

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 5

Emigration to Mexico and Peru in the Meiji Period

First published in *Seki no Kanssen (Ships of the World)*, March 1994

Translator: Jeff Bradt

[Photo Caption (Steamship)] The Yamazaki Ship Dept. *Kotohira Maru* chartered by Continental Colonization Company to transport migrants to Mexico. Pictured here engaged as an army transport vessel during the Russo-Japanese War. (Photographer: Yoshihide Kobayashi)

Enomoto Colonial Group Mexico Migration

The first Japanese emigrated to “Latin America” (South and Central America) in 1893 (Meiji 26). During the summer of that year, 132 Japanese sugar cane plantation workers in Hawaii moved to plantations in Guatemala, traveling to their destination via San Francisco. How many Japanese migrated to this region during the ensuing half-century leading up to the start of World War II in the Pacific?

According to records in the Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, beginning with the migration to Peru in 1899 (Meiji 32), the total Japanese migration to Latin America by the beginning of the war totaled approximately 245,000 persons. If we break this total down by country, Brazil is overwhelmingly the largest at 188,986, followed by Peru (33,070), Mexico (14,486), Argentina (5,398), and other countries (2,606).

However, if we look at just the Meiji Period (i.e., through 1912), as in Table 1, the order becomes Mexico, Peru, then Brazil. Also, time-line of Japanese emigration, follows the same order, with Mexico being the earliest.

Table 1. Japanese passengers to Latin America, 1899-1912

Country	Mexico	Peru	Brazil	Others
Year				
1899 (Meiji 32)	1	790	0	0
1900 (Meiji 33)	1	0	0	0
1901 (Meiji 34)	95	0	0	0
1902 (Meiji 35)	83	0	0	0
1903 (Meiji 36)	281	1,303	0	126
1904 (Meiji 37)	1,261	0	0	0
1905 (Meiji 38)	346	0	0	0
1906 (Meiji 39)	5,068	1,257	0	0
1907 (Meiji 40)	3,822	85	0	5
1908 (Meiji 41)	0	2,880	799	0
1909 (Meiji 42)	2	1,138	4	1
1910 (Meiji 43)	5	483	911	2

1911 (Meiji 44)	28	456	0	10
1912 (Meiji 45)	16	714	2,859	17
Total	10,009	9,106	4,573	161

Note: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Emigration statistics and passports issued”. There is a discrepancy between the text and the above figures due to differences in sources.

Emigration to Mexico begins with telling the story of Buto [could be Muto] Enomoto. Enomoto, who held the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs for a short time, had a keen interest in the emigration problem. In 1891 (Meiji 24), he established an emigration department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as a consulate in Mexico. Our country [Japan] had already concluded a trade treaty with

Mexico and the countries had an amicable relationship. It is said that Japan’s first emigration company, Nippon Kissa Imin Kaisha , was also born with help from Enomoto.

The following year Enomoto left his post as Minister of Foreign Affairs and organized the Japan Colonization Association with the aim of developing emigration sites in Mexico. In 1895 (Meiji 28), he founded the Bokkoku Ijyū Kumiai (or Mexico Migrants Union)and, with other investors, purchased , approximately 160,000 acres of state-owned land in Escuintla, Chiapas (southern Mexico). At the time of the purchase this partnership had developed into the Japan-Mexico Colonization Company, with Enomoto as the largest investor.

Thus, on the evening of March 24, 1897 (Meiji 30), the Enomoto Colonial Group comprised of 29 contract emigrants and 6 independent voyagers, sailed out of Yokohama aboard the *Gaelic* (2) 4,206 gross tons, built in 1885) of the Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company (O&O)¹. After passing through San Francisco and Acapulco, they reached San Bonito on May 10. The plan for this party was to grow coffee there, but the planning for this emigration venture was flawed from the start. Not having any coffee cultivation know-how, they failed at farming and dispersed from the colony local. Within one year after arriving, the Enomoto Colonial Group collapsed and ended in disappointment.

The *Gaelic* was a White Star Line ship like the *Oceanic*², which was introduced in Chapter 3. A ship of the same configuration, the *Belgic* (2)³ was chartered by the O & O in 1885 (Meiji 18) and put into commission between San Francisco, Yokohama, and Hong Kong.

¹ Owned by the White Star Line of England, and chartered to the O&O—trans.

² *Oceanic* (1), built in 1870, 3,707 gross tons, length 420ft x beam 40.9ft, one funnel, four masts (rigged for sail), iron hull, single screw, speed 14 knots, accommodation for 166-1st and 1,000-3rd class passengers. Built by Harland & Wolff, Belfast (engines by Maudslay, Sons & Field, London), she was launched for [White Star Line](#) on 27th Aug.1870. On 2nd Mar.1871 she left Liverpool for Queenstown and New York but had to put into Holyhead with overheated bearings and returned to Liverpool. 14th Mar.1871 resumed maiden voyage and arrived New York on 28th March. She started her last voyage on this service on 11th Mar.1875 and was then chartered to the Occidental & Oriental Line for their San Francisco - Yokohama - Hong Kong route. In 1879 she returned to Liverpool for a refit and then sailed back to Hong Kong to resume trans-Pacific sailings. She returned to Belfast in 1895 for re-engining but the plan was abandoned and she was scrapped at London the following year. [North Atlantic Seaway by N.R.P.Bonsor, vol.2,p.755]

Emigration to Mexico Fizzles

The main source of emigration [from Japan] to Latin America was contract emigrants. First, the emigration company would contract with the employer on the other side. Based on this contract, the emigration company would recruit with emigrants. In this way the emigration company performed an important function.

There were three emigration companies that handled away laborers to Mexico: Kumamoto Emigration [*Kumamoto Imin*], Continental Colonization [*Tairiku Shokumin*], and Eastern Emigration [*Toyo Imin*]. The company that started things off was the limited partnership of Kumamoto Emigration. In November of 1901 (Meiji 34) it got its start by arranging for 82 people to go to a coal mine in the northern state of Coahuila. By October of 1907 (Meiji 40) Kumamoto Emigration had sent out a total of 1,242 coal emigrants in 12 voyages. Further, in November of 1904 (Meiji 37), Tokyo's Continental Colonization Company began handling voyages to Mexico, and by May of 1907 had transported 4,416 people in 11 voyages. This company had no relation with the coalmines in the north, but mainly with sugar and coffee plantations and later expanding into railway and mines. It was the largest of the three companies in terms of the number of migrants handled.

For reference, the conditions that Continental Colonization made with agricultural migrants are enumerated as follows: ① Round-trip passage to be born by the migrant. ② Contract duration to be four years. ③ Daily wages to be 52.7¢ (converted to US currency). ④ Working hours for farms to be 8 hours/day, and 10 hours/day for manufacturing plants. ⑤ Food, clothing, and shelter expenses, as well as medical expenses to be born by the company. [--] The daily wages of 52.7¢ when converted to a monthly wage (26 days) comes to roughly US\$14. As introduced in chapter 3, this isn't even half of the monthly wage that an agricultural worker made in the United States during the same general time period.

In addition to low wages, bad conditions such as slave-driving employers and severe weather and terrain were a significant factor in hindering the continued presence of Japanese in Mexico. From 1901 to 1907, the above three companies sent 8,706 contract migrants to Mexico, but of these more than 5,000 fled to the United States before finishing their contracts. Both the emigration companies that neglected conditions overseas and exploited their fellow

3 Belgic (2), built in 1885, 4212 gross tons, length 420.3ft x beam 42.4ft, one funnel, four masts (rigged for sail), single screw, speed 14 knots. Built by Harland & Wolff, Belfast as the BELGIC for [White Star Line's](#) Pacific service, she was launched on 3rd Jan.1885. Her maiden voyage from San Francisco to Yokohama and Hong Kong started 28th Nov.1885 and she continued Pacific services until 1898. Sold to [Atlantic Transport Line](#) in 1899, she was renamed MOHAWK and started her first voyage from Belfast to London and New York on 5th Aug.1899. Her second voyage between London and New York started 7th Sep.1899 and in Oct.1899 she became a Boer War military transport. In 1903 she was scrapped at Garston. [North Atlantic Seaway by N.R.P.Bonsor, vol.3] [Merchant Fleets by Duncan Haws, vol.2]

countrymen, and the [Japanese] government that gave tacit approval to such practices, earned the long-lasting scorn of the [Japanese] people.

There was a case, rare in emigration history, where most of the voyagers returned to their country on the same ship that they arrived on. This occurred because it was almost as if the brochures and contract terms had nothing to do with reality. The place was the Boreo Copper Mine in Santa Rosaria on the California Baja Peninsula with the Eastern Emigration [Toyo Imin] Company.

[Photo Caption (Man's Photo)] Buto Enomoto planned emigration to Mexico.

[Map] **Sites related to Mexico Emigration.** [Left to right and down] Santa Rosaria, State of Coahuila, Mexico, Manzanillo, Mexico [city], Acapulco, State of Chiapas, Salina Cruz, Escuintla, San Benito.

On June 19, 1904, 500 mine workers sailed from Kobe aboard the Eastern Steamship Service's [Toyo Kisen Unkō] *Akebono Maru*. When they arrived at the site, they found that the mining equipment was so inferior that it was life threatening to use it. To make matters worse, the cost of living was high, and the climate was severe. Reluctantly, eighteen representatives swam to the anchored ship, talked to the company and requested changes at the work site, but their request was flatly refused. In the end, 450 migrants went straight home.

The *Akebono* was a steel-hulled steamship that belonged to the Bijō [maybe Oki] Steam Lines Company. It was 2,450 gross tons, had a single compound turbine, a speed of 11 knots, and was built by the Scott Company of England. Previously, it was christened as the English ship, *Crown of Arragon*. In 1912 it was sold to Hinode Steam Lines.

In addition to the above ship, the *Kotohira Maru* and the *Kotohira Maru 2* (Yamazaki Ship Dept—later to become Yamazaki Steam Lines) were chartered by Continental Colonization [Tairiku Shokumin] to transport migrants to Mexico. Both ships were purchased during the course of the Russo-Japanese War. The outline is as follows:

● *Kotohira Maru*

3,657 gross tons, one triple expansion reciprocating engine, top speed 14 knots, passenger capacity: first class, 43; second class, 8. Constructed in 1887 (Meiji 20) by England's London & Glasgow Company. Originally England's Glenline *Glenshiel*. No specifications for third class passenger capacity exist, but most likely folding beds were placed in the cargo hold. Sold in 1916 (Taisho 5) to a private ship owner.

● *Kotohira Maru 2*

Previously P&O Company's *Nankin*. 4,367 gross tons, one triple expansion reciprocating engine, top speed 14 knots, passenger capacity: first class, 70; second class, 46. Constructed in 1888 (Meiji 21) by England's Palmer Brothers Company. In September of 1907 it ran aground in the Soya Straights [Japan] and was a total loss.

Table 2 shows an example of a ship schedule entries from the book The Fifty Year History of Yamazaki Steam Lines [Yamazai Kisen GoJyūnenshi], published in 1969.

After the Russo-Japanese War, the liners on Toyo Kisen Kaisha’s (TKK) route to the west coast of South America called at Manzanillo and Salina Cruz, transporting several hundred migrants on every voyage, but in 1908 (Meiji 41) there was a one-time suspension of service. One reason was the sharp decrease in emigration, and there were almost no emigrants to Mexico after 1908.

The reason for the lack of emigrants was that Japanese became unable to enter the United States by way of Mexico. In March of 1907, amidst the anti-Japanese movement centered in California, the American president, Theodore Roosevelt, issued an executive order prohibiting (Japanese) immigration via Mexico, Canada, and Hawaii.

As noted above, over half of the migrants fled to the United States, not only conditions in Mexico were poor, but because the reason that the Japanese were going to Mexico was to use it as a stepping-stone to get into the United States. If this was prohibited, it was inevitable that the flow of migrants would stop.

In this way, emigration from Japan to Mexico broke down and stopped in less than 10 years.

The First Emigration Ship Sails to Peru⁴

Any mention of migrant workers in Peru invokes the image of the *Maria Luz* incident of the first year of Meiji [1868]. Coolies⁵ from China escaped at the port of Yokohama, which exposed the slave transport by Peruvian ships, which in turn developed into a diplomatic quagmire. After the incident, Peru adopted the principle of free immigration, but when the pioneer of the Peru emigration, Morioka Makoto and his Morioka Immigration Company tried to send the first contract migrants to Peru, the Peruvian government, remembering having recently lost face and opposed the plan, saying “ The Japan emigration program is just a kind of slave trade.”

Table 2. Entries of Mexico emigration according to Yamazaki Ship Dept.

Ship Name	Departure Date	Route	Number of Passengers
Koto maru 2	October 25, 1906	Kobe-Manzanillo-Salina Cruz	1,262
Koto maru	December 12, 1906	Kobe-Salina Cruz	998
Koto maru 2	May 18, 1907	Kobe-Salina Cruz	1,000

[Photo Caption (Steamship)] *Akebono Maru*, Toyo Steamship Service. (Ship Science Museum [Fune no Kagakukan])

⁴ For an additional source, readers might wish to consult Toraji Irie and William Himmel, “History of Japanese Migration to Peru”, *The Hispanic American Historical Review* (1951). The three-part series of articles is available on the web through <http://www.jstor.org>

⁵ The pronunciation of the Chinese characters used is literally, Kūrī in Japanese—trans.

The man with the challenging task of making the voyage a reality was Morioka's agent, Mr. Tadakichi Tanaka. Tanaka visited the site in 1898 (Meiji 31) and met with numerous sugarcane plantation owners. He concluded contracts with the owners with the following general conditions:

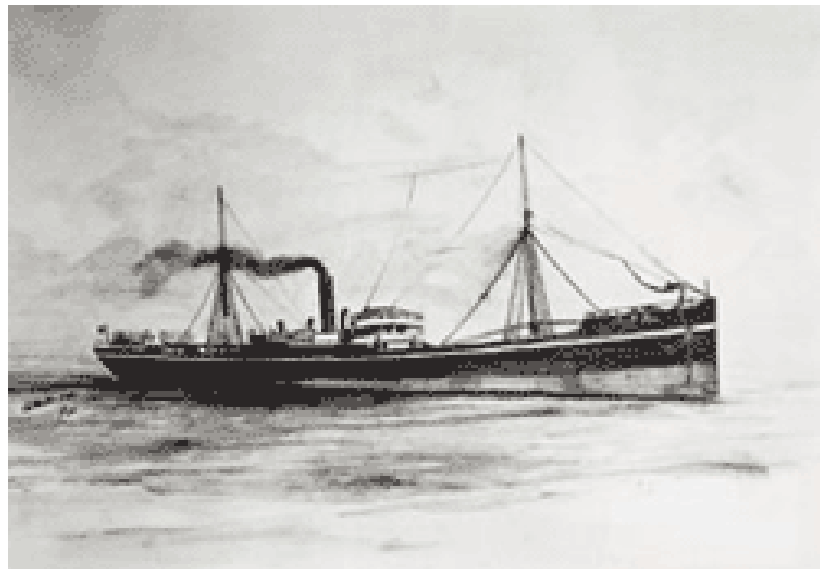
- ① Roundtrip passage to be born by the plantation owner.
- ② Contract duration to be 4 years.
- ③ Monthly wages to be the equivalent of 2 pounds, 10 shillings a person (about ¥25 in Japanese currency).
- ④ Working hours for farms to be 10 hours per day, and 12 hours per day for mills and factories.
- ⑤ Food, clothing, and shelter, as well as medical expenses, to be born by the company.

As noted in Chapter 2, during the same time period at Hawaiian sugar plantations, for a three-year contract with almost identical contract conditions of 10 hours of work per day, and roundtrip passage paid by the company, the monthly wage was US\$15 (about ¥30 in Japanese currency). So, the Peru migrant workers were paid a little less. However, compared to life in an impoverished farm town in Japan, it was probably much easier. Of all the companies, the one that employed the most Japanese was the English company called the British Sugar Company.

Overseas migration built up steam after the Sino-Japanese War and passage of the “Emigrant Protection Law.” Although Hawaii was the most convenient destination to place migrants, criticism of the Japanese was strong there, with incidents where emigrants were not allowed to land. For a government that wanted to promote emigration, and for Morioka Immigration, who wanted to send a large number of emigrants to Hawaii, circumstances dictated that they seek another frontier.

Thus on 27 February 1899 (Meiji 32) the first 790 emigrants to Peru, along with 12 emigration supervisors, departed Yokohama aboard the chartered *Sakura Maru*. According to emigration history books the sailing date was the 28th, but on a published sailing schedule it is advertised as 4pm on the 27th.

On the day after departure, the Tokyo *Asahi Shimbun* [newspaper] dated the 28th, had the following headline, “First Peru Emigrants Depart”, with a story saying roughly that “810 (sic) migrants to the South American country of Peru, organized by the Morioka Emigration Company, boarded at, and departed from, Yokohama aboard the NYK ship [Nippon Yusen Kaisha] *Sakura Maru* yesterday, the 27th at 5pm. The company, in order to send off this first contingent of emigrants, received special



permission from the Port Administration Office and fired a cannon from the docks scores of times from 2pm to 5pm. It also invited a band to play during the departure to make a festive atmosphere. Thus the emigrants left in high spirits.” (Original in old style characters)

After completing the 36-day voyage, the *Sakura Maru* arrived at Callao on May 3rd. Then, because the ground transportation at Callao was inadequate, it went around to the seven other coastal ports to let off the emigrants, returning again to Callao on May 12. The 790 people came from different prefectures in Japan: Niigata Prefecture, 372 people; Yamaguchi Prefecture, 187 people; Hiroshima Prefecture, 176 people; Okayama Prefecture, 50 people; and 5 from Tokyo. It was a dreary group composed only of men.

History and Nautical Range of the *Sakura Maru*

The *Sakura Maru*, which was used for expeditions, was a ship in the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (NYK) fleet. Originally christened as the English ship *Mogul* and purchased by the Japanese government during the Sino-Japanese War, it was relegated to postal duty after the war. At 2,953 gross tons, with one triple expansion reciprocating engine, it was built by England’s Aitkin & Mansel Company. As mentioned in Chapter 2, three years earlier this same ship had carried 316 emigrants to Hawaii, but they had not been allowed to land.

The *Sakura Maru* later met with a heroic end during the Russo-Japanese War, having sunk during the third blockade of the Port of Lushun [Port Arthur]. There were three attempts to blockade the port of Lushun, involving 21 ships. It was in the second blockade operation that the captain of the *Fuki Maru*, Takeo Hirose died in battle, but the scale of the third blockade was much larger. The *Sagami Maru*, which had been engaged in emigration to Hawaii, and the *Aikoku Maru* were also sunk in this operation.

[Photo Caption (Building/Port)] The Port of Callao in the 19th Century. A Peru emigration ship headed for this port, then ended up visiting several coastal ports to deliver passengers.

Let us turn our attention back to emigration to Peru and consider the cruising range of the *Sakura Maru*.

A newspaper ad for the *Sakura Maru* from that time, it only mentions that the ship would depart Yokohama and go to Peru. There is no mention of which ports it would call at along the way. Also, an article in the *Tokyo Hibi Shimbun* dated February 2, headlined, “Sakura Maru heads to Peru,” states that “Yesterday the ship sailed from Yokohama, headed for the Peruvian port of Callao. *Sakura Maru* acting Capt. Brett Knowlton, formerly the captain of the *Wakasa Maru*, said that after heading to Peru the ship would stop in Seattle on the return, and that the round trip will take roughly 3 months. (Original in old style characters) From this we can surmise that the ship traveled 8,600 nautical-ri directly to Callao.

How was it be possible for the *Sakura Maru* to make such a long voyage? According to the “Ship Encyclopedia” [Senmeiroku], this ship changed its designation from “Home Waters” to “Far Ocean” in this year. It probably underwent modifications for its trip to Peru.

However, the capacity of the coal bunkers on a ship of this scale, including a reserve, is at most about 600 tons. The coal consumption of a triple expansion engine running at 10 knots is around 20-25 tons per day. The *Sakura Maru* was outfitted with auxiliary sails, but even so equipped the range would be 6,000-7,000 nautical-miles. It could not have reached the west coast of South America.

Furthermore, since about 800 passengers were on board, in addition to coal and water for the boiler water it would be necessary to supply drinking water and food. When we think of it this way, common sense tells us that a direct voyage would have been impossible. There are cases of ships actually making this voyage directly, but they had their cargo holds completely filled with coal.

Nonetheless, it is a fact that 790 migrants rode on this small steamship for 36 days on the passage to the west coast of South America. The passenger quarters were likely large open rooms with bunk-beds. The living conditions were probably similar to those in in Tatsuzo Ishikawa's *Sōbō*, worse than other South America emigrant ships. How did these men endure this long voyage knowing they were beginning a life of hard labor in a distant country? Today we have no way of knowing. As we all know, the advancement of Japanese-Peruvians in Peruvian society since World War II has been remarkable—so much so that a Japanese-Peruvian became President of Peru. The basis for their success was their hearty ancestors who survived this difficult voyage.

Morioka Associates uses its own ship

The first emigration effort to Peru was a failure. Soon after arriving, the emigrants started dying one after another from the severe environment and from eating food that they could not get used to. Being away from home was probably a factor, but Peru's rich cuisine⁶ did not agree with them, and having been accustomed to the simple Japanese food, their resistance to diseases such as dysentery and malaria epidemics was low. The dead after the first half year numbered more than 120.

The way the Japanese worked, and their inefficiency despite high wages, left the employer dissatisfied. The employer tried to take care of this by altering the contract conditions, but this only caused more trouble. One after another, emigrants wanted to leave their workplaces, and there was a rush to send petitions for repatriation to the governor of the each migrant's home prefecture.

Even the Ministry of Foreign Affairs could not ignore this situation. Since there were overseas establishments in South America, an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was sent from the Japanese Consulate in Mexico to investigate and provide protection for the emigrants. The official's report at first was pessimistic, saying that they all should go back to Japan. But after that, the emigrants gradually became accustomed to the environment, mastered their work, and settled into life in Peru.

⁶ Literally, "oil and fat"—trans.

In 1903, the last year for the first emigration contract, 981 contract laborers and 196 free emigrants sailed out of Yokohama on June 11 aboard the second emigrant ship, the *Duke of Fife*. After 39 days it arrived in Callao on July 19th. As in the previous case, it was a Morioka Associates charter.

[Newspaper Article] Article in the 1899 (Meiji 32) Tokyo Hibi Shimbun [newspaper] “*Sakura Maru* Heads to Peru”.

Table 3. Passenger ships on Toyo Kisen Kaisha's (TKK) Route to the West Coast of South America. Meiji Period. Note: Made by referencing sources such as "Japan Ship Name Record" by Ministry of Communications, Ship Division. *America Maru* 3rd class (steerage) passenger capacity from a table in [Toyo Kisen Ryokujūyon nen no Ayumi] (Edited and published by Hideo Nakano, 1964)

Ship Name	Gross tons	Vertical Length x breadth (m)	Power Plant(s)	Top Speed	Passenger Capacity	Shipyard where built	Year Built	Notes
Glen Farg	3,647	109.7 x 13.4	1 x Triple Expansion	--	--	London & Glasgow	1894	Chartered from England's McGregor, Gow
KasatoKasato Maru	6,167	122.1 x 15.2	2 x Triple Expansion	13	1 st Class: 12, 3 rd : 2,056	Wigham Richardson	1900	Orig. the Russian ship <i>Kazan</i> . Converted ship from J. Naval Dept.
America Maru	6,210	128.1 x 15.1	//	18	1 st Class: 106, 2 nd : 14, 3 rd : 383	Swan & Hunter	1898	Sold to OSK 1911
Hong Kong Maru	6,064	127.6 x 14.9	//	//	//	Sir James Laing	1898 launch	Sold to OSK 1914
Manshu Maru	5,248	121.0 x 14.2	1 x Triple Expansion	--	--	Russel	1895	Orig. English ship <i>Strathgyle</i> Bought in 1904. Sold to Kishimoto Steamlines 1912
Kiyo Maru	9,287	143.3 x 17.2	//	14.2	1 st Class: 10, 2 nd : 30, 3 rd : 514	Mitsubishi Nagasaki Ship Works	1910	Converted during construction to passenger-cargo ship. Converted back to oil tanker in 1921.
Buyo Maru	5,238	118.0 x 14.9	//	11	1 st Class: 15, 3 rd : 180	Armstrong, Whitworth	1908	Bought new as oil tanker. Converted to p-c in 1910 and back to oil tanker in 1913

Out of the hard experience of the first emigration some changes were made. This time, in addition to four doctors accompanying the group, many couples were included. The ratio of emigrants that took to the new conditions improved considerably. The 981 contract laborers included 883 men and 98 women. They came from the following prefectures in Japan: Fukuoka Prefecture, 312 people; Hiroshima Prefecture, 222; Ehime Prefecture, 182 people; Kumamoto Prefecture, 155 people; Kagawa Prefecture, the remaining 110 people. Almost all were farmers from Kansai [Western Japan] and westward—traditionally a source for many emigrants since the beginning of emigration to Hawaii. Not even one person was from Niigata Prefecture, which had supplied close to half of the emigrants in previous emigration episodes.

Then, in November of 1906 (Meiji 39), the 776 people of the third group arranged by Morioka Associates arrived. Starting with this group, the contract conditions changed markedly. In addition to roundtrip passage being the responsibility of the migrant, the contract term was shortened from four years to six months—after which the person could act as a free emigrant. However, a contract period of six months was deemed too short and was later revised to one year.

The ship for this third group was Morioka Associates' *Itsukushima Maru*. This ship was formerly the English ship *The Duke of Fife*, the same ship chartered for the previous shipment of emigrants. After that voyage, Morioka Associates purchased it. It was 3,882

gross tons, had a single, triple expansion reciprocating engine, and was built by England's Swan & Hunter shipyard in 1887. The ship's homeport was Uraga.

After this, the *Itsukushima Maru* made two more voyages to Peru in 1908. Including its time as an English ship, it made four crossings and transported close to 4,000 people to Peru. After that, Morioka Associates decided that it was not necessary to own a ship, and sold it to a private ship owner in 1911 (Meiji 44). Its period of operation was short but was a unique example of an emigration company owning its own ship.

Morioka Associates, established in Tokyo in November of 1894 (Meiji 27), had increasingly close cooperation with Toyo Kisen Kaisha (TKK) line]. From the July of 1909 (Meiji 42) sailing of the *Hong Kong Maru*, emigration to Peru was conducted almost exclusively by these two companies. Similar to the relationship between the NYK line and the Kissa Emigration Company in the Meiji Period, Morioka Associates joined the same *keiretsu* as TKK and changed its name to Morioka Imin Gomei Kaisha (Morioka Emigration Limited Partnership) in the first year of Taisho (1912). Then in November of 1918 (Taisho 7), it reorganized as Morioka Emin Gomei Kaisha (Morioka Emigration Corporation) with a direct investment by TKK.

Another ship used during the early period of emigration to Peru was the *Caravellas*, which left Yokohama carrying 664 people in September of 1908. This voyage was arranged by Tokyo's Meiji Colonization Company [Meiji Shokumin]. The passengers were rubber plantation workers under contract to the Inca Rubber Company [Inka Gomu Gaisha]. Including this voyage, Meiji Colonization sent three groups of Japanese to the rubber plantation. The *Caravellas* was chartered from the French Compagnie des Chargeurs Réunis. Built in 1893 by Chantiers de la Loire, it was 3,232 gross tons and had a triple expansion reciprocating engine.

TKK's Regular Route to South America's West Coast

While there were numerous unscheduled voyages such as those described above, after the Russo-Japanese War, TKK established a regular route (three times/year) to the west coast of South America in December of 1905 (Meiji 38). TKK chartered the English ship *Glen Ffarg* for this service. The ports of call were Hong Kong, Moji, Kobe, Yokohama, Honolulu, Callao, and Iquique.

The motive for undertaking this operation is told by Mr. Soichiro Asano. He clarifies that the trip over was for Peru emigration and the aim of the trip back was to transport Chilean saltpeter (used in fertilizer).

“The purpose is to facilitate and increase trade between the various South American Nations and the Empire [Japan] and act as an emigrant ship to transport emigrants to those same lands. Our company for many years has believed it is necessary for our country to establish a regular route to South America. We have sent an employee to these lands to do a survey for three years prior and three years after the opening of the service.”

(Middle omitted)

“In mid-December of Meiji 38, we chartered the English vessel *Glenfarg*. Starting from Hong Kong, it will call on the Empire’s largest trading ports, Kobe and Yokohama. Then it will cross the Pacific Ocean directly to the port of Callao in Peru, South America. It will continue south to it’s last stop, the nitrate producing region of Iquique in Chile.”

[Photo Caption (ship)] TKK’s *Kiyo Maru* that was put into service on the South America west coast route.

However, as is clear from Table 1, the demand for emigration to Peru was insufficient to support a regular service. Accordingly, it was felt by the people involved that it would be difficult to provide service without a government subsidy. The government, on the other hand, felt that there was no reason to provide assistance to a route for which no national consensus had been reached. In the end, they established the route without any subsidy and arranged one chartered ship as a test.

Even if there was no demand for transporting Japanese, there was another goal—to transport Chinese emigrants to Peru. At that time, a Chinese company called Lichi Transport Company affected the transport of emigrants between Hong Kong and Callao using chartered ships. It is said that 600-900 people boarded each voyage. TKK made Hong Kong the starting point of its route because they were counting on this business. When they actually started this operation they did not use a Japanese ship. According to one theory, it was because there was a movement to boycott Japanese ships.

Mr. Ryū [or Tatsu] Mizuno, who three years later sent out the first emigration ship to Brazil, was aboard the first voyage of the *Glenfarg*, and years later said the following:

“At that time, even though you could say there was a direct tie between Japan and the west coast of South America, it wasn’t like we had any cargo or passengers to speak of. The *Glenfarg* had only some general merchandise and a few passengers, and rode high on the water.”

As Asano indicated, TKK dispatched its Director, Mr. Genjiro Shiraishi, to conduct an advance survey for establishing the route to the west coast of South America. However, the investigation was not very accurate and was not useful as a guide to doing business. Even when they started the trans-Pacific route, Asano neglected to consider the fact that expulsions of Japanese from North America were on the rise. As is common with one-man [autocratic] companies, TKK lacked the ability to effectively organize and collect information and to plan.

Regarding the reason for establishing this route, The Course of Toyo Kisen '64 [Toyo Kisen Ryoku-jū-yon-nen no Ayumi] (Edited and published by Hideo Nakano, 1964) says that to place the order for the large passenger vessel, *Tenyo Maru* (13,454 gross tons, completed in 1908), it was necessary to find a buyer for the older ship, *Nippon Maru*, so plans for a second regular route surfaced.

Table 4 lists emigrations to Peru in the Meiji Period after the *Sakura Maru*. However, the first ship on the list to act as a regularly scheduled transport to the west coast of South America is number 4, the *Kasato Maru*. The *Kasato Maru* was a government-chartered ship that was employed in this route along with the *Glen Farg* in August of 1906. On its first voyage, this ship transported 646 emigrants to Honolulu, one of its intermediate ports of call.

From this year [1906], in order to solve the problem [of lack of emigrants], they stopped at Manzanillo and Salina Cruz, Mexico as needed. Arriving in October of this year, the *Glen Farg* transported 524 emigrants. In June of 1907, the *Manshu Maru* transported 1,300 emigrants, and in November the *Kasato Kasato Maru* transported 294 emigrants. In addition, after the appearance of the *Tenyo Maru*, the *America Maru* and the *Hong Kong Maru* were shifted from the North America route. Further, the converted passenger ships *Kiyo Maru* and the *Buyo Maru* were successively added. Service frequency was about one ship every two months. Table 3 shows the details of these ships.

At the beginning of 1908 sailings were briefly suspended due to the problems with the applications for assistance [subsidies] and the sharp decrease in Mexico emigration. The famous first voyage to Brazil by the *Kasato Kasato Maru* took place during this hiatus. In April of 1909 this route was revived as a nationally subsidized route by the “Voyage Encouragement Act” (After 1910 assistance was provided by the “Trans-Ocean Route Assistance Act”). The first ship to sail upon the reopening of the route was the *America Maru* from Hong Kong on April 14. Around the same time, the Lichi Transport Company suspended their route to Peru, and gradually Chinese passengers started using TKK’s ships.

Among the above ships, the *Kiyo Maru* and the *Buyo Maru* were unique passenger-cargo ships of a modified oil-tanker design. The *Kiyo Maru* was a new ship constructed in Japan, while the *Buyo Maru* was a ship purchased from England. Both were procured for the purpose of importing crude oil from the United States, but factors such as the crude oil customs duty hike that took effect in January of 1909 became an obstacle and the ships were not put in operation. Even in this project, which was the brainchild of Asano, we can see that the company was weak in terms of planning and foresight.

Table 4. Peru Emigration ships and passenger counts (1899-1912)

Voyage	Arrival at Callao (Year/Month)	Ship Name	Emigration Company	Passenger Count
1	1899 (Meiji 32). 4	<i>SakuraSakura Maru</i>	Morioka Shin	790
2	1903 (// 36). 7	<i>Duke of Fife</i>	//	1,177
3	1906 (// 39). 11	<i>Itsukushima Maru</i>	//	776
4	1907 (// 40). 2	<i>KasatoKasato Maru</i>	Morioka Shin/Meiji Shokumin	453
5	1908 (// 41).5	<i>Itsukushima Maru</i>	Morioka Shin	887
6	// . 11	<i>Carravellas</i>	Meiji Shokumin	664
7	// .12	<i>Itsukushima Maru</i>	Morioka Shin/Meiji Shokumin	941
8	1909 (// 42). 7	<i>Hong Kong Maru</i>	Morioka Shin	551
9	// . 9	<i>Manshu Maru</i>	//	56
10	// . 10	<i>America Maru</i>	//	55
11	// . 12	<i>Hong Kong Maru</i>	//	52
12	1910 (// 43). 2	<i>Manshu Maru</i>	//	121
13	// . 4	<i>Kiyo Maru</i>	//	119
14	// . 6	<i>Buyo Maru</i>	Morioka Shin/Toyo Imin	26
15	// . 8	<i>Hong Kong Maru</i>	//	124
16	// . 10	<i>Kiyo Maru</i>	Toyo Imin	28
17	// . 12	<i>Buyo Maru</i>	Morioka Shin	58
18	1911 (// 44). 4	<i>Kiyo Maru</i>	//	48
19	// . 10	//	//	97
20	// . 12	<i>Buyo Maru</i>	Toyo Imin	69
21	1912 (// 45). 7	<i>Hong Kong</i>	Morioka Shin/Toyo Imin	245
22	// . 4	<i>Kiyo Maru</i>	Morioka Shin	20

Note: Made by referencing sources such as “Japanese Peru Migration Record” [Nihonjin Perū Ijū Kiroku] (Published by Shadan Hojin Raten-Amerika Kyokai, 1969)