

Fune Ni Miru Nihonjin Iminshi: Kasato Maru kara kuruzu kyakusen e
[“Japanese Emigration History As Seen Through Ships:
From the *Kasato Maru* to Passenger Cruisers”]

by **Michio Yamada**

Article 2

Emigrants to Hawaii in the Meiji Era, Part 2

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The Convention of Japanese Immigration

The 26 government contract immigrant groups were not all the same. The immigrants in the first group, on the *City of Tokio*, and the second group, on the *Yamashiro Maru*, came under contract with the Hawaiian Government. On the Memorandum of Agreement, the title given to each immigrant was "voluntary passenger."

As mentioned earlier, the Agreement only stipulated labor conditions and did not pertain to basic issues of immigrants' rights and duties. As a result, it became difficult to settle any trouble that arose between the immigrants and their employees. Because the selection process for the first two immigrant groups was inadequate, trouble often broke out because there were immigrants who could not endure the work on the sugar cane plantations.

Consequently, the Meiji Government, which was initially indifferent toward the Agreement, was forced to recognize that in order to protect Japanese subjects it was necessary to enter a formal treaty. On January 28, 1886, Foreign Minister Inouye Kaoru and Hawaiian Minister Plenipotentiary Robert Irwin signed the Convention of Japanese Immigration in Tokyo.

The following points were stipulated in the Convention: 1) Emigration ports shall be limited to Yokohama and Honolulu with the *Kenrei* (governor) of Kanagawa representing the Japanese government and the Special Agent for the Hawaiian Board of Immigration (Irwin) representing the Hawaiian government (Article III); 2) The emigration period should be no more than three years and all emigration shall be by contract by and between the Special Agent of the Hawaiian Board of Immigration and the intending emigrants and shall be approved by the Kenrei of Kanagawa. Further, the Hawaiian government shall assume the responsibility of protecting the emigrants (Article IV); and 3) the Hawaiian government shall provide emigrants with interpreters and Japanese doctors (Articles 6 and 7).

Regarding transportation, the Convention stipulated in Article V: "His Hawaiian Majesty's Government agrees, moreover, to furnish all emigrants under this Convention, free steerage passage including proper food from Yokohama to Honolulu in first class passenger Steamers. The Steamers selected for the purpose of transporting such

emigrants shall be approved by the Kenrei of Kanagawa. The emigrants were to be treated as steerage passengers on first class ships and their passage to and from Hawaii was to be free.

Besides such protection under the Convention, as a result of the strong urging of the Hawaiian government representative Irwin, a Japanese Section was set up within the [Hawaiian] Bureau of Immigration and was entrusted with the supervision and protection of the emigrants. Since this bureau had equal rank with the Japanese Consulate, the authority of Nakayama Joji, the inspector-in-chief of the Bureau of Immigration who was invited from Japan (from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), sometimes surpassed that of Japanese Consul General Ando Taro.

Aside from a high monthly salary of \$250, Nakayama also enriched his personal fortune by receiving fees from sugar planters through various means. *A holehole bushi* (songs sung by Japanese immigrants in Hawaii), sings about Nakayama:

Dekasegi wa kurukuru
Hawaii wa tsumaru
Ai no Nakayama
Kane ga furu.

The workers keep on coming
Overflowing these Islands.
But it's only middleman Nakayama
Who rakes in the money.

[Translation is from Franklin Odo and Kazuko Sinoto, *A Pictorial History of The Japanese in Hawai'i: 1885-1924* (Honolulu, Hawai'i Immigrant Heritage Preservation Center, Department of Anthropology, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1985) p. 55.]

The Ships that Carried the Government Contract Emigrants

Out of the ships that carried 26 government contract emigrant labor groups to Hawaii over a period of ten years, six were Japanese and two were American. As mentioned earlier, the first group was carried on the *City of Tokio*, the second by the *Yamashiro Maru*, and the third by the *City of Peking*, which was a sister ship of the *City of Tokio*. The other five ships are described below.

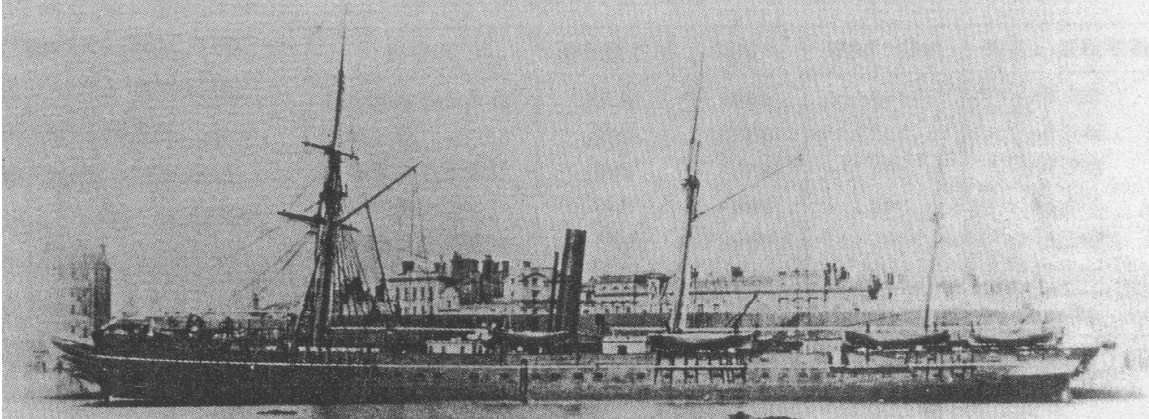
The ships used were, like the *Yamashiro Maru*, owned by Nippon Yusen Kaisha (NYK). NYK's ships were no doubt selected because government contract emigration was a national undertaking and because the Convention stipulated that the emigrants shall be transported on "first class passenger Steamers." It is noteworthy that among these ships were those that had distinguished maritime service.

Wakanoura Maru

The *Wakanoura Maru* was used to carry the fourth government contract emigrant group. It carried 1,447 emigrants, which was a much larger number than were in the first three groups. The *Wakanoura Maru* arrived in Honolulu on December 11, 1887. Since the Convention of Japanese Immigration went into effect on May 31 of the previous year, it was the first ship to carry government contract emigrants under the Convention. Six Kanagawa Prefectural police inspectors were onboard to act as guards on the voyage. Their presence was requested probably because of the large number of passengers and in

light of the experiences of the first three groups that went to Hawaii. The passage of the six inspectors was paid for by the Hawaiian Government.

The *Wakanoura Maru* was the oldest of the eight ships used to carry the government contract emigrants. Having been built in London in 1854, it was already thirty-three years old when it brought the emigrants to Hawaii. However, it had also been refitted repeatedly during that time. Since its main engine had been replaced in 1876, it was a sturdy vessel for its age.



The ship was originally owned by Britain's P&O Line and went under the name *Candia*. After serving in the Crimean War, it traveled the waters of the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. In 1877, during the Nansei War, its ownership was transferred to the mail carrier Mitsubishi Co. It was then transferred to NYK when the latter was established in October 1885. The *Wakanoura Maru* had been operating on the Kobe-Hakodate route before it was used to carry the government contract laborers. The ship's dimensions are listed below:

Type: Iron steamer
Weight: 2,197 tons
Length: 91.4 meters
Width: 11.8 meters
Depth: 5.1 meters
One main engine compound
Output: 1,200 horsepower
Speed: 12.5 knots
Completed on April 15, 1854 in Britain by C.J. Meyer (XX?) Co.
Scrapped in 1893

Takasago Maru

The *Takasago Maru* carried the fifth through seventh government contract emigrant groups in the later half of 1888. Like the *Wakanoura Maru*, it had originally been a P&O passenger ship. As it had left its mark in Britain's maritime history and was widely known, the *Takasago Maru* stood alone among the ships that Japan had procured from abroad during the Meiji Period.

[photo caption: Side view of the *Sagami Maru*, which carried the fourteenth group of government contract emigrants to Hawaii.]

The *Takasago Maru* was originally named the *Delta* when it was completed in 1859 to be used by P&O on its Mediterranean passenger route. Next to the *Wakanoura Maru*, it was the second oldest ship to be used to transport government contract laborers. The *Delta* brought British representatives to the opening ceremonies of the Suez Canal on November 17, 1869 and was the first British ship to go through the Suez Canal.

Seeking a ship to transport troops to Taiwan, the Japanese government purchased the *Delta* in 1874 for 19,703 pounds and changed its name to *Takasago Maru*. The following year, its ownership was transferred to the mail steamship company Mitsubishi. In February of the same year, it was put into service on the Yokohama to Shanghai route that had been newly established as Japan's first overseas liner route. In March 1877, it became the first Japanese ship to voyage to Britain when it went there for a main engine replacement. It stayed in Britain until the next year to be converted from a paddle wheel to a screw steamer at renfuruu [XX?]. Like the *Wakanoura Maru*, its ownership was transferred to NYK after it was established and was used on the Yokohama to Kobe route at the time that government contract emigration began. Its main dimensions are listed below:

Type: Iron steamer
Weight: 2,075 tons
Length: 90.9 meters
Width: 10.7 meters
Depth: 5.9 meters
One main engine compound
Output: 1,250 horsepower
Speed: 12.5 knots
Completed on September 23, 1859 in Britain by Thames Ironworks Shipyard (XX?)
Sold to the U.S. in 1898
Its eventful 47-year life ended when it was wrecked north of Sakhalin in 1906.

Omi Maru

The *Omi Maru* carried the eighth (March 1889) and sixteenth (March 1891) groups. While it was of the same class as the *Yamashiro Maru*, which was described earlier as a superior ship in its time, according to the "Registry of Ships" compiled by the Shipping Regulation Bureau, Ministry of Communications, there were slight differences between the two ships.

Type: Iron steamer
Weight: 2,473 tons
Length: 91.9 meters
Width: 11.2 meters
Depth: 6.2 meters
One main engine compound
Output: 2,000 horsepower
Speed: 12 knots
Completed in July 1884 in Britain by Armstrong Co.

After a maritime record that was similar to the *Yamashiro Maru*, the *Omi Maru* was used with the *Yamashiro Maru* on the Manchurian route that was established by NYK after the Sino-Japanese War. (The first ship on the line was the *Yamashiro Maru* while the second ship was the *Omi Maru*.) The *Omi Maru* was scrapped in Osaka in 1910.

Sagami Maru

The *Sagami Maru* was used for the fourteenth government contract emigration group in June 1890. It was in the same class as the *Yamashiro Maru* and was built in Britain under special order by Kyodo Transport. It was then transferred to NYK when it was established and was used on the Kobe to Hakodate route

Type: Iron steamer

Weight: 1,885 tons

Length: 84.0 meters

Width: 11.0 meters

Depth: 5.9 meters

One main engine compound

Output: 1,340 horsepower

Speed: 12 knots

Completed in November 1884 by Armstrong Co.

Sunk during the third Port Arthur blockade during the Russo-Japanese War.

Miike Maru

The *Miike Maru* was used extensively during the last days of the government contract period. It carried the nineteenth group in June 1891 and then the last four groups from March 1893 through 1894. The *Miike Maru* was the largest of the eight newly manufactured ships that NYK purchased from Britain to create its own fleet upon its establishment in 1885. It was still Japan's largest ship when it was used to transport government contract emigrants. At the time, the *Miike Maru* and the *Hiroshima Maru* (built in 1891 at 3,276 tons) were the only two Japanese ships that were over 3000 tons. In the "Registry of Ships," the *Miike Maru* is listed as being made of "iron and steel," indicating that it had a steel frame and an iron hull. This type of ship construction was common during the time, as shipbuilders were switching from iron to steel. Since steelworking technology was still not fully developed, shipbuilders were reluctant to use steel plates for the hull out of fear that the internal structure of the steel would not be uniform.

Type: Iron and steel steamer

Weight: 3,312 tons

Length: 99.2 meters

Width: 12.8 meters

Depth: 7.9 meters

One triple reciprocating (*sanrensei reshipuro*) engine

Output: 1,550 horsepower

Speed: 12.7 knots

Completed in March 1888 in Britain by R. Thompson & Sons

Scrapped in Osaka in 1930

It was the first ship to be put into service on the Seattle route that NYK established after the Russo-Japanese War. More will be said about the *Miike Maru's* prominent place in Japan's maritime history.

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Private Contract Emigration via Emigration Companies

Government contract emigration, which took place under the auspices of both the Japanese and Hawaiian governments, ended with the twenty-sixth group that arrived on the *Miike Maru* on June 15, 1894 after the Sino-Japanese War had started. Emigration through emigration companies began in its place. The subsequent period that ended six years later in 1900 is known as the private emigration period in Hawaii's Japanese emigration history. Although the period was relatively short, the 46,000 emigrants who arrived in the period far outnumber the emigrants who came during the nine-year government contract emigration period.

The first emigration company in Japan was the Nippon Yoshisa Emigration Co., Ltd., which was established in 1891. The company was founded by Yoshikawa Taijiro, vice president (at the time) of NYK, and Sakuma Sadaichi, president of Shueisha. (The name of the new company combined both men's names.) The establishment of this company was a catalyst for many others to start emigration companies or to work individually as emigration intermediaries. In the background of this development were favorable conditions for sojourner Japanese laborers to go to North America and Australia.

The Japanese in Hawaii were meanwhile getting used to plantation life and sent large amounts of money home. In 1894, the amount of remittances was \$530,000 XX?? (approximately 950,000 yen.) Since the Japanese population in Hawaii at the time was 21,000, the per capita amount of remittances was 45 yen. Considering that the starting salary of a bank employee at the time was around 35 yen, this was a substantial sum. The amount of government involvement related to emigration increased dramatically in tandem with the growing number of people wanting to emigrate. Meanwhile, the emigration companies, who recognized a potentially lucrative situation, tried to shift emigration affairs out of the hands of the government and into the hands of the private sector.

Consequently, the Japanese government announced "Emigrant Protection Ordinance" in April, 1894 (which became the "Emigrant Protection Law" in 1896). Under these regulations, the government took action to entrust emigration affairs to the private sector. Subsequently, government contract emigration under the Convention of Japanese Emigration was stopped in June of the same year by agreement between both governments.

The first ship to carry emigrants to Hawaii under the new system was the *Aikoku Maru*, which had been chartered by emigration agent Ogura Yuki. The *Aikoku Maru*

carried 150 emigrants and reached Honolulu on June 29, two weeks after the last government contract group arrived on the *Miike Maru*.

The Article 1 of the Emigrant Protection Law stipulated that "Under these regulations, an 'emigrant' shall refer to a person who goes to a foreign country for the purpose of labor and an 'emigrant agent' shall refer to a person who recruits emigrants or engages in the enterprise of intermediating in the transport of emigrants." Aside from this definition of emigrants and emigration agents, the Law (in Article 8) stipulated that "Emigration agents shall enter into a written contract with the emigrant when intermediating the transport of emigrants.

An example of such a contract under the Law was introduced earlier in *Yamaguchi-ken Oshima-gun Hawaii Imin Shi* (Yamaguchi-ken, Oshima-gun Hawaii Emigration History). The contract was between emigrants from Oshima-gun and the Tokyo emigration agent Morioka Makoto and included agreements that 1) the emigration agent would bear the cost of transporting the emigrant to Hawaii and the emigrant would bear the cost of the return trip, and 2) the brokerage fee for transportation would be 20 yen per person.

The same contract also contained the prescribed form of the contract that was entered into between the emigrants after they reached Hawaii and the sugar plantation owners and emigration companies. The essential points of the contract, which are roughly the same as the agreements during the government contract period, are given below.

- 1) The contract period shall be three years.
- 2) Monthly wages shall be \$15 for the laborer and \$10 for his wife. (The wages were \$12.50 and \$10 respectively at the beginning of the private contract emigration period.)
- 3) There shall be 26 working days in one month. The workday shall be 10 hours per day in the field and 12 hours per day in the mill.
- 4) The employer shall deduct \$2.50 from the monthly wages and transfer the amount to the emigration company. The emigration company shall deposit the amount in a bank to be used for return passage.

Emigration to Hawaii through the private sector prospered due to the hard work and achievements of the earlier emigrants. Many emigration companies appeared, and for the next ten years up through the free emigration period, they mediated in the transportation of roughly 80,000 Japanese (mainly farmers) to Hawaii. The major emigration companies and the number of emigrants they handled are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Major Emigration Companies and Number of Emigrants Processed by each Company (1894-1908)

Company	Location	Year Established	Number of groups processed	Number of emigrants processed
Kaigai Toko Goshi Gaisha	Hiroshima	1896	61	10,371
Morioka Makoto	Tokyo	1896	51	8,148
Kumamoto Imin Goshi Gaisha	Kumamoto	1896	46	7,738

Nippon Imin Goshi Gaisha	Kobe	1896	21	5,800
Tokyo Imin Goshi Gaisha	Yokohama	1898	14	3,382
Ogura Yuki	Osaka	1894	4	2,500
Kobe Toko Goshi Gaisha	Kobe	1894	11	900

[photo caption: Photo of Japanese women laborers on sugar plantation taken during the government contract emigration period.]

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The emigration companies made huge profits, not only through brokerage of emigrant transportation, but also by receiving commissions from sugar plantation owners and shipping companies. Further, many politicians were involved with the management of emigration companies, and portions of the companies' profits were appropriated as political funds. Morioka Shokai and other emigration companies made a joint investment and established the Keihin Bank (headquartered in Tokyo). The bank handled remittances sent to Japan by emigrants and the deposits made for return passage to Japan, but this type of blatant profiteering received increasing criticism from the Japanese community in Hawaii.

Refusal to Allow Japanese Emigrants to Disembark

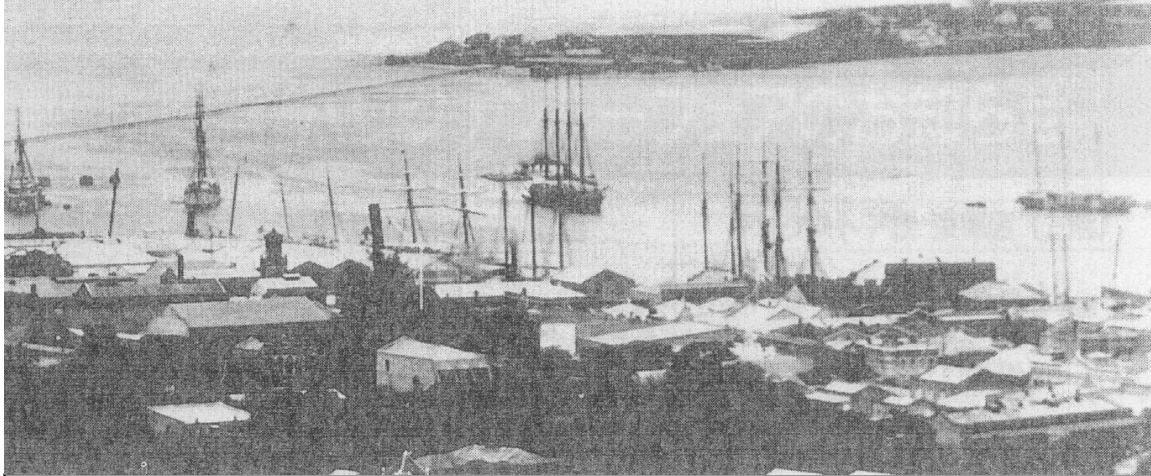
An important incident that left its mark on Japanese emigration history happened in Honolulu in 1896, two years after private contract emigration started. In mid-October of that year, the *Toyo Maru*, which had been chartered by Nippon Imin Co., entered Honolulu carrying 645 contract emigrants and 53 free emigrants. Because the \$50 held by the free emigrants was deemed unacceptable (explained below) and their contract documents not in order, Customs refused to let them land. The emigrants appealed the Customs order to the Hawaiian high court. A favorable court decision finally allowed them to land.

This incident was followed by three other inauspicious incidents.

1. The *Shinshu Maru* arrived carrying 670 Japanese on February 27, 1897. However, all but 122 contract emigrants were refused entry and sent back to Japan on the same ship on the grounds that the money they were carrying was insufficient. On March 3 of the same year, the *Sakura Maru* arrived carrying 316 Japanese. One hundred sixty-three were again refused entry for the same reason.
2. More than 670 Japanese on the *Kinai Maru* received similar treatment when they arrived a few days later.

In the background of these incidents was the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, which had been friendly to Japan and protected the emigrants. A revolution by a faction planning to join the United States overthrew the Hawaiian Kingdom in January, 1893. Queen Liliuokalani (niece of King Kalakaua), who is famous for writing the song *Aloha Oe*, was deposed. The faction established the (provisional) Hawaiian Republic. In the following year, the new government cancelled the Convention of Japanese Immigration

and in doing so invalidated the rights of the Japanese that had been stipulated on the emigration contracts. The new government, which had a strong affinity for the U.S., undertook measures to restrict the steady flow of Japanese to Hawaii in reaction to the growing anti-Asian exclusion movement on the mainland.



Honolulu Harbor in the 1890s. The immigrant holding camp and China Bridge are visible. The area where the steamship is docked is near the present site of the Aloha Tower

One such measure was the "Foreign Landing Regulations" that were promulgated on March 1, 1894. Included in these regulations was the stipulation that "free emigrants shall carry a labor contract and \$50 or more." While the above incidents happened in connection with this stipulation, the aggressive tactics of the Japanese emigration companies to send emigrants to Hawaii to bolster their profits must also be considered.. For example, trouble arose because the companies tried to defy the stipulation by providing "show money" to emigrants who did not have money of their own.

The Japanese government lodged protests with the republican government and even sent Councilor Akiyama ?nosuke aboard the warship *Naniwa* to Hawaii to negotiate, but to no avail. Ultimately, in July 1898, immediately before Hawaii was annexed by the U.S., under instructions of the U.S., the republican government settled the issue by paying \$75,000 to the emigration companies involved in the incidents.

Year	Male	Female	Total	Remarks
1885	1,705	154	1,859	Government Contract emigration begins
1886	722	249	971	
1887	1,598	295	1,893	
1888	2,708	600	3,308	
1889	3,482	762	4,244	
1890	3,544	996	4,540	
1891	5,638	1,533	7,171	

1892	1,941	471	2,412	
1893	3,484	921	4,405	
1894	3,269	727	3,996	Private contract emigration begins
1895	1,989	456	2,445	
1896	6,789	1,699	8,488	NYK's Seattle route established
1897	4,794	1,119	5,913	
1898	10,668	2,284	12,952	TKK's Pacific route established
1899	21,747	5,408	27,155	
1900	4,262	498	4,760	Free emigration begins
1901	2,591	391	2,982	
1902	10,578	879	11,457	
1903	85	1	86	
1904	11,744	877	12,621	Russo-Japanese War begins
1905	6,326	820	7,146	Russo-Japanese War ends
1906	28,411	1,982	30,393	
1907	10,973	4,784	15,757	
1908	1,915	1,706	3,621	Toyo Kisen's Tenyo Maru begins service
Total	150,963	29,612	180,575	

Note: Based on *Hawai Nihonjin Imin Shi* (History of Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii) [edited by the Hawaii Nihonjin Imin Shi Publishing Committee in 1964 and published by the Hawaii Japanese Association] Because of differing sources, the figures here and previous figures for government contract emigrants are slightly different.

The U.S. annexed Hawaii on August 12 of that year. The star-spangled banner was raised over the Hawaiian seat of government. In 1900, laws that were in effect on the mainland were also put into effect in Hawaii. Because the contracts of foreign workers that had been in effect since 1885 were now prohibited under U.S. law, the private contract emigration system also came to a halt.

In was in this way that the fifteen year period of contract emigration that started with the government contract emigrants came to a complete stop and the free emigration period began.

The free emigration period continued until emigration restrictions began under the 1908 Gentlemen's Agreement between Japan and the U.S. In those eight years, 68,000 Japanese went to Hawaii. The peak of emigration during that period came during the two years following the end of the Russo-Japanese, when 46,000 emigrants went to Hawaii. (see Table 2)

During this period, Japanese established themselves firmly in Hawaiian society by actively entering occupational fields outside of agriculture. If we looked at the situation differently, we could say that the series of restrictions against the Japanese was driven by the egoism of the whites who feared Japanese power in Hawaii. If we rephrase Japanese

power as export power, then we can trace an historical connection to recent trade friction between Japan and the U.S.

The Ships Chartered by Emigration Companies

Over the twenty-four years from the government contract emigration period through the free emigration period, about 180,000 Japanese went to Hawaii. This was much more than the 140,000 Japanese emigrants who traveled to South America on Osaka Shosen's (OSK) fleet ships over a twenty-five-year period before the war. With such a large passenger demand, it was only natural that there would be plans to establish scheduled passenger service.

On August 1, 1896, two months before the *Toyo Maru* was kept from landing, NYK began its Far East-Seattle route (via Honolulu) with the *Miike Maru* and other ships. Regarding passenger demand, it is conceivable that the volume of emigrants was a very important consideration. In the same year, Asano Soichiro established Toyo Kisen Kaisha (TKK), and (two years later), with a strategy similar to NYK's, began its own route between the Far East and the U.S. West Coast, thus entering a field that had until then been virtually monopolized by British and American shipping companies.

These two transpacific routes will be introduced in the next chapter on North American emigrants. Here I will introduce the chartered ships used during the beginning of the private emigration period. In all cases, the ships had been bought from foreign countries after having had many years of service.

Aikoku Maru

As mentioned earlier, the *Aikoku Maru* was the first ship used to carry private contract emigrants. The owner of the ship was Ohke Shippei (?) of Osaka. It was a German ship that had originally gone under the name *Lydia* before it was sold to its Japanese owner in 1892.

Type: Iron steamer
Weight: 1,721 tons
Length: 79.8 meters
Width: 9.5 meters
Depth: 5.8 meters

One main engine compound

Output: 154 nominal horsepower (N HP)

Built in March 1879 in Britain by Doby (?) Co. It was sold to Osaka Shosen (OSK) the year before the Russo-Japanese War and sunk during the Third Port Arthur Blockade.

Toyo Maru

The *Toyo Maru* was originally the P&O passenger ship *Zambesi*. It was sold (and registered in Shanghai) in 1888 to Frank N. Upton, an American living in Kobe. In 1893, its ownership was passed into the hands via the New Oriental Bank in Shanghai, to

Hamanaka Hachisaburo (?) of Kobe and became the *Toyo Maru*. When the ship still went under the name *Zambesi*, Upton sent 15 railroad workers on it from Kobe to Portland in April 1891.

Type: Iron steamer
Weight: 2,497 tons
Length: 99.4 meters
Width: 10.7 meters
One main engine compound
Output: 216 nominal horsepower (N HP)
Built in 1873 by Barclay, Curle & Co. in Glasgow.
Scrapped in 1911.

Shinshu Maru

The *Shinshu Maru* originally traveled P&O's Indian route and was called the *Gwalior*. Among the decrepit fleet of ships, it had one of the better lineages. It was purchased by Kishimoto Gohei of Kobe in 1894.

Type: Iron steamer
Weight: 2,839 tons
Length: 104.8 meters
Width: 11.5 meters
Depth: 6.5 meters
One main engine compound
Output: 327 nominal horsepower (N HP)
Speed: 12 knots
Built in 1873 by W. Denny Co. in Britain.
Ran aground during the Russo-Japanese War.

Sakura Maru

Owned by NYK, the *Sakura Maru* was originally an English ship that became a Japanese ship during the Sino-Japanese War. Since it became well known after it carried the first group of emigrants to Peru in 1899, we will talk about it in detail later.

Kinai Maru

The owner of this ship was Masuda Mataichiro of Kobe. It had originally gone under the name *Riversdale* when it was a British ship.

Type: Iron steamer
Weight: 2,096 tons
Length: 86.6 meters
Width: 10.8 meters
Depth: 6.8 meters
One main engine compound
Output: 164 nominal horsepower (N HP)
Built in 1878 by J. Raying (?) Co. in Britain.

To give an idea of what the passenger quarters of these Hawaii emigrant ships were, I will now describe their interior.

I have not found any documents that give an account of the interior of these ships but we do get some idea from the writings of Masaoka Shiki in "Jugun Kiji (War Correspondence)". Shiki, who had volunteered to be a war correspondent during the Sino-Japanese War, was a passenger on the *Kaijo Maru* (originally the P&O passenger ship *Assam*; 3,231 tons; built in 1873) from Japan to Dairen. From his writings we know that the lower class quarters (i.e., steerage) of the ship were large rooms with double-decker (i.e., bunk) beds.

Together with the Kineishidan Shireibu (Inner Defense Guard Command?), I was on the *Kaijo Maru* that left [Japan] on April 10. Along with the common soldiers, we were not given any special treatment as we were placed on the shelf of the lower class cabin. We reporters, artists, Shinto and Buddhist priests were in one group and occupied the middle part of the shelf..."

In other words, the cabin was similar to the large cabins on present-day outer island ships -- except that there was a shelf to separate the top and bottom of the cabin's space. While the cabins were lacking in comfort, they could carry twice as much as cabins on outlying island ships. Such cabins were extremely efficient in carrying large numbers of people. The *Kaijo Maru* had been owned by NYK and since it was the same type of ship as the aforementioned *Shinshu Maru*, its interior was probably similar.

On the way back to Japan, Shiki rode the *Sadokuni Maru* (originally German *Ashington*; built in 1872; 1,246 tons) and was put in the same type of large sleeping spaces with shelves. In his collection of essays *Byo-sho Rokusyaku* (A Six-foot Sickbed), in uniquely graphic language, he describes the dark and unbearably cramped quarters. Due to the hardships on his voyage, he fell ill and for the first time coughed up blood. Seven years after struggling against his illness, Shiki died of tuberculosis at the age of 36.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

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[photo caption: The *Gwalior* before it became the *Shinshu Maru* and was used to transport private contract emigrants to Hawaii.]

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[photo caption: The *Candia* before it became the *Wakanoura Maru* and used to transport the fourth group of government contract emigrants to Hawaii. It had a clipper-type bow and was also equipped with barkantine sail rigging.]

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[photo caption: Photo of the Japanese Consulate in Honolulu taken in 1887. Ando Taro, the first Consul General, can be seen on the veranda on the left rear.]

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[photo caption: Honolulu Harbor in the 1890s. The immigrant holding camp and China Bridge are visible. The area where the steamship is docked is near the present site of the Aloha Tower.]

[photo caption: Transporting sugarcane. Photo was probably taken in the 1890s.]

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[photo caption: The *Toyo Maru*, which was chartered to carry private contract emigrants, when it was still the *Zambesi*.