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## Maritime Trade and the World Picture: Exploring Shiga Shigetaka's Map of Global Trade\*

LEE Chin Ying\*\*

### Abstract

Shiga Shigetaka (志賀重昂, 1863–1927) was a Japanese geographer of the mid Meiji period, one of the Southern Expedition theorists, a conservative, and a Classical Chinese poet. At that time, he was one of the very few scholars who had knowledge of geography, Classical Chinese poetry as well as cultural arts, and had many experiences in Europe, Asia, the United States, and Oceania.

Through his own geographical knowledge and foreign experience, Shiga constructed a world map with global trade as the main constituent. Here are some examples: Japanese-made round paper fans (uchiwa, 団扇) and parasols can be sold to Australia; New Zealand wool can be sold to Japan; the opposite seasons in the southern hemisphere and in the northern hemisphere can alleviate the inventory cost and manufacturing schedule pressure of seasonal goods, etc. Indeed, it should not be overlooked that as a Japanese intellectual who saw the result of the restoration, Shiga naturally conceived a trade map with Japan as the starting point and Japan's national interests as the core of his theory.

What this article tries to discuss is whether in the competition between different regions, which is now an unavoidable wave of globalization, it is possible for us to provide a different path for contemporaries to think through Shiga Shigetaka's observation of maritime trade and global issues.

*Keywords: Shiga Shigetaka, Maritime Trade, Heterogeneous Civilization, Globalization, Southern Expansion Doctrine*

### 1. Preface

Since Japan brought the national isolation (鎖国) to an end in 1854, it has opened the eyes of the Japanese people to various new knowledge of the West, and also opened up the Japanese people's admiration for Western civilization. At the same time, with the opening of international ferry routes, the number of Japanese who have gone overseas—especially to Europe, the center of Western civilization—has also increased rapidly, which was a hot spot for the purpose of ferry. With this trend of sailing abroad at that time, travel literature and cultural theory that recorded overseas experiences also came into being. Among them were many well-known literati and intellectuals such as the *Saikōki* (西航記) by the enlightenment thinker Fukuzawa Yukichi (福沢諭吉, 1835–1901), the *Kosai Nichijō* (航西日乗) by the classical Chinese poet Narushima Ryūhoku (成島柳北, 1837–1884), the *Kōsai Nikki* (航西日記) by the literary scholar Mori Ōgai (森鷗外, 1862–1922), the *Fūdo* (風土) by the philosopher Watsuji

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Tetsuro (和辻哲郎, 1889–1960), and so on. This article aims to discuss Shiga Shigetaka, who is buried among the foregoing well-known literati and intellectuals. Shiga Shigetaka was also a well-known scholar and intellectual, although in this trend of new knowledge about overseas and publication, his cultural observation and literary expression methods were inferior to those names mentioned above, such as Watsuji Tetsuro and Narushima Ryūhoku, and as a result, his importance was also diminished. However, if we were to re-examine Shiga Shigetaka from the perspective of global trade these days, I believe that Shiga can be said to have a contemporary global perspective.

## 2. The multiplicity of Shiga Shige's thoughts

Shiga Shigetaka was a geographer of the mid Meiji period in Japan, one of the most original commentators of the Nanshin-ron (南進論, Southern Expansion Doctrine), a conservative, a classical Chinese poet, an educator, a politician, and a member of the House of Representatives of Japan. He has also set himself as a naturalist. At that time, Shiga was one of the very few scholars who had both knowledge of modern Western geography and Classical Chinese poetry. He had many experiences in Europe, East Asia, the United States and Oceania, and was involved in political circles during the same period. Even in modern times, such scholars who were familiar with Eastern and Western knowledge and who were able to cope with science and literature are still relatively rare. Therefore, I would like to research on the life of Shiga Shigetaka and his derived thoughts.

Shiga Shigetaka was born in 1863, Bunkū (文久) 3. In that year, the famous historical event of the Edo shogunate in Japan: “return of political power to the emperor (大政奉還, daisei hōkan).” The shogunate government had controlled the government of the country for many years, and finally had to implement changes in response to domestic backlash and return the power to the emperor under the pressure of modernization and the invasion of Western civilization. The year that marked the beginning of Japan's modernization was 1868, Meiji (明治) 1. This shows that Shiga Shigetaka's education as a teenager coincided with the transition of the old and new Japanese civilizations.

His father, Shiga Shigetane (志賀重職), was recommended by the clan to study at the official school “Shōhei Kō (昌平黌),” which worked under the Edo shogunate, and after completing his studies, he also held a high position in his Okazaki Domain (岡崎藩). Okazaki Domain's deep relationship to the shogunate's original shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu (徳川家康), shows that the Shiga family was loyal to the Tokugawa shogunate and was a conservative.

Shiga Shigetane died abruptly in 1868, Meiji 1 when his eldest son, Shiga Shigetaka, was 5 years old, and according to the laws of the clan, the heir was less than 15 years old; therefore, he did not have the right to inheritance. As a result, the Shiga family property was confiscated by the clan and the family became poor overnight.<sup>1</sup> In other words, this year did not only make great changes in Japanese history but was also a year of major changes in Shiga's life.

Thanks to the support of several of his fathers' students, Shiga Shigetaka was able to complete

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1 At the end of the Edo period, the shogunate had been weakened, and the noble class such as the samurai had also declined; therefore, at that time, the Okazaki Domain adopted a policy of downsizing. See: Takabayashi Hirotake (高林公毅), *Private Edition of Shiga Shiga's Biography* (私版志賀重昂伝), (Tokyo: Takabayashi Hirotake Publishing Committee, 2001), p.3.

his studies. Later, in July of 1884, Meiji 17, he graduated from the Sapporo Agricultural College (札幌農学校). In September of the same year, he went to Nagano Junior High School (長野中学校) as a teacher, although he resigned from his teaching post and went to Tokyo in September of the following year.<sup>2</sup> Through an acquaintance of his father's, Oyaidu Kaname (小柳津要人, 1844-1922), Shiga began to work as an English proofreader, and during this time, he read Darwin's *Voyage of the Beagle* and established his ambition to become the "Darwin of Japan." Subsequently, he obtained permission through recommendation by friends and various other reasons<sup>3</sup> to board the naval warship Tsukuba (筑波号) and sail to the South Pacific in 1886, Meiji 19. After returning to Japan, Shiga published new knowledge about the South Pacific (南洋, Nanyō) as *Nanyō Jiji* (南洋時事).

After returning from Nanyō, in 1890, Meiji 23, Shiga returned to Atomi Girls' School (跡見女学校)<sup>4</sup> and served as a middle school geography teacher. In 1894, Meiji 27, he joined the political group "Ichidai Kokumin Sengen (一大国民戦線)" and became one of the leading figures. Since then, Shiga became involved in the political circle, and in the same year, he published *Nihon Fūkeiron* (日本風景論), which was his best-selling book. In August 1902, Meiji 35, Shiga was elected to the House of Representatives on behalf of the "Rikken Seiyukai (立憲政友会)." However, in March of 1904, Meiji 37, he went to Lushun (旅順) to conduct an on-the-spot investigation on the Russo-Japanese War (February 8, 1904–September 5, 1905). The content of the investigation was published as *Ōyakushōshi* (大役小志). In 1923, Taishō (大正) 12, Shiga carried out his third round-the-world trip for study plan due to the shortage of oil and energy in Japan and the tension between the United States and Japan, and published the content of the study as *Shirarezaru Kuniguni* (知られざる国々). Unfortunately, Shiga passed away in April 1927, Shōwa 2.

His life was intertwined with the background of Japan's old and new civilizations, and the life experience from prosperity through poverty to glory, which may explain why Shiga formed such diverse identities and thoughts. Since Shiga was not a philosopher, he did not develop a consistent ideological system. Therefore, the diversity of his thoughts was contradictory, and such diversity will be further analyzed later.

### 3. Publication of *Nanyō Jiji*

On February 9, 1886, Meiji 19, Shiga started from Shinagawa (品川), passed through Kusaie Island (the easternmost tip of the Caroline Islands), Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Samoa, Hawaii, and finally he returned to Shinagawa on November 21 of the same year. This journey lasted for more than nine months.

<sup>2</sup> The reason Shiga resigned from the teaching position in such a short period was not because of his determination to voyage and engage in geographical research from the beginning, but because of a conflict with Kinashi Seiichiro (木梨精一郎, 1845–1910), the governor of Nagano Prefecture (長野縣知事). See Ogihara Takashi (荻原隆), *How is conservatism possible in Japan: Using Shiga Shigeaki as an example* (日本における保守主義はいかにして可能か—志賀重昂を例に—), (Kyoto: Koyo Shobo, 2016), p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> How Shiga—as a private citizen—was able to get the opportunity to board the warship has almost become a mystery in later related research about him. It is generally believed that he was able to board the ship in the name of research and investigation through the contacts of many superiors, and his background in geography and natural history. For the study on Shiga's personal connections, please refer to Kamei Hideo (亀井秀雄), "Research on *Nanyō Jiji* (『南洋時事』研究)," included in *The Hundred- and Twenty-Five-Year History of Hokudai (Thesis and Documentation)* (北大百二十五年史 [論文, 資料編]) (Hokkaido: Hokkaido University, 2003), pp. 56–57.

<sup>4</sup> Atomi Girls' School, located in Tokyo, was formerly known as Atomi College established in 1875, and now Atomi Junior and High School, and has a women's university department and research institute.

Along the way, he continued to combine his knowledge into an article draft. First of all, during his stay in Sydney, Shiga published in English “The Japan of Today: The Land of The Mikado,” which was serialized in the local Sydney newspaper *The Sydney of Echo*, introducing the current situation in Japan after the Meiji Restoration to the Western world<sup>5</sup>. After returning to Japan, he collected the experiences and observations of his trip to Nanyō in a series of articles, “Records of Nanyō Cruises (南洋巡航紀聞, Nanyō Junkō Kibun),” and published them in *The Jiji Shimpo* (時事新報)<sup>6</sup> in several consecutive days, starting from December 8. At the end of the nineteenth century, there were not many people who had chances to go abroad, let alone crossing over to another hemisphere. Coupled with Shiga’s intellectual background, the exotic scenery of the ocean during the trip was not only vivid but also a keen cultural observation. For same travel essays, Shiga even wrote Classical Chinese poetry at the end of them, forming a conflicting style of describing new knowledge in old-style poetry. Two are listed below:

流落天涯歲月過，悠悠行路奈蹉跎。濠蘭夜雨蓬窓底，幾片暗愁添得多。<sup>7</sup>

(Living at the end of the world, the years have passed, and the long journey is a waste of time.  
The night rain of Kōran falls at the bottom of windows, a few patches of sadness broaden.)

橫槊好觀舷頭月，他年豫期照我屍。壯句吟破南極雲，蛟龍舞兮鯨鰐起。  
倏忽天明海聲號，地平線上旭日高。艤艦方過赤道圈，長風拂面氣何豪。  
忽傳今日日之暮，海王降臨親賜餽。提督侑酒校尉醉，馮夷擊鼓天吳舞。  
飲酒取醉膽益雄，無端駛走南球中。須臾羅針變方位，滿帆孕得貿易風。  
去國五千三百里，漸覺大陸可攬指。忽爾天邊一髮青，謂是南球濠太利。  
登陸輝得國之光，天半仰見旭日章。碧眼紫髯齊喝采，相道日本冠東洋。  
君不見國旗性命無窮極，日本人誇日本國。<sup>8</sup>

(I put down the lance to see the moon on the prow, and the moon will shine my corpse someday.  
Brave sentences break the Antarctic cloud, dragons dance and whales jump.

Suddenly, the sound of the sea echoes, and the rising sun is high on the horizon. The ship crosses the equatorial circle, and the long wind blows my face and makes my breath strong.

Suddenly, it says that at the end of the day, the King of the Sea will come to trade a dine. The admiral persuades to drink and the lieutenant is drunk, and The God of the Yellow river beats the drum and the God of water dances.

Drinking alcohol to get drunk and fearless, drive away in the Antipodes for no reason. It only takes

<sup>5</sup> For the repercussions of Shiga’s article in Sydney, see Kamei Hideo, “Research on *Nanyō Jiji*”, pp. 58–61.

<sup>6</sup> *The Jiji Shimpo* was founded by Fukuzawa Yukichi in 1882, Meiji 15. Considering that the founder of the publication, Yukichi Fukuzawa, put forward the idea of “leaving Asia and entering Europe (脱亞入歐, datua nyūō),” and the fact that the *Jiji Shimpo* used comics and recipes as the content of the newspaper at that time, it was an epoch-making newspaper. For the development history of the *Jiji Shimpo*, refer to Tokura Takeyuki (都倉武之), “The *Jiji Shimpo* History” (Volume 1: *The Jiji Shimpo Founding*, (Tokyo: Keio University Press), this journal only publishes the online version, see: <https://www.keio-up.co.jp/kup/webonly/ko/jijisinpou/1.html>.

<sup>7</sup> *Nanyō Jiji*, Ch. 1, “Topography of Kusaie Island (クサイ島ノ地勢),” included in *The Complete Works of Shiga Shigetaka*, (Tokyo: Shiga Shigetaka Complete Works, 1929), vol. 3, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Nanyō Jiji*, Ch. 3, “Nanyō Is Eventful (南洋ハ多事ナリ),” included in *The Complete Works of Shiga Shigetaka*, vol. 3, p. 20.

a moment to change the direction of the needle, and the filled sails are holding with a trade wind.

Going out to the country for thousands of miles, I gradually felt that my fingers could hold the mainland. Suddenly, the sky turned blue, and it was called Kōtairi from the Antipodes.

I land and the light of my country shines, and look over to see the medallion of the rising sun in the sky. People with blue eyes and purple beards applaud, saying that Japan is crowned with the East.

Do you not see that the national flag has infinite life, and the Japanese praise Japan.)

The new era and new terms such as “Kōran (濠蘭, Kōran),”<sup>9</sup> “Antarctic (南極, nankyoku),” “Antipodes (南球, nankyū),” and “Kōtairi (濠太利, Kōtairi)”<sup>10</sup> were incorporated into classical verses. Originally, this conflicting style of describing new things in old-style poetry was not uncommon, but rather a common characteristic of the literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>11</sup> However, Shiga’s Classical Chinese poetries were more special in that the vocabulary and the location of the poetries were not only new things and new terms for Japanese people but also a completely unfamiliar cultural world and geographical space. Such articles that blended the old and the new with had the function of introducing new knowledge were, of course, extremely popular then, and the written records of such foreign routes incorporated new things and new terms into the traditional Japanese style. That meant the localization of captains and crews, the university faculty, and the appearance of the world, three of them are the existence of the trinity.<sup>12</sup>

Conversely, based on the interests of Japan, Shiga strongly appealed to Japanese companies and people to invest in the Nanyō market. This kind of generous national sentiment had also infected many intellectuals such as the president of Maruzen Publishing, Oyaidu Kaname. As a result, Shiga’s “Records of Nanyō Cruises” series of articles, together with several unpublished exotic chronicles and world trade analysis, were compiled and published in 1887, Meiji 20. the year after Shiga returned to the country, and this became Shiga’s most famous representative work, *Nanyō Jiji*.

*Nanyō Jiji* received a great response immediately after its publication. The first edition was sold out in only half a year and then it was republished in October, Meiji 20. There were many positive book reviews at that time, showing the repercussions on intellectuals of *Nanyō Jiji*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Shiga noted that Kōran (濠蘭) is now Kusaie Island. Shiga arrived on the island on February 26, 1886. It was raining that night; therefore, he wrote this poetry.

<sup>10</sup> “濠太利” is now Australia.

<sup>11</sup> Please refer to Zheng Yayin (鄭雅尹), “Encountering Meiji Japan: Yu Mantuo’s Literary Writing of “Tokyo Zhuzhici” and his experience in Japan (遭遇明治日本：郁曼陀〈東京竹枝詞〉的文學書寫及其日本體驗).” *Modern Chinese Literature* (中國現代文學), No. 31 (June 2017), pp. 135–160. Zheng pointed out that intellectuals in the late Qing Dynasty and the Meiji period used Zhuzhici (Zhuzhici is a style of Classical Chinese poetry) of traditional poetry as a carrier to describe the experience of different cultures.

<sup>12</sup> Hashimoto Yorimitsu (橋本順光), “The Literature of European Airways (欧州航路の文学),” edited by Hashimoto Yorimitsu and Suzuki Sadahiro (鈴木禎宏), *A Cultural Documentary on European Shipping Routes: Deciphering Ports of Call* (欧州航路の文化誌—寄港地を読み解く—), (Tokyo: Seikyusha, 2017), p. 45.

<sup>13</sup> During Shiga’s time, there were many positive comments on *Nanyō Jiji*, such as *Hoichi Shimbun* (報知新聞), *Mainichi Shimbun* (毎日新聞), *Kokumin No Tomo* (国民之友), and other newspapers, including the famous Japanese historian Tokutomi Sohō (徳富蘇峰, 1863–1957) who also gave credit. See Kamei Hideo, “Research on *Nanyō Jiji*,” pp. 63–69.

## 4. Trade Concepts

One of Shiga's key points in *Nanyō Jiji* was the trade interests of Southeast Asia. Firstly, this paper would like to clarify the difference between the “Nanyō” here and the “Nanyō” used in modern times. During Shiga's era, the so-called “Southern Oceans” were divided into “Inner Nanyō (内南洋)” and “Outer Nanyō (外南洋).” “Inner Nanyō” means the core area of the South Pacific, referring to the South Pacific, as well as Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, and other Pacific islands. “Outer Nanyō” refers to the outer areas of the ocean and the coast of Southeast Asia, like Indonesia, Malaysia, and Vietnam etc.<sup>14</sup> After the First World War I, the Nanyō Islands were ruled by Japan<sup>15</sup>, and “Nanyō” in Japanese became a frequently used geographical term. This was the most prosperous period before the Second World War. The semantics of “Nanyō” is also currently known as Southeast Asia; however, after World War II, the Japanese term “Nanyō” was no longer used, and it was directly referred to as Southeast Asia (東南アジア).<sup>16</sup>

Shiga, who had a high degree of sensitivity to civilization and economy, said that the most important significance of publishing *Nanyō Jiji* was to arouse Japan's attention to the economic value of the Nanyō Route:

本年ハ濠洲アデレイド府二英國大博覧會アリ、日本布哇ノ間ニ直接ノ汽船航路ヲ敷クノ計畫アリ、布哇政府ハ第四回日本移住民ヲ募集スルノ企圖アリ、且最近ノ報告ニ據レバ太平洋電線架設ノ議案モ亦可決シ、又パナマ運河ノ工事モ漸ク成ラントス、加之日耳曼領ニューギニー島ニテハ最良ノ黄金脈ヲ発見シタト云ヘリ。蓋シ南洋經濟ノ局面ハ這般ノ為ニ豹變セン、我日本太平洋中ニ兀立シ、近ク濠洲ニ面シテ陽ニ南洋諸島ヲ控ユ、故ニ南洋ノ近時ノ如キハ我國人ガ一日モ注意ヲ忽カセニス可カラザルモノアリ、紀行ノ如キハコレヲ他日ニ譲ルモ可ナリ。<sup>17</sup>

(There will be an international exhibition in Adelaide, Australia this year [1887, Meiji 20], and a direct steamer route between Japan and Buwa [now Hawaii] is being planned. The Hawaiian government has a fourth round of planning to recruit Japanese immigrants, and according to recent reports, they have also passed the proposal for the erection of the Pacific Wire. The construction of the Panama Canal was gradually completed, and gold veins were discovered in New Guinea. The economic situation in Southeast Asia will undergo such a drastic change. Japan stands in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, also close to Australia, and controls the islands of the South Pacific. Therefore, the recent situation in Southeast Asia should not be neglected by our people these days, and writings such as “Journey to the World [紀行]” are for this purpose.)

<sup>14</sup> See Noro Tōru (矢野暢), *The Genealogy of 'Nanshin-ron': Japan's Historical View of Nanyō* (‘南進’の系譜: 日本の南洋史観), (Tokyo: Chikura Shobo, 2009).

<sup>15</sup> From the fall of 1914 to the summer of 1944, Japan effectively controlled the Micronesian Islands formerly occupied by Germany, which were called Nanyō Islands in Japan. See Tomatsu Haruo (等松春夫), *The Empire of Japan and the Mandate* (日本帝國と委任統治), (Nagoya: Nagoya University Press, 2011), pp. 1 and 47-76.

<sup>16</sup> See Hong Sejun (洪瑟君), *The Multiplicity of Japan Modern Nanyō Literature: From the Perspective of Travelers, Recruited Writers, Vagrants, and Women* (日本近代の南洋文學における多様性—旅人・徴用作家・浮浪者・女性の視点から—), (New Taipei: Shangang Culture, 2019), pp. 1-2, which discusses the change of the word ‘Nanyō’.

<sup>17</sup> *Nanyō Jiji*, Ch. 3, “Autograph in First Edition (初版自序),” included in *The Complete Works of Shiga Shigetaka*, vol. 3, p. 1.

Shiga was eager to appeal to the Japanese private sector and business community to invest in Southeast Asia, as Western forces have gradually established their presence in the Nanyō Route. He observed: Japanese-made fans and umbrellas can be sold to Australia; New Zealand wool can be sold to Japan; the opposite seasons in the southern hemisphere and in the northern hemisphere can alleviate the inventory cost and manufacturing schedule pressure of seasonal goods. At the same time, the population and total trade volume between Australia and New Zealand had been increasing yearly,<sup>18</sup> and in Shiga's view, Nanyō would be an excellent trading partner for Japan.

Shiga's trade concept was not only based on his own trade acumen but also involved the holistic view of Japan's history.

Japan lacks natural resources and is an island country surrounded by seas, and for a long time, Japanese had always felt a sense of scarcity. They wanted to be connected to the mainland in order to eliminate this sense of scarcity and isolation. In fact, the attempt to develop the "Hokushin-ron (北進論, Northern Expansion Doctrine)" several centuries ago in Japanese history was to connect with the continent for natural resources, and the most convenient and fastest way was through the Korean Peninsula, especially because Japan's Tsushima Island (対馬島) is only about 50 kilometers away from the Korean Peninsula. The earliest example of action of the Hokushin-ron was Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉, 1537–1598) in the Azuchi–Momoyama period (安土桃山時代). When Toyotomi wanted to expand his territory to the Asian continent<sup>19</sup>, he chose to land at Pusan on the Korean Peninsula.<sup>20</sup> However, in the nineteenth century, with the leap forward in navigation technology, the emergence of steam ships replaced the previous sailing transportation, which significantly improved the safety of navigation and shortened the transportation time. Additionally, transportation volume doubled,<sup>21</sup> while transportation cost was reduced by half. The sea routes also became a treasure with higher development value than the land routes. At the same time, colonialism flourished, and the sea route became an important bridge linking "colonies and colonial masters," "trade export and trade import" as well as "raw material export and raw material import." If "ocean" became a key word in the nineteenth century, for Japan, it meant that Nanshin-ron would replace the previous Hokushin-ron, and by the end of the nineteenth century, "Nanshin" and "the ocean" represented the destination for the rich natural resources and trade exports of the southern islands. That was the background of Shiga's Nanshin-ron. Shiga had a surprising craze for the ocean. First, because steam ships can carry much more goods than trains. Second, there are natural obstruction such as mountains and deserts on land routes; meanwhile, although there are natural obstacles such as trenches and turbulent currents on the seabed, through the "sea" as a carrier, human

<sup>18</sup> According to Shiga, between 1876 and 1886, the population of New Zealand and the rest of Australia grew by between 4–61%. The fundamentals of export and import trade quotas also had been growing gradually, indicating that trade was booming. *Nanyō Jiji*, Ch. 4, "Good Countries in the South (南方ノ好鄰国)," included in *The Complete Works of Shiga Shigetaka*, vol. 3, p. 21 and 23.

<sup>19</sup> The battle of Bunroku (文禄の役, 1592) and the Battle of Keicho (慶長の役, 1597) were collectively referred to as the Bunroku-Keicho War. This is called in Japanese.

<sup>20</sup> For example, the *Jingbirok* (The Book of Corrections, 징비록, 懲愆錄) written by Ryu Seong-ryong (류성룡, 柳成龍, 1542–1607), a high-ranking official in the Joseon Dynasty, was an important historical material of the Imjin Japanese Rebellion. Below is what He recorded. "On April 13th, Japanese army attacked from Pusan. (四月十三日, 倭兵來犯, 陷釜山浦)". Ryu Seong-ryong, *Jingbirok*, (Shanghai: Shanghai Jiaotong University Press, 2019), p. 26.

<sup>21</sup> Compared to sailboats, the number of days required to sail a steamship is reduced by nearly 50%. See Seija Riitta Laakso, *Across the Oceans: Development of Overseas Business Information Transmission, 1815–1875*, (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007).



beings can be unimpeded. Third, land routes such as railways and highways require huge consumption and manpower construction, while sea routes are feasible as long as there is sea water.<sup>22</sup> There were many shipwrecks and seasickness in the history of human navigation in the time of Shiga. If we consider that, Shiga's optimism and enthusiasm might be a little naive. However, to be fair, the essay about Shiga was written just after the Russo-Japanese War. It was reasonable that he showed optimism.

Due to his sensitivity to the development of current affairs, Shiga further proposed the concept "Pacific Age" of his own. In his thoughts, the vast Pacific Ocean connects the West, which represents the progress of civilization, with the East facing cultural aggression; it connects the economically prosperous North and the resource-rich South. Thus, the Pacific Ocean would be regarded as the core of global trade.

Shiga argued for his "Pacific Age" in many aspects, the first being the historical aspect. Shiga divided the development of human civilization into four major periods:<sup>23</sup>

The first period was the River era (江河時代). Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, India, and China: these five civilizations were all the civilizations that arose because of the great river.

The second period was the Continental Sea era (内海時代). The development of navigation technology and the rise of inland sea civilization. The prosperity of Constantinople and Venice was due to the Mediterranean route.

The third period was the Atlantic era (大西洋時代). The Atlantic Ocean, which connects Europe and North America, had become the world's transportation center. That was the reason the two major cities of London and New York have become more and more prosperous.

The fourth period was the Pacific era (太平洋時代). The new global era started by the rise of the United States, and coupled with the founding of Japan, Samoa, Hawaii, and the Philippines as military and strategic locations, significantly increased the importance of the East.

Shiga's historical classification showed that its view of civilization and history was based on the ocean. Therefore, it can be said that Shiga's view of history is based on the history of trade. Conversely, based on his four-period division method, this paper finds that each regional civilization entered the next stage, and the linkage increased. In the River era of the first period, different civilizations developed independently; in the Continental Sea era of the second period, trade exchanged between regions began; in the Atlantic age of the third period, the navigation technology was more prosperous, and Western forces began to infiltrate other regions; the fourth period could actually be seen as the prototype of globalization in these days.

However, in the classification of the four periods, the role of trade via the mainland was completely absent, and it was obvious that Shiga completely disregard the long-time and profound influence of land trade in the history of human civilization.<sup>24</sup> Trade via the mainland was not included in Shiga's thinking.

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<sup>22</sup> "Ocean Seas and Humanities: (2) Oceans and Humanities (洋海と人文: (二) 海と人文)," included in *The Complete Works of Shiga Shigetaka*, Volume 2, p. 307.

<sup>23</sup> "The Pacific Era (太平洋時代)," included in *The Complete Works of Shiga Shigetaka*, Volume 1, pp. 298–301.

<sup>24</sup> For example, the influence of the Silk Road in the history of religions, civilizations, trade and other civilizations was far more profound than any sea route. See Peter Frankopan, *The Silk Roads: A New History of the World*, (London: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC, 2015).

This was either deliberately ignored or omitted by Shiga, which might simply explain his consideration on “ocean” as well as the national characteristics of Japan. Shiga’s global trade concept was based on his enthusiasm over the “ocean.”

The next step in the “Pacific Age”<sup>25</sup> argument was concrete trade data.

Shiga listed merchant shipping companies in various countries—including their ship sizes and routes—to emphasize his concept of the “Pacific Age.” Anglo-American merchant shipping companies cross the Pacific Ocean and travel between their home country and Japanese ports such as Hong Kong and Yokohama. The other route was to enter East Asia via the Suez Canal, between the European and East Asian cities such as Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Yokohama. This route was dominated by European merchant shipping companies, and importantly, the rise and fall of Pacific Ocean power was equal to the rise and fall of commercial power. The expansion of commercial power involved the expansion of sea power and the expansion of political power. Therefore, there was a high degree of competition between countries.

Shiga was neither the first nor the original proponent of the view that the Pacific Ocean was the world’s sea power and the fortress of trade. As early as the 1850s, the importance of the Pacific Ocean had entered the vision of national strategic planning of various countries.<sup>26</sup> In fact, Shiga’s emphasis on the Pacific Ocean could also be said to be inspired by the United States.<sup>27</sup>

The last step in the argumentation of the “Pacific Age” was also the core of Shiga’s knowledge of geography.

As the largest ocean in the world, the Pacific Ocean connects two continents and is rich in natural resources that have their own importance. In Shiga’s “Pacific Age” published in 1922, he regarded Japan, Australia, the United States, and Canada as the golden quadrilateral of the Pacific Ocean, and believed that these four regions were in a rising trend and had the momentum to replace the weakened Europe after World War I. Especially as Japan’s national strength became increasingly prosperous, Shiga’s theory of the Pacific Age became more positive, and in his view, the position of Japan had become more and more critical.

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<sup>25</sup> “Ocean Seas and Humanities: (3) The Pacific Age (洋海與人文：(三) 太平洋時代),” included in *The Complete Works of Shiga Shigetaka*, Volume 2, pp. 320–321.

<sup>26</sup> For example, former US Secretary of State William H. Seward (1801–1872) once advocated that the United States should actively develop sea power because the sea itself was a substantial empire. The crux of this imperial competition was in the Pacific and the islands in the Pacific. See James McDonnell, *When Globalization Fails* (Taipei: If Publishing, 2020), p. 49.

<sup>27</sup> “Ocean Seas and Humanities: (3) The Pacific Age (洋海與人文：(三) 太平洋時代),” included in *The Complete Works of Shiga Shigetaka*, Volume 2, pp. 316. Shiga used the first U.S.–China trade in history, opened by the U.S. merchant ship “Empress of China,” which departed from New York Harbor and arrived in Guangzhou in 1784, as proof of America’s intention to operate in the Pacific. Therefore, Shiga proposed that the United States established its Pacific trade strategy in 1784, the year after its independence. Especially later in 1853, the black ship incident of Commodore Perry (1794–1858) of the United States directly led to the founding of the Japanese Shogunate, which had a considerable impact on Shiga’s Pacific vision.

After Shiga first proposed the theory of “Pacific Age,” he initiated it in various places,<sup>28</sup> which can be seen as the core of Shiga’s trade concept. This paper shows that once the significance of the “Pacific Age” theory of the trade map was successfully established, the importance of Japan was also highlighted for the following reasons: Firstly, Japan has its own unique culture that is different from Western civilizations on the east coast of the Pacific Ocean, and Eastern civilization on the west coast of the Pacific Ocean. Furthermore, it is obviously different from the civilization in Southeast Asia. Secondly, Japan is an exporting country of cultural products and crafts. Thirdly, the prosperity of Japanese port trade was enough to serve as a relay station for the Pacific Route. The Pacific Age was established by Shiga based on his own historical observations and geographical strategic thoughts. However, it must also contain the assumption of Shiga’s Japan-centric theory. The following are Shiga’s Japan-centric expectations: The Pacific must become a major global trade center because Japan must become a global power. Another point worth noting is that the trade concept of the “Pacific Age” was after the Russo-Japanese war, and Shiga’s optimism about Japan’s expansion was based on Japan’s victory.

From *Complete Works of Shiga Shigetaka*, we not only see the changes in Shiga’s theory of ocean but also the changes in the marine policy of the Japanese Empire. In other words, *the Complete Works of Shiga Shigetaka* can be seen as a brief history of the evolution of Japan’s expansionary policy. From the first stage in the 1890s, the main consideration was commercial trade and the import and export of raw materials. In the second stage in the 1910s, it was on the basis of the trade exchanges in the previous stage, further planned immigration, and participation in local resource development. In the third stage in the 1940s, it was expansionism and colonialism, and although militarism did not develop in Shiga’s thought, historically, this was indeed the direction of the later development of the Japanese empire.

Compared with the 1940s, when Japan’s expansion target was Southeast Asia, why did Shiga pay more attention to the Australian market than to Southeast Asia? In the early 1940s, Japan mobilized troops in Southeast Asia to compete for natural resources in Southeast Asia in order to get rid of the US naval blockade. In the era when Shiga sailed, he did not take a stance on expansionism, and he paid more attention to trade interests. This was why Shiga valued New Zealand and Australia over Southeast Asia. He was optimistic about the population growth and economic purchasing power of New Zealand and Australia. Conversely, after Japan’s Meiji Restoration, Japan’s successful modernization reform had made Shiga’s values both racist and Western civilization superiority. Therefore, compared with Southeast Asia, Shiga was more optimistic about New Zealand and Australia.

## 5. Conclusion: Contemporary Reflections on the Shiga Trade Map

Shiga’s era—the end of the nineteenth century—was greatly shortened due to the opening of the Panama Canal, the sea route between the east and west hemispheres, and international trade began to take on the outline of what is now called “globalization.” The prosperity of trade exchanges at that time can be described as globalization version 1.0, which was what researchers called “first globalization.”

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<sup>28</sup> According to Shiga’s own words, he gave speeches on Pacific issues at educational associations in the Kansai (関西) region such as Hyōgo (兵庫) and Wakayama (和歌山) in 1916, Taisho 1, and then gave speeches in Shikoku (四国), Kyūshū (九州), Hokkaidō (北海道) and other places for several consecutive years. See Shiga Shigetaka, “The Pacific Age (太平洋時代),” first published in *Ibaraki Shimbum* (茨城新聞) (January 1, 1922), and later included in *The Complete Works of Shiga Shigetaka*, Vol. 1, pp. 298–301.

From the initial attempt to create an ideal structure for the common prosperity of all countries through free trade, but considering the interests of obtaining raw materials and resources, it gradually turned into expansion and competition, finally leading to World War II.

In the contemporary era after the two-year period, with the global expansion of capitalism, coupled with the internet and technology, Globalization 2.0 has struck in another, more overwhelming form. There is still no escape from the formula that the strong get stronger and the weak get weaker, and it is no longer just about trade, but even about culture, industry, consumer behavior, and ideas. There are almost no exceptions in all aspects of life, and researchers call it “extreme globalization.” Today’s “extreme globalization” has already expanded to a comprehensive level of life, and it is also approaching the bottleneck of expansion<sup>29</sup>; therefore, contemporary times are once again faced with the dilemma of globalization.

The opposite of globalization is protectionism. However, this stance that Japanese industry should be protected is rarely seen in Shiga’s article. Conversely, the era of Shiga’s life—1863–1927—was also the era of Japan’s gradual rise as a world power, although he had a racist stance; therefore, there was a fear of annexation. Shiga was conscious, and overall, he was full of confidence in Japanese civilization and culture, which is why he was often classified as a quintessential in later studies. Conversely, he did not develop a protectionist ideology, which also involves the limitations of his own thinking. Thus, researchers of Shiga often point out contradictions and his lack of ideological content.<sup>30</sup> As pointed out in the first section of this article, Shiga’s identities were diverse, and his thoughts had the characteristics of multiplicity, although he lacked depth at each level of its diversity. Therefore, he had noticed the prosperity of global trade, but did not imagine how protectionism as opposed to it existed. If we consider Shiga a thinker, it is easy to see his contradictions and weaknesses. However, if we consider him a nationalist, such contradictions may be reasonable. In other words, the core of Shiga’s thought was on the interests of the Japanese empire. Therefore, what is shown in the Complete Works of Shiga is that colonialism should have been criticized when Western countries invaded the Oceania Islands<sup>31</sup>; when the Japanese empire invaded Joseon and Nanka (南樺), this was not colonialism, but a kind of civilization support.

After Shiga, with the development of militarism, the Nanshin-ron became the mainstream of Japan’s expansion and strategy in the early twentieth century. Therefore, Shiga was often regarded as the

<sup>29</sup> Here, we borrow from Guoguang Wu’s point of view that the expansion bottleneck of capitalist globalization has nowhere to expand. What Guoguang Wu refers to is that capitalism has become the main mechanism of the global market, and what this article refers to here is: in fact, globalization itself has become unexpandable. See Guoguang Wu, *Globalization against Democracy: A Political Economy of Capitalism after its Global Triumph* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Ogihara Takashi criticized Shiga for being weak and contradictory. See Ogihara Takashi, *How is conservatism possible in Japan: Using Shiga Shigeaki as an example*.

<sup>31</sup> Shiga has a kind of sympathy for the local traditional civilization. For example, in his Classical Chinese poetry “The most ecstasy is that, the haunting cloud and the demon fog in Samoa (最是銷魂痛絕處, 慘雲妖霧撒謨州).” He used with the words ‘miserable cloud (慘雲)’ and ‘demon fog (妖霧)’ were metaphors for Western civilization, showing the sigh of the demise of the local traditional civilization. See *Nanyō Jiji*, Chapter 15 “Tangaroa’s Dream Story (タンガローア神靈の夢物語).” included in *The Complete Works of Shiga Shigetaka*, Volume 3, p. 82.

“Tagaroa” (タンガローア) is the creator god in traditional Maori beliefs. Here, Shiga used the form of a dialogue between gods and dreams to describe how Western colonies invaded Samoa step by step, eventually leading to the disintegration of the traditional tribal structure.

origin or forerunner when it comes to the history of Japan's Nanshin-ron.<sup>32</sup> With Japan's defeat in the war, Nanshin-ron no longer had the aggressiveness of the past, and turned into a trade policy. Yoshida Shigeru (吉田茂, 1878–1967), who served as a cabinet minister during the Cold War (his term of office is 1948–1954), advocated that Japan should develop itself as a maritime nation and should cooperate with the United States to gain access to global markets and sea routes.<sup>33</sup> *In Defense of Japan 2021*<sup>34</sup>, several chapters in the text mentioned the importance of maritime security. In addition to continuing Japan's policy of jointly defending the Pacific with the United States since World War II, Australia is regarded as an important partner in the Pacific strategy. In other words, Shiga regarded the Pacific Ocean as the core of trade, and Japan, United States, and Australia as the golden triangle seemed to be projected on Japan in the 1950s, 20 years after his death. In 2021, 100 years after his death, Shiga's global map has been projected again, and this time, it is no longer a trade concept, but a strategic plan for the Asia-Pacific region.

Although, as pointed out by Professor Guoguang Wu quoted above, globalization itself is approaching the bottleneck of expansion, the gears of the times are still turning continuously, and unexpandable globalization will inevitably have its own brand-new process. In terms of the trade concept that Shiga was concerned about, in addition to the Hokushin-ron or Nanshin-ron in the development of modern Japan, there is also a soft expansion—the international cooperation of ODA (Official Development Assistance)<sup>35</sup>—beyond the rigid geographical expansion and trade expansion. The ODA programs are another forms that may engender a win-win situation rather than localism. Thus, Japan can obtain benefits, and aid-receiving countries can also promote the economic development and upgrade the industries of the area. Executing the ODA programs will enhance Japan's national image and implement the goals of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)<sup>36</sup> at the same time. Undeniably, however, the ODA programs can still lead to conflicts from protectionism between countries. For instance, Indonesia, one of the most aided countries, has internal doubts about Japan's ODA programs surrounding the exploitation of foreign capital. However, if the ODA programs are completely altruistic, they will not be attractive for Japanese companies investing capital and technology to implement them.

Even so, this article still hopes to view the ODA programs from a more positive perspective. Also, this article shows that these programs can be regarded as moderate approaches that correct the trade-oriented expansionism of Shiga's era and the military expansionism of the 1940s. In terms of current results, the ODA programs are still worth looking forward to.

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<sup>32</sup> For example, Izumi Kobayashi (小林泉), "The Nanyang Islands and the Mandate of Japan (南洋群島と日本による委任統治)," *Island Studies Journal* (島嶼研究ジャーナル), Vol. 9, No. 1 (November 2019), p. 9. And Irie Toraji (入江寅次) also included *Nanyō Jiji* in his history of the southward movement. Irie Toraji, *The History of the Meiji Southern Expansion Doctrine* (明治南進史稿), (Tokyo: Ida Shoten, 1943), pp. 65–72.

<sup>33</sup> Quoted from Euan Graham, *Japan's Sea Lane Security, 1940-2004: A Matter of Life and Death*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), p.93–94.

<sup>34</sup> *Defense of Japan 2021*, the official website of the Ministry of Defense and Self-Defense Forces of Japan: <https://www.mod.go.jp/en/article/2021/07/9795b1aa8822812ce65141c6304f5f0e922d962b.html>

<sup>35</sup> About the ODA programs, see: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/index.html>

<sup>36</sup> About SDGs in Japan, see: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/sdgs/about/index.html>