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Illegal Travelers to the United States: A Study of Japanese Emigration Focused on Ehime's "American Village"

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I

INTRODUCTION

WHEN THIS author was examining the papers of the Foreign Ministry relating to illegal Japanese overseas travelers, she found in those papers many references to illegal travelers from Ehime Prefecture(*ken*).[1] They suggested the fact that Ehime, which was not among the major "emigration prefectures," such as Hiroshima, Yamaguchi and Wakayama, sent more illegal emigrants to North America than, or as many as, any of these "emigration prefectures" during the 1910s and 20s. They also suggested that a particular region, Nishi-Uwa County (*gun*), supplied most of Ehime's illegal emigrants and that the single village (*mura*), Maana, produced nearly one third of them (cf. Table 1).

Soon afterwards the author began to research on illegal emigration from Maana and its neighboring areas, particularly from Anai, one of

This paper is based on the author's "Ehime no Amerika mura no jittai" [The Actual Conditions of Ehime's "American Village"], Tsudajuku Daigaku [Tsuda College], *Kokusaikankei kenkyū*, No 9(1983), supplement, pp. 51–70.

[1] Gaikō Shiryōkan [The Diplomatic Record Office] holds three groups of records relating to illegal overseas travels: "Honpōjin kaigai eno mikkō kankei zakken [Miscellaneous Cases Relating to Illegal Overseas Travels], March 1888" (7 bundles), "Fusei gaikoku tokōsha shūsennin torishimari zakken [Miscellaneous Cases Relating to the Control of Illegal Overseas Travel Brokers], April 1902–Oct. 1921" (6 bundles), and "Fusei tokōsha oyobi dō hōjosha torishimari kankei zakken [Miscellaneous Cases Relating to the Control of Illegal Overseas Travelers and Their Travel Brokers], May 1920–" (2 bundles).

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Table 1
The Yearly Numbers of Would-be Illegal Emigrants From Nishi-Uwa County Recorded in Foreign Ministry Documents

Village/Town	1902	11	12	13	14	17	20	22	23	24	25	27	Total
Misaki											2		2
Kanmatsuna				1									1
Mitsukue										2			2
Ikata	1			[3]							1		5[3]
Miyauchi				2	1					1			4
Kisuki			1	4	2								7
Kawanoishi			4	10	2								16
Hizuchi				8	4								12
Yawatahama(Town)				1									1
Futaiwa										1			1
Kawakami	1			8			5	3	2		2	2	23
Maana				7			15	7	3	11	9	3	55
Nikibu(Nigyu)		[4]											[4]
Mikame					3					5			8
Mishima								10	5	2		1	18
Yanozaki					6			2					8
Shitama						2							2
Total	2	4	5	44	18	2	20	22	10	22	14	6	169
Means of Illegal Emigration to US	IP		U	U	U		H	H	H	H	H	H	

A number in [ ] indicates the number of would-be illegal emigrants to Australia. All other numbers indicate those of would-be illegal emigrants to US. U stands for *utasebune*; H for hiding themselves on a ship; IP for the use of passports invalid for a trip to US.

the three sections (*ōaza*) of Maana Village, which had been absorbed by Yawatahama City (*shi*) in 1960 and called Maana District (*chiku*) since then. Because many returned emigrants resided there, Anai was called an "American village" (Amerika *mura*) by neighboring people. She visited there four times, from 1980 to 1982, and stayed there nearly 60 days in total, conducting interviews and surveying public and private records.[2]

[2] The first visit: July 10–14, 1980
The second visit: August 16–19, 1980
The third visit: August 31-September 14, 1981
The fourth visit: June 9–July 10, 1982
The first and second visits were for preliminary research. The author surveyed all area

This research is most probably the last one regarding a so-called "American village" based on systematic interviews with one-time emigrants themselves and an extensive use of village records. As such, it may claim its uniqueness. Among the "American villages," Maana seems to be the only one that sent more emigrants to North America during the Taisho and early Showa Eras than during the Meiji Era. Other villages sent most of their emigrants during the latter half of the Meiji Era. Thus, it was still possible in the early 1980s to conduct interviews with many former emigrants and their contemporaries.[3] Most of the preceding works on Japanese emigration have analyzed objective causes of emigration, but very few have inquired into the personal motives of individual emigrants. As William Petersen pointed out, emigration studies without such an inquiry leave much to be desired.[4] But the time for such an inquiry, it is feared, has almost passed by now for students of prewar Japanese emigration history.

The author was aware at the time of the interviews that her interviewees' memories of their youthful days were inevitably vague and inaccurate to some degree because of the passage of time and their old age. She tried to draw out from them memories as clear as possible through careful interview techniques, and she usually had with her another elderly person who knew her interviewee well when she conducted an interview.[5]

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included in present-day Yawatahama City, and tried to grasp the rough outline of prewar overseas emigration in the area, visiting families which were known to have sent emigrants overseas only. In the third and fourth visits, she limited her research area to Anai and gathered information relating mainly to the years from the middle of the Taisho Era through the Early Showa Era, that is, the latter half of the 1910s and most of the 1920s. She visited in Anai not only families which sent emigrants overseas during the era of "illegal emigration" but also families which did not send any emigrants.

[3] The author visited 107 out of all 322 households (September 1982) in Anai, including presumably all the households in which returned emigrants lived at the time of research or had lived.

[4] William Petersen, *Politics of Population* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), p. 275.

[5] The author usually began interviews with questions about family members and structure, which helped to clarify interviewees' memories. She prepared a set of 69 questions for interviews, but used them with discretion. In preparing the questionnaire, she referred to Kenkichi Iwasaki's and Tadashi Fukutake's works which were partly based on interviews with returned emigrants in Wakayama Prefecture. Iwasaki, "Kii hantō minami kaigan ni okeru kaigai dekasegi imin no kenkyū" [A Study of Emigrants from the South Coast of Kii Penninsula], (1)-(4), Vols. 12 (1936), pp. 58--661; 13 (1937), pp. 183-200; 14 (1938), pp. 302-320, 540-541. Fukutake, *Amerika mura: Imin sōshutu*

Fortunately for this research, the Maana village records, which included social and economic statistics of the early 20th century, were preserved at the Maana District Branch Office of Yawatahama City. No neighboring towns and villages preserved similar records of the same period. A study of emigration history cannot make an accurate assessment of the socio-economic meanings of emigration, unless it is based on local statistical records. Because of the scarcity of relevant local records, however, socio-economic studies of emigration have mostly relied on statistical records compiled by the national or prefectural governments, which do not offer detailed statistical pictures on a local level. Although the author wishes she had started her research much earlier, she is consoled with the thought that she was able to reconstruct at least part of the significant history of prewar illegal emigration on the basis of the precious firsthand memories and primary sources available in Maana before they were lost forever.

This paper, a product of this research,[6] aims to clarify "who, how and why" about Anai's illegal overseas travelers and to analyze the socio-economic meanings of their emigration. It is the author's contention that, although those emigrants were motivated to make money, it does not necessarily mean that they were poor, as it has usually been alleged. In fact, they came mostly from the middle income strata of the village. It appears that they became illegal travelers because they were adventurous and enterprising. Except for the case of contract laborers, emigration usually required an investment of a certain amount of money for preparation and traveling. Thus it is possible to regard, as Hiroshi Saito argued, that emigration was rather a middle-class phenomenon.[7]

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mura no jittai [An American Village: The Impact of Emigration upon the Village] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1953).

[6] Another Product of this research is "Ehime no Amerika mura" [An "American Village" in Ehime], published in Ryūkoku Daigaku Shakaikagaku Kenkyūjo [Social Science Institute of Ryukoku University], *Shakaikagaku Kenkyūnenpō*, No. 12, supplement (1982), pp. 34–49. The author also published a book, *Amerika no kaze ga fuita mura* [The Village Where an American Wind Was Blowing] (Matsuyama: Ehime ken Bunkashinkō Zaidan, 1987).

[7] Hiroshi Saito, "Ijūsha no boson—Kōchi ken Ino chō Katsugase buraku no chōsa hōkoku" [An Emigrant-Sending Village: A Survey Report on Katsugase Section of Ino Town, Kochi Prefecture], *Kokusai keizai kenkyū nenpō*, Vol. 8 (1958), p. 91.

II

ILLEGAL EMIGRANTS: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND MOTIVES

1) *The definition of an "illegal emigrant."*

The term "illegal emigrant" to the United States is defined for the purpose of this paper as a person who attempted to smuggle himself into the continental United States without a passport, evading the emigration regulations of the Japanese government and the immigration laws of the United States. This definition excludes an emigrant who went first to Canada or Mexico with a passport and later entered illegally into the United States. The definition above includes a person who failed in smuggling himself into the United States as well as a successful self-smuggler. Some would-be emigrants gave up attempting emigration at a Japanese port when they found no available ships; some were arrested by the Japanese authorities before their departure; some others, by the American authorities upon their arrival in the United States. Illegal emigration was punishable with a fine of 5 to 50 yen under the Emigrant Protection Act of 1895.

Illegal emigration began to increase as the Japanese government tightened its restriction on Japanese emigration to the United States in accordance with the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907–08 with the U.S. government. Since the Japanese government issued a passport to certain categories of emigrants going to the United States, particularly to parents, wives, and children of immigrants already living in America, however, the continental United States continued to remain the foremost recipient of Japanese immigrants during the 1910s. Since Ehime was not a major emigration prefecture, Ehime could not send many people to the United States under the category of parents, wives and children of an immigrant already living in America. Thus the Gentlemen's Agreement narrowed the opportunity for the Ehime people to emigrate to the United States and prompted a number of Ehime men to become illegal travelers.

The flow of legal Japanese emigrants was substantially curtailed in 1921 when the Japanese government, in response to mounting American criticism of the practice of marrying a woman to an immigrant after a mere exchange of photographs, stopped issuing a passport to "picture brides." Finally in 1924, the flow of legal Japanese emigration was completely stopped by the Japanese-exclusion clause of the

Immigration Act of 1924. As Table 1 suggests, it was in the first half of the 1920s that illegal emigration from Anai to the United States was at its peak.[8]

2) *Three Methods of Illegal Traveling*

There were three methods for emigration aspirants to make an illegal trip to the United States. The most adventurous way was to steer an *utasebune* across the Pacific. An *utasebune* was a seaworthy, but modest-sized fishing boat usually used for offshore fishing.[9] No one from Anai tried this adventurous method. But seven men from Maajiro, another section of Maana Village, ventured to cross the ocean on an *utasebune* in 1913. The Ueno brothers, Kikumatsu and Tomesaburo, who had worked on the West Coast for seven years, wished to return to the United States to earn some more money. Because of

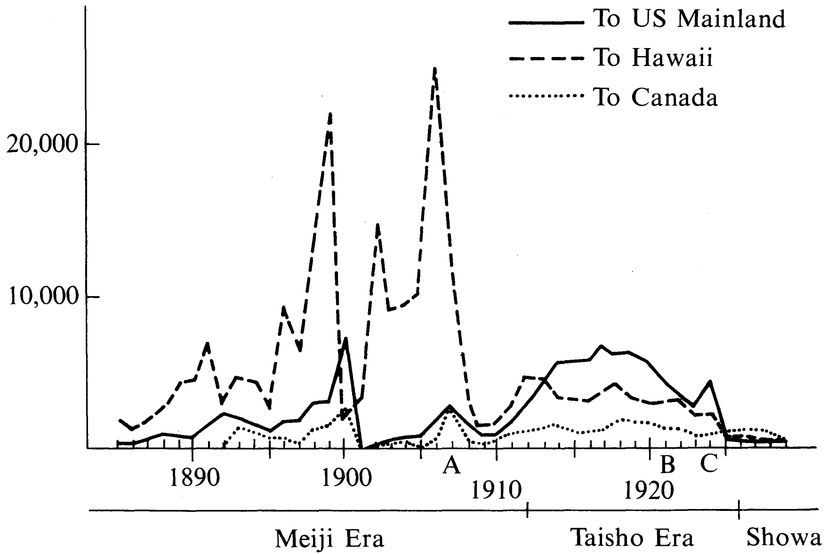
[8] The yearly numbers of attempted illegal emigration from Maana to USA, computed on the basis of the author's own research in Maana and at the Diplomatic Record Office, are as follows. Although the author found that 69 persons from Anai emigrated illegally to USA and that 36 Anai men failed in their attempts to emigrate to USA, she could not ascertain in many cases which year they attempted illegal emigration. Thus the list below is quite incomplete.

Yearly Numbers of Illegal Emigrants from Anai to US

	1919 & B	1920	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926 & A
Would-be Illegal Emigrants Reported in FMR	0	12	5	3	7	5	3
SL		6	4	2	4	1	
FA		1					
CA		1					
GU		4	1		2	3	3
Real and Would-be Illegal Emigrants Not Reported in FMR	5	2	5	4	3	9	11
Success	5	1	5	4	3	9	10
Failure		1					1
Total	5	14	10	7	10	14	14

FMR=Foreign Ministry Records, SL=those who succeeded later in illegal emigration in their second attempt, FA=those who failed again later in their second attempt, CA=those who went later to Canada, GU=those who gave up the idea of going abroad, Success=those who succeeded in illegal emigration, Failure=those who attempted but failed in illegal emigration. (B=before; A=after)

[9] Utasebune is a fishing boat equipped with "utaseami" fishing net. This boat was used mainly in the Inland Sea region and in Mie Prefecture. In the Nishi-Uwa region around Yawatahama the use of this boat reached its peak in 1905. This boat was built to endure strong wind and waves in the rough Sea of Uwa. But it was small and for coastal fishing. Utasebune can still be seen in Lake Kasumigaura in the Kanto region.



Japanese Emigration, 1885–1929

A: The Gentlemen's Agreement (1907–08)
B: "Picture Brides" were banned. (1921)
C: The Immigration Act of 1924

the regulation of the Japanese government, they were not able to obtain a passport. Having invited five youths to join them, they together purchased an *utasebune*, provided it for a long journey, and embarked on a trans-Pacific voyage with a simple map and a compass in March 1913. They took 28 days to reach Izu Oshima from Maana because they sailed against strong winds. The ocean was rough and, as they later told Japanese officials, "the ship was almost overturned countless times." But the adventurers managed to cross the ocean safely, taking 55 days after they had left Oshima, that is, 83 days after they had left their native village.[10] The unfortunate travelers, however, were arrested upon their arrival in America by U.S. agents and were sent back to Japan. Thus all the hardships of their trans-Pacific venture seemed to have been wasted. But not entirely. When they returned home, they were made heroes by the people of their village and of its neighboring communities. They were also sympathized with by Japanese living in the United States. When the story of these brave but unfortunate illegal

[10] "Honpōjin kaigai eno mikkō kankei zakken" (cf. note 1), Diplomatic Record Office.

seafarers was reported in the Japanese communities in America, many Japanese immigrants offered them consolation money. The money reached a considerable amount in total, and the seven frustrated travelers received the money from the village officials.[11] Because of this fame and the consolation money, it was quite natural that they did not feel like criminals at all.

A trans-Pacific passage by an *utasebune* was very dangerous, but it was the fastest way to get to America. Besides, it was a relatively inexpensive way. The second method of illegal traveling was to find employment on a steamer going to North America and to jump the ship in an American port. This was much safer than the first method and also relatively inexpensive. But it was very uncertain when a traveler could reach an American port by this means. A traveler had often to travel to a foreign port and wait for a convenient ship to get aboard as a crew member.

Kikutaro Hashimoto traveled to the United States in 1916 by this mode of traveling. He reminisced about his experience in the interview with the author: "I left Japan for Calcutta, India, and got aboard a foreign ship from thence. . . . The port traded with America briskly, and there were many ships sailing to America. . . . I sailed to Calcutta as a passenger. Had I sailed to Calcutta directly from Japan, I should have carried a passport. But I did not need a passport as I traveled by way of Shanghai. Shanghai was a liberal place at that time. . . . I stayed in Calcutta about six months, waiting for a ship to pick me up as a crew member."[12] According to his diary, it took for Hashimoto ten and half months to reach Baltimore.[13] He did not care how long it would take. "If I worked one year in America, I thought, I could earn as much as my ten years' wages in Japan. . . . Even if it would take nine years for me to arrive in America, I thought I would break even after one year in America."

[11] Each of those unsuccessful illegal emigrants received 40 to 50 yen twice. "Shomu zassho awase-tuzuri" [Miscellaneous Papers Relating to General Affairs, Bound Together], Maana Village Records, Maana District Branch Office, the Municipal Government of Yawatahama.

[12] K. Hashimoto (Anai, Male, b. 1892), interviewed, July 13–14, 1980.

[13] Hashimoto left Anai on January 14, 1916, traveled first to Moji to get aboad a ship to Shanghai, left Shanghai on February 7, and arrived in Calcutta on March 13 by way of Hong Kong, Singapore, Penan, and Rangoon. After a half year's stay in Calcutta, he became a crew member on a British ship, which arrived in Baltimore on November 30, and in New York on December 6, after stopping at Cape Town and several ports in the Caribbean.

Since the job opportunity on a ship going to America was limited and uncertain, however, most of the illegal travelers chose the third method: to travel to America as a stowaway on a Japanese ship. Usually stowaways traveled in group; thus they were psychologically more secure than a solitary traveler. It was the safest way, but needed a considerable amount of money to pay to a stowaway broker who had his accomplices among the officers and crew of the ship. In the middle of the 1920s, a broker demanded 1,000 to 1,500 yen from an illegal emigrant, and received a half of that sum before the latter's embarkation.[14]

Kikumatsu Nakada told of his experience: "In December 1924, I left for America. It was immediately after Japanese immigration was banned by the immigration law of 1924. . . . I hid myself in various places on a ship, sometimes in the life jacket room, sometimes in the food storage, moving from one place to another. Of course I had someone who took care of me aboard the ship. He was an officer called the chief steward. And I had an uncle and an aunt living in America. It was those relatives of mine who asked the chief steward to get us to America. Anyway it was a dangerous travel. It was December and January, a season of the rough ocean. . . . It was very cold outside, but very warm inside the closed storage. I sweated a lot and often felt almost suffocated."[15]

3) *The Number and Classification of the Anai Emigrants*

How many people attempted to emigrate illegally from Anai and its neighboring communities? It cannot be known accurately. Because of the nature of the matter, no statistical sources are available. The only records which give us some idea on the extent of illegal emigration are the Foreign Ministry records mentioned at the beginning of this paper. These documents recorded the cases of illegal emigration which became known to the authorities. But there must have been many illegal emigrants who escaped the attention of the authorities. The Foreign Ministry sources record 21 cases involving 169 men from Nishi-Uwa County who attempted to emigrate illegally (Table 1). Six men tried to emigrate to Australia. But all others wanted to go to the United States. 62 men attempted to emigrate, mostly by *utasebune*, in

[14] This is confirmed in the author's interviews in Maana, including those with a number of one-time illegal emigrants.

[15] K. Nakada (Anai, male, b. 1907), interviewed, August, 17, 1980.

the two years of 1913–14. After a lapse of several years, the number increased in 1920 and a sizable number of people attempted to emigrate in the first half of the 1920s. Maana villagers consisted nearly one third of those 169 men, and it may be assumed that Maana's Anai Section, nicknamed an "American village," sent particularly many illegal emigrants.

The author, after her intensive survey in Anai, concludes that there were probably 188 persons from Anai who emigrated legally or attempted to emigrate illegally. As for 170 of the 188 persons, she was able to confirm by interviews with themselves or their families. As for the remaining 18, she could not interview them nor their families. Of the 170 persons whose experience was confirmed through interviews, 147 were males and 23 were females. All females were legal emigrants who went to the United States as a bride or a family member of an immigrant. Of the 147 males, 21 were legal emigrants(A), and 78 were illegal emigrants(B) (Although there is some slight possibility that two of them were actually legal emigrants, they are classified in this category). Nine were in either of the two categories above, but information was insufficient(C). 36 were those who attempted to emigrate but gave up at a Japanese port or failed in smuggling themselves(D). As for the remaining three, the statements of their families were too vague to classify them, although their families said they had been would-be emigrants. It is remarkable that 114 persons, 77.6% of the 147 males, were real or would-be illegal emigrants.

The following table shows a breakdown of the 144 real or would-be male emigrants by destination.

Table 2
Destination of Anai's Male Emigrants

Destination	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	Total
USA (Continent)	11	69	8	36	124
Canada	0	7	0	0	7
Java	7	0	0	0	7
Peru	3	0	0	0	3
Hawaii	0	1	1	0	2
Australia	0	1	0	0	1
Total	21	78	9	36	144

Thus an overwhelming majority aimed to emigrate to the continental United States. Most of those who chose to emigrate to Hawaii and Canada wanted to enter the United States eventually. Even among those who went to Australia and Java, some really wanted to go to the United States. There was a definite preference for the United States among Anai's emigration aspirants.

Among the real or would-be male emigrants, at least 52 were eldest sons or otherwise heirs to their households. Among those who were not eldest sons, 14 men were married at the time of emigration. Thus the rule that emigrants were mostly unmarried second or third sons does not apply to Anai's emigrants. This means that they were temporary emigrants who intended to come home after making some money abroad. "It was my plan to come home," said a former emigrant from Maajiro, "as soon as I had saved 10,000 yen."[16] They intended to be only sojourners, not permanent settlers abroad.

Most of the emigrants from Nishi-Uwa County worked in the Seattle-Tacoma area; many worked at western-style restaurants. Those who went to Canada worked in saw-mills or on farms around Vancouver. In Australia, emigrants from Anai worked in Bloom as pearl-fishermen. Not much is known about pioneer emigrants from Anai to the continental United States. Kihei Tanaka, Katsutaro Miyoshi, Denzo Nakahiro, Enzo Seike, and Kamekichi Takeuchi were the earliest emigrants from Anai, who went to the United States around the turn of the century. There was a custom among this region's families sending emigrants to organize "kō," an association to pray for the safety of emigrants. As early as 1905, a document of Anai's Shinto shrine recorded 20 names as members of Anai's "Amerika-ko."[17] It may be surmised therefore that there were already 20 emigrants in America in that year. It is said that the first illegal emigrant from Anai, Torakichi Yamazaki, went to America via India in 1907.[18]

[16] R. Abe (Maajiro, male), interviewed, August 18, 1980. Usually an emigrant's family began to urge him to return home after a few years. In many cases, Unmarried emigrants returned to get married. Sometimes an emigrant's family had arranged marriage for him and the bride had lived with his family even before his return.

[17] The "Amerika-kō" document was among the old papers preserved at Tenmangū Shrine in Anai.

[18] This information was given by several interviewees, including D. Ninomiya (Anai, male).

4) *The Socio-Economic Status of the Households Which Emigrants Came From*

When the author asked her Anai interviewees whether emigrants belonged to poorer families, only 13.2% responded affirmatively, including lukewarmly affirmative answers. There is a record of Maana Village very convenient to estimate the socio-economic status of the households which emigrants came from. It is the bi-annual lists which ranked all the households in accordance with their income levels. The ranking was approved by the Village Assembly and used as the basis of prefectural taxation.[19] Table 3, computed from the record for the first half of fiscal 1916, shows the breakdown into income ranks of all the Anai households and of the households which sent male emigrants.

The author included in the emigrant-sending households only those which sent emigrants (including those who attempted but gave up at a Japanese port or failed to enter a foreign country) later than 1916. Their percentage was highest in the Category III, ranks 10th to 14th. The table indicates that Anai's average emigrant came from a family of upper-middle rank.Most of the 17 emigrant-sending households at the bottom category, 25th to tax-exempt ranks, in 1916 had been rated at higher ranks in 1900 (Table 4). At least 10 households had been in

Table 3
The Status of Emigrant-Sending Households in the Income Ranks for Prefectural Taxation (1916)

Rank Categories	Income (Half Year)	A	B	A/B (%)
I Special to 4th	¥6,890–2,500	9	1	11.1
II 5th to 9th	2,000–1,230	24	8	33.2
III 10th to 14th	1,100– 880	38	15	39.5
IV 15th to 19th	830– 620	58	21	36.2
V 20th to 24th	580– 380	33	9	27.3
VI 25th to 29th	330– 160	85	17	20.0
VII 30th to No Tax	120–	47	5	10.6
Unknown			6	

A=Number of households
B=Number of Emigrant-sending households
C=Percentage of B in relation to A

[19] "Maana mura sonkai gijiroku" [The Minutes of the Maana Village Assembly], of 1900 and 1916, the Maana District Branch Office.

Table 4
Ranks of the Emigrant-Sending Households in the Category VII of Table 2 Compared with Their Respective Ranks in 1900

Change in Rank	Number of Households
0–4 ranks down	2
5–9 ranks down	8
10–14 ranks down	3
15–19 ranks down	4
Unknown	5

ranks higher than 25th. Thus it may be said that, contrary to the common assumption, those who wanted to emigrate from Anai came either from a middle-income family or from a family whose economic fortune had gone down significantly during the first 15 years of this century.

It is unreasonable to regard illegal emigration as something attempted by ignorant men. There is not much information regarding the educational level of Anai's illegal emigrants. Most of them seemed to be graduates from lower(1st–4th grades) or higher elementary schools(5th–8th grades). However, they included a graduate from Yawatahama Commercial School (only two or three entered this school from Anai every year), and also a graduate from Okayama Normal School who, as an emigrant, taught at a Japanese-language school while working at a Western style restaurant. Anai people had been known for their eagerness in education. Kikumatsu Nakada studied in night school for two years after he had graduated from a higher elementary school. Then he studied English privately.

Kikumatsu Nakada reminisced: "When I was young, Waseda Middle School's English textbooks were published by Waseda University Press. I studied some basic English with these textbooks. That was helpful when I went to America. My teacher was a graduate from Yawatahama Commercial School. He lived in Yawatahama. I went to his house to learn English many evenings. No, this doesn't mean that I had then any definite intention of going to America. I decided to learn English because there were several friends of mine who wanted to learn."

When Nakada and his cousins emigrated to the United States, they studied English at a night school for some period of time. Some con-

tinued to study as long as two years while earning their living. Nakada explained: "If you couldn't speak sufficient English, your job opportunity would be limited. If your command of English was good enough, you could take a better job and get a better pay." He had an advantage in his American life, since he was helped by his uncle and aunt. But he had an articulate mind to plan for a better life. Thus he and his cousins worked for a while at restaurants managed by Japanese immigrants—"an eating place for laborers" according to them. In due time, however, they were able to work at "higher-class" restaurants operated by French- or German-Americans.[20] Nakada's eagerness to learn was probably exceptional. But many emigrants sent money back home to help in the education of their children or their younger brothers and sisters.

III

THE MOTIVES OF EMIGRATION

(1) *The Enterprising Spirit of the Anai People*

If emigration to the United States was prohibited when people were planning to emigrate there, they would normally give up emigration or seek to emigrate to another country. But many Anai people chose the third alternative: illegal emigration to the United States. When we examine their motives, therefore, it would be necessary for us to ask two different questions. One is, "why did they want to emigrate?" and the other, "why did they want to emigrate to America so desperately?" First, the author will answer the first question mainly by examining Anai's "push" factors; then the second question, mainly by examining America's "pull" factors.

The primary motive for Anai's illegal emigrants was a desire to improve their financial conditions. Many interviewees stated: "Since this place has only a very limited space . . .," "Because we couldn't earn enough to eat . . .," and "Because we couldn't earn enough when economic conditions were at the bottom . . ." Nevertheless, most of the interviewees did not consider their village particularly poorer than other villages. Neither did they consider their village nor their family so poor that they could not live without someone earning money in the

[20] K. Nakada (cf. note 15), interviewed, August 17., 1980.

United States. Fumio Tamaki stated: "Those who worked hard were able to live rather well even if they remained in Anai. We could eat at least because there were some jobs in several factories in this village, textile and fishing-net factories and rice-polishing mills."[21] Another woman, Yasuno Muranaka, agreed: "Income in a small village was very modest. But we didn't have to go out to find a job, for we were able to work in fishing-net factories."[22] The economic background of emigration will be discussed further in the next section of this paper.

Behind their desire to improve their economic lot lay Anai's forward-looking, profit-oriented mind. The Anai people were keenly interested in something profitable, something new. An example illustrating Anai's enterprising spirit was the post-office, which opened in 1902 and was quite large for a small village, was the second oldest in Nishi-Uwa. Another example was the fact that, in 1900, a local private bank was established in a village of about 300 households. Because of their enterprising spirit, the Anai people quickly turned to some new profitable products. If cotton textiles seemed profitable, they started manufacturing cotton textiles; if sericulture seemed profitable, they lost no time in turning to it; if citrus fruits appeared to bring in good income, they quickly planted citruses. If working in America seemed profitable, it was natural for them to emigrate to America by all means. "We were not frogs in a pond who did not know an ocean." said a person in Anai, "we were looking out for a chance overseas."[23]

In this connection, it should be recalled that this region was part of the territory of the Uwajima clan, one of the progressive clans of Southwestern Japan toward the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate, which was eager to adopt Western products and institutions. Yawatahama had maintained trade relations with Nagasaki during the Tokugawa Period. This tradition certainly influenced Anai's preference for overseas emigration. But Anai sent particularly many illegal emigrants among the Nishi-Uwa communities. "We were more progressive-minded [than our neighbors]," said an Anai man. Anai's neighbors in Nishi-Uwa, too, considered the Anai people different. "The Anai people have been skilled in making money from the old days," the

[21] M. Omoto (Anai, female, no emigrant in her family), interviewed, June 22, 1982.

[22] T. Yashiki (Anai, male, failed in his attempt to emigrate illegally), interviewed, September 1981.

[23] C. Inoue (Anai, male, b. 1934, his uncle emigrated illegally), interviewed, June 19, 1982.

author heard such a remarks very often.[24] The environment of a fishing village with a lesser flat land than any other village in Nishi-Uwa, it may be said, nurtured the particularly enterprising spirit of the Anai people.

The third factor was the fact that emigration to America became a fashion in Anai for a time. The villagers were infected with an "American fever" for a while. "An American wind was blowing," as many Anai people said. "When [some earlier emigrants] returned from America, wearing Western clothes and displaying a gold watch," Shin'e Abe recalled, "everyone was greatly impressed and imagined America as a land of opportunity."[25] "It was as if everyone had thought it would be foolish if an able-bodied man remained at home without trying to emigrate," said Yukino Jikyo, "my family was a rather land-rich farming family. Yet my husband was infected with this fever and went to America."[26] It also became a means for Anai's youths to prove their manliness. As Mina Omoto stated: "You have to be smart to be an illegal emigrant. You should have guts and ambition, too. Those days many youths wanted to prove their manliness by trying to emigrate illegally. . . . It was not something anyone could succeed in easily." Thus Takeshi Yashiki recalled that "it became almost a custom for brave young men to try illegal emigration at least once after finishing their military service."[27]

Illegal emigrants needed someone who would facilitate their passage. "Since Anai was a fishing village," an interviewee told the author, "there were people who had connections with seamen. Thus it was rather easier to find someone willing to help in illegal emigration."[28] That was the fourth push factor.

Another push factor was compulsory military service.[29] The Kainan

[24] When the author visited this region, she felt that Anai had an atmosphere different from other communities in this region. It was different even from that of Maajiro, the other section of the same Maana District. People in Anai were far more open-minded to a stranger like her.

[25] S. Abe (Mikame Village, Nishi-Uwa, her husband emigrated legally), interviewed, September 7, 1981.

[26] Y. Jikyo (Anai, female, b. 1906), interviewed, July 1982.

[27] F. Tamaki (Anai, female, b. 1919, no emigrant in her family), interviewed, June 27, 1982; Y. Muranaka (Anai, female, b. 1913, no emigrant in her family), interviewed. June 27, 1982.

[28] Kameichi Nakae (Anai, male, b. 1899), interviewed, July 9, 1982.

[29] The numbers of the Maana youths who reported to the preliminary test for military service for 1910, 1911, and 1912 were 39, 47, and 57 respectively. The

Shinbun, an Ehime newspaper, reported on March 25, 1907: "Many have tried to evade compulsory military service by various means. A number of youths, especially of wealthy families, have succeeded in evading military service by going to the United States. These days, however, the authorities are attentive to prevent this kind of military service evaders. . . . Thus the practice of going to America to evade military service is declining." Many interviewees agreed that the evasion of military service was one of the aims of emigration. But only one interviewee was frank enough to admit that his brother emigrated to the United States to avoid military service: "He went to Korea at the age of 16 and came back when he was 21. He was about to be drafted into military service. If he stayed here longer, he thought, he wouldn't be able to avoid it. So he went to Kobe and sailed to America to work in the Seattle-Tacoma area."[30]

Anai's illegal emigrants were not bothered by the fact that illegal emigration was a criminal act. They were not restrained at all by guilt-consciousness, because they had no sense of guilt. This tendency was encouraged by the leniency of Japanese officials toward illegal emigrants. Gen'ichi Nakamura, a former illegal emigrant told the author: "When I came back to Yokohama, officials at the Custom Office didn't examine us seriously, saying that we had done something good for the country by earning foreign money."[31]

(2) *The Image of America as a Land of Plenty*

Why then should the destination be the United States? After the Japanese-exclusion legislation in the United States, the flow of Japanese emigration turned from North America to South America, the Pacific region, and Manchuria. Ehime Prefecture sent 3,709 emigrants to Brazil from 1908 through 1939, 311 of them emigrating from Nishi-Uwa County.[32] During those years, some Anai emigrants

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numbers of those who were exempted from military service because of emigration for the same three years were 14(Continental USA 10, Hawaii and Netherland Indies 4), 14 (Continental USA 10, Hawaii and NI 4), and 18(Continental USA 13, Hawaii and NI 5). The Maana Village Lists of Young Males for Military Service, Maana District Branch Office.

[30] S. T. (Anai, male, his brother was an illegal emigrant), interviewed, June 16, 1982.

[31] Gen'ichi Nakamura (Anai, male, b. 1896), interviewed, June 10, 1982.

[32] Ehime Ken Kaigai Ijū Kumiai [Ehime Overseas Emigration Association], "Ehime ken to kaigai ijū: nendo betsu gunshi betu Burajiru ijūsha sū" [Ehime Prefecture and

headed for these countries. But they were much fewer than illegal emigrants to the United States. Why should so many have headed for the United States in spite of legal barriers, investing a considerable sum of money on an illegal voyage, and risking their lives during a hazardous passage?

What attracted ambitious Anai people to the United States was the high wages they were supposed to earn in America. As cited before, Kikutaro Hashimoto expected he could earn ten times as much in America as in Japan. His expectation was not unreasonable. Shigetaro Utsunomiya, who emigrated from Asadachi(present-day Mikame) in Nishi-Uwa to Seattle in 1907, earned 768 dollars (1,635 yen) from April 1 through December of the year, and 1,172 dollars in 1908. He earned 12,335.35 dollars (26,346 yen) in total during his ten-year stay in the United States.[33] In 1907, a textile factory in Anai paid 0.45 to 0.70 yen per day to a male worker.[34] If Utsunomiya had worked in Anai from April through December 1907, his total wages would have been between 124 and 193 yen. If the mean, 159 yen, is taken, it is about one tenth of the 768 dollars he actually earned in America.

True, workers could earn better wages in the United States than in any other countries.[35] But did Anai's emigration aspirants have information about labor conditions in other countries? Almost all former emigrants answered in the interview that they never considered conditions in other countries. One stated that South America seemed to be out of question because of low wages. Since many emigrants had returned from America with their success stories, Anai people had

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Overseas Emigration: The Yearly Numbers of Emigrants from the Various Counties and Cities], 1940.

[33] Takeyoshi Kikuchi, "Utsunomiya Shigetaro den" [A Biography of Shigetaro Utsunomiya], 1980, unpublished manuscript. According to this manuscript, Utsunomiya earned $60 to $70 per month by delivering milk in the vicinity of Seattle from April 2 to August 15, 1918; 45 cents per hour ($100 per month) in the vicinity of Seattle from August 15 to September 18; $90 per month at a restaurant in Seattle from September 19 to the end of the year. Thus he earned $768.50 in total in 1907. In 1908, he continued to work at the restaurant until January 22; 40 cents per hour working for the Union Railroad from January 23 to July 7; 42 cents per hour at a "round-house" of the Railroad after July 8. The total income was $1,172.64 for the year.

[34] "Maana mura kangyō tokei" [Industrial Statistics, Maana Village], Maana District Branch Office.

[35] According to Colin Clark, the average wage for a relatively skilled worker in 1930 was $42.02 in USA, $35.00 in Canada, $26.00 in Australia, $17.3 in Great Britain, $13.8 in Germany, and $10.5 in France. Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress* (London, 1940), cited in Julius Isaac, *Economics of Migration* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), p. 28.

much information—favorable information—of American conditions. On the other hand, very few returned from other countries. In the case of Australia, emigrants died of caisson disease, and two of the three who went to Peru did not return. Thus the United States had a strong pull factor as a land of plenty where a chance to make money seemed to be everywhere. Besides, many Anai people had some relatives or some neighbor's family members living in America. They expected that those relatives and former neighbors would be willing to help them when they decided to try illegal entry into the United States. This was also America's pull factor for Anai villagers.

Since returned emigrants mostly told of their success stories in America, the Anai people were not much informed of anti-Japanese agitations. When emigrants spoke of anti-Japanese agitations, they apparently blamed Japanese rather than Americans. It was rumored among the villagers that Japanese farmers were disliked in America because they used night-soil as fertilizer.[36]

One emigrant told his wife later about the disillusionment he felt about the reality of the emigrant life soon after his arrival. His wife recalled: "He did not expect to work on a rainy day. When he was in bed in a rainy morning, he was scolded by his boss. Those who had gone to America earlier sent us their pictures wearing good western clothes. So he thought emigrants would work in that kind of clothes. But in reality they wore shabby torn clothes. He often said after his return, 'I did not expect I had to work even on rainy days in such shabby working clothes'."[37] Photographs which emigrants had taken to send their families often caused this kind of misunderstanding. But such disillusionment was not told much by former emigrants. One returned emigrant told his son that people worked only eight hours a day in America. The son felt he did not mind working twelve hours a day and later went to work in America illegally.[38] It was good western clothes and other attractive goods emigrants brought home that had a strong influence in shaping the American image for the Anai people. Packages sent home by emigrants were also sources of envy of those households

[36] K. Hashimoto (cf. note 12).

[37] Hiroko Honda (Anai, female, her husband was an illegal emigrant), interviewed, June 30, 1982. For people in this region, it was quite dangerous to work in the field on rainy, windy days because they cultivated steep seaside slopes. Thus they were not used to work on rainy days.

[38] Naokichi Inoue (Anai, male, b. 1903, an illegal emigrant), interviewed, July 14, 1980.

which did not send any emigrant. A woman recalled: "I heard often about packages sent from America. My family didn't differ much from families which sent someone to America in the living standard. But we could not have a cash income to buy such goods. So we felt envious of those packages and money sent from America."[39] It was thus rather understandable, as a woman whose husband went to work to the United States, that "everyone wanted to go to America, a dream country." "When my husband traveled to America illegally," she remembered, "all my family prayed to the gods and Buddha for his safe landing in America."[40]

Since such an attractive image of America prevailed in the village, it may be said that the prevailing image was a push factor which drove many youths to the United States. "Can you see Edo (Tokyo)?" a father or some other adult used to ask a child playfully in many places in Japan, when he held the latter high over the head to please him. But people in the Nishi-Uwa region said to children in this play instead, "Can you see America?"[41] America was really the country they longed to go to.

IV

ILLEGAL EMIGRATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1) *The Impact of Anai's Geographical Features on Its Economy and Demography*

The Uwa Coast south of Cape Sata is a ria-type coast with little flat land. Farmland in this region, now mainly occupied by citrus orchards, consists of terraced fields on slopes cultivated often up to a hilltop. Flat land is particularly scarce in Anai. According to a recent survey, a half of its farmland is on slopes steeper than 30 degrees. Maajiro, another section of Maana Village, is blessed with less steep land.[42] Because of such natural conditions, most Maana villagers were not able to depend

[39] Nobue Yakushijin (Anai, female, no emigrant in her family), interviewed, June 13, 1982.

[40] M. Inoue (Anai, female, b. 1906), interviewed, Une 21, 1982.

[41] Yoshitaka Wada (Yawatahama, male, former high school teacher now collecting local folktales), interviewed, July 10, 1980.

[42] Maana Seika Nōgyō Kyōdō Kumiai [Maana Fruit and Vegetable Farming Cooperative], 1980 nendai no chiiki nōgyō shinkō keikaku [A Plan to Promote Regional Agriculture in the 1980s] (pamphlet, 1981), p. 11.

entirely upon agriculture for a livelihood in the early 20th century. In 1911, only 4.1 percent of the total households depended entirely on farming, although most households, 89.8 percent, were engaged in it. 32 percent of the total households were engaged in commerce (sales of cotton textiles and dried fish), 70.6 percent in manufacture (cotton textiles and fishing nets), and 70.0 percent in fishing. If these numbers are compared with the corresponding numbers for the whole of Nishi-Uwa County, then the characteristics of Maana's economy will be clear. In Nishi-Uwa County, which included relatively urbanized Yawatahama Town, 34.6 percent of the total households devoted their economic activities to farming. 70.6 percent of the total households were engaged in farming, 34.0 percent in commerce, 16.0 percent in manufacture, and 19.1 percent in fishing.[43] Maana's economy was characterized by an extremely low percentage of households devoted entirely to agriculture and a very high percentage of households partially engaged in manufacture and fishing.

Relating to diversification of their economic activities, Maana people looked for jobs outside the village. A sizable number of villagers began to go out of the village in the early 20th century. In 1913, 339 villagers, 7.7 percent of those who had their registered permanent residence (honseki) in Maana, lived somewhere else.[44] In 1918, these numbers rose to 671 and 14.6 percent. Those who lived in foreign countries were 82 in 1913 and 124 in 1918. Their number reached 242 in 1928 (Table 5). That is to say, 4.9 percent of Maana's permanent residents lived in foreign countries, mostly in the United States, and more than one of every three households had someone living in foreign countries in the year. A large majority of those villagers who lived elsewhere were males; females were able to work at spinning and textiles factories in the village. Thus there was in 1918 a considerable gap between the male and female resident population of the working age groups. But this gap disappeared in 1920 probably as a result of economic depression.[45]

[43] Computed from *Nishi-Uwa gun tōkeisho* [Nishi-Uwa County Statistics], ed. by Nishi-Uwa gun yakusho [County Office] (1911).

[44] Computed from "Maana mura jinkō tōkei" [Maana Village Population Statistics], Maana District Branch Office.

[45] Maana mura jinkō tōkei. A village document of 1920 mentioned that 502 villagers came home in the last three months of the year because of loss of jobs caused by an economic downturn. *Ibid.*

Table 5
Maana Villagers Living in Foreign Countries

Year	USA	Hawaii	Canada	Peru	Java	England	Other Countries	Total
1912	66			4			11	81
1913	72			4	5		11	82
1918				(not available)				124
1919	91	5	2	5	10			113
1920	109	4	5	4	13			135
1921	105	4	5	4	13			131
1922	107	4	6	3	14	1		135
1925				(not available)				211
1928				(not available)				242
1938				(not available)				191

Source: "Maana mura jinko tokei."

2) *Anai's Socio-Economic Development and Migration Trends*

Anai's socio-economic history from the Meiji Restoration to the depression of the 1930s may be divided into three periods.[46] The first period, a static period or a period of slow change, continued from the Meiji Restoration to the first several years of the 20th century. The second period, a very prosperous period, roughly corresponds to the 1910s. The third period, a less prosperous period, roughly corresponds to the 1920s.

After the Meiji Restoration, the traditional class of fishing boat and net owners (*amimoto*) lost their special privileges. Ehime's prefectural government opened sardine net fishing to all. As small-scale, less expensive methods of fishing developed, it became increasingly possible for fishing-hands (*amiko*) to start their own fishing ventures. Often they formed a group to purchase boats and nets. But fishing was an uncertain business. Income fluctuations were often unpredictable. Small-scale enterprises often suffered a fatal loss in a year of bad hauls. Some people involved in such a loss became early emigrants to the United States in the hope of regaining their financial status.

A man who netted 300 yen in his first year of dry fish business, suf-

[46] In making this periodization, the author is indebted much to Tokuya Chiba, "Bungo suidō engan ni okeru kyūshamen kōchi no seiritsu" [The Emergence of Steep Slope Farming on the Bungo-Suido Coast], *Chirigaku hyōron*, Vol. 33 (1960), pp. 447–62.

fered a great loss in the next year. Depending on his daughter married to an emigrant, he emigrated to the United States illegally and earned 10,100 yen in five years. Because of his success, four of his sons followed his example to emigrate illegally. Only his youngest son failed in smuggling himself into America.[47]

The second period was marked by continual poor years in sardine fishing and increasing prosperity in sericulture. Fishing was definitely relegated to the status of a secondary economic activity. "Iyo-ito," silk thread produced in southwestern Ehime, was of very high quality and, as an Ehime official proudly reported, was in great demand at the Yokohama market.[48] Because of a brisk silk thread market, sericulture began to thrive in Nishi-Uwa County soon after the turn of the century, and continued to thrive until the end of the 1920s. Compared with sweet-potato and rye, which needed year-around care but yielded only small profits, sericulture brought in a good cash income for labor of a limited season.[49] Thus the total size of mulberry tree fields expanded 7.7 times between 1904 and 1931, while the cultivation of rice, rye and sweet potatoes was curtailed.[50] These were the best years for sericulture in Maana and Nishi-Uwa in general. Citrus cultivation, the

[47] His seventh son, T. Yashiki (cf. n22), interviewed, September 1981.

[48] A report written by an official named Hattori to Governor Fukamachi on his official trip to Yokohama, May 8, 1914, in bound miscellaneous papers relating to promotion of industries, 1913–1914, Maana Village records.

[49] The table below may indicate how profitable mulberry tree cultivation was.

The Year 1919	rice	rye, etc*	s. potatoes	mulberry	citrus
planted area (tan)	197	766.6	108.0	656	410
total value of harvest (100 yen)	213.1	455.5	58.3	1050	422
value of harvest per tan (yen)	108.2	59.4	54.0	160.0	102.9

[1 acre is approximately 40 tan, * includes wheat and oats.]
Source: "Maana mura yakuba kangyō tōkei."

[50] The Expansion of Mulberry Tree Fields in Nishi-Uwa.

Year	rice	rye, etc*	sweet potato	mulberry	citrus
1904	1,389.8 (tan)	4,494.9	3,178.8	219.0	**82.9
1931	1,006.8	2,413.9	1,624,0	1,681.7	***559.7

*includes wheat and oats.
**this figure is for 1899.
***this figure is for 1929.

Source: *Ehime ken tōkeisho.*

primary source of profit for the region today, did not challenge the position of sericulture until the depression years of the 1930s.

Maana's sericulture absorbed much labor in mulberry tree cultivation, silkworm feeding, and silk thread spinning. A spinning factory established in Maajiro in 1908 employed nearly 90 female workers at one time, attracting girls not only in the village but also from outside.

The expansion of sericulture required considerable investment. Thus it accelerated social stratification; bigger farmers getting bigger and smaller ones getting smaller. Necessity for additional cash for investment instigated villagers to look for a chance to make money somewhere else not only in Japan but also outside the country. Maana villagers went out of the village while there were job opportunities in the village. There were both inflow and outflow of population simultaneously, because ambitious Maana men sought for better-paid jobs somewhere else, while leaving low-paid jobs in the village to outsiders.[51]

Young girls tended to stay home, since there were plenty of opportunities to work in the village. In addition to a spinning factory in Maajiro, factory and domestic cotton weaving in Anai absorbed much female labor. Because a girl was expected to earn cash by weaving and spinning, it is said, the birth of a girl was welcomed in Anai. Some people allege that the custom to celebrate the Girl's Festival with luxurious dolls in Anai is related to this expectation.[52] However, it is remarkable that even girls went to work in Osaka in sizable numbers, because they were better paid in Osaka. In 1916, 24 Maana girls, mostly of Anai, went to work at a textile factory in Osaka.[53] It was when spinning and textile industries were thriving in Maana. They preferred working in Osaka to taking less-paid jobs at local factories.

The third period during which many illegal emigrants tried to enter the United States was a less prosperous period for Anai than the

[51] In 1913, 339 of 4,392 registered residents of Maana lived somewhere else. Of the 339, 25.1% lived in other communities in Nishi-Uwa, 20.1% outside Nishi-Uwa but within Ehime Prefecture, 22.7% in some other part of Japan, 2.1% in Japan's colonies, and 24.2% in foreign countries. In 1918, 671 of the total 4,590 registered Maana population lived outside the village. Of the 671, 31.3% lived in Nishi-Uwa, 11.2% in the other part of Ehime, 28.2% in the other part of Japan, 49% in Japan's colonies, and 18.5% in foreign countries. Source: "Maana mura jinkō tōkei," Maana District Branch Office.

[52] A statement of Yoichi Kadoishi (Anai, male, b. 1905), interviewed, June 6, 1982.

[53] A statement of Miya Takenaka (Anai, female), interviewed, July 1, 1982.

previous one. The cotton textile industry, which had been more important in Anai than in other neighboring areas as a source of economic prosperity, took a downturn in this period. Kameyoshi Nakamura recalled: "Our cotton textile industry began to have difficulty after the beginning of World War I. German dye, on which our industry depended for dyestuff, became very expensive and difficult to obtain. We switched to Japanese dye. But the industry gradually went into a depression [after the war].[54]

It was the effect of the postwar depression and the rise of big business that caused the decline of Anai's cotton industry. As big business came to Yawatahama and Mikame to build large-scale cotton textile factories, Anai's smaller-scale textile enterprises were forced to close toward the end of the 1920s. Sericulture and silk spinning, on the other hand, continued to enjoy relative prosperity. But the price of cocoons became unstable, and villagers began to ponder whether they should continue sericulture or turn to citrus production.

We can assume that these economic factors stimulated illegal emigration. Obviously a depression after World War I gave impetus to illegal emigration. For example, five men who had lost jobs at the Sashima Smeltery located offshore of Yawatahama in 1920 because of an economic depression, later traveled to the United States illegally.[55] However, two facts should be kept in mind: illegal emigration began in the second period when Anai's economy was most prosperous, and most emigrants were not particularly poor.

V

CONCLUSION

Thus we may conclude that, although illegal emigration was related to economic conditions, it was not poverty but the tough enterprising spirit of the Anai people that produced many illegal emigrants. The following example may illustrate the author's point. An Anai merchant rising on the economic ladder (from 15th in 1907 to 3rd in 1916 in tax ranks) wrote in 1916 to his son living in America: "I'll go to Korea this year. If I stay here, I shall be classified into the 2nd rank in the tax list and have to pay a lot as taxes to the Prefecture and the Village. I

[54] A statement of K. Nakamura (Anai, male, b. 1905), interviewed, July 1982.

[55] This fact was confirmed by the author's interviews in Maana.

needn't pay those taxes if I go to Korea. If I stay home, I would like to raise silkworms to boost my income. but sericulture needs much labor and is not good for your mother's health. So I think it is best for me to go to Korea. I'll probably stay there two or three years.''[56]

Even such a prosperous man went to work in Korea. It is natural therefore for those whose economic fortune took a downturn to hope to restore their economic lot by illegal emigration. Thus not only unmarried eldest sons but household heads gambled on an attempt to emigrate illegally. Because they wanted to earn much in a short time, their destination must be the United States. Thus few Anai men were interested in emigrating to South America where emigrants were expected to open up new farmland to settle themselves in.

(Translated by the editor)

[56] K. K.'s letter to his son, in the possession of his family.