

Crossing the Ocean, Dreaming of America,
Dreaming of Japan:
Transpacific Transformation of Japanese
Immigrants in Senryu Poems; 1929–1941

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I INTRODUCTION

Thirty years have passed since *Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Asian American Writers* was published in 1974.¹ Today no one dares to “refuse to recognize Asian-American literature as ‘American’ literature.”² Yet, the rich heritage of the immigrant literature written in Japanese remains little explored in literary scholarship and criticism, and thoroughly excluded from the literary histories of both the United States and Japan.³ The editors of *Aiiieeeee!* excluded Asian immigrant writers like Lin Yutang, C.Y Lee, Yone Noguchi and Sadakichi Hartman because, they considered, those writers did not share Asian American sensibilities—their sense of distinctness as well as wounded feelings of having been ignored and excluded.⁴ If the editors had reached out for immigrant literary works in Japanese, however, they might have had different attitudes. On the west side of the Pacific, “Japanese literature” seems to be interpreted as literary works by Japanese people in Japan.⁵ Japanese-language immigrant literature seems to have been suspended over the Pacific, unable to find a landing place either in the United States or Japan.

This paper explores Japanese immigrants’ senryu as historical documents in an attempt to shed some light on the transformation of Japanese

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immigrants from “birds of passage” to the Issei, the first generation of Japanese Americans.⁶ In order to place the immigrant senryu in literary perspective, this essay will discuss what the Japanese immigrant writers advocated for their literature, followed by a brief history of senryu in the United States, and examples of senryu poems to see how the immigrants personalized their life in the United States.

II JAPANESE “IMMIGRANT LAND LITERATURE”

Kaigai hoji shimbun hattenshi (A History of Overseas Japanese-Language Newspapers) lists 56 Japanese language newspapers and magazines published in the United States during the period between 1886 and 1900.⁷ Taking into consideration the Japanese population in those days,⁸ the number of the publications is remarkable. Having lost almost all of them, we know little more about them than their names. However sketchy the information is, it suggests that those newspapers and magazines commonly carried a literature section like *Shinonome Zasshi* (Dawn: A Journal) in San Francisco, one of the oldest journals, published in 1886.⁹ Even in a remote lumbering mill camp like Eatonville, Washington, the Japanese community managed to publish a coterie literary magazine, *Kyomei* (Resonance).¹⁰ It is safe to say that Japanese immigrants were quite active in literary endeavors.

From the early stages of settlement, those participating in literary activities were aware that they had to create a new distinct literature reflecting the new life in the new environment. In 1909, Kyuin Okina, then an aspiring immigrant worker-writer, advocated for *imin-chi bungei* (immigrant land literature), his own coinage, in an effort to encourage young would-be “litterateurs” in and around Seattle to form a literary circle.¹¹ He assumed that “[literature] should be a flower grown naturally from the deep of the soil, from the heart of life.”¹² To his eye the immigrants, “under a strained unnatural setting,” looked “the most miserable people among the first class nation of Japan.”¹³ As immigrants living in the United States they felt they were not a part of the nation of Japan. Yet they could not reconstruct their old home life in the United States. As immigrants from Japan, they were not welcomed in the United States; they were deprived aliens. They belonged neither to the United States nor to Japan. This sense of non-belonging suppressed their life in the “strained unnatural setting.” However strained and miserable this life may be, Okina thought, it was an unprecedented experiences for the

Japanese people, and should be recorded. He maintained that “the goal of immigrant land literature is to record or narrate what happened in the immigrant land”. He argued:

in the future our descendants will grow naturally in America. We have to tell how their ancestors had struggled, what kind of life and thought they had. Immigrant land literature has significant meaning in this sense.¹⁴

Okina argued that immigrant writers should capture this “strained unnatural setting,” this suspended non-belonging in literature, so that future generations would have a better understanding of the immigrant life and sentiments. He foresaw that the United States and Japanese cultures would collide in immigrant homes as the immigrants rooted deeper in the United States and their children grew up as American citizens. Eventually, he “[dreamed] a new stage of the union of the East and the West: a union which is conceived in the conflicts between the two races.” He hoped that the immigrants’ non-belonging would evolve into a rich union of Japanese and U.S. cultures.¹⁵

Other immigrant writers shared the same sense of unnatural suspension and unprecedented experience. Isshin Yamasaki compiled *Horo no shi* (Poetry of Wandering) in 1925, and three Japanese immigrant literature anthologies, *Hokubei bungei senshu* (Selected Works in North America, 1927), *Amerika bungeishu* (Collection of Literary Works in America, 1930), and *Amerika bungakushu* (Collection of American Literature, 1937).¹⁶ Yamasaki wrote in a postscript of *Horo no shi* that 25 wandering poets brought forth “this infant” [immigrant poems] which would “remain in this immigrant land, even after our bodies become soil for the weeds in an alien land.”¹⁷ He was very proud and hopeful for the future development of immigrant literature. In the first anthology, he wrote:

Wandering in this vast alien land, but still longing for arts and literature . . . we created literary works, materials of which we draw on the lives of our fellow [Japanese] people in the peculiar immigrant land; even if our works are unrefined and poor, they should be regarded as precious records of human beings; the records of the life every author had experienced; the records of the unprecedented environment our people created and lived in.¹⁸

Yamasaki admitted that quality of their works was still crude; yet he maintained that the immigrant life was worth recording in a literary form because of its unique unprecedented nature.

By the publication of the third anthology, three leading immigrant writers and poets had already passed away, and the average age of the Issei (first generation) was 57. Yamasaki compiled the third anthology as “the final beacon” of Issei immigrant literature. He wrote:

At this turning point, I feel painfully that the achievements of Japanese in America will be buried as the Issei pass away. Only unspeakable gravestones are left in this alien land. . . . [This anthology] can be regarded as the final beacon of Japanese-language literature before the days of English-language literature [of the Nisei (second) generations].¹⁹

A hopeful pride in the achievements of *Horo no shi* and the sense of mission in the first anthology gave way to futility symbolized by a graveyard.

Yet Yamasaki kept the hope of handing the torch of immigrant literature to the Nisei generation. In the third anthology Yamasaki collected English works. Referring to African American writers, some of whom outshine white writers, he hoped that Nisei writers would cope with racial discrimination, find their place in the United States as citizens, and someday create great works, which they could proudly “claim as literature by Americans of Japanese lineage.”²⁰ In the introduction to the English section, Yamasaki expressed his hope more clearly:

We hope that from [the Nisei’s] ranks will come gradually literary work that the world will recognize as uniquely Nisei and not the aping of the literary masters whose background and environment are so distinctly different.

They have inherited, through their parents access to the culture of ancient Japan and, by their birth, the stimulating environment of young America.²¹

In spite of their native-born citizenship, the Nisei did not enjoy full membership in U.S. society. Regarding this adversity as an opportunity, Yamasaki expected the Nisei to retain pride in their Japanese lineage, combine their Japanese heritage with U.S. civilization, and create Japanese American literature. Yamasaki hoped in the future the Nisei would reverse the non-belongingness into doubleness, that is, the union of Japaneseness and Americanness.

Following sections will show that Japanese immigrant senryu poets personalized in their poems what Okina and Yamasaki articulated: transition from non-belonging into the union of Japaneseness and Americanness in the Nisei generation.

III SHORT HISTORY OF SENRYU IN THE UNITED STATES

Senryu is a popular form of Japanese poetry consisting of 17 syllables, 5-7-5, like haiku. Both senryu and haiku are derived from renga, a sequence of collaborative poems composed by the group of poets. In a renga gathering, popular among the rising merchant class of the sixteenth century, each participant offered his own hokku, 5-7-5 syllables, hoping his hokku would be chosen as a starter of renga. Hokku eventually evolved into haiku and senryu. At the early stage of development, both haiku and senryu were sporty, folksy, and humorous, like the English limerick. It should be noted, however, that unlike traditional English poems, both haiku and senryu are very short, written in one line. They have no rhyme scheme, no foot, no meter, no assonance, no consonantal repetition.

Under Basho's influence, and with the constraint to include one kigo (certain words expressing seasons), haiku had evolved into a sophisticated and spiritual nature poetic form by the end of seventeenth century. Senryu, on the other hand, became recognized as an independent poetic form in the latter half of the 18th century. Without any requirements except the syllable formation, 5-7-5, it kept the original feel of folk poetry. A good senryu poem captured a crucial moment of life with keen observation and wrapped it in witty, sometimes satirical, but light everyday expressions. In the nineteenth century, senryu devolved into clichéd, often vulgar wordplays. The "new senryu movement" emerged at the turn of the century with stronger interests in the inner sentiments of the poets. Senryu regained popularity in Japan in the 1920s, and among Japanese immigrants in the United States in the 1930s.

Yakima, Washington, is said to be the place where senryu reading circles originated in the United States.²² Several young literature enthusiasts, supposedly seasonal farm laborers from the valley, gathered and enjoyed various amusements. One autumn day in 1910 or 1912 they held a senryu gathering in a Japanese boarding house or a restaurant to read their senryu poems. At the first gathering, a poem by Kentsuku (Shigetaka) Kurokawa won the first rank.

その明日酒が一人で罪を背負い²³

(sono-ashita/ sake-ga-hitoride/ tsumi-wo-seoi)²⁴

The literal meaning: The next morning, sake shouldered all the sins.

Next morning,
 all sobered up. Damn.
 Sake brewed brawls.

This senryu poem evokes a scene: immigrant workers come out of a labor camp on a Saturday night to a Japanese sawdust parlor; friends meet and have a nice chat over drink after drink; drunk, they have a brawl over a trifle; the next morning, they meet, feeling ashamed, and apologize; “Sorry, it was because of sake. Sake drove me insane.”

In this senryu poem, sake is treated like a comrade, one of the drinking friends. But “he” is blamed for all the wrongdoings. In those days, the immigrants were without family. Sake was the most potent diversion. Immigrants who came to the senryu gathering understood exactly what the poem meant, and they ranked it as the best.

Senryu composition had been a popular pastime among Japanese, and it is natural to assume that it was popular among Japanese immigrants well before this gathering in Yakima, Washington. Indeed, Japanese-language newspapers occasionally carried senryu poems. What distinguished the Yakima group from the rest was that senryu activities there were organized and lasting while others remained personal and sporadic. After the first meeting, the Yakima workers held gatherings on Saturdays, named the Yakima Ameikai (Yakima Croaking Society), for two years until the leading member, Kaho (Shinjiro) Honda left for Japan. In July 1929, when Kaho Honda returned from Japan, the Hokubei Senryu Gosenkai (Senryu Society of North America)²⁵ was organized in Seattle, Washington, and most members of the Yakima Ameikai joined the new society and also restarted their own circle in the Yakima Valley. As the membership grew, other senryu circles were formed in Seattle, Longview, and Snoqualmie Falls, Washington, as well as in Portland, Oregon. Those circles maintained close relations and held several get-together parties with senryu tournaments and matches. The Hokubei Senryu Gosenkai held weekly meetings continuously until the outbreak of the war. Their selected senryu poems were featured in the senryu section of the *Hokubei Jiji Shimbun* (*North American Times*) and later in other newspapers.²⁶

As the senryu became popular, Honda sought recognition from authorities in Japan. Leading members of the society started contributing their senryu poems to the Senryu Kiyari Ginsha, one of leading senryu reading societies in Tokyo.²⁷ They regularly ranked high enough to obtain full membership, and the Hokubei Senryu Gosenkai was recognized as

the first branch society of the Kiyari Ginsha in the United States. *Yakima Heigen Nihonjin-shi* (History of the Japanese People in the Yakima Valley) expressed proudly that their immigrant senryu poets were recognized as equal or superior to leading senryu poets in Japan.²⁸

In 1935, the Hokubei Senryu Gosenkai published *Hokubei Senryu*, the first senryu collection in the United States. In 1938 the society held a senryu exhibition in Seattle, Washington, commemorating the tenth anniversary of the society.²⁹

Senryu poets in California also worked to secure a tie with the Kiyari Ginsha and were admitted to form a California branch no later than July 1939. The *Kashu Mainichi Shimbun* (*Japan California Daily News*) started a senryu section, the Kamai Senryu, in 1938, with Shikai Asega as the first judge. In 1939, the group published a collection of senryu poems to commemorate the one-year anniversary of *Kamai Senryu*,³⁰ and in 1940 the leading poets³¹ established the Senryu Tsubame Ginsha (Senryu Swallow Society). Senryu became a popular activity in the wartime camps, and spread all over the United States after World War II as the Japanese “resettled” in various places. By the end of the twentieth century, however, the senryu poet population declined like other Japanese-language literatures, and most groups were disbanded. The Senryu Tsubame Ginsha and the Hokubei Senryu Gosenkai are among the remaining few.

IV CROSSING THE PACIFIC

Although they sought recognition from Japan, the immigrant poets were not mere imitators. Kicho (Ataru) Shimizu, one of the leading senryu poets in Seattle, Washington, and later in Los Angeles, California, once challenged a judge of the Kiyari Ginsha on his selection of immigrant senryu poems. The senryu poem he questioned is:

米妻がきて親友が変わつて来る様姿

(yankii-ga-kite/ tomo-ga-kawatsute/ kuru-sugata)

Meaning: My best friend has changed greatly since a Yankee (American wife) came.

Adding kana, Japanese syllabary, as superscript to Chinese characters for “American wife,” the poet indicated “American wife” to be read as Yankee. Shimizu argued that reading Chinese characters for “American wife” as Yankee was an insult to the Japanese language. He suspected

the judge chose the poem because of his curiosity about the marriage of a Japanese man and a white woman. He wanted the readers in Japan to understand immigrants' "sincere emotions and [to] read their poems as a record of their desperate life under persecutions and insults in completely different cultures and environments." He insisted that "the local color," which the Kiyari Ginsha encouraged, should not emphasize exoticism but appreciate the reflection of the daily life and sentiments of a people who were struggling to root themselves in a hostile land.³² Shimizu later encouraged beginners to compose senryu poems as "a record of life and a poem of sentiments."³³

Given that a senryu poem consists of 17 syllables, can it be long enough to be of any value as "a record of life and a poem of sentiments" of the Japanese immigrants in the United States? The sheer number of immigrant senryu poems compensates for the shortness of each work. So far collected in my computer are more than 15,000 senryu poems written by Japanese immigrants between the late 1920s and the end of World War II. They are selected from Japanese-language newspapers and collections of senryu gatherings.³⁴ The poets were ordinary people, ranging from immigrant leaders to seasonal workers, male and female, young and old. Collectively, they tell of the life and sentiments of the immigrants.

A sample of the senryu poems is selected below. The poems express how Japanese immigrants felt about homesickness, sense of non-belonging, labor, discrimination, marriage, community, Nisei children, cultural collisions, Japanese national pride, U.S.-Japan relations, and their new land.

Nostalgia

Kazuo Ito, the author of *Issei, A History of Japanese Immigrants in North America*, characterized the Japanese as a people prone to homesickness with strong nostalgia for their family and homeland.³⁵ This is an important theme throughout immigrant senryu poems in the United States.

見ても見ても母恋しさの増す写真 一笑³⁶

(Mitemo-mitemo/ haha-koishisa-no/ masu-shashin)

The more I look at the picture of my mother, the more I miss her.

Gazing and gazing,
still gazing, so dear, Mother,
even in the picture.

西空を仰いで泣いた二十年 鬼堂³⁷

(Nishizora-wo/ aoide-naita/ nijunen)

For twenty years I have looked up the western sky and wept.

To the west, I look
twenty years, day after day.
Tears wet the sky.

Immigration Law of 1924

The sense of nostalgia turned sour when they thought of the immigration law of 1924, which stopped the influx of “aliens ineligible to citizenship” until the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952 reopened a nominal outlet for Japanese immigration. The Pacific separated husbands and wives, and parents and children. But at the same time, the Pacific gave them a sense of connection. However wide it was, they knew that their old home was on other side of the ocean.

忘れぬは別れし時の子の笑顔 貧鳴³⁸

(Wasurenu-wa/ wakareshi-toki-no/ ko-no-egao)

The unforgettable is the smile of my child when we parted.

Never forget, that smile.
When we parted,
my child beamed at me.

移民法妻さへ呼はず無縁塚 迷舟³⁹

(Iminhou/ tsuma-sae-yobezu/ muenzuka)

Because of the immigration law, they could not call for their wives and ended in the unknown graves.

Immigration law
keeps away his wife. Only a grave
unknown tells his life.

母と子が海を隔てゝ案じ合ひ 素念坊⁴⁰

(Haha-to-ko-ga/ umi-wo-hedatete/ anji-ai)

Both the mother and her child are worrying about each other on the both sides of the ocean.

Care crisscrosses
between child and mother,
coming from opposite sides of the ocean.

故郷の海へと続く若水を汲み 鬼堂⁴¹

(Furusato-no/ umi-he-to-tsuzuku/ mizu-wo-kumi)

I ladle water out of the ocean which leads to the seashore of my home.

For the New Year celebration,

I draw water out of the ocean,
over waves lies my home.

Labor

Many came to the “land of opportunity” to make a quick fortune and return home, hopefully within three years.⁴² Without any skills or language proficiency, however, the dream of success proved a mirage.

犬のやうな名前貰つて皿洗ふ 玉兎⁴³

(Inu-no-youna/ namae-moratsute/ sara-arau)

I was given a name like a dog and wash dishes.

Given a dog’s name,
I do dishes. This is
my life in America.

五十なほジョンと呼ばれて草をきり 其蝸⁴⁴

(Gojuu-nao/ jon-to-yobarete/ kusa-wo-kiri)

I am already fifty and still cutting grass, and they call me John.

Already fifty,
yet, they call out to me;
“Hey, John, cut the grass.”

渡り鳥鼻歌低くいちご摘む 白雀⁴⁵

(Wataridori/ hanauta-hikuku/ ichigo-tsumu)

Birds of passage are picking berries while humming low.

Humming low,
birds of passage⁴⁶ move slow,
picking strawberries along a furrow.

Discrimination

The “melting pot” was not boiling for the Japanese immigrants. As a non-white race from Asia, Japanese people were undesirable “aliens ineligible to citizenship.” In 1922, the U.S. Supreme Court decided, in the Ozawa case, that the term “white” in the 1790 naturalization law meant “race” instead of outward skin complexion. The decision killed the long battles for equality by Japanese immigrants; the alien land laws on the west coast, first introduced to California in 1913, were now legally unchallengeable. Discrimination diminished the opportunity of making money, and thus ironically delayed and eventually withered their dream of returning home.

帰化不能てふ語に希望何処へやら 芋作⁴⁷

(Kika-funou/ teu-go-ni-kibou/ dokoheyara)

The words, “ineligible to citizenship,” take my hopes and dreams away.
 “Aliens ineligible to citizenship,”
 these cold harsh words
 crush my hope.

市民権ないまま何日も泣き寝入り 松亭⁴⁸
 (Shiminken/ nai-mama-itsumo/ nakineiri)

Without citizenship I always weep in bed. (I am forced to accept the unfair treatments because I do not have citizenship.)

No citizenship,
 nowhere to complain.
 Another night of bitter tears.

三年の夢も空しく二十年 鳥城⁴⁹
 (Sannen-no/ yume-mo-munashiku/ nijuu-nen)

The dream of three-years-and-return ended in vain. Twenty years have passed.

Three years and return—
 a fond hope it was. Already
 twenty years fly away.

金の生る樹は亜米利加の何処にある 極道庵⁵⁰
 (Kane-no-naru/ ki-ha-amerika-no/ doko-ni-aru)

Where is the money tree in America?

Oh! Money Tree,
 where are you?
 Are you really in America?

Marriage

Unlike Chinese immigrants, many Japanese immigrants married and raised children in the United States, thanks to the picture marriage practice, a variation of Japanese arranged marriage. After exchanging pictures and personal profiles, marriage arrangements were agreed upon by both families in Japan; a “picture bride” was officially registered as the wife in Japan and sent over the Pacific to the husband in the United States.⁵¹ On landing, the couple met for the first time.

実物で写真結婚アツト云ひ 雪頂⁵²
 (Jitsubutsu-de/ shashin-ketsukon/ atsuto-ii)

With the real person, a picture marriage couple shout Oh! at the pier.

Oh, look!
 taken aback,
 a picture couple at a dock.

Disillusioned by the “American” life—they often started their newlywed life at a seasonal labor camp with primitive facilities—and disappointed by their much older husbands, some brides ran away. The Japanese-language newspaper carried reward notices with the picture of the fled bride.

キャンプから懸賞も出る艶な事 禪一貫⁵³

(Kyampu-kara/ kenshou-mo-deru/ tsuya-na-koto)

A reward notice comes out of the camp. It is erotic. (A reward notice reveals another love affair in the labor camp.)

Reward guaranteed!

Glossy gossip from the camp,
bride blown away. Wanted!

But most couples overcame initial frictions and made a new home together. Wives worked tirelessly in and outside of their homes, in fields, in factories, or as domestic day workers, while attending to the family.

女房も家賃を稼ぐ夜業の灯 鏡水⁵⁴

(Nyoubou-mo/ yachin-wo-kasegu/ yagyo-no-hi)

I see the lights of night work. (My) wife is working as a night shift to earn the house rent.

The plant is alight,
my wife is there on a night shift,
earning our rent.

泣ひててもかばつてやれぬ苺摘み 鏡水⁵⁵

(Naitetemo/ kabatsute-yarenu/ ichigo-tsumi)

She cannot take care of her baby because she is busy picking berries.

Baby is crying,
berry picking is pressing.
Poor kid, your mom is busy.

Because of strong attachments to home, many still felt that they sojourned in the United States. Unable to own or lease the farmland for more than three years, many worked as seasonal workers, moving restlessly from labor camp to camp. But they became parents.

旅と云ふ落ちつかぬ家で親となり 迷舟⁵⁶

(Tabi-to-iu/ ochitsukanu-ie-de/ oya-to-nari)

I became a parent in the house of journey (I became a parent while I am still wandering in this country).

Moving here and there,
house unsettled, a sojourner
settled as a father.

Community

By the mid-1930s, many west coast cities had developed a Japantown section, like Little Tokyo in Los Angeles. Wives helped create the Japanese “town,” and within their close-knit communities, they re-created old home life to a certain extent and enjoyed small local delights in the hostile land.

教会のバザーあしたへ昆布煮汁 自適⁵⁷

(Kyoukai-no/ bazaa-ashita-he/ kobu-ni-jiru)

Because a charity bazaar will be held tomorrow at the church, (a wife is cooking) kelp and vegetable stew.

Kelp-stew is ready
for tomorrow.

A charity bazaar at the church.

排斥があらうと松茸飯の味 玉兎⁵⁸

(Haiseki-ga/ arou-to-matsutake/ meshi-no aji)

However harsh exclusion is, I treasure the taste of this matsutake rice.

Exclusion, so what!

Excellent matsutake,
this rice is the world’s best.

一街は俺の町なりうどんそば 河武流⁵⁹

(Ichigai-wa/ ore-no-machi-nari/ udon-soba)

First Street (in Los Angeles) is my town. Here I smell and taste Japanese noodles.

First Street is MY TOWN.

Japanese noodles—udon, soba—
fill the street and me.

鯉幟異国の空は五月晴れ 小太郎⁶⁰

(Koinobori/ ikokuno-sora-wa/ satsuki-bare)

Crape streamers [for Boys’ Day]. The sky of this alien land is clear like a May sky (in Japan).

Crape streamers sway,
high up in the foreign sky
on a clear May day.

Japanese holidays and Japanese cultural events reminded them of their home.

杵の音故郷が恋しい年の暮 桂芳⁶¹

(Kine-no-oto/ kokyo-ga-koishii/ toshi-no-kure)

The sound of rice cake pounding reminds me of the end of year in my home town.

Rice cake pounding
sounds “New Year’s coming.”
How are they doing at home?

色も香も祖国と同じ桜花 沙都男⁶²

(Iro-mo-ka-mo/ so-koku-to-onaji/ sakurabana)

The color and smell of the cherry blossoms here are same as those in Japan.
Cherry blossoms
bloom out, all the same,
color and smell of home.

Japanese Heritage

They told Nisei children about the life of their old home and Japanese customs, hoping the children would maintain Japanese culture.

屠蘇の膳子供へ話す郷里の春 柳雨⁶³

(Toso-no-zen/ kodomo-he-hanasu/ sato-no-haru)

At the table of the New Year’s morning feast, I tell to my children how they celebrate the New Year in my home town.

New Year’s morning feast.
Now you know
our old home in Japan.

活花の姿やさしい二世の娘 風人⁶⁴

(Ikebana-no/ sugata-yasashii/ Nisei-no-ko)

Nisei girls look elegant when they arrange flowers in traditional Japanese way.

Nisei girl arranges
fragile flowers in Japanese way.
She looks elegant today.

Americanization

While they recreated “Japan” in the United States, U.S. ways of life crept into their own “Japanese” homes. They relished U.S. dishes, and celebrated children’s birthdays and U.S. holidays.

バースデーケーキへ小さい客が寄り 迷舟⁶⁵

(Baasudee/ keeki-he-chiisai/ kyaku-ga-yori)

Little guests gather around the birthday cake.

Birthday party.
To the sweet cake
swarm the small guests.

血のたれるロースビーフにある味覚 自適⁶⁶

(Chi-no-tareru/ rousubeeifu-ni/ aru-mikaku)

A certain taste of bloody roast beef.

Roast beef looks bloody.

Really it's juicy and tender,

racy, unforgettable taste.

賑やかな子等の夜となるハロウィン 玉兎⁶⁷

(Nigiyakana/ kora-no-yo-to-naru/ harooiin)

A happy Halloween is the night for lively children.

Halloween night,

Children's night,

Merry fun night.

The immigrants participated in U.S. community activities in order to demonstrate that they were also good members of U.S. society, expecting that their participation would soothe anti-Japanese sentiments.

入れさせて子に言ひ聞かす社会鍋 華芳⁶⁸

(Iresasete/ ko-ni-ii-kikasu/ shakai-nabe)

I have my child donate some money to the pot of the Salvation Army and explain its importance.

My dear, put this money

into the pot of the Salvation Army.

Remember the spirit of the holiday.

独立祭何はすておき日本山車 潮風⁶⁹

(Dokuritsu-sai/ nani-ha-suteoki/ nihon-dashi)

Independence Day. Let's go to see the Japanese floats first.

Independence Day,

full of floats, but first of all,

a Japanese float.

They seemed to try to hold onto both “Japan” and “America” in their homes.

琴の音をかこみて和む感謝祭 一流⁷⁰

(Koto-no-ne-wo/ kakomite-nagomu/ kanshasai)

We pass our Thanksgiving day peacefully, listening to the koto music.

Gathering around the koto play,

graceful time, peaceful tune.

Thanksgiving Day is passing.

Cultural Collisions

U.S. manners and Japanese manners often collided, however. Nisei children would not yield to their parents. Issei parents sadly suspected that Nisei children slighted them because the parents seemed inferior to their U.S.-born children in legal status and in linguistic ability, and the parents were thus more vulnerable to racism.

お小言へアメリカですと逆らう子 森村⁷¹

(Okogoto-he/ Amerika-desu-to/ sakarau-ko)

When I scold my children, they protest that we live in America.

When I chide,

kids strike back:

“We are in America.”

銭のない親へ二世が目をそむけ 無笑⁷²

(Zeni-no-nai/ oya-he-Nisei-ga/ me-wo-somuke)

Nisei children look away from their parents who have no money.

Nisei kids look away

from parents

without money.

子の肩身狭くして居る父兄会 兎兎傘⁷³

(Ko-no-katami/ semaku-shite-iru/ fukei-kai)

At PTA meetings, Nisei children feel ashamed (of their parents.)

PTA meeting.

my son is sitting stony,

never smiles back at me.

Issei parents, on the other hand, took a dim view of the “Americanization” of Nisei children.

其趣味はジョーイ、ライドにダンスなり 剣突⁷⁴

(Sono-shumi-wa/ jooi-raido-ni/ dansu-nari)

Their hobbies are joy rides and dancing.

Nisei children—

their favorites are nothing

but joyrides and dancing.

ギヤスリンが無くなる頃に父を乗せ 白津⁷⁵

(gyasurin-ga/ nakunaru-koro-ni/ chichi-wo-nose)

[Nisei] gives a ride to his/her father when the gas is running low.

My kid offers a ride.

But I know

the gas is running low.

爪染めし二世の指にシガレット かの子⁷⁶

(Tsume-someshi/ Nisei-no-yubi-ni/ shigaretsuto)

A Nisei [girl] holds a cigarette and her fingernails are painted.

A cigarette in hand,
nails garishly red,
Nisei girl.

Nisei Citizenship

Nisei children were, however, the mainstay within U.S. society for the Issei parents. Using names of the children, native-born citizens, the parents, the “aliens ineligible to citizenship,” evaded the alien land laws and other legal forms of discrimination.

永住の土地を買はせる市民権 藤枝⁷⁷

(Eijuu-no/ tochi-wo-kawaseru/ shiminken)

Citizenship allows (me) to buy the land for permanent settlement.

My citizen child
has a title to the land
and settles me down.

法律が変わるたびに子に頼り 悟朗⁷⁸

(Houritsu-ga/ kawaru-tanbini/ ko-ni-tayori)

Whenever the law changes, I depend upon my children.

Another law change,
again I rely on
an American citizen, my boy.

子のリース権へ駆引き強く出る 露昌⁷⁹

(Ko-no-riisu/ ken-he-kakehiki/ tsuyoku-deru)

As my son has a right to lease, I take a stronger stance on negotiation.

Land lease dealing,
I push harder. My kid,
citizen, stands behind me.

Between Japan and the United States

Still the immigrants seemed to vacillate between the United States and Japan. So much concerned them about so many things before they reached their final decision.

生活の安易帰国か永住か 白峯⁸⁰

(Seikatsu-no/ an'i-kikoku-ka/ eijuu-ka)

Which life is easier, returning home or to stay here permanently.

Which is easier to live?

To return home?
To settle down here?

The immigrants were caught in quandary between their aging parents in Japan and their growing children in the United States.

親達を迷ひ子にする二世 華芳⁸¹
(Oya-tachi-wo/ maigo-ni-suru/ dai-nisei)
The Nisei turn their parents into strayed children.
Nisei children
turn parents
into strayed children.

子の愛に故郷へも帰れず四季数え 白峯⁸²
(Ko-no-ai-ni/ kuni-hemo-kaerezu/ shiki-kazoe)
Because of love for my children I cannot return home and count the seasons.
So much love for my children,
unable to return.
Seasons pass, how many?

Future of the Nisei

One of the reasons for their vacillation was racism in the United States. Despite their children's citizenship, the immigrant parents worried that Nisei citizens would face racial discrimination when they went out into the world. The Nisei were often unable to find a suitable occupation outside the Japanese community. They wanted the children to master the Japanese language either for the day of return, or for a chance of getting a job in the Japanese community.

英語だけ知つて通れぬ皮膚の色 涼子⁸³
(Eigo-dake/ shitsute-toorenu/ hifu-no-iro)
Knowing only English, they cannot pass through the barrier of skin color.
Nisei children,
English, they pass,
but not skin color.

卒業は就職難の一里塚 五街人⁸⁴
(Sotsugyo-wa/ shuushokunan-no/ ichirizuka)
Graduation is a first mile stone in the difficulties of finding employment.
Graduation,
a first milestone
of job discrimination.

Nisei children were reluctant to study Japanese, however. Additional after-school classes seemed nothing but a tedious ordeal.

国校をやめたがる子に迷わされ 玉兎⁸⁵

(Kokukou-wo/ yametagaru-ko-ni/ mayowasare)

I do not know what to do, as my kids want to quit the Japanese-language school.

What to do,
Japanese lessons.
Let them quit, as they want?

“Rising” imperial Japan seemed to offer better opportunities for the Nisei, if only they had the language skills.

修学へ父の慈愛は日本行 花兄⁸⁶

(Shuugaku-he/ chichi-no-jiai-ha/ nihon-yuki)

Out of fatherly love for my child, I send the child to Japan for education.

Go to Japan,
with your father’s love,
for your education.

就職は日本と決める電工科 玉兎⁸⁷

(Shuushoku-ha/ nihon-to-kimeru/ denkou-ka)

An engineering major declares that he will find a job in Japan.

After graduation,
I’ll go to Japan,
asserts an engineering major.

National Pride

The Japanese offensive in China, which the immigrants misunderstood as a successful challenge to Western powers, swelled their pride as Japanese nationals, not inferior to the white race.

日の丸へ国威はつきり異土に見る 凡才⁸⁸

(Hinomaru-he/ kokui-hatsukiri/ ido-ni-miru)

Looking up the rising sun flag, I feel the power and prestige of Japan in this alien land.

The rising sun flag
flutters sublime and strong
in this foreign land.

躍進の御旗気強く異土に住み 松風⁸⁹

(Yakushin-no/ mihata-kizuyoku/ ido-ni-sumi)

The rapid advance of the (Japanese) flag makes me feel assured in this alien land.

The mighty flag marches on,
power and pride boost me up
in this alien land.

排日がなんだ大和の血に生きる 日章⁹⁰

(Hainichi-ga/ nada-yamato-no/ chi-ni-ikiru)

I am not affected by anti-Japanese exclusion. I live proudly as a man of Japanese race.

Anti-Japanese,
so what! I live proud
of my Japanese blood.

Hard Life in Japan

But they were well informed about difficulties in Japan. The difference in living conditions between the United States and Japan widened as Japan waged war in China. They sent daily necessities—rice, sugar, cotton-goods—to families in Japan.

朝の屠蘇先づ東京の子を想ひ 雀喜⁹¹

(Asa-no-toso/ mazu-toukyou-no/ ko-wo-omoi)

At the table of the New Year's morning celebration, I remember, first of all, of my child in Tokyo.

New Year's morning celebration:
I remember my son
in Tokyo. Has he enough?

勿體なく白米食べる別世界 玉兔⁹²

(Mottainaku/ hakumai-taberu/ betsusekai)

I eat white rice with much gratitude as I live in a different world. (In Japan they cannot eat white rice.)

White rice,
now too rare to Japanese.
I eat it in a foreign land.

Even if they were fortunate enough to save money and visit Japan, they must have been surprised to find that even their sweet old homes now seemed foreign to them.

故郷も旅心地なり新帰朝 松亭⁹³

(Furusato-mo/ tabigogochi-nari/ shin-kicho)

A new returnee come back home but feels he is still traveling.

New returnee,
now at home, but still sojourns
in a strange land.

As a Japanese National

But they were not helplessly torn between the United States and Japan.

In the 1930s, as Sino-Japanese relations ruptured into open hostilities, the immigrants expressed their loyalty to Japan, by collecting tin foil, sending comfort packages and letters to the Japanese forces, and raising money for the Japanese war effort out of their meager earnings. Through such contributions, the nagging inferiority complex of the “discarded” transformed into pride in being a Japanese in the United States.

在米の吾も銃後の一人なり 石州⁹⁴

(Zaibei-no/ ware-mo-juugo-no/ hitori-nari)

I am living in America but I am among the home front of Japan.

A Japanese
in America, count me
as one of the home front.

慰問金応募の後の酒の味 桂馬⁹⁵

(Imon-kin/ oubo-no-ato-no/ sake-no-aji)

The taste of sake after I donate some money to the Japanese army.

Comfort money sent,
out of my meager wallet. Now I taste
sweet hot sake.

慰問文特に英語もいれて書き 隆年⁹⁶

(Imombun/ tokuni-eigo-mo/ irete-kaki)

I write a comfort letter to the Japanese army, including intentionally some English words.

Comfort letters to the front,
here and there,
bright English words flaunt.

As a Parent of a U.S. Citizen

It should also be noted that at the same time, the immigrants were proud of being parents of American citizens. The Issei were convinced that the Nisei would be good soldiers for the United States because the Issei believed the Nisei inherited courageous Japanese spirits. Nisei soldiers were sent off in the Japanese way.

排斥の中に育てた子も兵士 吾以知⁹⁷

(Haiseki-no/ naka-ni-sodateta/ ko-mo-heishi)

Children I raised under hostilities become (U.S.) soldier.

With tender care and anxiety,
we raised a son under hostile adversity,
now drafted into the army.

軍服の我子肩身広い母 鏡水⁹⁸

(Gumpuku-no/ wagako-katami/ hiroi-haha)

As a son is in uniform, his mother feels that she has broader shoulders. (A mother is proud of her son in U.S. uniform.)

Sons in uniform.

Swelling and expanding

Mothers' proud shoulders.

入営に日系の持つ大和魂 泉家⁹⁹

(Nyuuei-ni/ Nikkei-no-motsu/ Yamato-damashii)

A Nikkei (a person of Japanese ancestry) joins the (U.S.) army with Japanese spirits.

Nikkei joins the army

with Japanese spirit

deep in their heart.

席皆軍歌で送る壮行会 みどり¹⁰⁰

(Seki-minna/ gunka-de-okuru/ soukoukai)

All the people at the send-off party sing (Japanese) battle songs to send off (Nisei) soldiers.

Send-off party, cheer the draftee

all in one voice,

sing Japanese battle songs.

War Clouds

U.S.-Japan relations deteriorated more drastically and rapidly, however, than Japanese immigrants had feared. After repeated warnings, in January 1940, the U.S. government terminated the 1911 commercial treaty granting Japan most favored nation status and guaranteeing a protection of Japanese interests and, and tightened economic sanctions against Japan. On July 25, 1941, Japanese assets in the United States were frozen.

継続を願ふ條約遂に切れ 三十坊¹⁰¹

(Keizoku-wo/ negau-jouyaku/ tsuini-kire)

Despite our wish for continuation, the treaty (of 1911) terminates after all.

How much we prayed for

the treaty to go on.

Cut off today, alas.

アメリカと平和を祈り種を蒔き 勝水¹⁰²

(Amerika-to/ heiwa-wo-inori/ tane-wo-maki)

I plant seeds, praying for peace with America.

With sincere prayer
I seed peace
in American soil.

凍結へ泣くにも泣けぬ日本店 一本気¹⁰³

(Touketsu-he/ naku-nimo-nakenu/ nihon-ten)

It is all over for Japanese stores because of the Frozen Assets Order.

Poor Japanese stores
attest their tears are frozen
by Frozen Assets Order.

日本船来ない波止場に或日立ち 芳夫¹⁰⁴

(Nihonsen/ konai-hatoba-ni/ aruhi-tachi)

One day I stand on a pier where no Japanese ships enter.

I linger on a pier,
waiting. But I know.
No ships coming from Japan.

War clouds also cast dark shadows over Nisei citizens. Many of them still held dual citizenship, in spite of the fact that the Japanese nationality law of 1924 allowed them not to hold Japanese nationality.¹⁰⁵ Their dual citizenship status, one of the causes of the anti-Japanese movement, aroused strong suspicion about their loyalty to the United States. The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) advocated for giving up Japanese nationality in order to demonstrate absolute and single allegiance to the United States. Some responded to the call, but many hesitated. In spite of the Nisei's U.S. citizenship, Issei parents were still uncertain of the Nisei's right under the U.S. laws. The citizenship of Nisei children was all they had, however, for protection.

国籍の離脱淋しく今日も読み 鈍突¹⁰⁶

(Kokuseki-no/ ridatsu-sabishiku/ kyou-mo-yomi)

I read sadly the notice of renunciation of Japanese nationality.

Today's paper,
I read sadly
another renunciation notice.

二重籍思案ばかりで未だ思案 巴川¹⁰⁷

(Nijuuseki/ shian-bakari-de/ mata-shian)

I think over and over again about dual nationality without any conclusion.

Dual nationality.
Thinking, reflecting, speculating,
and still wondering.

無條約二世依存の覚悟きめ 北海¹⁰⁸

(Mujouyaku/ Nisei-izon-no/ kakugo-kime)

No treaty. I made up my mind to depend on the Nisei.

No treaty!

No way but to stay.

I trust Nisei's rights, my mainstay.

踏止る覚悟かすかな子の権利 志行¹⁰⁹

(Fumi-domaru/ kakugo-kasukana/ ko-no-kenri)

I made up my mind to stay. I cling to my children's rights, however unreliable they are. (This poem can also be interpreted: Decision to stay is frail because children's rights are not clear.)

I will stay.

Staking my choice on Nisei's rights.

Do I play too high?

Looking back on their life in the United States, Japanese immigrants found the United States a cold land.

世界一楽土に荆棘の住心地 吾以知¹¹⁰

(Sekaiichi/ rakudo-ni-ibara-no/ sumigokochi)

I feel thorns in this world's best paradise.

I feel thorns

living in this land,

the world's best hope.

やつと根を下した土も冷た過ぎ 玉兔¹¹¹

(Yatsuto-ne-wo/ oroshita-tsuchi-mo/ tsumeta-sugi)

At last I set down root in this land but I find it very cold.

With toil,

I dig my root down

only to find this cold hard soil.

My Land

It can be said, however, the immigrants felt peculiar affection for their new country. This was the land where they had something to be proud of: achievements they brought forth under harsh discrimination. This was the land where their children and grandchildren were born and growing.

住み憎く住んでアメリカ見切られず 丘太郎¹¹²

(Suminikuku/ sunde-Amerika/ mikirarezu)

I live here uncomfortably but I cannot give up living in America.

It's harsh to live here,
but hard to give up
my life in America.

汗を血を吸つて沙漠へメロンの香 勝子¹¹³

(Ase-wo-chi-wo/ sutsute-sabaku-he/ meron-no-ka)

The desert swallows sweat and blood, and now produces fragrant melons.

Sweat and blood soften the soil,
sweet melons smell
in the desert of California.

もう此処が故郷である孫も出来 森村¹¹⁴

(Mou-koko-ga/ furusato-de-aruru/ mago-mo-deki)

Now this land is my home. I have a grandson.

I call this land my home,
holding in my arm
my sweet grandchild.

排斥の過去を笑つて今土着 海風¹¹⁵

(Haiseki-no/ kako-wo-waratsute/ ima-dochaku)

I laugh at the past exclusions. I am a native now.

“Japanese exclusions?”

“That's an old story,” I laugh,

“I am a native now.”

Here the immigrants became the first generation of the Japanese Americans, even though they missed their homeland in their heart.

IV EPILOGUE

Browsing through newspapers for relevant articles to a current research topic, reel after reel, for hours and days is an exhausting task, or one might even call it an ordeal. But the poetry section—*tanka*, *haiku*, and *senryu*—in a Japanese-language newspaper seems to me a cozy café where Japanese immigrants are still chatting genially. They say that these Japanese-language literary works are important historical resources to an understanding of the daily lives and bare sentiments of Japanese immigrants in the United States.

It is true that in Japan Japanese emigration studies have produced a great many important works, but those studies have focused on U.S.-Japan relations on “Japanese immigration problems” based heavily on government records, and Japanese association documents. Even social histories of the Japanese immigrants rely on the voices of the immigrant

leaders unless the writer is lucky enough to find immigrant diaries and letters. Japanese immigrant poetry—senryu, haiku, and tanka—is another archival resources of collective memory of the Japanese immigrant, and it is readily accessible in Japanese-language newspapers.

The senryu poems translated in this article are only a small fragment of Japanese immigrant poetry, but the fragment tells how the poets—mostly unknown immigrants—interpreted their lives and their transformation from birds of passage into the first generation of Japanese Americans. The poems illustrate how the immigrants crossed the Pacific mentally, yet tried to embrace both Japan and the United States. Their tragedy was that the United States pressed them to sever the Japanese half, without admitting them as a member of the nation.

NOTES

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¹ Frank Chin, Jeffery Paul Chan, and Lawson Fusao Inada, eds., *Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Asian American Writers* (Washington, D. C.: Howard University Press, 1974).

² *Ibid.*, viii.

³ Ippei Nomoto (Keizo Norimoto) sadly called the Japanese-language literature in the United States “literature without inheritor.” Nomoto Ippei, “Densho no nai bungaku” [Literature without Inheritor], *Nanka bungei* [Southern California Literature] 18 (March, 1974), 49–55. Books on Japanese “immigrant land literature” are still handful: Matoshi Fujisawa, *Nikkei bungaku no kenkyu* [A Study on Nikkei Literature] (Tokyo: Daigaku-kyoiku-sha, 1985); Fumio Kobayashi, *Shimoyama Isso no shogai to sono geijutsu* [Life and Arts of Isso Shimoyama] (Tokyo: Soun-sha, 1954); Satae Shinoda and Iwao Yamamoto, *Nikkei Amerika bungaku zasshi kenkyu—Nihongo zasshi wo chushin ni* [A Study on Nikkei American Literary Magazines: Mainly in Japanese Language] (Tokyo: Fuji-shuppan, 1998). Kyuin Okina, an advocate for “immigrant land literature” in the late 1910s and early 20s, is the most-studied “immigrant” writer, see a special issue for Kyuin Okina in *Ritsumeikan gengo bunka kenkyu* [Ritsumeikan Studies in Language and Culture] Vol. 5, Nos 5&6 (February 1994). For further reference on works in Japanese till 1992, see Satae Shinoda, “Bungaku, non-fikushon [Literature and Non-Fiction]” in *Imin kenkyu kai* [Association of Immigration/ Emigration Studies]ed., *Nihon no imin kenkyu: doko to mokuroku* [Immigration/ Emigration Studies in Japan: A Bibliographical Resource Guide] 131–147; some works in English are, on Kyuin Okina, see Kazuyo Yamane, “Kyu-in Okina’s Contribution to Japanese-American Literature Early in the 20th Century,” *New Perspective* (1989), 2–7; on coterie magazines, Eri F. Yasuhara, “Voices from the Margins: A Preliminary Report on Two Issei Literary Journals, 1916–1919,” *Ritsumeikan gengo bunka kenkyu*, Vol. 4, No.6 (March, 1993), 97–106; Eri F. Yasuhara, “Remonchoo: Early Japanese American Literature in Southern California,” *Ritsumeikan gengo bunka kenkyu*, Vol. 8, Nos. 5 & 6 (March, 1997), 59–73;

on senryu, Sachiko Honda, "Issei Senryu," in Gail M. Nomura et.al, eds, *Frontiers of Asian American Studies: Writing, Research, and Commentary* (Seattle: Washington State University Press, 1989)169–178; Marvin K. Opler and F. Obayashi, "Senryu Poetry as Folk and Community Expression," *Journal of American Folklore*, (January-March, 1945), 1–11; Stephen H. Sumida, "Hawaii, the Northwest, and Asia: Localism and Local Literary Developments in the Creation of an Asian Immigrants' Sensibility," *Seattle Review*, (Summer, 1988), 9–18.

⁴ King-Kok Cheung and Stan Yogi questioned this exclusion and they listed those excluded writers in their bibliography, maintaining, "national and regional allegiance, which often vary with time, cannot easily determind." King-Koku Cheung and Stan Yogi, *Asian American Literature: An Annotated Bibliography* (NY: Modern Language Association of America, 1988), v. The definitions of Asian American Literature have changed since *Aiiiiieeee!* was published in 1974. See Sau-ling C. Wong and Stephen H. Sumida, *A Resource Guide to Asian American Literature* (NY: The Modern Language Association of America, 2001) 1–9. Elaine H. Kim explained why she changed her stance in her "Foreward" for Shirley Geok-lin Lim and Amy Ling, *Reading the Literature of Asian America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992) xi–xvii.

⁵ However, a little change can be observed recently with rising interests in Japanese language literature in Taiwan.

⁶ Some senryu are translated in Honda; Kazuo Ito, *Issei: A History of Japanese Immigrants in North America*, trans. Shinichiro Nakamura and Jean S. Gerard (Seattle: Japanese Community Service, 1973); Wakako Yamauchi, "The Poetry of the Issei on the American Relocation Experience", in Isamu Reed ed. *Calafia: The California Poetry* (Berkeley: Y' Bird Books, 1979) xxi–xxviii. As for translated haiku, Violet Kazue de Cristoforo ed. and trans., *May Sky: There Is Always Tomorrow: An Anthology of Japanese American Concentration Camp Kaiko Haiku* (LA: Sun and Moon Press, 1997); as for tanka, Lucille M. Nixon and Tomoe Tana trans. *Sounds from the Unknown: A Collection of Japanese-American Tanka* (Denver: Alan Swallow, 1963).

⁷ Hachiro Ebihara, *Kaigai hoji shimbun hattenshi* [History of Overseas Japanese Language Newspaper] (1936; rpt. Tokyo: Meicho Fukkyu kai, 1980), 169–172, 185–87.

⁸ The U. S. census of 1900 counts 2,990 Japanese in Seattle, 1,781 in San Francisco. House of Representatives, *Japanese Immigration Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives 66th Congress* (1922; New York: Arno Press, 1978), 281.

⁹ Yukihide Aikawa, "Nazo ni tsutsumareta Meiji hojishi no genkei" [A Forgotten Archetype of Japanese Language Newspapers in Meiji Period] *Han* [Pan], (January, 1986), 203–274.

¹⁰ Itonbiru Nihonjin Kurabu [Japanese Club of Eatonville], *Kyomei* [Resonance], (Eatonville, WA: Itonbiru Nihonjuin kurabu) Vol. 2, No. 2 (April, 1926) is in Special Collections at the University of Washington Libraries.

¹¹ Okina achieved a considerable success as an immigrant writer and a journalist, but for family reasons he returned to Japan in 1924. He was a very prolific writer and his autobiographical stories, essays, short stories, and novels are available in ten volumes of Kyuin Okina, *Okina Kyuin Zenshu* [Complete Works of Kyuin Okina] (Toyama: Okina-Kyuin-zenshu-kankokai, 1971). His arguments for immigrant land literature are in Vol. 5.

¹² Okina, "Iminchi bungei no shimei" [The Mission of Immigrant Land Literature], *Okina Kyuin Zenshu*, Vol.5, 196–198.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 177.

¹⁵ Ibid., 181.

¹⁶ Isshin Yamasaki ed., *Horo no shi* [Poetry of Wandering] (LA: Horo-no-shi-sha, 1925); Isshin Yamasaki ed., *Hokubei bungei senshu* [Selected Works in North America] (Tokyo: Bungei-hikyo-sha, 1927); Isshin Yamasaki ed., *Amerika bungeishu* [Collection of Literary Works in America] (Tokyo: Shinko-do, 1930); Isshin Yamasaki ed., *Amerika bungakushu* [Collection of American Literature] (Tokyo: Keigan-sha, 1937).

¹⁷ *Horo no shi*, postscript.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ *Amerika bungakushu*, 2.

²⁰ Ibid., 3.

²¹ Ibid., ii.

²² Sanyu Bito ed., *Senryu sogo jiten* [Encyclopedia of Senryu] (Tokyo: Yuzankaku-shuppan, 1984), 380–382; Dontsuku (Chujiro) Ueno, *Senryu shikan* [Historical View of Senryu] (Private Printing, 1964), 206; Yakima Heigen Nihonjin-kai [Japanese Association of the Yakima Valley], *Yakima heigen Nihonjin shi* [History of the Japanese People in the Yakima Valley] (Yakima, WA: Yakima Nihonjin-kai, 1935), 282.

²³ *Yakima heigen*, 282. All senryu poems are written first in Japanese, secondly in Romanization, and lastly in English translation.

²⁴ A dash is inserted between Japanese words, and a slash indicates cluster of syllables, 5/7/5.

²⁵ Gosenkai means a group without any judge. At gatherings, the members rank senryu poems.

²⁶ Ibid., 282–283. *Taihoku Nippo* [Great Northern Daily News], *Rodo* [Labor], and *Taishu* [People] also featured a senryu section.

²⁷ *Senryu Kiyari* (a monthly coterie magazine), carrying regular correspondence from the senryu poets in the United States, is now one of the most valuable historical documents on senryu activities in the United States.

²⁸ *Yakima heigen*, 283.

²⁹ Kaho Honda ed., *Hokubei senryu* [Senryu in North America] (Seattle: Hokubei Senryu Gosenkai, 1935). As for the accounts of the exhibition, *Hokubei Jiji* [North American Times], July 2, 5, 16, 18, 19, 20, 1938; Reiha Isobe, *Senryu Kiyari gojunen shi* [A History: 50 Years of Senryu Kiyari] (Tokyo: Senryu Kiyari gin-sha, 1970), 70.

³⁰ Shikai Asega ed., *Isshunnen kinen Kamai senryu dai ichi go* [One Year Anniversary: Kamai Senryu No. 1] (Los Angeles: Kamai senryu jimusho, 1939).

³¹ The founding members are Taishu Shiode, Shiro Kunitsugu, Keizan Yagata, Hakujaku Takehara, Hakkaku Kodama, Hasui Takigawa, Tomeo Hanami, and Keiho Yamanaka.

³² Kicho Shimizu, “Fudoshoku mondai to rubi tsuki senryu” [Local Color Issue and Senryu with Kana Alongside Chinese Characters], *Senryu Kiyari* (February, 1934), 14–15.

³³ Kicho Shimizu, *Suzuhebi* [Rattlesnake] (1943: LA: Keiho Yamanaka, 1996) 3. Originally mimeographed for the beginners of senryu in the Jerome Relocation Center by Japanese inmates in 1943.

³⁴ From the senryu section of *Hokubei Jiji Shimbun* [North American Times], 1934–41; *Kashu Mainichi Shimbun* [Japan California Daily News], 1938–41; *Yuta Nippo* [Utah Nippo: Japanese Daily News], 1942–45. From senryu collections, Kaho (Shinjiro) Honda ed., *Hokubei Senryu* [Senryu in North America] (Seattle: Hokubei Senryu Gosenkai, 1935); Shikai Asega ed., *Isshunnen kinen Kamai senryu dai-ichigo* [One Year Commemoration: Kamai Senryu, No. 1] (Los Angeles: Kamai senryu jimusho, 1939); *Santanita senji kari-shuyajo umagoya senryu* [Stable Senryu Poems at Santa Anita

Assembly Center] [Originally mimeographed by the inmates at Santa Anita Assembly Center in 1942. Retyped by Keiho Yamanaka in 1988]; *Shigarami Ginsha* [Shigarami Senryu Circle], Senryu shigarami [Senryu Weir] (Originally mimeographed by the inmates in the Jerome Relocation Center in 1943. Retyped by Keiho Yamanaka, ca 1990); Nissho Yoneoka ed., *Senryu* (Newell CA: Tule Lake Segregation Center, 48 ku senryu ginsha, 1945) mimeograph. The following three magazines are reprinted in Satae Shinoda, Iwao Yamamoto eds., *Nikkei Amerika bungaku zasshi shusei* [Collection of Japanese American Literary Magazines] (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1998): *Haato Maunten bungei* [Heart Mountain Literature] (Heart Mountain Relocation Center, Wyoming) Jan. 1944-Sep. 1944; *Poston bungei* [Poston Literature] (Poston Relocation Center, Arizona) May, 1943-Sep. 1945; *Doto* [Raging Billows] (Tule Lake Segregation Center, CA) July 1944-June 1945.

³⁵ Kazuo Ito, *Zoku Hokubei hyakunen zakura* [Issei: History of Japanese Immigrants in North America II] (Tokyo: Nichibo shuppan, 1973) 91.

³⁶ Issho (1931) collected in Honda.

³⁷ Kido (1934) collected in Honda.

³⁸ Hinmei (1930) collected in Honda.

³⁹ Meishu (1930) collected in Honda.

⁴⁰ Sonembo (1932) collected in Honda.

⁴¹ Kido, *North American Times*, January 1, 1939.

⁴² The idea of a three-year stay and return probably is derived from the labor contract system in Hawaii, which initiated Japanese immigration to the United States.

⁴³ Gyokuto (1933) collected in Honda.

⁴⁴ Kicho, *North American Times*, June 26, 1939.

⁴⁵ Hakujaku, *California Daily News*, April 4, 1939.

⁴⁶ In this poem, birds of passage means Japanese seasonal workers.

⁴⁷ Imosaku (1932) collected in Honda.

⁴⁸ Shotei (1933) collected in Honda.

⁴⁹ Ujo, *Japan California Daily News*, July 6, 1941.

⁵⁰ Gokudoan (1932) collected in Honda.

⁵¹ The picture marriage practice became popular after the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908. In order to appease anti-Japanese sentiments, however, the Japanese government terminated passport issuance to picture brides in 1920.

⁵² Seccho, *Sacramento Daily News*, February 8, 1911.

⁵³ Fundoshi Ikkan, *Japanese American News*, October 6, 1912.

⁵⁴ Kyosui, *California Daily News*, August 7, 1940.

⁵⁵ Kyosui, *California Daily News*, May 26, 1940.

⁵⁶ Meishu (1932) collected in Honda.

⁵⁷ Jiteki (1933) collected in Honda.

⁵⁸ Gyokuto, *North American Times*, December 2, 1940.

⁵⁹ Kaburyu, *California Daily News*, May 4, 1941.

⁶⁰ Kotaro, *North American Times*, July 24, 1940.

⁶¹ Keiho, *North American Times*, February 1, 1940.

⁶² Satsuo, *North American Times*, June 17, 1939.

⁶³ Ryuu (1934) collected in Honda.

⁶⁴ Fujin, *North American Times*, June 17, 1939.

⁶⁵ Meishu (1931) collected in Honda.

⁶⁶ Jiteki (1933) collected in Honda.

⁶⁷ Gyokuto, *North American Times*, November 30, 1939.

⁶⁸ Kaho (1933) collected in Honda.

- ⁶⁹ Shiokaze, *California Daily News*, June 13, 1941.
⁷⁰ Ichiryu, *North American Times*, December 28, 1940.
⁷¹ Shinson, *North American Times*, February 22, 1940.
⁷² Musho, April 17, 1938, collected in Asega.
⁷³ Tojigasa, *North American Times*, February 22, 1940.
⁷⁴ Kentsukku (1929) collected in Honda.
⁷⁵ Hakushin (1933) collected in Honda.
⁷⁶ Katsuko, *North American Times*, October 21, 1939.
⁷⁷ Fujie, *North American Times*, September 28, 1939.
⁷⁸ Goro, *ibid.*
⁷⁹ Rosho, *North American Times*, February 12, 1941.
⁸⁰ Hakuho, *North American Times*, August 28, 1939.
⁸¹ Kaho (1929) collected in Honda.
⁸² Hakuho, *North American Times*, July 25, 1940.
⁸³ Ryoko, *North American Times*, September 28, 1939.
⁸⁴ Gogaijin, June 19, 1938, collected in Asega.
⁸⁵ Gyokuto, *North American Times*, August 26, 1939.
⁸⁶ Kakei, *North American Times*, August 7, 1940.
⁸⁷ Gyokuto, *North American Times*, August 23, 1941.
⁸⁸ Bonsai, *California Daily News*, January 1, 1940.
⁸⁹ Shoufu, *ibid.*
⁹⁰ Nissho, *California Daily News*, May 4, 1941.
⁹¹ Jakki, *North American Times*, January 1, 1940.
⁹² Gyokuto, *ibid.*
⁹³ Shotei (1932) collected in Honda.
⁹⁴ Sekishu, *North American Times*, December 134, 1937.
⁹⁵ Keima, *North American Times*, September 23, 1939.
⁹⁶ Ryunen, *North American Times*, March 15, 1941.
⁹⁷ Goichi, *North American Times*, March 18, 1941.
⁹⁸ Kyosui, *North American Times*, August 16, 1941.
⁹⁹ Senke, *North American Times*, October, 22, 1941.
¹⁰⁰ Midori, *California Daily News*, May 11, 1941.
¹⁰¹ Sanjubo, *North American Times*, June 6, 1940.
¹⁰² Shosui, *North American Times*, June 20, 1940.
¹⁰³ Ippongi, *California Daily News*, September 21, 1941.
¹⁰⁴ Yoshio, *North American Times*, September 25, 1941.
¹⁰⁵ Without registration within 14 days of the birth, a child born in the United States could not hold Japanese nationality.
¹⁰⁶ Dontsuku, *North American Times*, July 22, 1941.
¹⁰⁷ Hasen, *North American Times*, May 21, 1941.
¹⁰⁸ Hokkai, *North American Times*, December 4, 1939.
¹⁰⁹ Shiko, *North American Times*, March 26, 1941.
¹¹⁰ Goichi, *North American Times*, November 30, 1940.
¹¹¹ Gyokuto, *North American Times*, June 15, 1941.
¹¹² Kyutaro, *North American Times*, July 23, 1938.
¹¹³ Katsuko, *California Daily News*, June 15, 1941.
¹¹⁴ Shinson, *North American Times*, January 1, 1940.
¹¹⁵ Kaifu, *North American Times*, June 26, 1941.