed suicide after the revenge. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 7.

⁷³ Izumi, "*Nihonjin*", p. 411.

⁷⁴ Shiga Shigetaka, "Shokuryo mondai no shorai" (Food Shortages and Their Portent), date/source unknown, compiled in SSZ 1, p. 143.

⁷⁵ Shiga, "Nihon seisanryaku", SSZ 1, p. 62. "Nihon seisanryaku" was issued in nos. 8, 10, 12 and 13 of *NHJ*, 18th July 1888 onward. These articles are included in SSZ 1, pp. 62-84. Shigetaka's recommendations henceforth are taken from SSZ 1. Iinuma Jiro, "Meiji nijunendai no keizai shiso", in Sakata ed., *Meiji zenhanki no nashonarizumu*, pp. 229-230.

⁷⁶ Shiga, "Nihon seisanryaku", SSZ 1, p. 62.

⁷⁷ Shiga, "Jitsugyoka no yoi", SSZ 1, p. 88-89.

⁷⁸ Shiga Shigetaka, "Nichibei rikai no hissu joken" (Fundamentals for U.S.-Japan Mutual Understanding), *Nihon ichi*, August 1919, compiled in SSZ 1, p. 362.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Shiga Shigetaka, "Nihon ni mottomo shirarezaru homen" (Regions Unknown to Japan), *Mikawa nippo* (*The Daily Mikawa*), 25th August 1925, compiled in SSZ 1, pp. 379-380. *Kodokan* is a general term for *Nihon Kodokai*, referring to its premises rather than the organisation itself. Most of the articles in which Shigetaka criticised the "Confucian" scholars after 1910 were written in a literary memoir style. As discussed in Chapter 5, it is likely that *Kokumin dotoku undo* (the National Morality Movement) sparked his criticism of them, judging from the dates when these articles were written. Although they were written in his late years, it is most probable that he referred to them as of the time he advocated *kokusui*. In particular, it seems likely that his criticism of the late Mito school regarding unproductivity was directed to Nishimura, taking into consideration that Shigetaka directly referred to *Kodokan*, Nishimura's institution.

⁸¹ Shiga Shigetaka, "Shokuryo mondai kaiketsu no ichi hoho" (Proposals for the Resolution of Food Shortages), *Kokumin shimbun*, 26th January 1920, compiled in SSZ 1, p. 110. When Shigetaka read this book in his Sapporo days, he was not pleased to have the same surname as Risai 's. Then after thoroughly investigating his ancestry, he found that he had not even one drop of blood relating him to Risai, and was therefore relieved and proud.

⁸² Shiga Shigetaka, "Nihon oyobi Nihonjin ga tayotte mote ikubeki hoshin" (The Best Solutions for Japan and the Japanese), *Osaka Mainichi shimbun*, 1st January 1927,

compiled in SSZ 1, pp. 130-138.

⁸³ Shiga, "Shokuryo mondai kaiketsu no ichi hoho", SSZ 1, pp. 109-110.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 111.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Shiga Shigetaka, "Teikoku ni okeru nidai haibutsu riyo no jijitsu" (Utilisation of Waste in Imperial Japan), *Nihon ichi*, July 1919, compiled in SSZ 1, pp. 106-107. Also see Ui (Kunio), *Shiga Shigetaka*, pp. 77-80.

⁸⁷ The contents in this and the following four paragraphs is taken from Shiga, "Teikoku ni okeru nidai haibutsu riyo no jijitsu", SSZ 1, pp. 106-107.

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 106-107.

⁸⁹ Ibid., According to *Nihongo daijiten*, fish were seen in 1903. *Nihongo daijiten*, Kodansha, 1989, p. 2131.

⁹⁰ Izumi, "*Nihonjin*", p. 411.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Kamei Shunsuke, *Nashonarizumu no bungaku*, Kenkyusha, 1971, p. 216.

CHAPTER 2 THE SECOND MYTH – SHIGETAKA AS AN IMPERIALIST: *NIHON FUKUKEIRON* (JAPANESE LANDSCAPE)

Introduction

Nihon fukeiron (Japanese Landscape), published in 1894 and widely recognised as Shigetaka's masterpiece,¹ is also one of his most controversial works. Debate centres on three main issues: Shigetaka's purpose in writing and publishing the book; the degree to which the book advocated or encouraged imperialism; and, given its great popularity, whether it influenced Japan's march toward the aggression of World War Two. This chapter attempts to negate the claim that *Nihon fukeiron* was an imperialistic document that may have influenced the Japanese towards the excess of patriotism that culminated in the War. The discourse will first explore and examine the book as a rational geographic treatise and Western style travelogue which suggested a new way of viewing the Japanese landscape, and then as an attempt to express the abstract and vague theory of *kokusui* in a more practical and concrete way.

2 - 1 A New Way of Seeing the Japanese Landscape

Shigetaka's (overt) intention in writing *Nihon fukeiron* was to "arouse the national pride of his countrymen in Japan's elegant, beautiful and powerful environment".² This national pride was for Shigetaka not, as we shall see, an end in itself, but even this first goal had some obstacles to overcome.

Of two major obstacles, the first was the limited fashion in which the Japanese traditionally viewed their landscape. Landscape had only been of interest to a handful of elite and educated people — writers, artists and historians. These people might appreciate a landscape for its artistic inspiration, as expressed in *haiku* or paintings, or for its historic associations, as did for example, Nikko and Matsushima, but they did little to pass this admiration on to others.³ In other words, people's enjoyment of nature was passive, and did not involve actual interaction with the natural world. Moreover, traditional ways of appreciating landscape and scenery were limited in scope and material, as represented by *bonsai* (miniature trees) and *hakoniwa* (matchbox gardens).⁴ Nature for the Japanese commoners was static and confined within home boundaries; it did not go beyond the garden gate.⁵ Shigetaka probably viewed such passive appreciation as not stimulative enough to arouse national solidarity.

Shigetaka believed that overcoming this first obstacle would not be difficult. People, he believed, possessed an innate love for their country, a love, moreover, that was fully justified by Japan's uniquely impressive scenic qualities:

"Our country is the beauty of mountains and rivers" (Otsuki Bankei).⁶ Who would be amongst us today who does not praise the beauty of our land? Let's take Aogashima, only a tiny, volcanic island far out in the South Pacific, she exploded threateningly, fire flamed up to the sun, stones and ashes were hurled in all directions, almost all the people and livestock died, only a little more than 10 inhabitants took a boat and fled from the fire to the island of Hachijojima. But in the end, they never forgot their homeland, the volcanic island, and after thirteen years when the fire had 'fallen asleep', they happily returned from Hachijojima to their catastrophe-prone homeland. Let's take the island of Shumushuru, a lonely, infertile island in the extreme north (one of the Chishima islands), a place where only snow and ice piles up. After the Meiji Restoration, the colonisation officials let the native population move to the more southern island of Shikotan. On this island the Onko trees (laurel trees) turn green and there are so many larks

that the foxes dance in their shadows, rivers roar here and there; for those who cultivated the fields, because corn and potatoes were to be planted, it was decided that they should be compensated. But the resettlers did not rejoice about the new paradise. Because of homesickness they gradually prepared themselves and returned to their undeveloped island home in the North. The world exhibition in Chicago displayed the highest human achievements of modern times, even the exhibition rooms dazzled the eye with their colourful and golden colours and splendid shine. For instance, an Eskimo village had been built and occupied by some Eskimos, but because they had been forced into it, they made a move to flee back to their homeland of icebergs and snow. Transitory are the feelings of people. That one praises the beauty of one's own land is a kind of idealism. But do the Japanese praise the beauty of the countryside of their own country, because this beauty can only be found there? They do it much more because there is absolute beauty in the Japanese countryside. Foreign visitors all consider Japan to be a paradise in today's world. They wander about there constantly and then happens quite naturally, what Rai Sanyo⁷ described in the following poem:

If they look at the sunrise in Miyoshino,
which awakes with the cherry and plum blossoms,
then the Chinese and the Koreans will also
be seized by the Japanese spirit.⁸

Shigetaka's first task in *Nihon fukeiron*, then, was to describe and define Japan's unique beauty in a way that would involve and inspire the people. Such an approach was different from and defied the conventional ways of looking at nature. His book would combine Western techniques of scientific analysis with Japanese poeticism, in writing that was powerful, evocative and accessible to all readers. Here, for example, he asserted four scientific reasons for the beauty of Japan:

First, owing to their geographical position, the Japanese islands experienced an unusual diversity of climate that provided favourable periods of growth and development for an extraordinary variety of plant and animal life. Second, as an island country situated at the conjunction of wind and sea currents, Japan had a great amount of precipitation that produced a luxuriant soil and a verdant countryside. Third, the many volcanoes and the igneous rock gave Japan unusual mountain peaks and ranges. Finally, the severity of erosion produced unusual rock formations.⁹

Shigetaka further rationalised Japan's beauty by inventing new definitions for its three unique characteristics: *shosha* (elegance), *bi*

(beauty) and *tetto* (power). *Shosha*, Shigetaka asserted, was represented by the autumnal beauty created by the great variety of maple trees in Japan.¹⁰ "Although British poets praise the autumnal scenes on the River Thames", he argued, "there they do not have so many species of maple trees and above all they are also without the ginkgo trees which are abundant in Japan and perfect the autumnal colours".¹¹ In Shigetaka's opinion, poets such as William Wordsworth (1770-1850) and Walter Scott (1771-1832), whose descriptions of nature were much admired, could not capture the true autumnal beauty without having seen Japan's abundant maple trees.¹²

Bi, on the other hand, was represented for Shigetaka by the Japanese spring which was especially striking when compared to that of China and Korea.¹³ He considered that Japanese nightingales, the plum blossoms of early spring, and cherry blossoms in late spring provided a perfect example of *bi*.¹⁴ In China and Korea they do not have these. "Without such messengers of spring", he argued, "how could they perceive the true beauty of spring?"¹⁵

Finally, Shigetaka described *tetto* as unspoiled wilderness scenery full of energy and life. For example, pine trees standing high and powerfully in the wilderness of Nasu heights (in Tochigi prefecture) depict this type of natural beauty best:

In comparison with cherry trees, pine trees survive the winter without deterioration. Their lively trunks thrust to the sky bearing massive branches and leaves. Standing against fierce winds, they distinguish themselves from other trees. What a graceful picture they present with their combination of geometric and artistic fusion. It is natural for their trunks to grow and thrust to the sky.

Furthermore, despite scarce soil in which they stretch their roots and an adverse environment which hinders their reaching to the sky, they do not

lose spirit due to such hardships. They steadily rest and continue root growth no matter how harsh their foundation might be, let it be a cliff or rock layer.

Their trunks, branches, twigs and leaves survive well against gusts of wind. Even after other feeble trees wither, they still remain alive. If they happen to be cut by an axe, they fall to the ground triumphantly, in a manner no other trees can display. Thus, Japanese pine trees qualify as the most representative characteristics of our fellow countrymen.¹⁶

In addition to his own writing, Shigetaka presented more traditional views of Japanese beauty by citing numerous classical poems, not only Japanese but also Chinese. He even cited, on the back cover of *Nihon fukeiron*, "Kagirinaki tanoshimi" (Endless Joy) from *Rakkun*, one of the ten precepts written by Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714),¹⁷ a Neo-Confucian scholar of early Tokugawa period:¹⁸

If through the eyes and ears one can find pleasure within the heart from the viewing and enjoyment of what nature has to offer without desire for something more, then endless joy awaits.

This endless joy abounds in the mornings and evenings upon seeing before one such unparalleled masterpieces of nature. It is available to all, even the penniless, and as much as the heart should desire.

The endless joy is an unrivalled personal gift from nature and one which is always there. The beautiful landscape created by nature is not just for the privileged few. Those who enjoy such pleasures have no envy of others with material wealth - the bounties of nature have so much more to offer.

The rich are too preoccupied with wealth to enjoy what is offering, while for the poor it is far easier without the worry of losing something they never had. Then there are the others with dreams of pleasure that can never come true and hearts as well as minds suffer when they remain unfulfilled.

A wise man can arrive at his heart's content without resorting to dreams.¹⁹

Thus Shigetaka sought to remind his contemporaries of the Japanese good fortune in always having the pleasures of nature there to be enjoyed, or to console them in times of hardship.

The second obstacle Shigetaka needed to overcome was the perception, fostered by Western literature, that the Japanese landscape was inferior to that of the West. Westerners, of course, were used to reading paeans to landscape beauties such as the following description of Britain by naturalist John Lubbock (1843-1913), cited in *Nihon fukeiron*:

Scarcely any part of the world affords so great a variety in so small an area as our own island. Commencing in the south, we have first the blue sea itself, the pebbly beaches, the white chalk cliffs of Kent, the tinted sands of Alum Bay, the red sandstone of Devonshire, granite and gneiss in Cornwall: we have the chalk downs and clear streams, the well-wooded weald and the rich hop gardens; farther westwards the undulating gravelly hills, and still farther the granite tors: in the centre of England we have to the east the Norfolk Broads and the fens; then the fertile Midlands, the cornfields, rich meadows, and large oxen; and to the west the Welsh mountains; farther North the Yorkshire wolds, the Lancashire hills, the lakes of West Moreland; lastly, the swelling hills, bleak moors, and picturesque castles of Northumberland and Cumberland.²⁰

In *Nihon fukeiron*, Shigetaka intended to show that Japan's landscape was at least as conducive to poetic description as that of the West. Moreover, he argued, Westerners themselves had recognised this fact. Here he referred to a quote by British scholar John Milne (1849-1935):

Not only do we find a vast number of native books describing this mountain, but every book treating of Japan which has been published in foreign countries, always finds occasion to mention the "peerless Fuji". In consequence of its height, the symmetrical curvature of its slopes, and its solitary grandeur, Fuji has become one of the most famous mountains of the world. Not only is this mountain an object of admiration to the European, but it obtains an equal if not greater share of admiration from the Japanese.²¹

In certain aspects, moreover, Japan could even be called superior to the West — even the much admired British isles. Shigetaka noted:

Surely nothing can compare with the beauty of British scenery [as Lubbock admires], however there is not even one volcanic mountain in the United Kingdom ... Japan has all the beautiful scenery Lubbock has expressed, but

above all, it has volcanic mountains – kings of scenery between heaven and earth – everywhere in Japan ... Much superior!²²

Shigetaka was obviously taken with British descriptive writing. Ukita Keisuke maintains that *Nihon fukeiron* was directly modelled on Lubbock's work, and Shigetaka's writing led a number of critics, including Uchimura Kanzo (1861-1930) and Walter Weston (1886-1958), to dub him "the Japanese Ruskin".²³ Indeed, Uchimura, comparing Ruskin's description of lichens and mosses with Shigetaka's observation of Japanese pine trees, excerpted above, awarded Shigetaka the higher praise.²⁴

Shigetaka's description demonstrated a new way of looking at Japan and was highly successful. The book became an immediate best seller. It captured the minds of many, influencing people in a variety of fields. Kojima Usui (1895-1948) remarks that Shigetaka was known as one of the three great writers of the time, the other two being Tokutomi Soho and Shiba Shiro (1852-1922).²⁵ A survey conducted during the Meiji period by *Jiji shimpo* (*Current News*)²⁶ among selected prominent people disclosed that the most favoured works were those of Fukuzawa Yukichi (see Chapter 3), followed by *Nihon fukeiron*.²⁷ Newspapers and magazines competed in publishing reviews of the book, and subsequently the Seikyosha published two volumes of these published reviews.²⁸ Within eight years, *Nihon fukeiron* was reprinted fifteen times with the final edition appearing in 1903 (while Shigetaka was still alive).²⁹ It has been regarded as one of Shigetaka's three greatest works, other two being *Nan yo jiji* and *Chirigaku kogi* (*Lectures on Geography*).³⁰

Although it has been generally acknowledged that the wave of nationalism heightened by the Sino-Japanese War contributed to the success of *Nihon fukeiron*,³¹ the claim does not explain the reason for the book's ongoing popularity. Given its great success, it is important to note here three other ways in which the book was different from conventional geographical texts.

First, with its abundant information on places all over Japan, the book functioned as a new type of travel guide. In April 1896, Uchimura Kanzo, for example, used *Nihon fukeiron* as a travel guide when he visited Yoshino, in Nara.³²

Second, the book emphasised active enjoyment of the outdoors, in particular through the sport of mountaineering, still a passion among the Japanese today.³³ Kojima Usui who admitted that he was himself influenced by the book to become a mountaineer, gave this spirited description of the book:

If you want to know what *Nihon fukeiron* was all about, it is about a genuine love for one's motherland. In other words, let's suppose that you scoop a handful of soil from where you are standing and put it in front of others asking what they think of its aroma. I am sure that they would turn their face away from it remarking such soil is dirty because they blindly believe that only cement or concrete would represent civilisation. *Nihon fukeiron* would teach you that the soil was carried there by the melted snow of Mt Fuji. Where on earth can one find the most beautiful soil like this?³⁴

The key to the love of the motherland, according to Shigetaka, lay in active participation in Japan's natural offerings. In one of the appendices to *Nihon fukeiron*, Shigetaka introduced the new concept of climbing mountains as a modern sport. He encouraged his contemporaries to accept the challenge of climbing mountains and to feel the sense of

accomplishment. As Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962)³⁵ recalled, "it was during the Meiji period that mountain climbing gained popularity; formerly an expression of religious faith, it became a sport, and a chance for travel and adventure".³⁶ For popularising the sport in Japan, *Nihon Sangakukai* (the Japanese Alpine Club) made Shigetaka an honorary member in 1911.³⁷ Kojima asserts that Shigetaka was a benefactor to the establishment of mountaineering in Japan and in fact was its indirect founder.³⁸ Kojima concludes that *Nihon fukeiron* contributed significantly to the development of modern mountaineering in Japan and was a hallmark of literature in this field.³⁹ He further continues that if *Nihon fukeiron* had not been published, the Japanese Alpine Club would not have been established so soon.⁴⁰

The third way in which *Nihon fukeiron* was new was its attitude toward conservation of natural resources. As early as 1894, Shigetaka had been advocating such protection:

The beautiful sceneries of mountains and abundant plants have been nourishing Japanese love of nature since the past and will remain so in future. To destroy such motivation for people would result in destroying humanitarian enlightenment ... Recent abuse of trees, woods, forests, animals ... just for a small profit is truly shameful. It is a national crisis to destroy places of historical interest, an established concept of representative beauty. In order to further preserve our humanitarian enlightenment, we should protect the Japanese landscape.⁴¹

This attitude toward conservation is of course quite different from the modern conception of preserving nature for its own sake. As this quote illustrates, Shigetaka had made a connection between conservation of Japan's landscape and, more importantly to him, conservation of Japan's national identity.⁴² The next section will explore how he sought for national identity in Japan's natural environment in *Nihon fukeiron*.

2 - 2 A New Sense of Nationhood

As we have seen in Chapter 1, Shigetaka believed that a new form of nationalism, which he termed *kokusui*, was necessary if Japan was to be saved from the dominating influences of Western culture. His travels in the South Seas had revealed to him the dangers of embracing the idea of the "superiority" of the West, especially for the labouring people who lost faith in their traditional lifestyles in the face of Western material supremacy.⁴³ Shigetaka supported his claim with the situation of New Zealand's indigenous Maori people:

Since negotiations had started with the British, Maori had been awed by the soft texture of the European red trade blankets, had abandoned their own methods for treating sickness in favour of British medicine, and had been astonished by the oddness of British arms. Thus, while the Maori revered Great Britain on the one hand, they started to disrespect their own society on the other hand. In comparison with the British, the Maori perceived themselves as inferior and imitated whatever seemed to be British. Consequently, they despised and destroyed what was indigenous to themselves; the importance of natural beauty such as mountains and rivers had also withered along with their patriotism.⁴⁴

There was one national characteristic however, expressed by a Christian missionary, S. A. Bennett, which Shigetaka saw as a saving grace for the Japanese:

It is hopeless to save the poor in India, and the poor have been debased in China. Efforts to save the poor in the U.S. where bureaucrats are corrupt and therefore hated by the poor have been in vain. Only in Japan, do the poor hold a hope ... Working hard in their land ... a nation as one loves beauty of mountains and fields. No other nations love the beauties of nature as much as the Japanese ... Being one with nature, they come to even forget their poverty.⁴⁵

This love of nature, Shigetaka concluded, could be harnessed to form a new base for cultural identity in Japan. He stressed that the nation's

objective planning for continued self-determination depended on the people's understanding of geographic and world affairs:

The island of Japan exists alone in the ocean and has maintained her independence without serious threat from the West. However, in order to further survive the current severe power struggle, we must be aware of world affairs. Not only people involved with education, politics ... but all of us, men and women, should know Japan's stance in the world. 47 million brains should be able to visualise what's happening in the world ... thus creating 47 million geographers and diplomats, we would know what to do in case of any emergencies ... In order to continue being independent, it is an urgent task to establish geographic thought in the people.⁴⁶

Such awareness and appreciation of Japan's geography, Shigetaka hoped, would foster *kokusui* or national pride — which he considered so necessary.

Pyle claims that it is possible that Shigetaka used Japan's geographical position and "unparalleled natural beauty" to bridge the gap between Japan's present and her past.⁴⁷ For Shigetaka, the "traditional" Japanese elements which were so much a part of the lives of people were of geographic basis — i.e. sprang from Japan's unique geographic situation. Therefore, Shigetaka reasoned, a new cultural identity could go back to those same basics of love and appreciation, excepting the aspects of feudalism that would hold Japan back from success in an increasingly Westernised world. Amidst the wave of indiscriminate Westernisation, Shigetaka felt his countrymen should know, as realistically as possible, what had produced the Japanese traditions — and that was the natural environment. It is clear that Shigetaka was determined to base *kokusui*'s "continuing" and "unique" elements of Japan on people's love for the motherland and her natural beauty, rather than on her feudalistic past. However, as seen in Chapter 1, his search for a new basis for Japan's

traditional virtues and national solidarity was erroneously regarded by some of his contemporaries (and even some current critics) as synonymous with the advocacy of the "conservative" — "Confucian" — scholars.

Shigetaka's goal was to establish this "new identity" by combining "latent strength", *sensei ryoku*,⁴⁸ with "aesthetic sense". This would be the impetus for maintaining *kokusui*. The beauty of the Japanese landscape was probably his only solace; the country did not possess any natural resources to speak of.⁴⁹ Thus Japan's landscape became the medium by which Shigetaka hoped to arouse awareness of and love for their native land in the Japanese people.

It was clear to Shigetaka that people needed something concrete to believe in such as the natural aspect of their motherland. One of the reasons for the difficulty in defining *kokusui* had lain in the fact that "what is unique to Japan" is an abstract concept and therefore is hard to describe. Although *kokusui* advocates, such as Miyake and Kuga, were agreed in opposing the indiscriminate Westernisation of Japan, they held differing views on *kokusui*. As we have seen in Chapter 1, these differences created the potential for the concept to be misinterpreted. None of the *kokusui* advocates clarified in exact terms what was to be maintained as "nationality" and what benefit it would bring to the nation's prosperity. Shigetaka supplemented an English translation "nationality" to *kokusui*⁵⁰ and described in "Yamato minzoku no senseiryoku" (Latent Subconsciousness of the Yamato Race), this forceful but obscure descent of *kokusui*, without managing to define what it was:

I dare to confess that so-called *kokusui* exists as an aesthetic concept. However it weakened during the Fujiwara sovereignty (614-1189), regressed during the civil war period (1478-1573) and finally became "conservative" as well as dormant during the feudal period (1603-1868). This was what happened to it in the past because the people were not aware of what was unique to Japan. It does not mean that we do not possess anything unique to Japan ... How could those who believe in indiscriminate Westernisation claim that we do not possess anything worthwhile and that we should therefore uproot the past and transplant the whole Western civilisation to Japan? We do possess things unique to Japan; they have not been appreciated clearly due to a rather insular mentality — typical of an island country — and I hope they will develop properly from now on. Even if Western civilisation has to be transplanted to our soil, we have to protect and preserve by our own hands those things which are good and unique to Japan.⁵¹

Nationalism in the late 1880s demonstrated clearly the threat of a Western power struggle, which made people alert to Japan's survival, but not the essence of "nationality" itself.⁵² *Nihon fukeiron* was one attempt to rectify that vagueness.

2 - 3 Impacts and Accusations of Imperialism

As the previous sections have implied, the success of *Nihon fukeiron* was immediate and long lasting — and not just in Japan. Shigetaka's aesthetic concept based on natural science also stimulated Chinese nationalists who were concerned about China's defenceless situation under the Empress Dowager.⁵³ Liang Qichao (1873-1929), who had long respected Shigetaka, was particularly inspired by Shigetaka's thought as expressed in *Nihon fukeiron*.⁵⁴ Shortly after Liang escaped to Japan in overseas exile on 16th October 1898, he visited Shigetaka to seek advice.⁵⁵ While in Japan, Liang devoured the information about Western modern thought which was available in Japan and further developed his reform theory.⁵⁶ He also continued his journalistic activity, publishing new journals such as *Shingi ho* (*The Chinese Discussion*, 1898-1901), *Shin*

min soho (*New People's Journal*, 1902-1907), and *Seiron* (*On Politics*, 1907-1908).⁵⁷ He commented on China's fast-changing internal and external current affairs in these journals. Peng Zezhou (Ho Takushu) notes that Liang's thought clearly paralleled Shigetaka's thought as can be seen in his descriptions of China's landscapes, "alas, beauty is our mountains and rivers of China!"⁵⁸ Liang followed in Shigetaka's example and aroused the Chinese people's love for their motherland by praising China's natural advantages.⁵⁹

Nihon fukeiron was successful, moreover, in the intent to promote and popularise geography and thus increase national pride.⁶⁰ Shigetaka's contemporary, geologist Yamazaki Naokata (1870-1929),⁶¹ commented that *Nihon fukeiron*, as well as Shigetaka's other geography textbooks, were extremely effective in imparting knowledge of and interest in physical geography to the people at a time when little about the subject was generally known.⁶² As Pyle notes, *Nihon fukeiron* was "one of the most widely read books among students in the latter half of the Meiji period; Yoshino Sakuzo (16 at that time),⁶³ recalled how Shiga's writing aroused strong interest in the subject both for him and his middle school companions":

I was profoundly impressed by Prof. Shiga's *History of Nations* and then his subsequent texts of geography, such as *Nihon fukeiron* and *Chirigaku kogi*. Whatever the subjects students had to learn at school then were dry and of rote memory. However, Prof. Shiga's works gave a fresh and practical approach to learning. Furthermore, for the first time after reading Prof. Shiga's works, I learnt the relationship between academic pursuit and real life.⁶⁴

Such inspiration, however, became a ground for criticism of Shigetaka's work. Uchimura Kanzo, for example, while admiring Shigetaka's

writing, accused him of "patriotic bias"⁶⁵ which manifested itself in two ways. Uchimura argued that the following passage demonstrated Shigetaka's "hostility toward China"⁶⁶ quite directly:

A country like China, for example northern China, having a land mass 1.7 times larger than Japan ... is regarded as "yellow earth". The Yellow River, a winding flow of murky water, runs through the land to the Yellow Sea. Everything by the river is yellow, and the scenery along the river is boring without even one mountain or peak standing high. Needless to say that the north wind blows from Mongolia and there is nothing to prevent it. Yellow dust enters through doors, covers trees as well as paddy fields, and discolours fountain waters. Thus, the scenery becomes bleak ... it is nothing like the beautiful mountains and clean waters unique to Japan.⁶⁷

But Uchimura contended that Shigetaka's bias was also demonstrated by his failure to recognise Japan's chief scenic shortcoming — its lack of "sublime" scenery, landscapes which could inspire and awe.⁶⁸ Uchimura claimed that Shigetaka's advocacy of *kokusui* drove him to see all the beauty of the world in Japan alone, while ignoring such places as Yosemite National Park and the Niagara Falls in the U.S., the immense desert in Arabia, or the view of Mt Everest from Darnjinrun, spectacular sites quite unlike anything in Japan.⁶⁹

Uchimura himself was a fervent nationalist and a Christian, and he was obviously somewhat reluctant to criticise Shigetaka in this way:

I believe that Mr Shiga did not mention the lack of sublimity with his literary technique. However, it is a duty for me as a critic to point this out. It is not easy for me to make such an unpatriotic comment when the whole country is excited about the victory of the War and enthusiastically united in patriotism.⁷⁰

However, Uchimura clearly thought Shigetaka's perceived bias serious enough, and perhaps dangerous enough, to make his views public.

Indeed some critics such as Maeda Ai, Sato Yoshimaru, Mita Hiro and Iwai Tadakuma contend that Shigetaka's geographical work, and particularly *Nihon fukeiron*, instigated Japan's later imperialism. Maeda argues that Shigetaka was an imperialist who calculatedly took advantage of the Japanese love for their homeland to spread patriotism on a national scale.⁷¹ Sato accuses Shigetaka of being one of the intellectuals who propagated expressions such as *Yamato damashii* (Japanese spirit), *Nihon minzoku* (Japanese people) and *aikokushin* (patriotism): expressions which were later used to support Japan's modern imperialistic goals.⁷² "Geography for Shiga", Sato argues, "functioned as his means of advocating and promoting *kokusui*, and demonstrated a significant political intention and practical purpose".⁷³ He maintains that *Nihon fukeiron* represents Shigetaka's aggressive thought.⁷⁴

Mita makes the further claim that Shigetaka's disparagement of China is clearly evident in *Nihon fukeiron*.⁷⁵ He points out Shigetaka's comparison of crater lakes in Japan with lakes in China such as Tungting hu (Doteiko) and Hsi hu (Seiko) that produce methane gas. He refers to the following quote from *Nihon fukeiron*, suggesting that it contains a double meaning:

In every sense of the word, "peace" is best represented by crater lakes which are created and remain after cataclysmic explosions, lightning, fire and lava flow ... true "peace" is only realised after such material elements have exhausted themselves.⁷⁶

Mita maintains that although Shigetaka does not hint at an underlying meaning for this quote, it could be taken that by "volcanic activity" and "crater lakes" he had in mind imperialistic expansion to China. Mita calls attention to the fact that Japan's declaration of war against China was on

1st August 1894 and the book was published during the War.⁷⁷ However, this remains as his own interpretation.

Mita further draws attention to the difference between Shigetaka's attitudes in *Nan yo jiji*, wherein he claims that proposals for developing overseas markets were of a peaceful nature (see Chapter 4), and those in *Nihon fukeiron*, which had become more aggressive.⁷⁸ However, this is his assumption based on only these two of Shigetaka's geographical works and he fails to acknowledge Shigetaka's continuing efforts, for example, to establish the subject in education (see Chapter 5-2).

Finally, Iwai Tadakuma notes Shigetaka's lifelong interest in emigration and concomitant reverence for "loyalism" and argues that this directed his energies toward imperialistic colonialism.⁷⁹ Iwai contends that victory in the Sino-Japanese War marked a clear transition in Shigetaka's thought; from passive *kokusui* when Japan lacked confidence as well as national and political unity, to aggressive imperialism after the War.⁸⁰ "Whatever the individual intention of *kokusui* intellectuals was in the mid-Meiji", Iwai argues, "they provided a rational explanation for the relationship between the Emperor and the people under the name of *kokusui* and we cannot ignore the fact that it was responsible, to some extent, for the national faith in imperialism".⁸¹

While it might be true that Shigetaka considered the imperial house as instrumental in maintaining national solidarity,⁸² it is also necessary to reiterate that his views on overseas expansion were of a commercial nature, rather than for military or political reasons. As we have seen, he recommended cutting military expenditure (see Chapter 1). His ultimate

goal in advocating *kokusui* at this time was to secure Japan's independence in the power struggle with the West by consolidating Japan's economy through commerce. It is also important to mention, as we have seen, that people were the driving force of his nationalism. The significant difference between both advocacies was that Shigetaka's *kokusui* aimed at liberating as well as vitalising people while other intellectuals who supported imperialism aimed at subjugating them in the name of the Emperor.

At least one critic has implied that Iwai, in accusing Shigetaka of nascent imperialism, misunderstood Shigetaka's purpose. Margret Neuss has this to say:

In so far as Iwai equates the development in Shiga's thought with the general development of imperialism, the impression is given that Shiga propagated imperialism ... But ... it seems clear that he [Shiga] took a different stance about imperialism and that because he concentrated on individual problems like that of the population and resources, he did not consider the consequences of his alleged pragmatic attempts at solutions.⁸³

In a suggestion aimed at resolving Japan's overpopulation problem, Shigetaka had published in 1915 *Keitoteki sankakuho* (A Systematic Triangular Approach to Japan's Production and Distribution of Population).⁸⁴ This recommended further emigration, but advocated emigration to South America and to the Asian continent instead of to Hawaii and California. This was due to Shigetaka's recognition of the growing problem of anti-Japanese sentiment (see Chapter 5-2). In addition to emigration, he suggested overseas commercial development, making the mainland of Asia the source of raw materials, Japan, the centre for manufacture, and neighbouring countries, the markets.⁸⁵ The attempts to make this reality under the increasing enthusiasm for the

Great Asian League, Neuss argues, "took place all too soon".⁸⁶ Although *Keitoteki sankakuho* was proposed about the same time as the Great Asian League, Shigetaka's intention for the proposal was to further the commercial and economic expansion of Japan — quite different goals from those of the League. Moreover, Shigetaka strongly opposed the League and expressed his concern in *Mikawa nippo* (*Daily Mikawa*) (see Chapter 5-2).⁸⁷

Iwai's argument also overlooks the fact that, although *Nihon fukeiron* was published at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, this book as well as his earlier geographic textbooks were written much before the War.⁸⁸ In other words, although it was published during the War, it is not persuasive to assume that Shigetaka intended to arouse militaristic aggression in the people with *Nihon fukeiron*. Shigetaka did not, in the interest of national solidarity, take into account any of the mythical functions of the Emperor as the intellectuals later did in their advocacy of imperialism.

Furthermore, Shigetaka maintained the same, non-imperialistic view, even after publication of *Nihon fukeiron*. During an interview with Liang Qichao in 1898, when Liang was in exile in Japan, Shigetaka strongly advised him that China must be centrally united by a strong tie; "it was of utmost importance that the (Chinese) Emperor be returned to power" (as a national symbol for spiritual solidarity).⁸⁹ As will be shown in *Nan yo jiji* (Chapter 4), the "golden sorrow" of the powerless Samoan King convinced Shigetaka that the spiritual icon of a nation, to whom national solidarity should be directed, had to retain his authority at all costs. Hence, it is clear that Shigetaka's view of the imperial house was

that it was a symbol, instrumental to the fostering of national solidarity, in contrast to the imperialists who believed that the solidarity could be achieved by imperial enforcement. In addition, for this goal to be attained, Shigetaka further advised Liang to take gradual steps rather than radical leaps toward social reformation,⁹⁰ where the imperialists enforced an extreme unconditional subjugation.

Given Shigetaka's purpose of advocating *kokusui* to aid Japan's survival in the power struggle in Asia, his intention should be understood separately from that of intellectuals in later years. Victory in the Sino-Japanese War turned Japan from a country defending itself from a power struggle to a country perpetuating that struggle. As will be discussed in Chapters 5, the mythical function of the Emperor played a significant part much later, after 1910, when the purpose of Japan's expansion to Asia was interpreted as securing the "eternal prosperity of the Emperor". Shigetaka envisaged the Emperor as a means to national solidarity but not as an end in himself (see Chapter 5).⁹¹

Conclusion

As will be argued in Chapter 4, Shigetaka's intention in writing *Nan yo jiji* was to express his long held belief about the need to promote national awareness in his contemporaries. *Nan yo jiji* introduced the key expressions of *Nihon fukeiron*, such as, "spring water from Mt. Fuji represents the beauty in mountains and rivers of our country".⁹² It is possible that he intended to arouse the people with *Nan yo jiji* and to define *kokusui* in practical terms with *Nihon fukeiron*. In other words,

spiritual linking to the past through "love for motherland" may have been a well-prepared plan to support his advocacy of national awareness. As we have seen, nationalism in the late 1880s was a reaction to the power struggle with the West and *Nihon fukeiron* was an attempt to inspire a new sense of nationhood by searching for a cultural identity in geographic terms. This was the watershed which differentiates Shigetaka from intellectuals who later advocated Japan's imperialism; they did not seek for the national identity through appreciation of Japan's existing landscape but in militaristic expansion of Japan's territory.

This thesis will now attempt to establish a more realistic image of Shigetaka. Chapter 3 studies his education and the beliefs of the enlighteners, Fukuzawa Yukichi and Kondo Makoto, which often parallel Shigetaka's own. Chapter 4 explores the development of Shigetaka's international awareness through the South Seas cruise; his first-hand observation of current affairs there and recommendations for Japan's survival, pointing out similarities to the thinking of Fukuzawa and Kondo, and contrasts to that of the "Confucian" scholars. Chapter 5 studies Shigetaka's vehement criticism of the "Confucian" scholars who revived and reinforced Confucian moral teaching in the imperial education system which enforced unconditional subjugation to the Emperor and subsequently led to the disaster of World War Two.

Notes to Chapter 2

¹ Between 1894 and 1903, *Nihon fukeiron* was reprinted 15 times. The detail of printing is available in the following books. Hijikata Teichi, *Hijikata Teichi chosakushu 6 - Kindai nihon no gakaron 1*, pp. 343-345. Kojima, "Nihon fukeiron kaisetsu", (1937), pp. 3-4, & (1995), pp. 369-370. Minamoto Shokyu, "Shiga Shigetaka no chirigaku - Shoshigakuteki chosa" (Shigetaka Shiga's Geographical Works - A Bibliographic Survey), *Library and Information Science*, no. 13, Kaiji Shiryo Senta (Library for Maritime Affairs), 1975, pp. 194-19 & "Shigetaka Shiga 1863-1927", *Geographers Bio-bibliographical Studies*, vol. 8, 1984, p. 99. Ui (Kunio), *Shiga Shigetaka*, pp. 42-43.

Also see f/n 28 and 29 as well as the following reference. Hijikata, *Hijikata Teichi chosaku shu 6*, pp. 343-344 & "Nihon fukeiron kaisetsu", *Nihon fukeiron*, (Kodansha), p. 179. Irokawa (Daikichi), *Nihon no meicho 39 - Okakura Tenshin*, p. 56. "Nihon fukeiron", *Nihon kindai no meicho - Sono hito to jidai*, Mainichi shimbun, 1966, p. 72. Kamei Shunsuke, *Nashonarizumu no bungaku*, p. 67 & p. 91. Kaneko Shoen, "Shizenbi ni takushita aikoku bungaku - Nihon fukeiron no omoide", *Bungei shunju*, March 1935, pp. 32-33. Kawahara Hiroshi, "Shiga Shigetaka - Nihon fukeiron", in Hashikawa Bunzo et.al. ed., *Kindai Nihonshi no kiso chishiki*, Yuhikaku, 1971, p. 86. Kobayashi Yoshimasa, *Yama to shomotsu*, Tsukiji shokan/Maruzen, 1957, p. 153. Kurahashi Ya'ichi, "Gendai Nihon no sengaku 6 - Shiga Shigetaka", *Chisei*, April 1937, p. 64. Kuwabara Takeo, "Shiga Shigetaka - Nihon fukeiron", *Nihon no meicho - Kindai no shiso*, Chuo koron, 1962, p. 43-46. Kojima Usui, "Nihon fukeiron kaisetsu", (1937), pp. 3-4, & (1995), p. 370. Matsukata Saburo, "Shiga Shigetaka shi o obou", *Yama to keikoku*, July 1950, pp. 52-53. Minami Hiroshi, *Nihonjin no keifu*, Kodansha, 1980, p. 47. Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga", p. 99 & "Shiga Shigetaka no chirigaku - Shoshigakuteki chosa", p. 194. Mita Hiro, *Yama no shisoshi*, Iwanami, 1973, p. 43. Miyake Osamu, "Yama no meicho - Sono jidai to hito", *Yama to keikoku*, Yama to keikokusha, November 1990, p. 61. Peng Zezhou (Ho Takushu), "Shiga Shigetaka and Liang Qichao", *Tairiku zasshi (The Continent Magazine)*, vol. 4, no. 5, Taipei, 15th May 1972, p. 233 & p. 235. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 161. Rinbara Sumio, "Nan yo jiji kara Nihon fukeiron e", *Nihon bungaku*, Nihon bungaku kyokai, vol. 44, 1995, p. 38. Saeki Shoichi, "Hyakunen no Nihonjin - Shiga Shigetaka", *Yomiuri shimbun*, 6th August 1985. Sato Yoshimaru, "Nihon fukeiron", *Meiji Taisho Showa no meicho sokaisetsu*, Jiyu kokuminsha, 1983, p. 41 & "Kokusui shugi chirigaku no ichikousatsu - Shiga Shigetaka ron", *Shikan*, no. 86 & 87, 1973, p. 75. Shimamoto Keiya, *Sangaku bungaku josetsu*, Misuzu shobo, 1986, pp. 20-21. Modern Literature Studies Centre of Showa Joshi Daigaku Kindai Bungaku Kenkyushitsu, ed., *Kindai bungaku kenkyu sosho (Modern Literature Studies)*, vol. 26, 1967, pp. 185-186, & p. 451. Suzuki Norihisa, *Uchimura Kanzo to sono jidai - Shiga Shigetaka to no hikaku*, Nihon Kirisutokyodan shuppankyoku, 1975, p. 159. Tamaki Akira, *Mizu no shiso*, Ronsosha, 1979, pp. 12-16. Ubukata Toshiro, *Meiji Taisho kembunshi*, Chuo koron, 1978 p. 89. Ui (Kunio), *Shiga Shigetaka*, p. 40. Ukita Keisuke, "Meijiki Nihonjin no shizenkan - Shiga Shigetaka no baai", part 1, *Gakujutsu nenpo*, Doshisha Woman's College, vol. 25/1, 1974, p. 182. Yamamuro Shin'ichi, "Kokumin kokka Nihon no hakken - Nashonariti no ritsuron kosei o megutte", *Jinbun gakuho*, vol. 67, 1990, p. 88. Yamazaki Yasuji, *Nihon tozanshi*, Hakusuisha, 1986, p. 260-264. "Henshu techo", *Yomiuri shimbun*, 16th January 1990. Watabe Takeshi, "Nihon fukeiron no keifu", *Gekkan dento to gendai*, no. 213, March 1971, p. 75.

Minamoto nominates the three major works to be *Nan yo jiji* (*Current Affairs in the South Seas*), *Chirigaku kogi* (*Lectures on Geography*) and *Nihon fukeiron* (*Japanese Landscape*). Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga", pp. 98-99. Also see Chapter 5-2-1, f/n 1.

² Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 161.

³ Ui Kunio, "Shiga Shigetaka - Kyo ni ikiru senken no mei", *Kankyo joho kagaku*, no. 25-2, 1996, p. 53, & *Shiga Shigetaka*, p. 46. Watabe, "*Nihon fukeiron no keifu*", pp. 77-78. Irokawa (Daikichi), "*Nihon fukeiron*", p. 73. Nikko is one of the historically significant places, and has the Toshogu shrine dedicated to the 1st shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu. Matsushima abounds in picturesque small islands full of graceful pine trees in the inlet.

⁴ Ui (Kunio), "Shiga Shigetaka - Kyo ni ikiru senken no mei", p. 53 & *Shiga Shigetaka*, p. 46. Ukita, "*Meijiiki Nihonjin no shizenkan - Shiga Shigetaka no baai*", part 1, p. 194. Sato, "*Nihon fukeiron*", p. 41.

⁵ "Hyakunin no tabibito o erabu", *Tabi*, JTB, 1977, p. 270. Inose Naoki, *Mikado no shozo*, Shogakkan, 1986, p. 513. Irokawa Daikichi, "Shiga Shigetaka *Nihon fukeiron*", *Nihon no meicho - Kindai no shiso*, Chuo koron, 1962, pp. 73-74. Shimamoto, *Sangaku bungaku josetsu*, p. 20.

⁶ Otsuki Bankei (1801-1878) was one of the Confucian scholars who advocated opening of the country at the end of the Tokugawa period. Shimonaka Yasaburo ed., *Daijinmei jiten*, vol. 1/ 2, Heibonsha, 1957, p. 499.

⁷ Rai Sanyo (1780-1832) was a Confucian scholar and historian. His *Nihon gaishi* and *Nihon seishi* helped prepare for the Restoration of the Emperor's power. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 261.

⁸ Shiga Shigetaka, *Nihon fukeiron*, compiled in SSZ 4, pp. 1-2. The translation is taken from the English translation (by Turner) of Neuss, "Shiga Shigetaka - Work and Thought of a Japanese Nationalist", pp. 9-10.

⁹ Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, pp. 160-161.

¹⁰ Shiga, *Nihon fukeiron*, SSZ 4, pp. 1-2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15. Uchimura Kanzo, "Shiga Shigetaka cho *Nihon fukeiron*", *Rikugo zasshi*, no. 168, 15th December 1894. This article is compiled in *Uchimura Kanzo senshu 5 - Shizen to jinsei*, Iwanami, 1990, pp. 33-34 as well as in *Nihon fukeiron*, Iwanami, pp. 364-365.

¹⁷ Kaibara Ekken was a neo-Confucian scholar in the early Tokugawa period. His teaching differed from that of other scholars of the time as he adopted and converted Chinese teaching to suit the Japanese environment. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 48.

The original printings of *Nihon fukeiron* have the citation of "Kagirinaki tanoshimi", in their back covers. Minamoto provides the details in "Shigetaka Shiga", p. 98. The

citation is included in p. 9 in *Nihon fukeiron* by Iwanami and in *Nihon fukeiron* by Nihon sangakukai (the Japanese Alpine Club), published in 1975, on the 70th anniversary of the Club.

¹⁸ Neuss argues, "Shigetaka was striving for harmony in the fusion of the Neo-Confucianist thought of the Tokugawa era with the social-Darwinistic integral world picture for twenty years since the beginning of Meiji era; *Nihon fukeiron* was his most successful attempt at the synthesis of aesthetics and analytical science". Neuss, "Shiga Shigetaka - Work and Thought of a Japanese Nationalist", pp. 23-24.

¹⁹ Shiga Shigetaka, *Nihon fukeiron*, Iwanami, 1995, p. 9.

²⁰ John Lubbock, *The Beauties of Nature and the Wonders of the World We Live in*, MacMillan, London, 1892, p. 37. The translation is cited in Ukita Keisuke, "Meijiki Nihonjin no shizenkan no hikaku bungakuteki kosatsu - Shiga Shigetaka no baai", part 2, *Gakujutsu nenpo*, vol. 26/1, Doshisha Woman's College, 1975, pp. 45-46. This quote is cited in Shiga, *Nihon fukeiron*, SSZ 4, pp. 86-87.

²¹ Shiga, *Nihon fukeiron*, SSZ 4, p. 52.

²² Ibid., p. 86. This quote is cited in Matsuda, "Shiga Shigetaka - Meiji no kokka shugi", p. 294.

²³ The Obituary, "Professor Shigetaka Shiga", in *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 70, no. 1, the Royal Geographical Society, London, July 1927, carries an author's initials, W.W. and is believed to be written by Walter Weston. It states as follows:

Professor Shiga took a great interest in the activities of the Japanese Alpine Club, of which he became the second Honourary Member. He was a man of attractive personality, possessed of a delightful sense of humour, and a literary style of great distinction which led to his title of "The Japanese Ruskin" among the many admirers of the English writer in a nation of nature-worship (p. 95).

Rev. Walter Weston (1861-1940?) was an English missionary and an author of *Mountaineering and Exploration in the Japanese Alps* (London, 1896) and *The Playground of the Far East* (London, 1918). He first came to Japan in 1888. The Japanese Alpine Club (Nihon Sangakukai) granted him the first honorary membership. "Kaiho - Meiyo kai'in suisen", *Sangaku*, no. 2, Nihon Sangakukai, 10th July 1911, p. 145. Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga", p. 99. Ui (Kunio), *Shiga Shigetaka*, p. 43 and p. 49.

Shigetaka wrote a preface to the translation of *The Playground of the Far East*. It was entitled, *Kyokuto no yuhojo*, translated by Okamura Seichi, and published by Yama to keikokusha, in 1970.

Uchimura compares Shigetaka's description of Japanese pine trees with Ruskin's "lichens and mosses ..." in "Shiga Shigetaka shi cho *Nihon fukeiron*", *Rikugo zasshi* (15th December 1894). This article is compiled in Uchimura Kanzo *senshu* 5 - *Shizen to jinsei*, Iwanami, 1990, pp. 33-34 as well as in *Nihon fukeiron*, Iwanami, 1995, pp. 363-367. The following is taken from an Iwanami's copy of 1995, pp. 364-365.

"Lichens and mosses, — how of these? Meek creatures! — the first mercy of the earth, veiling with trusted softness its dintless rocks, creatures full of pity, covering with strange and tender honour the scarred disgrace of ruin,

laying quiet finger on the trembling stones to teach them rest ...

"And as the earth's first mercy, so they are its last gift to us ... The woods, the blossoms, the gift-bearing grasses, have done their parts for a time, but these do service for ever. Tree for the builder's yard — flowers for the bride's chamber — corn for the granary — moss for the grave.

"Yet as in one sense the humblest, in another they are the most honoured of the earth-children; unfading and motionless, the worm frets them not and the autumn wastes not. Strong in lowliness, they neither blanch in heat nor pine in frost. To them, slow-fingered, constant-hearted is entrusted the weaving of the dark, eternal tapestries of the hills; to them, slow-pencilled, iris-dyed, the tender framing of their endless imagery. Shaving the stillness of the unimpassioned rock, they share also its endurance; and while the winds of departing spring scatter the white hawthorn blossom like drifted snow, and summer dims on the parched meadow the drooping of its cowslip, — gold far above, among the mountains, the silver lichens-spots rest, starlike, on the stone; and the gathering orange stain upon the edge of yonder western peak reflects the sunsets of a thousand years".

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 364-365.

²⁵ Kojima, "*Nihon fukeiron* kaisetsu", p. 378. Shiba Shiro was a politician as well as a novelist.

²⁶ *Jiji shimpo* (Current News) was inaugurated by Fukuzawa Yukichi in 1882. See Chapter 3, f/n 76.

²⁷ Kojima, "*Nihon fukeiron* kaisetsu", *Nihon fukeiron*, (1995), p. 368. Irokawa Daikichi, "Shiga Shigetaka - *Nihon fukeiron*", in Kuwabara Takeo ed., *Nihon no meicho - Kindai no shiso* 1, 1962, p. 72.

²⁸ *Shimbun zasshi hihyo - Nihon fukeiron: Shohan hihyo* (Review: *Nihon fukeiron* - The 1st Edition), Seikyosha, 1894. This issue contains 57 reviews including Uchimura's article in *Rikugo zasshi* (see f/n 23). *Shimbun zasshi hihyo - Saihan Nihon fukeiron: Saihan hihyo* (Review: *Nihon fukeiron* - The 2nd Edition), Seikyosha, 1894. Also consulted are; "Review: Mr Shiga's *Nippon fukeiron*", *The Japan Weekly Mail*, 23rd April 1895. Sei Nansei, "Shiga Shigetaka sensei no *Nihon fukeiron* o yomu", *Chigaku zasshi*, vol. 6/no. 71, November 1894, pp. 649-651. "Shincho ryakuhyo *Nihon fukeiron*", *Shonen'en*, vol. 146, 18th November 1894, pp. 6-7. "*Nihon fukeiron*", *Teikoku bungaku*, 5th January 1895, pp. 131-134. Ogawa Takuji, "*Nihon fukeiron* o hyosu", *Chishitsugaku zasshi*, vol. 2/no. 17, February 1895. Taizoku Kusshu, "Zoku *Nihon fukeiron*", *Seishin*, no. 50, 5th February 1895, p. 29-32. Maruyama Michikazu, "*Nihon fukeiron* o hyosu", *Shinri*, vol. 65, June 1895, pp. 168-170. Yamagami Banjiro, "Shinsen Shiga kun no *Nihon fukeiron* o yomu", *Chigaku zasshi*, vol. 6/no. 71, November 1894, pp. 643-645. "Shinsho sungen *Nihon fukeiron*", *Yubin hochi shimbun*, 29th November 1894. Modern Literature Studies Centre, "Shiga Shigetaka", *Kindai bungaku kenkyu sosho*, vol. 26, p. 192. *The N.D.L. is unable to clarify how names of the authors are pronounced.

²⁹ See f/n 1, p. 60. Minamoto maintains that each new edition of this work has a different picture on its cover. See Appendix 4 I. Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shiga Shigetaka", p. 99 and Kobayashi, "Yama to shomotsu", pp. 153-157.

Furthermore, even after Shigetaka died in 1927, a paperback of *Nihon fukeiron* is still

printed today by two publishers; Kodansha since 1976 (16 printings), and Iwanami from 1937 to 1948 (8 printings) and then another since 1995.

³⁰ Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga", p. 99. Also see Chapter 5-2-1, f/n 1.

³¹ Hijikata, *Hijikata Teichi chosakushu* 6, pp. 343-344 & "Nihon fukeiron kaisetsu", p. 179. Irokawa (Daikichi), *Nihon no meicho 39 - Okakura Tenshin*, p. 57. Kawahara, "Shiga Shigetaka - Nihon fukeiron", p. 86. Kamei, *Nashonarizumu no bungaku*, p. 194. Kojima, "Nihon fukeiron kaisetsu", (1995), p. 368. Minami Hiroshi, *Nihonjinron no keifu*, Kodansha, 1980, p. 47. Modern Literature Studies Centre, "Shiga Shigetaka", *Kindai bungaku kenkyu sosho* p. 185. Mita, *Yama no shisoshi*, pp. 61-62. Yamazaki (Yasuji), *Nihon tozanshi*, p. 26. Rinbara, "Nan yo jiji kara Nihon fukeiron e - Shoki Shiga Shigetaka ni okeru bungaku", p. 31, p. 34 & pp. 37-38.

³² Uchimura Kanzo, "Yoshino sankei", *Sekai no Nihon*, no. 18, 1 August 1897, compiled in *Uchimura Kanzo senshu 5 - Shizen to jinsei*, p. 38.

³³ *Nihon fukeiron* is still read by the students of Waseda University. It is considered as a classic of mountaineering. Personal interview with students of the mountain climbing club, in May 1993.

³⁴ Kojima Usui was an early alpinist and specialist in mountain literature. Kojima, "Nihon fukeiron kaisetsu", (1995), p. 372. Miyake (Osamu), "Yama no meicho - Sono jidai to hito", p. 61. Irokawa, "Shiga Shigetaka - Nihon fukeiron", pp. 72-73. Also see JTB ed. "Hyakunin no tabibito o erabu", p. 270.

³⁵ Yanagita Kunio was a pioneer in the study of Japanese folklore. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 254.

³⁶ Yanagita Kunio, ed., *Kaikoku hyakunen kinen bunka jigyo Meiji bunka shi 13 - Fuzoku*, Hara shobo, 1979, p. 415. Yanagita Kunio, *Japanese Manners and Customs in the Meiji Era*, translated by C. S. Terry, Obunsha, 1957, p. 277. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 161. Irokawa (Daikichi), "Shiga Shigetaka Nihon fukeiron", pp. 71-72. Meiji Taisho Showa no meicho sokaisetsu, Jiyu kokuminsha, 1983, p. 42. Watabe, "Nihon fukeiron no keifu", pp. 77-78.

³⁷ Nihon Sangakukai ed., "Kaiho - Meiyo kai'in suisen", p. 145. (This article carries a comment maintaining that when the whole country was uplifted about the victory of the War and enthusiastically united in patriotism, *Nihon fukeiron* made the people come back down to earth.) Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga", p. 99. Ui (Kunio), *Shiga Shigetaka*, p. 43.

³⁸ Kojima, "Nihon fukeiron kaisetsu", (1995), pp. 368-369. Also see Kobayashi, "Yama to shomotsu", p. 153. Irokawa, *Nihon no meicho - Okakura Tenshin*, p. 57. Miyake (Osamu), "Yama no meicho - Sono jidai to hito", p. 61. Nagao Masanori, "Shiga Shigetaka to chirigaku", *Chirigaku*, vol. 5, no. 4, April, 1937, p. 186.

³⁹ Kojima, "Nihon fukeiron kaisetsu", (1995), pp. 368-369. Matsukata, "Shiga Shigetaka shi o obou", pp. 52-53.

Shigetaka was also known as a pioneer of exploration as well as mountain climbing. However, critics such as Kuroiwa Ken, Mita Hiro, etc, deny the claim. Mita Hiro, "Shiga Shigetaka ni tsuite - Nihon fukeiron o megutte", *Gakujin*, no. 274, 275, April, May 1970, p. 100. Kuroiwa, *Tozan no reimei - Nihon fukeiron no nazo o megutte*, Perikansha, 1979, pp.

192-193.

Although it is generally believed by readers that Shigetaka wrote the book from his own experience of exploration and mountaineering, particularly the part concerning mountain-climbing techniques, there were reference materials he had used. Minamoto claims that it was a paraphrase of Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911)'s *Art of Travel* (London, 1855). Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shiga Shigetaka", p. 99. Kuroiwa maintains that Shigetaka plagiarised Galton's above work. Kuroiwa, *Tozan no reimei - Nihon fukeiron no nazo o megutte*, pp. 192-193. Ui, *Shiga Shigetaka*, p. 48.

Also in writing *Nihon fukeiron*, some critics believe that Shigetaka referred in some detail to, *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* (3rd ed., Murray, London, 1891), a joint work by Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935) and W. B. Mason (1854-1923). Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shiga Shigetaka", pp. 99-100, Ui (Kunio), *Shiga Shigetaka*, p. 48-50.

Minamoto further claims that another work upon which it is based is A. Geikie's *The Scenery of Scotland Viewed in Connection with its Physical Geology* (MacMillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1865). Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shiga Shigetaka", p. 100.

⁴⁰ Kojima Usui, "Nihon fukeiron kaisetsu", *Nihon fukeiron*, Iwanami, 1995, p. 369.

⁴¹ Shiga, *Nihon fukeiron*, SSZ 4, pp. 173-174.

⁴² In his *Yanaka mura kara Minamata to Sanrizuka e — Ekoloji no genryu*, Ui Jun who specialises in industrial pollution claims that Shigetaka correctly pointed out the beauty of natural development, and was sad to see beauties of landscape being sacrificed for excessive industrialisation. Description of natural beauty for which the Japanese writer was well known, had helped to foster love of nature among his readers.

Ui further points out that Shigetaka also warned Japanese intellectuals to be fully aware of the country's natural characteristics, maintaining that geological features and processes in the West were not the same as in Japan. This was in fact the first advice or warning of geological differences between that of Japan and the West, and one which was to become of significant importance to Japanese natural scientists. Compared with geological features and formations found in Europe and the U.S, those of in Japan were more complicated in nature. Japanese scientists lacking understanding of "plate tectonics" were unaware of these geological features and differences resulting. Ui concludes his account by remarking that *Nihon fukeiron* provides us with a lesson that should not be confused between an ideology and facts. Ui, *Yanaka mura kara Minamata to Sanrizuka e — Ekoloji no genryu*, vol. 24, NRK shuppanbu, 1991, p. 307, and Ui, "Trends on ecology in Japan since the 17th century", *Okinawa Daigaku kiyo*, no. 9, Okinawa University, 1992, p. 36.

⁴³ Shiga, "Ikanishite Nihonkoku o Nihonkoku tarashimubeki ya", pp. 15-17. (KMNT reprint, vol. 2, pp. 126-127.)

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Shiga, *Nihon fukeiron*, SSZ 4, pp. 193-194.

⁴⁶ Shiga, *Chirigaku*, SSZ 4, pp. 287-288. This quote is cited in Nagao, "Shiga Shigetaka to chirigaku", p. 178.

⁴⁷ Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 58.

⁴⁸ See Chapter 1, f/n 49.

⁴⁹ See Chapter 1, f/n 82. Sato, "Kokusui shugi chirigaku no ichi kosatsu", pp. 75-76.

1990, p. 34.

⁶⁴ Yoshino Sakuzo, "Shiga Shigetaka sensei", *Chuo koron*, 1st May 1927, compiled in SSZ 8, pp. 228-231. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 161. Ubukata, *Meiji Taisho kenbunshi*, p. 89.

⁶⁵ Uchimura, "Shiga Shigetaka cho *Nihon fukeiron*", pp. 34-35, and Shiga, *Nihon fukeiron*, (Iwanami, 1995), pp. 366-367.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 33-34, and Shiga, *Nihon fukeiron*, Iwanami, pp. 365-366. See a selected list (in chronological order) of Shigetaka's geographical textbooks at Waseda University in Chapter 5-2, f/n 1.

⁶⁷ Shiga, *Nihon fukeiron*, SSZ 4, p. 48. Uchimura, "Shiga Shigetaka cho *Nihon fukeiron*", pp. 34-35, and Shiga, *Nihon fukeiron*, Iwanami, (1995), pp. 365-366.

⁶⁸ Uchimura, "Shiga Shigetaka cho *Nihon fukeiron*", p. 35, and Shiga, *Nihon fukeiron*, Iwanami, (1995), p. 367.

⁶⁹ Uchimura, "Shiga Shigetaka cho *Nihon fukeiron*", p. 35, and Shiga, *Nihon fukeiron*, Iwanami, (1995), p. 367.

⁷⁰ Uchimura, "Shiga Shigetaka cho *Nihon fukeiron*", p. 35, and Shiga, *Nihon fukeiron*, Iwanami, (1995), p. 367.

⁷¹ Maeda Ai, "Nihon kaiki no shoso Meiji kokken shiso to nashonarizumu - Shiga Shigetaka to Nichiro senso", *Dento to gendai*, no. 20, March 1973, p. 52.

⁷² Sato, "Kokusui shugi chirigaku no ichikosatsu", p. 81.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 73.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 75.

⁷⁵ Mita, *Yama no shiso shi*, p. 61.

⁷⁶ Shiga, *Nihon fukeiron*, SSZ 4, p. 91.

⁷⁷ Mita, *Yama no shiso shi*, p. 61.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 61.

⁷⁹ Iwai Tadakuma, "Shiga Shigetaka ron", part 3, *Ritsumeikan bungaku*, December 1961, p. 52.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 52-53.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Shiga, "Nihon zento no nidai toha", SSZ 1, p. 31. Also, see Chapter 4-1 pp. 104-105 and Chapter 5-2-5, pp. 183-184.

⁸³ Neuss, "Shiga Shigetaka - Work and Thought of a Japanese Nationalist", p. 17.

⁸⁴ Shiga, "Igi aru hainichimondai no kanwaho", SSZ 1, p. 257 and SSZ 2, p. 59. Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga", p. 100.

⁸⁵ See Chapter 5-2-6.

⁸⁶ Neuss, "Shiga Shigetaka - Work and Thought of a Japanese Nationalist", p. 15.

⁸⁷ See Chapter 5-2-6.

⁸⁸ See a selected list of Shigetaka's geographical textbooks in Chapter 5-2-1, f/n 1.

⁸⁹ Peng, "Shiga Shigetaka and Liang Qichao", p. 234. Also see Appendix 3 A.

⁹⁰ Peng, "Shiga Shigetaka and Liang Qichao", p. 234. *Nihon gaiko bunsho - Meijiiki*, pp. 703-705. Masuda, "Ryo Keicho no Nihon bomei ni tsuite", p. 15.

⁹¹ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 300.

⁹² Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 63, and *Nihon fukeiron*, SSZ 4, p. 1.

CHAPTER 3 SHIGETAKA'S EARLY YEARS

Introduction

Shigetaka's formative years coincided with the last years of the 270 year old Tokugawa shogunate and the birth of the "new" Japan. This chapter provides a brief summary of his early years and education and of the beliefs of the enlighteners, Kondo Makoto (1831-1886) and Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), whose ideas Shigetaka's later work would parallel.

On 15th September 1863, a few years before the Meiji Restoration, Shigetaka was born in Okazaki, also the birth place of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), the first *shogun*. His later journalistic *nom de plume*, *Shinsen*,¹ was derived from adopting the Japanese sound reading of the Chinese characters of the *Yahagi* river which flows through his hometown.² Shigetaka's father, Jushoku, was one of the loyal *samurai* to Honda Tadamoto, the lord of Okazaki *han* (clan). Tadamoto maintained his domain during the declining days of the Tokugawa shogunate (1603-1868) through the teaching of the Confucian virtues of loyalty and filial piety and Jushoku was not only a "brave" *samurai* but also a "fine" Confucian scholar.³ In appreciation of Jushoku's deeds and talent, Honda Tadamoto sent him to the Shoheiko in Edo, the official and most highly regarded Confucian school.⁴ He was well respected by many *hanshi* (retainers) of the Okazaki clan, including Toba Daisaku, Oyaizu Kaname (Yojin) and Hayashi Yuteki, who were to be future guardians of Shigetaka.

Jushoku died when Shigetaka was six years old. Shigetaka was then too young to inherit the family stipend in accordance with the system of Okazaki *han*. Consequently, Shigetaka, with his mother and younger sister, moved to the household of Matsushita Kyudai, who was his maternal grandfather. Although poor, the Matsushita family had been great Confucian scholars for generations and Shigetaka became interested in Chinese literature.⁵

On 16th July 1874, when Shigetaka was ten years old, Toba Daisaku, one of his guardians, enrolled him in the Kogyoku juku, a naval preparatory school in Tokyo which was founded in 1869 by Kondo Makoto.⁶ It will be useful here to examine the origins of this and another similar school of the time, the Keio gijuku, founded by Fukuzawa Yukichi, because Shigetaka respected both Kondo and Fukuzawa wholeheartedly as great educators throughout his life.⁷

3 - 1 The Enlighteners

Early Meiji *keimoka* (enlighteners), such as Kondo and Fukuzawa (the most popular and influential enlightener of the 1870s), were on a quest to bring the nation to "civilisation and enlightenment" during the years just before and after the Meiji Restoration, when almost the entire sweep of modern European political and social thought began to reach Japan. Both of these intellectuals first learnt Chinese classics at traditional Confucian schools and later moved into Western studies, which at that time were basically limited to Dutch language, medicine, and military affairs.

Despite the poverty and hardships of his youth, Kondo, for example, first learnt Chinese classics from his mother, and later devoted himself to Dutch studies as described above.⁸ In 1859, he began studying Dutch military affairs at the Kyukyodo, run by Murata Zoroku (later known as Omura Masujiro, 1824-1869).⁹ He was convinced that Japan would not survive without overseas marine trading and the possession of a strong national navy, nor could it be defended without Western technology in seafaring. He commenced the study of mathematics, navigation, English and German at *Bakufu's* (the Tokugawa government's) Tsukiji Naval Academy. While he was at the Academy, he translated a Dutch book of navigation, written by Carel Pilaar (1798-1849).¹⁰ This was convenient for those Academy students who did not understand Dutch, and he became famous as a scholar who was well versed in the Dutch language.¹¹

In 1863, Kondo was appointed as an official translator, and then, in 1869, as a staff member at Tsukiji Naval Academy.¹² While still in the service of the Academy, he also established his own private school of Dutch studies in Edo, first called the Isaku juku, then the Kogyoku juku after its reopening in 1869.¹³ The curriculum at the new school consisted of mathematics, navigation, English and Chinese.¹⁴ Although he had learnt Dutch the hard way since early youth, Dutch study was already becoming obsolete and therefore received minimum emphasis in the curriculum. The Kogyoku juku grew fast and Kondo moved its campus in 1871 to a spacious building in Shiba, which he purchased inexpensively from Fukuzawa Yukichi, his contemporary and close friend.¹⁵ In 1873, a primary school was added to the institute and an American teacher was employed to give lessons in English.¹⁶ This was the primary school that ten year old Shigetaka entered in 1874.¹⁷

Kondo's teaching emphasised the importance of Japanese history as well as the more modern subjects. The following extract from the school's regulations clearly indicates his reason:

All those who intend to study foreign learning should first familiarise themselves correctly with the conditions of their own country so that they may retain their own strong viewpoints; in this way they can assist in advancing the nation's strength, thus resulting in power imposing enough to check foreign contempt and a degree of civilisation high enough to establish foreign trust. This is the main purpose of the school; therefore, students of the school should waste none of their time but devote full attention to the history of the Japanese nation.¹⁸

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 4, this concern with the maintenance of a foundation of Japanese knowledge on which to build foreign expertise was paralleled in Shigetaka's own philosophies.

The importance of the merchant marine as an occupation was not yet appreciated immediately after the fall of the feudal system. The old Tokugawa system maintained a clear class distinction between soldiers, farmers, artisans and merchants, with merchants ranking lowest in the society. Education, therefore, did not concern itself with the skills necessary for what were seen as "lower class" pursuits — i.e. trade and commerce. In spite of ridicule and disrespect by the public, Kondo added a merchant marine school to the main institute in September 1875.¹⁹ In this first merchant marine school in Japan,²⁰ Kondo dedicated himself to the development of seafaring. His life-long contribution can be fully appreciated by its results: the majority of the numerous navy admirals and officers who were engaged in wars such as the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) graduated from the Kogyoku juku.²¹ In addition, a survey conducted in January 1906

indicated that by then one hundred and fifty-eight graduates were already engaged in the business of seafaring.²²

Similarly to Kondo, Fukuzawa Yukichi began with Chinese classics during his childhood and then moved on to Dutch studies as a young man in 1854. In 1855 he entered the Tekijuku in Osaka, run by Ogata Koan (1810-1863) who specialised in Dutch medicine.²³ While in this school, Fukuzawa played the role of representative of all the students.²⁴ Upon a request by Nakatsu *han*, the clan he belonged to by birth, he established a private school in Edo in 1858, teaching Dutch studies.²⁵ However, when he visited Yokohama in 1859 and observed foreign traders' business negotiations, he realised that Dutch studies were already behind the times and English was the language of the future.²⁶ He became determined to teach himself English. However, English books and teachers were not easily available then and it was only when he managed to obtain an English-Dutch dictionary in Yokohama that his study commenced practically.²⁷

Meanwhile, Fukuzawa accompanied several *Bakufu* missions; the first mission to the U.S. in 1860, the second to Europe in 1861, and another mission to the U.S. in 1867.²⁸ These overseas trips further broadened his views and he realised even more the need for English study. Between overseas missions, he continued to teach at his school, changing its curriculum from Dutch studies to English. In 1868, a new campus was constructed and the school was named the Keio gijuku (presently Keio University).²⁹ In 1871, Fukuzawa shifted the campus to Mita and sold the original one to Kondo.

After devouring works by Frederick Wayland (1796-1865), François P. Guizot (1787-1874), John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) and Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), Fukuzawa devoted himself to introducing the new Western thought to Japan and to advocating the importance of trading and diplomatic intercourse with the West.³⁰ However, his path was not smooth, because at this time, just before and after the Restoration, many people were still strongly opposed to opening the country and establishing substantial commercial trade with the West. Fukuzawa described one of the difficulties he had faced:

When the shogunate office asked me to translate an article on Economics, there was a word — "competition" — in the article. They could not understand this concept. An officer asked me to explain it. I told him, "It is nothing new to us. For example, when one merchant sells goods, another sells the same goods cheaper, or the other sells goods of much better quality for the same price. Thus, they compete and settle prices and money rates. This is the meaning of 'competition'". The officer remarked how shrewd the Western manner was. I responded straight away, "Nothing shrewd about it. That's how merchants establish a commercial base". The man was still bewildered and uttered, "I see. However, the word sounds so harsh and not harmonious enough that I won't be able to mention it to the shogunate" ... Even an article on Economics had to carry feudalistic messages such as "loyalty" and "filial piety". Patriotism was to be expressed by offering goods free of charge if they were beneficial to the country ... I ended up blotting out all the words related to "competition".³¹

With the exception of merchants, the concept of competition — the basis of trade and commerce — was beyond the imagination of the majority of people in the feudal economy. The old agrarian society was supported by farmers and regarded trade and commerce as the lowest occupations. In other words, the concept of competition was as unfamiliar and dangerous as a social revolution. Anti-Western feeling was violent, and Fukuzawa was nearly assassinated a few times, yet did not yield in his mission to enlighten the public.³² Like Kondo, he was convinced that Japan's very

survival depended upon learning about trade and commerce from the West.

Fukuzawa believed that "learning was the key" and advocated education for all Japanese, regardless of occupation or class.³³ He also stressed that learning must be independent from government authority; it must be free from the whims of whichever bureaucrats were in power.³⁴ Hence, a private institute should be established and it should provide practical studies, rather than the already "dead" learning of Chinese classics.³⁵ He was further convinced that learning made people appreciate human rights, individual activity and free competition, and that people should possess this freedom of thought, because they did not belong to the government; he advocated people's freedom as citizens.³⁶ In *Gakumon no susume* (*The Necessity of Learning*), Fukuzawa asserted:

Learning should not be limited to studies of literature. Reading the classics and merely knowing difficult words as well as poems is of little use in daily life. Such academic accomplishment is far from what is needed for everyday practical purposes. Therefore, leave impractical learning to later and in the interim concentrate on learning that is useful and therefore applicable to daily life. For example, starting with the Japanese alphabet, letter writing, bookkeeping, knowledge of weights and measures, practicing abacus skills and so much more ... Then geography is a guide to places not only in Japan but worldwide. Study of physics provides an understanding of the world we live in and that of economics becomes useful at both home and national levels ... Self-sufficiency could be reached by everyone, rich or poor, if they were to apply themselves to these practical studies. This in time would ensure independence from the government authority for individuals as well as families, and thereby continued security for the nation.³⁷

For this goal to be reached, Japan needed to establish a commercial base and to develop a sound trade relationship with the West. The old concept of degrading trade as an occupation had to be dismissed and the ancient rice standard had to be replaced by a money standard. Shigetaka's later emphasis on the need for practical subjects, science and geography as well

as trade and commerce, for example, would show a parallel with Fukuzawa's beliefs here (see Chapters 4 & 5).

Both Fukuzawa and Kondo were convinced of the importance of a European-style enlightenment in Japan. There were, however, differences between their chosen curriculums, their interpretations of the primacy of national history and the paths they chose to develop toward their common goal. In contrast to Kondo, for example, Fukuzawa excluded Japanese history from the Keio gijuku's curriculum, because he believed that practical subjects such as Arithmetic, Chemistry, Geology, Physics were more important than Ethics and History.³⁸ "Nothing", Fukuzawa argued, "must be allowed to interfere with these priorities".³⁹ Kondo's theory was that because Japan was close to Asia, the Japanese should know about their own country, as well as China and the West.⁴⁰ Moreover, Fukuzawa's primary goal was to "foster leaders in the Japanese business world", while Kondo aimed to "train officers for the navy and merchant marine service".⁴¹ In spite of Kondo's emphasis on Japanese history at the Kogyoku juku, Shigetaka, too, would disregard historical elements — particularly the feudalistic — when he advocated the preservation of *kokusui* (nationality) in 1888.

Under the impact of the new Western learning, the whole country looked to the West and renounced Japan's past. A diary entry by Erwin von Baelz (1839-1913), a German professor of medicine at the Imperial University (Tokyo University), recorded his observations of Japan at that time:

Today's Japanese do not want to know anything about their own past any more. Not only that, the cultured among them are even ashamed of it. One of

them said to me, "Why, everything used to be completely barbaric," while another declared, "For us there is no history. Our history is now about to begin."⁴²

This brief overview of the educational views of the enlighteners during the early Meiji period demonstrates the key role they played as forerunners of the abolishment of the old Tokugawa educational systems and of the need to encourage Japan toward economic development along Western lines. We will see in the following Chapters many of the beliefs of these enlighteners were reflected in Shigetaka's work.

3 - 2 The Young Explorer

Despite enrolling Shigetaka at the Kogyoku juku, with its strong identification as a naval academy, Shigetaka's guardians did not intend for him to become a naval officer. Rather, his entry was arranged because Toba Daisaku knew one of the Kogyoku juku staff, who was also one of Jushoku's disciples and Shigetaka's guardians.⁴³ Their intention was for him to pursue the study of English because it was proving to be the most important Western language of the time. Shigetaka enjoyed his five year study of English at the primary school in the Kogyoku juku and did extremely well at this institution.⁴⁴

Although Shigetaka was perhaps too young to decide his future career on his own, his becoming an "explorer" later seems to reflect Kondo's frontier spirit. His memoir discloses that, in his boyhood, he admired world explorers such as Christopher Columbus (1446-1506) and Charles Darwin (1809-1882), hoping he would grow up to be like them one day.⁴⁵ He was convinced of the importance of seafaring, and insisted on the

establishment of further merchant marine schools in Japan (see Chapter 4). He became a world traveller in his late years, covering 260,000 miles and visiting many countries.⁴⁶ As we will see in Chapters 4 and 5, he was to take the initiative in enlightening his contemporaries of the fast-changing world order.

When one of his guardians, Toba Daisaku, died in action as an Imperial Army Officer in the Satsuma Rebellion, Shigetaka was withdrawn from the Kogyoku juku on 31st May 1878.⁴⁷ He then studied for two years at the Daigaku Yobimon preparatory school for the Imperial University.⁴⁸ Tanahashi Ichiro (1863-1942), a colleague of Shigetaka's in the Seikyosha (see Chapter 1, f/n 5), was also an alumnus of this preparatory school and proceeded to the Imperial University — then considered to be a passport for the future.⁴⁹ Shigetaka, instead left Tokyo for Hokkaido and entered the Sapporo Agricultural College (presently Hokkaido University) on 25th August 1880.⁵⁰ After advancing to the above institutions, Shigetaka and Tanahashi maintained a monthly correspondence with each other.⁵¹

In those days, Hokkaido was a new frontier where the government established in 1869 the Kaitakushi (the Colonial Department for developing the Northern Frontier) as its headquarters for the northern part of Japan — then called *Ezo*.⁵² The Kaitakushi school, Sapporo Agricultural College, was formally opened on 14th August 1876,⁵³ under American headmaster William Smith Clark (1826-1886). The transplantation of American agricultural technology to Hokkaido was expected to transform the territory into a major agricultural centre. The goal of the college was to educate young Japanese so that they could become technical bureaucrats within the Kaitakushi in order to further

develop the new frontier. The opening statement in Clark's *First Annual Report of Sapporo Agricultural College* in 1877 describes the grand task that the College was about to commence:

A country is nothing without men, men are nothing without mind, and mind is little without culture. It follows that cultivated mind is the most important product of a nation. The products of the farm, the shop, the mill, the mine, are of incomparably less value than the products of the schools. If the schools of a people are well taught, all else will prosper. Wherever schools are neglected it is a sure sign of national degradation and decay. The central point of every wisely administered government is its system of education. The education of youth well cared for by a nation, out of it will grow science, art, wealth, strength, and all else that is esteemed great in the judgement of men.⁵⁴

The Sapporo Agricultural College was clearly characterised by its "Western" academic and scientific influences. Clark was experienced not only in organising and developing an agricultural college in the U.S., but also in supervising young men — having been a colonel in the Union Army during the American Civil War.⁵⁵ The curriculum under Clark consisted of the following subjects: the Japanese and English languages; Elocution, Debate, Composition and Drawing; Book-keeping and the Forms of Business; Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying, Civil Engineering so far as required in the construction of ordinary road works and railroads, and of works for drainage and irrigation; Physics with particular attention to Mathematics; Astronomy; Chemistry, with especial regard to Agriculture and Metallurgy; Structural, Physiological and Systematic Botany; Zoology; Human and Comparative Anatomy and Physiology; Geology; Political Economy; Mental and Moral Science; Physical Culture; Military Science and Tactics; and the most thorough instruction in the theory and practice of Agriculture and Horticulture; the various topics being discussed with

constant reference to the circumstances and necessities of the farmers of Hokkaido.⁵⁶

In addition to these studies, Clark organised a society for developing students' knowledge, the Kaishikisha (Association for Enlightenment), and encouraged all the members of the College to "strive at its weekly meetings to improve in debating, writing, and speaking, in both Japanese and English languages".⁵⁷ Until the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce took over the College in 1882, the classes were taught in English and students frequently communicated among themselves in English, both at classes and in the dormitory where all the students boarded.⁵⁸ In contrast to the detailed academic programme, Clark did not set so-called rules and regulations in terms of discipline for individual students, except for stressing that to be "gentlemen" was imperative.⁵⁹

Let every one of you, young gentlemen, strive to prepare himself for the highest positions of labour and trust and consequent honour in your native land, which greatly needs your most faithful and efficient service. Preserve your health, and control your appetites and passions, cultivate habits of obedience and diligence, acquire all possible knowledge and skill in the various sciences, which you may have an opportunity to study.⁶⁰

Military training was another characteristic of the College. The Colonial Department possessed a work force, *tondenhei* (farmer soldiers), consisting of impoverished sons of farmers and *samurai* from the northern part of the main island and Hokkaido. They normally worked as farmers but also were trained as soldiers in case of emergency. Young men of sound health were selected for the force and supervised by the Kaitakushi officers who had graduated from the College.⁶¹ Clark took the initiative himself in leading the field drills on a regular basis, and exhibited to the students first hand what he had learnt from his

experience during the Civil War. He wanted to encourage students by his own deeds.

Clark was not a missionary, but rather a fervent Puritan; as soon as students entered the College, he strongly encouraged them to convert, used the Bible as a textbook for ethics, and asked students not to drink or smoke on the campus.⁶² This was unlike any other public institution at that time in Japan. Christianity thus flourished at the College under Clark and many students converted - but not Shigetaka. Although Clark's contract to inaugurate and maintain the college was for a limited period of eight months, his spirit remained in the minds of his Japanese students. Shigetaka recalled that Clark's precept "be a good citizen" was remembered by all the students who entered the college in those days and that they lived up to his words, even after Clark returned to the United States.⁶³

While Shigetaka was in Hokkaido, he kept a diary entitled, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki* (*A Diary of My Student Days in Sapporo*).⁶⁴ Kamei Hideo, Professor in literature at the Hokkaido University, highly values this diary as a rare and precious record of the Meiji youths who faced the new Western learning and of their perceptions of the time.⁶⁵ The diary begins with Shigetaka's emotional remarks on the valedictory speech given by a fervent Christian, Uchimura Kanzo, who represented the second graduates of the College, upon their graduation day on 9th July 1881.⁶⁶ Shigetaka was not interested in religion, especially Christianity, and therefore did not have any particular acquaintance with Uchimura before this day. Uchimura's speech included a direct criticism of Shigetaka for not being a Christian, and Shigetaka feared that Uchimura was his enemy

for this reason.⁶⁷ However, Uchimura's speech moved Shigetaka profoundly, leaving in tears not only him but all the attendants of the ceremony and continuing to influence him thereafter:

His words of gratitude to the foreign instructors were so vivid that the audience could not help being touched deeply. Then he spoke to encourage the junior class and me. Alas, he is a believer in Christianity; therefore, he had been always my foe. However, what he expressed in those words of noble indignation today to stir us could not possibly have flowed from any place but the most sincere heart - even though he happens to be my enemy. I could not stop tears rising in my eyes. Turning to his classmates, he told them that although he had been finished with course work at the College, he was not to be content with [the] comforts of life. On the contrary, he would now walk onto the road of hardships. "Today is the day of my departure on this hard journey. I beg of you, my friends, don't idle yourselves [be idle]. Don't ever give up the original determination of dying, uncovered on the shores of north seas". As he concluded his speech on this note, all students wept. There were no words of comment, nor a single clap of hands. Honoured guests, too, must have shed tears despite themselves.⁶⁸

So impressed was Shigetaka that he felt that he should keep a record of this incident and thus kept the diary until 18th July 1884, when he graduated from the college and left Sapporo.⁶⁹ Incidentally, this was the beginning of Shigetaka's life-long association with Uchimura.⁷⁰

In its early years, the Sapporo Agricultural College was directly subject to the administrative and technological demands of the Kaitakushi. Upon graduation, the students felt privileged by the obligation to work for five years as technical bureaucrats for the department. One interpretation of this is that as well as the all-expense paid education, the guaranteed future post in officialdom would have attracted sons of *Bakufu* retainers who had fought with the imperial forces of Satsuma and Choshu clans during the Restoration civil wars.⁷¹ A post in the Kaitakushi offered a promising future for them as long as the Colonial Department

maintained its influence in the new government of *Sacho* (*Satsuma* and *Choshu* clans).⁷²

However, with the abolition of the Kaitakushi on 9th February 1882,⁷³ the students' future was left in doubt. The most noteworthy records in Shigetaka's diary must be the accounts of his concern regarding the possible abolition of the Kaitakushi. When the final decision came, the eighteen year old Shigetaka described the event as "the day for total destruction of the earth" and expressed great concern about the uncertain future lying ahead of him.⁷⁴

Apart from his emotional responses to events, Shigetaka's diary also reveals his interest in Chinese and Japanese classical literature and European languages. He also composed poems in his spare time. He started sending his Chinese poems to some central newspapers such as *Yubin hochi* (*The Daily Mail*), in which his first published poem appeared in March 1882.⁷⁵ *Yubin hochi* was also to publish others he wrote. In addition, since early student days he was already pursuing journalistic activities.

Shigetaka's diary also discloses that above all he was interested in politics. He caught up with political news from Tokyo by regularly reading newspapers such as *Tokyo nichinichi* (*The Daily Tokyo*), *Yubin hochi* and Fukuzawa's *Jiji shimpo* (*Current News*); the first was supportive of the new government while the others were supportive of popular rights activists and thinkers.⁷⁶ He even went to Tokyo in order to attend the hearing for the Fukushima incident.⁷⁷ This incident is known as the first suppression of the popular rights movement. As a result of the hearings,

the new government punished Kono Hironaka (1849-1923), a leader of six regions in Fukushima prefecture.⁷⁸ In 1881, Shigetaka organised the Shoyusha (Association of Eternal Friends), a debate group in which members were allowed to talk in Japanese. The group met every other Saturday evening and discussed current political issues, with Shigetaka as chairperson.⁷⁹ The political turmoil of that year⁸⁰ — the subsequent abolishment of the Kaitakushi, for example — naturally caught the College students' attention because their immediate future upon graduation depended upon it.⁸¹ In addition, Shigetaka regularly wrote for the college students' newspaper printed by the Hokushinsha (Association of Northern Correspondence, later renamed as the Jinmeisha).⁸²

The members of the Hokushinsha, including Shigetaka, had a close association through correspondence with the Shukosha (Society of Communications), a similar organisation which had been formed by students at Tokyo University.⁸³ Tokyo University was the only other state institution (besides Sapporo Agricultural College) which offered a Bachelor's degree at that time,⁸⁴ and Shigetaka and his contemporaries were the first graduates to receive degrees from these institutions. Moreover, like Sapporo Agricultural College, Tokyo University also offered Western studies taught in Western languages and many of its students were eagerly participating in the debates following the political turmoil.⁸⁵ Shigetaka and Tanahasi Ichiro, together with other students from both institutes, would later form the Seikyosha for which Shigetaka served as editor-in-chief.⁸⁶

One of the effects of this kind of education was to ensure that students were familiar with the newest Western ideas, including the theory of

evolution. The library at the Sapporo Agricultural College included *The Origin of Species* as reference material soon after the inauguration of the College.⁸⁷ *Hokudai hyakunenshi* (*History of Hokkaido University: 1876-1976*) also indicates that Prof. David. P. Penhallow (1854-1910) taught natural selection in his biology class and Prof. John. C. Cutter (? - 1910) introduced the theory of evolution in zoology.⁸⁸ Miyake Setsurei (1860-1945), a colleague of Shigetaka's in the Seikyosha, recalled the theory's popularity during his school days at Tokyo University (1876-1883):

The word "evolution" had obtained its wings and flew around everywhere. Anybody who was concerned about new knowledge frequently talked about the theory of evolution. They thought any problem could be sorted out if they related the matter to the theory of evolution.⁸⁹

Furthermore, as Yamaji Aizan,⁹⁰ an eminent journalist and Shigetaka's contemporary, remembered, the theory's impact in Japan extended beyond the educational institutions:

At Tokyo University E. S. Morse (1838-1925) advocated the theory of evolution and students of Prof. Toyama Masakazu (1848-1900), Spencerian philosophy ... Recalling that time when they commenced their advocacy, I can not help but imagine how influential it must have been to Japanese intellectuals. Because I can recall even a friend of mine in a local of Shizuoka prefecture discussed issues based on evolutionism at a debate organised by young villagers.⁹¹

The theory of evolution was thus a national sensation and Shigetaka was one of its most enthusiastic followers.⁹² This enthusiasm was later to be consolidated as, during his South Seas cruise, he interpreted the struggles of the indigenous Pacific Islanders as supportive of the theory of "survival of the fittest".

Apart from being active in political concerns, Shigetaka was also known as a tireless explorer during his Sapporo days. Goto Kyofu, Shigetaka's secretary, maintains in his biography of Shigetaka, *Waga kyodo no umeru sekaiteki sengakusha Shiga Shigetaka*, that Shigetaka was too busy exploring all over Hokkaido to study. However, according to the diary, the places he visited seem rather limited: only a few explorations to places such as Jozankei, Otaru and Hakodate in Hokkaido.⁹³ He dreamed of going to Europe and started learning French and German in late 1882.⁹⁴ He then made plans to go to Europe and to the Siberian border, but had to give these up. The legend of him being an explorer in these early years thus seems misleading, though he certainly dreamed of becoming one. As mentioned earlier (p. 79), his memoir reveals that, since childhood, Shigetaka had admired world explorers and devoured works on world discovery and history; *History of the United States of America* by George Payn Quackenbos (1826-1881) was one of his favourite books, along with *The Origin of Species*.⁹⁵ His interest in the discovery of unknown lands was further enhanced when he learnt that the ship *Beagle*, made famous by Darwin's book *Voyage of the Beagle*, had been sold to Japan.⁹⁶ When he sailed for the South Seas in 1886, he took Darwin's *Voyage of the Beagle* with him, believing he was following in Darwin's footsteps.⁹⁷

The reality upon graduation from Sapporo Agricultural College in July 1884, however, presented quite a contrast to Shigetaka's dreams of becoming an explorer. He took a teaching post as a botany teacher at a junior high school in Nagano prefecture in September of that year.⁹⁸ He also taught geography at Nagano Prefectural Teachers College as well as English to local policemen in his spare time. This association with the

police, however, was to lead to his abrupt dismissal from Nagano prefecture in 1885.

According to Goto's biography, the occasion was a party organised by the Chief Constable in honour of the visiting Prefectural Governor, to which the police officers were invited. Shigetaka happened to be dining in the same restaurant on the same night and wondered why the banquet room was unusually quiet despite all the entertainment that had been prepared.⁹⁹ The police officers were rather reserved and Shigetaka thought it strange. He learned that it was because the Governor was present and the officers were afraid to enjoy the party as boisterously as they would otherwise have done. Shigetaka could not bear their pretence (normally they would have been getting drunk and playing with the *geisha*) and wanted to enliven the sombre atmosphere. Nor could he stand the Prefectural Governor who was intimidating his junior staff by taking advantage of his status. Abruptly, Shigetaka went into the room and sat right in front of the Governor's low table. He offered him a drink in an arrogant manner and cuffed the Governor's head. Such behaviour was outrageous and totally unexpected, particularly in comparison with the police officers' obedient manner. The Prefectural Governor was shocked and infuriated. Next day, Shigetaka was fired and left Nagano for Tokyo.¹⁰⁰ He then worked for a time at the Maruya firm (the first business enterprise in Japan, presently the Maruzen) which was established by Hayashi Yuteki (1837-1901), one of Shigetaka's guardians.¹⁰¹ He helped the firm with proofreading the revised edition of Hepburn's Japanese-English dictionary.¹⁰²

It appears likely that Shigetaka had kept in touch with the Kogyoku juku staff since he left the school and thus had maintained opportunities to keep abreast of maritime affairs.¹⁰³ Meanwhile the European powers were advancing to the East and in December 1885, upon hearing that the British Navy had occupied Port Hamilton on the Korean island of Komundo, Shigetaka sailed on board the Japanese man-of-war *Tsukuba* to the Tsushima islands which lay opposite Komundo on the Korean Strait. The *Tsukuba*'s mission was to closely guard the Tsushima coast and to observe the incident. Thus, Shigetaka was a first-hand witness to an expansion of Western powers in Asia and to the mighty power of the British:

At the Tsushima islands, I met a British naval officer who used to shuttle to Komundo Island. I was surprised when he said "Port Hamilton? It's not a nice place". Obviously it is not a place of interest to anyone, given the fact that only (Korean) fishermen live there. But what struck me was that after a foreign power had trespassed upon and occupied another's territory, it was not the sort of remark that he should have made. He was clearly expressing the superiority he felt from being a national of the mighty British. I was feeling most disturbed wondering if and when Japan could ever become such a powerful nation.¹⁰⁴

Shigetaka, although just 22 years of age, was already only too well aware of the mighty British power. He appreciated the possible consequences of the Western advance through Asia far more realistically than did his contemporaries.

In February 1886, shortly after Shigetaka witnessed this display of British power, he applied for permission to cruise to the South Seas as a naturalist and interpreter on board the *Tsukuba*, then being used as a training ship by the Japanese Navy.¹⁰⁵ His request to be allowed aboard the *Tsukuba* was at first rejected by the Navy officials. However, far from

abandoning his hope, he persuaded Captain Fukushima and the Navy admiral Saigo Tsugumichi (1843-1902) to permit him on board, by citing the case of the British Navy allowing Darwin to be aboard the *Beagle*.¹⁰⁶ With *Elementary Lessons in Physical Geography*,¹⁰⁷ *Physical Geography of the Sea*,¹⁰⁸ *Soga Taiken shiso* (*The Collection of Poems by Soga Taiken*, 1816-1870), *The Voyage of the Beagle*, poems by Oliver Goldsmith (1730-1774) and *Sketchbook* by Washington Irving (1783-1859)¹⁰⁹ tucked in his suitcase, Shigetaka left the port of Shinagawa on 9th February for the South Seas. This departure marked the starting point of his career as a journalist as well as a political activist. Immediately upon his return from the ten month cruise, he published (March 1887) *Nan yo jiji* (*Current Affairs in the South Seas*): an account of his observations and recommendations in which his "Western" education, his enthusiasm for Darwin, and parallels with the beliefs of Fukuzawa and Kondo are all reflected. The book became an instant best seller¹¹⁰ and is the subject of Chapter 4.

Notes to Chapter 3

¹ Some critics refer to him as *Insen*, instead of *Shinsen*. In addition, Shigetaka was referred to as *Juko*, which is the Japanese sound reading (*on yomi*) of the Chinese characters (*kanji*) for his name.

² Goto, *Waga kyodo*, pp. 6-9.

This account of Shigetaka's early days (until his departure for the South Seas in February 1886) is mainly based on Goto Kyofu's version, the only existing (comprehensive) biography. Goto was Shigetaka's secretary and later became a professor at Keio University. Nagasaka Kazuaki, "Shiga Shigetaka to kyodo eno koken to sono jōgi", *Kenkyu kiyō*, no. 24, Okazaki chihoshi kenkyukai, March 1996, pp. 6-7.

Goto's biography was updated and re-written in modern Japanese by Fukuoka Juichi, under the title of *Mikawa danji Shiga Shigetaka den*. It was privately published by Tokai taimusu sha (the Tokai Times) in 1974.

Also consulted were Nagasaka Kazuaki's series of articles on Shigetaka's life in the following issues of *The Tokai Aichi shimbun* during the period from 6th June 1981 to 15th September 1991: 20th June, 4th August & 28th October 1981, 30th June & 31st July 1982, 11th April, 1st May & 17 August 1983, 19th & 21st April, 26th & 29th September 1984, 17th July 1985, 16th & 20th August 1986, 15th & 20th August 1987, 25th August 1988, 23rd September & 8th December 1989, 4th August & 1st September 1990, 15th February & 28th March, 15th September, 12th & 15th November 1991. (See Bibliography for details.)

Based on the accounts of these articles in *The Tokai Aichi Shimbun*, Nagasaka published another (comprehensive) one, entitled "Shiga Shigetaka to kyodo eno koken to sono jogi". This article focuses on Shigetaka's relationship with people in his hometown, Okazaki, Aichi prefecture.

Yomiuri shimbun also provides a series of articles written by Saeki Shoichi, entitled "Hyakunen no Nihonjin Shiga Shigetaka", parts 1-4, from 6th to 9th August 1985.

In addition, a brief biography of Shigetaka is available in the following books. Irokawa (Daikichi) ed., *Nihon no meicho 39 - Okakura Tenshin*. Hijikata, *Hijikata Teichi chosakushu 6 - Kindai nihon no gaka ron 1*. Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga 1863-1927", and "Shiga Shigetaka no chiri gaku: Shoshigakuteki chosa (Shiga Shigetaka's Geographical Works - A Bio-bibliographical Survey)". Otsuki Tokuji, *Nihon chirigaku no sendatsu - Shiga Shigetaka to Tanaka Keiji*, Nishida shoten, 1992. Suzuki Norihisa, *Uchimura Kanzo to sono jidai - Shiga Shigetaka to no hikaku*, Nihon kirisutokyodan shuppankyoku, 1975. Ui (Kunio), *Shiga Shigetaka*. Toda Hiroko, *Shiga Shigetaka - Kaiso to shiryō*, published privately by her in July, 1994. Toda Hiroko is Shigetaka's grand daughter.

Also see the following. "Nenpu - Shiga Shigetaka" (Biography of Shiga Shigetaka) in *Meiji bungaku zenshu 37 - Seikyosha bungakushu*, Chikuma shobo, 1980, pp. 450-451. Modern Literature Studies Centre, "Shiga Shigetaka", *Kindai bungaku kenkyu sosho*, vol. 26, pp. 143-213, also provides a brief biography as well as a list of his primary and secondary sources.

The list compiled in "Shiga Shigetaka", *Kindai bungaku kenkyu sosho*, vol. 26, is generally regarded as the most comprehensive index of Shigetaka's publications, however, neither it nor the eight volumes of *Shiga Shigetaka Zenshu* (*Complete Collected Works of Shiga Shigetaka*), is complete. The list does not include many of Shigetaka's articles in other journals such as *Chigaku zasshi* (*The Geographical Journal*), and *Waseda koen* (*Seminars at Waseda University*). See Chapter 5-2-1, f/n 1, for a selected list of Shigetaka's geographical textbooks at Waseda University. In addition, Mita Hiro claims that the list (by Showa Joshi Daigaku Kindai Bungaku Kenkyushitsu) does not include any of Shigetaka's works regarding mountaineering and exploration. Mita, "Shiga Shigetaka ni tsuite - *Nihon fukeiron o megutte*", p. 100.

³ Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 10. Also see Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 6, for Jushoku's heroic deeds as samurai.

⁴ Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 10.

⁵ Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 10. Shigetaka was so well versed in Chinese literature that even Chinese people admired him for his extensive knowledge. See Goto, *Waga kyodo*, pp. 46-47 and SSZ 8, p. 232. In addition he communicated in Chinese handwriting with Liang Qichao soon after Liang fled to Japan in exile. See Chapter 2-3, pp. 53-54 and Appendix 3.

⁶ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 10. Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 14. According to Goto, Shigetaka was 12 years old when he entered the Kogyoku juku. Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 14.

⁷ He believed that Fukuzawa was the greatest educator and most influential enlightener of the time. For more details of Shigetaka's acquaintance with Fukuzawa, see Chapter 5-2-7. He also highly appreciated Kondo's contribution in establishing a merchant marine school. Shiga Shigetaka, "Nihon kaigun no onjin Kondo Makoto" (Kondo Makoto - Most Respected by the Japanese Navy), compiled in Shiga Shigetaka, *Sekai shashin zusetsu*, Chiri chosakai, compiled in SSZ 8, p. 273. Shiga Shigetaka, "Mizu no keiei", *Jinmin*, 13th November 1903, compiled in SSZ 1, p. 97. Suzuki, *Uchimura Kanzo to sono jidai*, p. 33. Kogyokusha Gakuen ed., *Kondo Makoto shiryoshu*, 1986, pp. 311-312.

⁸ Irokawa Kunio (Kokushi)*, "Ko Kondo Makoto kun ni tsuite", *Meiji kyoiku koten sosho* 1-14: *Teikoku rokudai kyoikuka*, Kokusho kankokai, 1980, pp. 90-112. The account in this paragraph is based on this article by Irokawa. *According to the N. D. L., the author's first name could also be pronounced as Kokushi.

⁹ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 8. Irokawa (Kunio), "Ko Kondo Makoto kun ni tsuite", p. 92.

Omura Masujiro first studied Dutch medicine at the Teki juku run by Ogata Koan (1810-1863), then moved on to Western military study. Ogata Koan specialised in Dutch medicine and translated Dutch medical books into Japanese. He became an official medical doctor for the *Bakufu*. His representative disciples are Omura Masujiro, Hashimoto Sanai (1834-1859) and Fukuzawa Yukichi. *Nihonshi jiten*, pp. 40-41.

¹⁰ According to *Yogakushi jiten*, Nichiran gakkai, Yushodo shoten, 1980, Carel Pilaar was a Dutch navigator and navy officer. *Edo jidai nichiran bunka koryu shiryoshu* 2 - *Edo bakufu kyuzo ransho sogo mokuroku*, ed., by Ogata Tomio, Nichiran gakkai, 1980, provides a list of his books. It is most probable that one of Pilaar's books which Kondo Makoto translated to Japanese was *Handleiding Tot de Kennis van het Schip en Deszelfs Tuig* (*Manual of the Ship and Its Rigging to Assist Young Seamen/Cadets*), Naval Division, 1838, Holland. *Edo jidai nichiran bunka koryu shiryoshu* 2 - *Edo bakufu kyuzo ransho sogo mokuroku*, pp. 161-162. Also see Irokawa (Kunio), "Ko Kondo Makoto kun ni tsuite", pp. 92-93.

¹¹ Irokawa (Kunio), "Ko Kondo Makoto kun ni tsuite", pp. 92-93.

¹² Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 9.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10. Irokawa (Kunio), "Ko Kondo Makoto kun ni tsuite", p. 94.

¹⁶ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 10.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁸ Kogyokusha Gakuen ed., *Kogyokusha hyakunen shi*, 1963, p. 16. The translation is taken from Miwa Kimitada, "Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927): A Meiji Japanist's View of and Actions in International Relations", Research Papers Series A-3, *Institute of International Relations for Advanced Studies on Peace and Development in Asia*, Sophia University, (1968),* p. 11. *The N. D. L. is unable to identify the date of publication/printing.

¹⁹ Irokawa (Kunio), "Ko Kondo Makoto kun ni tsuite", pp. 100-101. Miwa further informs us that eventually the school developed into the *Heigakuryo* which was the immediate predecessor of the National Naval Academy. The school also functioned as its preparatory school. See Miwa, "Shiga Shigetaka", p. 10.

²⁰ Miwa, "Shiga Shigetaka", p. 10.

²¹ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 14.

²² Irokawa (Kunio), "Ko Kondo Makoto kun ni tsuite", p. 94-95.

²³ Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Fukuo jiden*, compiled in Nagai Michio ed., *Nihon no Meicho* 33 - *Fukuzawa Yukichi*, Chuo koron, 1969, p. 271. Kano Masanao, "Fukuzawa Yukichi - Seio bunmei no suishinsha", in *Asahi Journal* henshubu ed., *Shinpan Nihon no shisoka*, part 1, Asahi shimbun, 1975, p. 78. For more on Ogata Koan, see f/n 9.

²⁴ Fukuzawa, *Fukuo jiden*, p. 276.

²⁵ This is the origin of present Keio University, the first private university in Japan. Fukuzawa, *Fukuo jiden*, p. 316. Kano, "Fukuzawa Yukichi", p. 78. Hayashi Kiroku, "Ko Fukuzawa Yukichi kun ni tsuite", *Meiji kyoiku koten sosho* 1-14: *Teikoku rokudai kyoikuka*, 1980, p. 63.

²⁶ Fukuzawa, *Fukuo jiden*, p. 316 & p. 343. Hayashi, "Ko Fukuzawa Yukichi kun ni tsuite", 64.

²⁷ Fukuzawa, *Fukuo jiden*, pp. 316-317. Hayashi, "Ko Fukuzawa Yukichi kun ni tsuite", p. 64.

²⁸ Fukuzawa, *Fukuo jiden*, pp. 307-317. Kano, "Fukuzawa Yukichi", p. 78.

²⁹ Fukuzawa, *Fukuo jiden*, p. 340. Kano, "Fukuzawa Yukichi", p. 75 & p. 78.

³⁰ Fukuzawa, *Fukuo jiden*, pp. 344-346 & pp. 326-327. Hayashi, "Ko Fukuzawa Yukichi kun ni tsuite", p. 65.

³¹ Fukuzawa, *Fukuo jiden*, pp. 326-327.

³² Fukuzawa, *Fukuo jiden*, p. 317, pp. 323-324 & pp. 326-334. Hayashi, "Ko Fukuzawa Yukichi kun ni tsuite", p. 63.

Fukuzawa Yukichi was a member of the Meirokusha, an intellectual group organised in 1873 to enlighten people with Western thoughts. Other major members were Kato Hiroyuki (1836-1916), Tsuda Masamichi (1829-1903), Nishi Amane (1829-1897), Nakamura Masanao (1832-1891), Mitsukuri Rinsho (1846-1897), Nishimura Shigeki (1828-1902, see Chapter 1-3-2) and Mori Arinori (1847-1889, see Chapter 5-1-2). They published a magazine, *Meioku zasshi*. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 249.

³³ Throughout most of the Tokugawa shogunate, education for *samurai* and the commoners — the majority of Japanese, the farmers, artisans and merchants — was separated. Shogunate schools were provided for *samurai* and officials were mainly interested in *samurai* education. Commoners were left to their own devices such as the *terakoya* (literally means "temple school"). Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, pp. 17-27.

³⁴ Hayashi, "Ko Fukuzawa Yukichi kun ni tsuite", p. 66.

³⁵ Fukuzawa, *Fukuo jiden*, p. 343. Hayashi, "Ko Fukuzawa Yukichi kun ni tsuite", p. 67.

³⁶ Hayashi, "Ko Fukuzawa Yukichi kun ni tsuite", p. 68.

³⁷ Fukuzawa, *Gakumon no susume*, compiled in Nagai ed., *Nihon no meicho 33 - Fukuzawa Yukichi*, p. 52.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 11.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 12. Irokawa (Kunio), "Ko Kondo Makoto kun ni tsuite", p. 97.

⁴¹ Miwa, "Shiga Shigetaka", p. 10.

⁴² Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 12.

⁴³ Suzuki, *Uchimura Kanzo to sono jidai*, p. 32. Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 14.

⁴⁴ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 12. Goto, *Waga kyodo*, pp. 14-15. Irokawa (Kunio), "Ko Kondo Makoto kun ni tsuite", p. 112.

⁴⁵ Shiga Shigetaka, "Waga konomeru jinbutsu" (My Favourite People), *Chugaku sekai*, 1st January 1903, pp. 41-42. Shiga Shigetaka, "Shitsumon issaku" (Personal Interview), *Shin shosetsu*, 7th December 1909, compiled in SSZ 8, p. 159. Also see Shiga Shigetaka, *Sekai sansui zusetsu* (Maps of World Landscapes), September 1911, compiled in SSZ 3, pp. 292-293, and "Da'uin Gogori tanjo hyakunen kinen" (The 100th Anniversary of Charles Darwin and Nikolai Gogol), *Osaka Mainichi shimbun*, 23rd November 1909, compiled in *Rekishu chiri hen*, in SSZ 2, p. 87.

⁴⁶ Ui (Kunio), *Shiga Shigetaka*, p. 19. Also see Chapter 5-2, pp. 171-173.

⁴⁷ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 14. Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 14. Suzuki, *Uchimura Kanzo to sono jidai - Shiga Shigetaka to no hikaku*, p. 32.

⁴⁸ Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, 1993, pp. 48-49.

⁴⁹ Shiga Shigetaka, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki* (A Diary of My Student Days in Sapporo), pp. 20-22, 27, 28, 36, 39, 46 & 59 compiled in SSZ 7 as well as p. 5 in SSZ 8. Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, p. 7 & pp. 48-49.

⁵⁰ Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 15.

⁵¹ Shiga, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, pp. 20-22, 27, 28, 36, 39, 46 & 59 in SSZ 7 as well as p. 5 in SSZ 8. Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, pp. 48-49.

⁵² Miwa, "Crossroads", pp. 16-17.

⁵³ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 21. Toyama Toshio, *Sapporo nogakko to eigo kyoiku*, Shibunkaku shuppan, 1992, p. 4.

⁵⁴ *First Annual Report of Sapporo Agricultural College*, the Kaitakushi, 1877, p.1.

⁵⁵ Shiga Shigetaka, "Koen shu" (A Collection of Seminars), compiled in SSZ 7, p. 125, Shiga Shigetaka, "Watashi no gakusei jidai" (My Student Days), *Chugaku sekai*, 20th March, 1906, compiled in SSZ 8, p. 157, Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 19.

⁵⁶ *First Annual Report of Sapporo Agricultural College*, p. 41. Also see Ukita, "Meijiki Nihonjin no shizenkan Shiga Shigetaka no baai", part 1, p. 185. Ukita maintains that it is most probable that Shigetaka read works by English authors such as John Milton (1608-1674), William Shakespeare (1564-1616), Oliver Goldsmith, Thomas Gray (1716-1771), Walter Scott (1771-1832), William Wordsworth (1770-1850), George G. Byron (1788-1824), Herbert Spencer, Joseph Addison (1672-1719), Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), Sir Richard Steele (1672 -1729), T. Babington Macaulay (1800-1859), John Ruskin (1819-1900), John Lubbock (1843-1913), as well as American authors Booker Taliaferro Washington (1856-1915), Washington Irving (1783-1859) and H. Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882). Nakanome maintains that the chapter which discusses "nationality" in one of J.S. Mill's works greatly influenced Fukuzawa Yukichi (Maruyama Masao, *Bunmeiron no gairyaku o yomu*, part 1, Iwanami, 1986, p.164) and it is possible that Shigetaka had read the chapter while he was at Sapporo. Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, pp. 152-153.

In "Watashi no gakusei jidai" in SSZ 8, p. 157, Shigetaka recalled that he went to the College by mistake and academically he did not do too well. This memoir has created the rumour that he was a kind of drop-out there. However, he did not do as badly as he thought. He graduated as the ninth out of seventeen students in his last year, according to *Sixth Annual Report of Sapporo Agricultural College*, the Kaitakushi, 1888, p.113 and Suzuki, *Uchimura Kanzo to sono jidai*, p. 54.

⁵⁷ *First Annual Report of Sapporo Agricultural College*, p. 34.

⁵⁸ Shiga, "Watashi no gakuseijidai", SSZ 8, p. 157. Toyama, *Sapporo nogakko*, pp. 24-26.

⁵⁹ Matsuda, "Shiga Shigetaka Meiji no kokka shugi", pp. 296-297. Toyama, *Sapporo nogakko*, p. 13. Oshima Masatake, *Kuraku sensei to sono deshitachi*, Hobunkan, 1958. p. 97.

⁶⁰ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 23.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 22. Toyama, *Sapporo nogakko*, p. 13. Shiga, "Watashi no gakuseijidai", p. 157. *Third Annual Report*, the Kaitakushi, 1879, p. 5. The account in this paragraph also is based on information taken from Suzuki, *Uchimura Kanzo to sono jidai*, p. 55, as well as *Nihonshi jiten*, pp. 47-48 & p. 190.

⁶² Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 23.

⁶³ Shiga, "Watashi no gakusei jidai", p. 157 and Shiga Shigetaka, *Taieki shoshi* (*Observations of the Great War*), November 1909, compiled in SSZ 5 (and 6), p. 306.

⁶⁴ The copy of this diary in volumes 7 and 8 of SSZ shows some discrepancies with the original, caused mainly by editing errors. The Shiga family, his son, Shiga Fujio and

others presented the original hand-written and bound diary to the Hoppo Shiryoushitsu (Northern Studies Collection) at the library in the Hokkaido University, where some of Shiga's original works also have been kept. Personal interview with a librarian at the Hoppo Shiryoushitsu in May 1993.

⁶⁵ Kamei Hideo, "Chi'isana daigaku no okina dokyumento", *Bungaku*, vol. 55, May 1987, p. 8. In addition, Toyama maintains that the diary reveals a warm relationship between American Professors and Japanese students. For example, Shigetaka's diary entries on 21st April, 3rd & 13th May 1882 indicate that Prof. James Summers (1828-1891) used to offer individual assistance in his spare time to students, including Shigetaka. Shiga, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, SSZ 7, p. 61, p. 64 & p. 66. Toyama, *Sapporo nogakko*, p. 57.

⁶⁶ Suzuki, *Uchimura Kanzo*, pp. 51-52.

⁶⁷ Goto, *Waga kyodo*, pp. 19-20.

⁶⁸ Shiga, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, SSZ 7, p. 3. Suzuki, *Uchimura Kanzo to sono jidai*, pp. 51-52. The translation is taken from Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 35.

⁶⁹ There are some intervals when he did not keep any record during this period. In addition to the full diary entries from 9th July 1881 to 12th July 1882, the diary also contains brief notes, travel accounts, addresses of his friends and relatives, and at the end of the diary his own brief biography. There is also a brief record of his journey back from Sapporo to Okazaki, his hometown, and then to Tokyo, prior to taking up the post in Nagano prefecture in September, 1884.

⁷⁰ Goto, *Waga kyodo*, pp. 19-20.

⁷¹ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 29. Toyama, *Sapporo nogakko*, p. 13.

⁷² Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 29.

This regulation was changed by the time Shigetaka entered the College. As a result of *Meiji juyonen no seihen*, a political overturn of the Cabinet in 1881, the Kaitakushi was abolished. Consequently the College underwent considerable changes. For example, students had to pay full tuition, but they had no obligation to work upon graduation. However, Shigetaka's diary records the supply of necessary commodities such as stationery and clothes which were still available free of charge even after the regulation was changed. See Shiga, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, SSZ 7, pages 22, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34, 41 & 59 in particular. Also see Suzuki, *Uchimura Kanzo*, p. 50.

⁷³ Toyama, *Sapporo nogakko*, p. 6.

⁷⁴ Shiga, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, SSZ 7, p. 28. The diary records a gradual change in the College, caused by the abolishment of the Kaitakushi and a take-over by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. For example, classes were taken over and taught by Japanese lecturers; instead of recitation being read in English, Mr Tachibana, a Japanese lecturer, recited in Japanese. Shigetaka noted it as "strange". *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, SSZ 8, p. 5.

⁷⁵ Shiga, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, SSZ 7, p. 57. The diary indicates a subsequent publication of his poems in and a further correspondence with *Yubin hochi*, SSZ 7, p. 65. Also see Toda, *Shiga Shigetaka - Kaiso to shiryo*, p. 208.

⁷⁶ Shiga, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, SSZ 7, pages 18, 28, 51 & 65 and SSZ 8, pages 6, 15, 17, 18

& 19. *Tokyo nichinichi* was initiated in 1872. *Yubin hochi* was inaugurated in 1872 and was a daily political newspaper, with Kurimoto Jo'un (1822-1897) as its editor-in-chief. *Jiji shimpo* was inaugurated on 1st March 1882, by Fukuzawa Yukichi, and carried a series of anti-new (*Sacho*) government articles. The readers of *Yubin hochi* and *Jiji shimpo* were the popular rights activists and thinkers. *Nihonshi jiten*, p.117, p. 182 & p. 257.

Shiga Shigetaka, "Shotaimen roku" (First Impressions), *NHJ*, no. 3, vol. 6, 20th September, 1895, p. 46. Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, p. 46. Irokawa (Daikichi), "Shiga Shigetaka - *Nihon fukeiron*", (1962), p. 72. Uete Michiari, "*Kokumin no tomo & Nihonjin*", *Shiso*, no. 453, 1962, p. 390.

As a consequence of the political turmoil, the Government promised to open Parliament in 1890. Shigetaka was most excited about this and received the news with joy. Out of excitement, he was left even in tears. See *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, SSZ 7, pages 21 & 24 and SSZ 8, pages 5, 18 & 19.

⁷⁷ Shiga, "Shotaimen roku", p. 46. Nakanome Toru, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, p. 46. Irokawa (Daikichi), "Shiga Shigetaka - *Nihon fukeiron*", (1962), p. 72. Uete, "*Kokumin no tomo & Nihonjin*", p. 390.

⁷⁸ *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 92.

⁷⁹ Shiga, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, SSZ 7, p. 16. Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, pp. 48-49.

⁸⁰ See f/n 72. Shiga, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, SSZ 7, p. 23.

⁸¹ See f/n 72.

⁸² Shiga, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, SSZ 7, pp. 20-22, 27, 28, 36, 39, 46 & 59 as well as SSZ 8, p. 5. Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, pp. 48-49.

⁸³ Shiga, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, SSZ 7, p. 22 & p. 28.

⁸⁴ Only these two institutes could offer a Bachelor's Degree at that time. Until Kyoto Imperial University was established in 1897, no other institutes matched these two. Nagasaka, *The Tokai Aichi shimbun*, 17th July 1985. Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, p. 103.

⁸⁵ Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, pp. 48-49.

⁸⁶ See Chapter 1, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁷ Hokkaido University ed., *Hokudai hyakunen shi*, Gyosei, 1981, p. 393, Toyama, *Sapporo nogakko*, pp. 91-94, and Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, p. 47.

⁸⁸ *Hokudai hyakunenshi*, pp. 51-52, cited in Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, p. 47.

⁸⁹ Miyake Yujiro, *Meiji shiso shoshi* compiled in *Nihon no meicho 37 - Kuga Katsunan/Miyake Setsurei*, p. 432. This quote is cited in Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, p. 67.

⁹⁰ Yamaji Aizan was one of the writers for the *Min'yusha* and an historian who later became a publisher of *Dokuritsu hyoron*. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 254.

⁹¹ Yamaji, "Gendai Nihon kyokaishi ron", in Sumiya ed., *Nihon no meicho 40 - Tokutomi Soho/Yamaji Aizan*, p. 391. This quote is cited in Nakanome, *Seikyosha no kenkyu*, p. 67.

⁹² See p. 79 & f/n 97.

⁹³ Shiga, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, SSZ 7, p. 5, and SSZ 8, pp. 29-30, the original hand written diary, Mita, "Shiga Shigetaka ni tsuite - Nihon fukeiron o megutte" (in *Yama no shisoshi*, Iwanami, 1973), p. 102, and Goto, *Waga kyodo*, pp. 16-17.

⁹⁴ *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, p. 30 in SSZ 8.

⁹⁵ Shiga, "Da'u'in Gogori tanjo hyakunen kinen", SSZ 2, p. 87. Shiga Shigetaka, "Meishi to shoseki", *Sekai no nihon*, 1st March 1897, p. 112. Toda, *Shiga Shigetaka - Kaiso to shiryo*, p. 130.

⁹⁶ Shiga, "Da'u'in Gogori tanjo hyakunen kinen", SSZ 2, pp. 86-92. Also see an article, "The Fate of Charles Darwin's Ark, the Beagle" written by Chikami Kiyomi (1856-1916), Member of the House of Peers, (the source unknown), which Shigetaka sent to Tokutomi Soho (1863-1957). The article is kept at the Tokutomi Soho Memorial Hall, in Ninomiya city, Kanagawa, Japan. Shigetaka's referral to this article is cited in Shiga, "Da'u'in Gogori tanjo hyakunen kinen", SSZ 2, p. 94.

⁹⁷ Charles Darwin, *Journal of Researches Into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries Visited During the Voyage of H.M.S. "Beagle" Round the World*, Ward, Lock and Co., London, New York, and Melbourne, 1889. While on board the Japanese man-of-war *Tsukuba* in 1886, cruising to the South Seas, he asked the whereabouts of the *Beagle* from any crew member who might have known about the sale of the ship to Yokosuka. After much effort, he eventually obtained a small piece of timber from the *Beagle*, and worshipped it in *Shisho'an* (Four pine cottage), a small tea house at his residence in Tokyo. Shigetaka recorded his detailed research into the discovery of the *Beagle* in "Da'u'in Gogori tanjo hyakunen kinen", SSZ 2, pp. 87-97. Also see the English article mentioned above in f/n 96.

Incidentally, the English translation for the name of the tea house was written by Sven Hedin (1865-1952), a Swedish geographer and explorer, when he visited Japan upon an invitation by the Tokyo Geographical Society in 1908. Shigetaka invited Sven to his residence and Sven wrote the words (Four pine cottage) to commemorate the occasion.

Later, the contents in *Shisho'an* (later named as *Nanbokutei*, North-South salon) and most of Shigetaka's books were contributed to Okazaki city by his son Fujio after Shigetaka died in 1927. Some of them are now being exhibited at the Okazaki local museum (Okazaki kyodokan) and stored at *Nanbokutei* in Okazaki koen and Okazaki city museum/library. Nagasaka, "Shiga Shigetaka to kyodo eno koken to sono jogi", p. 21. Ui (Kunio), *Shiga Shigetaka*, pp. 19-25. Okazaki kyodokan maintains a list/photos of Shigetaka's collection from overseas. See Appendix 4 F.

⁹⁸ Shiga Shigetaka, "The Land of Mikado", *The Sydney Echo*, 10th April 1886 (see Appendices, p. 5). Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 22.

⁹⁹ Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 22.

¹⁰⁰ Goto, Miwa, Suzuki and Ui (Kunio) provide somewhat different descriptions of this incident in their biographies. This account is based on Goto's version.

¹⁰¹ Fukuzawa helped Hayashi in organising the firm in 1869. *Maruzen hyakunenshi*, part 1, Maruzen, 1980, pp. 30-31. Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 27. This information is cited in Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 141.

¹⁰² The first edition of this dictionary was published under the title *Waei gorinshusei* in 1867 both in London and Shanghai. The third revised edition of the dictionary, which Shigetaka helped to proofread, was issued in 1886 by Maruzen. Suzuki, *Uchimura Kanzo*, p. 107. In addition, according to *Maruzen hyakunenshi*, the English title of the first edition was *A Japanese and English Dictionary; With An English and Japanese Index*, published by American Presbyterian Mission Press in Shanghai, 1867. The third edition, *Kaisei zoho Waei eiwa gorinshusei*, was published under the English title, *J. C. Hepburn - A Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary*, by Maruzen in 1889. *Maruzen hyakunenshi*, vol. 1, Maruzen, 1980, p. 220.

¹⁰³ Shigetaka's diary indicates his contact with the Kogyoku juku staff even after he left the school. Shiga, *Sapporo zaigaku nikki*, SSZ 7, p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ Shiga Shigetaka, *Kokumin toyo sekai todai chiri (A Current Geography)*, July 1917, compiled in SSZ 6, pp. 292-293. Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 27. Suzuki, *Uchimura Kanzo to sono jidai*, p. 107.

¹⁰⁵ Shiga, "Da'uin Gogori tanjo hyakunen kinen", SSZ 2, p. 87. Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁶ Shiga, "Da'uin Gogori tanjo hyakunen kinen", SSZ 2, p. 87. Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁷ By A. Geikie, London, 1877. According to Minamoto, Shimada Yutaka translated the book under the title *Chimongaku (Physical Geography)*. Shigetaka edited his manuscripts and added notes to the book. Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shiga Shigetaka", pp. 97-98.

¹⁰⁸ *Physical Geography of the Sea* was written by M. F. Murray and Published by Sampson Low, Son & Marston, London in 1864. *Nan yo jiji* indicates that Shigetaka brought this book with him. Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ Shigetaka noted that these four works were sure to be found among those which he brought with him in his suitcase whenever he travelled overseas. *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 59. For more details of Goldsmith, see Chapter 4-3, p. 109 and Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, pp. 58-60.

¹¹⁰ *Maruzen hyakunenshi*, vol. 1, p. 195. See Chapter 4, p. 101.

CHAPTER 4 NAN YO JIJI (CURRENT AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTH SEAS)

Nan yo jiji, published in March 1887 by the Maruya firm, marked the start of Shigetaka's career as a journalist and political activist. The book was written in two weeks immediately following Shigetaka's return from ten months as official interpreter, diplomatic scholar and naturalist on the ship *Tsukuba*, cruising the South Seas.¹ Written in a travelogue style, through a series of diary entries recording Shigetaka's first-hand observations, interpretations and even dreams, the book contains a clear warning for Japan.²

According to *Maruzen hyakunenshi* (*A Hundred Years of the Maruzen*), *Nan yo jiji* was a great success; an additional two editions came out in 1889 and a revised/enlarged edition in 1891.³ (Prior to publication, some of the original draft appeared in Fukuzawa's *Jiji shimpo* in 1886.⁴) The whole world of Japanese journalism at that time welcomed *Nan yo jiji*, praising Shigetaka's fresh literary style and expressions, his abundant poems and the new information on *Nan yo* (the South Seas).⁵ Furthermore, Miwa Kimitada points out that apparently Fukuzawa Yukichi was impressed by the book and tried to get Shigetaka, through Hayashi Yuteki, the president of the Maruya firm, and Oyaizu Kaname, its executive director, both benefactors of Shigetaka's, to join him, as a staff member of his *Jiji shimpo* (see Chapter 5-2-7).⁶

It is possible that Shigetaka had a book like *Nan yo jiji* — i.e., a book of warning rather than an ordinary travelogue — in mind from the very first. He himself wrote in the preface to the book:

In consideration of what has been going on in the South Seas, I am afraid that no information is available in Japan. Therefore I have decided to first report and warn the Japanese of what I have observed in the South Seas as *de facto*, and to leave the writing of a travelogue to a later time.⁷

As Hijikata Teichi has noted, the book is "systematically well-organised and thoroughly investigated, especially when considering the short time taken to write it".⁸ Particularly thought provoking is the amount of statistical detail Shigetaka managed to incorporate into his "travelogue". This included details such as pre-colonial and current population of South Pacific nations and information on the infrastructure of Australia and New Zealand.

Far from being an innocent abroad, then, this chapter pre-supposes that Shigetaka was a well-prepared enlightener, disguising journalistic commentary as travel news — perhaps to protect himself from the government, which was expelling anti-government activists from Tokyo at that time.⁹ In the South Seas, Shigetaka found the evidence he needed to convince the Japanese public that the battle for "survival of the fittest" was a real one, and was taking place on their doorstep. This chapter provides close readings of the key passages of *Nan yo jiji*, demonstrating how Shigetaka used his first-hand observations to make the argument for Darwin and against the indiscriminate Westernisation of Japan.

4 - 1 Survival of the Fittest - Maintaining Japan's Independence

Shigetaka found what he saw as an evidence of Darwin's theory taking place at the *Tsukuba's* first port of call, Kusaie Island. Possession of this island had just been granted to Spain by the Pope and Shigetaka reported on the savage power struggle which had been taking place between Spain and Germany, both wanting to use the island as a trading centre. Germany in particular was keen to expand its territory in order to keep abreast of other Western countries, such as Great Britain and France, which controlled trading centres in the Pacific.¹⁰ The Kusaiean natives, however, who had been converted to Christianity by an American missionary, Rev. Snow (who had come to the island thirty-four years previously), had reason to feel that they should belong to the United States.¹¹ Shigetaka was dismayed by the natives' demoralisation and apparent apathy about their fate. They seemed to be prepared to leave themselves in the hands of whichever foreign invader cared most for the islanders.¹²

Not only were the natives demoralised: Shigetaka expressed concern about their very survival as a race.¹³ Fevers and other sicknesses brought by the Europeans had caused a drastic decrease in the native population. The statistics (which he referred to) indicated that their numbers had decreased from 1200 in 1856 to 900 in 1866.¹⁴ At that rate of depopulation, by 1891 the current figure of 300 would decrease to 163 and total extinction of the native population would occur by 1897.¹⁵ The fact that the islanders were dying seemed to confirm Shigetaka's previous thoughts about Darwin's theory:

The white race is superior to the yellow, the black, the brown, [and] the Malay. According to the existing records, population of the most inferior race

decreases quickly once they commence intercourse with the white. The most extreme case was the total extinction of a particular tribe ... Therefore, unless the inferior race, the yellow, the black, the brown, and the Malay regret and are determined to improve this condition, they will be gradually destroyed and the whole world will fall into the hands of the white one day.¹⁶

The whites, as the invaders of Kusaie and the "cause" of the islanders' decline, were to Shigetaka, clearly the "superior" race. The "yellow" race is here lumped with the other threatened, "inferior" races. But the question of who to identify Japan with — the vanquished or the vanquisher — was often not that clear in Shigetaka's mind. He rather off-handedly admitted for example, that because good bays were abundant on Kusaie Island, it was a potentially strategic port for Japan's future trading with Australia.¹⁷

Shigetaka's experiences at the *Tsukuba's* later stop, Fiji, gave him further food for thought in regard to Japan's place in the world. Fiji was a British commercial and trade centre in the South Seas, while Tahiti filled the same role for France. Cruising through the Fijian archipelago on the British ship *Suva* on the night of 9th June, Shigetaka made the acquaintance of a Tasmanian missionary, Frederick Langham (1833-1903) (Shigetaka thought that Langham was British), who was sailing to Suva on the same ship.¹⁸ Langham had been in Fiji for twenty-eight years and had devoted his entire life to converting the natives to Christianity. According to Shigetaka, Langham had experienced a number of hair's-breadth escapes from death by drowning and at the hands of treacherous cannibals in the transition from savagery to Christianity during his mission.¹⁹ He escaped from these dangers by using his wits, an example of which occurred as he was about to be stabbed by cannibals. Langham had removed his complete set of false teeth from his mouth and scared

them by clattering the set in front of their faces. They immediately fled and respected him ever after, thinking that he possessed supernatural powers and practised divine rituals beyond their imagination.²⁰ Despite such frightening experiences, Langham never ceased in his mission to "civilise" the islanders.²¹

Although Shigetaka was not interested in Christianity as such, he was profoundly impressed by Langham. Before coming to Fiji, Shigetaka had thought of the natives as savage cannibals, and believed that the islands were still in a primitive stage. He was surprised to find the Fijians "tamed" and amicable and attributed this to Langham's influence.²² Upon a stone base which natives had once used as a chopping block for the heads of their victims, an imposing church had been built; sites where human remains had been offered to cannibal gods only decades ago were now used for baptism.²³ In spite of his indifference to religion, it is probable that Shigetaka thought the Fijians were better off than the natives in Kusaie Island because they had "chosen" to become more Westernised — as a form of empowerment²⁴ — while the Kusaieans had simply become the "victims" of Westernisation. It is also possible that Shigetaka found some similarity between the Japanese and the Fijians in that they were both ready and willing to modernise, give up the "barbaric" practices of the past, and alter their traditional national identity in order to become more Westernised while nevertheless maintaining their unique dignity and strength.²⁵ While, in Kusaie Island, Shigetaka's sympathies had seemed to lie with the helpless natives, this sympathy seemed to go hand in hand with admiration for British power, as illustrated by Langham. The question remained to which group Japan would belong.

Samoa, another of the Tsukuba's ports of call, was in a similar situation to Fiji, but here, Shigetaka identified lack of national unity as a cause of the nation's downfall. Although Samoa's independence had been acknowledged by Britain, Germany and the U.S., and thus diplomatic stability over Samoa had been maintained for the time being, its national strength was negligible due to an internal conflict (see section 4-5, below). The archipelago was thus likely to be subject to foreign invasion as soon as the power balance broke up. Germany, in particular, which did not yet possess a South Pacific trading centre, waited only for a timely opportunity to intervene in the islands.²⁶ This had begun to happen when, on 2nd July, Shigetaka visited Upolu Island, the site of the King of Samoa's old residence and village.²⁷ A German flag had been posted following the siege of the village by the German South Seas Company, and signs of German occupation were everywhere. The natives had escaped to the west of Apia on Cape Mulinu'u, recently occupied by Germany, and Shigetaka prepared to cruise there.

In the afternoon of 3rd July, Shigetaka visited the Samoan King at his new residence, made out of wooden poles and coconut leaves.²⁸ The King expressed his grief over Samoa's internal and external problems through a servant who could speak English. Observing that the King not only was doing nothing for his country but was also practicing self-indulgence, Shigetaka concluded that the King's attitude to the national emergency both mirrored and explained the defenceless state of the islanders.²⁹ Shigetaka described this state as the exact realisation of a stanza by Shakespeare (Henry VIII, Act II, Scene 8):³⁰

'Tis better to be lowly born,
 And range with humble livers in content,
 Than to be perk'd up in a glistering grief,
 And wear a golden sorrow.³¹

Samoa's situation convinced Shigetaka that the spiritual leader of a nation, to whom national solidarity should be directed, had to retain his authority at all costs.

Of the smaller island nations the *Tsukuba* visited, Shigetaka provided the extreme example of "survival of the fittest" with Hawaii. Although Hawaii was an independent country, its independence was in name only; the white race and the Chinese politically and economically administered the country, while the natives of Hawaii merely existed on day labour. The population of natives in Hawaii had declined from 142,000 in 1823 to just over 40,000 in 1884; on the other hand the population of foreigners had increased from about 3,000 in 1853 to well over 65,000 in 1884.³² With this rate of increase and decrease, Shigetaka calculated that by 1936 foreigners would increase to as much as 100,000 while the natives would become extinct. Shigetaka described the state of the country as "a cast-off shell of a cicada".³³ The old King Kamekameha, having lost his kingdom, was another victim of land deprivation in the South Seas; the present King Kawakawa was reduced to merely a salaried noble.³⁴

Even more of a revelation than the smaller island trading posts were the colonies of Australia and New Zealand, settled and developed by the British despite hardships which included struggles with aboriginal peoples. Before arriving there, however, Shigetaka mused about how quickly the islands of the South Pacific had been parcelled up by the

European powers.³⁵ The Pacific islanders had hardly known from what direction their danger lay when they were practically annihilated, rather like the seagull in Katsu Kaishu (1823-1899)'s poem, which Shigetaka quoted:³⁶

A sea-gull above the Southern Seas, sees a bullet shooting up. Blue are the waters and the skies, where has the bird gone?³⁷

In its present state, Shigetaka must have concluded, Japan was as defenceless as the sea-gull against the gun, symbol of civilisation. If a country was not modernised, he concluded that it was destined to be colonised by a militarily more advanced or "superior"³⁸ country. The current affairs in the South Seas were perfect proof of "survival of the fittest" in practice.

4 - 2 The First Anglo-Saxon Miracle - Australia

For Shigetaka, the most convincing evidence of the "superiority" of the European race came from Britain's colonies, Australia and New Zealand. When the *Tsukuba* arrived in Sydney on 5th April 1886, Shigetaka was overwhelmed by what a hundred years of development since the arrival of the British had achieved.³⁹ It was, he remarked, a "miracle of God".⁴⁰ The growth of the past ten years was particularly astonishing in terms of population, land area for farming, livestock holdings, trade as well as its extended market, and railway networks. According to his thorough and detailed statistics, the population (excluding aborigines) was 1,000 in 1788, 80,000 in 1835, 350,000 in 1851, and 3,233,041 in 1886; within a hundred years, Sydney and Melbourne had grown into major cities with populations of 280,000 and 390,000, respectively.⁴¹ The ever growing

population had accumulated wealth to the extent that the trade purchasing power of individual Australians was twice as high as that of the British, five times higher than Germans and Americans, twenty times higher than Russians and eighty-four times higher than Japanese.⁴² Thus, the Australia of 1886 could not compare with that of even five years earlier, and Shigetaka could not imagine what it would be like when the canals were completed and maritime trade was opened in Panama and Nicaragua.⁴³ The opening of the canals would not only benefit ports in Australia and New Zealand, allowing them to become trade centres, but would also bring advantages to Japan.

One of the things that Shigetaka particularly noted about Australians was their growing sense of spiritual unity and integration, expressed in the campaign slogan of Sir Thomas McIlwraith (1835-1900) "Australia for the Australians".⁴⁴ McIlwraith, a former Prime Minister of Queensland, maintained that the Australia Coastal Defence Act was merely a political convenience for Britain; Australia had to defend itself independently from Britain.⁴⁵ He devoted himself to propagating the idea of independence and gaining support for it from people across the country. His campaign resulted in the formation of the National Party. However, the atmosphere of spiritual unity was not limited to the state of Queensland; it reached New South Wales, South Australia and even to New Zealand.⁴⁶ Despite New South Wales being the oldest settlement and therefore the one most likely to be loyal to Britain, it was the centre of the Australian National Association.⁴⁷ In addition, in Sydney, the Australian Natives' Association had already been organised.⁴⁸ Above all, South Australia and Queensland strongly objected to the entry of Sir Henry Breaks⁴⁹ as Viceroy, claiming that because his experience had been

limited to old state colonies, he was not suitable for supervising a colony where an autonomous government existed.⁵⁰ Shigetaka interpreted this massive desire for national unity as proof of the workings of evolution in colonisation.⁵¹ He felt that Australian independence was simply a matter of time. Enthusiastically, he remarked: "a goddess of evolution will protect you, our neighbouring and favourite brothers in the South Seas".⁵²

In addition to the accumulation of wealth and the growing desire for integration as a new nation, diplomatic complications for Britain also contributed to Australia's hopes for freedom. Although it had emphasised imperial expansion and extended trading rights in the South Seas, Britain yielded the mandate of Samoa to Germany in order to maintain its diplomatic stability in the face of Otto Eduard von Bismarck (1815-1898).⁵³ In addition to Samoa, Britain had also divided British New Guinea with Germany. Thus Germany had obtained, and Britain had sacrificed, the benefit of such markets for its South Pacific colonies.⁵⁴ This left Anglo-Saxons in Australia in a rage.

Australia's future as a nation independent from Britain was not a certainty. However, recent social problems in Europe, such as exhaustion of agricultural land, low wages, social crime, disease and dissolution encouraged people to emigrate from the old countries to the spacious new colonies with their unlimited future potential.⁵⁵ The total land area of Australia consisted of 480,000 Japanese *li*² (1,920,000 km²) and in all that land there were only 3,500,000 inhabitants. Shigetaka calculated that if Australia had the same population per one square *li*² (4 km²) as Japan, it would accommodate 725,280,000 people.⁵⁶ Thus Shigetaka could not

help but be excited by Australia's enormous potential. But he was to be even more moved by the situation in a country far more similar to Japan — New Zealand.

4 - 3 The Second Anglo-Saxon Miracle - New Zealand

On 15th May 1886, Shigetaka arrived in Wellington and again was amazed by the remarkable outcomes achieved by Anglo-Saxons, this time within only forty-five years since their arrival in New Zealand.⁵⁷ After numerous fights with the New Zealand aboriginals, the Maori, Anglo-Saxons had deprived the Maori of much of their land, laid 6,410 Japanese *li* (25,640 km) of cables and 736 *li* (2,944 km) of railway, had constructed housing, schools, and churches, and had cultivated the land.⁵⁸ By the time Shigetaka arrived, the population had grown to well over 576,000. An entire "new nation" had already been built by the "adventurous and brave" Anglo-Saxons.⁵⁹

What particularly impressed Shigetaka about New Zealand was its atmosphere of hard work and sacrifice. New Zealand's settlers faced many hardships. While taking a walk in the suburbs of Hutt village near Wellington — with the furze⁶⁰ in bloom — Shigetaka recalled two poems, "Traveller" and "Deserted village" by the British poet, Oliver Goldsmith (1730-1774).⁶¹ The furze in bloom made Shigetaka feel as if he were the "Traveller" and wandering in the "Furze Unprofitably Gay" cited in "Deserted Village".⁶² The latter poem was about a farmer whose dwelling and assets had been destroyed and whose land had been taken by a millionaire. The farmer left for a new land with his family and rebuilt "Auburn", the village in which he used to live. The hardships and

homesickness he felt during the settlement were captured and symbolised in the image of the full bloom of furze. Shigetaka also cited a poem by an Australian poet whom he had met in Hamilton, New South Wales.⁶³ Shigetaka thought that the poem epitomised the settlers' feelings. It expressed the common difficulties that existed in the South Seas in developing a new settlement far away from home, fighting with savage cannibals as well as natural disasters, and missing the comforts of civilisation:

I would not wish thee' cross the sea,
 Although I wish thy company,
 Here is no wild rose in the glen;
 No hawthorns on the brae,
 Nor daisy bending on its stem
 To greet the break of day.
 No robins here that kindly sung
 To please thee when a child,
 Nor yellow youlans curious tongue
 To charm the evening mild.
 The moon e'en lacks a charm for me
 Upon this land, or on this sea,
 To wake me into ecstasy.
 It lightens up no fairy spot,
 Nor poets' classic ground;
 No ancient wall, nor ivied grot
 Where fancy roves around;
 Gathering lore from other days
 To grace a modern poet's lays.
 If home again I ere should be
 Across that vast, and wondrous sea
 How fondly I should love to trace
 Each playspot of my native place.
 And muse upon that joyous play
 Which stole those happy hours away.
 How fondly should I stand to look
 Upon that little wand'ring brook,
 Whose little babblings seemed to say
 'I'll join thee in thine infant play'
 As we our little race did run,
 With playful dimples to the sun.
 But would its face be now as bright
 And fill me with the same delight;
 Or would it cause the tears to flow
 When touching memories long ago
 Would its music be the same
 As then it was to me,
 Or would it sing that sadder strain

It may have song to thee?⁶⁴

Shigetaka thought of Australia and New Zealand as modern examples of "Auburn". He thought that the Anglo-Saxons inherited "mighty" spirit; they were born to be brave and adventurous; they were naturally constructive despite any hardships.⁶⁵ "If anybody wants to witness this", he wrote, "they should go and visit the government building in Wellington and observe the busy city from there".⁶⁶ It had been only forty-five years since the New Zealand Colony Company was established; observing the city's busy activity Shigetaka noted, it would be hard for anyone to recall the settlers' struggle with "merciless cannibals" in the past.⁶⁷

Shigetaka compared such developments by Anglo-Saxons with Japan's own modernisation. While both Japan and New Zealand had started constructing a railway in 1872, for example, within just over ten years New Zealand had its railway network extended eight and a half times longer than that of Japan.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, the trade purchasing power per person in New Zealand was sixty-seven times more than that of the Japanese.⁶⁹ The geographic resemblance of both countries to Britain had been expressed (by Shigetaka's contemporaries) as "Japan is Britain in the East. New Zealand is Britain in the South Seas", but for Shigetaka it seemed true only in name, as far as Japan's modernisation was concerned.⁷⁰ Japanese should, he was convinced, model themselves on the "spiritual strength" of the British settlers. Otherwise they would end up in the position of the Maori, a chief of whom, as we shall see in the next section, left a large impression in Shigetaka's mind.

4 - 4 Lessons from the Anglo-Saxon Miracle - Wi Tako

Shigetaka met the Maori chief Wi Tako (Wiremu Tako Ngatata, 1815-1887) at Lower Hutt near Wellington, New Zealand on 15th May 1886.⁷¹

In December 1842, Wi Tako became chief of the Taranaki tribes and the Ngati Awa. He was already representing the Maori and mediating with agents of the New Zealand Company when the first settlers arrived. For his integrity and dedication to the maintenance of peace between resident Maori and the white settlers, he soon became respected by both. On the Maori's behalf he received a share of trade goods from the New Zealand Company as purchase settlement for their land. The Company thereupon claimed ownership of the whole region. This questionable transaction was to become a never-ending and contentious issue throughout the troubled times of the second half of the nineteenth century, and still remained so throughout the twentieth.⁷²

Wi Tako was subsequently involved with further numerous land sales. His struggle as a mediator can be appreciated in the strong objection he expressed when the *Native Reserves Bill* was presented to the Legislative Council on 10th September 1873:

I find that, under this Bill, Commissioners are to be appointed. Now, listen to what I say. Why should our lands and our houses be taken care of? My house is my own, and my trousers and my shoes are my own. Why should they be interfered with? I understand now that our houses and lands are to be placed in the hands of Commissioners. Have you Europeans a similar law? I believe not ... Do not direct that the Maoris shall be treated in one way and the Europeans another; that is wrong. Now listen. It is thirty years since the European came here, and there is this difference between the European and the Maori; that it was the European who had a desire to rob the native. My opinion of this Bill is [that it is] wrong; I cannot understand it ... You tie the Maori to a post and the Commissioners are to come around and take care of us ... As to the Commissioners being appointed, that is something new. They are to be substitutes for the Queen. Now, I say it is not right that somebody else should take care of my house and land. I can take care of them, and of my wife and of my children too. It pains me much to see these laws passed ... Our lands are all to be taken and placed in the hands of Commissioners.⁷³

It is possible that Wi Tako's grief was lessened for a while by talking to Shigetaka. So pleased was he to meet Shigetaka, Wi Tako told him: "it is most encouraging for us to meet someone of the yellow race, such as yourself, apart from the white".⁷⁴ He presented Shigetaka with a woven feather mat (Maori cloak) that had been handed down for generations in his tribe.⁷⁵

The year of Shigetaka's visit, 1886, was the worst in the history of Maori population decrease.⁷⁶ Wi Tako died a year after the meeting with Shigetaka and Shigetaka's following account of the meeting well depicts Wi Tako's struggle for the very survival of the Maori:

Wi Tako asked me if Japan had ever had a war with Great Britain, and I replied that in Japan we also used to have chiefs of local clans throughout provinces who maintained vast domains across the country, and that some of the clans had disputes with the British. Fortunately they had not been of such serious nature as to threaten invasion. And so we have been able to maintain our independence thus far, but I had to admit this could only have been due to good fortune. Thinking back on it now one realises how lucky we have been to have maintained such freedom when one considers the limited advantages we have over the West. I went on to explain how we had a *Shogun* heading the central administration who did not permit local clans to be independent and that this system had functioned well to maintain national freedom from outsiders. Wi Tako lamented that the cause of rapid oppression in his country had resulted from constant warring with the British and looked both sorrowful and angry as he said this. Alas! Japan could be another New Zealand. As I look up at the autumn sky of these Southern Seas, I fear the threat to my home country far away. Having witnessed such cultural and racial oppression in New Zealand, I — as a son of the new Japan — must take immediate action to make my people aware of this possibly happening back home.⁷⁷

Shigetaka's implication was clear: a country needs to be centrally administered with spiritual integrity, while advancing technologically according to the Western model; otherwise its very existence could be threatened by a "superior" race such as the Anglo-Saxons. Shigetaka was

convinced that this was in accordance with the theories of Darwinism — perfect proof of the survival of the fittest.⁷⁸ He believed that Britain was the most "superior" nation at that time and perceived an urgent need to build Japan's economic, political and spiritual foundations in a more constructive way than by merely copying everything Western. If "mixed residence" was to be introduced without the people maintaining traditional and spiritual values, the Japanese identity would be lost.⁷⁹

One of the reasons Shigetaka felt such a particular affinity with New Zealand may have been the geographical resemblance of the two countries. Japan even had its own indigenous race. Japan's aboriginals, the Ainu, like the Maori, had inhabited the northern part of an island nation. The Ainu were almost extinct, and Shigetaka noted that the Maori population had also been decreasing rapidly.⁸⁰ Shigetaka translated the *de profundis* of the Maori:

Pakeha flies cruelly have driven away Maori flies.
 Pakeha grass has dried out Maori grass without affection to it.
 Pakeha rats have mercilessly bitten Maori rats to death.
 Pakeha weeds have spread everywhere unscrupulously, and dried out Maori's kumara, their staple food.
 Just like animals and grass, Maori will be destroyed one day.⁸¹

Shigetaka lamented the Maori's tragedy, but in equating them with Japan's Ainu, he seems to be placing the Japanese in the position of the whites: the "superior" race took the place of the "inferior", nothing could be done about it nor could anybody be blamed for it.⁸²

4 - 5 Two Dreams; Two Warnings

As mentioned in the introduction, *Nan yo jiji* was written in the form of diary entries and two of the strangest, but perhaps most significant, concern dreams Shigetaka claimed he had while on his journey. Whether true dreams or purposeful allegories, these passages powerfully convey Shigetaka's fears for Japan.

In the first dream, Samoa's national god, Tagaloa, appeared above Shigetaka's head as a naked, hunchbacked figure with bare feet, holding a wooden spear in his hand.⁸³ Tagaloa told Shigetaka that he wanted to communicate with him because he was a member of the yellow race.⁸⁴ Tagaloa wanted to vent his accumulated frustration, for the first time, by telling the Japanese journalist of the cruel seizure of the sacred island of the Samoan King, Malietoa Talavou.⁸⁵

According to Tagaloa, the present king came to the throne in 1878 and was the 23rd in a line of kings since the island was first conquered.⁸⁶ The consulates of Britain, Germany and the U.S. had acknowledged Talavou as the new King, but Tamasese, one of the King's clan heads, had wanted to assume power. Hence an internal conflict began and continued for over thirty years, even while Germany increased its interest in possessing the islands. After numerous negotiations between Britain, Germany and the U.S., (Eastern) Samoa had become an American protectorate in May 1886.⁸⁷ Despite this, Germany, knowing of Samoa's domestic conflicts, had sought an opportunity to lay siege to the islands with the excuse of intervening in the problem.⁸⁸

Meanwhile, the reigning King had expressed some interest in offering his people to Her Majesty, the Queen of England, following the Fijian example.⁸⁹ This was causing the German South Sea Company some unease.⁹⁰ Tagaloa told Shigetaka that because the power balance involved Britain (and New Zealand), Germany and the U.S., it was not possible for any one nation to colonise the whole set of islands and find title. That was why the House of Collective European Representation existed as a neutral autonomy in Apia. But with so many Western countries intervening in its internal problems, Samoa's independence would not last much longer.⁹¹ Tagaloa concluded by warning Shigetaka:

When you return to your country, tell your countrymen what has currently happened to us. Carefully contemplate the future of your country. Don't ever be overconfident of the West, nor over revere the Western civilisation. Ensure that the country modernises without going against the natural law of evolution so that your people do not repeat our tragedy.⁹²

It seems likely that Tagaloa's physical disability in this "dream" is meant to symbolise an unnatural state in the islands resulting from too rapid modernisation as opposed to the more natural transition that should have taken place. Couching Tagaloa's warning in the language of a dream, Shigetaka may have been trying to disguise his own advocacy⁹³ and give his message more impact. At any rate, the message was clear — Japan must control its rate of Westernisation and allow the people to adapt to changes without losing their sense of identity as Japanese.

The second dream was even more odd. In this dream, a man with huge eyes appeared above Shigetaka's pillow and told Shigetaka that he would like to tell him about the latest situation in Australia:

The British colonies in the South Seas, Fiji, Tasmania, New Zealand and five states in Australia (Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia) are currently governed by a Viceroy entrusted by and representative of the Queen. However, the administration of each mandate depends on each having autonomy. The states of New South Wales and Victoria represent the colonies in the South Seas, adopting free trade and protectionism, respectively. However, all these colonies should work together for profiting the public, rather than for private benefit and for establishing a new capital in the best location, following the model of the U.S. The recent argument arises from France having sent their prisoners to New Caledonia from where they escaped to the British colonies and seriously threatened the colonists. The colonists petitioned Britain to request France to withdraw these prisoners, and they were determined to negotiate or even fight with France on their own if nothing was achieved by Britain. No sooner has the problem died out, than France is again planning to send more prisoners to the newly acquired New Hebrides where a man-of-war will be anchored and a factory will be built in order to monopolise trade rights in the South Seas. This is an emergency for Anglo-Saxons in the South Seas, for they have to cooperate and defend themselves from the Franco Latin invasion. Thus, the whole incident has stimulated the colonial states in Australia to seek independence from Britain. Although many dislike the idea of freeing themselves from the mother country, the Australian born generation has very little reason to miss Britain. Establishing a new republic will be the greatest event of the twentieth century.⁹⁴

The above account was written as an entry in Shigetaka's diary, which also claimed that the man had said: "your articles in *The Sydney Echo* [see Appendix 1] were very informative and in return I provide you with the latest developments in Australia".⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the account given by the man of the dream probably (or even almost certainly) represents Shigetaka's own beliefs: independence and solidarity had to be maintained at all costs. One is reminded of Shigetaka's cry to his countrymen in the preface to *Nan yo jiji*: "Arise! Ye sons of Yamato's land! A grand work awaits your hand".⁹⁶

4 - 6 A Call to Action

The experiences Shigetaka recorded in *Nan yo jiji* confirmed the urgent necessity of a rational system of modernisation for Japan. This system, he

felt, had to be in accordance with the theory of evolution.⁹⁷ It should be gradual, take into account Japanese characteristics, and would require a thorough study of biology and other sciences.⁹⁸ If a national system needed to be improved or destroyed, this should be done moderately, not radically.⁹⁹ Shigetaka strongly disagreed with hasty modernising inasmuch as it would not result in true patriotism.¹⁰⁰ Everything on earth evolves at its own pace and changes take place gradually, he argued; nothing can alter this natural course, and anything that fails to observe this rule paves the way for its own destruction.¹⁰¹ In order to modernise Japan as practically and as fast as possible, Shigetaka proposed three major recommendations in *Nan yo jiji*.

First, modernisation should take into account Japan's geographic features. As an island nation at the doorstep to Asia, Japan should look to establishing itself as a centre for sea trade and commerce. An interesting parallel was illustrated by New Zealand which already was capable of supporting itself through agriculture. However, Shigetaka felt New Zealand's future economic base lay in seafaring.¹⁰²

Shigetaka supported this thinking with an essay, submitted by Dr W. Haselden (1849-1934)¹⁰³ to an essay competition on New Zealand's future economy, which argued that New Zealand should become a country of trade and commerce in the future, as farming would not be substantial enough to support the country's economy.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, in consideration of New Zealand's geographical advantages upon the completion of canals in Panama and Nicaragua, Shigetaka felt confident that New Zealand would become a centre for trade and commerce in the South Seas.¹⁰⁵ Echoing Fukuzawa (see Chapter 3), Shigetaka warned that in

order for Japan to become a nation of trade and commerce like Britain and New Zealand, the traditional disrespect for merchants had to be overcome and governmental encouragement of trade and diplomatic intercourse with overseas nations had to be recognised and well inculcated in the public.¹⁰⁶ Like Fukuzawa, he was strongly convinced that this required the establishment of technical institutes of trade and business — without the traditional governmental bureaucracy — in order to produce immediate results.¹⁰⁷ If this were impossible, then Shigetaka suggested at least setting up new departments in schools for the study of the special subjects of business and technology and adding these subjects to the existing curriculum at junior high schools across the nation.¹⁰⁸ Like another of his old teachers, Kondo, Shigetaka argued that it was necessary to expand the capacity of merchant marine schools in order to foster a source of trained seafarers to be engaged in the transfer of products, freeing the country from dependence on foreign ships and crew.¹⁰⁹ Shigetaka was convinced of Japan's good prospects in seafaring and of the eventual realisation of the dream of "Japan as a centre for trade and commerce in the East". One day, he believed, the expression "Japan is Britain in the East" would be true in economic as well as geographical terms.¹¹⁰ Shigetaka, then, was like Fukuzawa (and Kondo), in believing that overseas trade was vital for Japan's new economy. As we have seen in Chapter 1, this belief was in clear contrast to the arguments against trading of the "Confucian" scholars.

Shigetaka also recommended that Japan should look to the Anglo-Saxons as models and develop trade with Australia and New Zealand. In Sydney, Shigetaka had investigated Japan's trading concerns and discovered only small scale business on an individual basis or day-to-day

rootless trading by lower class Japanese from the city's Japanese community.¹¹¹ It was inconceivable to Shigetaka that Japan had not yet developed any significant commercial relationship with Australia, given its tremendous potential, only five thousand (British) sea miles away.¹¹² Part of his mission onboard the *Tsukuba* was to act as diplomat and interpreter, providing information about Japan to other nations.¹¹³ As mentioned earlier (p. 119), he took this opportunity to write a series of articles in *The Sydney Echo* introducing Japan to the Australian people. These articles were published in the evening papers on 10th, 17th and 24th April 1886 and included an introduction of Shigetaka as a naturalist on board the *Tsukuba*.¹¹⁴

We (says Shigetaka Shiga) thought it always strange that the histories of Europe and America are so familiarly known among every school-boy in Japan, [while] the state and condition of the same race of People, in the Southern Hemisphere, as the European or American, should, even among ourselves, excite little interest. It is likewise with feelings of deep regret that I observe the Australian public possess less pure information or entertain more numerous erroneous opinions concerning Japan, than even Japanese do concerning Australia. An idea is held among our people that Australians are the direct offspring of the naked savages, who spend their days in kangaroo-hunting, as you Australians doubtless fancy that we are the same people as the pigtailed Chinese. Perhaps you imagine that we have no such comforts of civilisation as railroads, telegraph, newspapers, system of postage, &c., whilst we believe that your country is still a barren waste, where awful bands of brutal cannibals ramble in search of prey. Just as the majority of your brethren may not know where Tokio, the present metropolis of Japan, is situated, so only the minority of us can distinguish whether Sydney is [in] Australia, or Australia is [in] Sydney.

But now that the commerce and intercourse of these two countries are slowly [but] steadily progressing, we ought to shake off the prejudices and want of knowledge, associated with ignorant and rude ages, when we only looked beyond the boundary of our own with distrust and hostility.¹¹⁵

Wool traders in Sydney and Melbourne had, in fact, vigorously investigated the potential of wool exports to Japan and *The Sydney Echo*, in publishing Shigetaka's articles, expressed keen interest in trade with Japan:

These interesting articles, giving a quantity of most interesting and valuable information regarding Japan, have been written by Shigetaka Shiga, naturalist on board H.I.M. Japanese war vessel *Tsukuba*. [It is ?] not long since the question of opening up a market for our wool with China was much talked about. [And now ?] it is open to question whether in Japan, despite its much smaller population, a far better market would not be found. The Japanese are, as a nation, much in advance of China, and are imbued with a spirit of progress which furnishes an instructive contrast to the dogged conservatism of Chinese. The resources, institutions, population, and progress of Japan will be admirably seen from the interesting tables of statistics attached to these articles.¹¹⁶

Keenly endorsing this view, Shigetaka postulated, on the inspiration of the poem "Now the Sultry December Comes" by Henry Kendall (1839-1882),¹¹⁷ an Australian poet, that Japan could export excess seasonal goods such as fans and parasols to the Southern Hemisphere.¹¹⁸ Eventually this could encourage Japanese craftsmanship by allowing craftsmen to produce the same goods year round. In return, Australia could export coal and wool which were in great demand in the "new" Japan.¹¹⁹

Shigetaka thought that development in New Zealand would also be beneficial to Japan, providing a new maritime route to countries in the South Seas and beyond the Panama canal. For example, the market for Japanese goods could be extended from Hawaii, Canada, the U.S. and South America to Europe.¹²⁰ He called for an urgent investigation of overseas markets:

Today's Japan concentrates on industrialising the entire country. With the way everything proceeds, Japan will surely be industrialised within a few years. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary from now on to develop overseas marketing by visiting and investigating as many countries as possible. Its urgency is equal to the Army and the Navy admirals going overseas in order to observe armed forces, geographical conditions, people and culture. Should there be any favourable overseas markets available now, then we should waste no time before establishing an amicable trade relationship with them right away.¹²¹

Friendly relations with these countries might also allow Japan to function as a broker among them, for despite industrialisation, there would be a limit to Japanese production. In particular, Japan could purchase goods from Asian countries where labour was inexpensive and then export them to other countries.¹²²

After gathering a great deal of data, Shigetaka delivered a speech on the "new" Japan at the Teachers' College in Wellington.¹²³ *The New Zealand Mail* praised him for efficiently and vigorously pursuing his mission:

Shigetaka Shiga, a Japanese naturalist, is a gentleman who arrived in Wellington a few days ago by the Japanese warship *Tsukuba*. His visit to New Zealand is one which may fairly be said to be of considerable importance to the Colony ... Shigetaka Shiga has lately been in Australia, where he has been diligently prosecuting his researches. He is, apparently, especially qualified for the mission on which he is now engaged, being a fine English scholar and a gentleman of keen observation ... He expresses himself as being highly pleased with the Plains, and is especially loud in praise of the soil and the general capabilities of the country ... From an interview with our visitor we learn that his proposal is generally something to this effect: the staple products of Japan being tea, sugar, and rice, all of which are marketable commodities in the Australasias, it is proposed that the commercial relations between the colonies and Japan should be increased by greater interchange of produce. An especial commodity of colonial production which he seems to pay particular attention to is wool ... If the wool could be imported, a great industry could be started in Japan. An objection to the wool imported from America, too, is that it is not as fine as that which is grown in these colonies. During his stay in Wellington, he has visited Dr Hector, who has promised, we understand, to supply him with information as to statistics, etc., of New Zealand. The Japanese naturalist is evidently earnest and industrious in his labours; and is fulfilling his mission with ability and skill. If commerce between Japan and the colonies is to be promoted, no doubt it will be greatly facilitated by the personal observations of such a gentleman as this.¹²⁴

He had convinced two newspapers in Australia and New Zealand of the benefits of increased trade but now he had to convince the powers that be in Japan.

In recommending overseas trade and commerce, Shigetaka did not forget to point out two contemporary trade concerns; the free trade issue in Hawaii and "mixed residence" in Japan, both of which would possibly affect Japan's economy. Reflecting awareness of current affairs, his immediate concern focussed on how to quickly consolidate Japan's existing economic base. Japan's sugar industry, for example, could be threatened by a lifting of the free trade agreement between Hawaii and the U.S., which was then being considered.¹²⁵ The lifting of this agreement could result in sugar being exported to Japan and sold cheaply, threatening the survival of the sugar plantations recently established in Oshima, Ryukyu (present Okinawa), Satsuma (present Kagoshima) and Shikoku, while these were still in formative stages and needed protection.¹²⁶ Whether trade protectionism was best for Japan or not remained to be seen, but Shigetaka believed that Japanese sugar production required some form of protection for a while, at least until it was competitive enough in world markets.¹²⁷ The abandoning of the U.S.-Hawaii mutual agreement would also affect the five thousand Japanese living in Hawaii, since they were engaged in plantation work.¹²⁸ Thus, current affairs in Hawaii were of importance to Japan and required close attention.

Shigetaka was also concerned about "mixed residence", which would end protective closed-port policies if/when the revision of treaties became effective.¹²⁹ Shigetaka clarified the reasons for this apprehension by analysing the economic situation of the lower class Japanese rickshaw drivers in Hawaii. They were charging five *sen* per one *li* (4 km), while Chinese rickshaw drivers charged three and a half or four *sen* per one *li*.¹³⁰ The Chinese workers could do this because their cost of living was

less due to their attitude towards basic necessities.¹³¹ Unless the Japanese changed their insular mentality and stubborn preference for a particular way of living, their labour costs would remain higher than those of the Chinese.¹³² Similarly, each social class had to be competitive in its own right; the upper class had to compete with Americans, the British, French, Germans, Italians and Russians, the middle class with the Irish, Portuguese and Spanish, the lower class with the East Indians, and rickshaw drivers with the Chinese.¹³³ In other words, "mixed-residence" would endanger the whole Japanese society and Shigetaka vehemently warned his contemporaries to avoid it at all costs.

The third recommendation from *Nan yo jiji* — and one particularly significant for the accusations of imperialism it would later engender — had to do with Japanese emigration. Japan at that time already faced a population crisis. Limited habitable land simply could not accommodate the annual population increase of 400,000 and offered very few job opportunities.¹³⁴ An additional 21 million births were projected in 1936, bringing the total population to 62 million.¹³⁵ Shigetaka considered it vital that the lower classes of Japanese society, having suffered most from unemployment and consequent impoverishment, be encouraged to apply for overseas emigration.¹³⁶ He argued that one overseas immigrant created economic support for three people who could not otherwise make both ends meet. His theory was that if one person emigrated to Hawaii, for example, worked hard, allocated a certain amount of money to send home and/or ordered daily commodities from Japan, this would then provide a second person with a new job in commerce and trade, as well as opening the emigrant's original job to a third person in Japan.¹³⁷ Through ordering goods from Japan, emigrants would feel more at home

and this would make them feel that their heart and mind still belonged to Japan even while overseas, and would consequently stimulate the Japanese economy.¹³⁸ Shigetaka viewed emigrants as "true patriots, we are sure, who left the country for the country's good".¹³⁹

Shigetaka held up Hawaii as an example because he saw it as an ideal destination for Japanese emigrants. A regular non-stop sea service from Hawaii to Japan was about to commence in 1886. The Hawaiian government had officially invited Japanese immigrants for the first time in 1885, and the first settlers of January 1885 consisted of 945 Japanese.¹⁴⁰ The second settlers of June 1885 numbered 989, and in February 1889 the new settlers numbered 926.¹⁴¹ The steady flow of Japanese into Hawaii suggested good future prospects; plenty of jobs were available with higher labour wages than Japan and the first settlers had already sent \$100,000 from their earnings to Japan and deposited over \$50,000 through the Japanese Consulate with the Hawaiian government.¹⁴² Hawaii was a good starting place for Japanese emigrants, who, Shigetaka argued, should spread throughout the world.¹⁴³

Critics who see Shigetaka as one of the forerunners of Japan's imperialism cite his views on emigration as a first step in that direction. Iwai Tadakuma claims that the theme of *Nan yo jiji* was the necessity for Japan's advance into the South Seas.¹⁴⁴ Iwai maintains that throughout *Nan yo jiji* Shigetaka praised Anglo-Saxons and implied that Japan should copy their colonialism.¹⁴⁵ In addition, Sato Yoshimaru and Maeda Ai refer to Shigetaka's comments, from the appendices of the book, on Asia, Taiwan and particularly Korea.¹⁴⁶ Sato points out Shigetaka's nascent imperialistic thought:

Shigetaka maintained that Japan should first commercially utilise the least resistant but most profitable areas and then obtain them as Japan's centres for trading. The areas, needless to say, included Korea ... and thus his intention of occupying Korea was clear proving him to be a thorough colonialist ... His strategy of colonisation in Asia further developed along with the advance of Japanese imperialism.¹⁴⁷

Sato maintains that Shigetaka was undoubtedly an imperialist and supported colonialism from the time of publishing *Nan yo jiji*.¹⁴⁸

However, these critics overlook the fact that Shigetaka's view of overseas expansion was commercial in intent as opposed to the militaristic intents of imperialism. Shigetaka strongly denied in *Nan yo jiji* that his theory of emigration equated to imperialism or colonialism:

I am impressed by the sight of English ships and the welcome extended to the British wherever they go. However, I remain firmly opposed to policies of annexation and colonisation. All I hope is to see Japanese immigrants being engaged in agriculture and honest works, establishing in a constructive manner new commercial opportunities for Japan throughout the world.¹⁴⁹

Shigetaka concluded *Nan yo jiji* by repeating the importance of establishing a new "commercial Japan" world-wide. He believed that constructing a substantial reality — instead of building a sand castle or copying Yamada Nagamasa (?-1630)¹⁵⁰ — was an urgent imperative for the Japanese.¹⁵¹

Conclusion

Irokawa Daikichi maintains that Shigetaka probably expected his South Seas trip to give him an opportunity to observe the international situation and to broaden his professional expertise in geography.¹⁵²

However, *Nan yo jiji* turned into far more than mere observation and reportage — it sounded a clarion call of warning to the Japanese people, as Miwa Kimitada noted in his commentary on the book:

One can not call it a scientific professional report on the basis of its many references to specialised scholarly works from abroad, especially of meteorology, biology, and navigational arts, or its applications taken from old and new literary works from both East and West. The work may best be described as a book of comments on Japan's 1887 domestic and foreign policies, and also a book of warning about Japan's future.¹⁵³

At any rate, whatever Shigetaka's intentions were at the outset of the journey, after the ten month cruise he was clearly dedicated to his life-long mission: ensuring the survival of Japan in the context of a rapidly changing world order. It seems likely that the trip had the effect of making him more assured of pre-existing beliefs and of the correctness of his recommendations, and even more dissatisfied with the new government. He continued to oppose indiscriminate Westernisation, which he believed would endanger Japan's survival, and to assert that its cultural identity must be maintained while the country modernised. For Shigetaka the cruise had provided first-hand experience of Darwinism in practice on the world scene.

Shigetaka's accounts of the South Seas served to raise national awareness among his fellow countrymen. His warnings and recommendations captured the youthful minds of those who held similar views regarding Japan's political and economic problems. In appreciation of Shigetaka's fresh perspectives on *Nan yo* (the South Seas) and his efforts in introducing the Japanese to the area — at that time little known in Japan in comparison with *Sei yo* (the West) — the Tokyo Chigaku Kyokai (Tokyo Geographical Society) granted him membership in April, 1887.¹⁵⁴

Having obtained support for and confidence in his own beliefs, Shigetaka was more than ready to undertake an intensive journalistic initiative through the Seikyosha (Society for Politics and Education); a society he had formed immediately following publication of *Nan yo jiji* with other intellectuals who shared similar views. Through their fortnightly magazine, *Nihonjin*, they advocated *kokusui shugi* (maintenance of Japan's cultural identity) — preserving whatever was "unique" to Japan — and opposed the indiscriminate Westernisation of Japan.

Notes to Chapter 4

¹ *The Fiji Times* records *Tsukuba*'s visit to Fiji and indicates Shigetaka's activity as diplomat and interpreter. Despite Fiji being then a current trade centre, the appearance of *Tsukuba*, a large steamer, aroused considerable interest among the islanders. Apart from his usual gleaning of information regarding the island, Shigetaka was busy with officers and the crew onboard the *Tsukuba* during their fortnight stay in Fiji. According to *The Fiji Times*, 5th June 1886, the ship was open to the public and an extensive programme of cricket, tennis, and rifle matches, etc., were to be discussed and organised. *The Fiji Times* attracted public attention to the *Tsukuba*:

Her principal officers are Capt. Fukushima ... Many of the officers and cadets speak English fluently, and evidently take great pleasure in giving visitors information as to the vessel and their work. During the stay of the *Tsukuba* she will be duly open to the public on days which will be notified, and a visit cannot fail to be interesting in affording evidence of the progress which the Japanese are making as a recognised naval power.

While the *Tsukuba* was anchored in Fiji, the vessel experienced a few incidents. One such incident was a funeral for a crew member, Midmanship Shirafuji, who died of an accident on the ship on 7th June 1886. (*The Fiji Times*, 9th June 1886.)

The *Tsukuba* also followed the wrong procedure for entry into the Fijian archipelago and because of this, a diplomatic visit to the Governor was rejected:

As a matter of courtesy, Captain Fukushima, of the Japanese war-ship *Tsukuba*, now in port, despatched his First Lieutenant to Suva by the *Arawata* to pay his respects to the Acting Governor. He was accompanied by a brother officer and Mr Shigarifa [Shigetaka] Shiga, the naturalist, who

travels with the vessel. But as His excellency does not approve of a foreign war-ship selecting Levuka as a port of call in preference to Suva, he twice declined to receive the party on the plea of indisposition. Evidently the Japs have made a mistake. They should have gone to Suva, to study the subjects of official etiquette, and gubernatorial good manners. (*The Fiji Times*, 19th June 1886.)

Clearly Shigetaka was very busy in conducting his mission as an interpreter and diplomatic scholar on these occasions.

² This thesis is concerned with Shigetaka's thought as deduced from his own writings. This chapter does not examine the accuracy, or otherwise, of Shigetaka's observations in *Nan yo jiji*.

³ *Maruzen hyakunenshi*, vol. 1, p. 195.

According to the information by the N. D. L., the first edition of *Nan yo jiji* was published in April 1887, the second in October, the third in October 1889, and the fourth in February 1891. Personal correspondence, in October 1995. Also see Toda, *Shiga Shigetaka - Kaiso to shiryō*, pp. 91-93 & p. 212.

⁴ Toda, *Shiga Shigetaka - Kaiso to shiryō*, pp. 93-94.

⁵ For example, there were *Kokumin no tomo*, no. 4, May 1887, and "*Nan yo jiji*", *Shuppan geppyo*, 25th August 1887. "Shiga Shigetaka" in *Kindai bungaku kenkyu sosho*, vol. 26, by Showa Joshi Daigaku Kindai Bungaku Kenkyushitsu, p. 175. Minamoto Shokyu points out that an enlarged third edition, adding to the text a 92-page supplement, *Nan yo jiji furoku honmon* (*Supplement to Current Affairs in the Southern Seas*), came out in October, 1889. In all over ten successive editions were published. Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shiga Shigetaka", p. 98.

⁶ A letter, "Nakamizawa-Fukuzawa", 15th August 1887, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshu*, XVIII, Iwanami, 1962, P. 149. Shiga Shigetaka, *Rekishi chiri hen* (*Historical and Geographical Issues*), compiled in SSZ 2, p. 35. Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 164. Also see Chapter 5-2-7. See Chapter 3-2, p. 83 for *Jiji shimpō*.

⁷ Shiga Shigetaka, *Nan yo jiji*, compiled in SSZ 3, p. 3.

Miwa and Toda note that Shigetaka asked Yano Fumio (1851-1931), an eminent journalist of the time, to write a preface to *Nan yo jiji*, but Yano declined. After this incident, Shigetaka became reluctant to write a preface for somebody else. Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 157. Toda, *Shiga Shigetaka - Kaiso to shiryō*, p. 212.

However, Shigetaka maintained that it was important for forerunners to look after followers and to realise the significance of their responsibilities as pioneering journalists. It was important for them to encourage their followers by writing an appropriate preface to their work which would, however, require a considerable amount of time and effort. If not prepared to do this work, they should not write one. Shiga Shigetaka, "Shuppan jigyo no dotoku" (*Morals in Journalism*), *Shin koron*, 1st April 1906, pp. 16-17.

Shigetaka did write quite a few, encouraging his followers with their works. For example, he wrote prefaces for the following works: Yoshida Togo, *Dai nihon chimei jisho* (*A Comprehensive Dictionary of Places in Japan*), one of the earliest and most comprehensive dictionaries on places in Japan, published by Fuzanbo in 1907. Makiguchi

Tsunesaburo, *Jinsei chirigaku (A Living Geography)*, Bunkaido, 1903. Ogimura Kinsaburo, *Nihon kenkoku no shinso*, Keigyosha/Maruzen, 1893. Okamura Seichi tra., *Kyokuto no yuhojo (A Playground in the Far East by Walter Weston)*, Yama to keikokusha, 1970. Hattori Tetsu, *Nan' yo saku*, Muraoka Genma (privately published), 1891. Nozaki Sabun, *Kaisei man'yu an'nai*, 15th edition, Hakubunkan, 1897. Shigetaka also revised Shimada Yutaka's translation of *Elementary Lessons in Physical Geography* (by A. Geikie, London, 1877), entitled *Chimongaku*, Kyoeki shosha, 1888. For more details of Shigetaka's prefaces, see *Kindai bungaku kenkyu sosho*, vol. 26, pp. 153-170.

⁸ Hijikata, *Hijikata Teichi chosaku shu* 6 - *Kindai Nihon no gakaron* 1, p. 318.

⁹ The Meiji government took steps to remove political opponents from Tokyo, and in 1887 issued *Hoan jorei* (Security Act) which prohibited any political assembly in the metropolis. Under this legal force, they deported from Tokyo 570 anti-government campaigners, such as Ozaki Yukio (1859-1954), Kataoka Kenkichi (1843-1903) and Hoshi Toru (1850-1901). *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 228.

¹⁰ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 2.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 2.

¹² Ibid., pp. 3-7.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 1-2.

Shigetaka's contemporary intellectuals were also aware of and concerned about the population decrease — proof of the survival of the fittest — in the South Seas. In "Kusaito no jumin", *Tokyo jinrui gakkai hokoku*, vol. 2, no. 10, 10th November 1886, pp. 43-44, Yamada Keitaro compares the causes for the rapid population decrease of the natives on the Kusaie island, with that of other islands in the South Seas, claiming it as a result of an "inferior race" having commenced trading with the "superior one".

Inoue Tetsujiro also expressed his concern in *Naichi zakkyo ron*, Tetsugaku shoin, 1889, p. 475. Inoue was a professor of philosophy at Tokyo University from 1882. See Chapter 5 for more details of Inoue. Furthermore, Tokutomi Soho referred to the power struggle in the Carolines in *Shorai no nihon*, p. 93.

¹⁴ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, p. 7. Shigetaka cited statistics by a British Captain Hammet and *A Journal on North Pacific Sea Routes* (unable to identify the author/publisher) in 1872.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁸ On 4th June 1886, the *Tsukuba* arrived at Levuka Island in Fiji. Four days later, Shigetaka cruised the archipelago on the British ship *Suva* and on the night of the 9th, he met Frederick Langham. Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, p. 68. See Appendix 4 F.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 69.

²⁰ The account of this incident is based on A. B. Brewster, *The Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Seely, Service & Co. LTD., London, 1922, p. 146.

²¹ Ibid., p. 69.

²² Ibid., p. 68.

²³ Ibid., pp. 68-69.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 84.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 70-71.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 69.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 82.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 83-84.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 83.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., p. 88.

³³ Ibid., p. 87 & p. 107.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 90.

³⁵ The French mandate extended to New Caledonia I., Loyalty Is., New Hebrides., Tahiti Is., Tubai/Austral Is., Tuamotu/Low Archipelagoe, Gambier Is. and Marquesas; and the British mandate included Australia, Lord Howe I., Norfolk I., Tasmania, New Zealand, Chatham I., Auckland I., Cambell I., Macquarie I., Kermadec Is., Fiji Is., Rotuma I., Cook Is., Rarotonga I., Starbuck I., Malden I., Fanning I., Caroline I., Raietea I., Pitcairn I., British New Guinea, Louisiades Is., Solomon Is., New Georgia I., Guadalcanal I., Malanta I., St. Christoval I., Borneo, British North Borneo, Labuan I. and Sarawak. The rest of the South Seas was divided among Germany, Holland, Spain, Portugal and the U.S. Britain was well ahead of other European countries. Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, pp. 11-16. Also see Appendix 4 H.

³⁶ Katsu Kaishu, who was the captain of the *Kanrin maru*, an official ship, sailed to the U.S. on the first mission sent by the *Bakufu*. He later devoted his life to establishing *Bakufu's* navy and Naval Academy. Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 156. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 53.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 20. The translation of the poem was extracted from Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 156.

³⁸ In *Nan yo jiji*, Shigetaka used terms such as "superior" "inferior" race/country to differentiate the degree of modernisation and adaptation of Western science and technology.

³⁹ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 21.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 21-22.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 42.

⁴² Ibid., p. 43.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 30.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 43.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 44.

⁴⁷ Ibid. There were a number of unofficial groups, such as the Australian National Association, formed in the days leading to Federation. Personal contact in March 1997 with Peter Taylor, author of *The Atlas of Australian History*, Childs and Associates Publishing Pty Ltd., Frenchs Forest, 1990.

⁴⁸ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 45. According to *Colonial Australia 1875-1900*, the Australian Natives Association was a society with a membership limited to native-born Australians, which took a prominent part in the federation movement of the 1880s and 1890s. It was always strongest in Victoria in membership and branches, but its influence was greater than its numbers would suggest because of the politicians and other leading citizens who joined its ranks. It was nationalistically devoted to furthering Australian interests in the Pacific, and most of its members were dedicated federationists. It was organised in Melbourne in 1871 (and is still in existence). Frank Crowley ed., *Colonial Australia 1875-1900: A Documentary History of Australia*, vol. 3, Thomas Nelson Australia Pty Ltd., Melbourne, 1980, p. 191.

⁴⁹ Unable to identify this politician.

⁵⁰ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 45.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 46.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 47.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 48-49.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 49.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 60.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 60-62.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 30 & p. 60.

⁶⁰ It is called gorse in New Zealand.

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 59-60.

⁶² Ibid., p. 60.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 61.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 60.

⁶⁶ According to a photo of the time, shown to me by Professor Rollo Arnold, the author of *New Zealand's Burning: The Settlers' World in the Mid 1880s*, Victoria University Press, 1994, the building Shigetaka referred to is most likely the (present) "old government building". Personal interview on 30th April 1995.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 60.

A brief account of the development project in the 1870s might be useful here to explain the background for the North Island's rapid development which so overwhelmed Shigetaka.

Professor Arnold points out that large scale development was implemented in 1870s. Unlike the South Island where there were fewer Maori inhabitants (Prof. Arnold does not recall ever having seen Maori in South Island during his childhood), settlers in North island had ongoing conflict with Maori; it required some protection from Britain in order to develop the island in more constructive ways. After much negotiation and consultation, the British government offered a guaranteed Colonial loan to the New Zealand Company, for the first time in history, for a large scale development in North Island. This loan was offered particularly for concrete infra-structure needed for railway construction, laying cables, etc., and at the same time to introduce Maori labour into these work sites. This massive operation took place in the shortest period possible. Professor Arnold emphasised "without the Maori challenge, it would not have been as fast as it was". What Shigetaka saw when he was in Wellington was the outcome of the project. Personal interview with Prof. Arnold on 30th April 1995. Also see Appendix 4 G.

(Shigetaka refers to Julius Vogel and his South Sea Islands Scheme, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 83.)

⁶⁸ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 54.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 53-54.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 62. Wi Tako is short for Wiremu Tako of the Ngatata tribe. He was usually known as Wi Tako to both Maori and Pakeha. Otaki Historical Society ed., *Otaki Historical Journal*, vol. 4, Otaki, 1981, p. 106. Furthermore, Audrey Campbell, *Ngauranga: An Illustrated History of the Gateway to New Zealand's Capital City*, Brickell, Moss, Rankine & Hill, Wellington, 1978, profiles Wi Tako as follows:

Wi Tako was considered by many European contemporaries to have been the most astute Maori chief of his generation. In October 1872, Wi Tako was elected to the Legislative Council as the first Maori to hold a seat in the New Zealand Upper House. His quiet and courtly dignity and commonsense won him tremendous respect in the House. He also became a member of the Board of Native Trustees (p. 30).

⁷² The information in this paragraph is based on Campbell, *Ngauranga*, p. 30 and *The People of Many Peaks: The Maori Biographers*, (a supplement to) *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769-1869*, (vol. 1, Allen & Unwin, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990), Bridget Williams Books, Department of Internal Affairs, 1991, p. 68. The situation in New Zealand of this time should be looked at from viewpoints of both the Maori and the settlers. However, this study focuses on what Shigetaka heard from Wi Tako during his meeting with Wi Tako in Lower Hutt, near Wellington.

⁷³ 'Debates, Wi Tako Speech, 10 September 1873, Doc A20 p. 46' in P. D. Green, "Claimants Closing Submissions: WAI 145 in the matter of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 and in the Matter of the Wellington Tenth's Reserved Land Claims", (unpublished), 7th December 1994, pp. 14-15. Wi Tako's grievance against the Crown's unilateral imposition of perpetual leases - "the Crown fixed unrealistically low rentals and long review periods" - was taken over by his descendants; his grandson, Sir Ralph Love (1907-1994) and his great grandson Dr Ralph Love filed a huge land compensation claim with the Waitangi Tribunal for confiscation of tribal land last century ("Claimants Closing Submissions", p. 8).

Their 12-page claim was on behalf of themselves, beneficiaries of the Taranaki Maori Trust Board, beneficiaries of the Wellington Tenth's Trust and the Palmerston North Reserve Trust, and the eight tribes of Taranaki. In a brief speech Sir Ralph Love said, "we still welcome the Pakeha and the things they brought to us but we still doubt the laws ... this is not our beach, the land is not ours, but we live in peace with each other ... he hoped that when his grandchildren took part in the 200th anniversary, land claims would have been resolved so that "justice and equity will come among the Maori of New Zealand". *The New Zealand Herald*, 23rd January 1990.

On 8th December 1994, Dr Love reacted to the announcement of the Government's fiscal envelope proposal, which seeks to get full and final settlement on Treaty of Waitangi claims and cap settlements at \$1 billion over 10 years; he said it was undemocratic for the Government to make as a condition of settling claims that claimants could take no future action in the courts or before the Waitangi Tribunal ... "it is taking away basic rights of citizenship". *The Evening Post*, (Wellington), 8th December 1994.

⁷⁴ Goto, *Waga kyodo*, pp. 29-30. Fukuoka Juichi, *Mikawa danji Shiga Shigetaka den*, p. 24. According to Goto, the feather mat (Maori cloak) is kept at Nanbokutei in Okazaki, Aichi prefecture. See Chapter 3, f/n 97 for Nanbokutei.

⁷⁵ Goto, *Waga kyodo*, pp. 29-30.

Wi Tako's pleasure in meeting with Shigetaka can be easily appreciated by the fact that he gave Shigetaka a Maori cloak which has a significant meaning for each tribal chief. Personal interview with Witako's great grandson, Dr Ralph Love at Lower Hutt in August 1994.

⁷⁶ J. McLeod Henderson, *Ratana: The Man, the Church, the Political Movement*, A.H. & A.W. Reed in association with the Polynesian Society, Hong Kong, 1963, p. 8. According to Dr Ralph Love, sickness (measles and other sickness) was the main cause of depopulation in 1886. Personal interview in August 1994.

⁷⁷ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, pp. 62-63.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

"Mixed-residence" was one of the government's proposals in the revision of the treaties which were signed with the Western powers at the end of the Tokugawa era. See Chapter 1, f/n 2 for the revision of the treaties.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 52.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 52-53.

⁸² Ibid., p. 52.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 70.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 70-72.

⁸⁶ The information in this paragraph is taken from Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, pp. 72-77.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 75. According to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 25, 15th edition, Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., Chicago, 1994, the U.S. signed a treaty for the establishment of a naval station in Pago Pago Harbour in 1878, and eastern Samoa was annexed by the U.S. in 1899 (p. 288).

⁸⁸ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 72 & p. 82.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 73.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 73-74.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 84-85.

⁹² Ibid., p. 81.

⁹³ It is probable that Shigetaka (also) wanted to protect himself from the government, which could eject opponents of its Westernisation schemes from Tokyo. See f/n 9 for *Hoan jorei*.

⁹⁴ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, pp. 38-39. As Japan's interest in the South Seas developed along with the advancement of the Pacific War, a part of *Nan yo jiji* was re-published by Higashi Hankyu Kyokai in January 1943, entitled "Shiga Shigetaka sensei - Goshu yume monogatari (Shiga Shigetaka - An Australian Dream)". See Uda Tadashi, "Meiji Nihon ni okeru kokushigata chirigakusha no taigo kanshin - Shiga Shigetaka sensei Goshu yumemonogatari o chushin ni", *Osutoraria kenkyu kiyo*, The Centre for Australian Studies, Otomon Gakuin University, December 1981, p. 138.

⁹⁵ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 39.

⁹⁶ Ibid., Preface.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 63.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁰³ Ibid. According to the Alexander Turnbull Library's Biographies Index, Dr William Reeve Haselden (1849-1934) was a magistrate, district judge and a stipendiary magistrate.

¹⁰⁴ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 52, p. 68. W. Haselden's Essay on the Industry of New Zealand, pp. 37-101.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 54.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 30.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ *The New Zealand Mail*, 21st May 1886. See Appendix 2.

¹¹⁴ Although Hijikata regrets that the articles are not available any more (*Hijikata chosakushu* 6, p. 324), they are available at the Mitchell Library of the State Library of N. S. W., Sydney, Australia. Also Fukui Nanako introduces the articles in her paper entitled "*Eko ni miru Shiga Shigetaka no Nihonron*", *Bungaku ronshu*, vol. 41/no. 3, Kansai University, Osaka, 1994. Also see Appendix 1.

¹¹⁵ *The Sydney Echo*, 10th April 1886. See Appendix 1.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

Shigetaka's articles for *NHJ* indicate that while in Australia, Shigetaka had a chance to visit the Wentworth valley of which he had heard for quite some time, and always longed to visit. Shiga Shigetaka, "Goshu to Koga", 20th March 1897, pp. 34-37, *Australian Place Names*, Hodder and Stoughton, (Australia) Pty Ltd., Rydalmere, 1989, and "Shokoku monogatari", *NHJ*, 5th June 1897, pp. 54-56. According to Brian and Barbara Kennedy, locality in the Blue mountains, west of Sydney, was named after William Charles Wentworth (1792-1872), who successfully crossed the Blue Mountains and this became known as the Wentworth valley. It is famous now as a scenic attraction because of its beauty and big waterfalls (p. 215).

¹¹⁷ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 33.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-35.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51. Shigetaka also recommended that to the north of Japan, Vladivostok and Heilong jiang province could rely on agricultural products from Hokkaido; to its West, China could be a good market for marine products.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

¹²³ Shigetaka's memoir records that in this seminar, he talked about anything which would make Japan look good, with some exaggeration such as that most cities in Japan had electric (street) lights although such lights did not exist yet. He did not want people to look down on Japan, for not being as "modernised" as the Western countries yet. Shiga Shigetaka, *Naigai chirigaku kogi*, Sai'on kyoikukai, Shizuoka, January 1899, p. 183. Also, see Sato, "Kokusui shugi chirigaku no ichikousatsu", pp. 81-82.

¹²⁴ *The New Zealand Mail*, 21st May 1886. See Appendix 2.

¹²⁵ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 86.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹²⁹ See f/n 78 for "mixed-residence" and Chapter 1, f/n 2 for the revision of the treaties.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 102. Shigetaka's recommendation regarding emigration to Hawaii in the 1880s differs from that of after the 1890s (see Chapter 5-2-6), reflecting the changes in the Hawaiian government's emigration policy in 1885. Conditions of employment from that time were not what they were when Shigetaka was advocating emigration from Japan in

the 1880s. Workers then were being officially offered employment in the sugar plantations for a period of three years. Although the salary was low, emigrants were provided with accommodation, power as well as water supply, and medical care free of charge. They were able to save and bring money home after the contract expired. However, the regulation which took effect in the 1890s abolished this arrangement. Individual contracts for workers were introduced and other conditions were changed. An important consideration for parents who would be staying longer, perhaps permanently, in Hawaii, was that of schooling for their children. They would need to be educated there and (after Hawaii merged with the U.S. in 1898), to be brought up as American citizens. See Gijo Ozawa ed., *Hawai Nihongo kyoikushi*, Hawai kyoikukai, Honolulu, 1972, pp. 13-25, & pp. 58-61.

¹³⁹ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 102.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 97. Before the first settlers of 1885, there was an unofficial group of emigrants, the *gan nensha*, sent in 1868. (*Gan nen sha* literally means the emigrants of the 1st year of the Meiji.) See Ozawa, *Hawai Nihongo kyoiku*, p. 3.

¹⁴¹ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 98.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 101.

¹⁴³ Ibid., pp. 101-102.

¹⁴⁴ Iwai Tadakuma, "Shiga Shigetaka ron", *Ritsumeikan bungaku*, Ritsumeikan University, part 3, December 1961, p. 13.

¹⁴⁵ Iwai, "Shiga Shigetaka ron", Part 3, p. 13.

¹⁴⁶ Sato, "Kokusui shugi chirigaku no ichikousatsu", pp. 78-79. Maeda, "Meiji kokken shiso to nashonarizumu - Shiga Shigetaka to Nichiro senso", p. 51.

¹⁴⁷ Sato, "Kokusui shugi chirigaku no ichikousatsu", pp. 78-79. "Nan yo jiji furoku" (Appendix to *Nan yo jiji*) in SSZ 3, p. 153. The appendix was added to *Nan yo jiji* from its third issue in 1889.

¹⁴⁸ Sato, "Kokusui shugi chirigaku no ichikousatsu", p. 79.

¹⁴⁹ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 102.

¹⁵⁰ Yamada Nagamasa was a Japanese adventurer who became the right-hand man of King Songtham of Siam. Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 153. Owada Tetsuo, *Nihon no rekishi ga wakaru hon*, Mikasa shobo, 1993, pp. 15-24.

¹⁵¹ Shiga, *Nan yo jiji*, SSZ 3, p. 103.

¹⁵² Irokawa, *Nihon no meicho* 39 - Okakura Tenshin, p. 21.

¹⁵³ Miwa, "Shiga Shigetaka", p. 7.

¹⁵⁴ Although critics maintain that Shigetaka was granted a lifetime honorary membership by the society, the record only shows that he was accepted as a (normal) member. Personal correspondence with a member of the Society on 19th August 1996. *Journal of the Tokyo Geographical Society*, vol. 9/no. 1, the Tokyo Chigaku Kyokai,

April 1887, p. 1. (The Tokyo Chigaku Kyokai was founded in 1879.) Kurahashi, "Shiga Shigetaka - Gendai Nihon no sengaku 6", p. 63.

CHAPTER 5 EDUCATING FOR A NEW JAPAN

5 - 1 The Imperial Education System: The Imperial Rescript on Education

Introduction

While proceeding with the indiscriminate Westernisation of Japan in its foreign diplomacy, the Meiji government commenced centralising its control over education, promulgating the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890. The Rescript's aim was two-fold: to terminate the moral uncertainty which had been brought about by the swift transition from feudal principles to Western "modernisation" (*bunmei kaika*, civilisation and enlightenment); and thus to establish spiritual solidarity by linking loyalty (*chu*) and filial piety (*ko*) with patriotism in the name of the Emperor.¹

An hierarchical structure for decision making had been gradually established, starting with the Emperor and proceeding through to the Ministry of Education, school headmasters, and then to students.² Making attendance at schools and participation in the army compulsory, the imperial education system compelled the people to implicitly obey imperial ordinances and orders. Communication via the imperial route was more coercive and persuasive than the mass-media; instead of relying upon the active perusal of newspapers and magazines, it required only passive obedience to the hierarchy. This was most effective particularly when the Rescript was promulgated — very swiftly and efficiently — to convey unconditional authority down to grass-roots level.³

This chapter examines Shigetaka's criticism of the "Confucian" scholars in regard to the imperial education system, particularly after the promulgation of the Rescript. The first half of the chapter studies the thought of Motoda Eifu and Mori Arinori. Motoda was one of the two primary drafters of the Rescript and a lecturer for the Emperor. Mori, Motoda's contemporary, was Japan's first Minister of Education, who was assassinated just before the Rescript was announced. The chapter then outlines some of the major events and debates of the time following the adoption of the Rescript, including its initial impact, the influence of *Chokugo engi*, an official commentary of the Rescript, and the significant role played by *Kokumin dotoku undo* (the National Morality Movement). Shigetaka was critical of the Rescript, particularly its interpretation by the "Confucian" scholars. He continued to be critical of them and spoke out strongly when the National Morality Movement penetrated throughout the country in the late Meiji. While studying the impact of the Rescript, the discourse attempts to establish Shigetaka's ongoing concerns about education. The latter half of the chapter compares the viewpoints of the "Confucian" scholars who supported the National Morality Movement, particularly Inoue Tetsujiro, with those of Shigetaka.

In *Japan's Modern Myths*, Carol Gluck argues that when publicists such as Shiga Shigetaka, Miyake Setsurei, Yamaji Aizan and Kuga Katsunan called for the establishment of "a sense of nation" among the people from 1887 to 1890, their main interest lay with the nation rather than with the schools, with nationalism rather than with moral influence, and with foreign policy rather than with education ordinances.⁴ On the

other hand, Okita Yukuji points out that Shigetaka had been critical of the imperial education system throughout his life, referring to Shigetaka's assertion that "we should never advocate the revival of Chinese (Confucian) study in the modern age we are living today" in "Dento shugi ni okeru imin oyobi imin kyoikuron - Shiga Shigetaka no baai" (Shiga's Views on Emigration and Education for Emigrants).⁵ However, Okita does not investigate in depth Shigetaka's concerns about the imperial education system, but focuses on his views about education for emigrants. Okita makes the rather vague assertion that Shigetaka's global theory of education, as shown in his practical recommendations for the education of emigrants, demonstrates his common ground with the "conservative" intellectuals.⁶ As we will see in Chapter 5-2, this assertion might be based on the reasoning that Shigetaka recommended only the "de-emphasis" of antiquated moral teaching — not its abandonment in favour of the complete curriculum of the host nation. As we will also see in Chapter 5-2, Miwa Kimitada studies Shigetaka's involvement with emigrants' education in terms of international relations. However, he does not examine Shigetaka's criticisms of the domestic education system and claims that "once the nation had begun reverting to xenophobia or acting upon its dangerously proud sense of nationalism, Shiga returned to journalism to remind it of the real forces at work in international politics and of Japanese vulnerabilities".⁷ Thus, apart from those of Okita and Miwa, existing studies on Shigetaka's intellectual activity predominantly focus on the *kokusui* issue and place insufficient weight on education. This chapter argues that, although education has not been regarded as Shigetaka's main interest, it was nonetheless an important concern of his and one that has not been thoroughly explored by other critics.

5 - 1 - 1 **Motoda Eifu: the Return to Confucianism**

Motoda, the originator of the Rescript, was a traditional moralist like Nishimura (see Chapter 1). He was a lecturer to the Emperor (1852-1912) and had indoctrinated him in Confucian moral principles. When the Emperor visited some schools in the northern provinces in 1878, he became concerned that the "Western" education he saw there had created "utilitarian" tendencies and ignored moral education. He requested Motoda to draft a statement expressing his views, and, in 1879, Motoda submitted to the Ministry of Education his treatise, "Kyogaku taishi" (The Great Principles of Education). Carol Gluck points out that "in it he combined explicitly Confucian doctrine with formulations of *kokutai* that echoed those of Aizawa Seishisai of the early nineteenth century Mito school" (see Chapter 1).⁸ This document subsequently became the core of the Rescript and the basis for the "Confucian" counterattack on the liberal school system.⁹ Its core premise was that "Westernisation had gone too far and that education must return to Confucian principles".¹⁰ On the basis of this document, the Ministry of Education revised "Kyoikurei" (The Education Ordinance) in 1880, introducing the principles of Motoda's "Kyogaku taishi", and thereby giving moral education priority over other subjects. In addition, Motoda's "Yogaku koyo" (The Ordinance of Elementary Education) was distributed to the elementary schools across the nation in 1882. Thus, loyalty and filial piety once again became the foundation of moral education in Japan, though this time Confucian teaching was to be used to produce subjects obedient to the Emperor, rather than to the shogunate.

In 1890, Motoda revised his earlier documents and reissued them as "Kyoiku taishi" (The Principles of Education). "Kyoiku taishi" provides a useful summary of the key points of the Rescript. First, *kokutai*, the Japanese essence, which sprang from and had been maintained by the imperial ancestors, indicated the way education should be directed.¹¹ Second, loyalty and filial piety should be observed as moral principles along with "thrift", which would foster virtue.¹² Third, knowledge and physical fitness must be taught by means of moral education. Moral education, in other words, came first. The other points raised in "Kyoiku taishi" included the importance of junior high schools for further developing knowledge and morality; that teachers' colleges should aim to foster loyal and obedient potential teachers who would teach loyalty and obedience to the next generation across the country; and that universities should aim to foster future elite statesmen; therefore emphasis should be placed on moral and legal subjects rather than "skill" subjects such as science. Motoda believed that the education system, as a tool of national moral control, should benefit the imperial house (i.e. rather than the individual).¹³

We have seen in Chapter 1 that Shigetaka, on the other hand, like Fukuzawa and Kondo before him, emphasised the importance of practical subjects such as science. He did not deny the importance of thrift, but argued that "great thrift" could be achieved by the application of academic knowledge to production. He believed that practical applications to business operations, as seen with the abattoir in New Zealand (Chapter 1), would contribute to Japan's industrialisation in a way Confucian moral teaching could not. Shigetaka's views, to a certain extent, were similar to those of Mori Arinori in that Mori opposed the

return of Confucian moral teaching and emphasised the importance of science as a subject in the school curriculum. While Minister of Education, Mori opposed Motoda's moral teaching prior to the proclamation of the Rescript.

5 - 1 - 2 Mori Arinori: Education for the New Japan

As we have seen, the Emperor had been indoctrinated with Motoda's way of thinking. However, Ito Hirobumi (1841-1909), the first prime Minister of Japan, and Mori Arinori, Minister of Education from 1885 to 1889, had quite different ideas for the education system. They thought that the system should foster a modern form of patriotism which would develop national strength.¹⁴ On this ground, they opposed the teaching of Confucian doctrines in the "new" Japan. While Minister of Education, Mori had prohibited the use of moral texts based on Motoda's "Kyogaku taishi".¹⁵ He believed it necessary to "create a 'new' Japanese individual — not subject but citizen — of education and mentality adequate to accept personal responsibility for the fate of the country".¹⁶ Mori's common ground with Motoda was that the education system should be directed for the benefit of the state.

Mori's aim in increasing government control over education was not to deprive people of their rights; on the contrary, his goal was to remove any feudalistic influence on the people and to expose them to the principles of modern nationalism as quickly as possible.¹⁷ Thereby he hoped to maintain Japan's independence in the international power balance.

During his tenure, Mori established various school ordinances, such as *Teikoku daigaku rei* (The Imperial University Ordinance) of 1886,¹⁸ which formed the basis of the imperial education system.¹⁹ There were two main educational streams, both of which had the state as their primary focus. The first stream, through primary schools, junior high schools and the Imperial University, existed to train the elite statesmen who would run the country in the future. The second, through primary schools, elementary teachers' colleges and higher teachers' colleges was for the purpose of training loyal teachers who would educate people obedient to the state.²⁰

Mori also differed from Motoda in emphasising physical training rather than moral education in the curriculum. He was concerned that in comparison with Western people, the Japanese were lacking in physique and mental strength. In order to fulfil the need for national strength, physical training was most important. In "Shintai no noryoku" (Physical Fitness) written in 1879, he attributed the cause of poor physical fitness to time spent in learning Confucian and Chinese studies:

Students learn the doctrine of Confucian and Chinese studies by rote memory and copy writing, taking ages to complete. They kneel down and keep the posture for a long time while they study. Some give up their academic pursuit half way through or seriously suffer from ill health, generally creating scholars of ill health. Their ambition in life is limited to becoming a moralist in order to govern a state in peaceful manner.²¹

Mori perceived an urgent necessity to rectify such physical shortcomings resulting from lengthy periods of sitting and inactivity. In order to encourage physical training in schools, Mori adopted military style discipline at normal (middle) schools and teachers' colleges. At teachers' colleges in particular, he made military type physical exercise and

discipline a compulsory subject. He aimed to obtain national strength as soon as possible through strict military discipline.²² He believed that knowledge was not enough: it must be supplemented by the "unshakeable inner strength" which could come only from spiritual and physical discipline.²³ In "Shintai no noryoku", Mori emphasised the importance of physical fitness rather than military training *per se*:

Military training must be carried out for the sake of physical development ...
But I want to make it clear that it is in no sense for the sake of military training itself.²⁴

Mori was making the point that it was important to develop a "sound mind in a sound body"²⁵ and that the military training itself was of secondary importance.

Mori's emphasis on physical exercise was often opposed by Motoda, thereby reflecting a fundamental conflict between intellectuals within the government. When Mori was assassinated by a fanatical nationalist on 11th February 1889, the day when the new Constitution was promulgated, a significant hindrance to further nationalist resurgence ceased to exist. Mori's liberal moral texts were replaced by ones closer to the Confucianist ideas of Motoda and Nishimura²⁶ and the movement continued to its apex in the Rescript.²⁷ The Rescript was announced on 30th October 1890, defining people as subjects and calling for their obedience to the state. It remained the basic statement of official educational aims until the end of World War Two.²⁸

5 - 1 - 3 "A Boat with a Broken Rudder": The Imperial Rescript Controversy

Although the Rescript ultimately required unconditional obedience to the state, intellectuals interpreted the function of the Rescript in various ways when it was first promulgated. We have seen that "Confucian" scholars such as Nishimura and Motoda were happy to receive the Rescript. However, some intellectuals interpreted the Rescript as inefficient. Shigetaka was critical of it right from the beginning. Okita Yukuji asserts that Shigetaka believed that the state education system and the Rescript were not only ineffective in solving the problems of moral disorder occurring since early Meiji, but were also the cause of unnecessary confusion to the people.²⁹ In "Zenkoku no kyoikuka ni gekishite rekishi hensan ho no iken o shimesu" (Thoughts on Compiling History), published in *Nihonjin* in 1891, Shigetaka commented:

The principle of education has not been determined for quite some time. Although the hasty educational trend of providing Western education *per se* within an extremely limited time span has been terminated, the need for a handiwork and commerce school has been neglected, the system for fostering qualified people has increased hostility between teachers and students ... Moral education penetrates through the society without providing people with its reassurance ... therefore the overall spirit in the education world is just like a small boat with a broken rudder in an ocean.³⁰

Shigetaka argued that the imperial education system was lacking in that it did not prepare people for the needs of the time.

Other intellectuals interpreted the Rescript as promoting an ideological subjugation of the Japanese people. Tokutomi Soho's *Kokumin no tomo* of 13th November 1890, also criticised the Rescript:

The Rescript did not differ from the conventional principle of education after all. It was proclaimed by the Emperor in order to clearly remind everybody about obedience. It did not show a new principle.³¹

A further interpretation of the Rescript can be seen in *Yubin hochi* (presently *Yomiuri shimbun*), a daily newspaper. An article expressed concern that society might merely be returned to the conventions of moral education, with the result that people's knowledge would not advance, arts would regress and the nation would stagnate.³² One fervent Christian and philosopher, Onishi Hajime (1864-1900), argued, "while the Rescript listed a set of individual moral teachings, it did not discuss ethics, which was equally important".³³

A more positive commentary on the Rescript was given by Naito Chiso (1826-1902), a "Confucian" scholar (of the late Mito school), who expressed his joy about the success of the Rescript. He had been critical of the "Western" education system and in "Hochoku no chui", published in 1890, he asserted:

The barbarians do not know about moral education, they just leave it to Christianity ... Our people should be determined to live with and die for the state; they should not imitate people of other countries who emigrate and become world citizens. Otherwise at the time of national emergency, they would wish to escape the desperate situation and to save their lives. Nobody is as fearful as those who hold a universal mind and forget their duties to the state ... The Emperor has proclaimed the Rescript and has displayed the traditional way of the imperial lineage and thus clarified the principle of education in the Rescript.³⁴

Opposing Christianity, Naito's expectations of the Rescript show that his beliefs did not go beyond the teachings of the late Mito school, "revere the Emperor and expel the barbarians".³⁵

Evidently, the Rescript had generated a great deal of conflicting interpretation. In order to clarify the message, in 1891 the Ministry of Education appointed Inoue Tetsujiro, an influential young philosophy

professor at Tokyo University, to write a commentary of the Rescript.³⁶ In the preface to that commentary published in 1891, and titled *Chokugo engi*, Inoue attempted to explain "why (traditional) loyalty and filial piety were virtue" and stated that his explanation differentiated his commentary from the others and marked a progression from theirs.³⁷ He clarified the function of the family as "an instrument of the state; the family should maintain tranquillity not only for the sake of itself but also for the state".³⁸ In order to defend Japan's independence, he argued, national solidarity must be directed toward the imperial house, thus maintaining *kokutai*. The reception and influence of *Chokugo engi* is the subject of the next section.

5 - 1 - 4 The Impact of *Chokugo Engi*

Chokugo engi became "the first attempt on what was to become Inoue's lifelong endeavour to set forth a national morality".³⁹ It also became a centre of intellectual controversy. There were already over two hundred guidelines on the Rescript, interpreting the Rescript from "Confucianist, traditionalist and/or Buddhist" perspectives.⁴⁰ The key difference between Inoue's *Chokugo engi* and other commentaries on the Rescript was Inoue's attempt throughout the document to explain the "why" of loyalty by attributing it to the unbroken imperial lineage.⁴¹ Other scholars wrote conventional precept style guidelines of the Rescript as it was.⁴² In other words, they preached loyalty as an instinct of morality while Inoue, from his influential position as a professor at Tokyo University, attempted to give it a rational basis. *Chokugo engi* was widely used as an official textbook, and none of the numerous other commentaries approached its influence.⁴³

Shigetaka was against the commentaries as much as the Rescript, and *Chokugo engi* did not escape his criticism. He satirised the commentaries in general:

I heard that bureaucrats in the education line have edited the commentaries on the Rescript and intend to sell them for profit. Thus the Rescript teaches "immorality" instead. Upon hearing this, some people have become angry and have tried to threaten those involved with unsophisticated words. It is truly laughable and just like little men's competition on a small island.⁴⁴

Shigetaka disagreed with the way in which the scholars interpreted the Rescript. His criticism became more fervent when Japan emerged into the international scene after the two victories of the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War (see Chapter 5-2).

Tokutomi Soho's report in 1893 on a school visit depicts concerns which paralleled Shigetaka's. In *Kokumin shimbun* of 7th April, Soho wrote a first-hand observation of an ethics class at a primary school in Atami, south-west of Tokyo:

"Why", the teacher asked, "must we be loyal to the Emperor?" A pupil stood up: "The Emperor —" he began; but he stopped, tittering, unable to conclude. "Don't laugh!" the teacher scolded, and spoke deliberately: "Because we are indebted to the Emperor. Class", the teacher asked again, "why are we indebted?" The pupils stared in puzzled silence. "It is thanks to the Emperor", said the teacher, "that you come here and return home safely". To be sure the lesson was learned, the teacher continued: "To whom are we indebted that burglars don't enter our houses and that we have all come to school without meeting bullies?" A girl promptly spoke up: "The policeman". The teacher thought dejectedly for a time. "Of course that is true, but the policeman is ultimately the Emperor's ...". The innocent girl did not understand the teacher's purpose and only stared in mystified silence.

The teacher allowed me to ask a question:

"Class, we often hear of doing good and bad. What is doing good?" A bright youngster jumped up from the corner: "Practicing loyalty and filial piety!" I was startled by the overly sophisticated response. Seeing my astonishment, the teacher said: "Say what you think without using difficult words." At once from the girls' side a voice could be heard: "Not being a thief."⁴⁵

Such a manufactured interpretation of the Rescript, however, is a perfect example of Shigetaka's later concerns about the imperial education system in relation to anti-Japanese sentiment (see Chapter 5-2).

Shigetaka and Soho were not alone in criticising the guidelines of the Rescript. Inoue's preface to *Chokugo engi* was perceived as "too Western" by moralists and intellectuals including "Confucian" scholars such as Naito Chiso.⁴⁶ Naito believed that the authority of the Emperor was absolute and unconditional.⁴⁷ He could not accept Inoue's rational and theoretical interpretation of loyalty.⁴⁸ He criticised Inoue's statement that, "[without any reason,] one can not disrespect or damage one's sovereign".⁴⁹ Naito interpreted this as meaning that if there was a reason, one could disrespect or damage the sovereign.⁵⁰

Moreover, Inoue was also criticised by Miyake Setsurei, for "presuming to explain the 'why' of loyalty".⁵¹ In a seminar "*Chokugo engi o yomu*" (About *Chokugo engi*) held at Tetsugakkai (Philosophy Club) on 28th April 1893, Miyake asserted:

If the contents of the Rescript were left as they were (without any explanations), people would have understood somehow the imperial lineage as expressed by words such as *waga koso* (Our Imperial Ancestors). In short, if he attempts to explain "why" (not "what") regarding the Rescript, he would end up speaking for the Emperor or describing his own judgement. (No one can assume that Inoue speaks for the Emperor.) Unless both ideas are perfectly in accordance, it seems wise not to refer to "why".⁵²

Miyake thought that if Inoue had not in fact forgotten the proper sovereign-retainer relationship, he had gone too far in attempting to rationalise the Rescript.⁵³ Miyake further argued that Inoue's explanation

of loyalty did not mark any significant progress from that of moralists after all; furthermore, his reference to model figures for loyalty was "simply out of step with the times".⁵⁴

Another critic of Inoue was Onishi Hajime. Onishi criticised Inoue's state-oriented interpretation of the Rescript, fearing that "*Chokugo engi* would become an exclusive catechism of statism (*haitateki na kokkashugiteki shinko*) or a form of thought-control".⁵⁵ He also opposed Inoue for setting "filial piety and loyalty as the basis of all ethical behaviour".⁵⁶ Onishi had perceived the mistake which absolute statism would make; it would suppress people's spirit and desire for liberty and personal rights by directing them to be blindly obedient to authority; and people who were only taught obedience could not criticise or rectify the state when it took a wrong course.⁵⁷ He believed that liberty and responsibility should be the moral principles of a modern nation and these would strengthen national solidarity.⁵⁸

Despite criticism (by eminent intellectuals such as Shigetaka, Soho, Miyake and Onishi), the state-oriented interpretation of the Rescript became established nationwide.⁵⁹ The subsequent outcry over "The Clash Between Religion and Education" (*Kyoiku to shukyo no shototsu*) contributed to the confirmation of its authority.

5 - 1 - 5 The Clash Between Religion and Education

For six months in 1888, Uchimura Kanzo, a fervent Christian and the alumnus of the Sapporo Agricultural College, who had so moved Shigetaka with his valedictory speech, held a position as a teacher at

Hokuetsu Gakkan (The Hokuetsu School in Niigata). During this time, Uchimura attempted, although unsuccessfully, "nationalistic" reforms of the school curriculum. He suggested discharging foreign missionaries from teaching classes and using the example of national figures such as Nichiren (1222-1282), a Buddhist saint, for moral teachings.⁶⁰

We begin to feel ashamed that we must borrow all things from our neighbours. Can we not govern ourselves by laws made by our own politicians, and convert ourselves with God's help only? Christianity in Japan must be and will be; but only that Christianity which has grown upon her own soil, sowed it may be by some foreign hands, but watered by her own streams, nurtured in her own bosom, and garbed (if garments she must have) in her own Oriental attire.⁶¹

Despite his efforts as a Christian-nationalist, Uchimura's ideas resulted in a strong disagreement within the faculty, mainly because of financial considerations.⁶² The school did not have to financially support foreign missionaries and replacement of them with trained Japanese teachers would cost money.⁶³ Consequently, he resigned from the school in December 1888.⁶⁴

Shigetaka, who was editor-in-chief for *Nihonjin*, apparently wrote an article on 18th January 1889, defending Uchimura:

If we wish to make use of them [foreign missionaries], they also make use of us. It is only natural ... If we do not wish to be made use of by them, nothing is better than for us not to attempt to make use of them ... It is undoubtedly very convenient economically for private schools to invite foreign missionaries to teach normal courses, for they would gladly do so often without pay ... What they want to gain in place of salaries is religious propagation ...

The Hokuetsu Gakkan ... had the objective of giving the education of a normal school, but because it depended upon foreign missionaries for much of its teaching ... it nearly turned itself into a religious school.

Mr Uchimura Kanzo ... who had assumed the position of its schoolmaster, had succeeded in ... retrieving the school from its religious atmosphere ... Being a Christian himself, Mr Uchimura was not denouncing a religious school as such ... But he rejected the practice of total infatuation with the West, in

complete disregard of indigenous Japanese spirit, by turning the entire normal school into an institution for the propagation of the foreign doctrine.⁶⁵

Although Shigetaka was not a Christian, he shared Uchimura's interest in seeking for a spiritual foundation unique to Japan. Uchimura advocated making a Japanese saint into a national symbol, and Shigetaka supported his stance through the media.

The fervent Uchimura sparked another national controversy in his so called *lèse-majesté* affair (*fuhei jiken*) of 9th January 1891. The Rescript had been sent out to the schools across the country to join the Imperial Portrait as "sacred" objects. Each school was expected to maintain them reverently. Uchimura, then a lecturer at the First Higher School (Dai'ichi Koto Gakko), refused to pay obeisance to the Imperial Portrait at a ceremony for the reading of the Rescript.⁶⁶ Uchimura's stand, interpreted as "disrespectful" to the Emperor, immediately resulted in sensational criticism by students, journalists, scholars and moralists. Almost the whole country condemned him as a "traitor".⁶⁷ As Herbert Passin points out, "the counter-reply by fellow Christians was not persuasive",⁶⁸ and after this incident, "Christianity began to lose much of the ground which it had gained among intellectuals".⁶⁹ As a consequence, Uchimura lost his job, and worse, his devoted wife subsequently died of fatigue, brought on by the shock. Shigetaka attended her funeral, one "among a handful of mourners".⁷⁰

Shigetaka tried to publicly defend the supposed "offender of imperial sanctity".⁷¹ *Kokkai* (Parliament) of 29th January 1891, carried an editorial entitled "Dai'ichi kotochugaku no fuhei jiken" (The *Lèse-Majesté* at the

First Higher School). Again this was apparently written by Shigetaka, who was responsible for writing *Kokkai's* editorials at that time:

Mr Uchimura was being consistent with the Christian teaching of not worshipping just a piece of paper. It does not mean that he lacks loyalty and patriotism. On the contrary he is a man full of love for the imperial house as was evident from his nationalistic actions at the Hokuetsu Gakkan.⁷²

Shigetaka supported Uchimura's determination that freedom of religion should be protected from state thought control.

It is probable that Uchimura hoped for modernisation of Japan through Christianity just as Shigetaka and Soho did through industry. But his refusal to bow to the sacred objects backfired on him, opening the question of whether Christianity could be compatible with patriotism.⁷³ In 1892 Inoue Tetsujiro attacked the loyalty of Japanese Christians, taking the Rescript as his text for the assault.⁷⁴ Furthermore, in 1893, in *The Clash Between Religion and Education* he attributed Uchimura's disrespectful behaviour to his being a Christian and also attacked Christianity itself:

The *lèse-majesté* was caused by Mr Uchimura being a Christian ... (Japanese) Christians have been protected by foreign missionaries and therefore lack love for their own country. If patriotic, there should be no problem in revering the Rescript ... (obviously) Christians have gradually lost love for their own country. They oppose manners and customs, disorder morals and thus attempt to distract national solidarity. There is nothing more harmful than Christianity to the country ... This explains why Mr Uchimura conducted such a disrespectful act.⁷⁵

Moreover, Inoue attacked Christian universalism for opposing the statism (*kokkashugi*) expressed in the Rescript:

The Imperial Rescript is based on statism and filial piety. But Christianity is universal. It makes no discriminations in its "love" and cannot support a

country unconditionally; it sets Heaven above the sovereign; and Jesus was opposed to the principles of loyalty and filial piety. Therefore, Christianity and Japanese education are in conflict ... Because of its asceticism and otherworldliness, Christianity can make no contribution to the progress and improvement of Japan.⁷⁶

Inoue clearly denounced both Christians and Christianity, for being in conflict with aims of the Rescript.

Inoue's attack subsequently billowed into a sensational journalistic dispute. Uchimura himself proclaimed his view that the world of education had been preoccupied with denouncing the "disrespectful" and had therefore made no progress with morality. He further pointed out that the reality of Japan's contemporary education system was far from the ideal expected of the Rescript. In 1893 he denounced Inoue:

You [Inoue Tetsujiro] stated that because Christians have grown under the protection of foreign missionaries, they lack in patriotism. However, I dare to say that many patriots such as yourself grow under the protection of the government and therefore lack in understanding the ideal of the commoners ... A scholar of your fame might be attacking me out of justice, but observing that most of the scholars who use the same logic as yours are bureaucrats, I, as a commoner, can not help but feel that so-called patriots are being so for their own sake.⁷⁷

Uchimura perceived, then, that Inoue had threatened the intellectual freedom of individuals by taking advantage of his post as a state scholar.

In an article written for *Nihonjin* in 1894, Shigetaka also opposed the scholars who manipulated the education system:

The promulgation of the Rescript has even caused a surprising confusion over whether or not to respect it. Above all, the imperial education system has been established by a clique of opportunists in the Government as if to further confuse those engaged in the line of education across the country. Such a disgraceful "other worldliness" has yet to achieve social acceptance.⁷⁸

Shigetaka strongly criticised the scholars who sought to take full advantage of control over moral education.

In 1893, Onishi Hajime also criticised Inoue, asserting that Inoue should be aware of the difference between attacking Christianity and attacking a Christian whom he did not care for.⁷⁹ Similarly, in attacking Christianity, he should differentiate between attacking it from a philosophical viewpoint and from a *kokutai* viewpoint.⁸⁰ He further claimed that opposing Christianity from a philosophical and religious viewpoint was not synonymous with opposing it from the contemporary educational viewpoint.⁸¹ Onishi perceived the fundamental error Inoue was making as a scholar; abusing his profession by interfering with freedom of religion.

Uchimura Tatsusaburo (1865-1934), Uchimura's younger brother, also criticised Inoue for impeding individuals' freedom of thought. He asserted that the "Confucian" scholars were trying to suppress education, religion and politics, and were thus trying to mould the people into a tight and rigid statism; even if the consequence was depriving people of life and freedom.⁸² He denounced their actions in "Kokkashugi to kojino hakuai" (Statism and Benevolence by the Individual), published in 1893:

The damage caused by the "Confucian" scholars already has prevailed blindly across the country. Genuine patriots who cherish freedom, truth and the eternal prosperity of the country have to keep silent again ... A state exists as an amalgamation of all individuals. A state should be organised in benevolence by protecting individual freedom.⁸³

His criticism summarises the reaction by the Christians to Inoue's attack — a cry for intellectual freedom.

5-1-6 *Kokumin Dotoku Undo* (The National Morality Movement)

In late Meiji, national control over moral inculcation was further intensified. The victories of the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War and the Triple Intervention (*sangoku kansho*)⁸⁴ in 1895 — the "gospel of power" — led Japan into becoming a "strong army" nation, "enriching" only those selected minorities and enterprises which collaborated with the bureaucrats. Constant tax increases and continuing general poverty had created immense social tension, bringing forth grass roots anti-government theories such as socialism and anarchism.⁸⁵ After the Russo-Japanese War the government organised and promoted *Kokumin dotoku undo* (the National Morality Movement, hereafter referred to as the Movement), a political campaign intended to pacify the situation by directing the people into imperial ideology, *tennosei*, combining feudalistic deeds of loyalty, filial piety, diligent work and thrift, with patriotism directed to the Emperor. Because Shigetaka's continuing criticism against the imperial education system was at least in part related to such propaganda, the impact of this movement will now be examined.

Soon after the Movement was organised, in 1910, the Home Ministry appointed Inoue Tetsujiro to be its leader. He was to lecture on national ethics to those involved in moral education at the public schools.⁸⁶ The Ministry of Education propagated national moral education on a full

scale. Loyalty and filial piety as well as *kokutai* were included in national ethics textbooks, and seminars were organised by the Ministry of Education for teachers at primary schools, junior high schools and teachers' colleges to explain the outline of moral education.⁸⁷ Inoue's *Kokumin dotoku gairon* (*Outline of the National Morality*), a collection of his lectures, published in 1912, provides the details regarding these national moral principles.

In *Kokumin dotoku gairon*, Inoue discussed Japan's unique *kokutai*, or essence, which was derived from continuous imperial lineage and the worship of ancestors, who were, after all, imperial descendants. He advocated that *kokutai* be based on filial piety as well as loyalty to the Emperor who was the head of the state; in other words, on the recognition that Japan was a family nation — its people were the children of the Emperor.⁸⁸ By suggesting that loyalty to a family meant loyalty to the Emperor, Inoue attempted to link family loyalty with patriotism.

Inoue also advocated *chuko ippon*, a unified view of loyalty and filial piety. He asserted that individual families combined to form one national family; filial piety for the family chief who was spiritually supported by the family ancestors led to loyalty as national subjects to the Emperor.⁸⁹ He claimed that *kokutai*, based on loyalty and filial piety resulting from Japan's unique traditional social structure, was the essential moral foundation for maintaining the imperial house and national solidarity.⁹⁰

In keeping with Inoue's ideas, the Ministry of Education selected in 1904 as a role model for the people, the story of Ninomiya Sontoku (1787-1856) and his life as an agrarian reformer.⁹¹ In order to further encourage thrift

(*ken'yaku*) and diligence (*kinben*), a statue of Ninomiya as a child, carrying a bundle of firewood on his back while walking and reading a book, was placed beside the gates of primary schools across the nation:

When Ninomiya was chosen to be a subject in a national school textbook by the Ministry of Education, he was conceived as a "class" model of achievement within the social fabric for the peasants and others of the commoner class. As symbolised by a statue ... Ninomiya's life was presented to the schoolchild as one of hard work, perseverance, filial piety, and devotion to society. Among the virtues of Ninomiya, greatest emphasis in schools was placed upon his hard work and perseverance.⁹²

The Ninomiya propaganda aimed to persuade the people to confront difficulties by means of self-imposed thrift as illustrated by the moral principles of an agrarian society.

The imperial education system aimed to mould the people into a unified set of beliefs, based upon *tennosei* (the imperial ideology), which however, inherently deprived them of freedom of thought. Despite controversy, the Rescript and Inoue's *Kokumin dotoku gairon* further strengthened the ideology, leading the nation into an imperial hierarchy. It was at this time (after 1910) that Shigetaka began to vigorously oppose the "Confucian" scholars of the imperial education system. The next section examines his continuing criticism from a national as well as an international perspective and looks at his recommendations for rectifying the perceived shortcomings of the system.

Notes to Chapter 5 - 1

¹ The following translation of the Rescript is provided in Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, p. 121.

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors (*waga koso koso*) have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly planted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty (*chu*) and filial piety (*ko*) have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire (*kokutai no seika*), and herein also lies the source of Our education (*kyoiku no engen*). Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State (*giyuko ni hoshi*); and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects (*churyo no shinmin*), but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji (1890).

² Kato Hidetoshi, "Meiji nijunendai nashonarizumu to komyunikeishon", in Sakata ed., *Meiji zenhanki no nashonarizumu*, p. 337.

³ Ibid., p. 338.

⁴ Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, pp. 111-112.

⁵ Okita Yukuji, "Dento shugi ni okeru imin oyobi imin kyoikuron - Shiga Shigetaka no baai", *Kirisutokyo shakai mondai kenkyu*, no. 33, March 1985, pp. 17-24.

⁶ Okita, "Dento", p. 24.

⁷ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 438.

⁸ Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, p. 122.

⁹ Motoyama Yukihiro, "Mori Arinori no kokkashugi to sono kyoiku shiso", *Jinbun gakuho*, Kyoto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyujo, vol. 8, 1958, p. 97.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 97. Passin maintains that this statement, *Kyogaku taishi*, was issued in the awesome form of an Imperial Rescript in 1879. *Society and Education in Japan*, p. 83.

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- ¹¹ The contents of this paragraph are based on Yamazumi Masami, *Kyoiku chokugo*, Asahi shimbunsha, 1980, pp. 58-61.
- ¹² Ibid., p. 60.
- ¹³ Ibid., p. 64. Umetani Noboru, "Kyoiku chokugo no rekishiteki haikai", in Sakata ed., *Meiji zenhanki no nashonarizumu*, pp. 91-92.
- ¹⁴ Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, p. 86.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., p. 89.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ Motoyama, "Mori Arinori", p. 106.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., p. 104.
- ¹⁹ Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, p. 87.
- ²⁰ Motoyama, "Mori Arinori", p. 104.
- ²¹ Mori Arinori, "Shintai no noryoku", *Kyoikuron*, 1879, in *Meiji bungaku zenshu 3: Meiji keimo shisokashu*, Chikuma shobo, 1989, p. 266. This quote is cited in Motoyama, "Mori Arinori no kokkashugi to sono kyoiku shiso", p. 96.
- ²² Motoyama, "Mori Arinori", p. 107.
- ²³ Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, p. 89.
- ²⁴ Mori, "Shintai no noryoku", p. 267. Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, p. 89.
- ²⁵ Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, p. 90.
- ²⁶ Ibid., p. 150.
- ²⁷ Ibid., p. 91.
- ²⁸ Ibid., p. 151.
- ²⁹ Okita, "Dento", p. 17.
- ³⁰ "Zenkoku no kyoikuka ni gekishite rekishi hensanho no iken o shimesu" (Thoughts on Compiling History), *NHJ*, no. 70, March 31, 1891, pp. 5-6. It seems most likely that the article was written by Shigetaka because it refers to his book *Bankokushi* (*History of Nations*) and recommends the teaching of world history and geography. He published the book (written in English) in 1888, a year after the publication of *Nan yo jiji*. Furthermore, his similar concerns regarding the education system are evidenced in SSZ 1 & 4 (see Chapter 5-2).

This quote is cited in Okita, "Dento", p. 17. Okita does not provide any evidence that the article and the other article, "Chokugo kaishaku" (see f/n 44) were written by Shigetaka. However, he maintains that Shigetaka was editor-in-chief for *Nihonjin* at the time and that the terms, awareness of, as well as interest in the subject can be identified as Shigetaka's. Personal correspondence with Okita, on 16th August 1996.

³¹ Minamoto Ryoen, "Kyoiku chokugo no kokkateki kaishaku", in Sakata ed., *Meiji zenhanki no nashonarizumu*, p. 175.

³² Ibid.

³³ Onishi Hajime, "Kyoiku chokugo to rinrisetsu", in Seki Kosaku, ed., *Inoue hakase to kirisuto kyoto*, (Misuzu reprints 16), Misuzu shobo, 1988, p. 209. Minamoto, "Kyoiku chokugo", p. 175.

³⁴ Naito Chiso, "Hotoku no chui", *Kyoiku hochi*, no. 342, 15th November 1890, compiled in *Kyoiku chokugo kanpatsu kankei shiryoshu*, vol. 2, Kokumin Seishin Bunka Kenkyujo, 1939, pp. 502-517. Minamoto, "Kyoiku chokugo", p. 176.

³⁵ Iwai Tadakuma, *Meiji kokkashugi shisoshi kenkyu*, Aoki shoten, 1972, p. 115.

³⁶ Inoue became the first Japanese professor of philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University in 1890. Winston Davis emphasises that until his retirement in 1923 Inoue dominated the Japanese philosophical world from his chair - and from countless other positions of prestige and power. Winston Davis, "The Civil Theology of Inoue Tetsujiro", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 3-1, March 1976.

³⁷ Inoue Tetsujiro, *Chokugo engi*, Keigyosha, 1891, compiled in *Nihon kindai shiso taiki* 6 - *Kyoiku no taiki*, Iwanami, 1990, p. 409. Minamoto, "Kyoiku chokugo", p. 184.

³⁸ Davis, "The Civil Theology", p. 10.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Minamoto, "Kyoiku chokugo", p. 184.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 183-185. Also see Davis, "The Civil Theology", p. 10.

⁴² Inoue, *Chokugo engi*, p. 409. Minamoto, "Kyoiku chokugo", pp. 194-195.

⁴³ It sold over four million copies. Davis, "The Civil Theology", p. 11. Inoue, *Chokugo engi*, p. 409. Minamoto, "Kyoiku chokugo", p. 184.

⁴⁴ "Chokugo kaishaku" (Interpretation of the Rescript), *NHJ*, no. 72, 26th May 1891, p. 31. This quote is cited in Okita, "Dento", p. 17. Okita claims that this article is also written by Shigetaka, for the same reasons as the other article. See, f/n 30.

⁴⁵ Tokutomi Soho, *Kokumin shimbun*, 7th April 1893. Kano Masanao, "Inaka shinshi no ronri", *Rekishigaku kenkyu*, no. 249, 1961, pp. 5-15. The translation is taken from Pyle, *The New Generation*, pp. 133-134.

⁴⁶ Minamoto, "Kyoiku chokugo", p. 192.

⁴⁷ Sui Shisei,* "Inoue Tetsujiro shi ga shojutsu no *Chokugo engi* no jijo o yomi hifun ni taezu", *Kyoiku hochi*, no. 294, 19th December 1891, compiled in *Kyoiku chokugo kanpatsu kankei shiryoshu*, vol. 2, cited in Minamoto, "Kyoiku chokugo", p. 192. Minamoto maintains that Inoue believed that the article was written by Naito who was "a direct descendant scholar" of the late Mito school and that Naito wrote it with his pen name, Sui Shisei. *The N. D. L. is unable to clarify how the author's name is pronounced.

⁴⁸ Sui Shisei, "Inoue Tetsujiro shi ga shojutsu no *Chokugo engi* no jijo o yomi hifun ni taezu", in Minamoto, "Kyoiku chokugo", p. 192.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Davis, "The Civil Theology", p. 10.

⁵² Miyake Yujiro (Setsurei) "*Chokugo engi o yomu*", *Tetsugaku zasshi*, May 1893, pp. 1011-1012. Minamoto, "Kyoiku chokugo", pp. 194-195.

⁵³ Miyake, "*Chokugo engi o yomu*", pp. 1017-18. Minamoto, "Kyoiku chokugo", pp. 194-195.

⁵⁴ Miyake claims that Inoue cited as model figures for loyalty such as Fujiwara no Kamatari (614-669), Sugawara Michizane (845-903) and Sakano'ue no Tamuramaro (758-811) who lived over the same period and were not well known to Miyake's contemporaries, except for scholars. Miyake, "*Chokugo engi o yomu*", p. 1016. Minamoto, "Kyoiku chokugo", pp. 194-195. Davis, "The Civil Theology", p. 10.

⁵⁵ Minamoto, "Kyoiku chokugo", pp. 196-198. Davis, "The Civil Theology", p. 10.

⁵⁶ Minamoto, "Kyoiku chokugo", pp. 196-198.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 198.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 199.

⁶⁰ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 193. Miwa further maintains that response on the part of Japanese Christians to Uchimura's calling for "independence" varied between two extremes; even Nijima Jo (1843-1890), a founder of Doshisha University in Kyoto, "whom Uchimura trusted as his senior Christian and friend" was critical of him.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 193.

⁶² Suzuki, *Uchimura Kanzo*, p. 119.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 119-123.

⁶⁴ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 193.

⁶⁵ "Hokuetsu Gakkan" (The Hokuetsu Gakkan Issue), *NHJ*, no. 20, 18th January 1889, pp. 18-19 (believed to be written by Shigetaka). The translation is taken from Miwa,

"Crossroads", p. 194. Ozawa Saburo, *Uchimura Kanzo fukei jiken*, Shinkyo shuppansha, 1961, p. 28.

⁶⁶ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 195. Ozawa, *Uchimura Kanzo fukei jiken*, p. 28. Suzuki, *Uchimura Kanzo*, pp. 137-140.

⁶⁷ Uchimura had respected the Emperor as a "father figure", but he refused to bow before "a piece of paper" on the grounds of conscience. The affair was so sensational that the argument went as far as to propose abolishment of national higher middle schools in seven major cities. Miwa cites a student's report in the *Yomiuri shimbun* (27th January 1891) that he saw no reason to object to the Diet's budget bill which proposed abolition of the higher middle schools because people could do without schools like the one in which a "scoundrel" Christian like Uchimura was allowed to teach. Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 197 & pp. 200-202.

⁶⁸ Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, p. 152.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 202. Suzuki, *Uchimura Kanzo to sono jidai*, p. 151.

⁷¹ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 197.

⁷² "Dai'ichi Kotogakko no fukei jiken", *Kokkai*, 29th January 1891, p. 3 (believed to be written by Shigetaka). This article is cited in Ozawa, *Uchimura Kanzo fukei jiken*, pp. 144-145, and in Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 197.

⁷³ Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, p. 152.

⁷⁴ Inoue Tetsujiro, *Kyoiku to shukyo no shototsu*, compiled in Seki ed., *Inoue hakase to kirisuto kyoto*, pp. 125-132. Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, p. 152. R. Tsunoda, et.al. ed., *Sources of the Japanese Tradition*, Colombia University Press, New York, 1958, pp. 852-854. Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, p. 132.

A decade after the publication of this work Inoue again expressed his opposition to Christian universalism in his *Outline of the National Morality (Kokumin dotoku gairon)* published in 1912 by Sanseido.

⁷⁵ Inoue, *Kyoiku to shukyo no shototsu*, p. 125.

⁷⁶ Inoue, *Kyoiku to shukyo no shototsu*, p. 131. Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, p. 152.

⁷⁷ Uchimura Kanzo, "Bungaku hakase Inoue Tetsujiro kun ni teisuru kokaijo", *Kyoiku jiron*, no. 285, 1893, compiled in Seki ed., *Inoue hakase to kirisuto kyoto*, pp. 225-226.

⁷⁸ (Shiga), "Zenkoku no kyoikuka ni gekishite rekishi hensanho no iken o shimesu", pp. 5-6. Okita, "Dento", p. 17.

⁷⁹ Onishi, "Kyoiku chokugo to rinrisetsu", pp. 213-214.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 213-214.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Uchimura Tatsusaburo, "Kokkashugi to kojîn no hakuai", in Seki ed., *Inoue hakase to kirisuto kyoto*, pp. 278-279.

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 277-279.

⁸⁴ After the Sino-Japanese War, France, Germany and Russia intervened and demanded Japan to return the Liao Tung peninsula to China in 1895. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 113.

⁸⁵ The government aimed with the *National Morality Movement* (*Kokumin dotoku undo*) to pacify the social disorder as seen in the Case of High Treason (*Taigyaku jiken*) against Kotoku Shusui (1871-1911), and other socialists and anarchists. High Treason was an incident that represents the government's harsh suppression of socialist movements in Japan at the end of Meiji period. 12 socialists/anarchists including Kotoku Shusui were sentenced to death and another 12 were sentenced to lifetime imprisonment at a closed hearing in 1910. The government claimed that they attempted to assassinate the Emperor. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 92.

⁸⁶ Unuma Hiroko, "Kokumin dotokuron o meguru ronso", in Imai Jun and Ozawa Tomio ed., *Nihon shiso ronsoshi*, Perikansha, 1979, p. 366.

⁸⁷ Unuma, "Kokumin", p. 366.

⁸⁸ Inoue Tetsujiro, *Kokumin dotoku gairon*, Sanseido, 1912, pp. 212-213. Irokawa Daikichi, *Meiji no bunka*, Iwanami, 1970, p. 313.

⁸⁹ Inoue, *Kokumin dotoku gairon*, pp. 272-273. Irokawa, *Meiji no bunka*, p. 313. Unuma, "Kokumin", p. 366.

⁹⁰ Inoue, *Kokumin dotoku gairon*, pp. 34-41. Unuma, "Kokumin", p. 366.

⁹¹ Karasawa Tomitaro, *Karasawa Tomitaro chosakushu 7 - Kyokasho no rekishi*, Gyosei, 1990, pp. 125-133 & p. 268. Kodama Kota, ed., *Nihon no meicho 26 - Ninomiya Sontoku*, Chuo koron, 1970, p. 8.

⁹² Naramoto Tatsuya, *Ninomiya Sontoku*, Iwanami, 1959, pp. 5-6. The quote is cited in Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 304. Miwa provides a detailed comparative study of moral education, with Ninomiya Sontoku as an ethical model, by referring to thoughts by Shigetaka, Uchimura Kanzo and Nitobe Inazo, in "Crossroads", pp. 304-327.

5 - 2 An Enlightened World View: Shigetaka in the 20th Century

Introduction

As we have seen in previous chapters, Shigetaka wanted nothing more than for Japan to take its place as a prominent and respected member of the international community. He believed that this could be done without compromising its national essence, and that essence, or *kokusui*, was in fact vital to successful modernisation. Soho and other reformers had differing views as to how to prepare Japan for the twentieth century. But Shigetaka's fundamental conflict was not with these reformers. They at least agreed on the need to "enrich" Japan for the future. His real opposition was the dominant force of "Confucian" scholars who insisted on looking for Japan's future in its past.

One of the reforms closest to Shigetaka's heart was a comprehensive realignment of the education system away from "Confucian" doctrines and toward what he called "universalism", or the cultural and economic integration of Japan with the rest of the world. But even as Shigetaka was making his recommendations, "Confucian" scholars such as Inoue Tetsujiro were re-emphasising the principles of the twenty year old Rescript on education via the National Morality Movement. The principles they chose to emphasise most strongly, moreover, were opposed to "universalism". Where Shigetaka looked for integration with an ever-changing external world, they wished to further insulate Japan with the "eternal" values of the agrarian moral tradition.

This section first outlines Shigetaka's career from about the turn of the century (after his political involvement). It then examines the contrasting views of Inoue and Shigetaka concerning the imperial education system and closely analyses Shigetaka's criticisms of the system, as to its practicality both in Japan and overseas. Finally, it outlines some of Shigetaka's practical recommendations for reform — proposals that were at the heart of Shigetaka's hopes for Japan's future.

5 - 2 - 1 Shigetaka's Global Journeys

Prior to a study of Shigetaka's continuing criticism of the imperial education system, this section looks at some of the highlights of his career in later years. He was no longer active in party politics, and while the hierarchical structure of the imperial education system was in the process of being reaffirmed through the National Morality Movement campaign, he devoted himself to education: delivering seminars and writing/editing books, particularly geographic texts.¹ From 1895 he was a lecturer in geography at the Tokyo Senmon Gakko (presently Waseda University), and became a professor at this institution in 1911.² In total he taught there for thirty years. It is worth pointing out his efforts in continually updating his geography textbooks at this institution — a somewhat thankless task which nevertheless demonstrates his determination and devotion to his field of study (see a list of his geographical textbooks at Waseda University in f/n 1).

Shigetaka travelled extensively during this period.³ From August 1904 to January 1905, during the Russo-Japanese War, he accompanied the besieging army to Port Arthur as a war correspondent and observed the

siege of the fortress from the headquarters of General Nogi Maresuke (1849-1912).⁴ Later, in 1909, Shigetaka published an account of these experiences in *Taieki shoshi* (*Observations of the Great War*). Tokutomi Soho is believed to have helped in financing its publication.⁵ Shigetaka also played an important role as a geographer for the subsequent demarcation of Japanese territory in Sakhalin in 1906; he was in charge of land survey and preparation of the official map.⁶

Another trip, beginning in March 1910, took him to Singapore, Cape of Good Hope, Europe/the U.K., Argentina and Brazil. He also visited the residence of Victor Hugo (1802-1885) in Paris on this trip and became even more inspired in his mission as journalist by Hugo's words, "The pen is mightier than the sword".⁷ On this trip he attended the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition in London and the Argentinian national centennial. In June he delivered a lecture at the Brazilian Geographical Society in Rio de Janeiro and was presented with honorary membership of the society.⁸ He also lectured in Hawaii, California, Mongolia and Manchuria. However, by this time, anti-Japanese sentiment had surfaced in the U.S., Hawaii, Australia, Korea, Mongolia and other countries. As an advocate of emigration, Shigetaka was deeply concerned about the rejection of overseas Japanese. In 1912 he visited Fresno, California and Hawaii to study the problem (see Chapter 5-2-4).

In 1914, Shigetaka was invited to a world conference in Washington D.C. (stopping over in Canada, Texas and South America). In 1917, he was nominated by the Royal Geographic Society of the United Kingdom to the position of honorary correspondent.⁹ From August 1922 to March 1923, he visited South Africa and South America, and from December

1923 to July 1924, India, the Middle and Near East and North America.¹⁰ An account of the last journey was published in 1925 as *Shirarezaru kuniguni* (*Countries Unknown to Japan*). Thus, in later life, Shigetaka remained fully engaged in the fields of education and journalism, and stayed informed of fast-changing world affairs.

5 - 2 - 2 Unexplored Territory: Shigetaka's Views on Education

In "Crossroads of Patriotism in Imperial Japan: Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927), Uchimura Kanzo (1861-1930) and Nitobe Inazo (1862-1933)", Miwa Kimitada argues that Shigetaka's key concern with the imperial education system was that its antiquated teaching, codified by the Imperial Rescript on Education, was a causative factor in the international growth of anti-Japanese sentiment.¹¹

Like Miwa, Okita Yukuji also claims that Shigetaka's concern in respect of education for emigrants was occasioned by increasing anti-Japanese sentiment in California in the early 1900s.¹² Okita further maintains, however, that Shigetaka's recommendations for the education of emigrants reflected his severe criticism of the imperial education system as a whole, and particularly of the moral precepts of loyalty and filial piety originated by Motoda.¹³

Okita dates Shigetaka's criticism of the "Confucian" scholars to the time of promulgation of the Rescript. He points out that Shigetaka remained critical of the imperial education system throughout his life, but he provides no further details in respect of Shigetaka's opposition to the system as it concerned subsequent social changes in Japan. Although both

Miwa and Okita attribute his interest in education for emigrants to anti-Japanese sentiment arising overseas, neither of them elaborate on his criticism of the scholars in reference to the Rescript. Nor do they comment on his opposition to the National Morality Movement which was revitalising interest in the Rescript at a time when anti-Japanese sentiment was firming overseas. With the effect of the Movement spreading throughout the country, it seems likely that Shigetaka would have been concerned about such a contemporary ideological trend. This section attempts to further establish his criticism of the "Confucian" scholars and to present Shigetaka's ongoing interest in education — both domestic and overseas — and related intellectual activity. It then examines why he considered the imperial education system to be contributory to anti-Japanese sentiment overseas and his recommendations to rectify the perceived problem.

5-2-3 The Purpose of Education: Comparison with Inoue Tetsujiro

As mentioned in Chapter 5-1-5, Inoue Tetsujiro's work emphasised the importance of *kokutai no seika* (the essence of national polity) — the essence of the Japanese nature and manner of life based on the unity of loyalty and patriotism. He maintained that this was the basis of all of the concepts of the Rescript and was therefore of special meaning for all Japanese.¹⁴ He saw *kokutai no seika* as being uniquely Japanese, and unrelated to international affairs, arguing that, while the English language contained similar concepts such as sincerity and fidelity, these were mere abstractions. The Japanese morality, on the other hand, was the foundation for the entire culture.¹⁵

Because the Japanese concept of national morality was so "superior", Inoue argued that it was not necessary to adjust it to reflect any changes in life overseas. Loyalty and filial piety should be recognised as patriotism all over the world, and if Japanese emigrants continued to observe this precept, the result would eventually be mutual understanding.¹⁶ He acknowledged that the Japanese family system did create some problems for overseas emigrants:

When Japanese advance into the world, the Japanese family system can be a serious hindrance. I am aware of the fact that emigration to the South Seas, North and South America, Manchuria and elsewhere is getting popular. I am also aware of the family system making emigration very difficult and this is indeed an obstacle. However, I am confident that once a family is united as one with loyalty and filial piety, then any problem, even a foreign enemy, can be overcome and thus Japan can further develop.¹⁷

Although he admitted that there were the problems overseas, Inoue did not recommend anything other than loyalty and filial piety for achieving "mutual understanding".

In contrast to Inoue, Shigetaka saw old-fashioned moral principles as the causative factor in the growth of anti-Japanese sentiment. In 1915, he argued that the concept of *kokutai no seika* only confused emigrants and caused arguments.¹⁸ He maintained that overseas Japanese should free themselves from the principles of moral education in Japan:

I dare to ask what sort of language *kokutai no seika* is. It is not Chinese, even our parents do not know ... it surely has not been derived from the Western terms ... Such bookish words as this, as well as *chu* (loyalty), *ko* (filial piety) and [moral] education only cause people to argue how education should be conducted ...¹⁹

In Chapter 5-2-4, the discourse will detail the precise ways in which Shigetaka saw the old moral codes as confusing and impeding the adaptation of Japanese emigrants.

In addition to being in favour of old fashioned Japanese values, Inoue was downright opposed to Western concepts such as individualism, which he saw as at odds with Japanese morality. "Absolute individualism", he declared, "would create philosophers such as Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) and result in anarchism".²⁰ Furthermore, a drop in the birthrate, attributed to birth control and not observing a "family" system, was being seen in individualistic nations like France at this time. The latter consequence, Inoue believed, would weaken Japan as surely as the first.²¹

Inoue, then, was less than supportive of the need for emigration and certainly saw no reason to alter the essential nature of Japan's educational principles either for emigrants, or for Japan's economic development and defence. Inoue, after all, had been instrumental in setting up the Ninomiya example of old-fashioned virtues such as thrift in the face of economic woes, and he believed that the success of the Russo-Japanese War amply demonstrated the power of Japanese patriotism.²² He scoffed at the idea of modernising the curriculum:

Mathematics, zoology, botany, physics and chemistry are general subjects and one must learn them, but they are not as relevant to, or as important as, national morality in regard to national defence. After cultural borrowing from the West, it is most important to adhere to the national morality wherein the Japanese indigenous spirit exists.²³

His attitudes, in short, were centred on the ideal of Japan's past. He did not conceive of any reason for change despite the passage of time.

On the other hand, Shigetaka saw the purposes of education differently. In addition to following the liberal Western theory of fostering a sound mind in a healthy body, education should prepare Japanese students to take their place as members of the international community. Within Japan, people needed to be educated for economic growth and technological development, but education must also provide for the needs of those who would be living overseas. Shigetaka believed that the latter was essential; without emigration, Japan itself could not survive, because the limited land mass of Japan simply could not accommodate and feed an annual increase of 750,000 people.²⁴ Statistics at the time indicated that the average annual income was only 71 yen while the monthly cost of living was 35.6 yen; this meant that people had to practically starve for almost ten months of the year.²⁵ Shigetaka warned with more than a little alarm:

When people can barely subsist for ten months of a year, how on earth can one expect morality from them? Loyalty and filial piety will be observed when people's basic necessities are assured. Only then do ethics come into practice. Dangerous theories (such as anarchism) which destroy society from the grass-roots level arise as a result of simply not having enough to eat. The problem of over-population is thus desperate and is a vital issue for Japan and the Japanese.²⁶

He was concerned about increasing social uncertainty and considered assurance of people's basic necessities to be more important than enforced observance of moral principles. He believed that emigration would ease some of the difficulties arising from over-population.

Unlike Inoue, Shigetaka did not perceive the family system as creating a hindrance for emigration; in fact he thought that because of the system, children — except the family's first son who took over a family business — had better job opportunities overseas. Emigration, then was necessary to Japan's survival and would confer immediate economic benefits. But Japanese emigrants faced a threatening problem — a rising tide of anti-Japanese sentiment. Problems of racism were surfacing overseas and Shigetaka believed that he had identified a specific reason for this; the imperial education system was turning out people who could not, and would not, assimilate with the cultures of their new lands.

5 - 2 - 4 Character Flaws and Complacency: Shigetaka's Views on the Imperial Education System

In the summer of 1912, Japanese living in California invited Shigetaka to deliver a speech concerning their education. Shigetaka, "known to them as a *kokusui* advocate" and a geographer, declared:

It is a duty for any man to abide by the constitution of the country where he lives. Therefore we should not educate our children living in the Republic with the same education standard set by the Imperial education system.²⁷

The reaction was uproar. Upon delivery of the speech, *Kokumin shimbun* (*National Newspaper*), a local paper of Fresno, took a stand against Shigetaka's lectures; the communique in its issue of 7th June 1912 denounced Shigetaka as a "traitor" and was sent not only to the local Japanese community but to Japan:²⁸

Instead of listening to Mr. Shiga's meaningless lecture about the conditions in the remote corners of Siberia, or that the Himalayas are higher than the seas, the earth is round, the world is divided into five continents ... and about

incomprehensible things like east longitude and north latitude, we would much rather listen to our hearts' content to the themes of loyalty, patriotism, and heroic grief for the motherland.²⁹

In short, the local Japanese community chose to renounce change and knowledge of the wider world, and to cling to the traditional beliefs of Japanese national morality.

To Shigetaka, there could be only one cause for this narrow-mindedness — the imperial education system. He asserted that having primarily been taught obedience and thrift, immigrants did not know how to relate the Japanese principles to those of the countries in which they were then living; they were not aware of themselves as individual members of a community. This had resulted in a misunderstanding of the Japanese, which manifested itself sometimes as anti-Japanese sentiment. Shigetaka warned in "Kaigai hatten no konponteki shiso" (Fundamental Thought on Emigration) in 1915:

In short, as a result of narrow-minded education, Japanese have not fostered the concept of caring about others. Japanese are consequently regarded as very selfish and are rejected everywhere they go. Such selfishness is the cause of anti-Japanese sentiment and unless Japanese change their fundamental thinking, they will not be welcomed overseas. Uproot such thinking completely and learn to care about mutual welfare. I warn that this is the only way to protect Japanese overseas emigration.³⁰

Shigetaka cited many examples of the kind of "selfish" behaviour which he thought alienated overseas Japanese from Westerners. For one thing, they were insensitive to local social etiquette. They did not respect the Western idea of punctuality, did not express appreciation for kindness, and accepted favours without repaying them.³¹ Typical cases included that of the referees who were asked to write a letter of recommendation

but were never advised of the results; failure to contribute anything to the construction of public works, such as hospitals, although sick Japanese frequently used them; and failure to express appreciation for medical care received.³²

Moreover, Shigetaka argued, Japanese settlers were very close-fisted with money. This lack of awareness for social mores, he concluded, had made overseas Japanese unpopular:

A vulgar saying has it that "no matter what good looks a beau may have, if he is tight with money, he cannot win popularity". From Occidentals' point of view, Japanese men as members of the yellow race are homely. If these homely men are close-fisted and engage primarily in activities on a basis of "take-without-repaying-ism", and furthermore, if, residing in somebody else's country, they keep on bragging about themselves, which is in fact an effect of the educational policy of their mother country, isn't it only natural that they should be disliked and unwelcome?³³

Nor was it only overseas Japanese who were disadvantaged. Shigetaka noted that Japanese scholars dispatched to the U.S. to conduct seminars on appeasing anti-Japanese sentiment clearly demonstrated their lack of international understanding:

Those scholars deal with only those "patriotic" to Japan, talk to the "patriotic" press correspondents over glasses of champagne at the Japan-U.S. cultural exchange. What a waste of money! Neither were the lectures delivered by *goyogakusha* (state scholars) sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs fruitful.³⁴

Furthermore, Japanese at home had demonstrated their ungratefulness to Western benefactors such as Dr Marion Scott (1843-1922), who had significantly contributed to establishing Japan's first teachers' college, but whose precepts were now ignored and whose goodwill on Japan's behalf was unappreciated.³⁵

Nor were the domestic implications of the education system limited to the creation of character flaws. Despite Inoue's reassurance, Shigetaka had concerns about Japan's continuing security, especially if science and technology subjects were not given more prominence in the education curriculum. He claimed that what Japan had to learn from the Russo-Japanese War was that the importance of science and technology should not be minimised. He maintained that the victory was due to Japan's possession of the 28 inch cannon. However, while assuredly this calibre of cannon was the world's mightiest ten years ago, he claimed it had already become obsolete.³⁶ Japan, he warned, should learn from Germany, which had produced metal for a new and more powerful cannon after studying the metallurgy of the Japanese *Masamune* sword and by a thorough research of its key element, molybdenum.³⁷

As shown by the German research in metallurgy, the world's mightiest cannon was created from our proud *Masamune* sword. However my comment was that while Japanese indulged in the glory of the past, the Germans had conducted careful research into Japanese metallurgy and had discovered a new metal which was used to construct their latest cannon; what this implies is the importance of science and technology.³⁸

With its new 42 inch cannon, the Germans had destroyed the "impregnable" fortress of Antwerp in only three days.³⁹ If Japan was to maintain its own security, Shigetaka argued, it needed to foster the kind of research and development that the Germans had conducted.⁴⁰ More importance must be given to science and it must be kept in the national curriculum. Furthermore, the knowledge gained must be put quickly into practice in industry, agriculture and transport.⁴¹

Defence from potential external enemies was always a concern, but Shigetaka was also worried about an internal enemy brought to life by the

emphasis on one particular area of teaching in the National Morality Movement: diligence and thrift, as personified in the example of Ninomiya. This ancient example was not only inappropriate to Japan's modern situation, Shigetaka argued, it was downright dangerous to the health of the nation. Its inappropriateness could most obviously be seen on the frontiers. A school teacher on the Mongolian border as well as a school headmaster in Zhang-zhun in Manchuria reported to Shigetaka that the Ninomiya lesson was irrelevant to the needs of local education;⁴² the task of frontier development called for more than mere thrift. As Miwa wrote "in Shiga's eyes it was clear that the Ninomiya lesson made people very thrifty, but not necessarily very productive".⁴³

The Ninomiya example was also leading to an insidious practice within Japan. Increasing malnutrition in schoolchildren proved that "thrift" had gone to the extreme. Shigetaka described the result in *Shinkoron* (*New Public Opinion*) in 1911:

I publicly announced ten years ago that people have gone too far with "thrift". Bad influence has been already observed everywhere in the country. Because of "thrift" in the Ninomiya style propagated by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, parents in Nara prefecture provide children with thinly diluted rice gruel instead of properly cooked rice for lunch. These fast-growing children behave just like elderly people, not being able to concentrate on anything and looking pale, let alone not participating in physical exercises. The school principal cautioned parents but it is rather difficult to change their habits; because I am known as an anti-Ninomiya campaignist, he asked me to deliver a speech in order to stop people being "thrifty" with food. This is a prevailing social illness not only in the prefecture but almost everywhere in Japan.⁴⁴

While the "Confucian" scholars, including Inoue, praised thrift as akin to patriotism, Shigetaka condemned it as having the opposite effect. Like Inoue, Shigetaka cited the example of France where social hardships and poverty had caused a serious population decrease. However, while Inoue

attributed France's decline to an excess of selfish individualism, Shigetaka blamed an excess of thrift.⁴⁵ Inoue claimed that French people ignored the family system, taking contraceptive measures and becoming selfishly individualistic.⁴⁶ In 1911, Shigetaka maintained that lack of sufficient food deprived people of vitality and the resulting will to live; French men were reluctant to marry young girls and raise a family. They seemed to prefer marriage with older women or to spend time with prostitutes to avoid the expensive and energy-consuming burden of bringing up a family.⁴⁷ France had experienced a serious shortage of soldiers at the time of conscription, and moreover French soldiers had become physically weak; statistics warned that the population in France would decrease some 50% by 1930 as a result of people's thrift and insufficient intake of food.⁴⁸ Thus, Shigetaka argued, not only their population but also the people's love of and will to fight for their country would diminish. He linked the population decrease in France with the malnutrition of school children in Japan, claiming that it had caused a serious crisis affecting mind and body and the maintenance of patriotism. He declared in *Shirarezaru kuniguni*:

Today's true patriots are those who endeavour to provide their contemporaries with concrete means and practical recommendations to follow for assuring basic necessities of clothing, shelter and food.⁴⁹

Shigetaka criticised the imperial education system for having recommended only theories and not given the people any practical applications to follow. He gave the example of the large numbers of newspapers and magazines concerning foreign diplomacy — 110 magazines alone dedicated to this topic — but none of which advised how to practically conduct or implement diplomatic missions. "Japan",

he argued, "has grown into a country with a big head full of empty theories without anyone taking initiative in demonstrating the practice of diplomacy".⁵⁰ At a seminar organised by the Ministry of Agricultural and Commercial Affairs in 1915, Shigetaka praised the practical approach:

One practical application is superior to one hundred theories ... Nothing could be less useful than discussion without follow-up practices. Having observed a large circulation of so-called "diplomatic magazines", I sincerely hope that the theories in these magazines will be replaced with practical recommendations to stimulate people to take action.⁵¹

In Chapter 1, we have already seen that he gave a series of examples of how to take the initiative and increase production, both of which he thought were important. He thought that the revival of the "Confucian" morals *per se* did not foster creative initiative and participation from the people to increase production. In a similar vein, he also decried a lack of practicality in the teachers' colleges, where students were merely taught to be obedient and passive. He felt that this killed creativity and interest — students needed practical demonstrations of claims to really feel involved.⁵² He embarked on the creation of a series of practical suggestions in which he attempted to further his theories of educational reform.

5 - 2 - 5 **A Practical Approach: Shigetaka's Ideas for Educational Reform**

As we have seen, Shigetaka thought that the principles of the imperial education system were too narrow and Japan-centred to serve its people well as they took their place internationally. Thus, his first suggestion had to do with changing the perspective to which the education

principles were directed. Japanese students had to be taught to think globally. In keeping with his ideas on a practical approach, this needed to be done through demonstration and practice.⁵³

Shigetaka offered the case of Okazaki Tsunekichi as a model case of caring for other members of society. Okazaki Tsunekichi was from Okayama prefecture and had emigrated to Houston, Texas, where he ran a few restaurants.⁵⁴ He was always keen to assist public organisations and support public projects, making a contribution as often as he could. Western people trusted him and he had many white American customers. Shigetaka suggested that once people were taught, through examples like Okazaki's, about social awareness as individual constituents of a society, they would be able to observe local customs and behave as expected.⁵⁵ Consequently anti-Japanese sentiment would cease to exist.

Adjustment of perspective and a practical approach were out of step with antiquated moral teaching, "de-emphasis" (though not abandonment) of which was Shigetaka's second recommendation. He suggested that Japanese educational institutions should carefully select model examples with which to propagate moral teaching. The references should reflect a global perspective and they should not cling to examples which conveyed a limited and narrow view. For instance, educational institutions should refer to incidents which emphasised the tolerance and infinite generosity of the Emperor, such as these:

When the Meiji Emperor was engaged in the Russo-Japan war, he instructed his troops to evacuate Russian women, children and missionaries prior to the attack on Port Arthur. Also, when the fortress fell, the Emperor gave a command to his soldiers to respect the Russian officers who had defended Port

Arthur. In addition, the Empress donated to the International Red Cross Congress held in Washington D.C. 100,000 yen which she had saved by being "thrifty" as much as possible in her daily life.⁵⁶

Shigetaka understood the role of the Emperor as a national symbol. He insisted that such references to the imperial house would provide an inspiring example not only to people in Japan but also to people worldwide, stimulating people's good-will toward the Japanese.⁵⁷

Shigetaka's final major recommendation was that education should be in accord with the needs of the country in which a person resided. Miwa attributes this broad-minded view on education to Shigetaka's understanding of the theory of evolution, stating:

He [Shigetaka] believed that it was in line with the natural principle of "survival of the fittest and evolution of humanity" to give an education adapted to the locality. He believed that there was no need to compromise with the educational policy of Imperial Japan. The purpose of school education was to make fine men both spiritually and physically.⁵⁸

In discussing the adaptation of education to locality, Shigetaka used the example of Hawaii. He saw great potential for the Japanese in Hawaii. Hawaii was an ideal place for Japanese to establish themselves and settlers there could act as forerunners, harmonising the civilisations of the East and the West.⁵⁹ Japanese children born in Hawaii were exposed to an environment with a variety of cultures and were blessed with the opportunity to merge cultures and create a new civilisation.⁶⁰ He encouraged the 200,000 naturalised Japanese there by quoting from *Hyoryuki* (*Chronicle of Drifting*, 1863) by Hamada Hikozo (Joseph Hiko, 1837-1897), a fisherman from Hyogo prefecture.⁶¹

Being in both the U.S. and Japan, I dedicate my hard work to both countries, hoping only thus to express my gratitude to both.⁶²

This ideal, however, was only attainable if the Japanese could successfully integrate themselves into the life of the Islands.

The first step to achieving this, Shigetaka advised, was to revise the curriculum and principles taught in Japanese schools in Hawaii to suit the Hawaiian situation:

For the education of Japanese children in Hawaii, the essence of the Western civilisation should be taught, i.e. an application of science, utilisation of machinery, elimination of complicated moral teaching, observation of time (being punctual), disciplined life style; with these elements the shortcomings of the Japanese should be rectified. Above all, the children should be taught the highest virtue of people in the West — concern for society, in other words social observance — in order to correct the worst shortcoming of the Japanese.⁶³

Moreover, Japanese school children in Hawaii should eat what would be fresh and abundant there, since it was unnecessary to follow the extreme thrift advocated in the Ninomiya propaganda. Thus, in accordance with customs and manners of the new motherland, his advice was "when in Rome do as the Romans do".

Revision of the textbooks was the next step. At the request of the education board in Hawaii, Shigetaka offered some suggestions for editing textbooks suitable for Japanese primary schools there. He emphasised that textbooks in Hawaii should support the resolution of the first world conference held in London in 1913, which declared:

All men are created equal regardless of the country of their birth or their race. Elementary school textbooks should carry an amendment explaining why people should not be treated differently.⁶⁴

In accord with the current universal view in education, Shigetaka emphasised mutual understanding in an international society.

Shigetaka printed and distributed his suggestions for editing suitable textbooks to educators, statesmen, journalists and others in Hawaii.⁶⁵ Taking Shigetaka's advice into consideration, the education board of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii sent 10,000 yen to Dr Haga Yaichi (1867-1927)⁶⁶ and asked him to edit textbooks specially adapted for children in Hawaii.⁶⁷ By 1915, the education board was compiling school textbooks adapted to their needs.⁶⁸ Furthermore, on the U.S. mainland, those concerned with education in California asked Shigetaka to assist in editing textbooks suitable for Japanese children in the United States.⁶⁹

5 - 2 - 6 Not Just Education: Shigetaka's Recommendations for Japan's Survival in the New World Order

While Inoue attempted to assure Japan's survival through the moral principles of past decades, Shigetaka looked to the future and to more concrete methods of assuring it. Shigetaka's ongoing concern was for Japan's very survival in the new world order. He proposed *Keitoteki* (*Nihon seisan*) *sankakuho* (A Systematic Triangular Approach to Japan's Production and Distribution of Population).⁷⁰ As we have seen in Chapter 2-3, this approach involved forming an interdependent triangle whereby the Asian continent was the raw materials supplier, Japan was the producer, and the South Sea Islands and Asian countries, which contained half the world's population, were the potential markets.⁷¹ To further this interdependent relationship, he recommended that full

climatic advantage be taken to enable more effective utilisation of Japan's land and water resources for the needs of industry and to further Japanese agricultural productivity.⁷² These two means, he argued, were the only way for Japan to survive in the world.⁷³

The *Keitoteki sankakuho* also supported further Japanese emigration to new destinations such as the Asian continent as well as Central and Latin America. In order to resolve the problem of over-population and the hardships caused by anti-Japanese sentiment, Shigetaka continued to travel overseas researching potential lands as alternatives for emigration. He visited Cuba, which would be an accessible country when the Panama Canal was completed; and could be recommended to replace Hawaii.⁷⁴ In Cuba, he visited Mario Garcia Menocal (1866-1941), the 3rd President of Cuba,⁷⁵ and they exchanged views on future diplomatic relations between both countries. Both envisaged that mutual benefit should be realised through commercial and cultural intercourse. The president asked Shigetaka to convey this message to his countrymen when he returned.⁷⁶

Shigetaka also recommended Brazil and Paraguay as alternatives to California.⁷⁷ Concerned about criticism of overseas Japanese for unintentionally forming what became exclusively Japanese communities, Shigetaka also recommended that emigrants should spread into three localities in Brazil, (Rio Grande de Sur, Santa Catalina and Parana) in order to avoid further criticism.⁷⁸ Changes in attitudes toward immigrants had been prevailing overseas and he advised that emigrants should take their own capital for developing projects, and use local labour — in other words, to give and take — in order to avoid inciting further anti-Japanese sentiment. He even visited South Africa,

which he described as "the source of racial prejudice", where "European only" was then the prevailing attitude. Unless anti-coloured sentiment was eradicated, he predicted, anti-Japanese sentiment would always persist. There he met General Jan Smuts (1870-1950)⁷⁹ and also wrote to him:

I heartily beg you to forgive or excuse me, if I have said too much. We Japanese do not seek or want any extraordinary things, but only what is quite plain and common, that is the exercise of decent commonsense and good feeling towards us if we act in accord with the principles of civilisation, and not to elbow us aside as "coloured" in the everyday relations of social, commercial and industrial life in South Africa.⁸⁰

Shigetaka saw at first-hand the racial humiliation of *apartheid*⁸¹ and his concern about the rejection of overseas Japanese became even more profound.

Shigetaka's several predictions about Japan's future indicate the accuracy of his analysis of world affairs. One of these was the emergence of a new world order based upon oil. He pointed out that the energy transfer from coal to petrol after World War One represented a significant technological advancement. The time of gold/steel had become that of oil. He considered it essential to call people's attention to countries in the Middle East and South America, then "unknown" to Japan.⁸² He thought important to keep his contemporaries informed of the current international demand for and supply of oil. He warned in his last book *Shirarezaru kuniguni* (*Countries Unknown to Japan*) that a cut in oil supply meant a cut in the national lifeline (*yudan kokudan*). It was in the national interest, he cautioned, that specialists should be encouraged to pursue research into oil alternatives.⁸³ He wrote the book in the most comprehensible language so that anybody, even uneducated people,

could understand; he did not aim for any profit from the books and mailed them to anybody who asked for his contribution.⁸⁴ Shigetaka repeatedly warned that the world's interest had shifted from Asia to the Middle East and world leadership from Pax Britannica to Pan America. For the West the balance of power in Asia was no longer as significant as the oil issue. Without obtaining a reliable source of oil or developing oil alternatives, Japan would not survive the current world power conflict, let alone a war which would require aircraft and warships, hence creating a great demand for oil. He made several recommendations for obtaining an oil supply for Japan.

Firstly, Shigetaka suggested that a thorough investigation of potential oil sources in Japan be made. Secondly, he thought that scientists should be directed to research the most economical and efficient extraction of oil from such potential sources. Thirdly, delegates should be dispatched to world conferences such as the World Petroleum Conference (organised by Belgium, France, Holland, Russia, Sweden, the U.K. and the U.S.) held in Paris in October, 1922. Fourthly, contracts should be secured as soon as possible with countries such as Borneo and Russia to ensure an ongoing oil supply.⁸⁵

Despite his recommendations, Shigetaka felt that those in authority in Japan still did not realise the dynamics of the fast-changing world order. While he perceived the importance of informing people of such urgent international developments, Japan was progressing into a military state with forced obedience of people to the Emperor. The more the imperial state became interested with *Ajia renmei* (the Asian League) in expanding into Asia and in taking a stand against the anti-Japanese

campaigns in the U.S. and elsewhere, the more vehemently he opposed the League.⁸⁶

However, Japan's interest in pursuing another war steadily advanced. When Marquess Okuma Nobutsune (1871-1947)⁸⁷ invited thirty distinguished people to the Tokyo Kogyo Club in 1924, for an exchange of views regarding the Asian League, it was only Dr Anezaki Masaharu (1873-1949)⁸⁸ and Shigetaka who opposed it; Dr Anezaki claiming that it was frivolous, and Shigetaka, that it was hopeless thinking given his recent research in Asia.⁸⁹ Furthermore, as soon as Shigetaka returned from overseas (in 1924), *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin* (*Japan and the Japanese*) invited fifty people to express their views regarding the Asian League and only three, Ozaki Yukio (1859-1954),⁹⁰ Shinobu Junhei (1871-?).⁹¹ and Shigetaka opposed it.⁹² From a feeling of hopelessness, Shigetaka wrote of his opposition for *Mikawa nippo*, a journal in his hometown:

Why are so many Japanese blind to the current world situation which is obvious to everybody elsewhere? Is it possible that "malnutrition" may be causing a cessation of brain function and subsequent fossilisation in those people who have turned to forty-five years of age?⁹³

His cry for attention to the new world order was ignored by the League. Unless an oil supply was secured, he was convinced that the Asian League meant suicidal aggravation for Japan.

Shigetaka became even more concerned about the Japanese failure to keep abreast of current changes in world affairs. He referred to Bywater's *The Pacific War* which predicted Japan's aggression towards Asia as well as towards the Pacific and also Japan's total defeat in the end.⁹⁴ Shigetaka was overwhelmed by the book's accuracy in regard to Japan's current

political situation.⁹⁵ He cautioned once again with more than a little alarm:

Thirty years ago I warned the "Confucian" scholars of (the late Mito school) with *A Guide to Japan*, published by Murray in London. Being sixty-three years old, I do not dare to use the same offensive words as I did then, but I do warn today with this book, *The Pacific War*, not only the "Confucian" scholars but the whole Japanese society.⁹⁶

His decades long opposition to the "Confucian" scholars became even more vehement as the National Morality Movement gained nation-wide support. He claimed that Bywater's book alone indicated the degree to which other countries had been keeping abreast of current conditions in Japan, and that Japan should at least endeavour to keep pace with the fast-changing world order.

Until just before his death in April 1927, Shigetaka was fully engaged in delivering lectures and seminars across the country. He was a guest speaker at the opening of NHK (Nihon Hoso Kyokai, Japan Broadcasting Corporation) Osaka radio station in February.⁹⁷ His last public announcement on radio, entitled "Nihon no konpon mondai" (Japan's Fundamental Problem) clearly outlined his life-time concern — Japan's survival.⁹⁸ He suggested resolutions for the over-population problem, destinations for emigrants and ways of increasing potential markets for Japanese products.⁹⁹

5 - 2 - 7 Great Educators in Japan: Past, Present and Future

As we have seen, Shigetaka was profoundly concerned about Japan's survival, and saw education as an essential instrument for creating a "new" Japan. Always concerned about Japan's stance in world affairs, he

believed that education should make provision for the international perspective. Such ambitions might be best illustrated in the following episode. When, in 1909, a school headmaster at a junior high school asked Shigetaka to choose Japan's greatest educators in the past, present and the future, he chose Egawa Tarozaemon (1801-1855)¹⁰⁰ for the past; for the present "of course", he stressed, "Fukuzawa Yukichi, and for the future, Nitobe Inazo (1862-1933)".¹⁰¹ Regarding Egawa, Shigetaka recognised his efforts in establishing "modern education", informing his students about the world and advocating that Japan should be opened up to foreign countries at a time when the country was still secluded from the world.¹⁰² His students, such as Sakuma Shozan, Otsuki Bankei, Kuroda Kiyotaka (1840-1900) and Kido Takayoshi (1833-1877) became the driving forces for the movement which led to the Restoration.¹⁰³ ("However", Shigetaka argued, "Egawa's contribution was not fully recognised — not even one tenth of Sakuma's — truly shameful".)

As regards Fukuzawa Yukichi, the school headmaster remarked that everybody respected Fukuzawa as a great enlightener. As we have seen Fukuzawa dedicated his life to introducing Western civilisation, modernising Japan and encouraging overseas trade/commerce. The school headmaster asked Shigetaka what was his most lasting impression of Fukuzawa. Shigetaka replied that although he had never been taught by Fukuzawa or attended his Keio gijuku, he had been the main inspiration in Shigetaka's life. What had made Shigetaka what he was, he asserted, was Fukuzawa's influence. According to Shigetaka, Fukuzawa had been impressed by Shigetaka's thesis¹⁰⁴ while Shigetaka was still young, not a man of fame yet, and once invited him to his home and offered him a meal in a warm family environment. Since then

Shigetaka had always envisaged fostering his own family just like Fukuzawa's. He also recalled a decisive moment which came just as he was about to leave Fukuzawa's residence. While helping Shigetaka with his coat, Fukuzawa advised him "never become a bureaucrat". As we have seen in Chapter 3, Fukuzawa was convinced that Japan's future depended on enlightening the people with "Western" learning and that institutions, as seen in his Keio gijuku, should be independent of government control. Fukuzawa's words struck Shigetaka like a thunderbolt and remained with him as "words from Heaven" throughout his life. It is probable that Shigetaka also thought that education should be free from state restrictions as Fukuzawa advocated.

Upon listening to this episode, the schoolmaster asked Shigetaka who could be the next great educators after Fukuzawa. He answered that Nitobe Inazo would be. Nitobe was only known as a Bachelor of Agriculture at that time, and was to become a hundred times more famous later.¹⁰⁵ The school master responded to Shigetaka's remark with surprise. Nitobe was also an alumnus of the College in Sapporo and dedicated his life to introducing Japan to the West and to bridging the cultures of the U.S. and Japan. What Egawa, Fukuzawa and Nitobe had in common then, was the goal of Japan's emergence internationally. Shigetaka's selection of these men as his ideal educators confirms his own belief in the need for "universal" education. As we have seen, Shigetaka always opposed the dominant force of the "Confucian" scholars who supported the revival and maintenance of the feudalistic moral principles. While education was an essential for creating a "new" Japan, their persistent search for Japan's future in its past was clearly contrary to Shigetaka's aim for the modern integration of Japan.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is not to specify exactly which "Confucian" scholars Shigetaka opposed, but to reveal his concerns regarding the imperial education system, to which critics have previously given insufficient weight. His criticism demonstrates his anti-imperialism and interest in education. One of his educational achievements which has often been overlooked and deserves more emphasis is his dedication to establishing the study of geography at Waseda University. Thirty years' service for this institution, and particularly his efforts in constantly updating his geographical textbooks, should be highlighted as unshakeable evidence of a determined contribution to education. Furthermore, his last public speech at NHK Radio Osaka, just before his death, underlines his mission as enlightener, for even then he was making recommendations for Japan's survival in the fast-changing world order. In order to establish a more realistic picture of Shigetaka's thought and intellectual activity, his involvement in education must be emphasised equally with that of his *kokusui* advocacy.

Notes to Chapter 5 - 2

¹ Minamoto Shokyu provides a detailed account of Shigetaka's bio-bibliographical studies in "Shigetaka Shiga", pp. 96-97 and in his "Shiga Shigetaka no chiri gaku: Shoshigakuteki chosa" (Shiga Shigetaka's Geographical Works - A Bibliographical Survey).

The following is a list in chronological order of Shigetaka's geographical textbooks at Waseda University (marked as *W), listed in the above reference. Some contents, similar

to those of the following texts, are compiled in SSZ 4.

1897 *W 1	<i>Chirigaku (Textbook of Geography)</i> , Tokyo Senmon Gakko
1901 *W 2	<i>Chirigaku</i> , Tokyo Senmon Gakko
1903 *W 3	<i>Chirigaku</i> , Waseda University
1904 *W 4	<i>Chirigaku</i> , Waseda University
1905 *W 5	<i>Chirigaku</i> , Waseda University
1906 *W 6	<i>Chirigaku</i> , Waseda University (History & Geography Dept. Lecture Notes for 1906)
1908 *W 7	<i>Chirigaku</i> , Waseda University (Politics & Economics Dept. Lecture Notes for 1908)

In his "Shiga Shigetaka", pp. 187-189, Minamoto also provides a detailed study of Shigetaka's geographical textbooks entitled *Chirigaku (Geography)* or *Chirigaku kogi (Lectures on Geography)*, most of which are kept at Meijiki bunko, Central Library of Waseda University.

According to Minamoto, they were used as textbooks not only at the Tokyo Senmon Gakko (present Waseda University) but also public and private middle schools throughout the country; these textbooks, of which a number of different editions appeared, confirm Shiga's "manifesto" as a geographer ... Minamoto remarks that Shiga's contribution to geography is best understood in the context of the development of modern geography in Japan; Shiga's activities in the period of 1887-1907 pioneered modern geography in Japan by assimilating and interpreting geography introduced from the West and contributed greatly to the popularity of geography. Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga", p. 97.

² Shiga Shigetaka, "Hainichi mondai to zaikashu hojin no jikkyo" (The Japanese Living in California), *Waseda koen*, May 1913, vol. 3-1, p. 60. *Waseda gakuho*, no. 200, Waseda Daigaku Kyokai, 1911, p. 5. Noguchi Yuichiro, "Shigen kiki to Shiga Shigetaka", *Asahi shimbun*, 13th April 1989. Also see Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga", p. 97, and "Shiga Shigetaka", pp. 187-189, for Shigetaka's involvement in editing geography textbooks at Waseda.

³ Minamoto provides a detailed account of Shigetaka's trips in "Shigetaka Shiga", pp. 96-97. Ui (Kunio), *Shiga Shigetaka*, pp. 106-110.

⁴ Nogi Maresuke (1884-1912) was an army general during the Meiji period. He was in command at the fall of Port Arthur during the Russo-Japanese War. He committed suicide on the death of "his lord", the Meiji Emperor. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 204.

⁵ In *Soho to sono jidai*, Kono refers to Soho's involvement in financing *Taieki shoshi*, p. 179. Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga", p. 97.

⁶ Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga", p. 96. According to Minamoto's accounts on this project, from August to October 1905, Shigetaka led an expedition across the island of Sakhalin with dual responsibilities as the representative of the Tokyo Geographical Society and also of the Dai-Nippon Suisankai (Japan Fisheries Association). From June to November 1906 he was engaged in the bilateral Russo-Japanese commission set up at Aleksandrovsk Sakhalinski to determine the division of the island as part of the War settlement. His professional expertise on this project was appreciated and on his return to Tokyo he was rewarded by the Emperor. See Shiga, *Taieki shoshi*, SSZ 5, p. 3. Ui (Kunio), *Shiga Shigetaka*, p. 18 (and an appendix), a list of Shigetaka's publications in chronological order. Toda, *Shiga Shigetaka - Kaiso to shiryō*, pp. 220-221, Miwa,

"Crossroads", p. 299. Kurahashi, "Shiga Shigetaka - Gendai Nihon no sengaku", pp. 65-66.

⁷ Shiga Shigetaka, *Ganzen banri* (*The Horizon*), compiled in SSZ 4, p. 248. It appears most likely that Shigetaka visited Hugo's residence on this global trip from March to November 1910. The account of his visit is included in a series of articles, *Ganzen banri*, published by *Tokyo nichinichi shimbun* from 20th December 1910 for two months. Also see Ui (Kunio), *Shiga Shigetaka*, p. 18 and a chronological list of Shigetaka's publications in an appendix.

⁸ Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga", p. 97. The Brazilian Geographical Society was founded in 1883. Goto, *Waga kyodo*, p. 64, Hijikata, *Hijikata Teichi chosakushu* 6 - *Kindai gakaron* 1, p. 357. Ui (Kunio), *Shiga Shigetaka*, p. 18.

⁹ *The Geographical Journal*, the Royal Geographical Society, vol. 50, 1917, p. 8, and vol. 70, no. 1, July 1927, p. 95. Shiga Shigetaka, "Saikin sekai kaku ryoko no shui" (The Purpose of My World Trips), *Shin Mikawa*, 16th October 1924, in SSZ 1, p. 379, Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga", p. 97.

¹⁰ The impact of this trip on Shigetaka was most significant in that he became aware of the world's interest having shifted from Asia to the Middle East for petroleum. The interview with the King of Jordan in Oman was important as it revealed the serious problem both countries were facing. Sometime later (probably as a result of this acquaintance with Shigetaka), the Embassy of Oman was built near Shigetaka's residence in Yoyogi, Tokyo. Personal interview with Yada Shin, Shigetaka's grandson, in May 1993.

¹¹ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 340.

¹² Okita, "Dento", p. 23.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁴ Inoue, *Kokumin dotoku gairon*, pp. 34-38.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-38.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 238-241.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

¹⁸ Shiga Shigetaka, "Bei hondo oyobi Hawai zairyu Nihonjin no kyoiku", (Education for the Japanese in the U.S. and Hawaii), compiled in SSZ 1, pp. 402-403. The publication date of this article is not identified in SSZ 1, however, Shigetaka's similar articles were published in 1915, and therefore it can be assumed that the article was published about the same time. For example, "Kashu hainichi mondai no kongo" (The Anti-Japanese Problem and its Future), nos. 1-4, *Tokyo Asahi shimbun*, 3rd, 5th, 7th & 8th January, 1915, and "Igi aru hainichi mondai no kanwaho", *Rikugo zasshi*, 4th April, 1915, compiled in SSZ 1, pp. 257-260.

¹⁹ Shiga, "Bei hondo oyobi Hawai zairyu Nihonjin no kyoiku", SSZ 1, pp. 402-403.

²⁰ Inoue, *Kokumin dotoku gairon*, pp. 242-249.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 248-258.

²² Ibid., p. 248. (Inoue refers to Shigetaka's comments on patriotism in this book, pp. 328-332.)

²³ Ibid., pp. 2-6. It is interesting to compare Inoue's re-emphasising of the Rescript with Shigetaka's emphasising of science (see Chapter 5-2-3).

²⁴ Shiga Shigetaka, *Sirarezaru kuniguni*, November 1926, compiled in SSZ 6, p. 434.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 434.

²⁶ Shiga Shigetaka, "Kokka no Mongoru" (Current Affairs in Mongolia), compiled in SSZ 1, p. 389. Also see *Shirarezaru kuniguni*, SSZ 6, p. 327.

²⁷ Shiga, "Kashu hainichi mondai no kongo", SSZ 1, p. 288. Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 339.

²⁸ Shiga, "Kashu hainichi mondai no kongo", SSZ 1, p. 288 and Shiga, "Bei hondo oyobi Hawai zairyu Nihonjin no kyoiku", SSZ 1, p. 400. The details of Shigetaka's visit to Fresno in California is discussed in Miwa, "Crossroads", pp. 335-338.

²⁹ *Kokumin shimbun*, Fresno, 7th June 1912, cited in Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 336. The translation is taken from Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 336.

³⁰ Shiga Shigetaka, "Kaigai hatten no konponteki shiso" (Essential Thoughts on Emigration), *Nogyo sekai*, May 1915, compiled in SSZ 1, pp. 316-317. As regards this article, it seems apparent that here Shigetaka uses "kaigai hatten" (literally means overseas development) specifically in the context of emigration.

³¹ Shiga, "Kaigai hatten no konponteki shiso", SSZ 1, pp. 316-317.

³² Ibid., pp. 316-317.

³³ "Koen shu", compiled in SSZ 8, p. 50. Miwa, "Crossroads", pp. 341-342.

³⁴ Shiga, "Kashu hainichi mondai no kongo", SSZ 1, p. 289.

³⁵ Shiga Shigetaka, "Nihon shihan kyoiku no ganso Sukotto sensei no raicho ni tsuite" (Prof. Scott's Return to Japan), *Rekishu chiri hen* (Historical and Geographical Issues), compiled in SSZ 2, pp. 101-102. Also, see *Zoku sekai sansui zuzetsu*, SSZ 6, p. 239.

³⁶ Shiga, "Bei hondo oyobi Hawai zairyu Nihonjin no kyoiku", SSZ 1, pp. 402-403.

³⁷ *Masamune* swords, regarded as the finest, were hand-made by artisan Okazaki Masamune (1264-1344) at the end of late Kamakura period (1281-1333). *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 41.

³⁸ Shiga Shigetaka, "Nihon ichi no dai jakuten" (The Weakest Point of Japan), *Nihon ichi*, April 1916, compiled in SSZ 1, pp. 165-166, and Shiga Shigetaka, "Ryojuko homon no fudo" (Port Arthur), *Chigaku zasshi*, no. 17-198, 1905, p. 406.

³⁹ Shiga Shigetaka, "Nihon ichi no dai tansho" (The Worst Shortcoming of Japan), *Nihon ichi*, March 1916, compiled in SSZ 1, p. 162.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 162.

⁴¹ Shiga Shigetaka, "Oshu senso no jikkyokun" (Lessons from World War 1), *Niigata shimbun*, the date unknown, compiled in SSZ 1, pp. 176-177. Shiga, *Rekishi chiri hen*, SSZ 2, p. 61. Okita points out that Shigetaka was critical of textbooks in the Imperial education system. Okita, "Dento", p. 24.

⁴² Shiga, *Rekishi chiri hen*, SSZ 2, p. 61. Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 342.

⁴³ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 305.

⁴⁴ Shiga Shigetaka, "Bento ni kayu o motekuru Ninomiya shu - Chochiku ken'yaku no bokokushugi" (The Ninomiya Style Thrift - The Destruction of Japan), *Shinkoron*, 1st September 1911, pp. 148-149.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 148.

⁴⁶ Inoue, *Kokumin dotoku gairon*, p. 248.

⁴⁷ Shiga Shigetaka, "Kyokujitsu shoten no seishin" (Japanese Spirit), *Shinkoron*, 1st January 1911, p. 32.

⁴⁸ Shiga, "Bento ni kayu o motekuru Ninomiya shu", p. 148.

⁴⁹ Shiga, *Sirarezaru kuniguni*, SSZ 6, pp. 433-434.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Shiga Shigetaka, "Kaigai hatten wa giron yorimo jikko nari" (Practice Rather Than Theory for Emigration), *Gaiko*, March 1915, compiled in SSZ 1, pp. 255-256. The translation is taken from Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 340.

⁵² Shiga Shigetaka, "Nihon oyobi Nihonjin ga tayotte mote ikubeki hoshin" (The Best Solution for Japan and the Japanese), *Osaka Mainichi shimbun*, 1st January 1927, compiled in SSZ 1, p. 132. Shigetaka maintained that because of this passiveness he had disagreed for the past fifty years with the education principles at teachers' colleges.

⁵³ Shiga Shigetaka, "Taiheiyogan ni okeru Nihonjin" (The Japanese on the Pacific Side of the U.S.), the date/source unknown, compiled in SSZ 1, pp. 398-399.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 398-399. Although I consulted the International Dept. at Okayamaken Sogo Bunka Senta (Okayama Prefectural Culture Centre), they were unable to identify Okazaki Tsunekichi further.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Shiga Shigetaka, "Uchidewa Ryukyu sotodewa Girisha no Nihon no shukuzu" (Japan's Future as Illustrated by Current Affairs in Ryukyu and Greece), a speech at Tokyo hoso kyoku (the Tokyo Broadcast), 31st August 1926, compiled in SSZ 8, pp. 146-147.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 339. Ogawa, *Hawai kyoikushi*, p. 58.

⁵⁹ Shiga, "Bei hondo oyobi Hawaii zairyu Nihonjin no kyoiku", SSZ 1, p. 406. For more details on emigration to Hawaii, see Chapter 4-6, pp. 123-125.

⁶⁰ Shiga, "Bei hondo oyobi Hawaii zairyu Nihonjin no kyoiku", SSZ 1, p. 406.

⁶¹Ibid., p.406. According to Shigetaka, *Hyoryuki* was written by Hikoza from Hamada village in Hyogo prefecture. It is a record of his drifting (after shipwreck) to Hawaii and his onward journey to the U.S. which took place prior to Commodore Perry's arrival in Japan. He was saved by Capt. Jennings of an American ship, *Oakland*, and was employed by Macondray & Co. in San Francisco. He recorded his impression of the place where he worked as follows:

The company is engaged in commerce and if it was in Japan it would take at least 70 to 80 people to conduct the work. But here only eight staff all together are managing the workload. No more. They use machines efficiently and do not use man power. They do not unduly decorate the place and are thus being modest. The company is generous with their salary, encouraging the staff to work hard without any negligence.

Shigetaka highly praised Hikoza's articulate perception of the soul of the Western civilisation and he went on to say that this was the very cause of bringing wealth to the Western countries. Japan was way behind in education in this respect, while it was most advanced in the U.S.. The education of Japanese children in Hawaii should follow this example. Shiga, "Bei hondo oyobi Hawaii zairyu Nihonjin no kyoiku", SSZ 1, p. 404.

⁶² Ibid., p. 406.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 404-406. Ogawa, *Hawaii kyoikushi*, p. 58. Hikoza was the first Japanese to obtain American citizenship. *Hyogoken jinbutsu jiten*, vol. 1, Nojigiku bunko, 1966, p. 136. His *Shimbunshi* (printed in 1864, later renamed as *Kaigai shimbun*) is believed to be one of the first newspapers in Japan. *Kyodo hyakunin no sengakusha*, Hyogoken kyoiku i'inkai, 1967, p. 397.

⁶⁴ Shiga, "Bei hondo oyobi Hawaii zairyu Nihonjin no kyoiku", SSZ 1, pp. 406-407.

⁶⁵ Shiga Shigetaka, "Igi aru hainichimondai no kanwaho" (An Effective Means to Ease the Anti-Japanese Problem), *Rikugo zasshi*, April 1915, compiled in SSZ 1, p. 257.

⁶⁶ It appears that it was Dr Haga Yaichi who specialised in the Japanese Language.

⁶⁷ Shiga Shigetaka, "Sekai ni okeru Nihonjin", *Jiji shimpo*, 1st November 1926, compiled in SSZ 1, p. 323.

⁶⁸Shiga, "Kashu hainichi mondai no kongo", SSZ 1, p. 288. Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 342.

⁶⁹Shiga, "Kashu hainichi mondai no kongo", SSZ 1, p. 288. Miwa, "Crossroads", pp. 335-336. Ogawa, *Hawaii kyoikushi*, p. 76. See Chapter 4, pp. 124-127.

⁷⁰Shiga, "Igi aru hainichimondai no kanwaho", SSZ 1, p. 257 and SSZ 2, p. 59. Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga", p. 100.

⁷¹Shiga, "Kashu hainichi mondai no kongo", SSZ 1, p. 288. Minamoto (Shokyu), "Shigetaka Shiga", p. 100.

⁷²Shiga Shigetaka, "Nihon ichi no dai mondai" (The Most Serious Problem in Japan), February 1916, compiled in SSZ 1, p. 103, *Rekishi chiri hen*, SSZ 2, p. 59, and *Sekai today chiri*, SSZ 6, pp. 324-325.

⁷³Shiga, "Nihon ichi no dai mondai", SSZ 1, p. 103, in *Rekishi chiri hen*, SSZ 2, p. 59, and in *Sekai today chiri*, SSZ 6, pp. 324-325.

⁷⁴The information in this paragraph is taken from *Sekai today chiri*, SSZ 6, pp. 324-325.

⁷⁵McGraw-Hill *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, vol. 7, New York, 1973, p. 362.

⁷⁶Shiga, *Shirarezaru kuniguni*, SSZ 6, p. 336.

Shigetaka's trip to Cuba was reported incorrectly by journalists who had "limited" knowledge of the country. In their articles, they used wrong Chinese scripts to phonetically describe the name "Cuba" meaning "rare/strange horse", instead of "eternal horse". Also his later trip to South Africa was reported by mistake as being to South America. Shigetaka was upset about such very basic mistakes claiming that the responsibility of journalists was to report news as correctly and swiftly as possible. Shiga Shigetaka, "Saikin sekai kakuryoko no shui" (The Purpose of My Recent World Trips), *Shin Mikawa*, 16th October 1924, SSZ 1, pp. 373-374.

⁷⁷Shiga, *Shirarezaru kuniguni*, SSZ 6, pp. 337-341, and a NHK radio speech, "Nihon no konpon mondai", February 1927. See Appendix 5 A.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

⁷⁹Jan Christiaan Smuts was a South African statesman and Army general: prime minister 1919-24, and 1939-48. *The Random House College Dictionary*, Random House INC., New York, 1980, p. 1243.

⁸⁰Shiga, *Sirarezaru kuniguni*, in SSZ 6, pp. 432-433.

⁸¹In *Sirarezaru kuniguni*, Shigetaka recorded in detail his experience of "Europeans only" in South Africa in September 1922. For example, he was thrown out of a restaurant at a hotel in Capetown. He was requested to report to the immigration office to inspect his eligibility to travel in Transvaal. He showed his passport which was endorsed by the British Council-General in Yokohama, but apparently this was not good enough for further travelling there. He then showed a letter of introduction written by the Vice-President of the South African Railway Federation, addressed to staff at each station, ordering them to assist the holder of the letter who was a member of the Royal Geographical Society. It was so effective that he showed the letter wherever he went during his trip in South Africa. *Sirarezaru kuniguni*, SSZ 6, pp. 417-419.

⁸²*Ibid.*, pp. 432-433.

⁸³Shiga Shigetaka, "Ikizumari daha no jikko hoho" (Effective Ways to Overcome Serious Problems), *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin*, April 1925, compiled in SSZ 1, pp. 124-129.

⁸⁴Shiga, "Kokka no Mongoru", SSZ 1, p. 393.

⁸⁵Shiga, *Shirarezaru kuniguni*, SSZ 6, p. 378. This paragraph is based on Shigetaka's article in *Sekai today chiri*, SSZ 6, pp. 321-322.

⁸⁶Shiga, *Shirarezaru kuniguni*, SSZ 6, pp. 432-433.

⁸⁷Okuma Nobutsune was an adopted son of Okuma Shigenobu (1838-1922), politician and the founder of present Waseda University. Nobutsune became a Chancellor of the University in 1912.

⁸⁸Anezaki Masaharu (1873-1949) was a thinker, a scholar in religion and professor at Tokyo University. *Dai jinmei jiten*, vol. 1/2, Heibonsha, 1957, p. 81.

⁸⁹Shiga Shigetaka, "Beikoku hainichi no jisso to kore ni taisuru Ajia renmei no angu" (The Anti-Japanese Problem and the Foolishness of the Asian League), *Mikawa nippo*, 17th October 1924, SSZ 1, p. 278.

⁹⁰Ozaki Yukio (1859-1954), a politician, contributed to maintaining party politics and realising the popular vote. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 42. See Chapter 4, f/n 9, for more details of Ozaki Yukio.

⁹¹Shinobu Junhei (1871- ?) was a scholar of the history of foreign diplomacy and international law. *Dai jinmei jiten*, vol. 9/10, Heibonsha, 1958, p. 345.

⁹²Shiga, "Beikoku hainichi no jisso to kore ni taisuru Ajia renmei no angu", SSZ 1, p. 278.

⁹³*Ibid.*

⁹⁴Shiga Shigetaka, "Nihon ni mottomo shirarezaru homen" (Regions Unknown to Japan), *Mikawa nippo*, 25th August 1925, compiled in SSZ 1, pp. 380-381

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 380-381.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 379-380.

⁹⁷The recorded tape of his speech (although not complete) is held by Nagasaka Kazuaki, a former primary school headmaster in Okazaki, Aichi prefecture, Shigetaka's hometown. Nagasaka has written many articles regarding Shigetaka for journals such as *Kenkyu kiyō*, ed. by Okazaki chihoshi kenkyukai, and *Tokai Aichi shimbun*. See Bibliography for more details.

⁹⁸Shiga, "Kokka no Mongoru", SSZ 1, pp. 389-397 and *Sekai todai chiri*, SSZ 6, pp. 324-325.

⁹⁹The content of his speech (although incomplete) is included in Appendix 5 A. In addition, the essence of the speech is more or less expressed in "Kokka no Mongoru", SSZ 1, pp. 389-397 and *Sekai todai chiri*, SSZ 6, pp. 324-325.

¹⁰⁰Egawa was a retainer at the end of Tokugawa period. He was concerned with coastal defence and dedicated to teaching Western military affairs to his students. Shiga Shigetaka, "Egawa Tarozaemon sensei", *Osaka Mainichi shimbun*, January 1909, compiled in SSZ 2, pp. 33-35.

¹⁰¹This episode is cited in "Egawa Tarozaemon sensei", SSZ 2, pp. 33-35.

¹⁰²Shiga, *Rekishī chiri hen*, SSZ 2, p. 35.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 35. See Chapter 1, f/n 64, for Sakuma Shozan and Chapter 2, f/n 6, for Otsuki Bankei. Both Kuroda Kiyotaka and Kido Takayoshi became politicians in the Meiji period. Kuroda was Prime Minister from 1888 to 1889. *Nihonshi jiten*, p. 68 & p. 81.

¹⁰⁴ This thesis appears to be *Nan yo jiji*. See Chapter 4, p. 101.

¹⁰⁵ Shiga, *Rekishi chiri hen*, SSZ 2, p. 35. Miwa, "Crossroads", p. 164.

CONCLUSION

In his *New Generation in Meiji Japan*, Kenneth Pyle has pointed out the intellectual trend of Japan in the late 1880s from the viewpoints of two "eminent" rival groups. Pyle argues that the intellectual activities of the mid-Meiji are best represented by Tokutomi Soho's *heimin shugi* and Shiga Shigetaka's *kokusui shugi*. He places Soho as a "progressive" thinker and Shigetaka as a "conservative" or "new conservative" intellectual. Although different in their approaches (Soho advocated total Westernisation of Japan and Shigetaka, preservation of nationality), this study has shown that both worked for the same goal of industrialisation of Japan, and both searched for Japan's cultural identity in the modern world.

Pyle acknowledges that the viewpoints of Soho and Shigetaka diverged from other contemporary intellectual cadres and is aware of Shigetaka's rejection of the "conservative" label which this study explored fully. Indeed, he notes the difference between the "conservative" group of the early 1880s and the "new conservative" group of the late 1880s by referring to Yamaji Aizan's comment that the latter respected Western studies while striving for preservation of nationality. Pyle also recognises that though Soho and Shigetaka may have disagreed on the values of Japan's past, they also shared a "common framework of experiences and concerns and were much closer than they were often thought to be".¹ Nevertheless Pyle does not give sufficient weight to the difference between the "conservative" thinkers and Shigetaka, or to the congruence

in ideas of Soho and Shigetaka with regard to Japan's industrialisation. This thesis has attempted to supplement this insufficiency.

When Japan's modernisation is perceived in the two extremes of "conservative" and "progressive", one can easily lose sight of the ideas and qualities of individual thinkers. Particularly revealing in the argument of this thesis has been the examination of the recommendations with which Shigetaka followed up his *kokusui* theory. As we have seen, immediately after Shigetaka asserted *kokusui shugi*, he provided proposals for realising the industrialisation of Japan and for increasing productivity — at the time when Japan needed to establish its "new" economic foundation. Moreover, he supported both the theoretical and practical aspects of his advocacy with first-hand observations of current affairs in the South Seas. The "Confucian" scholars on the other hand did not take into account overseas evidence related to the need for industrialisation and persisted in looking for Japan's future in its past. The false perception of Shigetaka as a "conservative" thinker overlooks these crucial differences.

Discussions which over-emphasise one aspect of an individual thinker and neglect others create a distorted image of that intellectual. This is well illustrated by the second myth about Shigetaka, that he was an imperialist. In this case, the existing arguments predominantly centre around his purpose of promoting and popularising geography within the context of the *kokusui* issue in two works, *Nan yo jiji* and *Nihon fukeiron*. In other words, the claim is based on studies of limited geographical works without giving consideration to Shigetaka's continuing efforts, for example, to establish geography as a curricular

subject in educational institutions. Critics such as Iwai, Maeda and Mita, who have alleged that Shigetaka was an imperialist, have failed to give credence to his roles as "humanistic" educator and enlightener. Thus, this thesis has attempted to explore these further territories of Shigetaka's intellectual activity to which until now insufficient weight has been given. In order to understand fully Shigetaka's intentions in promoting and popularising geography, it is necessary to appreciate his writing and editing of geographical textbooks at Waseda University and the enlightening of the general public through journalism. We have also seen that comments in *The Sydney Echo* and *The New Zealand Mail*, in response to Shigetaka's talks on Japan in Sydney and Wellington, to which previous critics have not referred, clearly indicate that his intention was understood as encouraging mutual trade. Moreover, as we have explored in Chapter 5, his educational goals were in fact anti-imperialistic, contrary to the existing claim. This thesis then, has sought to place Shigetaka in the more realistic position of an anti-imperialistic enlightener along the lines of Fukuzawa.

By revealing his opposition in the 1880s to the "Confucian" scholars with regard to productivity, this thesis has endeavoured to correct the conventional myth of Shigetaka as a "conservative" intellectual. It has also striven to reject the other myth of him as an imperialist by disclosing his concern about the imperial education system and criticism of the "Confucian" scholars with regard to the National Morality Movement. This may open the door to a reconsideration of the validity of the "conservative" versus "progressive" dichotomy and of images given to individual thinkers without thoroughly investigating their thoughts. In conclusion, it is hoped that by establishing a more realistic vision of

Shigetaka's thought, this thesis will have presented further insights into Japanese modern intellectual history.

¹ See Chapter 1, f/n 19.

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Appendix 1 A *The Sydney Echo*, 10th April 1886

THE ECHO, SATURDAY, April 10, 1886
THE JAPAN OF TODAY

I

THE LAND OF THE MIKADO,
BY SHIGETAKA SHIGA, NATURALIST ON BOARD THE
TSUKUBA

These interesting articles, giving a quantity of most interesting and valuable information regarding Japan, have been written by Shigetaka Shiga, naturalist on board H.I.M. Japanese war vessel Tsukuba. [It is ?] Not long since the question of opening up a market for our wool with China was much talked about. [And now ?] It is open to question whether in Japan, despite its much smaller population, a far better market would not be found. The Japanese are, as a nation, much in advance of China, and are imbued with a spirit of progress which furnishes an instructive contrast to the dogged conservatism of the Chinese. The resources, institutions, population, and progress of Japan will be admirably seen from the interesting tables of statistics attached to these articles.

We, (says Shigetaka Shiga) thought it always strange that while the histories of Europe and America are so familiarly known among every schoolboy in Japan, the state and condition of the same race of people, in the Southern Hemisphere, as the European or American, should, even among ourselves, excite little interest. It is likewise with feelings of deep regret that I observe the Australian public possess less pure information or entertain more numerous erroneous opinions concerning Japan, than even Japanese do concerning Australia. An idea is held among our people that Australians are the direct offspring of the naked savages, who spent their days in kangaroo-hunting, as you Australians doubtless fancy that we are the same people as the pigtailed Chinese. Perhaps you imagine that we have no such comforts of civilisation as railroad, telegraph, newspapers, system of postage, & c., whilst we believe that your country is a barren waste, where awful bands of brutal cannibals ramble in search of prey. Just as the majority of your brethren may not know where Tokio, the present metropolis of Japan, is situated, so only the minority of us can distinguish whether Sydney is Australia, or Australia is Sydney.

But now that the commerce and intercourse of these two countries are slowly [but] steadily progressing, we ought to shake off the prejudices and want of knowledge, associated with ignorant and rude ages, when we only looked beyond the boundary of our own with distrust and hostility.

Treading your ground but a few steps, I observed how free is the scope, how sure is the harvest reaped by intelligence, industry, and temperance;

and it grew to be my ardent desire to advise our statesmen and philosophers that Australia presents the most profound and momentous studies to them; whilst, on the other hand, submitting some few statements respecting [regarding ?] Japan to your consideration, I ask your candid judgement whether Japan is such a country as you have, doubtless, till the present imagined it to be.

The present Emperor of Japan (Mutsuhito) was born November 3rd (solar calendar), 1852, crowned October 27th, 1868, on the death of his father, Emperor Komei. He is of the 121st generation of the Emperor Jimmu, who conquered the whole island of Japan, established the Empire, and was crowned as first Emperor in the year 660 B.C.. The Emperor Mutsuhito is of tall, robust stature, and in this respect unlike the greater number of Eastern monarchs, whose bodies and minds are too often enfeebled by early debauchery; he is an excellent horse-rider, and speaks German fluently. He married the Empress Haruko, the third daughter of Prince Sadaka Ichijio, who was born May 28th, 1850, and inaugurated as the Empress December 28th, 1868. She is a refined, delicate woman, and is considered to be a good poetess. The Empress Dowager Asako, sixth daughter of Hisatata [Hisakata?] Kujio, was born January 23rd, 1833.

The heir - apparent, who is named Prince Harunomiya (the only son of the Emperor), was born August 31st, 1879.

The Imperial families are ten in number. They are:— Prince Arisugawa, the General of the army; Prince Komatsu, the Lieutenant-General of the army; Prince Fushimi, the Major of the army; the Prince Kaniu, who is studying military tactics in France; Prince Katsura; Prince Yamashina, whose son is studying naval tactics in England; Prince Kuji; Prince Kitashirakawa; Prince Washimoto; and Prince Kâchô.

The Government of Japan is that of a constitutional monarchy, based on the models of Great Britain and of Germany. The members of the Cabinet comprise: A [The ?] Minister-President and the Minister of the Imperial Household Department. This office is held at present by Hirobumi Ito, the native of the province of Wagato, who began his career as a steward to Mr. Kido, the late Minister of the Treasury Department; and enlisting as a volunteer in the open rebellion of the Duke of Wagato against the tyranny of the Shogun or Tycoon, he fought gallantly for the cause of the Duke. After the subversion of the Government of the Tycoon he was promoted to be a member of the Cabinet of the present Government, and was despatched to the European and American courts as ambassador. He went to England and Germany to study the constitutional system, which he applied to Japan, and he was promoted to the present office on December 23rd, 1885.

The Minister of the Home Department, Aritomo Yamagata, is a native of the province of Nagato. He is a brave soldier. The Minister of the Foreign Department, Kaoru Inoue, is a native of the province of Nagato, and began his official career as the chief secretary of the Financial

Department. He resigned the office, travelled [through ?] Europe and America with his wife, and was promoted to his present office in 1879.

The Minister of the Financial Department, Masayoshi Matsugata, is a native of the province of Satsuma, and began his official career as the vice-minister of the same department. He also travelled through Europe.

The Minister of the Army, Iwao Oyama, is a native of the province of Satsuma, and is lieutenant-general [Lieutenant-General ?] of the army. Mrs. Oyama is a graduate of Harvard College, U.S.A..

The Minister of the Navy, Yorimichi Saigo, is a native of the province of Satsuma. He is the younger brother of the illustrious Takamori Saigo, the ringleader of the Satsuma rebels, who took arms to subvert the present Government. This Saigo was the Minister of the Commercial and Agricultural Department until the late change of the Cabinet, which occurred December 28, 1856.

The Minister of the Judicial Courts, Lieutenant-General Akiyoshi Yamada, is a native of the province of Nagato. He travelled through Europe and America. [He is of very short stature, but has a massive head.] He was promoted to his present office in December 23, 1856.

The Minister of the Educational Department, Arinori Mori, is a native of the province of Satsuma; he studied in America, and is renowned by having adopted the principles of liberalism. He is the youngest man among all the Ministers.

The Minister of the Agricultural and Commercial Department, Tateki Tani, is a native of the province of Tosa, and is a son of a Shinto priest. He got a high reputation by his stubborn defence in the castle of Kumamoto, which was besieged by Satsuma rebels. He is also noted as an excellent poet. He is now on tour through Europe.

The Minister of the Postage Department, Takeakira Enomoto, is a native of Tokio, and was once the Minister of the Naval Department, but changed to his present office on the 23rd December, 1885. Admiral Enomoto is renowned as the ringleader of the rebels who rose against the present Emperor. His plot failed, and he was imprisoned for some years, but afterwards was released and sent to Russia as Envoy-Extraordinary, and afterwards to China; in both countries he secured a high reputation by his ability. He is a good Dutch scholar.

Japan is divided into 84 provinces by natural features, as rivers, mountain-chains, lakes, & c.; but officially it is divided into three *fu* and 44 *ken*. Each *fu* and *ken* has a governor, local officers, and an Assembly. In the Assembly the policy of each respective *fu* or *ken* is debated by representatives elected by the people.

Of political parties there are three, vis., — the Conservative, headed by Gen'ichiro Fukuchi, the chief editor of *Tokio Daily News*. The members of the party consists of Shinto priests, Chinese scholars, & c.. The influence of this party is, however, rather feeble, compared with that of the other two, vis., — the Conservative-Liberal, headed by Shigenobu Okuma, the late Minister of the Financial Department, the members of which party consist of young scholars, most of the editors of native

papers, graduates of colleges, country gentries, & c.; and the Liberal, headed by Taisuke Itagaki, the ex-minister of the Home Department. In the winter of 1881, Mr. Itagaki was suddenly attacked by one of the conservative party, while he was attending a party-meeting held at the town of Nagoya, but his wound was not mortal. He recovered, and made a journey to Europe to study the societies, systems, and manners of different nations.

With regard to the education of Japan, it is reported by the committee of the late Educational Exhibition held at Berlin, that Japan ranks second among all the nations of the world in the general diffusion of common-school education. In the kingdom of Bavaria, eight per cent of the people do not possess the ability to read; in Japan the proportion is 10 per cent, in England eleven, and in France nearly twenty.

Japan has one University and some 30 colleges; among which may be mentioned the Tokio University; president Hiroyuki Kato, an eminent philosopher, and an excellent German, English, and Chinese scholar. His famous work, which appeared in the latter part of 1882, is "Jinken Shinsetsu; or, a new thesis [A New Thesis ?] on Human Right." The remarkable feature of this work is the application of Darwin's "Natural Selection" to human right, and it seems to me that he is an ardent believer in the evolution theory. In the spring of 1884, he propounded the great philosophical question to be discussed among the literary societies of Japan. The question was as follows: - Among the North American Indians it was the universal custom, to preserve the influence and power of the tribe, to murder those who possessed a weak physical constitution, and keep back those who were in a robust healthy state. By similar means, Sparta was regarded as the most powerful and valiant nation among all the Peloponnesian States. The question arises, — Is such a system of murder morally right, or not? Another question was as follows: — In modern times, the art of medicine has much improved, and patients suffering from acute mental or pulmonary diseases may be cured, but the majority of them do not thoroughly recover, and remain as invalids, useless and good for nothing to society: the question presents itself, — Is it morally right or not to support these invalids in society? President Kato has never been beyond the boundary of Japan, yet his profound and extensive knowledge is universally praised by American and European scholars.

In the University, jurisprudence, science, literature, and medicine are duly taught by the native, English, German, French, and American professors. The Department of Jurisprudence is controlled by Superintendent Chincho Hozumi, educated in England, who took the diploma of Barrister of the London Law Temple. The Department of Science is presided over by Dairoku Kikuchi, an eminent astronomer, educated in England, and who took the degree of Master of Arts. In 1884 he was despatched by the Japanese Government to the American [Meridian] Assembly held at Washington, U.S.A.. At the head of the Department of Literature, is Masakazu Toyama, an eminent philosopher,

and a good English and French scholar. The Department of Medicine is conducted by Hide Miyake, PhD., educated in Germany, where he got a high reputation by his medical ability. He is now in Europe. The writer was once in this University, but afterwards removed to the Sapporo Agricultural College. This college was established under the model of Amherst College, Mass., U.S.A. Besides agriculture, all the branches of science are instructed by the native, English, and American professors; the college has an extensive model farm, and an elaborate greenhouse. The writer graduated in this college in 1884, and has now come over here on board of the Japanese man-of-war Tsukuba, to make some scientific observations in Australia, New Zealand, and the South Sea Islands.

In the Komaba Agricultural College the English system of husbandry is taught. The sciences referring to agriculture are duly taught by the native English and German professors.

The Imperial Engineering College was established to instruct in mineralogy, chemical technology, architecture, and civil engineering. The professors are graduates of the Glasgow Engineering College, and several are native engineers. The Imperial Naval Engineering College [The Imperial Naval College and Naval Engineering College] were established by the Naval Department.

Besides the above-mentioned, there are colleges for technology, navigation, gymnastics, music, commerce, forestry, fish culture, foreign languages, & c..

Each *fu* and *ken* have two or three academies maintained by local taxes. Also there are upwards of 30 normal schools in Japan. The writer himself once served as instructor in zoology and physical geography in an academy in the mountainous province of Shinano. There you may observe tiny urchins with rosy cheeks and raven-black hair reciting to you Darwin's "Survival of the Fittest," and telling how coral isles are constructed, how delta is formed, & c..

* [] indicates a correction of or a supplement to the reproduction of Shigetaka's articles in *The Sydney Echo*, on 10th, 17th & 24th April 1886, cited in Fukui Nanako, "Eko ni miru Shiga Shigetaka no Nihon ron", *Bungaku ronshu*, Kansai University, vol. 41-3, Osaka, 1994, pp. 79-91.

THE ECHO, SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 1886.

THE JAPAN OF TO-DAY.

I. THE LAND OF THE MIKADO,

BY SHIGETAKA SHIGA, NATURALIST ON BOARD THE
TSUKUBA.

These interesting articles, giving a quantity of most interesting and valuable information regarding Japan, have been written by Shigetaka Shiga, naturalist on board H.I.M. Japanese war vessel *Trukuba*. Not long since the question of opening up a market for our wool with China was much talked about. It is open to question whether in Japan, despite its much smaller population, a far better market would not be found. The Japanese are, as a nation, much in advance of China, and are imbued with a spirit of progress which furnishes an instructive contrast to the dogged conservatism of the Chinese. The resources, institutions, population, and progress of Japan will be admirably seen from the interesting tables of statistics attached to these articles.

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Of political parties there are three, viz.,—the Conservative, headed by Genichiro Fukuchi, the chief editor of *Tokio Daily News*. The members of the

Appendix 1 B *The Sydney Echo*, 17th April 1886

THE ECHO, SATURDAY, April 17, 1886
THE JAPAN OF TODAY
THE LAND OF THE MIKADO,
BY SHIGETAKA SHIGA, NATURALIST ON BOARD THE
TSUKUBA

II.

The farthest eastern extremity of the Japanese Empire is the eastern extremity of Shumushuru Island, in the Kurile Archipelago, which is situated 156.34 east of Greenwich. The farthest western extremity of the empire is the extremity of Yonakuni Island, in the Loochoo Archipelago, which is situated 122.47 W [E ?]. The farthest north of the empire is the northern extremity of Araitō Island, in the Kurile, situated 50.56 N.; and the southern extremity of the empire is the extremity of Namiteru Island in the Loochoo, situated 24.6 S [N ?]. The total area of the Japanese Empire is 154,962 1/2 square miles, with a population of 242 souls to the square mile. In 100 square miles of land the average is — of cultivated land, 37.06 per cent. ; of mountains and forests, 59.89 per cent; other land, 3.95 per cent.

Among the literary and scientific societies in Japan may be mentioned: — Romajikai or Roman Character Society. The main object of this society is to totally abolish the use of the native and the Chinese characters, and substitute Roman characters for them. The members of this society consist of the influential classes of the country, such as the high officials, professors and students of colleges, most of the editors of the native papers, scientists, & c..

The Nippon Geographical Society had once the honour of a visit from Baron Wordenskiyold, the famous Swede, who succeeded in passing through the Arctic Ocean in the man-of-war Vega.

Of the Tokyo Seminological Society, Ichizo Hattori, B. Sc., an eminent seminologist, is the president. His extensive researches concerning earthquakes and volcanoes are praised by European and American scholars.

Thousands of European and American books are annually translated into the native language in Japan. The writer had once the honour to submit to the public his translation of the work of Korner, a German poet and soldier.

TABLES OF STATISTICS.

Army of Japan. — In the time of war of the army consists of: —

Generals	...	...	...	...	...	32
Officers above major...	...	...	...	...	...	291
Officers under major...	...	...	...	...	...	2,522
Sub-officers...	...	...	...	...	...	20
Ensigns, corporals, sergeants, & c....	...	...	...	...	...	7,040
Soldiers	...	...	...	...	...	1 27,791
Cadets	...	...	...	...	...	1,624
Workmen	...	...	...	...	...	63
Employees	...	...	...	...	...	2,204
Total	...	...	...	.....	...	141,587

The regular standard in the time of peace consists of: —

Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	34,305
Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	549
Artillery	...	...	...	...	...	3,036
Engineers	...	...	...	...	...	1,354
Miscellaneous, as musical band, cadets, gendarmes, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	<u>3,005</u>
Total	...	...	...	.....		42,249

Of the above number, 3746 belong to the Imperial Guard. The number of the military surgeons and employees referring to the sanitary department of [the army is 964. The number of horses belonging to the army is 3254. There are six grand military stations in Japan, located in such large towns as Tokyo, Sendai, Nagoya, Osaka, Hiroshima, and Kumamoto. The annual expenditure of the army is 10,631,516 dollars. There are three military colleges established by the Government.

The Navy of Japan consists of: —

Admirals	...	...	...	...	...	13
Officers	...	...	...	...	...	87
Lieutenants	...	...	...	...	...	503
Midshipmen	...	...	...	...	...	286
Cadets	...	...	...	...	...	187
Petty officers	...	...	...	...	...	997
Seamen	...	...	...	...	...	3,642
Employees	...	...	...	...	...	<u>1,630</u>
Total	...	...	...	...	...	7,345

Surgeons and employees referring to the sanitary department of] the navy, 275.
The annual expenditure of the navy is 3, 225, 830 dollars.

The men-of-war belonging to the navy are as follow : —

Name	Structure	Tonnage	Horsepower	Velocity per hour	Men on Board
Fuso	Ironclad	1879	3500	12 knots	385
Kongo	Iron & Wood	1761	2500	14	295
Hiyei	"	1761	2500	11-12	302
Kinjo	"	1450	-	5 1/2	265
Tsukuba	Wood	1033	350	8	335
Azuma	Ironclad	633 [623?]	-	8 1/2	82
Fujiyama	Wood	-	-	-	337
Asama	-	1004	-	-	278
Kaimon	Wood	631	1250	-	100
Tenrin	-	697	1250	12	-
Tsukushi	Ironclad	572	5400 [2400]	12	164
Jinyei	Wood	896	1400	14	27
Nisshin	"	784	470	12	158
Kasuga	"	809	-	7 1/2	133
Seiki	"	-	720	10	154
Amagi	"	523	654	11 1/2	160
Settsu	"	350	-	10 1/2	222
Chobin	"	494	-	-	183
Bunjo	"	389	650	-	97
Mashuu	Iron & Wood	365	150	-	88
Hosho	Wood	173	110	10 ⁴⁻⁵	27
Taiho	"	125	-	7	83
Kaiden	"	240	-	6	78
Chiyodagata	"	150	-	8	41
Se[o]rin	-	150	-	7	10
Ishikawa	Wood	-	-	5	92

* The frigate Seiki was constructed in the Yokosuka Dock, exclusively by the hands of the natives. She made a cruise to the different ports of Europe, under the command of Captain Inouye, who was decorated with honours by the Sultan of Turkey.

There are three dockyards in Japan —vis., at Yokosuka, Kobe, and Nagasaki. Yokosuka Dock is renowned as the best one among all the dockyards in the East.

The Japanese Government ordered two ironclads, Naniwa and Takachiho, from England, and Unebi, from France. it is expected that they will be completed within this year.

Several frigates and gunboats are now in course of construction in the dockyards of Japan.

Kinds of Educational Establishments	Number of Establishments	Number of Instructors	Number of Scholars
Common Schools	29,001	54,765	3,004,137
Academies	173	985	13132
Female High Schools	6	64	300
Normal Schools	75	649	5900
University	1	149	1783
Colleges	141	1152	9619
Miscellaneous	1219	1863	36,029
Total	30,616	59,627	3,070,900

The educational establishments under the direct control of the government are as follows:—

Name	Courses to be Instructed	Instructors	Scholars
Tokio University	Law, Sciences, Literature Medicine and Preparatory Dept	143	1733
Tokio Foreign Language College	French, German, Russian, Chinese, and C[K]orean Languages	23	332
Tokio Normal School	-	22	128
Tokio Female Normal School	-	21	194
Osaka Academy	Academic Courses	16	143
Tokio Technological College	Chemical Technology and Workmanship	3	58
Gymnastic School	Gymnasticism	3	28
Musical School	Music	3	32
Engineering College	Engineering, Architecture Mineralogy, Naval Architecture and Technology	22	164
Fine Art School	Drawing	1	15
Telegraphic College		21	179
Military College	Military Tactics	96	220
Naval College	Navigation and Tactics	34	111
Komaba Agricultural College	Agriculture and Veterinary	24	134
Sapporo	Agriculture & Sciences	8	65
Tokio Dendrological	Forestry and Botany	5	46

Newspapers, journals, magazines of Japan:—

The Names of the Papers	The number of papers sold in 1884	Average sold in a month
<i>Chaya</i> [<i>Choya</i> ?] <i>News</i>	2,058,418	171,535
<i>Hochi</i> <i>News</i>	1,707,452	142,288
<i>Fiji</i> [<i>Jiji</i> ?] <i>Shimpo</i>	1,650,745	137,562
<i>Tokio</i> <i>Daily</i> <i>News</i>	1,594,159	132,847
<i>Liberal</i> or <i>Jiyo</i> <i>News</i>	1,019,443	94,954
<i>Tokio-Yokohama</i> <i>Daily</i> <i>News</i>	868,123	72,344
<i>Meiji</i> <i>Nippo</i>	298,136	24,845

Of the above papers, the *Choya* [*Choya* ?] and *Liberal* are the organs of the Liberal party; *Hochi* and *Tokyo-Yokohama Daily News* are the organs of the Conservative-Liberal; and *Tokyo Daily News* and *Meiji Nippo* are the organs of the Conservative party. The *Fiji* [*Jiji*?] *Shimpo* is independent and free from party prejudices, the principle of the paper being to ameliorate society, to raise the female status, to suppress vice, &c. This paper is regarded as the most respectable and faithful among all the native journals.

Religion of Japan. —Liberty of faith is maintained. Christianity is very popular among the respectable class of Japan, and the believers in the the Gospel are augmenting in wonderful ratio. there are 278,550 Shinto shrines and 14,958 Shinto priests; 133,023 Buddhist temples and 56,945 Buddhist priests.

Commerce of Japan:—

Years	Amounts of Exports in American Dollars	Amounts of Imports in American Dollars
1868	15,553,400	10,693,000
1869	12,908,900	20,783,600
1870	14,543,000	33,741,000
1871	17,968,600	21,916,700
1872	17,026,600	25,174,800
1873	21,142,000	27,617,200
1874	18,760,000	22,924,500
1875	17,967,900	29,332,400
1876	27,225,100	23,478,300
1877	22,976,400	27,662,700
1878	25,524,500	32,563,800
1879	27,388,900	32,508,300
1880	27,413,100	36,176,000
1881	30,219,400	30,797,400
1882	37,235,700	29,168,000
1883	35,699,500	27,973,500
1884	33,016,400	28,821,000
Total	402,569,400	461,332,200

* The American dollar has been adopted.

Appendix 1C *The Sydney Echo*, 24th April 1886

THE ECHO, SATURDAY, April 24, 1886
THE JAPAN OF TODAY
THE LAND OF THE MIKADO,
BY SHIGETAKA SHIGA, NATURALIST ON BOARD THE
TSUKUBA

The total population of Japan in 1884 was 37,451,764, the percentage of males to females being as 102 to 100. No less 169 Japanese have been decorated by foreign Powers, and representatives of the nation are scattered throughout the world. The agricultural crops of Japan are (census of 1883) as follows:—

Rice,	141,500,000 bushels	Hemp,	11,300,869 lb.
Barley,	27,000,000 bushels	Cacoons,	26,950,273 lb.
Wheat,	11,206,000 bushels	Silk,	3,095,347 lb.
Rye,	20,360,000 bushels	Indigo,	74,276,017 lb.
Buckwheat,	3,200,000 bushels	Tea,	34,422,780 lb.
Maize,	29,765,817 lb.	Sugar Cane,	604,106,997 lb.
Sweet potatoes,	1,913,791,624 lb.	Paper (Mul. Leaf),	29,094,780 lb.
Potatoes,	75,998,641 lb.	Tobacco,	28,267,481 lb.
Cotton,	86,372,137 lb.		

The number of Cattle and Horses are:—

In 1881: 1,129,612 cattle, 1,609,293 horses

In 1882: 1,156,[3]00 cattle, 1,652,452 horses

In 1883: 1,160,147 cattle, 1,644,165 horses.

The marine products of Japan are as follow:—

Cured Fish,	13,736,501 lb.	Dried Lobster,	898,230 lb.
Dried Cuttlefish,	3,041,259 lb.	Irish [Moss],	2,235,478 lb.
Beche-de-mer,	445,633 lb.	Dried Sardines,	56,310,542 lb.

The following statistics, at the present time, when the question of establishing the wool trade between Australia and Japan is mooted, will be of particular interest:—

The principal commodities of exports from Japan are:—

Silk	1882	...	...	...	...	2,884,600 lb.
	1883	...	...	...	...	3,121,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	2,098,000
Tea.	1882	...	...	...	...	23,589,000
	1883	...	...	...	...	24,141,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	23,233,000
Rice.	1882	...	...	...	...	65,095,000
	1883	...	...	...	...	43,540,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	113,705,000
Crude Silk.	1882	...	...	...	...	1,507,000
	1883	...	...	...	...	1,442,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	1,123,000
Silken Thread.	1882	...	...	...	...	701,000
	1883	...	...	...	...	1,011,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	929,000
Camphor.	1882	...	...	...	...	5,008,000 lb.
	1883	...	...	...	...	4,854,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	4,571,000
Dried Cuttle Fish.	1882	...	...	...	...	3,745,000
	1882	...	...	...	...	6,648,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	6,541,000
Copper.	1882	...	...	...	...	2,820,000
	1883	...	...	...	...	1,783,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	3,799,000
Seaweed (to China)	1882	...	...	...	...	22,834,000
	1883	...	...	...	...	18,697,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	14,846,000

The principal commodities of imports to Japan are:—

Cotton.	1882	...	...	...	...	25,297,000 lb.
	1883	...	...	...	...	24,640,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	21,186,000
Red Sugar	1882	...	...	...	...	60,129,000
	1883	...	...	...	...	60,379,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	82,492,000
Calico.	1882	...	...	...	...	49,600,000 meters
	1883	...	...	...	...	23,590,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	19,364,000
Petroleum Oil	1882	...	...	...	...	20,682,000 gallons
	1883	...	...	...	...	23,631,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	17,534,000
White Sugar	1882	...	...	...	...	18,915,000 lb.
	1883	...	...	...	...	23,085,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	35,141,000
Satin	1882	...	...	...	...	8,873,000 meters
	1883	...	...	...	...	11,297,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	14,607,000
Steel	1882	...	...	...	...	25,048,000 lb.
	1883	...	...	...	...	32,391,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	35,087,000
Red Calico.	1882	...	...	...	...	10,578,000 meters
	1883	...	...	...	...	3,274,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	6,501,000
Woolen [Woollen? Cloth.	1882	...	...	...	...	2,676,000
	1883	...	...	...	...	4,749,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	2,480,000
Cloth, mixed wool and cotton	1882	...	...	...	...	1,725,000
	1883	...	...	...	...	212,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	127,000
Velvet	1882	...	...	...	...	1,973,000
	1883	...	...	...	...	1,626,000
	1884	...	...	...	...	1,116,000

The following are the rates of taxation on imported goods:—

Quinine salts, per 100lb.	...	...	46,800 dollars
Tobacco	...	...	9400
Cigarette[s ?]	...	...	7800
Cochineal	...	...	6552
Ivory	...	...	4680
Woollen thread	...	...	3120
Mercury	...	...	1872
Cotton thread	...	...	1560
Indigo	...	...	1170

The following articles are taxed at the rate of 5000 dollars on every 100,000 dollars of the original price, or 5 per cent. :— Corals, Parisian fashionable articles, cutleries, colouring dyes, looking-glasses, jewels, hides of animals, timbers, gums, tortoiseshell, boots and shoes, cabinet furniture, lamps, perfumed soaps, medicines, golden or silvery cords, condiments, oil paintings, raisins, porcelains, watches and clocks, spirits and liquors, iron machinery, military weapons, scientific instruments, telescopes, silken articles.

(*Owing to reduced and poor quality of the copies of *The Sydney Echo*, some figures/words may be inaccurate.)

Appendix 2 *The New Zealand Mail*, 21st May 1886

NEW ZEALAND AND JAPAN

A JAPANESE NATURALIST

Shigetaka Shiga, a Japanese naturalist, is a gentleman who arrived in Wellington a few days ago by the Japanese warship *Tsukuba*. His visit to New Zealand is one which may fairly be said to be of considerable importance to the Colony. It appears that several Japanese gentlemen who have attained scholastic eminence have recently been despatched to different parts of the world to obtain information and report, with a view of encouraging the interchange of produce between Japan and other countries. Shigetaka Shiga has lately been in Australia, where he has been diligently prosecuting his researches. He is, apparently, especially qualified for the mission on which he is now engaged, being a fine English scholar and a gentleman of keen observation. During his stay in Australia he contributed a number of articles on Japan to the *Sydney Echo*. Soon after arrival here Shigetaka Shiga proceeded to the Wairarapa, where he has been for some days observing the country, and gleaning information with regard to its products, etc. He expresses himself as being highly pleased with the Plains, and is especially loud in praise of the soil and the general capabilities of the country.

From an interview with our visitor we learn that his proposal is generally something to this effect: - The staple products of Japan being tea, sugar, and rice, all of which are marketable commodities in the Australasias, it is proposed that the commercial relations between the colonies and Japan should be increased by greater interchange of produce. An especial commodity of colonial production which he seems to pay particular attention to is wool. For some time past, he says, the Japanese have been carrying on tailoring after the European fashion as a business, using fabrics imported from Vermont and other New England States. Indeed, the clothes which he now wears were made by Japanese tailors. The higher class of people are using woollen fabrics extensively, and no doubt the same article would become popular with the poorer people. Shigetaka Shiga is quite confident that the Japanese, being gifted with wonderful imitative faculties, and working for very low wages, would soon become proficient in manufacturing, too, if they could get the wool; but inasmuch as the only sheep in Japan are animals reared with great trouble as curiosities, there is no chance of the wool being grown there. If however, the wool could be imported, a great industry could be started. An objection to the wool imported from America, too, is that it is not as fine as that which is grown in these colonies.

Some curious points of resemblance between Japan and New Zealand are pointed out by our visitor. Both countries, he observes, are insular, mountainous, and volcanic. They are in similar latitudes (though in different hemispheres), and in Japan, as in New Zealand, an indigenous race is to be found in the extreme north. The indigenous race of people in Japan are not generally known, we believe. There are about ten thousand of them now remaining, and they have different language, costume and habits from those of the Japanese. Japanese records go back to 4000 years ago, but the other race of people are very much older than that. The position of the principal towns of Japan, Shigetaka Shiga points out, are similar to the situations of the chief centres of New Zealand.

During his stay in Wellington, Shigetaka Shiga has visited Dr Hector, who has promised, we understand, to supply him with information as to statistics, etc, of New Zealand. The Japanese naturalist is evidently earnest and industrious in his labors; and is fulfilling his mission with ability and skill. If commerce between Japan and the colonies is to be promoted, no doubt it will be greatly facilitated by the personal observations of such a gentleman as this.

NEW ZEALAND AND JAPAN.

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Appendix 3 A Shigetaka's meetings with Liang Qichao (Translation from Chinese to English)

The following two meetings appear to have taken place on 26/27th October 1898. The two men communicated with each other through notes in Chinese.

The first meeting

Liang:

It's a great honour to meet you. I have heard your name, very famous for a long time, and I have also read your *Japanese Landscape* and other geographical books. I am therefore familiar with your ideas and regret that we did not meet long before this.

I am here in official overseas exile as Minister, my Emperor is in detention, and my comrades are suffering miserably. You may well understand my unfortunate circumstances. Fortunately, however, I am under the kind protection of your officials, fed and housed, and I feel so at home that it makes me forget that I am a guest here.

The political *coup d'état* was a worry not only for my humble nation, but the entire globe, and with China and Japan being so close the outcome is of considerable importance to us both.

Security of the East depends on China maintaining its independence, and as long as it does so, Japan will benefit from our relationship in terms of defence, commerce and industry/crafts. Consequently, threats to China's independence will have an adverse effect on our dealings with other countries, and I am sure I do not need to talk about the obvious.

Maintenance of our independence is entirely dependent on whether or not we carry out reforms and the success of reform is dependent on whether or not the Emperor has [regains] power. Because of the close relationship between China and Japan, what happens to China (i.e. the Emperor's loss of power) also affects Japan's security. It is urgent and therefore we profoundly hope that we obtain Japan's assistance in restoring the Emperor's power.

We were deeply impressed by Ambassador Yano while he was in Peking, where I had the pleasure of meeting him on several occasions. Now, we Chinese in overseas exile, are pleased to learn that Okuma, Inukai and other officials, including you, are planning to help us with our strategy of returning the Emperor to power.

Differences of opinion between the Emperor and the Empress Dowager have been worsening since a long time ago, but this disaster of the Emperor's loss of power and his detention was initially not the Empress Dowager's intention but resulted from plotting and prompting by ministers of the Manchurian party, such as Rong Lu, who thought the reform would be no benefit for them. So they had to stop it but the Emperor was determined to carry out the reform. In order to stop the reform, they had to get rid of the Emperor. They plotted and spread rumours, telling the Empress Dowager that the Emperor wanted to get rid of her and all ministers of the Manchurian party. The Empress Dowager believed this rumour and was inspired, in order to avoid peril, to ensure that the Emperor was not returned to power.

If one puts pressure now on the Empress Dowager and forces her to return the Emperor to power, she would be frightened that the Emperor, once restored, would not tolerate her and would resist her. It will be a vital conflict. This being the case, whatever the [four] friendly countries say would be difficult to do. If Japan with the U.K. and the U.S. unite forces and ask the Empress Dowager first to return the Emperor to power and enable the government to pay the Empress Dowager 5 million in gold each year, these countries standing the guarantee of this amount, then it will be successful. This is very important. [We have a very difficult task in enlisting support for our strategy and hope for help from Japan if possible in soliciting this from the U.K. and the U.S.. Countries willing to help could be reimbursed for such aid.]

The Empress Dowager has involved herself in politics just for her amusement. All she knows is how to amuse herself, and her hold of state power is for the purpose of amusement. If we now give her a lot of money and other countries stand the guarantee of the money, she has pleasure at hand, supported externally by a charitable action of the nations and supported domestically, and she might consider it wise to return the Emperor to power. Friends of those other countries would advocate this plan, and then if the reformers work together on this project, the reformers won't be angry. Then, the Empress Dowager would not dare not to reject giving power to the Emperor and the plan might be successful. What do you think of this idea?

Shiga:

Of course, I know your name well also. My work is not worthy of being read by people such as yourself. How are you managing under such unfortunate circumstances? I can sympathise your political troubles and enforced overseas exile.

Your country and mine are indeed closely connected just as you said and I could not agree more with you. Disaster in your country is likewise of serious concern, not just for us but for all others of the East. So it is of

critical importance that your Emperor be returned to power. Ambassador Yano has returned to Japan just recently, and on his way back to his post, he had been especially instructed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to act as he thought most appropriate. He was in fact able to arrange a meeting with the Emperor whom he found to be in good health. We were so glad to hear that. Surely it will not be too long now before your Emperor is returned to power. Although I have withdrawn from my position with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I will continue privately to pursue my interests and work in this respect. May I strongly recommend patience and caution on your part rather than seeking for success too hastily.

Liang:

As it is noon, I must be leaving now, but will be seeing you again soon.

The second meeting

Liang:

Can I now speak now about the current situation in our country? The old Manchurian ministers do not have any sort of policy, all they wish to do is to hold on to the power and privilege. However, other ambitious people of influence advocate the importance of the revolutionary theory and it is getting increasingly powerful. We, too, agreed with the idea of a revolution originally, because nothing could be done in the court and the situation in the court was really hopeless, and revolution inspired by the top was not really the best idea — we thought it was better to work from the grass-roots level.

From the fourth month of this year the Emperor had a little power and when the Emperor actually called me in and from that point on, everybody knew that he [the Emperor] was a sovereign man of principle and ambition. The Emperor has not been associated with the political corruption which has existed for more than 10 years. When this became clear, we decided to change our plans and devote our energy to supporting the Emperor and the new policies.

Therefore, we cannot have a revolutionary plan, for our country is inferior and it would be particularly inappropriate at the moment. This is because we are open to threat from a number of surrounding outside enemies who could [take advantage of such a situation to move in and] divide up the provinces.

Our Emperor is incomparably wise and merciful, and as long as he has complete power, the country will be safe. Without violence, a new policy will be implemented, former problems removed, and national polity will be established. This was our original intention, and how could we know that the Empress Dowager and her treacherous officials wouldn't accept

it. (Liang and his comrades did not expect they would end up the way they are today.) Now if the Emperor is unable to regain power, how can the Empress Dowager, Rong Lu and other officials continue their "conservative" policy, how can they preserve China from those foreign powers who would wait for a timely opportunity and take over the divided small provinces? Before a few years, the country is sure to be split up.

This is a danger to the upper society and, as for the people, those with ambition in the southern provinces will be angry and will raise troops. We wouldn't be able to stop it. If those righteous uprisings take place it would be 90% [highly] dangerous; because various European countries would then follow the same path. Another concern is that bandits will rise and trample within [each province] in our country, at which time China would be split up. If a peasant uprising happens, it will ruin the country and the country would surely be divided. So we need help from your country to ensure that reform in China can take place from the top — rather than taking a risk of planning from below.

Shiga:

What you have said is correct and I agree with you. If, for instance, people in the southern provinces carry out the revolution, although one could understand, the situation couldn't help but be like "keeping tigers from the front door and letting wolves in the back door". Our present policy for China is to hope that the Emperor of your country is returned to power. What is your strategy for re-establishing the power of the Emperor? Can you rely on an open policy of justice or do you have to rely on some hidden policy?

Liang:

Our policy as first proposed was a kind of hidden strategy which was to rely on cooperation only from Japan. If this could be carried out, we didn't need other countries in the beginning. However, because your country had not yet been willing to do this, even if Japan would like to do it now, it's already a half month late and no longer possible. It is now becoming harder to implement it due to the changed situation. Frankly speaking, the policy of justice would also seem to involve the U.K. and the U.S. before becoming effective. This strategy would offer a good opportunity to form an alignment of the four countries, China, Japan, the U.K. and the U.S.. It will be a great opportunity for the world, too. If your government is willing to support this, then we will go to the U.K. and the U.S. to ask for such assistance.

Shiga:

You have told me that Mr Kang Yuwei was about to go to the U.K. to seek that help and you will remain in Japan. [Incidentally] I must apologise... I have a four year old daughter who has been playing, singing, talking and

laughing with the maid, they did not know that a great man of ambition such as yourself was here and acted as if no one was about, please do not blame the little child.

Liang:

My friend, Rong Hong, was formally posted to the U.S. Embassy and served under Zeng Guopan, another politician, Ambassador to the U.S., but rumours have spread and he left that post and then remained in the U.S. for more than thirty years. He studied at an American university and received a PhD in politics. He is planning to come to Japan in a month's time and go to the U.K. and the U.S. with Mr Kang. However, Mr Kang is impatient to leave and, therefore, he has written to Rong asking him to come earlier. Then as soon as he arrives in Japan, they will depart on their trip. Meanwhile I will stay behind in Japan and receive advice/education from Japanese friends.

Shiga:

Can Mr Wang Zhao go with Mr Kang? Mr Wang has been suffering from pneumonia for a long time, is he able to stand such a long trip?

Liang:

Mr Wang is still very ill, I am afraid, he won't be able to go and will remain here with me in Japan.

You are a prolific author and I admire you very much. Because I am living in your country, I will come to see you often, and ask for [further] advice on academic matters.

Shiga:

Two people from Guang dong are going to Peking to collect the remains [bones] of Mr Kang's younger brother. It's not easy for them to escape from police in Peking. We [the Japanese government] have telegraphed Ambassador Yano and Consul Zheng informing them of this matter.

Appendix 3 B Liang Qichao (1873-1929) 1



Liang Ch'i-ch'ao circa 1900

This photograph is duplicated from P. Huang, *Liang Ch'i-chao and Modern Chinese Liberalism*, University of Washington, 1972, pp. 6-7.

Appendix 3 C Liang Qichao 2



Liang Ch'i-ch'ao circa 1920

This photograph is duplicated from P. Huang, *Liang Ch'i-chao and Modern Chinese Liberalism*, University of Washington, 1972, pp. 6-7.

Appendix 4 A Presentation of Shigetaka's portrait to Australia

Shiga Fujio and John Graham



Shigetaka's portrait



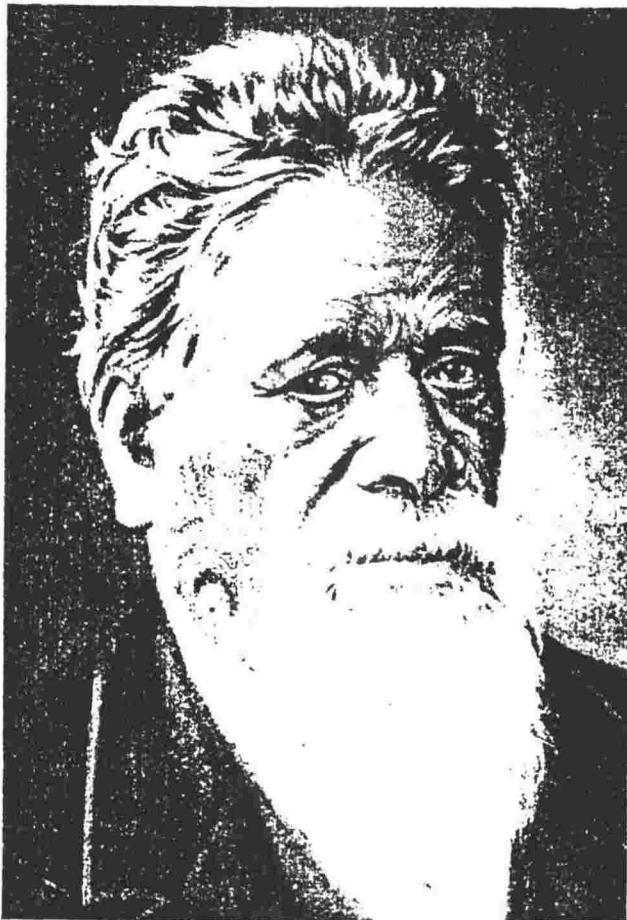
A portrait of Shigetaka at the time of writing *Nan yo jiji* was presented by Shigetaka's son, Shiga Fujio, to Australia through Councilor John Graham at the Embassy of Australia, Japan, in October 1982 and is now kept at the Mitchell Library of the State Library of N.S.W., Sydney, Australia. *Gonichi tsushin (Australia-Japan Newsletter)*, vol. 16/no. 20, Australian Embassy PR Bureau, 24th October, 1983, p. 3.

Appendix 4 B Shigetaka in later years



This photograph is duplicated from *Sangaku*, vol. 2, the Japanese Alpine Club, 10th July 1911.

Appendix 4 C Wiremu Tako Ngatata (Wi Tako, 1815-1887) 1



This photograph is duplicated from *Early Wellington*, compiled by Louis E. Ward, Whitcombe & Tombs, 1929, p. 155.

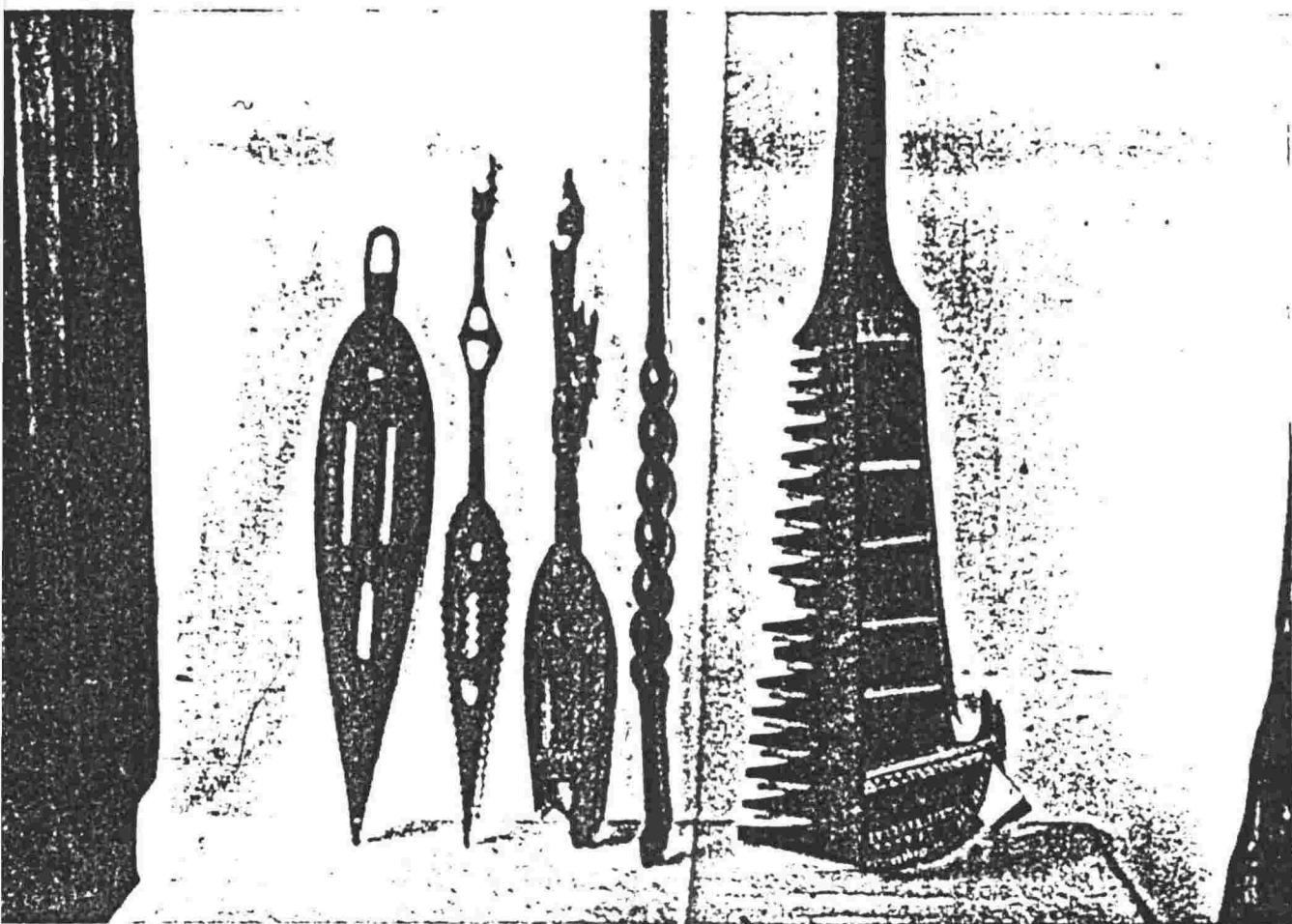
Appendix 4D Wiremu Tako Ngatata (Wi Tako) 2



by courtesy, Alexander Turnbull Library.

This photograph is duplicated from *Otaki Historical Journal*, vol. 4, Otaki Historical Society, 1981, p. 106.

Appendix 4 E Some of Wi Tako's gifts to Shigetaka



This photograph is duplicated from "Shiga Shigetaka kaigai shushu hin" (A List of Shiga Shigetaka's Collection from Overseas, unpublished), entry no. 6, kept at Okazaki kyodokan, Okazaki city, Aichi prefecture, Japan. According to the information on the list, these implements were used for Maori rituals.

Appendix 4 F Frederick Langham (1833-1903)



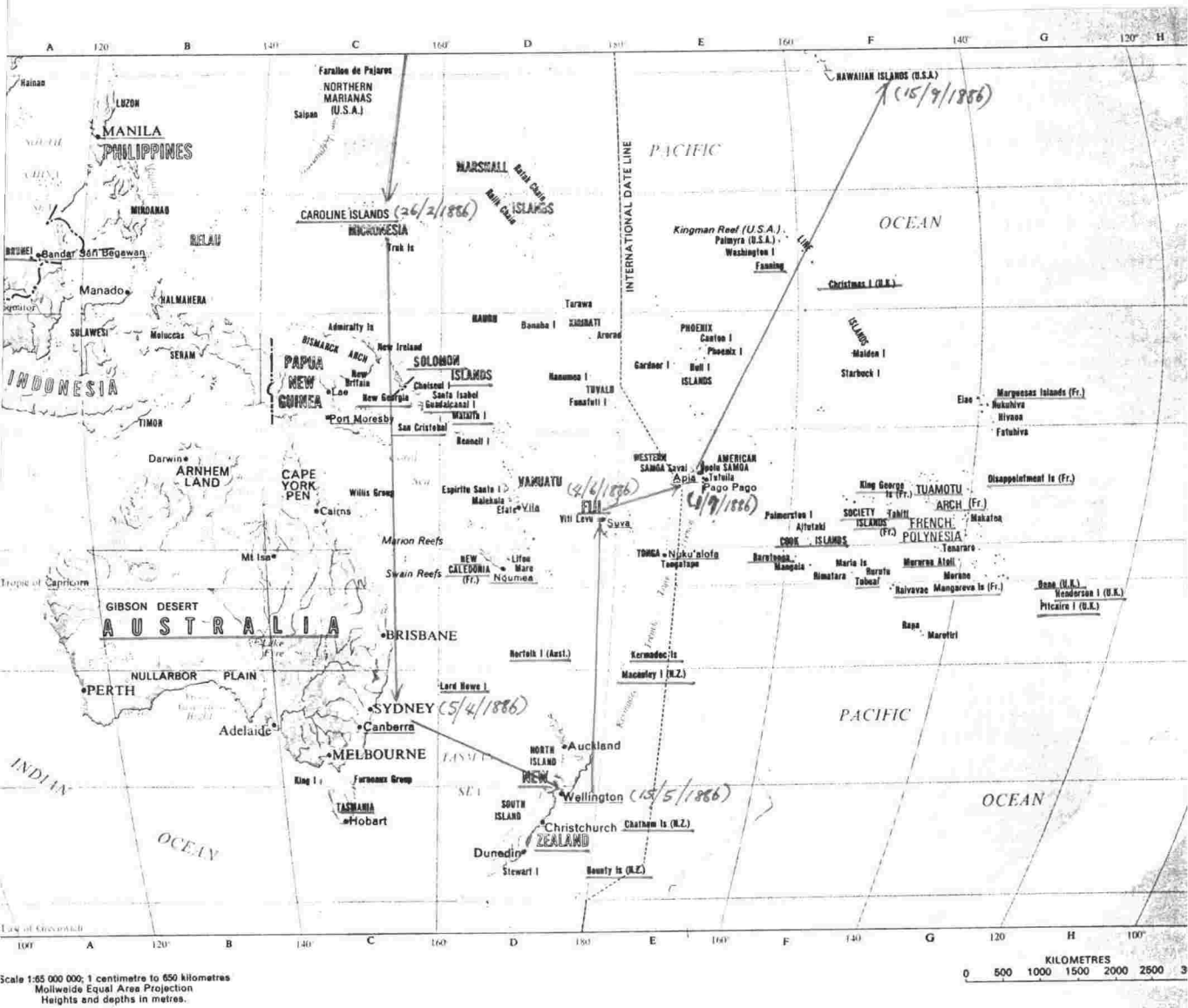
This photograph is duplicated from the copy maintained at the State Library of N.S.W., Sydney.

Appendix 4 G The city of Wellington in 1885, showing the government building



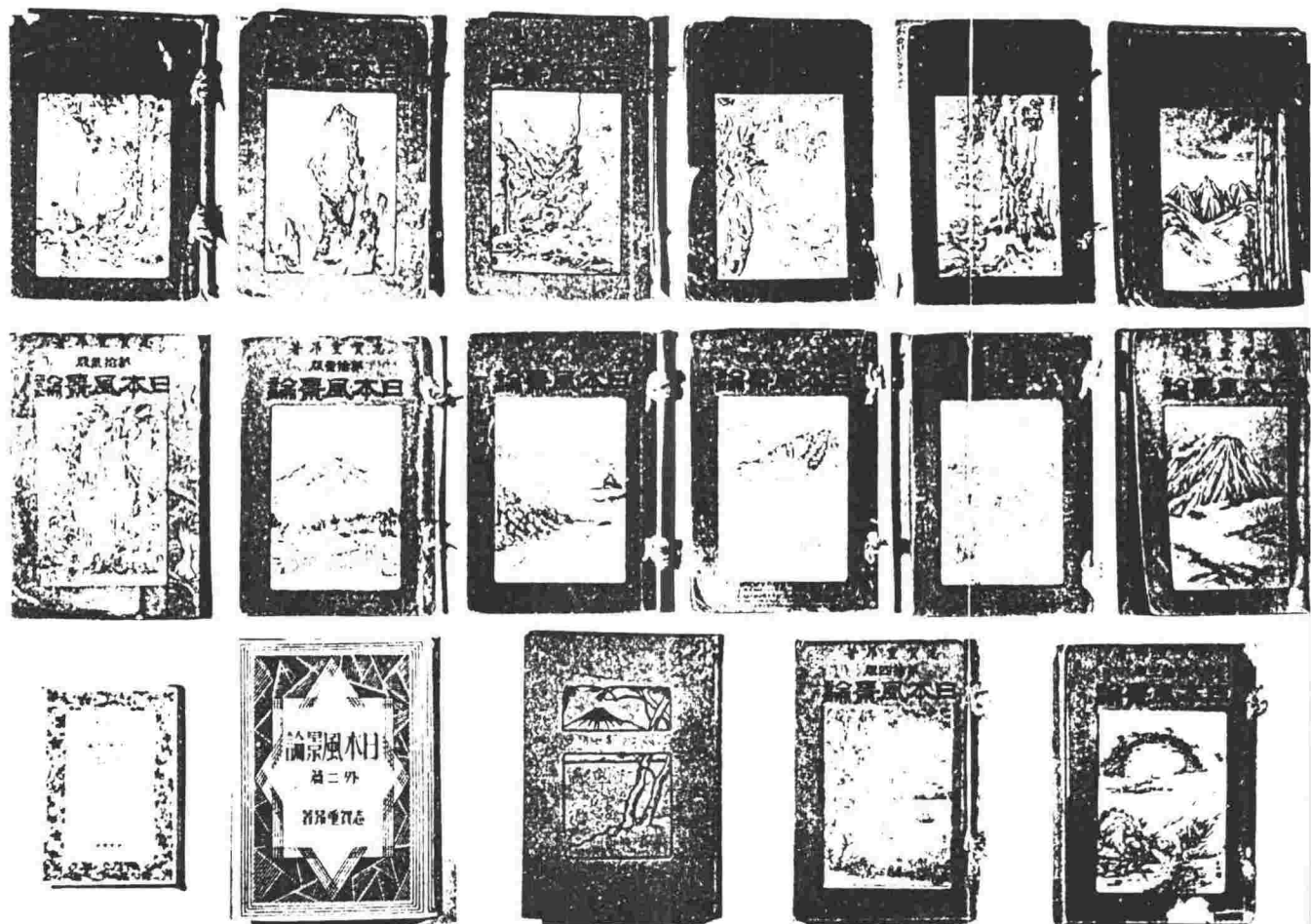
This photograph is duplicated from the copy privately owned by Mr Luke Nottage, at V.U.W., Wellington.

Appendix 4 H A map of Shigetaka's cruise (Feburuary to November 1886) & the power balance in the South Seas



The map is copied from *Jacaranda World Atlas*, 3rd edition, Jacaranda Press, Milton, 1986, p. 57. (British mandate, French mandate, and others)

Appendix 4I The differing cover pages for each edition of *Nihon fukeiron*



This photograph is duplicated from the frontispiece of Kobayashi Yoshimasa, *Yama to shomotsu*, Tsukiji shokan/Maruzen, 1957.

Appendix 5 A Shigetaka's last public speech, "Japan's Fundamental Problem", at NHK Radio Osaka, in February 1927.

The following is a transcription of Shigetaka's speech, taken from an incomplete recording held by Mr Nagasaka Kazuaki, Okazaki, Aichi prefecture, Japan.

NHK大阪開局記念講演 昭和2年2月

只今より志賀重昂先生の "日本の根本問題について" の御講話があります。

日本の人口の増加率はなかなか急激で、本部のみにても一年の増加70万人にのぼります。しかし70万人とは高知県すなわち土佐の人口である。すなわち毎年高知県の人口だけ増加すれば毎年高知県だけの新たなる土地を加えざるべからず。今、人の一人もおらざる高知県だけの土地、すなわち、山城、大和、河内、和泉、てっとう(?)、淡路等を加えざるべからず。しかしながら、かくの如きはもとよりできざる相談であります。そこでその狭い小さな国土にては食えなくなると言うことは誰にも悟りえられるのであります。ことここに至って日本の取るべき道は、内においては日本の風土が気化事業、すなわちアクリルマタイゼーションに最も適するをもって、これによって国民の生活原料を増加し、また遠くには国民の海外発展を進行せしめ、また近くには満州、蒙古、シベリアの如き我々と地続きの大陸地方があたかもわれわれのために展開(?)し、資産(私財産?)をもって大陸の土地広く、安く、また新しく、地力の充実せるところをばしきりに開拓し、これを原料の大生産地と成し、一方日本の教育を数理学理化学に集中し、大陸よりの原料を集約的に加工し安く早く製造し、これを世界人口の半数を保ち、しかも近隣にあるアジア方面に向かってあふれいだたせるるのであります。地続いているアジアを生産地となし、日本を加工地となし、アジア方面を市場とする三角法すなわち系統的方法であります。

そこで私には、微力をもはからず、過去四十年間以上の事のみにいささか苦心しております。まず最近年間の事を申し上げます。さてハワイ、日本の人口13万人あります。および北米、太平洋岸これにも同じく日本の人口13万人あります。これらの同胞もいわゆる排日のためいきずまりの状態となりました。そこで、

- 1 ハワイに代わるべき所、
- 2 北米在留日本人の移動すべき所
- 3 北米太平洋岸に代わるべき日本人移住地

を搜索(?)せざるべからずと考えました。よって、1はキューバ、2はメキシコの中中部、3はブラジルの温帯三州、すなわちパラナ、サンタカタリーナ、リオグランデスルの三州と移行(?)いたしましたから、それぞれいささか交差(?)いたしました。しかしいかに日本人が海外に発展をしたりとて、発展すればいわゆる排日がおこり、権兵衛が種まきや烏がほじくるようなことでは、何の点もないことでありますから、いわゆる有色人種排斥の宣言したる南アフリカを究め、これを究めずんばいかんともなし難しと考えました。

これ私が先般南アフリカに渡航し、南アフリカ連邦首相スマッツ將軍に面会し、かつその後に至り同首相に対しブロークニングリッシュを顧みず、(?)文の書面を寄せたる由縁でございます。さて、南アフリカより南アメリカに参り、リオデラプラタ川を上下し、それよりアンデス山を超えるとそこで西洋人共がいろいろの手段をもって石油を採掘している事を実際に見ておりました。我々の祖母には油断大敵と言う事を我々に教えました。すなわち、油が断てば大敵である。油が断てば火は消える。否、国家はつぎの二(?)世紀の間に消えるのであります。実に油断大敵であります。

Appendix 5 B NHK News telecast on 20th November 1989

The following is a complete transcription of the above program which was made in commemoration of the 75th anniversary of Shigetaka's visit to Alamo on 6th November 1914.

NHK TV ニュース (20th November 1989)

アラモの砦 — 大正時代に日本人が石碑を建立

ジョン ウェイン主演の " アラモ峠の戦い " という映画がありました。音楽のいい映画でしたけどこのアラモ峠、テキサス州のサンアントニオにありまして、1836年にテキサス独立をめざす義勇兵等190人が5000人のメキシコ軍と戦って全員玉砕したアメリカの古戦場であります。そのアラモ峠の一角に、大正時代の初め一人の日本人が190人の勇気を賛える石碑を人知れず建立していたということであります。その時から、今年で75年経つわけですが、今度は地元のサンアントニオの人達がこの石碑の前で記念式典を開いて日米の民間交流の先駆者としてこの日本人の功績をたたえたということでありました。この話題からお伝えしましょう。

(NHK 松平アナウンサー)

アラモの砦は、今は、年間300万人が訪れるアメリカ有数の史跡です。石碑は高さ150センチの花こう岩で、アラモの砦の中庭にあり、表面には英語と漢文で独立のために命をかけて戦った義勇兵達を賛えるとともにアラモの戦いは長篠の戦いのアメリカ版だと刻まれています。1914年11月6日、当時の早稲田大学の地理学の教授だった志賀重昂が建てたものです。記念式典には地元サンアントニオのライラコックレイ市長等が出席し、日本側からは志賀の子孫や志賀の郷土の愛知県岡崎市の人達が招かれ志賀重昂を民間交流の先駆者だったと賛えました。

(在ロスアンゼルス 大貫レポーター)

" 最初に受け入れて下さったのと、それから永い間もちつずけて下さったということは非常に感謝だともうしあげました。 "

(志賀の孫にあたる戸田博子氏)

志賀がこの石碑を建てた時代は、ヨーロッパでは第一次大戦が始まり、アメリカではカリフォルニアを中心に日本人日系人排斥運動が激しくなっていた時代です。志賀は悪化する日米関係改善のために何か出来ないかと探っているうちにたまたまアラモの戦いと長篠の戦いと共通点をみつけてこの石碑の建立をおもいたち、わざわざ長篠と岡崎から石を運んでいます。アラモの戦いと長篠の戦いがいずれも圧倒的な敵をまえに戦い、勇気と自己犠牲の点で共通しているというのは、格式をもって知られ日米関係の将来を心配した志賀なればこそこうした解釈が可能だったのかも知れません。

この志賀の働きかけに当時サンアントニオ側は市長以下が駅に出迎えるなど市を上げて歓迎しています。石碑は第二次大戦中も砦の中に保存されてきました。志賀は石碑を建てた前後、ハワイやカリフォルニアに廻り日本人や日系人に対しては、日本人は金儲けばかりでアメリカ社会に貢献していない、社会に対する奉仕活動が無いとか、もっと地元の人達と交流し地域社会に溶け込むべきだとか、地元社会との交流を通じてしか日本人に対する偏見をかえることはできない等を指摘しています。またアメリカ人に対しては、アメリカ人が日本の近代化にいかに関与しているかを例を挙げたりして日本に対する理解を流暢な英語で呼びかけています。

(大貫レポーター)

"So many Americans did not even know this stone was here. Now, many people will come around and realise there has been a long relationship between Japan and America. I don't see so much friction, it looks like to me like Japanese are coming in and bringing money and this is what we wanted, this is what they want, it works out fine. Watch out so that as you become rich, don't become the ugly Americans that we were 20 years ago."

(Robert E. Kingston Jr., the Rotary Club of San Antonio)

" 只今、日米間にはいろいろな問題がございまして、もうちょっと志賀先生のたとえから学んで、そしてお一人だけでも、何か例えば共通点を調べてそれについて考えて（いただければ。。。）それが大切なことだと思います。

(Dr M. Nagy, Japan America Society of San Antonio, Associate Professor of History/Inter-Cultural Studies, Our Lady of the Lake University)

志賀重昂は日本の将来にはアメリカとの関係改善が欠かせないとして、個人の私財を投じて民間交流をすすめました。それがアラモの現地サンアントニオの人達の評価を得たものです。日米摩擦が通商摩擦から文化摩擦だと言われる今日、志賀が身をもって指摘した様な活動がますます必要になってきていると言えます。

（大貫レポーター）