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The Relationship between Japan and South Africa before World War II

Katsuhiko Kitagawa*

This study forms part of a historical research project into Japanese understanding of and research regarding Africa during the period from the Partition of Africa to the Era of Decolonization. Specifically, this project examines the meaning that certain figures, who played an important role in forming public opinion in Japan, tried to give to various problems that were arising in Africa. The present discussion limits itself to the era before World War II, and it considers how these figures interpreted movements that emerged chiefly in South Africa, rather than in Africa as a whole, and reflects on their experiences in South Africa. First, it considers Komahei Furuya, a merchant who advanced into South Africa as early as the end of the nineteenth century. Second, it describes Magoichi Nunokawa, who investigated South Africa's economic situation during World War I. Third, it examines Captain Katsue Mori of the Osaka Shosen Kaisha (OSK) and Ikai Shirakawa of the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun*, who were involved in exchanges between Japan and South Africa in the 1920s and 1930s. Finally, it analyzes Makoto Fukumoto's views on British imperialism in South Africa and the construction of Boer "emerging nations."

Keywords: Historical relations, South Africa, Japan

1. Introduction: Purpose of the study

Today, the centre of gravity of the world economy is moving toward Asia, and this movement has had a profound effect on Africa. The rise of East and South Asia is closely related to the recent course of economic development in Africa. That is to

*Professor of Economic History and African Studies at Faculty of Economics, Kansai University, 3-3-35 Yamate-cho Suita Osaka 564-8680 JAPAN E-mail: kitagawa@kansai-u.ac.jp

say, African interest in Asian business models, and Asian interest in African resources and growth potential, have both increased, leading to ever-deeper ties between the two regions and the building of mutually beneficial relationships.

Looking at a world map centered on Asia, one can see that the African continent occupies the crucial left flank of a vast expanse encompassing the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. Looking at a world map centered on Africa, one can see that this region of ever-closer political and social relationships, trade, aid, and investment lies at the central nexus of a vast world, which stretches from Europe and Americas on the Atlantic to Africa and Asia on the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. Understanding the world this way overturns the power relationships (hegemonic relationships) seen in the current world order, as well as our preconceptions about relationships between the center and periphery.

The connections between Asia and Africa, as described above, are nothing new; the two have a long history of shared interactions, exchanges, and experiences. This history forms an undercurrent in recent analyses of Africa and Asia's current relations. Changes in these relations, which have been built through long-term migration, settlement, and mixing, have challenged the social and cultural backgrounds of the two regions of Africa and Asia, which previously existed as two different worlds.

This study forms part of a critical examination of the following major trends in current academic research about the relationship between Africa and Asia. First, research about the Afro-Asian relationship contains macro-narratives with emphases on the geopolitical dimension. Existing academic research has repeatedly examined foreign relations, foreign policy, multilateral relationships, and macroeconomic relationships. However, it has neglected to clarify other important aspects—those relating to the “lived experience” of Africa and Asia's mutual exchanges (relationships)—nor has it shed light on complex narratives at the micro level. Among the aspects that existing research has left untouched are the mutual exchanges (interactions) born through the movement of people, a tracing of the formation and features of spaces for Asian immigrants into Africa (and vice versa), and an understanding of the attendant formation of self-hood, identity, and memory, and the role of diaspora networks.

Second, numerous works discussing relations between China and Africa have begun to appear, but they generally pay little attention to exchanges (interactions) between Africa and other regional actors in Asia. Academic research on the Sino-African relationship has also increased, and the community network among researchers studying this relationship is expanding, but this field has typically focused only on a limited range of topics of interest, leaving many others yet to be

explored. However, there are various actors of Asian origin that have been important for African politics and economics, and each relationship has its own clear history. For instance, Japan has possessed economic and political ties with Africa for some time, yet there has so far been insufficient research on the roles of Japanese actors in the African continent. Additionally, existing academic research has completely ignored the relations between Africa and Taiwan, South Korea, and Hong Kong. The Taiwanese diaspora community has had an important impact on southern Africa's economy for more than a generation. Likewise, Hong Kong's cultural exports to Africa (e.g., the media industry and kung fu movies) have played a large role in forming the idea (image) of East Asia in Africa. Finally, I would like to add that the social and cultural presence of the Indian, Indonesian, and Malaysian communities has been tightly bound to the economic, social, and political structures over a wide swath of the African continent.

Third, it would seem that much of the current research lacks a historical perspective. Most existing research on the relationship between Africa and Asia has used an international relations, or, occasionally, an economics, framework. Though research from these standpoints does sometimes mention the history of the ties between Africa and the different Asian nations, it has a shallow understanding of how each present relationship can be placed into its historical context, and it has little intention of explaining the historicity of these relationships. There has been some important research on the history of the various diasporas from Africa and Asia and on the immigrant communities, but deeper inquiry, grounded in history, is required¹⁾.

Based on the above, this study forms part of a historical research project about Japanese understanding of and research into Africa during the period from the Partition of Africa to the Era of Decolonization. Specifically, this project examines the meaning that certain figures who played an important role in forming public opinion in Japan tried to give to various problems arising in Africa. However, this will require extensive empirical study. Therefore, the present discussion limits itself to the era before World War II, and it considers how movements that emerged chiefly in South Africa, and experiences in South Africa, rather than in Africa as a whole, were interpreted. First, it considers Komabei Furuya, a merchant who advanced into South Africa as early as the end of the nineteenth century. Second, it describes Magoichi Nunokawa, who investigated South Africa's economic situation during World War I. Third, it examines Katsue Mori, a captain of the Osaka Shosen Kaisha (OSK) on the South African route, and Ikai Shirakawa of the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun*, who

1) "Concept Note: Africa and Asia Entanglements in Past and Present" International Symposium held at Stellenbosch University 4-5 November 2013.

were involved in exchanges between Japan and South Africa in the 1920s and 1930s, as well as two South Africans from Natal who visited Japan. Fourth, it discusses Richard Wright, an honorary consul in Durban who played an important role in promoting trade between Japan and South Africa during the same era. Finally, it analyzes the views of an intellectual from imperial Japan on building Boer's emerging nations under the British imperial regime in South Africa²⁾.

2. Komahei Furuya and the “Mikado Shokai”

Let us examine the first person to involve himself in trade between Japan and Africa in the prewar era. According to *Analysis of Japanese sundry export trade to Africa: 1939*, a report compiled by the Japan Trade Promotion Association, the earliest named stores run by Japanese people in prewar Africa were “Mikado Shokai” in Cape Town and “Nanbu Shokai” in Port Said.

The first Japanese field survey report on South Africa was probably “Nan-a Shisatsu Fukumeisho.” This “Fukumeisho” was based on a survey that Saburo Hisamizu, a Japanese consul in Singapore, and Kuniomi Katsube, who was commissioned by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, conducted for two months, from August to October, in 1902. The report was published in *Tsusho Isan* (No.22, 1903), and it was republished in five parts in Ukichi Taguchi's *Tokyo Keizai Zasshi* under the title “British South Africa.” It contains a section entitled “A Japanese man in South Africa,” and, though his name is not given specifically, it mentions Komahei Furuya of the “Mikado Shokai,” as follows:

“The two, who own a Japanese sundry goods shop in an affluent part of town, and who also own a house near the mountains, are a fine example of a Japanese merchant and his wife. There is another who is employed as an assistant. It seems that the shop is greatly prosperous and very profitable; moreover, it seems to be gaining considerable trust among the merchants of Cape Town. Indeed, it even seems that the general secretary of the local chamber of commerce is treating him as a fully-fledged merchant.” (*Tsusho Isan*, No.22, 1903)

The detailed history of Komahei Furuya, who ran the “Mikado Shokai,” is unknown. The Japanese Diplomatic Archives have a “List of Japanese Nationals in British South Africa” in their collection, including the document “Nan-a Tokosha Jinmei Ikken (Taisho 5-nen 12-gatsu)” (File No.3-8-8-20), according to which Furuya was born in the village of Oda, Tsukuba County, in February 1869, moved to South

2) This paper is substantially revised one based on my previous articles in *Nihon-Afurika Koryu Shi: Meiji-ki kara Dainiji Sekai Taisen-ki made*, Dobunkan (1993).

Africa in 1898, and ran a Japanese sundry goods store. It also seems that Furuya had the right to permanent residency because he was living in South Africa before the enactment of its immigration law in 1913. By the end of 1916, the "Mikado Shokai" was employing five Japanese, eight Europeans, and five Africans. Among the Japanese employees, Tokuichi Otsuka (born 1888) had been working in the store since October 1906 and had permanent residency. The four others had begun working at the "Mikado Shokai" after the establishment of the Union of South Africa: Heishiro Suzuki (born 1891), who had graduated from Osaka Business School; Sadamu Kurakazu (born 1890), who had graduated from the Waseda University business school; Takami Iijima (born 1890), who had graduated from Nagasaki Commercial College; and Arihito Arai (born 1887), who had graduated from Tokyo High School of Business. Based on their education, it seems likely that they were working at the "Mikado Shokai" as part of the Agriculture and Commerce Ministry's Overseas Business Trainee program. Among other goods, the "Mikado Shokai" originally sold folding screens, silk handkerchiefs, folding and rigid fans, kimonos, Cloisonné vessels, bamboo baskets, umbrellas, and pottery; it later added to its stock knitted cotton underwear, towels, paintbrushes, Japanese socks, and shell buttons. (Aoki, 1993; 141-190)

At this time, Furuya was commissioned by the Agriculture and Commerce Ministry, and he contributed a report entitled "The impact of current affairs on South African trade and goods with hopeful prospects for export" to *Boeki Zasshi* (Vol.3, No.2, February 1916). In this report, Furuya presented the following problems as needing to be addressed in order for Japan-South Africa trade to develop:

"One can still recognize anti-Japanese tendencies toward our nation's products and merchants in South Africa; three years ago the Union government promulgated and then implemented immigration regulations absolutely banning all Asians. At the time, I met with the South African Union government's Minister of the Interior to appeal for better prospects in the future for Japan-South Africa trade. As a result, I was led to understand that merchants would be allowed to stay for up to five years, but that the government would not grant any new business licenses, meaning that the path for starting new businesses is currently still blocked off. This is a grave problem, tantamount to a ban on trade between Japan and South Africa. Only fifteen Japanese people are staying in Cape Town at present, and the Anglo-Japanese Treaty is yet to be applied here; if things continue as they are, trade ties between Japan and South Africa will surely be severed. It is necessary to formulate some sort of measures while we have the opportunity to do so." (*Boeki Zasshi*, Vol.3, No.2, 1916)

Incidentally, the year before the formation of the Union of South Africa, Furuya

had also petitioned the Japanese government to have the barriers to commercial activities in South Africa removed. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Diplomatic Archives have two letters in their collection that were sent in 1909 from Komahei Furuya to Takaaki Kato, Japan's Plenipotentiary Ambassador to the United Kingdom, in a document entitled "Various matters relating to treatment of Japanese citizens in South Africa and Zanzibar" (1905-1920) (File No.3-8-2-219). The contents are as follows.

The first letter, dated November 29, 1909, dealt with two matters. First, Furuya was traveling around South Africa with samples, was taking orders, and wanted to expand his sales. There seemed to be no trouble in the colonies of Natal or Cape, but he complained that there was a barrier to entering Orange River Colony unless he had lived there before 1898 or was given permission for a temporary stay. Japanese nationals, as Asians, were prohibited immigrants; obtaining a temporary stay permit required a wait of one month, and, even if he was successful in entering the colony, he was prohibited from dealing in goods. Second, Furuya had planned to open a branch in Johannesburg, but for similar reasons business licenses would not be issued to those with temporary stay permits. However, there were few Japanese people staying there, even compared to other Asians, and it was possible that those applying for exemptions through the local consulate might receive special treatment; so he appealed to the Japanese government to enter into negotiations with the Transvaal government. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Archives, File No.3-8-2-219)

In the second letter, dated December 15, 1909, Furuya recommended the appointment of Julius Jeppe, a Cape Town resident who desired to become an Honorary Consul of Japan. Jeppe had previously applied to Count Jutarō Komura to be appointed to the post, but the latter had refused on the grounds that the time was not yet ripe. Now he was receiving Furuya's recommendation. It was clear that the Union of South Africa would soon be established, and once this happened, the immigration regulations would become the most serious impediment to expanding trade between Japan and South Africa. Furuya was appealing to have an Honorary Consul appointed without delay, so that the Japanese could be left out from the category of prohibited immigrants. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Archives, File No.3-8-2-219)

Later, Julius Jeppe became the Honorary Consul in Cape Town, and he sent information about South Africa's economy to the Trade Bureau of Japan's Foreign Affairs Ministry. The first report, entitled "General outlook on South Africa: 1910" (dated June 1, 1911), was published in *Tsusho Isan* (No.62, 1911). However, South

Africa would not afford wide latitude to the Japanese to freely conduct business activities until long after World War I, meaning that it was delayed until the start of the worldwide depression of the 1930s. (Aoki, 1993)

3. Magoichi (Seien) Nunokawa and the South African economic situation survey

When considering the early relationship between Japan and South Africa, one may note the importance of Magoichi (Seien) Nunokawa and his survey research on South Africa during World War I.

Nunokawa was born in 1870 and died in 1944. He was born in Yamagata Prefecture, moved to study in Sendai at the age of 14, and went to Tokyo to study at Keio Gijuku (today's Keio University) at 15. However, he went home after six months, was baptized at 16, and returned to Tokyo aged 17 in the autumn to study at the theology department of the Tokyo English-Japanese School (today's Aoyama Gakuin). Nunokawa was less interested in theology than in psychology, ethics, or sociology, and eventually dropped out of Aoyama Gakuin after three years.

In the period between the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, German-style scholarship became predominate, and with this came a flourishing of research into social problems; debates began to develop from the viewpoints of social reformism and socialism. Immediately after the Sino-Japanese War, Nunokawa predicted that economic fluctuations would cause social problems, and he established the Sociological Society, which began publishing *Shakai Zasshi*. In 1896, Nunokawa consulted with Taguchi about the magazine. The publication of *Shakai Zasshi* began in April 1897, and Nunokawa later became involved in editing it. Nunokawa argued about social problems from the viewpoints of social policy and social reformism, and he did not always agree with Taguchi.

According to the article "Professor Taguchi and the Meiji economics academia" (*Tokyo Keizai Zasshi*, No.1845, January 1916), Nunokawa wrote a short piece himself for *Tokyo Keizai Zasshi* (No.1591, April 1911), entitled "Matters related to Professor Teiken." According to this piece, in 1895 Nunokawa had served at the Meiji Girls' School, which Ukichi Taguchi's sister, Toko Kimura, had established, and he taught economics to the college students there.

In 1903, Nunokawa joined the Keizai Zasshi Company, and for seven years until 1909 he was in charge of this magazine's editing. He contributed many essays to it between 1906 and 1911. For instance, in "Popular sentiment after the war" (No.1334, April 1906) and "The effects of financial fluctuations" (No.1373, 1907) he warned that

problems of prices, unemployment, overpopulation, and hard living conditions needed to be dealt with properly, as it was unknown whether the economic recovery following the end of the Russo-Japanese War would last. In these essays, he argued that economic policy should be formulated from a global standpoint. In order to reign in the spread of plutocracy, which controlled politics at all levels from central to local, he called for the franchise to be expanded; additionally, he stressed the need for a factory law and a workers' insurance law to combat various problems arising from a concentration of capital and an increase in poverty.

The following essays, which are on related matters, are of interest. Nunokawa considered Japan's place in the world and its global policy in the articles "Solving the Tibet Problem" (No.1335, May 1906), "The fusion of Eastern and Western civilization (parts one and two)" (Nos.1404 and 1405, September 1907), and "The Japanese have poor knowledge of China" (Nos.1751 and 1752, May and June 1913). He discussed the ethics of industrialists and politicians and social policy in "Economics and morality" (No.1375, February 1907), and he also discussed social problems in such works as "An observation on this nation's population problem" (No.1809, July 1915) and "Observations on the conditions of manual laborers in Tokyo (parts one, two, and three)" (Nos.1811, 1912, and 1913; July and August 1915). He wrote about economic theory and thought in works such as "The 150th anniversary of Malthus' birth (parts one, two, and three)" (Nos.1838, 1839, and 1841; February and March 1916) and "Professor Taguchi and the Meiji economics world (parts one, two, and three)" (Nos.1835, 1836, and 1837; January and February 1916).

Later in World War I, Nunokawa was commissioned by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, which sent him on an economic survey in the Union of South Africa from September 1916 to January 1917, as well as to Russia for seven months from September 1917, and he wrote many reports. His economic surveys of South Africa were collected in the article "South African trade conditions" (Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce Bureau of Trade and Industry, *Shoko Isan*, No.48, March 1917), and his surveys on Russia, written in the months leading up to and immediately after August 1918, when Japanese troops were first deployed to Siberia, cover the conditions surrounding the Russian Revolution and are of much interest. For example, he published reports including "Current affairs in Russia" (*Tokyo Keizai Zasshi*, No.1950, April 1918), "Commercial conditions in Vladivostok" (No.1937, January 1918), and "Recent conditions of Russo-Japanese trade and its future (parts one and two)" (Nos.1979 and 1980, November 1918).

It should be noted that "South African trade conditions" was based on a field survey that Nunokawa, under commission from the Ministry of Agriculture and

Commerce, conducted after the establishment of the Union of South Africa. Nunokawa left Japan in September 1916 and arrived in Cape Town in October 23. Having observed areas throughout South Africa, he returned to Japan at the end of January 1917. According to a report by Yaoichi Shimizu, who was at the time stationed in Cape Town and commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japanese trade with South Africa had rapidly boomed during World War I, but Asians were prohibited immigrants under the 1913 immigration law, and could not freely engage in commercial activities. It would appear that Nunokawa's survey was conducted in order to explore the background to these problems, given the necessity of formulating all possible measures to enable the continued development of trade between Japan and South Africa and to ensure guarantees for entry and stay into the Union of South Africa for Japanese merchants. According to Nunokawa's report, the Union of South Africa had maintained a trade surplus before World War I, but this had turned into a deficit during the war. The United Kingdom and other British possessions accounted for an overwhelming proportion of its international trade. Looking at individual goods, the pattern was that South Africa exported minerals, agricultural products, and animal products, while it imported manufactured goods. Looking at trade between Japan and South Africa, exports from the former had increased rapidly during World War I. This was due to the flow of consumer goods from Europe being cut off during the war and prices rising, meaning that demand for Japanese goods increased. Some South African merchants even tried to trade with Japanese merchants directly or to acquire Japanese goods via foreign merchants staying in Japan. Exports from Japan consisted chiefly of cotton and silk textiles, knitted goods, and sundries, and its imports included wattle bark, cattle and sheep hides, wool, and aloes which were generally of a low value. (Nunokawa, 1917d, p.3)

Nunokawa argued that there were two important issues to resolve in order for Japan's trade with South Africa to increase. The first was a problem concerning trade settlement practices. In the Union of South Africa, merchants of British descent could freely engage in activities, using their considerable power to finance. When importing goods from Japan, they had associated companies in London place the orders to Japan and had the goods shipped to South Africa. Upon doing so, the money order for payment from London took between 90 and 100 days to clear. However, when receiving orders from non-British South African merchants, a Japanese seller had to prepare for a much longer grant of credit. The second problem was that one needed to find a reliable proxy merchant to deal smoothly in Japanese goods, since Japanese people, due to their status as prohibited immigrants in the Union of South Africa, could not engage in business activity (Nunokawa, 1917d, pp.88-90).

Thus, Nunokawa argued in “Trade conditions” that, given the restrictions on Japanese goods advancing into the South African market, Japan needed to further promote its own industrialization, severely reign in the mass production of inferior goods, and improve the reputation of its goods. The country’s manufacturers needed to organize industrial cooperative associations and to select proxy merchants worthy of trust, while it was also necessary to open up a path for developing direct transactions. Nunokawa concluded as follows: “Presumably, in order to develop commercial trade, it will be necessary, on one hand, to be thoroughly acquainted with the tastes and customs of the people who are our trade partners and to export products matching their preferences and habits; on the other hand, we must observe the industrial position of these countries and import goods that will be of benefit to us, thereby developing trade in both directions. If we are to be thoroughly acquainted with our trading partners, it is surely important for our traders to be allowed free access. (Nunokawa, 1917d, pp.98-99)

In addition to “South African trade conditions,” and also based on his South African survey, Nunokawa wrote “General conditions in South Africa” and “The level of restrictions on Japanese merchants’ landfall on South Africa and on their business” (*Naigai Shoko Jiho*, January 1917), as well as “General conditions of imports and exports in the Union of South Africa” (*Naigai Shoko Jiho*, February 1917) and “Tales of a visit to South Africa” (*Tokei Shushi*, No.434, 1917). Nunokawa also submitted two contributions to *Tokyo Keizai Zasshi*: “General conditions in South Africa (parts one and two)” (Nos.1886 and 1887, January 1917) and “Tales of a visit to South Africa” (No.1897, April 1917). The former was a communiqué that Nunokawa, a friend of the Tokyo Keizai Zasshi Company, had sent during his survey, while he was commissioned (as a foreign dispatch agent) by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce; the latter was based on notes from a public lecture given at the Tokyo Economics Association.

As shown above, Nunokawa played a major role in spreading knowledge about the South African economy in Taisho-era Japan.

4. Katsue Mori and the opening of the African shipping route of the Osaka Shosen Kaisha (OSK)

Although he was one of many people in prewar Japan who were involved in Africa, we should not overlook Katsue Mori, a captain of the Osaka Shosen Kaisha (OSK). Captain Mori’s life came to a close on May 24, 1989, when he was 99 years old. In mourning of his death, the British newspaper *The Times* ran an obituary,

opening as follows: "Katsue Mori who died on May 24 at the age of 99, played a role at sea and in the life of Japan which over sixty years evolved from the heroic to the symbolic. He was an almost mythological ancient mariner who had also survived many even greater voyages of events and time than those described in Laurens van der Post's *Yet Being Someone Other*." One can learn just how many friends Captain Mori had from looking at the wide variety of people who submitted pieces for *In Memoriam Katsue Mori* (Japan Maritime Public Relations Center), published in May 1990.

Captain Katsue Mori: 70 Stubborn Years at Sea, published in 1975, describes the life of Captain Mori as follows. Katsue Mori was born on April 6, 1890 in an area of the village of Sakurai called Nagaura, within Kamoto County, Kumamoto Prefecture. He graduated from Sakurai Village Middle School in March 1903 and entered Kumamoto Prefectural Seiseiko High School in April. During this period, Japan was finally about to join the ranks of advanced imperialist nations, having secured victories in the Sino-Japanese War, fought from August 1894 to April 1895, and the Russo-Japanese War, fought from February 1904 to September 1905.

In September 1908, Mori enrolled in the maritime program of Tokyo Merchant Marine School, and from July 1912 to October 1913 he sailed across the world in the training sailboat the *Taisei Maru*, overcoming many difficulties. Having graduated from the Merchant Marine School in April 1914, he joined the Osaka Shosen Kaisha (OSK) in May, and he sailed the Bombay route as the third officer on the *Marei Maru*. However, after the *Marei Maru* collided with the *Yawata Maru* of Yamashita Kisen Company in May 1915, Mori was forced to stay in Port Said as the director of the moored ship until the marine accident inquiry had been adjudicated. After returning to Japan, he set sail in July 1916 on the North American route as the second officer aboard the *Hawaii Maru*. During World War I, he sailed the Mediterranean route as the first officer aboard the *Roei Maru*. After the war, in May 1923, he became the captain of the *Chosen Maru* on the Java route.

Captain Mori's relationship with Africa began after he assumed the post of captain of the *Canada Maru*, OSK's first ship on the Southeast Africa route, in March 1926. In total, he spent almost a decade involved with Africa: he sailed on the *Canada Maru* for three years, became captain of the *Mexico Maru* for three years from May 1928, and was also captain of the *Africa Maru* on the Africa-South America route for three years from November 1931. He served as captain of the *Chicago Maru* on the Philippine route from January 1935 until he left OSK in September 1938. During World War II, he worked for the Nanyo Soko Company and visited points throughout the South Seas. He was engaged in the construction of wooden ships in Makassar

on the island of Celebes when the war ended. He later held numerous positions, including on the board of directors of Ogawa Unyu (September 1949), as vice president of the association Kaiyo-kai (August 1952), and on the board of the Japan Cargo Tally Corporation (May 1965).

Returning to Captain Mori's relationship with Africa, *Analysis of Japanese sundry export trade to Africa: 1939*, published by the Japan Trade Promotion Association in December 1941, states as follows. In the Union of South Africa, Asians had been banned from entering the country since 1913, but Japanese people were "able to enjoy treatment equal to that afforded to whites from October 1931; this was thanks to the efforts of then-Consul Socho Yamasaki and Captain Mori, who was involved in OSK's opening of a South Africa-via-East-Africa route and who sailed the same route." In a short piece in OSK's public relations magazine *Nami [Wave]* (April 1929), entitled "The place called East Africa," Mori himself wrote about his efforts as a captain trying to improve the treatment of Japanese people in East Africa and South Africa, which he deemed exclusionary and discriminatory, and looking back from his impending transfer to the Africa-South America route to the six years he had spent making dozens of voyages on the *Canada Maru* and the *Mexico Maru*.

People sometimes discover something extraordinary within themselves during their lives, and sometimes they are able to take something extraordinary and make it their own. For Captain Mori, it would seem that this crucial time came while he was involved in the Southeast Africa route, as the friendships that the captain would make while sailing this route would come to have a great effect on his later life.

In March 1926, Katsue Mori was appointed captain of the *Canada Maru* (6064 metric tons), the first ship of the Southeast Africa route. He was the tender age of 35 at the time. It is said that this promotion was due to the recommendation of then-sales manager Shozo Murata (later Communications Minister). The *Canada Maru* was a cargo and passenger ship built in 1911 in the Mitsubishi shipyard in Nagasaki, and its coal-fired motor had a speed of 10 knots. When Mori was appointed the ship's captain, Japanese economy was falling into the post-World War I recession: this was the beginning of a long depressive slump that continued through the 1927 Japanese financial crisis and the worldwide crash of 1929. Attempting to respond to this economic situation, in January 1926 the Wakatsuki Government gave 400,000 yen in aid to OSK and appointed it to open an African route, with the aim of gaining new markets in the Balkans, the Middle East, and Africa. Prior to this, OSK had asked Masao Tajima of the Far Seas Division to study mutual economic relations in the East African region, as well as general marine transport routes. The result was a one-ship-per-month line, preparing for a decade in the red. The *Canada Maru* left

Japan on March 23 and reached the port of Mombasa on April 23. Riding on the ship were Ikai Shirakawa of the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* and Tatsuo Hisatomi of the *Osaka Mainichi Shinbun*, who were there to report on events in Africa. Shirakawa and Hisatomi gathered material over two months while they traveled around Southeast Africa, experiencing discrimination against Japanese people along the way. Shirakawa later published *Jicchi Tosa Higashi Afurika no Tabi* [*Field Report: A Trip to East Africa*] (1928). At the time, East African treatment of Asians (Indians) was severely discriminatory, and it seems that Captain Mori appealed for Japanese people to be treated better at every opportunity. For instance, he allowed Kenyan governor Edward Grigg, the governor's wife, and their entourage, to ride with them to Dar es Salaam, using this opportunity to appeal for improvements to the discriminatory treatment that Japanese people received; he also hosted a dinner on the *Canada Maru*, asking for cooperation from British merchants who belonged to the Mombasa Chamber of Commerce.

For their part, Shirakawa and Hisatomi traveled to Durban in the Union of South Africa, visiting the office of the *Natal Advertiser*. During the trip, the two were rescued from a difficult situation by Laurens van der Post, a reporter with that paper, and they suggested that he meet Captain Mori. In July 1926, the *Canada Maru* went off on its second voyage, and Captain Mori visited Durban via Mombasa, Zanzibar, Dar es Salaam, Beira, and Lourenço Marques. This was when the captain met the young van der Post (then 19) and William Plomer (then 22). Van der Post would become well known as a writer in Japan through many works he would write later, including *Venture to the Interior* and *The Lost World of the Kalahari*. Plomer had already written a novel decrying racial discrimination in South Africa, *Turbot Wolfe*. This novel portrayed European colonial life, the corruption that comes with such power, its lack of self-awareness, and the blindness seen in attitudes toward other races, non-white races, and, in particular, toward the blacks who live within one's territory. They both also contributed to the literary journal *Voorslag* ("whiplash" in Afrikaans), edited by the South African poet Roy Campbell (then 24), who at this young age was already known for his epic poem "The Flaming Terrapin."

Captain Mori sympathized with van der Post and Plomer, who both challenged racism in South Africa, and, thinking that he would increase their understanding of Japan, he decided to take them back with him. While staying in Durban, Captain Mori had van der Post run an article in the *Natal Advertiser* about the discrimination that he had experienced at a restaurant, and he also submitted a piece of his own. Thus, van der Post went to Japan as a correspondent for the *Natal Advertiser*, and Plomer as a correspondent for the *Natal Witness*, a paper published by Desmond

Young (a friend of van der Post) in Pietermaritzburg, Natal Province.

The *Canada Maru* left Durban on September 2, 1926 and arrived in Kobe on October 19. Van der Post returned to South Africa via the same *Canada Maru* after a stay of two weeks, and he serialized an article introducing Japan, entitled "To the East," in the *Natal Advertiser*. Later, while staying in Durban in 1927, Captain Mori would give a speech at a Rotary Club meeting on eliminating discrimination, attempting to gain permission to play at golf club that banned the admittance of Asians.

For his part, William Plomer remained in Japan for two years, living in Kaminerima and Higashinakano, and he lectured on *Shakespeare* at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages (now Tokyo University of Foreign Studies) and Tokyo College (now University of Tokyo College of Arts and Sciences). He serialized a piece on his impressions of Japan, entitled "An Afrikaner in Japan," in eight parts in the *Natal Witness*. One of these parts was published by Masao Tajima in *Nami* (August 1927) under the title "Japan as seen by an up-and-coming writer from South Africa." Afterwards, Plomer returned to the United Kingdom via the Trans-Siberian Railway. He is now known not only for later writing about his life in Japan and Captain Mori in his autobiography, *Double Lives*, but when English composer Benjamin Britten wrote *Curlew River* (based on a Noh play about the Sumida River in Tokyo), he provided the libretto.

So we can see that Captain Mori, as one man, was involved in many aspects of the relationship between prewar Japan and Southeast Africa. Years later, van der Post would write an essay entitled "Fifty years of friendship," which he provided for Captain Mori's autobiography, in which he stated that meeting the captain had great meaning, in that it led to him discovering "not only another country in the world outside, but also a new place in the world inside myself." This sentiment can also be felt in his memoir *Yet Being Someone Other*. One could surely say the same about Captain Mori. Nevertheless, Captain Mori's thoughts and actions in reaction to the discrimination against Japanese people in South and East Africa and his way of relating to the region were primarily aimed at people of European descent, and he did not give consideration to Africans who had been living there since long before white rule, or to his own relationship with them; thus, Captain Mori's thinking was constrained by the era in which he lived and by the relationship between Japan and Africa at that time.

When the OSK started the Africa route and Captain Katsue Mori piloted its first ship, one of the people onboard was the aforementioned *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* reporter, Ikai Shirakawa, who deserves closer scrutiny. Ikai Shirakawa was born in

Tokyo in April 1895. After graduating from the First Higher School (a college later absorbed into Tokyo University), he studied at the department of economics at Tokyo Imperial University and then joined the *Asahi Shimbun* in 1921. His book *Jicchi Tosa Higashi Afurika no Tabi* was published in 1928 as an expanded version of his feature series "East Africa travel diaries," which had run in the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* and was based on his 1926 observational tour of Africa. Before and after then and since joining the company, Shirakawa was at different times a correspondent in New York and head of the economics department in the Osaka branch. From January 1936, he became chief of the Shanghai bureau, vice-chief of the editing bureau in Osaka, and then, from 1942 to 1945, chief of the editing bureau at the company's western headquarters. Before he published *Jicchi Tosa Higashi Afurika no Tabi*, he translated various works, including G.D.H. Cole's *Guild Socialism Restated* and G.R.S. Taylor's *Guild Politics: A Practical Programme for the Labour Party and the Co-operators*, and published them through Naigai Publishing Co. Ltd. in 1923. It seems that Shirakawa translated these two works on the recommendation of Kyoson (real name: Tsutomu) Tsuchida, who was then known as a critic of civilization and a thinker. Kyoson Tsuchida was born in Sado in 1891, graduated from Tokyo Higher Normal School in 1914, and then entered Kyoto Imperial University, where he studied philosophy under Kitaro Nishida. Later, Tsuchida lived in Kyoto and edited the magazine *Bunka*, which attempted to explain social problems, ideas, and culture. The details of Shirakawa and Tsuchida's meeting and interactions are not known, but one can imagine Shirakawa's ideological background in broad strokes if one considers the connections between the two. Using what is written in Shirakawa's works, let us examine his "understanding of the place of the Japanese in East Africa" and his "view of Africans."

Based on his experiences of discriminatory treatment during his trip to East Africa and South Africa, he wrote as follows in opposition to Asian discrimination and concerning the place of the Japanese:

"In both East Africa and South Africa, we would like to insist to the Europeans loudly, 'Treat us like first-class citizens, not like the other Asians, not like the Indians and the Chinese;' however, if we want Japanese industry to grow, that is, if we want to sell Japanese goods, then we must also cooperate with the Indians, as they have spread throughout the area and hold commercial rights, in fact if not in law. While we cooperate with the Indians, we should demand that the Europeans differentiate us from them. By this, I mean that we should try not to offend the sentiments of the Indians and try to join with the Europeans only when it is advantageous. Could any other stance be as difficult as this? However, I feel that there is one major argu-

ment in its favor. As long as the present state of Asia is maintained, or, at least, at the moment, it would seem that if only the Japanese can receive the same status as Westerners, then a similar chance will eventually be afforded to the Indians and Chinese, who mentally and physically differ little from Japanese people, and are even sometimes greatly superior. So our efforts will surely have great value, not only for us as Japanese citizens, but also as leaders of the Asians." (Shirakawa, 1928)

One can also glimpse Shirakawa's extremely interesting "view of Africans" in his argument about "the labor shortage," which, among the various problems in East Africa, was particularly linked to colonial development:

"...[A]nother major cause of the labor shortage is that the natives do not want to work. However, that certainly does not mean that they are natural-born idlers. 'Idlers' implies people who do not work even though it is a situation in which they must work. By contrast, the natives do not want to work because their lives are carefree... The world of East Africa was a heavenly paradise until the Europeans invaded... The measures the European rulers have implemented... the whip of taxation... the stimulation of material greed... have worked as expected to some degree... [but] the gods (the Africans) have taken a leap toward being cultured and fallen... No matter how the rulers try to make them work or to raise their efficiency, they will always struggle with those methods of coercion and seduction." (Shirakawa, 1928)

Here he depicts the Africans as being built into the structure of colonial rule.

In addition, Shirakawa argued as follows about the relationship between the Africans who were being "civilized" under colonial rule and the Japanese:

"Actually, I do not find myself laughing upon seeing the comical acculturation of the natives. After all, even in civilized countries such as our own, such coercion and trickery is quite common, albeit in different forms... How is the idea of capitalists devising various profit-sharing systems and making the workers labor as much as possible any different from what is happening to the African natives? Reconsidering things once more, it is surely ironic to no end that our cotton rags and sundries will sell all because the African natives have had the misfortune of falling so low." (Shirakawa, 1928)

In African studies, the task of looking back at the course of the Japanese understanding of Africa is extremely important. Perhaps Shirakawa's writings can play a significant role in reflecting upon our own understanding of Africa in the present, if nothing else.

5. The appointment of the Durban Honorary Consul

Upon entering Adderley Street in Cape Town, one can see a park ahead (the garden of the former Dutch East India Company) in which the Iziko South African Museum can be found. In one corner of this park, as well as in a corner of the Durban Botanic Gardens, a stone lantern stands silently, today unnoticed by most. Next to the lantern in Cape Town there is a plaque inscribed as follows: "This stone lantern was presented to Cape Town by the government of Japan as a token of appreciation of the kindness and hospitality shown to Japanese emigrants. Erected—August 1932."

This brings to mind the following cable that Cape Town Consul Chiyasu Ota sent to Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita on June 16, 1936:

"The amended law concerning rights to residence and conducting business was passed by Parliament on the 15th, and all of our side's demands were achieved. Along with expressing my deepest gratitude to both sides involved, and to the Prime Minister, in particular, for their beneficence, I would like to note my hearty congratulations to both Japan and South Africa, as well as my hope that there be further efforts to advance the friendship between our two nations." Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Archives, File No. K2-6-1-11)

This cable signified that the freedom of Japanese people to live and work in Transvaal Province had been recognized, and that barriers to trade in Johannesburg, the place with the highest demand for Japanese products, had been lifted. Six years earlier, on October 16, 1930, Cape Town Consul Socho Yamasaki and Union of South Africa Acting External Affairs Secretary Farrell had exchanged an Agreement between South Africa and Japan concerning entry into residence in South Africa and other matters, recognizing a limited freedom for Japanese people to reside and conduct business in the country³⁾. Then, as a result of further negotiations, on June 11, 1932, Japanese people with permanent resident status were given permission to invite assistants to join them from Japan. Permanent residency status had been recognized for Japanese people who had entered the country before the passage of the 1913 immigration law, which was enacted with the purpose of excluding Asians from South Africa, but, a quarter of a century after immigrating, those original migrants had become aged; they needed to be looked after by relatives. It was in this context that the Japanese government of the time presented the stone lanterns

3) Union of South Africa, *NOTES exchange between the Union Government and the Japanese Consul in the Union concerning Japanese Immigration into South Africa* (Laid upon the Table of the House of Assembly on the 13th February, 1931) (Document No. A. 1-'31 Japanese Consul on Japanese immigration into Union).

to Cape Town and Durban, in response to the South African government's magnanimous treatment.

Prior to this, Foreign Minister Kijuro Shidehara sent a note via Cape Town Consul Tadanao Imai, entitled "Re: Notification of appointment of Durban Honorary Consul William Robert Wright" and dated April 16, 1926:

"Trade and commerce between Japan and British South Africa is growing ever more frequent. Therefore, upon feeling a need to place an Imperial Honorary Consul in Durban, I have conferred directly with His Imperial Highness and I place confidence in your diligence and faithfulness. As a result, you have been appointed Honorary Consul in Durban. I have sent two letters of appointment and at the same time offer you congratulations. After receiving a letter of approval from the government of Great Britain, Consul Imai should pass on the letter of mandate. No payment or office expenses will be provided on account of your holding this honorary post." (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Archives, File No. M2-1014-43)

According to a cable from Consul Imai to Foreign Minister Shidehara dated April 20, 1926, the Honorary Consulate in Durban was to be opened on April 26, and its mailing address for inquiries was to be P.O. Box 1021, Durban, South Africa. In addition, parcels were to be sent C/O Wm Cotts & Co. Ltd., 49 Point Road, Durban, Natal, South Africa. On May 21, the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa officially recognized the Durban Honorary Consul. Based on a letter dated May 8, 1942 and sent by Foreign Minister Togo to Chargé d'Affaires Kanda in Sweden, W. R. Wright remained Honorary Consul until diplomatic relations with South Africa were cut off on December 8, 1941.

William Richard Wright was born in London in 1871 as the second son of the late W. M. Wright. After graduating from Hayman's College in London, he moved to Natal in 1889. He worked at W. Dunn & Co. until 1896, then moving to Wm. Cotts & Co., and by the time he was appointed Honorary Consul was a major figure in the management of the latter, a company located in Durban's Point area.

After becoming Honorary Consul, W. R. Wright frequently mailed the *Annual report of the Durban Chamber of Commerce* to the Japanese Foreign Ministry's Trade Bureau as material that showed the economic trends in Natal in the 1930s. The Durban Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1856, and it was located within the city in Salisbury House on Smith Street. In addition, Honorary Consul Wright also sent reports about trends concerning Japanese goods in the Durban market. According to these reports, it seems that local businesses were growing more concerned about cheap textile goods imported from Japan, including suitcases and silk shirts, as well as rubber boots and drills. South African business owners argued

that they could not compete with silk shirts and pajamas that were imported from low-wage countries like Japan and China, and the Association of South African Chambers of Commerce appealed for the introduction of import restrictions.

It was in this environment that, on July 11, 1930, the city of Nagoya and the Nagoya Chamber of Commerce, along with the Trade Association, dispatched a traveling trade fair for Nagoya goods that went throughout South Africa and Eastern Africa. A member of the Nagoya Chamber of Commerce who participated in the trade fair, Yasuji Tamagawa, published a report entitled "The present state of the Union of South Africa and the reality of commercial sales" (*Nagoya Shoko Kaigisho Geppo*, January 1931). Sixteen companies from Nagoya sent goods to the fair. The trade fair was held in the three cities of Johannesburg, Durban, and Mombasa, and the various shops that were involved provided 13 metric tons of merchandise. The Japanese people who participated were Harusuke Takeuchi of the Nagoya city hall, Yasuji Tamagawa of the Chamber of Commerce, three people from the cotton association, and an interpreter. In Durban, the trade fair was held from August 14 to 15 in Yorkshire House on Smith Street. The two main newspapers in Durban (*The Mercury* and *The Witness*) wrote Japan-friendly articles about it, and the trade fair was well-received (Aoki, 2007, Kitagawa 1994).

6. Conclusion: Imperialism and nationalism

Finally, I would like to provide two examples showing how prewar Japanese intellectuals understood Africa and colonialism. The first concerns the evaluation of the founder of the colony, Cecil Rhodes, and the second is a view on the founding of the emerging nations in South Africa (The South African Republic and The Orange Free State).

Cecil John Rhodes died on March 26, 1902. As far as I can tell, his obituary ran in at least 145 newspapers and magazines. *The Times* of London ran an article called "Death of Mr. Rhodes" on March 27, and *The Economist* ran one with the title "The Death of Mr. Rhodes" in its April 5 issue (pp.523-524). The death of Rhodes was first reported in Japan on March 28, 1902 when the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* ran a wire report from Reuters under the headline "Cecil Rhodes has finally died." From March 29, the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* also ran a longer obituary split into five parts (March 29 through April 3), which began as follows:

"The great Cecil Rhodes of South Africa has finally passed away. The Boer War is at last nearing its end, and it should not be so regrettable for him to reach his eternal sleep upon seeing that his long sought for life's work of South African unifi-

cation is now surely to be achieved. He indeed spent his entire life involved in the South African scheme. Those who sing the praises of imperialism will surely not cease to laud his distinguished service. We would like to mourn the loss of a luminary for Britain and narrate some of his history..."

The *Tokyo Keizai Zasshi* (No.1126, April 5, 1902) also carried an article with the headline "The extraordinary Cecil Rhodes passes away":

"As the Boers have finally surrendered and the unification of South Africa is now to happen under Great Britain, South Africa's extraordinary Cecil Rhodes has passed away. Though the great achievement of African unification is now to be the success of Mr. Chamberlain, the source of it sprang in truth from Mr. Rhodes..." (p.38)

Until the Sino-Japanese War, Japanese trade was controlled by Western and Chinese merchants. It was after the Sino-Japanese War that so-called "direct trade" (the switch from foreign to domestic merchants in trade deals) began; in particular, after the Russo-Japanese War large firms traded with Europe, America, Australia, and India, and small traders served Korea and China. However, it was after World War I that Japanese merchants' expansion into foreign trade in Japan's major trading ports became significant. This Japanese expansion required the dangerous task of personally participating in international relations as formed by the Great Powers. Thus, for instance, it was necessary for domestic policy to strongly implement the goals of "a wealthy nation" and "a strong army," based on concern over defending Japan from its neighbors, as well overcoming Japanese weakness in international politics through economic means. Additionally, from a foreign policy perspective, Japan was a late-coming imperialist country and saw Russia as its enemy in East Asia, so strategically it built alliances with the imperialist countries of Western Europe, while studying these nations as "models" of colonial rule.

Therefore, it would seem that interest in the 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War and founder-of-empire Cecil Rhodes was particularly high. As Terutaro Nishino points out, "If interest in the South African war came from the goal of a strong army, then interest in Cecil Rhodes reflected part of the goal of a wealthy nation." Presumably, "A current of sentiment placing hope in this 'hero' or 'great and unique man,' who 'heroically' ventured abroad to gain colonies and achieved success there, arose in response to the demands of a then-flourishing Japanese capitalism" (Nishino, 1964).

It was in this historical context that numerous biographies of Cecil Rhodes were published in Japan immediately following the conclusion of the Boer War and the man's death. The first of these biographies was published in six parts under the title "Cecil Rhodes" in Ukichi Taguchi's *Tokyo Keizai Zasshi* (Nos.1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140; June and July 1902). Later, Yasuji Yanagisawa published *Seshiru Rozu*

(*Nan-a Kiketsu*) [*Cecil Rhodes (South African Great)*] through Tokyo X Club in September 1902. Yanagisawa originally split the book into “Personal History,” “Political and Religious Views,” “A Theory of Cecil Rhodes,” and “History of South Africa”, and it would appear that Taguchi’s forward to the book and the section on “Personal History” were serialized in *Tokyo Keizai Zasshi*. Yanagisawa’s views on Rhodes are evident in the following passage: “What stimulates our brains is his greatness of character; it is not his being a hero, nor him being a man of virtue, but rather him being a peerlessly great idealist, simply an idealist…” (Yanagisawa, 1902)

One of the next works to be published was a pieced-together semi-translation by Shintaro Mori, titled in Japanese *Seshiru Rozu: Teio-ryu Gofu Dan* (Tokyo Daigakkan, December 1902). Shintaro Mori was born in Osaka in February 1871. He was also known as Gaiho Mori. He was a foreign reporter for *Jiji Shimpo*, and from 1904 to 1905 he published multiple volumes of *Nichi-ro Senso Hihyo* [*A Criticism of the Russo-Japanese War*] through the Jiji Shimpo Company, as well as a translation of Plutarch’s *Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans* through Shoyukan. His *Seshiru Rozu: Teio-ryu Gofu Dan* used then-current research papers on Rhodesian and South African history, as well as periodicals, as references, but he largely relied on Howard Hensman’s *Cecil Rhodes: A Study of a Career* (Edinburgh: 1901). The following words by Mori expressed his intentions in writing this book:

“Regardless of whether or not Mr. Rhodes was a hero, and although this book might appear to be nothing more than the biography of a foreigner, the editor believes it to be of vital importance to citizens of this nation, including himself, in regard to today’s issues.”

Specifically, he stated, this meant that: “The greatness of Mr. Rhodes no longer needs any introduction. Although his exploits seem to have completely polarized South Africa, his consolidation of the diamond mines served as a model for the American Mr. Morgan in formulating the operation plan for the organization of his trust. Today, when the people of this nation have finally begun to notice the issue of trusts, there is surely great value in knowing how he achieved this consolidation. Moreover, what he has done in Rhodesia is the very thing Russia tried to do in invading Manchuria. Will the Qing Chinese really be able to play the part of the Matabele natives? Is the situation of East Asia really equivalent to that of Africa? Will Russia’s policies against the Qing succeed? It seems that the answers to all these questions lie within this one point. Knowing the full account of Mr. Rhodes’ annexation of Rhodesia will no doubt be of immediate interest to the people of this nation.” (Mori, 1902)

One may also understand Mori’s view of Cecil Rhodes through the following

passages:

“...those who slander him with such accusations as that he committed outrages against humanity are either his political opponents or scoundrels spouting out words without even being able to understand him...” (Mori, 1902)

“It was not in Mr. Rhodes’ character to be rough, nor was it to be precise. Rather, he was capable of being rough and precise at the same time. Thus, standing amongst the great unwashed, one may call him such a man... That is, he is capable of combining in one man characteristics that are difficult to combine and completely opposite.” (Mori, 1902)

“I now call him the establisher of the British Empire. I believe it is not excessive praise to say so. After all, the British Empire’s territory in South Africa was indeed saved thanks to his singular efforts... Bechuanaland, Rhodesia, Transvaal, and Orange were all not possessed by Britain. He saved South Africa from the forces of Dutch misrule. And when schemes by powers to expand their territory grew day by day in strength, he did not doubt that the Cape of Good Hope was in danger and that the decline of Britain hung in the balance. The one who saved all these situations was, namely, Rhodes.” (Mori, 1902)

As shown above, Mori’s views of Cecil Rhodes were not simply demonstrating a simple interest in a hero who advanced colonial rule, but were also thick with hero worship and heroic expectations. These views and a lack of interest in the African people were two sides of the same coin.

The Japanese had opened their doors to the outside world around the middle of the nineteenth century, and they had come to devote themselves to modeling their society on the advanced nations of the day, copying their systems and cultures. However, they originally had little interest in those countries that had only achieved their independence after the Meiji Restoration. In the first half of the Meiji Period, Japan’s intellectuals were greatly interested in the European imperialist powers’ processes of colonizing Asia and Africa through invasion, and they took the societies of Asian and African colonies as negative examples, warning against their influence on Japan. This being the case, Japanese intellectuals did not study the newly rising countries in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

One exception, however, would be Makoto (Nichinan) Fukumoto (1857-1921) and his book *Shinkenokoku* [*Newly Founded Countries*] (1900). This book is of interest for the following reason: emerging countries of the time, such as the South African Republic (Transvaal) and the Orange Free State, were reliant on the investment of capital from abroad and thus attempted to develop the extraction of gold and diamonds. Fukumoto argued that these two countries had attempted to develop

capitalist economies at the end of the nineteenth century, when invasions by imperialist countries were on the ascent, but that they had economic weaknesses. It seems that this book was the first Japanese work to consider emerging nations.

Nichinan Fukumoto, a journalist, politician, and historical essayist, was born on June 14, 1857 and died on September 2, 1921. He was the eldest son of a vassal of the Fukuoka clan, Taifu Fukumoto, and his real name was Makoto Fukumoto. He studied at the clan school, Shuyukan, and later studied under Randen (Chushu) Taniguchi in Nagasaki and then under Senjin Oka in Tokyo, mastering the Chinese classics. In 1876, he entered the Ministry of Justice Law School (now the Faculty of Law at the University of Tokyo), but he was expelled. Afterwards, he was involved in settling Hokkaido and the Philippines, but his plans were cut short. In 1889, he founded the newspaper *Nippon* with Katsunan Kuga, Seigai Kokubu, Kazuo Kojima, and others, and he wrote political pieces. In 1905, he became the main writer and president of the paper *Kyushu Nippo* (the forerunner of *Nishi Nippon Shimbun*), linked to the Black Ocean Society. In 1908, he ran for the House of Representatives as a candidate for Kenseito, and was elected.

While he took a "friendly" stance toward American and British imperialism, Nichinan Fukumoto harshly criticized and denounced Britain's actions in the Boer War. This war was of great interest to the Japanese intellectuals of the day. In 1900, Fukumoto published *Shinkenkokoku*. The "newly-founded countries" of the title meant emerging nations and referred to the South African Republic (Transvaal) and the Orange Free State in particular. Fukumoto praised the excellence of the Boers, the racial fusion of the Dutch and French. For Fukumoto, who envisioned the settling of Hokkaido and the colonization of the Philippines and other places abroad, and who believed that the only goal of the nation was for Japanese people to settle in unclaimed land, permanently reside there, and build a culture, the Boers at first represented the embodiment of this goal.

However, when gold ore and diamonds were discovered in the two countries that the Boers had built, the situation changed. The gold rush brought in many white Europeans, the majority of whom were Anglo-Saxon, and tensions between the Boers (Afrikaners) and foreigners (Uitlanders) became fierce, as Britain attempted to colonize the resource-rich Boer countries. Fukumoto could not conceal his rage at the failure of Cecil Rhodes and Jameson's attempt to overthrow the Boer nation and the slaps on the wrist that they received for carrying out this plot.

Fukumoto again took a critical stance toward Britain's coercion in pressing the South African Republic (Transvaal) to extend its franchise to the resident British, and regarding Britain's treatment of the South African Republic's concessions at the

Bloemfontein Conference in 1899.

Fukumoto's pro-Boer stance was derived from his appraisal that it had been the Boers who had colonized a "virgin land" and "occupied it first;" they had "conquered the unconquerable native savages." Any understanding or consideration of the indigenous Africans was left out of this evaluation. However, as he considered the British Empire's initiation of the Boer War merely to represent it veering off track from British "imperialism as it ought to be," or from the "righteousness" of British imperialism, his basic approval of British imperialism was no different from that of other writers (Hirose, 2004).

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