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IN SEARCH OF A NEW IDENTITY: SHIGA SHIGETAKA'S RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR JAPANESE IN HAWAI'I

Dr Masako Gavin

Introduction

After the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), over-population and unemployment became pressing issues in Japan. Many intellectuals were concerned about the social and economic hardships caused by these problems and advocated solving them through emigration. The prominent journalist and a professor of geography at the Tokyo Senmon Gakkô (presently Waseda University), Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927, believed Hawai'i was an ideal migration destination for the unemployed and impoverished Japanese.

Organisations were established to assist people going abroad.¹ After the first wave of migration (starting) in 1885 saw 945 Japanese settlers in Hawai'i, the numbers steadily increased, so that by 1909 there 70,000 Japanese living there; more than a half of the total population. By then many immigrants settled in Hawai'i permanently. This move towards permanent settlement coincided with the Americanization of Hawai'i and growing discontent about the cheapness of Japanese labor and the increasing number of *Nisei* (the children of first generation Japanese emigrants).²

After migrating to Hawai'i, the *Issei* (first generation Japanese emigrants) experienced a long period of transition

in which they searched for a new identity. While they remained Japanese subjects, "aliens ineligible for citizenship" (until 1954), their children, *Nisei* became American citizens at birth and thus held dual citizenship after Hawai'i became a U.S. territory in 1900. The *Issei*, not yet able to sever their ties with Japan, were anxious as to "how the *Nisei* would be educated and fare in their native land".³ Some educators believed they should be educated as Japanese, according to the moral principle as expressed in the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890). Others were afraid that "undue emphasis on those aspects (of the Rescript) would create an insular mentality among *Nisei* children which would hinder the children's ability to adapt to American society". Thus they advocated educational assimilation.⁴

In *Hawai Nikkei imin no kyōikushi* (History of Education for Japanese Immigrants in Hawai'i) Okita Yukuji points out that Shiga recommended that the education of the *Nisei* be freed from the Japanese curriculum, a stance that reflected his broader criticism of the imperial education system, and particularly the moral precepts expressed in the Rescript.⁵

Shiga was one of the eminent Japanese scholars who visited Hawai'i and encouraged the immigrants to assimilate with American culture and to adopt to the U.S. education system. As such he played a vital role in establishing a new identity for the immigrants and a new direction for the education of the *Nisei*. This paper examines his recommendations for Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i, who, in the 1910's, were in transition from being sojourners to being permanent residents. It firstly outlines a brief history of Japanese migration to

Hawai'i and the education of these immigrants preceding the establishment of the Hawai kyôikukai (Japanese Educational Association of Hawai'i) in 1914. It then examines Shiga's advice during his 1912 and 1914 visits to Hawai'i, which imply his opposition to the national moral campaign led by Inoue. Shiga believed that the immigrants would become pioneers for cultural coalescence between the East and West, but that they needed guidance as to how to bridge their Japanese moral foundation with the moral landscape of their new land. It will be clear that he was one of the few intellectuals who provided the immigrants with practical recommendations.

The Purpose of Education: A Comparison with Inoue Tetsujirô

After its victories in the wars with China and Russia, Japan was perceived by many rival nations as a "threat". As Japan transformed itself into a militaristic nation, anti-Japanese sentiment increased overseas. At home, constant tax increases and worsening poverty created deep social tensions and fostered the rise of grass roots anti-government theories and radical social movements such as socialism and anarchism.

In order to pacify the political and social unrest, the government initiated *kokumin dôtoku undô* (the National Morality Campaign) and in 1910 appointed Inoue Tetsujirô (1855-1944), a professor of philosophy at the Imperial University, as its leader. In *Kokumin dôtoku gairon* (Outline of the National Morality) (1912), Inoue argued that Japan's unique *kokutai* (national essence), which derived from a continuous imperial lineage, was essential to its moral foundation.⁶ In essence, the moral teaching of the twenty-year

old Imperial Rescript on Education, *chû* (loyalty) and *kô* (filial piety), to one's family, ancestors and ultimately to the Emperor, was re-emphasised and linked with patriotism and remained the guiding principle of Japanese education until the end of World War II.

In *Kokumin dôtoku gairon* (Outline of the National Morality), Inoue argued that it was not necessary for emigrants to adjust their moral foundation, *kokutai*, in order to reflect changes in their lives overseas.⁷ He claimed that the success of the Russo-Japanese War amply demonstrated the power of Japanese patriotism and made a mockery of calls to modernize the national curriculum. He was not supportive of emigration and certainly saw no reason to alter the essential nature of Japan's educational principle for Japanese abroad. His attitude, in short, was centered on an idealized rendition of Japan's past. As such, the passing of time was not, according to him, a reason to contemplate change.

Shiga saw the purpose of education differently. In addition to following the "sound mind sound body" approach (borrowed from liberal Western educational theory), he believed that education should prepare Japanese students to take their place as members of the international community. Within Japan, he thought that people needed to be educated to deal with economic growth and technological development, but he also believed that education should provide for the needs of those who would eventually live overseas. He was convinced that emigration was essential to Japan's survival, because the limited land mass of the country simply could not accommodate and feed an annual increase of 750,000 people.

Contemporary statistics indicate that the average annual income in Japan in the mid-1920s was only 71 yen, while the monthly cost of living was 35.6 yen. Hence, people were forced to virtually starve for almost ten months of the year. It was with some alarm that Shiga wrote:

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. 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.⁸

Thus, Shiga considered the provision of people's basic necessities of life to be more important than the enforced observance of moral principles.

Unlike Inoue, Shiga considered emigration necessary for Japan's survival. It promised to bring about immediate economic benefits. It was projected that by 1936 an additional 21 million births would bring Japan's total population to 62 million. He believed that emigration would ease some of the social pressure caused by over-population and that it was vital for the lower classes of Japanese society, which suffered most from unemployment and impoverishment, to be able to emigrate overseas.

Shiga is known among scholars of Japanese intellectual history as a pioneering advocate of *kokusui shugi*, a theory that, in the late 1880s, called for the maintenance of Japan's cultural identity in the face of increasing pressure for modernization from the West. He was also one of the few Japanese intellectuals of that time to visit the South Seas. His

first-hand account of his 1886 trip to Australia, New Zealand, Hawai'i and other South Seas islands, *Nan'yô jiji* (Current Affairs in the South Seas) (1887),⁹ was an immediate best seller. This trip convinced him that emigration was a viable solution to Japan's population crisis; a policy he advocated for the remainder of his life.

Shiga received a Western-style education and was taught in English from primary school onwards, while his father and grandfather were Confucian scholars, having been schooled primarily in the Chinese classics and Confucian studies. While they had been taught to be loyal and to observe filial piety to the family and the shogunate, Shiga was taught by American teachers such as Marion Scott (1843-1922) and William Clark (1826-1886) to be "a good citizen" and to care for others.¹⁰ It is possible that this exposure to Western thought and culture encouraged Shiga to develop an international awareness not possessed by his father or grandfather - a perspective further broadened by his experiences overseas.¹¹

Hawai'i As An Ideal Destination

Being on the Pacific rim, with warm climates and good job opportunities, Hawai'i became a popular destination for Japanese emigrants. In 1886 a regular non-stop sea service from Hawai'i to Japan commenced. This coincided with the Hawai'i government's encouragement of Japanese immigration in order to meet the demand for labor in the country's sugar industry.¹² Shiga believed Hawai'i to be an ideal destination for Japanese emigrants. In *Nan'yô jiji* he maintained that one Japanese emigrant could provide economic relief for three

people struggling to make ends meet. The first beneficiary was the emigrant. If a single emigrant who worked hard and sent some of his or her wages home and/or ordered everyday commodities from Japan, the emigrant created a new job in commerce and trade for a second person in Japan, as well as freed up his or her original job for a third person in Japan. Thus, Shiga referred to emigrants as "true patriots who left for the benefit of the country".¹³

At first, Japanese labor contractors worked at the sugar plantations for a period of three years. Although the salaries were low, the immigrants received free accommodation, power, water supply, and medical care. Initially, they were able to save their money and take it home once their contract expired. Very few of them stayed beyond the expiration of their first contract. This changed when, in the 1890s, government-level arrangements for contract workers were no longer available and individual ones were introduced.

The Japanese government was concerned about the "maltreatment" of the immigrants and thus was reluctant to support calls for greater emigration.¹⁴ After the termination of *dekasegi* (labor contracts and/or temporary agricultural works) immigrants stayed for longer periods or permanently. They were then referred to as *shokumin* (permanent settlers) rather than *imin* (sojourners), and many moved to the U.S. mainland after Hawai'i was annexed by the United States in 1898.¹⁵ This situation continued until anti-Japanese labor sentiment spread throughout California in the 1900s and the Gentleman's Agreement was imposed in 1908. This agreement terminated Japanese immigration to the U.S. mainland and

later to Hawai'i.¹⁶ This marked the beginning of the second phase of immigration during which immigrants settled as farmers instead of as contract laborers.¹⁷

As the move to the U.S. mainland became prohibited and the "Americanization" of Hawai'i grew, along with anti-Japanese sentiment, it became necessary for the *Issei* to search for a new identity and a new direction for the education of their children. We have seen that the *Issei* could not become naturalized U.S. citizens, while the *Nisei* received dual citizenship at birth.¹⁸ By educating the *Nisei* in accordance with the imperial principle, the *Issei* risked further antagonizing the local population, but if they educated their children as American citizens they would strip them of their identity as Japanese and force them to become "disloyal" to Japan.¹⁹

Shiga was one of the eminent Japanese who visited California and Hawai'i and observed first-hand the Japanese exclusion movement, as represented by the 1913 Alien Land Law. Yûji Ichioka points out that Shiga claimed in his article "Nihon kyôiku no muyô" (the Uselessness of a Japanese Education) in the immigrant press that "a Japanese education, being insular and narrow, ill-prepared the Japanese people for overseas expansion. Thus he advised Japanese immigrants to demand an American education for children."²⁰

The Education of Japanese Immigrants in Hawai'i

Many of the earlier sojourner immigrants to Hawai'i, most of whom were male, were tempted by gambling, drinking and

prostitution. After days of hard labor on a sugar plantation they were eager to relax and enjoy some diversion, and often they were forced to compete for a female companion. Some of the female immigrants became involved with prostitution, for the money and conditions were far better than those they encountered laboring in the field. Advocates of emigration hoped that more Japanese women would emigrate so that the male workers would come to lead more constructive lives, saving their money to start up businesses, or for marriage, and raising a family.²¹ While so-called "picture brides" migrated to Hawai'i, Japanese monks and missionaries also moved there in the hope of halting the moral decadence of the immigrants. As more Japanese immigrated, the demand for an organization of mutual support increased.

When the number of Japanese immigrants to Hawai'i exceeded 65,000 in 1903 - more than half of the Hawai'ian population - the *Chûô Nihonjinkai* (Central Japanese Committee), with Consul-General Saitô as its president, was founded. The committee called for cooperation among immigrants and believed that if Japanese immigrants were to improve their status from that of sojourners to that of settled immigrants, they needed to develop an economic and social stake in Hawaiian culture.²²

As Ozawa Gijô points out, political shifts such as changes to the U.S. immigration policy in the 1890s and the annexation of Hawai'i by the United States in 1898 created new tensions for immigrants.²³ An important consideration for Japanese immigrants contemplating whether or not to settle permanently in Hawai'i was the schooling of their children.

At first, parents and teachers simply assumed that their children, the *Nisei*, remained Japanese citizens and, as such, they should be educated in accordance with the imperial education principle. The first Japanese school in Hawai'i was founded on Kohala (the Island of Hawai'i) in 1893. By 1908, eighty such schools had been established and by 1915 they numbered 134. Most of these schools were run by Japanese religious organisations, and staffed either by Buddhist monks or Christian missionaries.²⁴ Their curricula were all based on the principle laid out by the Japanese Ministry of Education. As such, they all taught from the national textbooks used in Japan, which seemed appropriate while they remained "sojourners".²⁵ At that time there was seemingly little conflict between the parents and their children's Japanese teachers; if there was it often lay in persuading parents of the need to educate their children and to send them to school.²⁶ At any rate, most schools at this stage were run by volunteers and were not systematically organized as institutions.

Reverend Okumura Takie (1865-1951), head of Makiki Christian Church and a community leader, especially for Japanese Christians, recalled in his biography, *Taihêyô no rakuen* (Paradise of the Pacific) (1926), that soon after moving to Hawai'i in 1894 he perceived an urgent need to teach Japanese language to the *Nisei*. He asked a little girl sitting alone if she was with her mother. She replied, "*mî ma hanahana yô konai* (My mother is working and can't come)". He asked one of the so-called *gan nen mono* (the emigrants of the first year of the Meiji era), Ishimura Ichigorô, who happened to be there, to translate what the girl had said and was told that she had

spoken a mixture of English, local words and Japanese. At that time there was still no Japanese school, even though Japanese had been immigrating to Hawai'i for almost a decade. Hence it was rare for children born in Hawai'i to speak Japanese well and this resulted in communication problems between the *Issei* and the *Nisei*. On learning of this, Okumura immediately began to teach the language.²⁷

The Japanese population in Hawai'i had reached 70,000 in 1909, by which time there were as many as eighty Japanese schools. It was customary for such children to attend foreign language (Japanese) schools outside the regular hours of their public (English) schools. With Hawai'i then part of the United States, *Nisei* automatically became U.S. citizens, which in some ways made the practice of teaching them Japanese seem redundant. Consul-General Ueno, who had replaced Saitô, frequently sought guidance and support from the Ministry of Education in Japan.²⁸ In this way the Japanese government came to extend its authority to its people living overseas, though after the Russo-Japanese War it was inclined to regard them as *kimin* (abandoned people).²⁹

As Japanese schools spread across the islands, locals on the islands became aware of the high birthrate of the Japanese and the fact that they educated their children at public (English) schools where they did very well academically. The education of *Nisei* at Japanese schools in accordance with the moral principles of imperial education was another cause of the antagonism. It produced loyal subjects but did not teach them how to assimilate to a new land and community. Ozawa claims that while Buddhist immigrants continued to insist on

educating their children as Japanese, intellectuals such as Prof. Harada Tasuku (1863-1940) of the University of Hawai'i, and Reverend Okumura, advocated that children should be educated as U.S. citizens.³⁰

Religious conflicts among the Buddhists of different sects, as well as Buddhists and Christians, were coupled with immigrants' internal disputes such as arguments based on their regional differences back in Japan. Thus, the so-called *gakkô mondai* (school issues) not only caused conflicts between the immigrants and the local people but also became a source of antagonism between the immigrants themselves. In November 1912, the Maui education committee decided to organize a general forum for Japanese throughout the islands to discuss the direction of education.³¹ It was to this forum that Shiga was invited to give advice.

Shiga and Japanese Immigrants in Hawai'i

During two separate trips to Hawai'i in 1912 and again in July 1914, Shiga met with local Japanese. He was invited by the *Kin'yôkai* (Friday Club), an organization of business and intellectual leaders in the Japanese community, as an advisor when the first assembly of the Hawai *kyôikukai* (Japanese Educational Association of Hawai'i) was held in 1914 (1972, 57).³²

The Friday Club, represented by Sôga Yasutarô (1873-1957), a president of *Nippû jiji* (Current Affairs in Hawai'i and Japan), invited Shiga to present seminars concerning a new direction for the education of the *Nisei*.³³ Sôga was a former student of Shiga's at Waseda University and

had been much inspired by Shiga's *Nan'yô jiji*.³⁴ Sôga organized a series of seven lectures by Shiga held from 28 June 1912 at the Opera House and many more at other institutions such as the Hawai chûgaku (Junior High School in Hawai'i). Each session was attended by a capacity audience, which Sôga claimed reflected the immigrants' desperation for future guidance.³⁵

In the first lecture on 28 June 1912, Shiga, known to the audience as a *kokusui* advocate and a geographer, declared that "Japanese born in Hawai'i should be prepared to bridge cultures between the United States and Japan."³⁶ This formed the key theme in all his seminars, including those he delivered during his subsequent visit in 1914. In the second talk, on 29 June 1912, Shiga stressed that the immigrants should remain in Hawai'i and not return to Japan, as starting anew back home would be even harder. Living difficulties caused by the population crisis were becoming harsher every day and people were being further encouraged to emigrate overseas.³⁷ The situation was so hard that some school children could not afford to bring lunch with them and that many were so feeble that they fainted during their daily physical exercises.³⁸

In contrast, Shiga stressed that immigrants in Hawai'i were blessed with better living conditions and climate. For example, Japanese living in Kona had large families with an average of seven to ten children, and many older people lived longer and in better health than their counterparts in Japan. Longevity was Shiga's key criteria for measuring prosperity. He believed that free from the hardships then prevalent in Japan, immigrants in Hawai'i could become "global" citizens,

discarding their insular thinking to occupy the cultural crossroads between the East and the West.³⁹

Generally, the Friday Club hosted free seminars presented by eminent intellectuals traveling through Hawai'i en route to or from the U.S. mainland. In the case of Shiga, however, the Club sponsored both of his trips to Hawai'i by pre-selling admission tickets to his lectures.⁴⁰ According to Sôga, out of over twenty such talks hosted by the Friday Club, Shiga's were by far the most popular with the immigrant community. Despite there being a charge of fifty cents per head for Shiga's talks, tickets to them sold out instantly.⁴¹

Upon his return home from the 1912 trip, Shiga organized a Hawai'i Exhibition at the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo to promote Hawai'i in Japan. The exhibition was so successful that he extended it for an extra two days and on the last of these he escorted Royal Prince Fushinomiya (1858-1923) on a tour of the display.

When a group of students from a junior high school in Hawai'i visited Japan in July 1913, Shiga arranged for them to meet with the Minister of Education, Okuda Yoshito (1860-1917), with a General of the Imperial Army, Tsuchiya, and with the President of the Yokohama Chamber of Commerce and Industries, Ôya Kahê. Hence, despite the shortness of their stay, the students were exposed to a diversity of opinion by eminent Japanese.⁴²

Shiga's Ideas for Educating Japanese in Hawai'i

When Shiga returned to Hawai'i in 1914 the Friday Club once again arranged for him to present a series of seminars (from

20 July to 24 July at the KB Hall). Also during the visit, he attended a three-day conference held by the Hawai kyōikukai (in Honolulu), in the capacity of a special advisor on the revision of textbooks.⁴³ Most Japanese immigrants were now settling permanently in Hawai'i and the issue of educating *Nisei* had become a vital concern.

Unlike Inoue, who stressed *kokutai*, the Japanese essence deriving from a continuous imperial lineage, Shiga strongly recommended that immigrants assimilate into the local culture and adopt the American education system for their children:

It is a duty for any man to abide by the constitution of the country where he lives. Therefore, the immigrants should not educate their children in accordance with the primacy of the education principle in Japan, but with the requirements of the republic in which they are living.⁴⁴

Shiga was not alone in advocating this path. Shimada Saburō (1852-1922) and Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933) had visited Hawai'i prior to Shiga and had similarly suggested that the immigrants should not be preoccupied with a limited interpretation of loyalty and patriotism and instead should assimilate themselves as members of the republic. At the time these recommendations created an uproar. On 15 September 1911 the *Hawaii shokumin shinbun* (Newspaper for Japanese Settlers in Hawai'i) denounced Shimada and Nitobe as "two shameful scholars".⁴⁵ In December 1911, the same newspaper published the opinion of Consul-General Ueno, who, representing the Japanese government, stated that it was a duty for Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i to bring up their children to be loyal

to the United States and well-acquainted with Japanese affairs.⁴⁶ Hence it became widely accepted that the immigrants needed to establish a new identity as "U.S. citizens" independent from their motherland. As we shall see, Shiga was one of the few intellectuals who provided practical suggestions as to how they might adapt traditional Japanese moral ability to their lives in Hawai'i.

In his lectures during the 1914 visit, Shiga asserted that the immigrants had to think of themselves as individual members of a community rather than as imperial subjects. Having been taught to be unquestioningly obedient to one's family and to the Emperor, the Japanese immigrants did not know how to make this transition. Their inability to show their Japanese identity alienated them from others in the Hawai'ian community and resulted in widespread misunderstanding, and sometimes in anti-Japanese sentiment. In "Kaigai hatten no konponteki shisô" (Fundamental Thought on Overseas Development), Shiga identified one of the key characteristics associated with the Japanese:

As a result of the imperial state-oriented education, Japanese have not fostered a capacity to express their care for others. Japanese are consequently regarded as selfish and such misunderstanding is the cause of anti-Japanese sentiment.⁴⁷

Shiga argued that immigrants needed to be encouraged to show their care for people outside of their own family. Because of Japanese clannishness, and the insular mentality born of Japan's 265 year isolationist policy, the immigrants were not aware of their obligations to the host society. For example, other far smaller immigrant communities in Hawai'i had

introduced flowers, vegetables and poultry to their new home. In contrast, even when there were over 90,000 Japanese living in Hawai'i, they had failed to even introduce a Japanese favorite like loach.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the immigrants sent money to Japan rather than invest in local industries. They partook in Japanese cultural activities but failed to invite local people, and thereby neglected to foster closer ties with the rest of the Hawaiian community. This lack of awareness of social mores, Shiga concluded, made overseas Japanese unpopular. Reverend Okumura Takie claims that this attitude derived from *dekasegi konjô*, their sojourning mentality, their unwavering belief that they would one day return to Japan, which freed them from the need to create a new set of lasting social relations.⁴⁹

Shiga thought it vital that the immigrants learn the Western virtue of having sympathy for others beyond one's family. He saw this virtue as exemplified in the life of Father Damien (1840-1889), a Belgian Catholic priest who ministered to the lepers on Molokai Island when no health officials would go there. After twelve years of such service, the priest himself died of leprosy, proud to have become the lepers "true" friend. In 1890, another Catholic, a Frenchman, built a hospital for lepers at the foot of Mt Fuji, and in 1896, a British woman did the same in Kumamoto, Japan. Shiga believed that such concern for others, irrespective of their race or class, needed to be demonstrated by the Japanese if they were to be accepted as harmonious members of Western societies.⁵⁰ In short, he argued that the moral principle of the imperial education failed to instill in the immigrants a sense of

obligation and loyalty to their new community.

In the seminars, Shiga cited many more examples of "assimilation", including his own, which he hoped would inspire the immigrants to embrace the local way of life. For example, in response to Western claims that the Japanese were "ungrateful", he compiled a list of forty Americans whom he thought deserving of Japanese respect and gratitude due to their dedication to Japan's modernization since the arrival of Commodore Perry (1794-1858).⁵¹ The list included his mentors such as Marion Scott and William Clark, who contributed to modernizing the Japanese education system. He also referred to a stone monument which he had brought with him to present to the people of San Antonio. He had the monument made in his hometown, Okazaki, in recognition of "the common values of courage and self-sacrifice for a worthy cause that both Texans and Japanese admired. The monument honored heroes of both the Alamo and of Nagashino".⁵² Shiga believed such respect to be the first step towards Japanese assimilation. Having been raised to believe that Japanese culture is "unique and superior", the immigrants had to develop a respect for U.S. culture before they could contemplate assimilation.

Shiga also lectured on the historical relationship between Hawai'i and Japan, particularly in regard to Nakahama Manjirô (1827-1898).⁵³ Sôga noted that these talks filled as they were with Shiga's ideas about cultural accord and practical examples of how it might be brought about were both enlightening and inspiring to the immigrants that heard them. Dr Katsunuma thanked Shiga on behalf of the Friday Club and the audience, and Shiga, in return, encouraged the immigrants,

wishing them eternal prosperity in Hawai'i.⁵⁴

In discussing the adaptation of education to locality, Shiga thought Hawai'i had great potential for the Japanese. It was, he claimed, an ideal place for Japanese to establish themselves. Once settled there, he believed they could be pioneers in bridging the gap between the civilizations of the East and the West. Japanese children born in Hawai'i were, he claimed, raised in an environment comprised of a variety of cultures and were blessed with the opportunity to combine cultures and to create a new civilization. He encouraged the 200,000 naturalized Japanese in Hawai'i to follow the lead of Hamada Hikoizô (Joseph Hiko) (1837-1897), a fisherman from Hyogo prefecture. In his *Hyôryûki* (Chronicle of Drifting) (1863), Hikoizô wrote, "being in both the United States and Japan, I dedicate my hard work to both countries, hoping only thus to express my gratitude to both".⁵⁵ This ideal, Shiga insisted, was only attainable if the immigrants successfully integrated themselves into Hawaiian life.

Unlike Inoue who did not see any need for Japanese emigrants to adjust their guiding principle, Shiga emphasized that a person's education should be in accord with the needs of the country in which he or she resides. For this, it was essential that textbooks feature stories set in Hawai'i, where the *Nisei* were being reared, rather than those drawn from Japanese history and culture. To further illustrate this, he referred to the following situations. British immigrants to Australia adopted textbooks suitable to Australian conditions, so that the characters children read about would go to the beach at Christmas instead of holidaying in the snow as they

might in England. In another case, after a group of young *Nisei* students from Hawai'i saw a play in Japan, they thought that "snow" referred to pieces of paper falling onto the stage.⁵⁶

In essence, Shiga's advice to the Japanese immigrants was to adapt the Japanese curriculum and educational principles to the local situation in Hawai'i; to observe the old maxim, "when in Rome do as the Romans do". "Jargons such as *kokutai*, *chû* and *kô*, only make the immigrants confused and argumentative as regards to moral conduct and fail to awaken them to the need for change."⁵⁷ As such, he believed that they should not adhere to the primacy of the Japanese education system with its emphasis on the patriarchal moral principle.⁵⁸

Having argued this case, the next step was to revise the textbooks. Shiga recommended that textbooks in Hawai'i should support the resolution of the first World Conference held in London in 1913: "All men are created equal regardless of the country of their birth or their race. Elementary school textbooks should be amended explaining why people should not be treated differently."⁵⁹ In accord with this trend towards a universalist education, he emphasized the cultural coalescence required of people living in a culturally diverse society.

Shiga's second specific recommendation involved a "de-emphasis" of the imperial moral foundation and a "re-focusing" on its "universality". He argued that *Nisei* had to be taught to think globally and that educational institutions should teach from examples of tolerance and extended benevolence to all in Japanese history. For example, when, in the Russo-Japanese War, the Meiji Emperor instructed

General Nogi Maresuke (1849-1912) to command his troops to evacuate Russian women, children and missionaries prior to the attack on Port Arthur. Furthermore, when the fortress fell, the Emperor commanded his soldiers to respect the Russian officers who had defended it.⁶⁰

Shiga also recommended that textbooks include examples of model deeds done by women in both the East and the West and those done by men through *bushidô* (way of *samurai*), focusing on universal precepts. For instance, the benevolence of George Washington's mother, or the Meiji Empress who donated the 100,000 yen she had saved through austerity to the International Red Cross, or the unyielding spirit of the mighty fourteenth century *samurai* Kusunoki Masatsura (1326-1348). Shiga believed that by emphasizing the universal aspects of the lives of such role models, Japanese immigrants would become aware that they were living in a cross-cultural environment and would be more able to conform to local mores. Once they were so inspired, Shiga anticipated, they would act appropriately and thereby defuse the antagonism directed towards them by their fellow Hawai'ians.⁶¹

The years 1914 and 1915 saw a shift towards greater assimilation. For example, the first general assembly of the Hawai kyôikukai was held on 22 February 1915. At this, the Consul-General, Arita Hachirô (1884-1965), in his inaugural speech, rhetorically asked, "would there be any hindrance to Japanese descendants, born and raised in the U.S. territory, being patriotic to the United States and respecting the stars and stripes when they are protected as U.S. citizens? Japanese education should be limited to the language rather than the

principle of imperial education *per se*.”⁶² The transition from being sojourners to permanent residents paved the way for immigrants to become as *Nikkeijin*, (U.S. citizens of Japanese ancestry), and to develop a new principle of education for the *Nisei*.

Conclusion

Okita Yukuji maintains that Shiga played an important role in adapting the education principle for the Japanese immigrants to a new environment, with which they achieved something the Japanese living in Japan were unable to do, namely, to modernize the imperial education principle.⁶³

This paper affirms Okita's assertion and illustrates how Shiga encouraged and educated the Japanese immigrants as to how they might forge a future for themselves independent of the Japanese identity exemplified by Inoue's backward looking national moral campaign.

In today's global society, it may be difficult to imagine the intensity of cultural and educational conflict, the political and diplomatic complexity, experienced by Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i early last century. Within one generation, people who had been taught to be loyal imperial subjects, were doing what would once been unthinkable teaching their children to become American citizens.

It is probable that Shiga's own mixed educational background gave him an insight into the Japanese immigrants' search for a new identity. Believing in emigration as a means of easing Japan's social problems of overpopulation and unemployment, Shiga thought educational reform essential to

the integration of the Japanese immigrants. In short, much like the generational transition between his father's education and his own, he advocated a switch in pedagogical perspective from a Confucian state-oriented principle to a "universal" one. He lauded Clark, Scott and others as the progenitors of modernization in Japanese education, and was committed to assisting the immigrants in assimilating themselves into the Hawaiian way of life through cross-cultural communication and mutual respect. In this way, he was one of the few Japanese intellectuals able to offer practical advice to Japanese immigrants as they faced increasing resentment within their adopted community. For Shiga, Hawai'i was not only the prime destination for emigration, but also for cultural coalescence; something he believed *Nikkeijin* in Hawai'i would help affect in the fullness of time.

NOTES

Unless otherwise noted, all Japanese references were printed in Tokyo and all Japanese names appear with the family name first. Throughout this paper, circumflexes are placed over long vowels of Japanese words, except for places and publishers already known in English without them. For ease of reference, English translations are provided for the titles of most works.

Shiga Shigetaka zenshû (The Complete Collected Works of Shiga Shigetaka hereafter referred to as *SSZ*) in Japanese (8 vols) were published by Shiga Shigetaka zenshû kankôkai between 1927 and 1929. The reprint of *SSZ* was published by Nihon Tosho Center in 1995. Although the title suggests that the collection is complete, this is not the case as it is in fact a selection of his works. See Masako Gavin, *Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927): The Forgotten Enlightener* (London: Curzon Press, 2001), pp. 209-213.

Portions of this article have appeared elsewhere in earlier versions (in English): *The Forgotten Enlightener*; "Anti-Japanese Sentiment and the

Responses of Two Meiji Intellectuals", *East Asia International Quarterly*, 21 (3) (2005), pp. 23-36.

"Kirinuki chō" (Scrapbook), one of the major references in this paper, is unpublished. Comprising newspaper clippings pasted into a scrapbook by the Honolulu poet, journalist and the president of *Nippū jiji* (Current Affairs in Hawai'i and Japan), Sōga Keihō (Yasutarō), it is housed in the Rare Hawaiian Collection in the Hamilton Library at the University of Hawai'i, Manoa. The library catalogue indicates that the scrapbook's clippings relate to a variety of subjects from articles published between 1916-1935 in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, *Honolulu Advertiser*, *Wela-ka-hao*, *Hawai'i Chinese News*, *Nippū jiji*, and other newspapers.

"Kirinuki chō" comprises three volumes and this paper focuses on volume 2, which contains Shiga's articles published in the *Nippū jiji* between 1912 and 1914. I would like to thank Prof. George Oshiro of Obirin University, and Dr Chieko Tachihata, emeritus scholar of the University of Hawai'i, for calling my attention to this scrapbook.

In *Gojūnenkan no Hawai kaiko* (Fifty Years of Memories of Hawai'i), [Honolulu: 1953], Sōga recorded that reading Shiga's *Nan'yō jiji* made him eager to travel abroad. While still a student in Japan, Sōga was taught geography and English by Shiga (1953, 3). Later, as a representative of the *Kin'yōkai* (Friday Club), Sōga invited Shiga to give some seminars in 1912 and again in 1914. Shiga, already an eminent scholar of geography in Japan, was delighted to accept the invitation (1953, pp. 258-259).

¹ For example, Shiga founded *Kaigai tokō muhiyō hojokikan*, a non-profit organisation that assisted people interested in going overseas by providing them with basic information regarding traveling and living abroad. Magazines such as *Tobei zasshi* (Going to the United States) and *Tobei shimpō* (News from the United States) provided information about transportation, employment and current affairs in the United States. Mamiya Kunio, "Abe Isō to imin jinkō mondai (Abe Isō and His View on Emigration and the Population Crisis)," *Shakai kagaku tōkyū* (1993), p. 28.

² The birth rate in industrialised countries at that time was less than 25 per 1,000 people, but for the Japanese in Hawai'i it was twice as much, almost 50 per 1,000. For this reason the U.S. citizens in Hawai'i were concerned that the Japanese would soon numerically dominate the population. *Sanji seigenron* (Birth Control), *Jitsugyō no Nihon*, 1922, pp. 142-144.

³ Yūji Ichioka, *The Issei: the World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants 1865-1924*, (New York: The Free Press, 1988), p. 153 and p. 254.

⁴ Ichioka, *The Issei*, p. 202.

⁵ Okita Yukuji, *Hawai Nikkei imin no kyōdikushi* (Kyoto: Minerva shobo, 1997), p. 23, p. 167 and p. 204.

⁶ Inoue Tetsujirô, *Kokumin dôtoku gairon* (Sanseido: 1912), pp. 272-273.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Shiga Shigetaka, "Kokka no Mangô (Current Manchuria and Mongolia)," *SSZ* 1 (1928), p. 389; Shiga, *Shirarezaru kuniguni* (Countries Unknown to Japan), *SSZ* 6 (1926), p. 327.

⁹ Shiga Shigetaka, *Nan'yô jiji* (Current Affairs in the South Seas) (1887), *SSZ* 3 (1927), p. 102.

¹⁰ William Smith Clark (1826-1886) and Marion Scott (1843-1922) were among the so-called *oyatoi gaikokujin* (foreigners on a short-term contract in the early Meiji period). Clark inaugurated the Sapporo Agricultural College (presently Hokkaido University). Scott founded a system of public schools and established Japan's first teachers' college.

¹¹ As a war correspondent during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), Shiga accompanied the besieging army to Port Arthur and observed the siege of the fortress from the headquarters of General Nogi Maresuke (1849-1912). During a trip he began in March 1910 that took him to Singapore, the Cape of Good Hope, Europe, England, Argentina and Brazil, Shiga attended the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition in London and the Argentinean National Centennial. In June he delivered a lecture at the Brazilian Geographical Society in Rio de Janeiro and was awarded honorary membership of the society. He was also nominated by the Royal Geographic Society of the United Kingdom to the position of honorary correspondent in 1917. He lectured in Hawai'i, California, Mongolia and Manchuria, all places where anti-Japanese sentiment was prevalent. He remained something of a globe-trotter covering 264,000 miles in the course of his life. Gotô Kyôfu, *Waga kyôdo no umeru sekaiteki sengakusha Shiga Shigetaka sensei* (Keigansha, 1931), 64. Minamoto Shôkyû, "Shigetaka Shiga 1863-1927," *Geographers Bio-bibliographical Studies* 8 (1984), 97.

¹² Before the first settlers of 1885, there was an unofficial group of emigrants, the *gan'nen mono*, sent in 1868. *Gan nen mono* literally means the emigrants of the first year of the Meiji era. Ozawa, *Hawai Nihongo kyôiku* (History of Japanese Language Schools in Hawai'i), 1972, p. 3.

¹³ Shiga, *Nan'yô jiji*, p. 94.

¹⁴ Nagai Mansuke, ed. *Meiji Taishô shi* (A History of the Meiji and Taishô Eras), (Kuresu shuppan, 2000), p. 357. Yûji Ichioka maintains that "the Japanese government never envisioned permanent labor emigration to the United States or elsewhere. During the 1870s and 1880s, the Foreign Ministry was intent on seeking revisions to the unequal treaties which had been imposed upon Japan by the Western powers. The government began to exercise strict control over the departure of laborers." *The Issei*, p. 4.

¹⁵ "Hakkan no ji (Inaugural Address)," *The Hawaii shokumin shinbun* (Newspaper for Japanese Settlers in Hawai'i), no. 1, Friday May 7, 1909, p. 1. The *Hawaii shokumin shinbun* asserts that the title of the newspaper,

"shokumin", indicates that the time had already changed from one of sojourning to one of permanent settlement. When Enomoto Takeaki (1836-1908), Minister of Foreign Affairs, founded the *Iminkyoku* (Immigration Bureau) in 1891, he defined permanent settlers as *shokumin* (殖民) (*teijû imin*) (settled immigrants) slightly different from its synonym, *shokumin* (植民), which means colonialism. Okita, *Hawai Nikkei imin*, p. 112. *Hokubei Nihonjin Kirisutokyô undôshi*, 1991, Doshisha University jinbun kagaku kenkyûjo ed., p. 11.

¹⁶ Ozawa, *Hawai Nihongo kyôiku* (History of Japanese Language Schools in Hawai'i), Honolulu: Hawai kyôikukai, 1972, p. 56. Immigrants already resident in the United States were, however, still permitted to sponsor family members for immigration.

¹⁷ Ichioka, *The Issei*, p. 4.

¹⁸ "Zaibei Nihonjin gakkô haishisetsu ni tsuite," *The Hawaii shokumin shinbun*, 29 January 1912.

¹⁹ Okita, *Hawai Nikkei imin*, p. 124.

²⁰ Although Ichioka does not specify the date of Shiga's visit, except that it was after 1913, it was most likely after he visited Hawaii in 1914. Ichioka, pp. 203-204. The curb on Japanese immigration imposed by the "Gentleman's Agreement" found its first legal expression in the Alien Land Law of California, which was passed in 1913 then revised in 1920. This prolonged campaign of antagonism towards Japanese immigrants culminated in the so-called Japanese Exclusion Clause in the Bill of 1924, which singled-out Japanese for exclusion from the United States.

²¹ Abe Isô, *Hokubei no shin Nihon* (A New Japan in USA), Hakubunkan, 1905, p. 37.

²² "Rengô kyôikukai to gojin no kibô (My Hope Regarding the United Association for Education)," *The Hawaii shokumin shinbun*, 22 September 1909.

²³ Ozawa, *Hawai Nihongo kyôiku*, p. 56.

²⁴ "Hawai kyôiku to Nihonjin (Education in Hawai'i and Japanese)" 3, *The Hawaii shokumin shinbun*, 20 August 1909.

²⁵ Ozawa, *Hawai Nihongo kyôiku*, p. 56.

²⁶ Sôga, *Gojûnen no Hawai kaiko* (Fifty Years of Memories of Hawai'i), *Gujûnenkan no Hawai kaiko kankôkai* ed, (Honolulu: 1953), p. 169.

²⁷ Okumura Takie, *Taihêyô no rakuen* (Paradise of the Pacific) (San'eidô shoten, 1926), pp. 164-165.

Most Japanese children attended both local public schools and Japanese schools. In reference to the former, it is worth noting that Dr. Marion Scott, the founder of teachers' colleges in Japan, became principal of the first public school in Hawai'i, Honolulu High School (presently McKinley High School) (from 1885 to 1919), after returning to the United States. This was the only public high school in Honolulu, with a predominantly Japanese student body. In *The Life of Mr. M. M. Scott* (Fukuoka: Fukuoka University of Education, 1989), Hirata Munefumi

provides a detailed account of Scott's constant support for the Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i. Shiga also refers to Scott as the "best friend of Japanese immigrants" in Hawai'i. Hirata maintains that by the time Scott moved to Honolulu, he was very well versed in Japanese lore, customs, traditions, and sentiment. His public sympathy for Japan led him to become a kind of unofficial ambassador for Japan to the Hawaiian islands. When anti-Japanese sentiment spread in Hawai'i and California, Scott not only spoke on behalf of the Japanese but endeavored to mediate any racial conflicts. For these services, the Japanese government conferred on him the order of the Rising Sun of Fourth Grade on 17 May, 1912. Hirata Munefumi, *The Life of M. M. Scott* (Fukuoka: Fukuoka University of Education, 1989), pp. 3-7. Shiga Shigetaka, 'Nihon to Hawai no rekishiteki kankei (Historical Relations Between Hawai'i and Japan),' "Kirinukichô" 2, p. 30.

²⁸ "Hawai kyôiku to Nihonjin" 3, *The Hawaii shokumin shinbun*, 20 August 1909.

²⁹ Okita, *Hawai Nikkei imin*, pp. 169-170.

³⁰ Ozawa, *Hawai Nihongo kyôiku*, p. 63.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-59.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³³ The *Kin'yôkai* was founded in 1911 as a kind of reading club engaged in organizing cultural events such as public lectures. Sôga, *Gojûnen no Hawai kaiko*, p. 257.

³⁴ Sôga, moved to Hawai'i in 1894. Sôga, *Gojûnen no Hawai kaiko*, p. 257.

³⁵ Sôga, *Gojûnen no Hawai kaiko*, p. 259.

³⁶ Shiga Shigetaka in Sôga, 'Shiga sensei kôen (Talks by Shiga Shigetaka),' "Kirinukichô" 2, p. 2.

³⁷ Shiga 'Shiga sensei kôen,' "Kirinukichô" 2, p. 3.

³⁸ Twelve to thirteen students fainted during the exercise every day. Shiga Shigetaka, 'Aomegane shiromegane (Blue Spectacles and White Spectacles),' "Kirinukichô" 2), p. 9.

³⁹ Shiga Shigetaka, 'Nihon ni kankei aru Hawai rekishi (History of Hawai'i in Relation to Japan),' in Sôga, "Kirinukichô" 2, p. 15: 'Sekai no Nihon (Japan in the World),' "Kirinukichô" 2, p. 8.

⁴⁰ Sôga, *Gojûnen no Hawai kaiko*, pp. 257-259.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Shiga Shigetaka, "Bei hondo oyobi Hawai zairyû Nihonjin no kyôiku (Education for the Japanese on the U.S. Mainland and Hawai'i)," *SSZ* 1, 1928, pp. 400-401. Miwa Kimitada, "Crossroads of Patriotism in Imperial Japan: Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927), Uchimura Kanzô (1861-1930), and Nitobe Inazô (1862-1933)" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1967), p. 338.

⁴³ Ozawa, *Hawai Nihongo kyôiku*, p. 57. The Maui committee also sought Shiga's advice on educating their children.

⁴⁴ Shiga in Miwa, p. 339.

⁴⁵ Okita, *Hawai Nikkei imin*, p. 132. Shiga's colleague professor at Waseda, Abe Isô (1865-1949), also commented that given the fact that all U.S. representatives with whom these intellectuals met were pro-Japanese, "little was gained". Abe Isô, "Hainichi mondai to rôdô mondai (Anti-Japanese Backlash and Labor Issues)," *Rikugô zasshi* (Universe) 411, 1915, p. 13.

⁴⁶ Okita, *Hawai Nikkei imin*, p. 132.

⁴⁷ Shiga Shigetaka, 'Zaigai dôhôtei no kyôiku mondai (Education for Overseas Japanese)', "Kirinuki chô" 2, pp. 37-38: "Kaigai hatten no konponteki shisô," *Nôgyô sekai*, in *SSZ* 1 (1928), pp. 316-317.

⁴⁸ Shiga Shigetaka, "Kaigai hatten wa giron yorimo jikkô nari", *SSZ* 1, p. 256: 'Zaigai dôhôtei no kyôiku mondai,' pp. 37-38.

⁴⁹ Okumura Takie, 210. Okumura believed that antagonism towards Japanese was caused by the immigrants' sojourning mentality, their unwillingness to invest both financially and emotionally in Hawaiian culture. *Hokubei Nihonjin Kirisutokyô undôshi*, Doshisha University jinbun kagakubu ed., 1991, p. 135.

Prior to both trips to Hawai'i, Shiga criticized the imperial education system for having only recommended theories without demonstrating practical applications. For example, there were a large number of newspapers and magazines concerned with foreign diplomacy - 110 magazines alone dedicated to this topic - but none of them offered advice as to how to conduct a mission. He argued, "Japan has grown into a country with a swollen head full of armchair theories". At a seminar organized by the Ministry of Agricultural and Commercial Affairs in 1915, Shiga reiterated that one practical application was superior to one hundred theories and 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". Shiga Shigetaka, *Sirarezaru kuniguni*, *SSZ* 6, pp. 433-434: "Kyokujitsu shôten no seishin (Japanese Spirit)," *Shinkoron*, 1911, p. 32: "Bentô ni kayu o motekuru Ninomiyashû: Chochiku ken'yaku no bôkokushugi (The Ninomiya Style Austerity: The Destruction of Japan)," *Shinkoron*, 1911, p. 148.

⁵⁰ Shiga Shigetaka, 'Zaigai dôhôtei no kyôiku mondai,' pp. 37-38.

⁵¹ See Gavin (2001), pp. 204-205 for details of the forty individuals.

⁵² Shiga extolled the bravery of men in these battles, particularly that of James Bonham of the Alamo (1836), and of a loyal samurai, Torii Sune'emon (?-1575) of Okazaki clan in the Battle of Nagashino (1575). A replica of the monument is kept at the Okazaki castle, Aichi prefecture, Japan. Nagy, "Remembering the Alamo Japanese-Style: Shigetaka Shiga's Monument as Tribute to the Alamo Heroes," p. 5. Shiga brought the monument from his hometown, Okazaki. "This monument only represents my humble personal effort to show my admiration and reverence for the heroic deeds enacted here and the noble men who gave their lives so willingly for the principle

for which they stood. The Japanese people have nothing to do with the matter, but in a larger sense my action may be taken to symbolize the feeling of the Japanese nation for the United States". Shiga in Nagy, "Remembering the Alamo," p. 3.

⁵³ Nakahama Manjirô (1827-1898), a fisherman from Nakahama village (in Shikoku), was rescued by an American whaleship in 1841 and was educated in the United States. He returned to Japan in 1851 and worked as an interpreter on Commodore Perry's arrival. He is known for his loyalty to those who helped him in the U.S.A.. Shiga, 'Nihon ni kankei aru Hawaii rekishi,' "Kirinukichô" 2, p. 15.

⁵⁴ Shiga Shigetaka, 'Zaigai dôhoshitei no kyôiku mondai', "Kirinuki chô" 2, p. 36. Sôga, *Gojûnenkan no Hawaii kaiko*, p. 263.

⁵⁵ Shiga Shigetaka, "Egawa Tarôzaemon sensei (Mr Egawa Tarôzaemon)," *SSZ* 2, pp. 404-406: "Zaigai dôhôtei no kyôiku mondai," "Kirinuki chô" 2, p. 38.

⁵⁶ Shiga, "Bei hondo oyobi Hawaii zaiyû Nihonjin no kyôiku," *SSZ* 1, pp. 401-402.

⁵⁷ Shiga in "Kirinuki chô" 2, p. 36.

⁵⁸ Shiga in "Kirinuki chô" 2, pp. 36-37.

⁵⁹ Shiga Shigetaka, "Bei hondo oyobi Hawaii zaiyû Nihonjin no kyôiku," *SSZ* 1, pp. 406-407; "Zaigai dôhoshitei no kyôiku mondai," "Kirinuki chô" 2, p. 38.

⁶⁰ Shiga Shigetaka, "Taiheiyôgan ni okeru Nihonjin (The Japanese on the Pacific Coast of the United States)," *SSZ* 1, p. 399: "Bei hondo oyobi Hawaii zaiyû Nihonjin no kyôiku," *SSZ* 1, p. 408. Ichioka maintains that some immigrant educators were wary of promoting "parochialism" among *Nisei* youngsters and did not give unqualified support to the Rescript. They interpreted the Rescript as broadly as possible and advised their associates to focus on its universal precepts. Ichioka, *The Issei*, p. 202.

⁶¹ Shiga Shigetaka, "Taiheiyôgan ni okeru Nihonjin," *SSZ* 1 (1928), pp. 391-398.

⁶² Okita, *Hawaii Nikkei imin no kyôikushi*, p. 4 and pp. 31-40. Ozawa, *Hawaii Nihongo kyôiku*, pp. 64-66.

⁶³ Okita, *Hawaii Nikkei imin no kyôikushi*, p. 4.

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