

## Editor's Introduction

### I

THE STUDY of the experiences of Japanese immigrants and their descendants in the United States was not a thriving branch of American studies in Japan until around 1980. American studies in Japan used to be concerned mainly with “macro” aspects of, or main currents in, American civilization, such as major historic events, general socio-economic trends, and outstanding literary figures and their works. Japanese Americanists, a small group in size, preoccupied with those macro aspects or main currents, did not find much time to study the experience of ethnic Japanese in America. Nagayo HOMMA, one of the leading Americanists in Japan, recalls his graduate student days at Columbia: “I became acquainted with a number of Japanese Americans in New York. But my association with them did not lead me to take up the experience of Japanese Americans as a theme in my study of American history.”<sup>1</sup> Even in the field of social history, Japanese Americanists gave far more attention to racial relations involving black Americans than to the experience of ethnic Japanese in America.

Such a situation began gradually to change at the beginning of the 1970s, obviously influenced by the new self-assertiveness of ethnic minorities in the United States. The Japanese edition of Daniel I. Okimoto's *American in Disguise* attracted considerable attention of the reading public; Bill Hosokawa's *Nisei* and Harry H. L. Kitano's

<sup>1</sup> N. Homma, “Amerika shakai ni okeru Nikkeijin—Mondai ishiki no rekishi-fū ni” “[Japanese Americans in American society—A Reflection on the History of My Problem-Consciousness in American Studies], *Seiron*, Dec. 1983 issue, p. 42.

*Japanese Americans* were also translated.<sup>2</sup> But it is only in the 1980s that a big change has taken place. More than 20 books on topics relating to Japanese immigrants in Hawaii and the mainland United States have been published in Japan since 1980. Some of them, like *East to America* and *JACL*, are translations.<sup>3</sup> There are many young scholars—historians, cultural anthropologists, human geographers, and social scientists of various disciplines—now engaged in the study of Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans. Thus it is expected that their prospective works will greatly enrich this field in the near future. It is noteworthy that female scholars are especially active in this field. Reflecting this situation, three of the five contributors to this volume are women. Closely connected with this trend, more scholars have become interested in international migration as an important phenomenon in modern international or transnational history and in Japanese emigration in that context and also as an episode worthy of research in the history of modern Japan.

In this connection, it should be mentioned that a group of scholars organized Imin Kenkyukai [the Association for Emigration/Immigration Studies] under the leadership of Teruko KACHI in 1985.<sup>4</sup> It now functions as a core group for the study of the history of Japanese emigration and also for the study of the experiences of overseas ethnic Japanese. Teruko Kachi began to take an interest in Japanese immigration to the United States as a diplomatic historian and later made emigration/immigration studies her major field of study.<sup>5</sup> At the

<sup>2</sup> B. Hosokawa, *Nisei—Kono otonashii Amerikajin* [Nisei: The Quiet American] (Tokyo: Jiji Tsūshinsha, 1971); H. Kitano, *Amerika no nakano Nihonjin* [Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture] (Tokyo: Tōyōkeizai Shinpōsha, 1974).

<sup>3</sup> Robert A. Wilson and B. Hosokawa, *Japaniizu-Amerikan—Nikkei beijin no kunan no rekishi* [East to America: a History of the Japanese in the United States] (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1982); B. Hosokawa, *120% no chusei—Nikkei Nisei: Kono yuki aru hitobito no kiroku* [JACL in Quest of Justice] (Tokyo: Yūhikaku 1984).

<sup>4</sup> When the society was founded, it was called Iminshi kenkyukai [Society for the Study of Emigration/Immigration History]. Later the word ‘history’ was dropped from the name to include non-historians as its members. Since it is still a small group (50 members or so), it publishes only the newsletter.

<sup>5</sup> Kachi’s dissertation on the U.S.-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and the immigration and alien land law controversy was reprinted in book-form by Arno Press (cf. note 42). In addition to her Japanese articles she has published several articles in English: “The Japanese Americans—Their History and Culture,” *Tsudajuku daigaku kiyo* [Journal of Tsuda College], No. 2 (1970), pp. 21–47; “Notes on the Japanese in California Agriculture, 1900–1910,” *ibid.*, No. 4 (1972), pp. 25–41; “The Arizona Anti-Japanese Movement, 1934,” *ibid.*, No. 11 (1979), pp. 111–23. Also see note 46.

department of international studies of Tsuda College, where she taught for years, Kachi trained several female scholars specializing in the history of Japanese emigration to, and ethnic Japanese in, Hawaii and North America. Both Masako IINO and Yoko MURAKAWA, contributors to this volume, are her former students. They are interested in Japanese emigration and overseas ethnic Japanese primarily as part of the history of multidimensional U.S.-Japanese relations. However, the Imin Kenkyukai also includes in its membership a number of scholars who approach emigration/immigration studies primarily in the context of regional history of modern Japan or from a certain discipline in social science.

The recent growth of Japanese literature dealing with ethnic Japanese in America may be explained partly by the considerable expansion of the community of Japanese Americanists, which has allowed them to diversify their subjects of research. But this is merely a partial explanation. No doubt this trend has been stimulated by the growth of ethnic studies in the United States and by the "success story" of Japanese Americans in postwar America. More fundamentally, however, this trend is part of increasing Japanese awareness of the importance of intercultural relations, which has been spurred on by the new phenomenon—so-called "internationalization" of Japan in the 1980s. "Internationalization" has been a fashionable catchword of the decade in Japan. It is an all-inclusive word for such phenomena as Japan's expanding global roles, multi-nationalization of Japanese corporations, more liberal opening of Japan to foreign products, services, students and employees, and above all, increasing intercultural and transnational contacts for Japanese as a result of these developments.

Given such internationalization of Japan, it has been natural for the Japanese public to become aware of the importance of intercultural relations. The mass media has often featured the story of Japanese who have been active overseas; publishers have begun to welcome both fictions and nonfictions relating to overseas Japanese. As Muneyoshi TOGAMI observes in the preface to a book of joint research on Japanese Americans, international themes, such as Japanese experiences overseas, have been in vogue in the Japanese media in the 1980s.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>6</sup> M. Togami, ed., *Japaniizu-Amerikan—Ijū kara jiritsu eno ayumi* [Japanese Americans: Immigration and the Steps Toward Establishing Themselves in America] (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobō, 1985). This book is a product of the joint research project of Japanese and American scholars of various disciplines on Japanese Americans.

inauguration of a new semi-academic quarterly magazine, *Pan*, in 1986, which specializes in inter-racial and cultural contacts, is one example of this new interest. This magazine from PMC Shuppan has published a number of articles relating to Japanese emigration to the United States and the experience of ethnic Japanese in America. In the following pages, the editor will survey the development of the study of Japanese emigration to the United States and ethnic Japanese in American society and introduce in the context of that development each article and research note included in this volume.

## II

Modern Japanese emigration to Hawaii began in 1868, the first year of Meiji, when more than one hundred Japanese emigrants went to Hawaii as plantation laborers. Their emigration, arranged by an American named Eugene Van Leed, was undertaken without the permission of the Meiji government which had adopted the policy of allowing no overseas emigration. This policy was revised in 1884, when the Japanese government, at the request of the kingdom of Hawaii, agreed to supply laborers to the island kingdom. Nearly 30,000 laborers contracted by the Japanese government went to Hawaii during the ten years from 1885 to 1894. In the latter year, the system of government-contracted emigration was replaced by the system of emigration contracted by private companies. Several emigration companies were engaged in the business of supplying Japanese laborers to Hawaiian plantations. Although emigration companies continued to send emigrants to Hawaii until 1908, the contract labor system was abolished in 1900, two years after the annexation of the island kingdom by the United States. Altogether, emigration companies sent 125,000 Japanese to Hawaii.<sup>7</sup>

At the beginning, Japanese emigration to Hawaii was an overseas version of *dekasegi*, the common practice for Japanese farmers to work temporarily away from home. But many Japanese male emigrants decided to remain in Hawaii, getting married to a lesser number of

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Togami has been promoting the development of the study of Japanese Americans at Ryukoku University, Kyoto.

<sup>7</sup> Alan T. Moriyama, *Nichi-Bei imin shigaku* (Tokyo: PMC Shuppan, 1988), the Japanese edition of *Imingaisha: Japanese Emigration Companies and Hawaii, 1894-1908* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1985), p. 74.

female emigrants or getting spouses from home through arranged marriages. Thus the emigration companies contributed to making Japanese the largest ethnic group in Hawaii. Meanwhile, Japanese immigrants began to increase on the Pacific Coast of the United States toward the end of the 19th century, and this prompted the rise of the anti-Japanese movement in California and the other states on the coast. The days of unrestricted Japanese immigration to Hawaii and the U.S. mainland ended in 1908, when the Japanese government began to restrict Japanese immigration to the United States on the basis of the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement." At the same time, Japanese in Hawaii were forbidden to migrate to the mainland by a U.S. law. Although the Japanese government refrained from issuing a passport to an emigrant laborer, the Japanese population continued to increase because of immigrants' marriages and the birth of their children. (The Japanese government, in response to mounting moral criticism in America, stopped issuing passports to "picture brides" in 1921.) By 1920, 111,000 Japanese lived in the mainland United States, and 70,000 of them in California.<sup>8</sup> Besides, hardworking Japanese began to lease or own farms and became successful farmers. Thus anti-Japanese agitation continued to rise in California and other western states, until the so-called Japanese exclusion clause was incorporated into the immigration law of 1924.<sup>9</sup> Thus Japanese immigration to the United States came to the end, although some Japanese, as Yoko Murakawa writes in the third article in the volume, entered the United States illegally in the latter half of the 1920s.

Briefly told, this is the story of Japanese immigration to Hawaii and the mainland United States. There are a number of studies on Japanese emigration, that is, who emigrated from where and why. Yasuo WAKATSUKI's lengthy contribution to the *Perspectives in American History* (1979) provides in English encyclopedic information of Japanese emigration to Hawaii and the mainland United States and on its background.<sup>10</sup> It contains many informative statistical data, except

<sup>8</sup> Masako Iino, "Beikoku ni okeru hainichi undō to 1924-nen iminhō seitei katei" [Anti-Japanese Movements in the United States and the Legislative Process of the Immigration Act of 1924], *Tsudajuku daigaku kiyō*, No. 10 (1978), pp. 1-41.

<sup>9</sup> Yasuo Wakatsuki, *Hainichi no rekishi* [A History of Anti-Japanese Movement] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1972) is a compact survey of the subject.

<sup>10</sup> Y. Wakatsuki, "Japanese Emigration to the United States, 1866-1924: A Monograph," *Perspectives in American History*, No. 12 (1979), pp. 387-516.

for data relating to the number of emigrants. The episode of the unauthorized emigration to Hawaii in 1868 was narrated in several history books; the most recent study is Teruko IMAI's article which focuses on its diplomatic aspect.<sup>11</sup> The most detailed and most comprehensive study of Japanese emigration companies is *Imingaisha* by Alan Takeo Moriyama, a third-generation Japanese American who now resides in Japan.<sup>12</sup>

As Moriyama's *Imingaisha* and Yuji Ichioka's *Issei* cite in their footnotes and bibliographies, there are several articles by Masaaki KODAMA and Tomonori ISHIKAWA on emigration companies. There are also some studies by Kodama, Ishikawa and others, on government-contracted emigration to Hawaii, but no detailed, comprehensive work comparable to Moriyama's has been produced on the subject.<sup>13</sup> Kodama, historian, and Ishikawa, cultural geographer, are leading scholars on Japanese emigration. In several articles, they have analyzed the causes of emigration, taking up several emigrant-sending regions and localities. It may be noted that the geographical and socio-economic study of emigrant-sending communities and regions was pioneered by Kenkichi IWASAKI, who published a series of articles in 1936-38.<sup>14</sup> Examining the economicgeographical characteristics of emigrant-sending villages in southern Kii peninsula, he found that those villages had not been poorer than other ones in the region. On the basis of his interviews, Iwasaki concluded that a few successful pioneer emigrants had stimulated the fever of overseas emigration among their villagers by their examples of success.

The latest article focused on a particular emigrant-sending community is Kodama's case study of emigration from Miyauchi Village in Hiroshima Prefecture during the Meiji Era.<sup>15</sup> Based on the use of relevant village records, he analyzes the socio-economic background of

<sup>11</sup> T. Imai, "'Gannenmono' imin mumenkyo Hawai tokō mondai nitsuite no ichi kōsatsu" ['The Meiji First Year People': A Study of Their Emigration to Hawaii Without the Permission of the Government], *Tsudajuku daigaku kiyo*, No. 11 (1979), 37-66.

<sup>12</sup> See note 7.

<sup>13</sup> Moriyama, *Imingaisha*, pp. 233-54; Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1884-1924* (New York: Free Press, 1988), pp. 306-07.

<sup>14</sup> K. Iwasaki, "Kii Hantō minami kaigan ni okeru kaigai deka-segi imin no kenkyū" [A Study of Emmigrants from the South Coast of Kii Penninsula], (1)-(4), Vols. 12 (1936), pp. 589-661; 13 (1937), pp. 183-200; 14 (1938), pp. 302-320, 540-541.

<sup>15</sup> Moriyama, *Imingaisha*, pp. 233-54; Ichioka, *The Issei*, pp. 306-07.

emigrants contracted by the government and by emigration companies. They came from farming families impoverished under agricultural depression. Money remitted by emigrants were mostly spent to pay debts and support remaining family members. Villages where many former emigrants who returned to live from their sojourn in North America, were often called *Amerika mura*, that is, "American villages."

A multi-disciplinary research was conducted by a group of scholars headed by the sociologist Takeshi FUKUTAKE in Mio Village, the American Village of Mie Prefecture, in the early 1950s. Its result was published in book form in 1955.<sup>16</sup> For the Mio people, however, America meant to be Canada. Almost all the emigrants went to British Columbia to work as fishermen, and their remittance of money back home greatly helped improve the living standard of the village. The presence of many Nisei children and returned emigrants in the village had a considerable impact on the villagers' way of life. The central question behind this research project sponsored by the Japanese Population Institute was how Japanese emigration could help the economic well-being of the home village while also contributing to the well-being of the host country. It aimed to draw some lessons from the case of Mio Village for the future emigration policy. Therefore, the analysis of the causes of emigration was not among the main interests of the research. Thus this study of Mio Village was different in emphasis from other studies of emigrant-sending communities.

No systematic attempts have been made in Japan to collect "America letters" written by Japanese immigrants. It may be too late now to succeed in such an attempt, as most letters have certainly been lost. Few books quote letters from Japanese immigrants. One exception is Yataro Doi's book on emigrants from Yamaguchi to Hawaii.<sup>17</sup> Doi found many letters from those who had immigrated to Hawaii and quoted extensively from them in his book.

The most interesting among the studies of Japanese emigration to the United States is Yoko Murakawa's study of illegal emigrants from the American Village of Ehime Prefecture, which is published in this

<sup>16</sup> T. Fukutake, et al., *Amerika mura—Imin sōshutsu mura no jittai* [An American Village: The Impact of Emigration upon the Village] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1953). An English summary of considerable length is attached to the book.

<sup>17</sup> Y. Doi, *Yamaguchi-ken Ōshima-gun Hawai iminshi* [A History of Emigration from Ōshima gun to Hawaii] (Yamaguchi: Matsuno shoten, 1980).

volume. Her article is based on a research report she wrote in 1984, but is reorganized to a considerable extent. The prime significance of her study is the uniqueness of its subject, that is, illegal emigrants. The great merit of her study is the extensive interviews with former emigrants and their contemporaries. Such extensive interviews with former emigrants in a single village are no longer possible for a student of prewar Japanese emigration. Her argument that illegal emigrants from Anai were middle-class men of enterprising spirit who sought to improve their declining economic fortune is interesting and persuasive. On the basis of her extensive interviews with former emigrants and villagers and her research on village records, she emphasizes the enterprising spirit of the villagers as the key factor that explains an unusually large number of illegal emigrants from the village. She conducted her interviews and did her basic research in the early 1980s. Such interviews with so many former prewar emigrants to the United States are no longer possible, and many of the relevant local records have been discarded in many communities. Thus her work is a very valuable contribution to the study of prewar Japanese emigration to the United States.

It should be added that some emigrants-sending prefectures edited and published a detailed official history of emigration from respective prefectures. Wakayama Prefecture published its voluminous official history of emigration, and Okinawa Prefecture allotted one volume of its prefectural history series to emigration. Both are valuable contributions to the study of emigration history.<sup>18</sup>

### III

Like the illegal immigrants described by Murakawa, many Japanese who went to the United States during the Meiji and Taisho Era were sojourners who intended to return with some saving of money. But many other Japanese immigrants wanted to settle in the United States mainly as farmers. They began to have families, inviting wives (very often “pic-

<sup>18</sup> Wakayama Prefecture, ed., *Wakayama-ken iminshi* [The History of Emigration from Ōshima-gun, Wakayama-ken] (Tokyo, 1972). Okinawa Prefecture, ed., *Okinawa Kenshi*, Vol. 7, *Imin* [The History of Okinawa Prefecture, Vol. 7, Emigration] (Naha, 1974). Both volumes are very informative. Hiroshima Prefecture's official history gives overseas emigration only a portion of the first volume for the Modern Period.



ture brides'') from Japan. They worked hard first to rise from farm laborers to tenant or land-owning farmers, and then to make their farms profitable. Anti-Japanese land legislation in the various states was a great blow to Japanese farmers, but many of them somehow managed to cope with the situation.

In the short but very informative research note written for this volume, Yuzo MURAYAMA, an economic historian, analyzed the economic upward mobility of Japanese immigrants in the Yakima Valley in Washington around the turn of the century and the losses they suffered from anti-Japanese land legislation.

Masako NOTOJI's lead article for this volume, which discusses the concept of "ethnicity" briefly at the beginning, chooses a Japanese farming community in the same Yakima Valley to trace the community's quest for ethnic identity during the prewar years. Recognizing both the external pressure and the internal motivation equally at work in generating and retaining ethnic identity in the Japanese community, Notoji, with the perceptive eyes of a cultural anthropologist, explores the relationship between the two forces, external and internal, through the history of the Japanese community during the four prewar decades.

The first-generation Japanese (Issei) in Yakima tried to soften anti-Japanese sentiment among white Americans by eagerly adopting the American way of life. They wanted themselves to be decent members of American society and their children to become fine citizens of the United States. At the same time, Issei Japanese tried to maintain their morale by bolstering racial pride and to implant the Japanese racial pride in the minds of the second-generation Japanese (Nisei). Americanization did not weaken Japanese-consciousness. It rather strengthened the latter. Even a winning baseball team of their sons, as Notoji's article shows, served as a source of their ethnic pride for the Issei Japanese.

Although their works are not included in this volume, two Japanese cultural geographers have studied the evolution of Japanese farming communities in California. In several articles, Noritaka YAGASAKI traced the evolution of Japanese floriculture and truck farming in California;<sup>19</sup> Tadashi SUGIURA made an intensive study of the evolution

<sup>19</sup> N. Yagasaki, "Ethnic Cooperation and Immigrant Agriculture: A Study of Japanese Floriculture and Truck Farming in California," Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1982; "Evolution of Japanese Floriculture in Northern California," M. A. thesis, UC, Berkeley, 1978.

of the Japanese farming community in Livingston, California. Since Yagasaki's major works, his M.A. and Ph.D. dissertations submitted to the University of California at Berkeley, are available in English, this introduction will mainly touch on Sugiura's works.

Like Notoji, Sugiura is interested in the evolution of ethnicity in a Japanese community.<sup>20</sup> He recognizes four periods in the history of the Livingston community: (1) the pioneering period; (2) the period of the maturity and prosperity of the Issei community; (3) the period of abrupt dislocation during World War II; (4) the period of the reestablishment of the community and the prosperity of the Nisei farmers after the war. From the first through the fourth stages, the Japanese in the community have maintained a strong ethnic affiliation on the basis of their residential propinquity. While many elements in the mode of land occupancy have undergone considerable modifications in response to the new environment, the land occupancy pattern of the community has retained characteristics distinctive from those of other ethnic groups in such features as the average farm size, the selection of crops, and the method of farm management. Thus Sugiura argues that ethnicity is not an unchanged survival of cultural characteristics in an isolated ethnic island, but something to be continually reclaimed under the changing contexts of pluralistic society. Sugiura observes that in the postwar era the Livingston community did not remain an exclusively Japanese community. Non-Japanese Americans began to enter the community and Japanese Americans developed cooperative relationships with non-Japanese members in economic activities and in social and religious life. At the beginning of the 1980s, the author expected that this process would be accelerated by the third generation Japanese Americans. Intermarriage with non-Japanese is quite common among the third generation Japanese. Sugiura argues, however, that the pattern of interaction and cooperation with other ethnic groups itself may be considered an expression of the new phase of evolving Japanese ethnicity.

A similar pattern of declining ethnic exclusiveness was observed among the Japanese American flower growers both in southern and

<sup>20</sup> T. Sugiura, "Nikkei nōmin komyunitii ni okeru kyojū yōshiki no hensen to esunisiti no henyō—Kariforunia-shū Rivingusuton no jirei kara" [Changing Land Occupancy Patterns and Ethnicity of a Japanese American Rural Community: A Case Study in Livingston, California], *Jinbun chiri*, Vol. 38, no. 6 (1986), pp. 1-24.

northern California by Noritaka Yagasaki. Speaking of the California Flower Market, Inc., which had developed as an ethnic organization of the Japanese flower growers in northern California, he observed in 1980 that "the ethnic solidarity and the centripetal forces it maintained among Japanese growers has become largely a story of the past."<sup>21</sup>

In the 1980s, it has become fashionable to write about the experience of Japanese immigrants. Yuzo Murayama, the contributor of a research note to this volume, published in 1989 a general history of the Japanese immigrants in the United States.<sup>22</sup> This is the first overview of the Issei experience in America ever written by a Japanese scholar. Although the book is much smaller than Ichioka's *The Issei*, it nevertheless gives an extensive treatment to the economic aspect of the Issei experience. No Japanese scholar has written a book dealing with the history of Japanese Americans as a whole.<sup>23</sup> As for Japanese immigration to Hawaii, Hiroshi SHIMAOKA has written the most scholarly book dealing with its history.<sup>24</sup>

However, it was the first generation settlers themselves who first recorded their experience and sponsored the publication of their own history. Their associations in many regions and localities sponsored many publication projects on the history of Japanese communities. *Yakima heigen Nihonjin-shi*, which provided Notoji's article with a source material, is a typical example of a local history sponsored and compiled by a local association of Japanese immigrants in the prewar

<sup>21</sup> N. Yagasaki, "Minami Kariforunia ni okeru Nihonjin kaki saibaigyō no hattatsu to henbō" [Evolution of Japanese floriculture in southern California], *Jinbun chiri*, Vol. 35, no. 1 (1983), pp. 1–22; "Kita Kariforunia ni okeru Nihonjin kaki saibaigyō no henbō—shakaiteki, bunkateki, gijutsuteki, chiikiteki henka ni okeru hitotsuno minzoku sangyō" [Northern California Japanese Floriculture in Transition: An Ethnic Industry in the Process of Socio-Cultural, Technological and Geographical Change], *ibid.*, Vol. 35, no. 1 (1983), pp. 23–46. Quotation is from p. 46.

<sup>22</sup> Y. Murayama, *Amerkia ni ikita Nihonjin imin—Nikkei issei no hikari to kagu* [Japanese Immigrants in the United States: Bright and Dark Days for Issei Japanese] (Tokyo: Tōyōkeizai Shinpōsha, 1989).

<sup>23</sup> Matsuzo Nagai, ed., *Nichi-Bei bunka kōshōshi*, Vol. 5: *Iminhen* [A History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, Vol. 5, Immigration] (Tokyo: Yōyōsha, 1955, Hara Shobō, 1979) is the only one now available. But this book is largely dated.

<sup>24</sup> H. Shimaoka, *Hawaii imin no rekisi—shintenchi wo motometa kuran no michi* [A History of Immigrants in Hawaii: Their Painful Quest for a New World] (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1978). Also valuable is *Hawaii Nihonjin iminshi* [The History of Japanese Immigration to Hawaii] edited and published by Hawai Nikkeijin Rengo Kyokai [Federation of Japanese Americans in Hawaii] in 1964.

years.<sup>25</sup> A three-volume general history of the Japanese in the United States, *Zaibei Nihonjin-shi*, was published by the Japanese Association of America in 1940, one year before Pearl Harbor.<sup>26</sup> This encyclopedic history contains valuable factual information on every aspect of the life of the Japanese immigrants and about outstanding individuals in the various Japanese communities. The successful promotion of this ambitious publication project indicates that, in spite of the adverse conditions of the 1930s, the Issei Japanese had been able to establish themselves in America rather well by the end of the decade.

The most noteworthy among history books sponsored by Japanese or Japanese-American associations, is *Hokubei hyakunen-zakura*, a publication sponsored by the Japanese-American Association of Washington.<sup>27</sup> This multi-volume publication consists mostly of Issei's personal recollections, which are interlaced with the author Kazuo Ito's comments and observations. Skillfully and painstakingly edited and authored by Ito, a free lance journalist who once worked for a Japanese language press in Seattle, this book serves for students of Japanese immigration as the richest source of first-hand recollections of Issei's experiences in the Northwest. An English version of the book is available. Ito also wrote *Amerika shunjū hachijūnen*, a history of ethnic Japanese in North America, which is full of interesting episodes and anecdotes.<sup>28</sup>

#### IV

Good biographies were published in the 1980s about two Japanese immigrants who settled in the United States, the scholar Kanichi Asakawa and the journalist K. K. Kawakami.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> [The History of the Japanese in the Yakima Valley] authored and published by Yakima Nihonjin-kai [The Yakima Japanese Association] in 1935.

<sup>26</sup> Zai-Bei Nihonjin-kai Jiseki Hozon-bu, ed., [The History of the Japanese in the United States], 3 vols., originally published in 1940; reprinted by PMC Shuppan, Tokyo, 1984.

<sup>27</sup> K. Ito, *Hokubei hyakunen-zakura* (Tokyo: Nichibō Shuppansha, 1973). It was later reprinted, together with *zokuhen* [Supplement], in four volumes by PMC Shuppan, 1984. Its English edition is *Issei: A History of Japanese Immigrants in North America* (Tokyo: Japan Publications, 1973).

<sup>28</sup> Ito, [Eighty Years in America] (The Seattle Japanese Community Service, reprinted by PMC Shuppan in 1982).

<sup>29</sup> Yoshio Abe, *Saigo no 'Nipponjin'—Asakawa Kanichi no shōgai* [The Last 'Japanese': The Life of Kanichi Asakawa] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1983), and

Kanichi Asakawa, Yale's great medievalist who specialized in the history of Japanese feudalism, was a son of a poor former samurai who taught at an elementary school in Fukushima. His father was barely able to send his son, who was reputed to be a genius, to the best middle school in Fukushima, where the bright youth learned English from an Englishman and gained an excellent command of the language. When Asakawa was struggling to support himself while receiving higher education in Tokyo, his religious teacher referred him to Dr. William J. Tucker, the president of Dartmouth College, who agreed to offer him a fellowship. He sailed for America in 1895. Graduated from Dartmouth, Asakawa entered Yale as a graduate student, thus starting his academic career toward becoming a distinguished historian of international reputation. Although his sense of calling kept Asakawa to pursue his career in the United States, he was much concerned with Japan's international affairs. During the Russo-Japanese War, he wrote a book in defense of Japan's position for the American audience and helped the Japanese delegation to the Portsmouth Peace Conference. However, he was soon disillusioned by the postwar course of Japanese imperialism, and he never wrote again to defend Japan's policy. When Japan and the United States moved to the brink of the Pacific War, Asakawa drafted a letter to be sent by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to Emperor Hirohito and asked his American friends to persuade the White House to send a letter like that.<sup>30</sup> The U.S. authorities treated him with deference during the war, allowing him to continue his scholarly life at Yale. He died in 1948, predicting the sturdy rise of reformed Japan as a liberal nation.

The late Yoshio ABE, a historian who used to be affiliated with the University of Tokyo's Historiographical Institute, wrote an excellent biography of this eminent scholar on the basis of his extensive research on Asakawa papers both at Yale and in Fukushima and of his interviews with those who knew him. Citing from Asakawa's letters sent to his American and Japanese friends, the author reconstructed his perceptive views on current international affairs and on the national

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Yoshihisa Komori, *Arashi ni kaku* [He Wrote in a Storm] (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1987).

<sup>30</sup> President Roosevelt sent a letter to Emperor Hirohito just before the Pearl Harbor attack, which arrived in Tokyo too late to have any effect. But Roosevelt's action was not primarily a result of Asakawa's efforts and his letter did not incorporate the content of Asakawa's draft. Abe, *Saigo no 'Nipponjin,'* pp. 197-246.

characters of the Japanese and the Americans. In spite of his great international reputation, Asakawa was not well-known in Japan. Abe wanted to introduce the life and beliefs of this distinguished Japanese to the Japanese reading public by writing this biography. Abe gave the title "The Last Japanese" to his biography, probably implying that he could not find any more Japanese like Asakawa, who admirably combined traditional Japanese virtues with liberal Western humanism. He closes his book by citing Asakawa's remark that a country is free and independent only when its people possesses a humanitarian spirit.

Kiyoshi K. Kawakami was another intelligent Japanese who settled to live in America. Kawakami started his journalistic career as a writer for a popular newspaper but was deeply involved in the Japanese socialist movement. 'Karl,' the middle name he adopted in America, was taken from Karl Marx. When the Japanese government ordered the Socialist Democratic Party to disband, frustrated Kawakami decided to go to the University of Iowa from which his friend secured a fellowship for him. He entered the university in 1901 and obtained a M.A. degree in political science after one year. Having quickly learned to write good English, he began to contribute articles on East Asian affairs to American magazines and newspapers, while writing on American affairs for newspapers back home. He lost the anti-government stance of his socialist days; his English writings aimed at gaining the sympathy of the American readers for Japan's position in international affairs. K.K. Kawakami's journalist career in America was at its height during the 1920s, when East Asian affairs were relatively peaceful. As he continued to defend Japan's imperialist policy even after it became more aggressive in the 1930s, the influence of his pen diminished in America and FBI suspected him of being a Japanese agent. While defending Japan's policy before the American public, Kawakami eagerly hoped for peaceful relations between Japan and the United States. He remained a Japanese national since a Japanese immigrant was ineligible for citizenship, but the United States was the only place he could live since he was married to an American woman and raised their children as Americans. The Japanese-German-Italian Tripartite Pact of 1940 put him in a gloomy mood, since he feared that it would lead Japan to war with the United States. When he was released from detention several months after Pearl Harbor, he began to cooperate with the U.S. intelligence agency. He also published several articles in American journalism from the viewpoint of an anti-

Japanese collaborator. This about-face did not much please the Americans; rather it made his personal integrity suspect. After the war, the old journalist began to write for the Japanese press again, but he died in 1949.

Yoshihisa KOMORI wrote a well researched and very readable biography of the life of this interesting journalist. While Abe wrote with respect for his subject, Komori wrote with sympathy for his subject. The title of his book, *He Wrote in a Storm*, implied the author's sympathy for the difficult position of a Japanese journalist living in the United States and writing in the American media in an age of turbulent international affairs.

While Asakawa and Kawakami, the subjects of these biographies, were well-known figures in the United States, several Japanese writers were interested in the lives of more obscure individuals among the Japanese immigrants. For example, the nonfiction writer Masayo Duus wrote a biography of a Japanese woman who came to Hawaii as a picture bride and took up the rough job of an immigrant labor contractor after her husband's untimely death.

# V

Kawakami was not alone among young Japanese socialists who immigrated to the United States. But the motive of the trans-Pacific trip was different. He came to the United States to study at a university in the Middle West on a fellowship and lost connections with socialist movement in Japan. Most of the Japanese socialists (and also many frustrated "Freedom and People's Rights" activists who had come earlier) flocked to California to seek a haven to continue their propaganda activities from there.<sup>31</sup> Thus some of the early Japanese language journals were radical propaganda papers. However, mainstream Japanese language journals were, of course, commercial community newspapers which provided the Japanese communities in major cities and their vicinities with local news and news from Japan. According to a study by Norio TAMURA, the first Japanese community newspaper *Shinonome zasshi* was published in San Francisco in 1886. But most of the early Japanese papers circulated in a very limited number (*Shinonome* printed only 20 copies) and did not continue

<sup>31</sup> Ichioka, *The Issei*, pp. 102-110.

long.<sup>32</sup> It was after the turn of the century that daily Japanese newspapers began to thrive in major port cities on the West Coast. Thus newspaper publishers and reporters played an important role in the community life of Japanese immigrants.

Kiyoshi Kiyosawa, a liberal diplomatic critic who emphasized the importance for Japan of friendly relations with the United States during the interwar years, began his journalistic career as a reporter for Japanese language papers. He first worked for the Seattle *Jiji* and later for the San Francisco *Shinsekai*. Although Kiyosawa had studied only a few years in an informal post-elementary school in Japan and did not have much time to receive formal education in America, his perceptive mind soon developed his incisive views on the nature of the immigration issue, the problems of U.S.-Japanese relations, and the nature of American civilization.

In the third article of this volume, Shinichi KITAOKA, a specialist in the political history of modern Japan, argues that the basic ideas Kiyosawa espoused as a diplomatic critic after his return to Japan had been formed during his years in Seattle and San Francisco. In 1986, Kitaoka wrote a short biography of Kiyoshi Kiyosawa, the book was highly praised by reviewers and received a Suntory Academic Book Prize.<sup>33</sup> In this book, he did not much discuss Kiyosawa's writings in his American years. His article in this volume addresses itself to the task the book left undone: an analysis of the ideas Kiyosawa expressed in those writings. As Kitaoka points out, Kiyosawa maintained a viewpoint detached from the mainstream views of the immigrant community just as he would later maintain a position distant from the main current of opinion in Japan. Kitaoka's article is very enlightening since it introduces for the first time in detail Kiyosawa's incisive views on the issues confronting the Japanese immigrants in America. It also sheds light on the mood of the Japanese community in America in the early years of this century.

Kiyosawa went to the United States to continue his education as a student-laborer. His Christian teacher encouraged him and his school-

<sup>32</sup> Norio Tamura and Shigehiko Shiramizu, eds., *Beikoku shoki no Nihongo shinbun* [Early Japanese-Language Newspapers in the United States] (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1986), p. 7. Some numbers of the *Shinonome zasshi* were discovered and reprinted in *Pan*, No. 1 (Summer 1986), pp. 203-74.

<sup>33</sup> S. Kitaoka, *Kiyosawa Kiyoshi—Nichi-Bei kankei eno dōsatsu* [Kiyoshi Kiyosawa: Insights into U.S.-Japanese Relations] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1986).



mates to go to America. As Kenji TACHIKAWA pointed out, there was an American fever among the Japanese youths at the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>34</sup> Many believed that the United States was a paradise for poor students where they could earn enough to support themselves while studying in school. Several guidebooks were written for those who wished to go to America as student-laborers. Even magazines were published to inspire young Japanese to go to America. One of the writers who spread the idea of America as a paradise for poor students was Sen Katayama, the well-known radical who later became an activist for international communism. After a sojourn of more than ten years in the United States, he came back to Japan to publish a magazine which propagated both the idea of America as a paradise for ambitious poor young men and the gospel of socialism. He was a socialist, but he loved America's open society in which he believed everyone could gain a fair reward for hard work. Therefore he sought for a while to succeed as an agricultural entrepreneur in America. In 1903, he went to Texas to try to develop a pioneer rice farm, but the project turned out to be a failure because of insufficient funds. Even after Katayama had become a communist activist, according to Tachikawa, he retained his love of America.<sup>35</sup> Tachikawa's two articles are very informative and interesting; it is expected that he will develop a book-length study which examines the meaning of the "let's go to America" fever around the turn of the century in the process of Japanese modernization.

## VI

As Japanese language newspapers were very important for the life of immigrant communities, so were religious teachers. Japanese scholars of religion have compiled a considerable amount of research on the evolution of Japanese religions overseas which followed the waves of Japanese emigration. How did Japanese religions respond to the spiritual needs of Japanese immigrants? How have they transformed themselves in the new environment (how have they Americanized

<sup>34</sup> K. Tachikawa, "Meiji Kōhanki no tobei netsu" [American Fever in the Second Half of the Meiji Period], *Shirin*, Vol. 69, no. 3 (1986), pp. 71-105.

<sup>35</sup> "Jidai wo fukinuketa tobeiron—Katayama Sen no Katsudō wo megutte" [The Encouragement of Going to America as a Social Phenomenon of the Age: On Sen Katayama's Activities], *Pan*, No. 4 (Spring 1987), pp. 96-123.

themselves)? How have they changed as Japanese communities have evolved from Issei to Nissei and Sansei communities? How did Japanese immigrants become Christians and how much do Japanese Protestant churches in the United States retain their ethnic character? How much have new Japanese religions and more traditional ones penetrated into host societies in general? What have been their strategies in spreading their faiths beyond ethnic Japanese? What is the typical socio-economic profile of those who have been most attracted by Japanese religions? Japanese scholars of religion have addressed themselves to these questions.

Organized by Kiichi YANAGAWA and subsidized by the Ministry of Education, a large group of scholars mostly affiliated with or graduated from the University of Tokyo's Department of Religious Studies conducted extensive field works in Hawaii and California for three years and published the reports of their research between 1979 and 1983.<sup>36</sup> Several American scholars who included Robert Bellah cooperated in this research project. A number of scholars who participated in this project have also published articles and books individually. Nobutaka INOUE and Hirochika NAKAMAKI, authors of the two recently published books relating to Japanese religions in America, are both participants in the research project.<sup>37</sup> Inoue's book based on his formerly published articles is written for nonspecialist readers, and Nakamaki's book is a collection of articles written primarily for specialist readers. Nakamaki also wrote a book for non-specialist readers on Japanese religions overseas some years ago.

Inoue divides Japanese religions active in the United States into three groups. The "first wave" group is the religions which followed closely the flow of Japanese immigrants around the turn of the century. The Honganji faction dominated this group since it was the dominant Buddhist sect in Western Japan which sent most of the emigrants to Hawaii and the mainland. But this group also included Shintoism. The "second wave" group began its activities in the United States in the 1920s

<sup>36</sup> Keiichi Yanagawa, ed., *Japanese Religions in California: A Report on Research Within and Without the Japanese-American Community*, Department of Religious Studies, Univ. of Tokyo, 1983. Two Japanese language reports on research in Hawaii were also compiled and printed by the same department in 1979 and 1981.

<sup>37</sup> Nobutaka Inoue, *Umi wo watatta Nihon shūkyō* [Japanese Religions Abroad] (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1985); Hirochika Nakamaki, *Nihon shūkyō to Nikkei shūkyō no kenkyū—Nihon, Amerika, burajiru* [Studies on Japanese Religions at Home and Abroad: Japan, America and Brazil] (Tokyo: Tōsui Shobo, 1989).

when Japanese communities were achieving some degree of maturity. This group was mainly composed of such religions of relatively new origin as *Tenrikyō* and *Konkōkyō*, and smaller Buddhist sects which possessed strong esoteric character. The "third wave" group consists of new religions, such as *Sekai kyūseikyo* and *Sōkagakkai*, which began their activities after the normalization of U.S.-Japanese relations in the 1950s. *Sōkagakkai*, or Nichiren Shōshū America (NSA), has made the most vigorous efforts in spreading its faith outside the Japanese community and has achieved some degree of success. Inoue's and Nakamaki's books, as well as the reports of research compiled and printed by the University of Tokyo's Department of Religious Studies, offer general observations and case studies which contain very illuminating answers to those questions mentioned above.

While Inoue discusses only religions of Japanese origin, Nakamaki includes in his book a chapter on the state of ethnic Japanese Protestant churches, a case study on ethnic Japanese churches in the Sacramento area. A considerable number of Issei Japanese became Christians. Their motives were varied, but many Isseis became Christians primarily in the hope of taming anti-Japanese sentiment by accepting the dominant religion in America. Some became Christians because they met open-hearted white American Protestant ministers or very kind Japanese ministers. While Nakamaki notes that some Japanese Protestant churches have weakened their character of an ethnic institution, he nevertheless observes that most of them retain a very strong ethnic character. In this connection, it should be mentioned that a group of scholars organized by Doshisha University's Institute for the Study of Humanities and Social Problems started a research project on Japanese emigration and missionary activities overseas in 1983, and part of their research result was published in a 1986 issue of the journal of the institute.<sup>38</sup> As several papers published in that issue indicate, a number of Japanese graduates from theological institutes in Japan and in America were engaged in missionary work among the Japanese immigrants in Hawaii and the mainland from the 1890s.

<sup>38</sup> *Kirisuto-kyō shakai mondai kenkyū* [The Study of Christianity and Social Problems], No. 34 (March 1986). See specially Ryo Yoshida, "'Kaishūshugi' to Hawai Nihonjin shakai" ['Congregationalism' and the Japanese Community in Hawaii—The Okabe Mission, 1889–1895]; Kojiro Iida, "Doshisha shushin no shoki Hawai dendōsha no sokuseki [Footprints of the Early Doshisha Missionaries to Hawaii]; Rokuro Sugii, "Kumiai kyōkai kiroku ni miru kaigai dendō (1) [Overseas Missions of the Congregational Church, 1886–1900, (1)].

## VII

As states and local communities on the West Coast began to discriminate against Japanese immigrants, and as their spokesmen in Congress argued for the exclusion of Japanese immigration, the immigration problem became a difficult diplomatic issue between Japan and the United States. It was a difficult issue, because it involved emotions and prejudices, and also because it involved the federal-state as well as executive-legislative division of power on the part of the United States. As Sadao ASADA dubbed Japanese diplomacy on the immigration problem as “face-saving diplomacy” in a perceptive essay that discussed the meaning of this problem in prewar U.S.-Japanese relations, Tokyo was not interested in sending a great number of Japanese to the United States as immigrants.<sup>39</sup> It wanted Japanese immigrants to be given in the United States the same treatment given to European immigrants. Thus it was willing to limit voluntarily the flow of Japanese immigration to the United States. Although the policymakers in Washington were not without racial prejudice, they were willing to cooperate to save Tokyo’s face as long as Tokyo was able to keep the number of Japanese immigrants reasonably small. They wanted to maintain friendly relations with Japan by satisfying both Tokyo and the West Coast. But state governments and the local public on the West Coast had their own opinions and priorities. Washington’s leverage over state capitals was very limited in such cases. Any mishandling of federal-state relations on the part of official Washington tended to have adversary effects upon this sensitive issue in U.S.-Japanese relations. As a case study by J. B. Kessler and Kan ORI made clear, Wilson miserably mishandled federal-state relations at the time of California’s alien land legislation in 1913.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, a majority of Congress tended to be less sensitive to diplomatic delicacy than the executive branch and often fell in with a strong regional demand for un-diplomatic measures. Thus Congress ignored in 1924 the plea of the ex-

<sup>39</sup> Asada, “Nichi-Bei kankei to imin mondai” [Japanese-American Relations and the Immigration Question], in Makoto Saito, et al., eds., *Nihon to Amerika: Hikaku bunkaron*, Vol. 2: *Demokurasi to Nichi-Bei kankei* [Japan and America: Studies in Comparative Culture, Vol. 2: Democracy and Japanese-American Relations], p. 163.

<sup>40</sup> Kessler and Ori, *Anti-Japanese Land Controversy in California: A Case Study of Intranational and International Communications as Affected by the Dynamics of American Federalism* (Institute of International Relations, Sophia University, Research Report, A-8), 1971.

ecutive branch that Japan should be given a token quota of immigrants.

Asada noted that the rise of anti-Japanese racial prejudice in America was coincided with the rise of Japan as an Asian-Pacific power. Thus the racial prejudice factor was closely intertwined with the power rivalry factor in U.S.-Japanese relations. Japan's power made Washington's executive branch more cautious in dealing with the immigration problem, but Japan's power made it possible for the exclusionists to scare the people with the idea of the 'Yellow Peril' and connect Japanese immigration with the peril, alleging Japanese immigrants to be disguised vanguards of Japanese Imperialism. On the other hand, Japan's power gave the Japanese the pride of a first-class nation and thus made them more sensitive to discriminations against them. The Japanese exclusion clause of the Immigration Act of 1924 did not immediately destroy friendly relations between Tokyo and Washington. But it inflicted a profound wound upon the national sentiment of the Japanese and weakened the influence of pro-American liberals. The humiliation of 1924 was used by Japanese militarists to inflame anti-American feelings in the 1930s. Thus it may be reasonable to argue, as Asada did, that the immigration problem was a major factor which, combined with other factors, brought the final catastrophe in U.S.-Japanese relations. Asada's essay is the best one which discusses the immigration question in the broad context of prewar U.S.-Japanese relations. The editor wished to include an up-to-date version of this essay in this volume, but he was unable to do so because Asada had been very busy for years as the editor of *Japan and the World, 1853-1952*.<sup>41</sup>

On the specific aspects of the immigration problem, Teruko Kachi's dissertation, *The Treaty of 1911 and the Immigration and Alien Land Law Issue Between the U.S. and Japan*, published in book form in 1974, is a solid monograph.<sup>42</sup> There are several articles dealing with the Immigration Act of 1924. Masako Iino dealt mainly with the anti-Japanese movements which led to the enactment of the Japanese-exclu-

<sup>41</sup> *Japan and the World, 1853-1952: A Bibliographic Guide to Japanese Scholarship in Foreign Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989). This is really an invaluable work for researchers interested in Japanese scholarship on diplomatic history. Major primary Japanese sources are also introduced.

<sup>42</sup> T. Kachi, *The Treaty of 1911 and the Immigration and Alien Land Law Issue Between the United States and Japan, 1911-1913* (New York: Arno Press, 1979).

sion clause (literally, the Asian-exclusion clause) of the act.<sup>43</sup> An article by this editor (Tadashi Aruga), based mainly on the Japanese sources available at the Diplomatic Record Office, explored the origins of the “Hanihara Letter,” the Japanese ambassador’s letter addressed to Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, which expressed his strong desire for the elimination of the Japanese-exclusion clause from the immigration bill.<sup>44</sup> His unfortunate remark toward the end of his letter that the clause might bring “grave consequences” to U.S.-Japanese relations was criticized as a “veiled threat” by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and led the Senate to approve the clause with an overwhelming majority. Aruga points out that the letter was drafted so hurriedly in the embassy in Washington that Tokyo did not know of the second half of the letter until after it had been sent to Secretary Hughes. It was quite unusual that the ambassador did not consult Tokyo about the complete draft of the letter before sending it to Hughes. The author suspects therefore that the second half of the letter was written with the approval of Secretary Hughes who knew the very limited leverage of the executive branch over Congress and wanted to use Hanihara’s letter with a rather strong tone to make the Senate more cautious. Tokyo desired to receive a token quota of immigrants rather than continuing the Gentlemen’s Agreement. But the letter itself emphasized that Japan had faithfully observed the agreement. Thus the author speculates that Hughes, considering it almost impossible to give Japan an immigration quota in the bill, hoped to persuade Congress to honor the Gentlemen’s Agreement and exempt Japanese immigration from Asian-exclusion clause at least for a time being.

## VIII

The coming of the Pacific War with the Pearl Harbor attack was a great setback for the fortune of the ethnic Japanese in America. Its effects were particularly disastrous for the fortune of the ethnic

<sup>43</sup> M. Iino, “Beikoku ni okeru hainichi undō to 1924-nen iminhō seitei katei” [Anti-Japanese Movements in the United States and the Legislative Process of the 1924 Immigration Act], *Tsudajuku digaku kiyō*, No. 10 (1978), pp. 1-4].

<sup>44</sup> T. Aruga, “Hainichi mondai to Nichi-Bei kankei—Hanihara shokan wo chūshin ni” [The anti-Japanese Exclusion Question and U.S.-Japanese Relations: With Particular Reference to the ‘Hanihara Letter’], in Akira Iriye and T. Aruga, eds., *Senkanki no Nihon gaikō* [Japanese Diplomacy During the Interwar Period] (Tokyo: Univ. of Tokyo Press, 1984), pp. 65-96.

Japanese who lived in the designated war area, which covered most of the West Coast states. Not only the Issei Japanese but also the Nisei Japanese with U.S. citizenship were forced to evacuate the area and were sent to relocation centers.

Several memoirs by former wartime detainees in relocation centers have been published in Japanese, and several books by American authors on the wartime treatment of the Japanese-Americans have been translated.<sup>45</sup> But research by Japanese scholars on the wartime experience of ethnic Japanese in America has started only recently. Teruko Kachi and her associates initiated a cooperative research project on wartime Japanese relocation some years ago. They have collected a sizable volume of sources on this subject, which includes the record of their extensive interviews. However, only a portion of the result of their research has been published. Kachi published an article on the activities of the War Relocation Authority as the first installment of the series presenting the total picture of the forced detention of Japanese Americans.<sup>46</sup> In this article, Kachi gave a critical treatment to WRA's program. She considered its program aiming at "assimilation through dispersion," and argued that the philosophy of the program reflected white racism as it tried to break down Japanese ethnicity through dispersion.

The valor of Nisei soldiers in the European theatre vindicated the loyalty of the Japanese Americans. As it was reflected in the revisions of the immigration policy, racial prejudices against the Japanese and the Asians in general were very much weakened in the postwar era, and discriminations against the minorities were made illegal by the new civil right laws in the 1960s. In this far more friendly atmosphere of postwar America, the average Japanese American quietly assimilated oneself to

<sup>45</sup> Books by Allan R. Bosworth, Carey McWilliams, Dillon S. Myer, and Michi Weglyn were translated and published in the 1970s and 80s. Maomichi Kodaira, who had settled in Japan after the war, wrote *Amerika kyōsei shūyōjo* [American Concentration Camps: War and Japanese Americans] (Tokyo: Tamagawa University Press, 1980) on the basis of his own experience. Seiichi Higashide (ed. by Kiko Koyama), *Namida no adiosu* [Adios in Tears] (Tokyo: Sairyūsha, 1980) is a memoir of a Japanese immigrant in Peru, who was blacklisted by the United States and sent from Peru to a relocation center in the United States. See also Carl Ichiro Akiya's "Kobe kara Yuta-shū Topazu eno michi" [From Kobe to Topaz, Utah], *Pan*, No. 3 (Winter 1986-87), pp. 120-65.

<sup>46</sup> T. Kachi, "Amerika senji saiteijūkyoku no katsudō [Activities of WRA, 1942-1946], *Pan*, No. 10 (Autumn 1988), pp. 000-00. Second and third articles in the series were published in No. 12 (Spring 1989) and No. 15 (Winter. 1989-90).

the mainstream American culture and rapidly climbed the socio-economic ladder of American society to achieve a middle-class status. As a result, the American media began to feature the "success story" of the "model minority" by the end of 1960s.<sup>47</sup>

In the fourth article in this volume, Masako IINO presents a well-balanced overview of the rise of the Japanese Americans in postwar America. The subtitle of her article is "A 'Success Story'?" She does not deny it was a success story, but stresses the costs that accompanied their success, pointing out psychological strains experienced by many third-generation Japanese Americans as they Americanized themselves. As other Asian minorities were also moving upward vigorously, the term "success story" began to be applied to the whole Asian Americans in the 1980s. The increasing inflow of Asian immigrants since the 1970s, together with the increasing examples of high-achieving Asian Americans, may be incurring latent resentment against Asian Americans on the part of white and other non-Asian Americans. As Iino suggests, there may also be some resentment among the new Asian Americans who are struggling to take root in American society against Japanese Americans who have already established themselves in America. As Iino also mentions, anti-Japanese feelings aroused by current U.S.-Japanese frictions might be directed partly toward Japanese Americans.

In a multi-racial, multi-ethnic society like that of the United States, racial frictions are inevitable to some extent. There are some symptoms that incidents of racism are increasing in America. Racism has not disappeared from America and will not disappear entirely in the future. Thus there is reason for John W. Dower to write *War Without Mercy*, a book about anti-Japanese racism in America and Japanese racism against their enemies during World War II.<sup>48</sup> However, it is also undeniable that racism has greatly abated if compared with the situation that prevailed in prewar America. More important, the ethic of the American public has changed; the ethic no longer justifies racism, but is against it.

Frustrated with American difficulty in penetrating extensively into

<sup>47</sup> Roger Daniels, *Asian Americans: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1988), Ch. 8 "Epilogue: Since 1960—the Era of the Model Minority," pp. 317–44.

<sup>48</sup> *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon, 1986).



the Japanese market, and surprised by increasing Japanese economic and technological clout, American "revisionist" writers now argue that the Japanese are so different from the Western nations in culture that the United States should deal with Japan differently. It is traditional for Americans to regard their friends as democracies similar to America and emphasize differences in culture and the political system as a pretext for antagonism and exclusion. There are resemblances between their arguments and those of the exclusionists of the 1920s. But present-day revisionists do not equate culture with race as the exclusionists did. Their emphasis on cultural differences seems exaggerated, and Congressmen's criticisms of Japan are often emotional. But Japan indeed has much to be criticized for as a nation playing a global role. It would be very unwise and improper for the Japanese if they should become emotional and regard all the American criticisms and the unilateral economic measures against Japan as a form of racism. Thus Sadao Asada's following remark in his essay cited before, although written in 1973, is very appropriate: "Today when U.S.-Japanese relations are in a critical condition, both sides must restrain emotional conflicts and calmly seek to adjust mutual interests and ways for mutual understanding. In this respect, the past U.S.-Japanese conflict over the immigration question seems to offer us a lesson of history."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Asada, "Nichi-Bei kankei to imin mondai," *loc. cit.*, p. 206.