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Japan's Asia-Pacific Migrations and the Making of the Japanese Empire, 1868-1945

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Abstract
This dissertation argues that the Japanese modern nation was formed not only from the inside but also from the outside, through nationalizing Japanese emigrants around the Pacific Rim. The study examines critical roles of Japanese overseas emigrants in shaping the ideologies and social movements in the Japanese empire. It discusses how the efforts made by Japanese thinkers and social educators in nationalizing these dispersed and marginal subjects were crucial to the creation of Japanese modernity.

This study defines Japanese imperialism as "diasporic" in three dimensions. First, it illustrates the close and dynamic connections Japanese migration to the empire's Asian colonies and to other parts of the world. In particular, it highlights the important yet unexpected ways in which Japanese American migration influenced and transformed Japan's colonial expansion in Asia. Second, the study examines how the Japanese diasporic communities on both sides of the Pacific shaped the Japanese nation and empire at home. Third, from a more theoretical level, it explores the dual identity of Japanese imperialism between colonizer and the colonized. By examining flows and linkages between Japanese colonial migration in Asia and Japanese labor migration to America, this study charts the evolving trajectory of Japan as a colored empire in the cultural and political space between Asia and the West.

This dissertation is a study of the Japanese empire from the angle of Japan's global migration. It challenges the separation between the nation-based narrative of modern Japan and the history of Japanese overseas migration. It also moves beyond the territory-based study of the Japanese empire by bridging the disciplinary divide between Japanese colonial history and Japanese American history and brings a transnational and global perspective to our understanding of the Japanese empire.

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DIASPORIC IMPERIALISM

JAPAN’S ASIA-PACIFIC MIGRATIONS AND THE MAKING OF THE

JAPANESE EMPIRE, 1868-1945

Sidney Xu Lu

A DISSERTATION
in
History
Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania
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Ever since I started to pursue a graduate degree in Japanese history more than nine years ago, my journey as a student has been filled with much gratefulness to my teachers, friends and loved ones. To condense my doctoral research into a two-hundred-page dissertation is challenging, yet it is even more difficult to use just a few pages here to express even part of my gratitude.

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This dissertation argues that the Japanese modern nation was formed not only from the inside but also from the outside, through nationalizing Japanese emigrants around the Pacific Rim. The study examines critical roles of Japanese overseas emigrants in shaping the ideologies and social movements in the Japanese empire. It discusses how the efforts made by Japanese thinkers and social educators in nationalizing these dispersed and marginal subjects were crucial to the creation of Japanese modernity.

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Introduction

The Japanese Empire Between Asia and the West

The new modern world of the nineteenth century that Japan found itself thrust into was both postnationalist and postindustrial, as Peter Duus has astutely observed.\(^1\) Meiji Japan's simultaneous process of nation-making and empire-building took place in a Social Darwinist world order established by western powers. Initially a victim of the expansion of the western powers, Japan hastily initiated the territorial expansion of its own as a means of self-preservation and protection. Within a few decades this strategy appeared to be successful: by the time Japan was able to free itself of the shackles of its unequal treaties and form an alliance with the United Kingdom, the empire already had annexed Okinawa and Taiwan and imposed its own unequal treaties on Korea and China. As Fred Dickinson's most recent study demonstrates, Japanese politicians, social activists and opinion leaders successfully took advantages of the changes to the global order brought by World War I. By embracing the new international discourse marked by pacifism and democracy, Japan actively participated in the activities of the League of Nations as one of its four permanent members and grew into a global imperial power.\(^2\)

Despite these successes, Japan's efforts to join the club of modern empires were

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undermined by its involvement in the global capitalist economy. Due to the economic imbalance between Japan and the western powers, many Japanese laborers were drawn into the global market as migrant labor.\textsuperscript{3} Just like other Asian migrants, a large number of Japanese men and women migrated to Hawaii, North and South Americas, and Southeast Asia to meet local demands for cheap labor. Japanese politicians and social leaders worried these emigrants, most of whom were from the bottom strata of Japanese society, would present an "uncivilized" image of the nation to foreigners. Such anxiety grew further with the rise of Japanese exclusion campaigns in the United States. To deal with this issue, Japanese national leaders began to control the outflows of emigration as well as sponsored programs to prepare emigrants before their departure. Japanese government also called for racial equality between Japanese and the Caucasians in the diplomatic arena. These efforts led to Japan's abortive proposal of a "racial equality clause" in the Covenant of the League of Nations in 1919 as well as its failed attempts in limiting anti-Japanese sentiment in the US, from the end of 19\textsuperscript{th} century to 1924.

In recent decades, scholars have explored these seemingly contradictory components of Japanese imperialism. Peter Duus defines the Japanese empire as mimetic, arguing that Japan’s process of nation-making and imperial expansion depended significantly on the technologies, economics and international political order established by western imperialism. Through a similar but more specific angle, Robert Eskildsen examines the ways the Japanese print media portrayed the imperial army's expedition to

Taiwan in 1874, revealing how the Japanese public legitimized the military expedition as the empire's efforts to bring western civilization to the "savages" on the island. He argues that Japan's mimicry of western imperialism served as a straightforward justification of the empire's expansion in Asia. By scrutinizing the literary works produced in the Japanese empire, Robert Tierney explores Japanese intellectuals' ambivalent feelings toward western imperialism: although they admired western civilization and material power and eagerly desired to be a part of it, they also felt aggrieved at white racism. Tierney thus presents us with a fractured sense of the Japanese identity as a colored colonizer. 4

Incorporating the insights of previous scholarship, this study aims to further historicize the process of Japan's identity formation as a colored empire. How did the Japanese empire grow from the geopolitical and cultural discordance between Asia and the West in different time periods? In what ways did Japan's encounters with westerners and their Asian "inferiors" shape and reshape Japanese national identity? How did white racism and the Japanese exclusion in the US in particular, impact Japan’s colonial expansion in Asia?

This dissertation aims to answer these questions within the context of Japanese overseas migration. It examines how Japanese intellectuals and social activists of different political and philosophical leanings in different phases of the empire associated their agendas for Japan’s nation-making and empire-building with Japanese migration to

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both Asia and the US. In order to accomplish this goal, this study brings together two conventionally separate disciplines in the study of Japanese history: the study of Japanese colonialism in Asia and the study of the Japanese diaspora in other parts of the world.

**Diaspora and Imperialism**

Just as the study of diaspora and the study of imperialism are seldom mentioned in the same breath, research on Japanese overseas migration and Japanese imperialism is often viewed as mutually incompatible. While scholars still debate the exact definition and scope of its application, the study of diaspora typically examines the lives of minority groups (ethnic minorities in particular) who were displaced, but maintain a connection to "a prior home." In recent years, transnational approaches to the study of diaspora have transformed the field of American ethnic studies, which originally emerged during the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Its main aim was to raise the ethnic consciousness of racial minorities at the margins of American society. More specifically, scholars of African American history, Latin American history and Asian American history have produced seminal works that have explored the complexity of ethnic

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consciousness and identity formation of ethnic minorities in the US, examining both their ties with the lands of their origin as well as their integration into American society.\(^7\)

While not often referred to as part of the Japanese diaspora, Japanese immigrants to the US, who began migrating to the country in the late 19\(^{th}\) century, now categorized as Japanese Americans, constitute a major ethnic group among minorities in American society. Historians of the Japanese American experience have been exploring various aspects of Japanese American life, spanning the generation of the early exclusion period to that of the internment camps during World War II. Through their ongoing efforts have made significant contributions to our understanding of the victimization of Japanese immigrants under white racism, as well as the responsibility the US, both state and society, has in avoiding similar tragedies in the future. However, as with other subfields in ethnic studies, the approaches to Japanese American history have also begun to change under the influence of diaspora studies. Recent historians have demonstrated how the transnational ties of Japanese immigrants to their homeland, both material and mental, have served as crucial resources for their daily struggles with local racism in the US.\(^8\)


Given the minority and margin-oriented focus of diaspora studies, as most European ethnic groups in the US are generally not considered diasporic communities,\textsuperscript{9} Japanese colonial migration to the empire's Asian colonies are also generally not categorized as diasporic. Although Japanese settlers were a minority group in the colonies in terms of population size, they usually lived at the top of the racial hierarchy and enjoyed the military and political support of the colonial authorities. While they maintained a certain distance from the military as well as their colonial governments and were sometimes victims of Japanese imperialism themselves, they were at the same time colonizers who were involved in the construction of colonies on a daily basis. Recent studies on the Japanese empire also have reflected a scholarly shift from uncovering the responsibilities of the Japanese military and imperial state in victimizing the people of both Japan and its colonies to a discussion of the agency of common Japanese, both in the colonies and at home, especially those who participated in the process of empire-building. Scholars in recent years have produced salient research examining the complexity of Japanese migration in the colonies. The work of Louise Young demonstrates that Japanese local elites and peasants welcomed and actively participated in the imperial government's project of mass migration to Manchuria, seeing it as an opportunity to solve the various problems that then plagued the Japanese home islands.\textsuperscript{10} Jun Uchida reveals the various ways in which Japanese colonialism penetrated the

\textsuperscript{10} Louise Young, \textit{Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism} (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 307-398.
Korean Peninsula through Japanese settlers. Conceptualizing the settlers as "brokers of empire," she demonstrates how these migrants managed to live in the political and cultural space between the Koreans and the colonial government and how they negotiated their interests and power with both sides.¹¹

This sharp contrast between the scholarly focuses and paradigms of narration in Japanese American history and that of Japanese colonial history mirrors a similar disciplinary split among Japanese scholars in the study of Japan’s worldwide migration. While the study of Japanese colonial settlers is submerged in the field of Shokumin Kenkyū (colonial studies), the story of Japanese migration to areas outside of the Japanese empire belongs to the domain of Imin Kenyū (migration studies). Similar to their American counterparts, Japanese scholars in both fields have produced new and valuable research. However, the disciplinary boundaries remain, with the narrative limits already set for historians. For example, in a recent review article on Japanese migration historiography, Sakaguchi Mitsuhiro laments that this academic separation has in previous literature oversimplified the stories of Japanese emigrants: those who settled in the empire's Asian colonies have been seen as the victimizers of imperialism, while those who migrated to areas outside of the empire have been labeled as victims of white racism and exclusionism.¹²

¹¹ Jun Uchida, Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945 (Massachusetts and Landon: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), 5-8.
The existing analytical paradigms in these two fields are absolutely necessary for our understanding of the different aspects of worldwide Japanese migration. They also continue to provide important implications for the present. The continuing debate on in what ways and who should be responsible for Japanese colonialism and the wars in Asia is crucial for our understanding of Japan's current relations with other Asian nations. Similarly, the question of how to compensate the sufferers of Japanese American internment during World War II as well as the ultimate lesson to be derived from this historical tragedy in general are important starting points in the discussion of racial politics in contemporary American society.

However, these paradigms are no longer sufficient by themselves. Recent innovative works emerging from both fields have revealed new ways for grasping the complexity of Japanese colonialism by bridging and comparing Japanese colonialism in Asia with Japanese immigration to the US. In one of his recent articles, Eiichiro Azuma illustrates the ways in which the Japanese imperial state appropriated the invented legends of Japanese immigrants in North America to propagate its project of mass migration to Manchuria. Takashi Fujitani, on the other hand, examines and compares racial politics in Japan and America through the lens of the Korean soldiers in the Japanese military and Japanese American soldiers in the American military. He reveals the unexpected convergence between Japan and the United States in terms of their encompassing and multi-ethnic racial discourses during the Pacific War.
These approaches of looking at Japanese American migration and Japanese colonial history together have challenged the disciplinary boundaries in both two fields, as well as the nation-based paradigms of history writing in general. These innovative approaches in English-language scholarship also echo a simultaneous methodological shift in Japanese academic circles. Thanks to the wide acceptance of transnational (ekkyō or toransunashōnnaru) approaches among Japanese scholars in recent years, there has been a sizable and growing literature that challenges nation-based writing in Japanese migration history. Although the past few decades saw few responses to the call made by pioneer historians Kimura Kenji and Araragi Shinzō in the late 1970s to re-conceptualize the history of Japanese overseas into a discussion of Japanese migrants both inside and outside of the Japanese empire, their insights have recently gained increasing support.

Discarding the epistemology behind the labels of colonial migration (shokumin) and emigration (imin), Okabe Makio redefines all Japanese overseas by the end of World War II as emigrants (imin), offering a unified and coherent narrative of worldwide Japanese migration. Instead of using political and racial hierarchies in host countries to categorize Japanese migration, he periodizes Japanese overseas migration before 1945 into four

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phases based on the social status of migrants and the Japanese government’s degree of involvement. More recently, Yoshida Ryō has edited two volumes, examining the history of Japanese American education, contributed to by scholars of Japanese and Japanese American history from both the US and Japan. This collaborative scholarship explores how the dual-national and ethnic identities of Japanese Americans of different generations was formed under a variety of Japanese education networks between Japan and the US from the late 19th century to the outbreak of the Pacific War.

These border-crossing efforts of American and Japanese scholars recently converged in a symposium in July 2013 jointly hosted by Kyoto University and the Association of Asian American Studies Japan Section. Entitled "Between and Beyond Two Empires (Ajia to amerika no 'teikoku' o koete)," it invited both scholars of American ethnic studies and the Japanese empire, in the US and Japan, such as Eiichiro Azuma, Araragi Shinzō and Edward Park. The symposium discussed recent new approaches in the study of imperialism and racial theories, transcending the boundaries of Japanese and American national histories. This innovative scholarship on Japanese migration history recently produced by American and Japanese researchers has offered new interpretations on Japanese colonialism and racial struggles on both sides of the Pacific. More importantly, by synthesizing Japanese migration inside and outside of the Japanese empire, these studies...

urge us to ask new questions about Japanese overseas migration and imperial expansion: What did the Japanese global diaspora mean for the Japanese empire? How does a general narrative of the Japanese diaspora change our understanding of the Japanese empire? How does the transnational approach in the study of the Japanese empire contribute to our knowledge of modern imperialism and world history in general?

Therefore, the time is ripe for a new framework to study the Japanese empire, a framework which offers a coherent narrative of worldwide Japanese migration in relation to Japanese empire-building; one that allows scholars to transcend the empire's territorial boundaries so that the organizations and people involved in migration campaigns both inside and outside of the empire can be examined thoroughly; one that provides us an unique angle for critiquing western modernity by relocating the Japanese empire in a space between diaspora and expansion, the colonized and the imperial, and the subaltern and the progressive in global history.

Diasporic imperialism

As a modest attempt to explore this transnational framework, this study uses the concept of diasporic imperialism to reconceive of the Japanese empire in three theoretical aspects. First of all, the word "diasporic" highlights the migration-centered focus and the global scope of this examination. The study discusses the central role of Japanese global migration in Japanese empire building. It holistically examines the Japanese people, men and women, rich and poor, elite and common, who migrated to areas both inside and
outside of the empire's territories at each phase of the empire’s development. This approach allows us to find the connections between Japanese communities in different geographical locations around the world. In particular, this study sheds new light on the history of Japanese colonialism by showing how Japanese colonial expansion in Asia was profoundly influenced by Japanese American migration.

The relationship between the Japanese colonial empire in Asia and Japanese migration to America was just one type of connection in the nexus of the global Japanese diaspora. Japanese migration to Brazil, Peru and Mexico, for example, was also closely tied to both Japanese imperial expansion in Asia and Japanese immigration to America. In this study, I will focus on the connections between the migrations to Asia and the US with the aim of synthesizing the efforts of recent scholars in both Asian area studies and Asian American studies. It also challenges the disciplinary divide between these two fields. Area studies, as Bruce Cummings and Sylvia Yanagisako jointly point out, has been shaped by the ideologies of the Cold War and American Orientalism. In this mode of scholarship, the scholar identifies and studies a particular geographical location or a group of people with a similar cultural/ethnic origin that is typically thought of as inferior to that of the West. Asian American studies, on the other hand, emerged to challenge the hegemony of white racism in the US. Yet as Yanagisako further argues, the nation-based framework in Asian American studies tends to distinguish the "Asian American"

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from the "Asian." Its framework reinforces the geopolitical and cultural hierarchy between the West and Asia that underpins the original teleology of Asian area studies. This research, more specifically, explores the stories of Japanese social leaders, intellectuals, and the migrants themselves, whose lives connect Japanese history with Japanese American history beyond and below the boundaries of the national histories of these two Pacific empires. It endeavors to challenge the resonance created between the national history framework and the Cold War paradigm of knowledge production in both Asian area studies and Asian American studies.

Secondly, and more concretely, the adjective "diasporic" also indicates domestic significance of Japanese overseas emigrants. It illustrates the ways in which the Japanese empire was not only shaped from the inside but also from the outside and explores how Japanese overseas migration shaped and transformed the empire at home. In particular, it demonstrates that the different opinions and campaigns of the national thinkers and social activists of Japan for controlling the Japanese overseas was closely associated and at times drove the formation of the national subject in the Japanese imperial metropolis.

According the changes of domestic discourse on overseas migration, the history of Japan’s diasporic imperialism can be divided into three stages: the era of open-endedness (the 1868 to the 1910s), the era of permanent settlement (the 1910s to the 1930s), and the era of homecoming (the 1930s to 1945). The era of open-endedness was marked by a diversity of migration patterns and choices. For example, although agreeing on the necessity of Japanese migration to America for Japan’s national development, advocates
for migration in the government and society alike had open-ended expectations on the nature of its development. Except for a small number of political exiles and government-funded students, the majority of Japanese emigrants in this era were self-supported student-laborers. While they were expected to achieve personal success in the US and win Japan recognition as a partner equal to the western powers, Japanese migration pundits also believed that these migrants would be extremely beneficial to Japan, regardless if they decided to eventually return to Japan or settle in the US. This discourse changed dramatically in the era of permanent settlement, when the mainstream discourse on migration shifted from open-ended expectations to a single requirement: permanently settling abroad. The sojourning mentality of the emigrants was criticized as backward and insular, and was particularly attributed as the main reason for American anti-Japanese sentiment. This strategy of permanent settlement was adopted for the empire’s subsequent migration campaigns to Latin America as well as Manchuria. The discourse changed again in the era of homecoming, which observed a re-appreciation of the sojourning identity of the Japanese overseas outside of the empire in general and Japanese Americans in particular as well as the integration of them into the ideologies of Japanese imperial expansion in the mainstream migrant discourses of the day. By celebrating the ideological return of the Japanese overseas, state officials and migration advocates reinvented migrant stories to mobilize common peasants in domestic Japan to participate in the imperial government's project of mass migration to Manchuria.

Placing these diasporic lives at the core of the Japanese empire-building process, this study argues against the leading discourse in the Japanese academy and public, which portrays Japanese overseas emigrants, the grassroots in particular, as people abandoned by the nation (*kimin*). Emerging in the 1980s, the *kimin* discourse attacks the Japanese government for abandoning its own subjects at different historical moments and in different ways. The studies on *kimin* is important for sure, since it adds to our understanding of how the lives of common Japanese were traumatized by state power in its pursuit of maintaining the wellbeing of the empire. However, this analytical paradigm also gives people the impression that overseas migrants, once abandoned and out of the country, no longer had any connection to Japan. It not only oversimplifies the relationship between overseas Japanese and the Japanese homeland, but it also reinforces the nation-centered narrative prevalent in Japanese history. This assumption thus prevents us from examining the role of overseas Japanese in the Japanese nation-making and empire building process. Through the notion of diasporic imperialism, this study, instead, aims to reveal a more complicated relationship between Japanese communities abroad and the Japanese empire, in which the overseas Japanese are seldom discarded. Rather, they were considered crucial resources by Japanese policy makers and social leaders and were used in a variety of ways at different phases of the imperial expansion.

Although challenging the validity of *kimin* as an analytical model, the concept of “diasporic imperialism”, nevertheless, does not aim to emphasize the agency of Japanese overseas in Japan’s imperial expansion or simply to equate the entire diasporic population with the imperial apparatus. Studies on the Japanese empire have produced sophisticated
analyses that explore the labyrinth of tunnels that linked the lives of ordinary Japanese, in both the colonies and the metropole, to imperial expansion.\textsuperscript{18} Recent research on Japanese American history also contributes to our understanding of the complexity of Japanese American life by examining the meaning of the Japanese empire in the daily political and racial struggle of Japanese American immigrants. These analyses of emigrants’ agency have forced us to reassess the responsibility for Japanese colonialism and the wars in Asia on the one hand and to refine the narratives of Japanese American immigration on the other.

While the imperial motivations of overseas Japanese is an important theme worthy of further investigation, it is not the focus of this research. This study, instead, examines how overseas Japanese were viewed by domestic intellectuals and social leaders, through the prism of their imperial ideologies. It highlights the various ways they considered overseas migration as a strategy for imperial expansion and overseas emigrants as useful subjects of the empire at different periods of time. In other words, this study is not the story of the Japanese overseas, but a discussion on what these diasporic lives meant for the Japanese empire.

Moreover, the excitement of the domestic ideologues and social leaders in imagining the role of these emigrants, as well as their endeavor to integrate emigrants into the process of empire-building illustrated in this study can by no means undermine

\textsuperscript{18} For example, Louise Young, \textit{Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism} and Jun Uchida, \textit{Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945}. 
the hardship and pains that these emigrants experienced. Most of the emigrants were from the social margins of Japanese society, leaving the homeland in order to free themselves from poverty. Those who settled in Hawaii and North America further fell prey to white racism and exclusionism. The history of Japanese American immigration from the late 19th century to the end of World War II is such a rich reservoir of evidence of racial struggle that one does not even need to look at the tragedy of Japanese American wartime interment to be convinced of its presence. By questioning the idea of kimin and examining the links between Japanese overseas and the Japanese empire, this study explores the often-neglected layers of violence and subjugation that the Japanese diasporic population experienced. The concept “diasporic imperialism” indicates both the ways Japanese imperialism was shaped by Japan’s global diaspora and the ways the lives of Japanese overseas were forcefully integrated into the Japanese empire.

Last but not least, at a more theoretical level, the word "diasporic" is utilized to illustrate not only the double identity of Japanese imperialism, as both subjugator and subjugated, but also the process of how such an identity was shaped and reshaped by Japanese migrant encounters with both the West and Asia. As a late-coming imperial power, Japan initially took the strategy of imitating the western empires for both self-defense and expansion. As prominent Japanese politician and social activist of the day, Abe Isoo, metaphorically mused, Japan was “the broker of civilization,” buying it from the American market and selling it to China and Korea.19 In Japan's power negotiation between the West and Asia, the role of Japanese immigration to America was particularly

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important. Seen as the representatives of Japan, Japanese emigrants were obliged to assimilate into the higher civilization of America as well as showcase the cultured and progressive image of the Japanese. This was in order to win Japan recognition from the western powers.

However, the Japanese empire was not white but colored. Its imitation of western imperialism was manifested by the ambivalence of “colonial mimicry” defined by Homi Bhabha: as a non-West, non-white power, Japan's desire to become an authentic modern empire could only be partially achieved under the West-dominated world order.\(^\text{20}\) Japan's success in expanding its political power in the international arena was constantly accompanied by racial disavowal. The decades long anti-Japanese campaigns in the US climaxed in the enactment of the Immigration Act of 1924, which defined the Japanese as a race impossible for naturalization. Consequently, the act forbade all Japanese from migrating to the country. The Japanese public and politicians alike considered the enactment of the act as a moment of national humiliation.\(^\text{21}\) The influential political journal *Diplomatic News* (*Gaikō Jihō*), for example, periodically published articles to commemorate this event in the 1920s and 30s.\(^\text{22}\)

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More importantly, the exclusion of Japanese migration to the US was a crucial factor that transformed the development of Japanese imperialism. In response to the exclusion campaigns, Japanese thinkers started to invent ideologies for the establishment of Japan's own world order, a world order that entrusted the empire with the mission to lead all peoples of color to challenge and eventually overthrow the hypocritical and racist hegemony of the West. Recent scholarship has shed new light on the history of wartime Japan, examining the ideologies behind its Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere as a valid attempt to overcome western modernity. This study shows that Japan's ideological challenge to western imperialism actually started decades earlier. It grew out of Japanese intellectuals' critique of the anti-Japanese campaigns in the US in the first two decades of the 20th century. While anti-West hardliners, such as the thinkers affiliated with the Association of Politics and Education (Seikyōsha), had opposed Western-leaning ideologies in the nation as early as the 1880s, their criticisms did not go as far as questioning western imperialism itself. Instead, they mainly reminded their fellow countrymen that the western powers were rivals, not friends, and that in order to wrestle with the West, Japan had to promote its own colonial expansion. It was in Japanese intellectuals' attacks on the anti-Japanese campaigns in the US in the 1910s and 20s, that


24 For example, Nagasawa Betten argued that the Mongolian race, represented by the Japanese, and the Aryan race were doomed to have a war with each other. He urged the Japanese to prepare for this war by colonial expansion and industrialization. “Dai shōtotsu: Mongoru shuzoku to arian shuzoku,” *Nihonjin*, no. 7 (1894): 11-16.
they began to delineate the hypocrisy between the West’s idealistic humanistic slogans and actual racial discrimination.\textsuperscript{25} They thus began to use the principles of co-existence and co-prosperity to promote Japan's own imperialism, that fundamentally departed from the West.\textsuperscript{26}

Just as simply defining overseas Japanese as either victims of white racism or colonizers in Asia fails to capture the complexity of migrants' lives, defining Japanese overseas as "diasporic" by no means aims to generalize the multi-layered encounters that the Japanese migrant had in different parts of the world. However, Japanese diasporic lives were linked together via their ties with the Japanese empire and continuously shaped its evolution. More specifically, Japanese thinkers and social reformers viewed the emigrants, inside and outside the empire alike, as equally valuable for the empire. Their ideas and campaigns to nationalize the Japanese overseas, particularly the rural poor, were closely associated with their projects of reforming domestic Japan and their plans for how the empire should expand.

**Organization and Sources**

Japan's global migration involved a variety of people and groups, such as intellectuals, policy makers, social activists, migrant agents and organizations, as well as the migrants themselves. The diasporic nature of Japanese imperialism, accordingly, was manifested in a variety of dimensions. To highlight the dimensions in which the empire was shaped in the nexus of the Japanese diaspora, the chapters that follow are organized

thematically instead of chronologically. This study discusses the central role of Japanese global migration, which shaped and transformed the history of the Japanese empire through four aspects, including national subject formation, the ideologies of empire-building, women-related social movements, and the ideas and practice of a specific migration organization’s campaigns. This endeavor involves both the approaches of intellectual and social history.

Chapter one and two delve into the debates of Japanese intellectuals, examining how they viewed Japanese overseas migration in general and Japanese immigration to America in particular, as well as their connection to the Japanese nation-making and empire-building process. Chapter one probes how overseas emigration was perceived as essential to the project of Japanese nation-building from the 1860s to the 1920s. It illustrates the different ways that Japanese ideologues, educators, religious leaders, and government officials placed Japanese diasporic communities at the center of their political agendas for reforming and reconstructing Japan.

While chapter one demonstrates how the formation of Japanese national identity was shaped by overseas migration, Chapter two, through a more focused lens, examines how Japanese American migration influenced the Japanese colonial empire in Asia from the end of the 19th century to the end of the Pacific War. It demonstrates that the Japanese exclusion movement in the US altered Japanese intellectual's ways of categorizing Japan's global diaspora. Through the divergence and convergence between the terms
emigration (*imin*) and colonial migration (*shokumin*), Japanese immigration to America shaped Japanese colonial ideologies in Asia.

While chapters one and two analyze Japan’s diasporic imperialism from the perspective of the intelligentsia, chapters three and four take the perspectives of social activists, by examining their women centered campaigns. They show that the Japanese diaspora affected specific social and political movements as much as domestic intellectual debates. The diaspora involved and changed various lives in the empire: men as much as women, elites as much as commoners, the rich as much as the poor, the vocal as much as the voiceless, the powerful as much as the powerless. Chapter three examines the close relationship between Japanese overseas prostitution and the prostitution abolition movement in domestic Japan from the 1880s to the 1920s. It argues that middle class Japanese abolitionists’ anxiety to eliminate the “shameful” Japanese expatriate prostitutes around the world drove their abolition campaigns in domestic Japan in important and unexpected ways.

Chapter four examines the education campaigns of social reformers that targeted Japanese rural emigrant women in both Manchuria and California in the first two decades of the 20th century. These campaigns, aiming to discipline women in Japanese diasporic communities and cultivate them as “civilized” subjects representing ideal Japanese womanhood, I argue, transformed the women’s education movement in domestic Japan in the 1910s and ‘20s. Moreover, by creating a series of institutions and ideologies, these campaigns paved the ground for the state’s mass migration policy in the late 1930s,
which mobilized and exported women from across the nation to Manchuria on an unprecedented scale.

Chapter five, also the final chapter, turns to the story of the Japanese Striving Society, an important migrant agent and education organization. Established in 1897, the Japanese Striving Society existed throughout the history of the Japanese empire. It not only witnessed but was also involved in a variety of different migration campaigns at different historical moments, such as migration to America from the late 19th century to the 1920s, migration to Latin America from the 1920s to 1930s, and the mass migration to the Asian continent from the late 1930s to 1945. Its past thus mirrors the general history of overseas migration in the time of the Japanese empire. Examining the changes in migration strategies between the two presidents of the JSS, Shimanuki Hyōdaiyū and Nagata Shigeshi, this chapter chronicles the three phases of the domestic discourse on Japanese American migration from the 1880s to 1945. The brief conclusion in the end of recapitulates the main points on the nature of Japan's diasporic imperialism discussed in previous chapters.

What will eventually emerge from these multidimensional analyses is a story of Japanese nation-making and empire-building that is more decentralized and complicated than the narratives derived from nation-centered, territory-bound perspectives. The story chronicles the invention, reproduction, manipulation, and dissemination of the emigrant-centered discourse of nation-making and imperial expansion that took place from 1868 to
1945. It illustrates that the modern Japanese nation was not only formed from the inside but also from the outside, and that the empire was built not only by people in Japan proper but also by the dispersed and disenfranchised lives of men and women in and even beyond the peripheries of the empire. This dissertation further integrates Japan’s experience into our understanding of the relationship between the nation state and international migration, between nationalism and transnationalism, and between the ideas of boundedness and the ideals of transcendence in the global age.

My efforts to capture the “diasporic” dimension of Japanese modernity have led my research beyond the documents housed in key governmental archives in Japan. I also utilize the archives of Japanese emigrant organizations, the journals of Japanese social reform groups, the documents of overseas Japanese and Japanese Christian missionaries to probe how the activities of Japanese social reformers and educators in controlling overseas emigrants was intrinsically connected to their domestic social campaigns. I supplement these sources by incorporating newspapers and memoirs by overseas Japanese from a range of geographical sites including China, the United States, (California and Hawaii) and Latin America.
Chapter 1

Japanese Global Migration and the National Subject Formation in Domestic Japan, 1868-1924

On June 7th, 2006, Tokyo District Court dismissed the lawsuit of a group of overseas Japanese demanding state compensations. They migrated to the Dominican Republic under Japanese government initiative in the 1950s but encountered unexpected hardship settling in local society and did not receive the benefits the Japanese government had promised. While admitting the Japanese government’s legal responsibility for the suffering of these emigrants, the court rejected their appeal by arguing that their charge passed the valid schedule period. Despite this sentence, Premier Koizumi announced that the government would compensate all the Japanese who migrated to the Dominican Republic in 1956 a certain amount of money between 500,000 to 2,000,000 Japanese yen for the hardship they experienced due to the government’s mistake. This sentence and announcement called into end a two-decade-long struggle of Dominican Japanese to demand Japanese government’s responsibility and apology for its tragic emigration policy in the 1950s.

The appeal of Dominican Japanese for the government’s compensation, since its emergence in the late 1980s, was widely reported by mass media and increasingly drew public attention in Japan. It not only exposed a long forgotten failure of state-initiated
emigration right after World War Two, but also triggered public dissatisfaction with the Japanese government’s ability and willingness to take care of its own people.\(^1\) Since the late 1980s, Japanese scholars, too, produced numerous works uncovering the painful experience of Japanese overseas emigrants in general and of those who migrated to the Dominican Republic in the 1950s in particular.\(^2\) Reports in the mass media and scholarly works in the academy converged into a chorus that described the Japanese overseas as *kimin* (people abandoned by the nation), and narrated the emigrant history of modern Japan as a story of the Japanese state’s irresponsibility in dumping its own people by migrating them aboard and its readiness to sacrifice their lives for its own interests. Imano and Takahashi’s monograph, *Dominika Imin Wa Kimin Datta*, in particular, parallels the story of Dominican Japanese in the postwar era with various painful experiences of Japanese emigrants around the world, such as in Hawaii, Brazil, and even Manchuria, before World War Two.\(^3\) It weaves all these stories into a grand narrative of Japanese overseas migration since the Meiji era, a narrative that portrays the Japanese government as abandoning its people overseas out of Malthusian anxiety.

To be sure, many Japanese who migrated overseas from the early Meiji era to the 1970s were indeed abandoned by the nation. Their migration was encouraged by the government out of the fear of overpopulation. Most of them were either impoverished and failed to survive in Japanese society due to financial difficulties or social outcasts.

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\(^1\) For mass media coverage and reports on Dominican Japanese case, see Imano Tamikiko and Takahashi Yukihara, *Dominika Imin Wa Kimin Datta*, (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1993) p.268, 270 and 271.

\(^2\) For such scholarship, see *Dominika Imin Wa Kimin Datta*, 267-268.

\(^3\) Ibid.
such as burakumin,\textsuperscript{4} or both, who were considered useless, if not troublesome, for the nation anyway. Moreover, after the Asia-Pacific War, many of those who were mobilized to support Japan’s expansion by migrating to the empire’s colonies, became domestic “other” that the general Japanese people tried to isolate from when they returned to Japan.\textsuperscript{5} In different periods of time and in various ways, these emigrants were abandoned by the Japanese government and marginalized by the society. Studies in explaining how and why this historical tragedy happened are absolutely necessary, which not only offer an important critique of Japanese imperialism but also urge the Japanese government and social groups at present to seek ways to compensate these emigrants and their descendants for the sufferings.

Emerging from the studies on these abandoned emigrants, the assumption that “\textit{imin wa kimin datta} (emigrants were abandoned people)” was adopted as an analytical paradigm in understanding the history of Japanese emigration. Following the Dominican Japanese lawsuits in the late 1980s, it became a leading discourse in the narratives of Japanese overseas migration in both Japanese academia and the public. The problem of this discourse is that it ahistorically reduced the relations between Japan and the Japanese overseas into a tragedy of desertion, a story of how these people were discarded by their home country. It prevented us from understanding the complexity of the relations


\textsuperscript{5} Lori Watt, \textit{When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan} (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 18.
between the Japanese overseas communities and the Japanese nation and empire.

This *kimin* discourse fitted in well with the existing disciplinary separation in Japan in the study of Japanese emigrant history since the end of the World War II: the separation of the study of *shokumin* (colonial migration) and that of *imin* (emigration). The former focused on Japanese migrations to the areas inside of the empire’s formal territories and the spheres of influence in Asia. The latter, on the other hand, was mainly interested in the migrations to the areas outside of the empire’s Asian territories, such as Hawaii, North and South Americas. This separation was reinforced by the contrasting analytical paradigms these two fields generally adopted. The study of *shokumin*, seeing Japan’s migrations in Asia part of the empire’s expansion, has understood them in the frameworks on colonialism and imperialism. The study of *imin*, on the contrary, assumed the migrations to other parts of the world had few, if any, relations with the empire or its expansion. The discourse of *kimin*, highlighting the Japanese government’s ignorance and inability in taking care of its subjects abroad, further isolates the study of *imin* in general and Japanese American migration in particular from the study of Japanese colonialism.

This chapter places the discourse of *kimin* as the center of critique. The importance of Japanese overseas in the nationalist and imperialist ideologies in modern Japan, this chapter will illustrate, belies the sufficiency of the *kimin* discourse for us to grasp the complexity in the history of Japanese emigration. Instead of *kimin*, I argue that from the beginning of the Meiji era through 1945, debates around two questions occupied the center of emigrant ideologies: how to integrate the overseas Japanese into Japan’s nation-
building project and how to make use of Japanese emigrants for the empire’s expansion. While “abandoning” was absolutely one way in which the Japanese overseas were treated by the nation in the past, Japanese overseas as a group of people and overseas emigration as a way of national and imperial expansion never disappeared in the main national and social discourses of the day. In other words, in the mainstream national and imperial ideologies in modern Japan, the overseas Japanese were not seen as abandoned, but as a particularly important group of the national subjects occupying the frontiers of the empire’s expansion. Furthermore, the ways of defining and representing them vis-à-vis the nation and empire tied to and sometimes drove the course of the national subject formation in domestic Japan.

Toake Endoh successfully challenges the discourse of kimin by showing that Japanese emigrations to Latin America both before and right after World War Two were carefully planned projects of the state to “kill two birds with one stone.” By sending the Okinawans, Burakumins, laid-off mine laborers, and the rural poor to Latin America, Endoh argues, the state relieved domestic political and economical conflicts on the one hand and exported Japanese human resources for trans-Pacific expansion on the other hand.6 This chapter aims to further question the kimin discourse by looking beyond the conceptual boundaries of the state. Overseas emigration in pre-war Japan included both government-initiated projects and volunteer outflows. Even for those who migrated under the plans and sponsorship of the Japanese government, such as the emigrants in Latin America, their significance for domestic Japan went far beyond of fulfilling

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6 Toake Endoh, Exporting Japan, 77-78, 138-169.
government’s goals of decompression and expansion. Not only governmental officials but also social educators and thinkers at each phase of the empire proposed and strove to materialize different agendas on overseas emigration for different purposes.

The bulk of this chapter thus will elaborate the importance of emigrants in the constructions of national and imperial discourses by Japanese national thinkers and social leaders, many of whom did not (directly at least) belong to the realm of state. It also illustrates that the national thinkers’ agendas and plans on how to nationalize and make use of overseas emigrants as well as their explanations on why and where Japan should export emigrants were closely tied, and sometimes central, to their ideologies of nation-making and empire-building.

The Emigration to Asia and Fukuzawa Yukichi’s Invention of Japanese Nationality

Malthusianism was received by Japanese intellectuals and policy makers in the late 19th century hand in hand with Social Darwinism. For many of them, population growth had potential for both national crisis and success in racial competition. As historian Hyung Gu Lynn insightfully observes, during the first decade after Malthusianism was introduced to Japan in 1871, the pressure of overpopulation and ideas of emigration were

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still far from each other.\textsuperscript{8} The projects of emigration, instead, were initially argued based on the concerns of national defense, development of borderlands and short-term economical reasons. It was the opportunity of Japan’s imperial expansion and the demand of spaces for racial competition that enabled overseas emigration to become a solution to overpopulation.

In a few articles penned in 1896, a year after the empire seized Taiwan, Fukuzawa Yukichi stressed the importance of space for the survival of a nation. According to the rule of biology, Fukuzawa argued, a species always had a quantitative limitation over its propagation within a certain space. “There is a limitation on how many golden fish can be breed in a pond. In order to raise more, [the breeder] either needs to enlarge the pond or to build a new one.”\textsuperscript{9} “The same is true for human beings,” he continued. Listing the national demographical data from 1874 to 1884, he showed that the Japanese population was increasing annually at the rate of almost 400,000. “On the one hand, Japan’s territory is limited, and on the other hand, the population grows in such a rapid speed. Under this situation, sooner or later the population will reach the quantitative limit and stop reproducing.”\textsuperscript{10}

However, population growth, Fukuzawa reminded his readers, was also crucial for a nation’s prosperity. “There is no nation in human history that achieved substantial

\textsuperscript{8} Ibid, 27.  
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid, 350.
success with insufficient population.” Once the population stopped growing, he warned, the nation started declining. To keep growing in national power, it was necessary to secure the continuing reproduction of the population and prepare to avoid situations that stopped population growth. The domestic population of England, Fukuzawa pointed out, was even smaller than Japan. The unmatched prestige and power it achieved around the world depended on the vibrant reproductivity of the Anglo-Saxon race. “Due to the limitation of the domestic territory, they either conquer foreign lands with force or explore them as their colonies, and conduct programs to export people there. [The success of UK now] is a result of conducting such policies for hundreds of years.”

Fukuzawa believed that Japan should follow the example of the UK and prepare for overseas emigration. For him, migrating people overseas was far from abandoning them due to domestic population pressure. It was, instead, a strategy for national prosperity. These emigrants were a long-term resource for the nation, who would contribute to Japan not only by bringing back their savings but also by smoothing the political and economical relations between Japan and the host nations.

The agenda of overseas emigration was also an essential part of Fukuzawa’s blueprint to construct Japanese nationality (kokutai). He believed that besides authentication of the imperial line, it was necessary for Japan to have a kokutai, “a race of people of similar feelings, the creation of a distinction between fellow countrymen and

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11 Ibid, 351.
12 Ibid, 351.
13 Ibid, 351.
foreigners, the fostering of more cordial and stronger bonds with one’s countrymen than
with foreigners.”\textsuperscript{15} Such sentiment of \textit{kokutai}, Fukuzawa argued, “may originate in
similarity of physical characteristics, or religion, or language, or geography. Although the
reason may differ from country to country, the most important factor is for a race of
people to pass through a series of social forms and share a common past.”\textsuperscript{16}

Fukuzawa’s characterization of such Japaneseness is closely tied to emigration. He
described common Japanese people as settled and not willing to travel around. Instead of
taking adventures, he argued, “they like enjoying peaceful family life.”\textsuperscript{17} He further
pointed out that while some people believed that the Japanese were not suitable for
emigration based on their character, this was a misleading perception. Comparing the
character of the French and the British, he argued that while the French liked taking
adventures and traveling around, and did not have strong ties with family, the British, on
the other hand, were more satisfied with family life and getting settled. Because of such a
character, the British colonial expansion was much more successful than the French,
since they were willing to settle wherever they went, and established families and
communities there. The Japanese people, whose character was closer to the British, were
thus the ideal people for colonial expansion.\textsuperscript{18}

Fukuzawa invented the Japanese nationality not only to ground his call for overseas
emigration but also to secure these emigrants as a permanent resource of the nation. A
\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{15} Naoki Sakai, Brett de Bary, Iyotani Toshio, eds., \textit{Deconstructing Nationality} (Ithaca: Cornell
University, 2005), 3.
\bibitem{16} Ibid, 4.
\bibitem{17} Fukuzawa Yukichi, \textit{Fukuzawa zenshū}, vol. 15, 354.
\bibitem{18} Fukuzawa Yukichi, \textit{Fukuzawa zenshū}, vol. 15, 352-354.
\end{thebibliography}
key to maintaining the emigrants’ loyalty to Japan, argued Fukuzawa, was to export Japanese native religions with them. Building Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines could guarantee that they would not lose their original view and ties with Japan and settle in foreign lands comfortably.\textsuperscript{19} Fukuzawa also proposed that Japanese government should expand Japan’s sea routes and send emigrants out by Japan’s own ships. The native ships, he believed, were more convenient than foreign ships, and could provide emigrants a sense of home and help them keep their original Japanese life styles and also their ties with Japan and each other. He further stressed the necessity of using national power and resource to protect these emigrants. As he argued,

Spending money to protect people’s emigration may seem useless for now. But in the future, the development of lands [by the emigrants] will lead to the increase of local productivity and population and the prosperity of trade between [the hosting societies] and Japan, the benefit [for Japan] can hardly be calculated… It is just like sowing the seeds of prosperity. Since we can surely expect lush harvests after the seeds take some time to sprout and grow, we should absolutely not be stingy [in protecting the emigrants].\textsuperscript{20}

It is through this metaphor of farmer and seeds that the dispersed lives of the overseas emigrants were associated with the nation. Fukuzawa’s construction of Japanese nationality and representation of the Japanese as an expansive race just like the British

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid, 361-62.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, 374.
further legitimized the empire’s expansion through emigration. It facilitated Japan’s mission of “spreading civilization” following the example of the western powers. By comparing Japan with the British empire, Fukuzawa reproduced the imperial hierarchy between the West and Japan and applied it in Japan’s relationship with the rest part of the world.\footnote{Fukuzawa Yukichi, “On De-Asianization,” \textit{Meiji Japan Through Contemporary Sources}, vol. II (Tokyo: Yunesuko Higashi Ajia Bunka Kenkyū Sentā, 1964), 129-133.} He further pointed out that unenlightened and unexplored places in China, Korea, Southeast Asia, and even as far as South America and Africa could all be destination of Japanese emigrants.\footnote{Fukuzawa Yukichi, \textit{Fukuzawa Zenshū}, vol. 15, 351.} The program of emigration, he further stressed, was not merely to migrate people, but also to export custom and language. For example, he suggested that in migrant destinations, it is essential that Japanese emigrants keep speaking Japanese themselves not just for convenience, but also to make local people speak Japanese so as to expand Japan’s power around the world.

### The Emigration to Hawaii and North America and the making of Japanese national essence

The fondness of western learning and fever of westernization, advocated by Fukuzawa, was followed by strong nativist backlashes in the end of the 19th century. Under the disappointment with the government’s failure to revise Japan’s unequal treaties with western powers, hard-liners, represented by organizations such as \textit{Seikyōsha} (The Society of Politics and Education), proposed a different way of national development.
Instead of *kokutai*, ideologues of *Seikyōsha* translated the term nationality as *kokusui* (national essence). The importation of western values, they argued, might lead Japan to lose its ideological independence. Instead, Japan should pursue national independence and prosperity based on *kokusui*, Japan’s own value and culture. These Seikyōsha thinkers’ plans for Japanese empire building and their ideas of the relationship between nation and individuals were also developed based on Japanese emigrant experience of the day.

Emigration was a crucial resource to promote the *Seikyōsha* thinkers’ version of national education. While they believed in the central role of Japanese tradition and culture in the development of the nation, they did not deny the overall necessity of western learning. Advocating national essence, a *Seikyōsha* thinker Shiga Shigetaka argued, “does not mean that we want to completely maintain all the old elements in Japanese tradition. Instead, we propose to use the national essence as the container to digest the elements imported from the West and assimilate them into the body of Japanese culture.” Emigrant experience was an ideal way of such cultural digestion. To promote Japanese labor migration to Hawaii, Shiga argued that in addition to solving domestic population pressure and bringing the nation remittance from abroad, Hawaiian emigration was particularly useful to train and educate the lower and working class.

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23. Mizuno Mamoru, “‘Ekkyo’ to Meiji Nashonarizumu: 1889 Nen Jōyaku Kaisei Mondai ni Okeru Seikyōsha no Shisō,” *Nihon Gakuhō*, no. 22 (2002), 40-41. It should be mentioned that while the Seikyosha thinkers oppose westernization, but do not oppose moving Japan’s nationality toward a less insular direction.

Japanese. On the one hand, this emigration could familiarize them with standardized and regulated working methods used in the west. It would eventually enhance the overall quality of the Japanese working class. On the other hand, the emigrant experience would enlighten them with knowledge of the outside world and stimulate their spirit for overseas expedition.²⁵

Shiga further believed that the fate of Japan’s modernization relied on the independent spirit of individual Japanese, who respected other nations and cultures without losing the self-dignity and patriotism as Japanese by maintaining the particular virtues of Japanese tradition and culture.²⁶ In order to mold Japanese nationals with this independent spirit, as Shiga indicated, it was imperative to reform Japan’s current national education system. Meiji government’s national education policy, he argued, was inconsistent at best. Its shift from complete westernization to complete nativist education led to both disorders in education system and the failure to make contributions to the nation. Such shift, Shiga pointed out, could only produce narrow-minded subjects (shinmin), not nationals (kokumin) with independent spirits.²⁷

It was, however, through the educational issue of Japanese emigrants in Hawaii that Shiga launched his direct attack on the Meiji government’s education policy and proposed his solution.²⁸ In 1903, Japanese government decided to apply the government-issued textbooks for elementary schools in domestic Japan to the elementary schools in

²⁶ Okita Yukuji, Hawai Nikei Imin no Kyōikushi, 28.
²⁷ Ibid, 29.
²⁸ Ibid, 27.
Japanese communities in Hawaii. 29 Opposing this policy, Shiga argued, “Japan’s original educational ideology is narrow, stubborn and insular, [as a result,] Japanese were not told about foreign affairs. They are, instead, generally selfish and never think about making any contributions to that land (Hawaii).”30 Such insular education, conducted among Japanese immigrants in Hawaii through the government-issued textbooks, Shiga believed, was the fundamental problem that caused the anti-Japanese campaigns in the US.31 In other words, the exclusion of Japanese immigrants in the US signified the failure of Japan’s contemporary national education.

Instead of using the textbooks issued by the Japanese government, Shiga proposed that the education of Japanese emigrants in Hawaii should combine the values of both Japan and the West. “The essence of western civilization, such as the application of technologies, machines, omission of tiresome etiquette, and habits of time keeping and living a regulated life, can be used to remedy the biggest shortcoming of the Japanese.”32 Shiga further argued, 

As it is well known, Japan is geographically located at the joint point of the East and the West. In particular, the Japanese emigrants in Hawaii, who live in the West with the bodies of the East, should select and embody the advantages of both the East and the West and become the pioneers of reconciling eastern and western

30 Ibid, 38.
31 Ibid, 38.
32 Ibid, 33.
Therefore, for Shiga, combining the elements of eastern and western civilizations was not just an educational plan for Japanese emigrant education in Hawaii. More importantly, it was also the blueprint of Japanese national education, which produces the ideal Japanese nationals with “independent spirits.” The Japanese emigrants in Hawaii, accordingly, were the pioneers of this education.

While admitting the nationalist elements in Shiga’s idea of national essence, historian Okita Yukuji celebrates his proposal of combining eastern and western civilizations in Japanese national education as a significant attempt toward Japan’s internationalization, dwarfing other “narrow-minded” nationalistic ideologies of the day. However, it is still necessary for us to put Shiga’s plan of national education into the context of his ideology of national essence, which emerged under the assumption of the competition among nations and races. His “cosmopolitan” agenda of education reform was, after all, designed to create ideal Japanese nationals (kokumin) and to serve his plan of Japan’s empire building through emigration.

It is also worth noting that American exclusion of Japanese immigrants was not merely translated into the failure of Japanese national education. It also convinced Seikyōsha thinkers that Japan’s equal partnership with the western powers would not be

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33 Ibid, 35.
34 Ibid, 36.
obtained through diplomatic negotiation or friendship, but could only be achieved through Japan’s own colonial expansion. Such necessity of colonial expansion was grounded by the perceived emergency to prepare for racial competition with the West, Japan’s colonial emigration was a crucial step in the attempt to win this competition.

In his letter to Shiga Shigetaka, Nagasawa Betten, another Seikyōsha ideologue studied at Stanford University in 1891, argued based on his observation in California,

While the competition between nations is apparent, the competition between races still remains invisible. For the apparent, people take it seriously and get prepared for it. But for the invisible, only experts can see it and thus few efforts are made for the preparation. Moreover, the most important point lies not in the former but the latter…Living among people of other races, my sense of the emergency (of preparing for racial competition) increases day by day. So the emergent task now, as you has advocated, is to promote our national essence on the one hand, and to inspire our countrymen's spirit of outward expansion on the other hand.

Nagasawa’s perception of racial competition, however, was not simply that the Japanese should combat equally with all other races in the world. Instead, it entailed the rivalry of the Japanese with the white/Aryan races on the one hand and Japan’s leadership

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36 *Ajia*, no. 36 (Feb. 28, 1894): 679-680.
among the yellow races on the other hand. Such racial ideology was substantially formed through his observation of Asian immigrant communities in the US and his responses to American exclusion campaigns of the Chinese and Japanese immigrants.

In several articles in *Ajia*, the official journal of Seikyōsha, Nagasawa analyzed the social and political reasons behind American exclusion of the Japanese immigrants. He argued that most of the advocates of Japanese exclusion were new immigrants from Germany, Spain, and Ireland, who lost in the battle of survival in their home countries before migrating to the US. Due to their lack of education, they did not really know about Japan, even considering Japan a part of China.

In order to change his domestic readers’ negative image of Japanese immigrants in the US, Nagasawa described the “success” of Japanese immigrants in the US by the comparison with the local Chinese immigrants. While the Chinese were mostly the slaves of money, respecting nothing other than profits, he argued, the majority of the Japanese were diligent students and businessmen with good morality and decent character. While there were a small number of Japanese immigrants conducting shameful behaviors such as getting drunk, frequenting brothels, or gambling, most of them were decent people, making progress in their study and business and earning respect from local Americans.  

In order to maintain such a progressive image of the Japanese race, Nagasawa further urged the Japanese government to pay close attention to the quality of Japanese emigrants to the US, and issue passports to them selectively. Otherwise, he warned, it may lead to

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the passage of anti-Japanese acts, just like the Chinese exclusion Act, which would become a national shame for Japan.\textsuperscript{38}

To reinforce the hierarchy and difference between the Japanese and Chinese, he penned a series of essays in \textit{Ajia}, titled “Sōkō Yōmakai” (literally meaning “Ogre Street in San Francisco”), depicting the “uncivilized” and “backward” life of the Chinese immigrants in San Francisco’s Chinatown, a life filled with prostitution, gambling, fortune telling, dirty food, contract killing and other crimes.\textsuperscript{39} Defining the Chinese as against the trend of human progress, Nagasawa concluded, “the future of the Chinese, no matter in terms of their survival, their trade, their physical labor, or their development of language, is indeed a subject to research. Since this research will make sure to prevent the emergence of such a strange phenomena in the end of the twentieth century.”

The future of the Japanese, on the contrary, was to lead the yellow races to win the racial competition with Aryans. As the pioneers of the yellow races, it was also their responsibility (\textit{shimei}) to do so.\textsuperscript{40} “Even if it turns out that our race is not as competitive as the Aryan race,” Nagasawa positively perceived,

We can still catch up within a period of time…Colonial migration is the most effective way to prepare for racial competition, compared with improving education, strengthening national defense, increasing industrialization or expanding

\textsuperscript{38} Ngasawa Betten, “Nihonjin mondai,” \textit{Ajia}, no. 42. 111-112.
\textsuperscript{39} This series appeared in \textit{Ajia} of the issue no. 31 no. 32, no. 33, no. 36, no. 37, no. 38, no. 39 from January to May 1891.
\textsuperscript{40} Ngasawa Betten, “Dai Shōtotsu: Mongoru Shuzoku to Erian Shuzoku,” \textit{Nihonjin}, no. 7 (January 18, 1894): 543-548.
sea routes…. Once our fellow Japanese live and settle throughout the world, it doubtlessly means that we triumph in the racial competition.\textsuperscript{41}

The government, argued Nagasawa, should take its responsibility to protect the emigrants abroad in order to materialize their contribution to the nation. After the monarchy of Hawaii Kingdom was overthrown by American residents in the island in 1893, Nagasawa urged the Japanese government to send a special diplomat with full capacity to Hawaii to negotiate with the newly established republic government in the island for the suffrage of the Japanese emigrants there. Given the Japanese population of 20,000 on the island, Nagasawa argued, a few Japanese congressmen or even ministers would emerge after five or six generations if the Japanese had suffrage in Hawaii. It would not only substantially enhance the power and interests of the Japanese on the island, but also transform Hawaii into a station of Japan’s colonial expansion, from which the Japanese could further expand to Australia, Mexico, and South America.\textsuperscript{42}

\textbf{Post-WWI Internationalism and Japan’s “Peaceful” Expansion}

World War I not only transformed the global imperial discourse, but also led Japan

\textsuperscript{41} Nagasawa Betten, “Raisei no Nihon to Sanbei Kantsū Daitetsudō,” \textit{Nihonjin}, no. 2 (October 20, 1893): 113-114.
\textsuperscript{42} Nagasawa Betten, \textit{Yankī} (Tokyo: Keigyōshai, 1895), 129-131.
into a process of “national reinvention,” to borrow a word from Frederick Dickinson. While Woodrow Wilson failed to persuade the American Congress of the benefits for the United States to join the League of Nations, his ideas of internationalism, pacifism, and economism were fully accepted as the core of the new imperial world order. Japan’s participation in the War and the Peace Conference in Paris afterwards convinced an increasing number of Japanese politicians and opinion leaders of the necessity to embrace the new world order, characterized by the spirit of international “trust and cooperation.” As Baron Makino Shinken, Japan’s representative for the Peace Conference, concluded shortly before he departed for Paris, “Today it is a worldwide trend to honor pacifism and reject oppression. Everywhere in the world the so-called Americanism is advanced, and conditions have definitely altered from the days of the old diplomacy.” The new diplomacy, as he saw it, followed the principles of “fair play, justice and humanitarianism.”

Japanese leaders, meanwhile, understood that competition would never stop in the new world order. Yet Seikyōsha hard-liners’ theories of brutal racial competition and calls for aggressive expansion were losing their popularity. The voices of Kokusaishugi (internationalism), marked by the ideas of Japan’s peaceful expansion through its cooperation and reconciliation with western powers, gained an increasing audience in

43 Frederick Dickinson, War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914-1919 (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 4-5.
45 Frederick Dickinson, War and national reinvention, 211.
47 Ibid, 244.
both government and the public. But just like their Seikyōsha opponents, advocates of *kokusaishugi*, too, closely associated this internationalist discourse with their agendas of Japan’s nation-making and versions of Japanese national identity. As Frederick Dickinson insightfully observes, seizing the transformation of global imperial discourse during World War I as “a golden opportunity,” Japanese party politicians like Kato Takaaki and Hara Takashi advocated the economy-oriented, pro-Wilsonism diplomacy to support their domestic political battle against the rule of Meiji oligarchs. Such change in foreign policy, therefore, had substantial impact on Japanese ruling elites on the whole in the 1920s in their plans of national development. Politicians and bureaucrats were repeatedly arguing for the importance of “producing and selling superior merchandise” to contribute to “the common welfare of mankind” and the necessity of abandoning the outdated mentality of “emotionalism, irrationalism and traditionalism.”

Even top military officials, such as Matsui Iwane, proposed in 1923 to substitute “economic conquest for military invasion, financial influence for military control,” and achieve Japan’s success under the slogans of international “friendship” and “cooperation.”

Similar to their Seikyōsha opponents, many Japanese ideologues of internationalism also saw overseas emigration as an essential part of their blueprints for national development. As Nitobe Inazō, a prominent scholar of colonial studies and an influential internationalist in Japan, argued in 1919,

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50 Ibid, 245.
While it is needless to say that our nation is a small island nation surrounded by sea, our countrymen lack the ideas of overseas development even compared with continent peoples. The indifference of our fellow Japanese toward the world aboard resulted from the *sakoku* (closing country) policy adopted by previous politicians that forbade people from going overseas. However, we now have to throw away such insularity, cultivate the spirit of internationalism and try to leap a great step forward for overseas development...In planning our overseas development, we can never dispense with the issue of colonial migration. Since the two were closely associated with each other.\(^{51}\)

Similar to Nagaswa Betten, Nitobe opposed exporting people abroad unselectively. He believed that some of the emigrants, such as prostitutes, exposed Japan’s “national shame” on the international stage. “The emigrants that I admire are those already have decent social status in Japan and migrate overseas not because of their wrong doings at home but because of the goal to establish their careers abroad.”\(^{52}\) Echoing Nitobe, Inoue Masaji, the manager of the Japanese South Asia Company also believed that people with outstanding records in schools or their careers should be selected for overseas


\(^{52}\) Nitobe Inazō, “Yamato Minzoku no Hatten,” 6-9.
emigration.\textsuperscript{53} He further encouraged the youth of Japan to achieve their success aboard instead of at home, since the hardship of life abroad would enable them to abolish the mind of insularity, temper their willpowers and strengthen their spirits.\textsuperscript{54} Overseas emigration, Inoue believed, was a necessary experience to train the next generation of Japanese nationals for the nation’s global expansion.\textsuperscript{55}

Since this internationalism was grounded by the reconciliation and cooperation between Japan and the imperial powers in the West in general and the US in particular, Japanese emigrants on the American western coast were seen as the symbol of Japan-US partnership. As Ōguma Shigenobu argued in 1917,\textsuperscript{56} their settlement in the US would not only promote bilateral trade between Japan and America, but also “eliminate the misunderstandings between the two nations and conflicts between the two peoples” and enhance the friendship of the two nations so as to contribute to the peace of the world and the happiness of mankind.\textsuperscript{57}

These emigrants were, more importantly, the national subjects standing in the forefront of Japan’s internationalization. They were seen as the “face” of the nation and their future would determine the fate of Japan’s overseas expansion. As early as 1905, right after Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War, Abe I soo, a parliamentarian

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid, 108-109.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, 109-110.
\textsuperscript{56} Oguma Shigenobu was a strong supporter of internationalism and democratic party politics and served as Japanese Primer in 1898 and from April 1914 to October 1916, and remained a member of the Upper House of the Imperial Diet until 1922.
\textsuperscript{57} Ichihara Makoto, \textit{Kashū no Nihonjin} (Tokyo, Daiseisha, 1916), 144
politician and social reformer, even considered Japanese emigration to the US as establishing a new Japan on the other side of the Pacific. Abe argued, Japan was “the broker of civilization,” buying it from the American market and then selling it to China and Korea and it is natural for the Japanese to hold a base at the western end of the American continent. Just as America has the mission to spread the blessing of civilization to Japan, “Japan, accordingly, has the obligation to export this blessing to the Asian continent.” In this way, Japan’s expansion on both sides of the Pacific was justified through its acceptance of the global hierarchy arranged by the degree of westernization and modernization.

Since Japanese settlement in the United States was so crucial for the internationalists’ plans of Japan’s national development and imperial expansion, how to explain and deal with the American anti-Japanese sentiment since the beginning of the twentieth century became an emergent issue. Moreover, as Oguma Eiji astutely points out, Japanese intellectuals of the day had to tackle the two-layered racism of “discriminating while being discriminated against.” On the one hand, as a non-white nation Japan was sending emigrants to the US who were deprived of the rights to acquire citizenship based on their race. On the other hand the Japanese empire held colonies in Asia such as Taiwan and Korea, facing the task of internalizing or assimilating the different racial groups in the colonies. This contradiction left some Japanese

58 Abe Isso, Hokubei no Shin Nihon (Tokyo, Hakubunkan, 1905), 124.
59 Ibid, 121.
internationalist thinkers attempting to integrate their solutions to these two racial issues, calling for the racial equality between Japanese immigrants and white Americans and at the same time justifying Japan’s racial policies toward the Koreans and Taiwanese.

Having studied in the United States and United Kingdom and worked as a professor at Meiji University, Uehara Etsujirō was elected to the House of Representatives in the Imperial Diet in 1917 and became a democratic politician. He believed that white racism was not the main reason for the anti-Japanese sentiment. The sentiment, argued Uehara, instead resulted from the traditionalism and insularity of the Japanese immigrants themselves. They lived together, completely separate from white American communities. Many of them did not pay attention to local culture and affairs and had no intention to become permanent residents or citizens. Japanese immigrants’ failure of being assimilated to the American society was rooted in their insularity. While Uemura’s solution to the anti-Japanese sentiment was simply that Japanese immigrants should abandon their living patterns and assimilate into the American society, the Japanese immigrants’ insularity and feudal mind-set, he argued, originated from the traditionalism and autocracy of the Japanese political system. 61 By criticizing the “narrow minds” of Japanese immigrants, Uehara was problematizing the contemporary Japanese political system itself. His proposal of Japanese immigrants’ assimilation to the American society,

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accordingly, suggested his call to reform Japan through American political principles.  

Democracy, meantime, according to Uehara, would help to assimilate the Koreans into the Japanese empire. Japan’s colonial governance of Korea through “military force and police authority” was “out of step with world posture.” He believed that Japanese racial prejudice against the Koreans, too, resulted from the remnants of feudalism in Japan. A democratic political system in the empire would eliminate all distinctions and allow the Koreans who “lagged behind” to advance in step with the Japanese.  
Thus, Uehara’s global hierarchy of nation and race was based on the degree of modernization and democratization. In his ranking of the United States—Japan—Korea, democratization of the Japanese political system would not only enable Japanese immigrants to assimilate into white American society but also legitimize and refine Japanese imperial rule in Korea.

If Uehara considered the issue of Japanese exclusion in the US an emergent call for democratizing the Japanese empire, Harada Tasuku, another passionate advocate of internationalism, believed the American anti-Japanese sentiment symbolized the failure of not only Japan’s political system but also its traditional morality. While teaching at the University of Hawaii as a professor of Japanese history and East Asian religions, Harada went to investigate the anti-Japanese sentiment in California under the request of

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62 For example, Uehara argues that the Japanese government should reform the nationality laws and conscription system to clear up the “misunderstandings” of the American people on the Japanese immigrants and “maintain the friendship between the US and Japan.” Uehara Etsujirō, “Hainichi no Shinsō to Sono Kaiketsu Saku,” Taiyō, 26:13 (1920), 28.
Shibuzawa Ei’ichi, a prominent Japanese businessmen and opinion leader.\(^{64}\) In the pamphlet that he wrote after the investigation, Harada suggested that Japanese immigrants should work hard to assimilate into American society by learning English and respecting the American culture and political system. They should give up the mindset of sojourning and prepare to settle permanently by changing the “unhealthy” and “unbalanced” life styles. \(^{65}\) Further, he urged, the Japanese government should abandon the policies of “militarism” and “imperialism,” “improve Japan’s cultural and social facilities…,” “raise people’s status” and “eliminate any evidence showing that Japan is living a life isolated from the world.” \(^{66}\)

Harada’s advice to Japanese immigrant communities and Japanese government policies was closely tied to his proposal of reforming Japan’s national morality, which Harada called Japan’s “third restoration.” Harada saw the new era brought by the end of World War One as the third turning point in Japanese history following the Taika Reform and the Meiji Restoration.” In the essay “The Third Restoration” published in *Nippu Jiji*, a major Japanese immigrant newspaper in Hawaii in 1922, “The current restoration is not merely driven by the request in domestic Japan, but driven by the general trend of the world.”\(^{67}\) In order to achieve the political goal of democracy at home and pacifism abroad, Harada proposed, Japan had to change the nation-centered principles in its national education system into individual-centered principles. To achieve this transformation, it

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\(^{64}\) Okita Yukuji, *Hawaii Nikei Imin no Kyōikushi*, 84-85.
\(^{65}\) Ibid, 90.
\(^{66}\) Ibid, 90.
should reward “progressive moral doctrines following the trend of the common course of humankind and spirits that respect individualism.” The completion of the “third restoration,” therefore, was attributed to the internationalization of the nation-centered Japanese morality.

It is not a coincidence that Harada’s call for this new national “restoration” was voiced via a Japanese immigrant newspaper in Hawaii. As Okita Yukuji has insightfully pointed out, Harada’s plan to reform Japan’s national education should be understood through his experience of dealing with the anti-Japanese sentiment in the US. His ideas of transforming Japanese national morality, proposed when he was teaching at the University of Hawaii as a professor, were developed hand in hand with his efforts to integrate Japanese immigrant education in Hawaii into the American national education system.

As an enthusiastic Christian educator, Harada believed that the internalization of Japan should be achieved by Christian universalism. He argued, “We must adopt a universal religion that transcends the national boundaries and have the broad mind to adopt the religion that benefits general human beings, no matter if it is domestic or foreign, no matter which race it originally belonged to. Such a mind is particularly necessary for the people of an expanding nation [like us], since we cannot use an ethnic religion that only works for Japan to civilize people in other nations. From now on, our

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69 Ibid, 92.
70 Ibid, 94-95.
national religion has to be the one that can best demonstrate the sense of humanity.”

Christianity, a universal religion, thus was a perfect fit for the Japanese, an expansive people.

This Christian internationalism was, in other words, just a way to achieve his goal of promoting Japan’s national expansion and fostering its national consciousness. Such an ideology of internationalism as means and nationalism as ends was further testified to by his efforts to negotiate Christian belief and Japanese nationalism centered on the emperor system. He contended,

Our nation has to be based on universal justice, and I believe that Christianity is the best religion to demonstrate our universal justice. I do not think there are any contradictions between Christianity and the spirit to obey the intent of His Majesty’s Rescripts. Christians in Japan are faithful followers of Jesus Christ and at the same time the loyal subjects of His Majesty and patriots of Japan.  

Many Japanese Christians of the day, just like Harada, believed Christianity should become the core of Japan’s new national identity. In their evangelical projects for Japan, the Japanese overseas, once again, became an important target to begin with. The following section will elaborate how these Christian thinkers and missionaries tied their evangelical campaigns on Japanese emigrants abroad to their eventual goal of

\[\text{Ibid, 76-77.}\]
\[\text{Ibid, 79.}\]
Christianizing the nation at home.

Japanese Christian Missions in Hawaii, Taiwan and California and Their Ambitions at Home

Japanese Christians started to send evangelical missions abroad in the late 19th century. Their initial targets for conversion were exclusively Japanese emigrants. Like the early Japanese overseas emigrants who planned to return home after making enough money, the Japanese Christian missionaries who went abroad to convert them had a similar sojourning mentality. These overseas missions, they believed, would finally bring God’s gospels back to Japan. As Okabe Jirō, a missionary preaching among Japanese contract laborers in Hawaii, voiced his ambitions at home from abroad in 1891, “Being a villager of an isolated island in Hawaii, I feel the ultimate happiness in observing the transformation of our countrymen. Because if we cannot change this isolated island in

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73 Japanese Christian missions abroad did not try to convert non-Japanese people until 1919, when Japanese Congregational Church in Korea started to convert the Koreans under the support of the Japanese Governor-General of Korea. Manchurian Missionary Association (Manshū Dendōkai) was established by Japanese Christians in 1932 to conduct evangelical campaigns among the Chinese and the Manchus in Northeast China. The Association was renamed East Asian Missionary Association (Tōa Dendōkai) after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War and expanded its campaigns to the occupied areas in China by the Japanese empire. For more detailed information of Japanese Christian missions Manchuria and China, see Han Sokki, *Nihon no Manshū shihai to Manshū Dendōkai* (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisutokyōdan Shuppankyoku, 1999). But it should be pointed out, as is also shown in the Han’s book, that even when the Japanese Christians started to preach among other racial groups, their missions on the Japanese and on other peoples were clearly separated.
Hawaii, we cannot change Japan."\(^{74}\)

The significance of the Christian missions abroad was not only considered in terms of conducting evangelical campaigns, but also in terms of forming Japanese national consciousness and bringing the national education to the overseas emigrants. Another Japanese missionary, Okumura Takie, lamented in 1895,

> While the education system in our nation has been widely extended and schools have been established in even very isolated areas in domestic Japan, it is unfortunate that the thirty thousand emigrants and their four hundred children [in Hawaii], who were also fellow imperial subjects, cannot have such favor…If they do not read the motherland’s language, do not learn the motherland’s etiquette, how can they understand the motherland’s history and geography?\(^{75}\)

To prevent these emigrants and their children from losing the identity as “imperial subjects,” with the support of the local Japanese consulate and Japanese businessmen, Okumura established a Japanese language school for the emigrants’ children in Honolulu in 1896 and managed it for decades.\(^{76}\)

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\(^{75}\) Ibid, 11.

\(^{76}\) Okumura Takie, *Oenchō Nanajū Nen* (Kyoto: Naigai Shuppan Insatsu Kabushiki Geisha, 1937), 35-37. It should be pointed out that the educational principle of Okumura’s school was shifted from cultivating “imperial subjects” of Japan to teaching Japanese language to the American citizens with Japanese origins during the competition with local Japanese Buddhist schools since the late 1900s. Okumura began to criticize the “pure Japanese national education” of the latter,
In a similar way, when Japan seized Taiwan after defeating the Qing Empire in 1895, a prominent Christian church leader Uemura Masahisa wrote an article to promote Japanese Christian missions to the island. He believed that Japan’s colonization of Taiwan was the will of God and following the trend of human progression. Meantime, he also considered the seizure of Taiwan a great obligation for the Japanese in the future. He pointed out, “Under the gaze of other nations, the Japanese are receiving the test from God on how to explore and civilize Taiwan. Do our fellow countrymen have the qualification to assimilate other races and to constitute a great contribution to the progress and happiness of human beings through our own power?” Though Japanese Christians were still small in number and weak in power, he urged them to follow the call to conduct missionary works in Taiwan, becoming the pioneers in promoting “progress,” “justice” and “truth” on the island. The initial target of their missions, Uemura believed, should be the Japanese colonizers. Since once converted, they would become good examples and then bring God’s gospels to the colonized. However, the most important task of these Taiwan missions, Uemura added, was not to spread the words of God, but to teach the Japanese colonizers to love the nation and devote themselves to serve the

and argued that the immigrant education should be isolated from Japan’s national education and based on the particular political and social context in Hawaii. Okumura was an advocate to support Japanese immigrants’ assimilation to the American society during the Japanese language school debate in Hawaii since the late 1910s. See Okita Yukuji, *Hawai Nikei Imin no Kyōikushi*, 138-226. But as will be pointed out later, these Japanese Christian missionaries’ efforts of encouraging Japanese immigrants to assimilate into American society, was also closely associated with Japanese nationalism.

78 Ibid, 249.
nation.\textsuperscript{79}

On the other side of the Pacific, the Japanese ethnic Christian churches also played an important role in the social and moral education of the local Japanese communities. Considering American anti-Japanese sentiment as Japan’s national shame, the churches formed the Christian Missionary Union (\textit{Kirisutokyōto Dōmei Dendōdan}), a cross-denominational association to address this issue. The union believed that a main reason for the Japanese exclusion in the US was moral corruption in Japanese communities such as activities involving gambling and prostitution. They thus conducted temperance campaigns among Japanese immigrants on the American West Coast.\textsuperscript{80} Along with the intensification of the anti-Japanese sentiment in California, the union actively participated in the Enlightenment Movement (\textit{Keihatsu Undō}) initiated by the Japanese American Association (\textit{Zaibei Nihonjin Kai}).\textsuperscript{81} The goal of the movement was to appease the sentiment by “enlightening” Japanese immigrants with civilized social and moral values. It urged them to assimilate into the American society on the one hand and exhibit the assimilability of the Japanese race to white Americans, correcting their “misunderstandings” of the Japanese immigrants on the other hand.

As Yoshida Ryō insightfully points out, the union’s activities of “enlightening” Japanese immigrants in the US were closely tied to the Christian evangelical campaigns

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid, 249-251.

\textsuperscript{80} For the anti-gambling and anti-prostitution campaigns of the Union, see Sakaguchi Mitsuhiro, “Hainichi Mondai to Taiheiyō Engan Nihonjin Kirisutō Kyoōdan” in Doshisha Daigaku Jinbun Kagagu Kenkyūjo, ed., \textit{Hokubei Nihonjin Kirisutōkyō Undōshi} (Kyōto, Doshisha Daigaku Jinbun Kagagu Kenkyūjo, 1991), 211-288.

in domestic Japan. The union sent missionaries back to Japan, who collaborated with domestic Christians by holding lectures around the nation to introduce the issue of Japanese exclusion in the US. These lectures promoted Christian evangelical campaigns in Japan by concluding that Christianity was the only solution to the Japanese American exclusion.82

On the other hand, the union invited domestic Christian leaders, such as Tsunajima Kakichi, Kanamori Michitomo and Ebina Danjō, to come to the US and deliver speeches to Japanese immigrants.83 In particular, Kanamori, a leader of the Japanese Salvation Army, who was invited to come to the US in 1915, conducted a successful evangelical tour among the immigrants. He applied this experience to his domestic evangelical campaigns afterward and achieved great success.84 Kanamori’s mission in Japanese American communities and his missions in domestic Japan were further tied together through his vision of Japanese immigrants as the pioneers of Japanese overseas expansion. As he stated upon the conclusion of his mission in the United States,

Our fellow countrymen’s society in the United States is the frontier for the expansion of our Yamato spirit. Our fellow countrymen in the United States are the pioneers of Japanese people’s development. They are the examples of our nation. In the same way, my mission in America will be an example for my evangelical

82 Ibid, 8.
campaigns among the 60 million countrymen in the motherland.\(^85\)

The director of the union, Kobayashi Seisuke, further praised Kanamori’s tour for “not only using Christian salvation to rescue the heart of Japanese immigrants but also becoming the ‘fuse’ for turning Japan into the kingdom of God.”\(^86\)

**Nationalism and Internationalism in Japan’s Emigrant Expansion**

Whether Fukuzawa’s construction of Japan’s nationality, or Seikyōsha ideologues’ adoration of national essence, or the internationalists’ promotion of reforming Japan’s education through the principles of universal humanism, different Japanese thinkers from the late 19\(^{th}\) century to the first two decades of the 20\(^{th}\) century integrated their plans of overseas emigration into their agendas of Japanese nation making and empire building. The Japanese overseas emigrants were far from being abandoned or neglected by mainstream thinkers in Japan of the day. In fact, where in the world to export emigrants and how to educate and make use of them for the nation were crucial to their plans of forming and reforming Japan’s national identity.

Scrutinizing the emigrant thoughts of different thinkers also enables us to see the intrinsic connections and uniformity between the seemingly contradictory ideologies such as

\(^{85}\) Ibid, 15.  
\(^{86}\) Ibid, 15.
as Kokusuishugi and Kokusaishugi. The former, propagated by Seikyōsha thinkers, enthroned Japanese cultural particularity and considered it core to the reconstruction of Japan’s national identity. The nation united and empowered by its cultural essence, they believed, would better compete with western imperial powers and expand globally. The latter, advocated by the internationalists, on the other hand, proposed to reform the nation and facilitate its expansion through reconciliation and cooperation with western powers under the principles of pacifism and humanism. Both trends of thoughts, however, aimed to solidify and strengthen the imagination of the national community by giving the nation a new identity. This is why two influential books which attempting to define the distinctive essence of the “Japaneseness,” Nihon Fūkei Ron (The Study of the Japanese Landscape) (1894) and Bushido (1900) coming out at the turn of the twentieth century were written by prominent thinkers from both sides, Shiga Shigetaka and Nitobe Inazo, respectively. Both schools considered Japan’s global expansion the ultimate goal, though how to achieve it varied. For thinkers of Kokusuishugi and kokusaishugi alike, Japanese overseas emigrants were the pioneers of the national expansion. Whether fighting in the forefront of national and racial competition or living in the frontier of internationalization, their fate was directly tied to the fate of Japan.

Both Shiga Shigetaka and Harada Tasuku read Japanese exclusion in the United States as a failure of the existing framework of Japan’s national education. The old paradigm, they believed, was narrow-minded, insular, and had proved incapable of producing competent national subjects for Japan’s survival and expansion in the new era. Occupying the crossroads of East and West, Japanese overseas settlement in either
Hawaii or the American West, they argued, epitomized Japan’s geopolitical position between Asia and the West. Shiga and Harada alike thus proposed to reform the education of Japanese immigrants in the United States so that their new types of education (though Shiga and Harada differed in their specific plans) would mold the Japanese immigrants as loyal, patriotic and at the same time open-minded and cosmopolitan subjects of the Japanese nation. These frameworks of education, they proposed, should then be transplanted to domestic Japan as models for its national education. These successfully educated Japanese immigrants in the United States, in other words, should be the ideal Japanese nationals in the new era.

Whether it was Seikyōsha thinkers’ theory of racial competition or the internationalists’ plan of eliminating racial distinctions through democratization, both accepted linearity of human progress based on the western model of civilization and modernization. Nagaswa Betten’s call for Japan’s equal rivalry with the Aryans went hand in hand with his assumption of Japan’s racial priority and leadership in Asia. Uehara Etsujirō proposed to democratize Japan’s political system in order to appease American anti-Japanese sentiment on the one hand and assimilate the Koreans into the Japanese empire on the other hand. The ideas of Nagasawa and Uehara united under their agreement with the global hierarchy of race and nation produced by the Western model of human development, in which Japan’s equal partnership/rivalry with the United States (or western powers in general) and the racial/cultural precedence of the Japanese over the Chinese and Koreans were two sides of one coin.
Therefore, while the discourse of internationalism in Japan in the early 20th century advocated the values of pacifism and humanism, it did not tend to transcend national boundaries in reality. Adopting the universalistic principle and rhetoric, the internationalists sought to find new ways to further strengthen Japan’s national identity and buttress the empire’s global expansion. This is why the ideologies of nationalism centered on Japan’s cultural essence and internationalism emphasizing on the nation’s reconciliation with western powers converged in unexpected ways.

While sharing the goals of strengthening Japan’s national identity and its global expansion and agreeing on the central role of Japanese overseas emigrants in reforming the nation, thinkers of kokusuishugi and kokusaishugi competed with each other on their solutions to the Japanese exclusion in the United States. From promoting national essence to advocating internationalism, from democratizing Japanese empire to Christianizing Japanese people in both Japan and overseas, however, none of their agendas succeeded in preventing the enactment of the Immigrant Act in 1924, which closed the American door permanently to any Japanese emigrants afterward. How did Japanese thinkers integrate this institutionalization of Japanese exclusion into their national ideologies? How did the exclusion change their plans for Japan’s overseas expansion in the decades to come? What, in general, did Japanese American immigration mean for the Japanese empire in Asia? These questions will be answered in next chapter.
Chapter 2

Between *Imin* and *Shokumin*

Shifting Meanings of Japanese American immigration for Japan’s Colonial Empire in Asia

Recent transnational approaches in Japanese American history have deepened our understanding of both white racism and Japanese immigrant nationalism. By comparing the stories of Japanese American soldiers in the United States with those of Korean soldiers in the Japanese empire, Takashi Fujitani shows that mainstream racial discourse in both Pacific empires shifted from exclusion to inclusion during the Asia-Pacific War. By offering national membership to ethnic minorities, both empires strove to maximize their human resources for total war.¹ Eiichiro Azuma highlights the interstitial nature of Japanese American life. He shows how *issei* (first generation Japanese Americans) leaders mobilized their connections with Japan and embraced Japanese nationalism to strengthen their communities against white racism and exclusion.²

While drawing on the transnational perspectives in these works, this chapter highlights not the lives of Japanese migrants in the US but the shifting meanings of Japanese American immigration for Japan’s empire in Asia. These emigrants living outside the formal bounds of the Japanese empire were a constant source of contrasting

¹ Takashi Fujitani, *Race for Empire*, 21-30.
Divergence and convergence of emigration and colonial migration, late 19th century to the 1910s

As Azuma has astutely observed, the western concepts of “emigration” (imin) and “colonial migration” (shokumin) were used interchangeably by many Meiji intellectuals to make sense of Japan’s nascent national expansion.3 Japan colonized Hokkaido, Okinawa and Taiwan while participating in the global capitalist economy by sending labor migrants overseas. The conceptual convergence of “emigration” and “colonial migration,” as Azuma illustrates, was particularly prevalent in Japanese American migration at the turn of the 20th century, as both people in Japan and in Japanese communities in the United States called the Japanese Americans “colonists” instead of “immigrants.”4 Such convergence was a product of both official population control and popular emigrant ideology that combined individual success abroad with national prosperity at home. Government officials and intellectuals viewed Japanese migrant laborers to Hawaii and the United States as similar to the surplus population that had migrated to Hokkaido and other territorial frontiers in earlier decades.5 Japanese advocates of mass emigration to the United States also embraced the colonialist discourse to further their nationalist agenda.6 As Abe Isoo proposed in 1905, the Japanese

3 Ibid, 18.
5 Ibid, 18.
government and people should work together to establish a “new Japan” in the American West by dispatching more Japanese there.7

While many thinkers viewed colonial migration in the Japanese empire and Japanese labor migration to the US interchangeably, others sought to distinguish “emigration” and “colonial migration.” While the two terms converged in the promotion of Japanese migration to the United States, Japanese intellectuals’ response to Japanese American exclusion highlighted a distinction between the two. From the 1900s to the 1930s, Japanese intellectuals participated in a complex debate to define, separate and combine the terms “emigration” and “colonial migration.” This debate unfolded simultaneously with an effort to define Japanese emigration elsewhere within the context of Japanese expansion in Asia. Japanese colonial thinkers attempted to integrate Japanese communities in the US into the grand narrative of Japanese global expansion. Reviewing this debate sheds light not only on the evolution of Japanese colonial ideologies. It also demonstrates how Japanese migration across the Pacific shaped and transformed Japanese colonialism in Asia.

Divergence

In the 1890s, a growing number of local newspapers in California expressed fear of Japanese “invasion” by noting the parallels between Japanese immigrants and Chinese immigrants who had been excluded from the United States in 1882. Japanese male

7 Abe Isoo, Hokubei no shin nihon, 119.
immigrants were described as being interested only in financial gain with little intention of long-term residence. The female immigrants were believed to be engaged in prostitution. Viewing such American sentiment as contrary to Japan’s claim of equal status with the West, some Japanese intellectuals started to detach Japanese American migration from mainstream Japanese expansion. Japanese American migration was labeled “imin” (emigration) and was contrasted sharply with “shokumin” (colonial migration), the desirable form of overseas migration.

Renowned politician and journalist Shimada Saburō complained in 1900 that Japan only exported uneducated laborers and shameful prostitutes and that the Japanese people did not yet understand the true meaning of “colonial migration.” “Emigrants” like laborers and prostitutes who stayed abroad temporarily were not, as some believed, pioneers of Japanese colonization. On the contrary, they threatened Japan’s real colonial future by sullying the image of the Japanese people.

While Shimada distinguished “emigration” and “colonial migration” on grounds of temporary or permanent residency, scholar of colonial studies Yamauchi Ken made a distinction based on political affiliation. He described colonial migration as a particular type of emigration in which the host society was politically affiliated with the country of origin. Japanese American migration did not, therefore, qualify as colonial migration. Only colonial migration, Yamauchi argued, could make Japan strong in the 20th century.

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8 Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires*, 36.
11 Ibid, 49.
Under the lead of former foreign minister Enomoto Takeaki, a group of prominent politicians, bureaucrats, influential journalists and entrepreneurs established the Colonial Association (*Shokumin Kyōkai*) in 1894. As indicated by the title, the association hoped to replace Japan’s contract labor migration to Hawaii and North America with colonial migration. It defined contract labor migration as “*teiki imin*” (temporary migration) and permanent overseas settlement as “*teijū shokumin*” (settler colonization). The association believed that while temporary migration could bring short-term benefit, it could not meet long term national goals. “Settler colonization,” on the other hand, would solve Japan’s population problem, expand the nation’s sea routes, promote international trade and transform the insular outlook of the Japanese people into a united and outward-looking spirit.\(^\text{13}\) To promote permanent Japanese settlement overseas, the association sponsored a series of investigative tours and expeditions and held public lectures and speeches to disseminate information abroad.\(^\text{14}\) While the Colonial Association’s horizons were worldwide, it viewed Latin America and, in particular, Mexico, with special interest. Association president Enomoto considered Mexico a land of potential untouched by western imperial power. In the context of anti-Japanese campaigns in Hawaii and the US, Mexico seemed an ideal option for Japanese migration without the risk of incurring

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\(^{12}\) Ibid, 2.


western wrath. Enomoto even began a private campaign to purchase Mexican land and promote permanent Japanese peasant settlement, but the crusade failed because of poor timing and financial difficulties. 

Convergence

If many in Japan worried about the status of Japanese migrants abroad, there were also optimists who believed that Japanese “manifest destiny” could be realized in the American west. Scholar of Chinese studies Uchida Tetsusaburō argued in 1894 that Japanese immigrants could learn the lesson of Chinese exclusion and become respected laborers in the US. As long as they maintained their social virtues and demonstrated diligence and special skills, Uchida believed, Japanese immigrants, whether permanent or temporary, could attain this respect. Uchida used the terms emigration (imin/ijū) and colonial migration (shokumin) interchangeably to describe Japanese migration around the world, including North and South America, Hawaii, and Australia. He viewed North America as a particularly promising destination for Japanese migration because of its

15 Ibid, 8-9.
18 Ibid, 34-35.
19 Ibid, 2-3.
mild climate and rich farmland and anticipated substantial Japanese economic gain from the migration.\(^{20}\)

While optimists saw Japanese migration to the US as emigration, not colonial migration, they valued emigration as important preparation for colonial migration. Tōgō Minoru, a colonial thinker and politician who once served in the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan, saw Japanese American migration as a necessary step for Japan’s worldwide development. Drawing upon the definition of emigration in the Japanese civil code, he noted that emigration referred only to temporary Japanese labor migration to countries other than China and Korea. Echoing Shimada and Yamauchi, Tōgō believed that emigration was temporary in nature and did not require political affiliation or cultural hierarchy between Japan and the receiving countries. Colonial migration, by contrast, required permanent Japanese settlement and political dependence by the host country on Japan.\(^{21}\) Unlike Shimada and Yamauchi who considered emigration useless, Tōgō was pragmatic. While admitting that emigration differed fundamentally from the agrarian colonial migration that he promoted, Tōgō argued that both types of migration were closely related. In particular, for an empire with few colonies such as Japan, overseas emigration was a useful experiment that would lead to colonial migration in the future.

In addition to the economic and experimental benefits of migration, some viewed Japanese settlement in the US as crucial evidence of Japan’s cultural ascendency in Asia and an important rationale for Japanese colonial expansion. This view was particularly

\(^{20}\) Ibid, 33.
strong among internationalists in Japan and within Japanese American communities, groups that fully embraced the Western world order and its accompanying racial hierarchies. In the face of racial discrimination in California, Christian church leaders in Japanese American communities encouraged Japanese immigrants to remain in the United States and endure the misery. They urged Japanese Americans to work hard to assimilate into American society, since assimilability would decide Japan’s national destiny and future global development. As a Japanese American Christian leader argued in 1913,

“Our fellow brethren are now at a turning point. [Whether our race will] prosper or perish depends on your decision. Alas, beloved fellow brethren, please bear this hardship. We should not leave this place (the United States) even if we have to bite rocks. How can we face people in our motherland in such an embarrassing situation? Do not leave here even if our bones are crushed, so that the colonialism of our Yamato race will blossom. This is both the mandate of heaven and the voice of the earth.”

In addition to determining Japan’s national destiny, Japanese immigrants’ assimilability was seen as a gauge of Japanese civilization. Successful assimilation

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offered critical evidence of Japan’s membership in the club of “first-class nations” (iddōkoku) and a superior position for the Japanese race in the global racial hierarchy. Such superiority would further empower Japan’s colonial expansion:

“Our Wars against the Qing and the Russian Empire were competitions to win global leadership by military force. Our Yamato race has now arrived at an era to compete for world supremacy through peaceful conflict. This is a time to test our power in Manchuria, Korea, the Philippines, Hawaii and California. Most importantly, with the opening of the Panama Canal, immigrants from all over the world flow to the American Pacific Coast and compete with each other. We Japanese immigrants should face this difficulty and achieve our true development by assimilating well into American society.”

Not all colonial thinkers agreed to use “emigration” and “colonial migration” to divide Japan’s overseas settlements. Pragmatists invented terms such as “overseas development” (kaigai hatten) to generalize various forms of migration and to dilute their differences. Instead of attributing anti-Japanese sentiment in the US to a specific migration pattern, the Japanese Youth Education Association (Nihon Seinen Kyōikukai) emphasized the quality of emigrants. Japan, according to the education association, should dispatch people with broad knowledge and excellent morality to realize the

\[23\] Ibid, 249.
empire’s worldwide development.\textsuperscript{24} Japanese subjects should migrate to any country that recognized global justice and international law and accepted Japanese settlers, including North and South America, Australia, Hawaii, Southeast Asia, Korea and China.

Another pragmatic thinker, Kakinishi Tōichirō, agreed with the idea of migrating Japanese to all parts of the world. He even refused to use the term “colony” to describe areas that Japan had newly conquered, such as Taiwan and Korea:

Those who lived in these places, either Chinese or Koreans, differed from the Japanese not only in languages and customs but also in over a thousand years of history and geography. Nor are there enough Japanese immigrants yet. If we look at content instead of theory, these places should not be considered the same as Japan proper...Instead, they should be more properly called overseas areas (\textit{kaigai}).\textsuperscript{25}

The term “overseas areas” was thus used to signify all suitable locations for Japanese migration outside of the nation. The central issue in overseas migration, Kakinishi believed, was not sovereignty, distance, the pattern of settlement, or length of stay, but the coherence of national and individual interests. For him, overseas migration aimed not simply to diffuse population pressures or to enable individuals to run businesses and achieve personal happiness. It should be a national project involving

\textsuperscript{24} Nihon Seinen Kyōikukai, \textit{Kaigai Yūhi} (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1918), 2.
\textsuperscript{25} Kaikinishi Tōichirō, \textit{Kaigai Seikatsu Dan} (Tokyo: Daiseidō, 1914), 1-2.
military, economic and political factors.\textsuperscript{26}

\textbf{Japanese American Exclusion and Japan’s Ideological Departure from Western Imperialism in the 1920s}

The early 1920s brought an intensification of anti-Japanese campaigns in the US. While the 1913 Alien Land Law deprived Japanese farmers in California of the right to own land, an updated version of the law in 1920 prohibited leasing land or owning stock in companies that acquired agricultural land. The Supreme Court decision on a famous lawsuit case “Takao Ozawa v.s. United States” in 1922 denied Japanese Americans “white” racial status and clarified their ineligibility for naturalization.\textsuperscript{27} Such anti-Japanese campaigns culminated the Immigration Act of 1924 that shut American doors permanently to Japanese migration.

As Chapter one has illustrated, the 1910s and 20s witnessed the boom of internationalism in Japan that called for reconciliation and cooperation with western powers. However, the intensification of anti-Japanese campaigns in the US during this time also stimulated an opposite trend of thoughts that fundamentally challenged western imperial ideologies. These criticisms of western imperialism had a far-reaching impact on colonial ideologies and colonial policy-making in the following decades.

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid, 173-176.
\textsuperscript{27} For the details of the debate on the court, see http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-bin/getcase.pl?court=US&vol=260&invol=178
Demarcation of Imin and Shokumin

In 1921, a year after the enactment of the new Alien Land Law in California, Izumi Tetsu described how the terms of emigration and colonial migration had been confused. He observed that official pronouncements used only “emigration,” even to refer to Japanese colonial settlement in Korea and Taiwan. In common parlance, by contrast, Japanese migration to North and South America and to Japanese exploration in Manchuria and Mongolia were all labeled “colonial migration.”

Izumi insisted upon a distinction between emigration and colonial migration. While colonial migration meant “to permanently settle within the territory of one’s own nation,” emigration meant “to temporarily live in another nation’s territory.” One should not call part of a civilized nation’s territory the colony of another nation. Though not specifying the US, Izumi warned that calling migration to North and South Americas “colonial exploration” would infuriate nations in the regions. The restriction of the application of the term “colonial migration,” however, was accompanied by his appreciation of colonial migration as a more desirable migrant practice than emigration: The bulk of his book focused on discussing how to refine the empire’s colonial policy and to educate common Japanese subjects to deal effectively with indigenous peoples.

The Immigration Act of 1924 brought de facto Japanese exclusion, disillusioning

28 Izumi Tetsu, Shokuminchi Tōji Ron (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1921), 24-25.
29 Ibid, 26-27.
even the most optimistic supporters of Japanese American settlement. Sending Japan’s migrants to Latin American countries such as Mexico, Peru, and Brazil became a popular solution to the Malthusian anxiety of the nation.\footnote{See for example, Asami Torō, *Kaigai Hatten no Jissai*, (Tokyo: Hōbunkan, 1929). For a more detailed discussion of Japanese migration to Latin America from the 1910s to 1930s, see Toake Endoh, *Exporting Japan: Politics of Emigration toward Latin America* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009).} Some considered exclusion much more than a crisis of Japanese emigration. They viewed exclusion as a harbinger of future conflict between two Pacific empires. University of Commerce professor Hori Mitsuki argued that it threatened Japan’s legitimate overseas development and signified that the center of global racial competition had shifted to the Pacific Ocean.\footnote{Okamoto Shiro, ed., *Jūdai naru Kekka* (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1924), 128-129.}\footnote{Ibid, 58-59.} Echoing Hori, Kita Reikichi, a professor at the Institute of Great Oriental Culture, saw exclusion as the product of American racism and imperialism. Viewing the US as Japan’s greatest potential enemy, he proposed sending Japan’s surplus population to South Manchuria, Korea, and Siberia. These settlers would establish Japanese strongholds in Asia beyond the reach of American military attack.\footnote{Ibid, 60-62. Kanda Masao, a senator in the Imperial Diet voiced a similar agenda. He considered this exclusion not merely a shame of Japan but a shame of the entire Asia, and asserted that the exclusion act created a perfect timing for Japan to repair its relationship with China. He also argued that Japan should improve its colonial policy in Taiwan and Korea by respecting the opinions of people in these colonies. See Kanda Masao, “Hainichihō to Zen Ajia no Mondai,” *Shokumin* (August, 1924): 6-9.} Japan could secure these settlements through alliances with Russia and China and eventually defeat the United States.\footnote{Kanda Masao, “Hainichihō to Zen Ajia no Mondai,” *Shokumin* (August, 1924): 6-9.} This shift in the geographic focus of migration once again spurred a distinction between “emigration” and “colonial migration.” Although Kita still used emigration as an all-encompassing term to describe Japanese overseas migration, he clearly eliminated the...
US from his list of appropriate migration destinations. In 1927, prominent politician and former president of Meiji University, Kojima Ken declared that almost no one confused these two terms. More importantly, this distinction also accompanied a new trend in colonial analysis that questioned Japan’s blind obedience to western models and proposed a new model based on cooperation and co-prosperity among Japanese and other Asians.

\textit{The Question of Assimilation and Critique of Western Imperialism}

Prior to the 1920s, assimilation was proposed as a strategy in colonial Korea and Taiwan and celebrated as an ideal solution to anti-Japanese sentiment and to strengthen Japanese communities in the US. Although the details of each proposal varied, plans for Japanese assimilation in the US and assimilation of Asian peoples in Japanese colonies united in their acceptance of the global imperial and racial hierarchy established by western powers.

Believing that Japan’s future lay in the full adoption of western civilization, Abe Isoo considered Japanese immigrants’ assimilation to American society and Japanese colonial expansion two sides of the same coin. As he put it crudely in 1905, the goal of Japanese global expansion was to spread western civilization to the Asian continent. A

well-assimilated Japanese immigrant community in the American West helped Japan buy
civilization in the US and sell it in China and Korea.\footnote{Abe Isoo, \textit{Hokubei no Shin Nihon}, 124.}

Others, on the other hand, emphasized rivalry with the West and the empire’s Asian
identity. Japanese American intellectual Ōishi Kiichi in 1916 proposed two types of
assimilation: absolute (\textit{zettai teki dōka}) and relative (\textit{sōtaiteki dōka}). While the former
meant to “entirely discard one's original nationality/ethnicity when joining the other
nation/ethnicity by upgrading or downgrading one’s ethnic status,” the latter called for
“maintaining one's good (\textit{zenryō naru}) original nationality/ethnicity and approaching the
other nation/race by upgrading or downgrading one’s ethnic status.” \footnote{Ōishi Kiichi, \textit{Nichibei Mondai Jitsuryoku Kaiketsu Saku}, (Tokyo: Sankōdō, 1916), 228.} Based on his
observations of immigrants in the US, Ōishi argued that while small or weak nations
should allow their overseas populations to assimilate totally into local societies, it was not
necessary for great nations like Japan to do so.\footnote{Ibid, 212.} If Japanese immigrants adopted total
assimilation, it would mean abandonment of self-confidence and dignity as Japanese
nationals \footnote{Ibid, 232.} and would jeopardize Japan’s status as a great nation.\footnote{Ibid, 17.} Viewing Japan as the
leader of Asia, Ōishi asked how it would affect the future of Asia, if the Japanese
discarded their “spiritual civilization” (\textit{seishinteki bunmei}) to assimilate with other
nations. \footnote{Ibid, 226.} Japanese immigrants should, rather, become model Japanese nationals first and

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{AbeIsoo} Abe Isoo, \textit{Hokubei no Shin Nihon}, 124.
\bibitem{Ibid1} Ibid, 212.
\bibitem{Ibid2} Ibid, 232.
\bibitem{Ibid3} Ibid, 17.
\bibitem{Ibid4} Ibid, 226.
\end{thebibliography}
then obey the political and social customs of host nations.\textsuperscript{42} The fundamental solution to anti-Japanese sentiment, Ōishi argued, was for Japan to match American strength at both the individual and national levels. Japanese Americans needed to maintain their pride, dignity and confidence as Japanese nationals and as people of the yellow race.\textsuperscript{43} Overseas expansion would facilitate Japan’s position as an equal of the US.\textsuperscript{44}

Ōishi did not indicate whether Korea’s overseas population should be “absolutely” assimilated into host societies. But the mainstream opinion among colonial scholars and strategists in Japan in the 1910s was to meld Korea entirely into Japanese culture and identity,\textsuperscript{45} an idea very close to what Ōishi described as absolute assimilation. Japanese colonial thinkers stressed that this assimilation was based on Japanese-Korean racial affinity. Both former Prime Minister Ōkuma Shigenobu and president of the Japanese Youth Education Association Sawayanagi Seitarō in 1910 believed that since Japanese and Koreans belonged to the same ethnicity, Japanese assimilation of Koreans would surpass assimilation projects of western empires in other parts of the world.\textsuperscript{46}

Facing an intensification of anti-Japanese campaigns in the US, however, an increasing number of Japanese intellectuals in the 1920s understood that assimilation could not stop Japanese exclusion in the US. Such disillusion was accompanied by strong

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid, 276-277.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid, 213.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid, 19.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid, 162.
criticism of assimilation policies in Japan’s Asian colonies. Some Japanese thinkers began proposing more inclusive colonial policies that respected the social and cultural traditions of indigenous peoples and offered them political rights and economic interests.

Izumi Tetsu in 1921 identified two schools of colonial thought: assimilationism and non-assimilationism. Assimilationism, which France had adopted in Southeast Asia from the mid-19th century, Izumi believed, was centered on the metropole. Copying the institutions and political structures of the metropole in the colonies, assimilationism imposed severe financial burdens on the empire and showed no respect for native cultures and customs. Izumi criticized Japanese assimilationism in Taiwan, Korea and Karafuto, and argued that imposing Japanese culture and customs only spurred resentment among indigenous peoples. He urged adoption of non-assimilationism to respect and preserve the social and cultural traditions of the colonies. Contrary to assimilationism, non-assimilationism was colony-centered and would provide financial aid to develop indigenous economies and political rights.

47 To be sure, the critics on Japan’s assimilation policy in the colonies were also, if not more immediately, driven by the independent movement in Korea in 1919. Yet as previous paragraphs have shown, the decades long anti-Japanese campaigns in the US had impacted the thoughts of the Japanese intellectuals since the end the 19th century. For Japanese national thinkers and political strategists in the 1910s and 20s Japan, in particular, refining Japan’s colonial rule in Korea and appeasing anti-Japanese sentiment in the US were two major issues to tackle. As Oguma Eiji convincingly shows, the Japanese discrimination against the Koreans and the discrimination the Japanese received from the white Americans at the same time on the other side of the Pacific urged Japanese intellectuals to deal with these two issues together. We can, therefore, consider these criticisms consider these criticisms on the empire assimilation policy in Korea in the context of Japan’s racial encounters on both sides of the Pacific. See Oguma Eiji, “The Green of the Willow, the Flower’s Scarlet: Debate on Japanese emigrants and Korea under the Japanese Empire,” in Naoki Sakai, Brett de Bary, and Iyotani Toshio, eds, Deconstructing Nationality, 61-84.

48 Izumi Tetsu, Shokuminchi Tōji Ron, 279.
Five years later, leading scholar of colonial studies Yanaihara Tadao proposed a more nuanced scheme. He divided colonial policies into three categories: subjugation, assimilation and autonomy. Colonial powers had adopted these three policies in succession over time. Subjugation, as practiced in late 18th century Martinique by the French, gave no thought to improving the lives of colonial peoples but aimed exclusively to promote the political and economic interests of the metropole. In response to the exhaustion of colonial resources, rise of rebellion and spread of the spirit of equality with the French Revolution, colonial powers began protecting the interests of native peoples. French policy after the era of subjugation followed one of two models: assimilation or autonomy. Echoing Izumi, Yanaihara believed that assimilation, while appearing to grant equality to colonies, ignored actual differences between groups of people. As a result, it only suppressed the social life of indigenous populations and spurred resistance to colonial rule. By contrast, autonomy respected the particularity of colonies and promoted their autonomous development. Celebrating autonomy as the best strategy to maintain

50 Ibid, 304
51 Ibid, 305-306. It should be noted that Yanaihara Tadao believed the terms of emigration and colonial migration should not be separated. This opinion was unique among the scholars of colonial studies in Japan in the 1920s. This stance was resulted from the impact of Zionism on Yanaihara’s understanding of colonialism rather than his response to the Japanese exclusion in the US. For example, he argued that if separated based on the existence of home country’s sovereignty, neither emigration nor colonial migration could categorize Jewish settlement in Palestine. p. 12. For a detailed and insightful analysis on the relationship between Zionism and Yanaihara’s scholarship, see John C. de Boer, “Circumventing the Evils of Colonialism: Yanaihara Tadao and Zionist Settler Colonialism in Palestine,” *positions: east asia cultures critique* 14:3 (2006): 567-595.
Japan’s colonial empire, Yanaihara, along with Izumi, urged the granting of full political participation in the Japanese empire to the peoples of Korea and Taiwan.\textsuperscript{52}

The critique of assimilation not only enabled Japanese intellectuals to examine the empire’s colonial policies but to challenge western models of imperial expansion. Joining the attack on assimilationism, Yamamoto Miono, another prominent colonial thinker, stressed the gap between humanistic slogans and the crude reality of western imperialism. Modern imperialism was rooted not in humanistic impulses but in the realistic aim of economic expansion.\textsuperscript{53} Modern colonial expansion derived principally from the desire to protect capital from political and social instability in colonized areas. Yamamoto argued that the language of humanism was simply used to conceal this reality and justify colonial expansion. Thus, racial discrimination and mistreatment of indigenous people were common in the history of modern imperialism.\textsuperscript{54}

Kojima Ken identified World War I as a turning point for colonialism. Initially expecting that the spread of ideas of self-determination and establishment of the Mandate system after the war would transform colonial thought,\textsuperscript{55} he eventually lamented:

\begin{itemize}
\item Yanaihara Tadao, \textit{Shokumin to Shokumin Seisaku}, 350.
\item Yamamoto Miono, \textit{Shokumin Seisaku Kenkyū} (Tokyo, Kōbundō, 1920), 158.
\item Ibid, 159
\item Kojima Ken, \textit{Shokumin Seisaku} (Tokyo: Shōkasha, 1927), 9. The mandate system was established by the League of Nations after World War I. The League handed the colonies of the defeated Central Powers, such as Imperial Germany and the Ottoman Empire over to the Allied Powers, the winners of the War, in the name of mandates. The mandated territories were classified into three types based on the degree of development of the indigenous populations and their mandatory powers’ authority. Mark R. Peattie, Nan’yo: \textit{The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia} (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), 54.
\end{itemize}
“The US was the most vocal promoter of justice, humanity and self-determination, championed the end of militarism and initiated the League of Nations. But it eventually refused to endorse the Peace Treaty and has not yet joined the League of Nations. European powers, too, resumed their competition for colonies right after signing the treaty. As a result, the principle of self-determination was nothing more than rhetoric.”

Kojima thus believed that “the Japanese should liberate Asian people from the abuse of the white race and achieve the great goal of racial equality and reconciliation between East and West…”

To carry out this mission, Japanese colonialism should be built on mutual respect and equality between the Japanese and colonial peoples. Both racial prejudice and neglect of indigenous cultures would threaten colonial rule. Japanese policy, Kojima argued, should not be misled by shortsighted profit but be grounded in humanism with the aim to achieve co-existence and co-prosperity.

The terminological convergence of emigration and colonial migration in the late 19th century and the early 20th century enabled Japanese intellectuals to build a logical ground for the empire’s expansion in Asia on Japanese settlement in the US. The divorce of these two terms in the 1920s, on the other hand, provided some thinkers an easy

56 Kojima Ken, Shokumin Seisaku, 9.
57 Ibid, 12.
solution for reconciling the humiliation caused by the Japanese exclusion in the US and the legitimacy of the empire’s colonial rule in Asia. These attacks on Japan’s previous colonial policy were resulted less from the self-reflections on their previous agendas than from their efforts to look for a new form of expansive ideology and to disassociate Japan from the West. The idea of assimilation was considered evidence of the hypocritical nature of western empires, which justified their colonial expansions around the world under the name of humanism but discriminated against and abused indigenous peoples in reality. Under this terminological separation, the decades long story of Japanese American migration since the late 19th century thus seemed to be reduced to the year of 1924. In other words, for some thinkers of the day, the history of Japanese immigration to the US became the history of Japanese exclusion. Japanese American immigration was positioned as no more than a failure of assimilationism and further evidence of the hypocrisy of western imperialism, from which the Japanese empire should dissociate.


In contrast to the position of separating Japanese American migration from Japanese colonial expansion in Asia, other thinkers continued to assert that Japanese American migration was critical for the development of the Japanese empire. The various ideas of linking Japanese American experience with Japan’s following projects of emigration and colonial migration started winning an increasing number of supporters and audience in
Japan. Beginning from the late 1920s, this position gained an increasing number of supporters. For these thinkers, ironically, Japan’s ideological departure from the West, and the US in particular, involved a new narrative for integrating Japanese American experience into the discourse of Japanese overseas expansion. Particularly in the 1930s and 40s, along with the intensification of Japan’s wars and expansion in the Asian continent, how Japanese American experience, in the past, present and future, could be used for the empire became a central debate among the leading scholars of the day. Accompanying this debate, the expressions “overseas development” (kaigai hatten) and “emigration/colonial migration” (ishokumin) that tended to encompass colonial migration and emigration gained more popularity than the terms colonial migration and emigration themselves. How Japanese American settlement was associated with Japanese colonial expansion in Asia from the 1920s to the end of the Asia-Pacific War and how the terms of colonial migration and overseas development were used and defined will be the focuses of examination in the remaining part of this chapter.

Japan’s “Overseas Development” and the Lessons of Japanese American Migration

Right after the 1924 Act, the Japanese American experience was associated with Japanese colonialism in Asia, first and foremost, as a lesson of failure, that urged the empire to revise its policies and ideologies of overseas expansion. While thinkers varied in terms of their accounts on what exactly the failure was, the representations of the failure all tied to specific agendas they proposed for the future. In the issue of the journal
that appeared right after the 1924 Act, the first article, authored by the editor of
the journal Naitō Hideo, called for a fundamental reformation of Japan’s policies in
overseas emigration. Naitō worried that the Japanese exclusion in the US might damage
the interest of the Japanese public in overseas expansion. He therefore numerated several
crises facing Japan at the time, such as overpopulation, food shortage and rural poverty,
and warned his readers the urgency of addressing these issues. Naitō considered colonial
migration and emigration equally as the key solutions to the current “deadlock
(ikizumari).” He reflected this in his language use by deploying the expressions
“emigration/colonial migration” and “overseas development” to blur the boundaries
between colonial migration and emigration. Further, he attributed the Japanese American
exclusion to the backwardness of the Japanese government’s emigration policies. To
change these policies, he suggested the unification of the departments on colonial
migration and emigration in the government, which to that point fell into the Home
Ministry and Foreign Ministry respectively. By establishing a ministry in charge of both
colonial migration and emigration, Naitō argued, the Japanese government could put all
necessary resources together and work more efficiently in promoting overseas
expansion.59

Twelve years later, in 1936, Iriye Toraji, a Japanese government employee who
authored a massive study that narrated different waves of the Japanese overseas
emigration from Meiji to early Showa, echoed Naitō’s explanation of Japanese American

59 Naitō Hideo, “Taigai Seisaku no Juritsu to Takushokumu Shō no Sōsetsu,” Shokumin 3: 8
(August 1924), 4-5.
exclusion. If Naitō’s criticism of Japanese government’s inept migration policy provided him the logical foundation to call for the reformation on the migration related policies and institutions in the Japanese government, Iriye’s account of the “failure of the Japanese government” had another purpose. The story in the 1920s served as a foil to the new image of Japanese government in 1936, with full-fledged political capacity and military power in protecting its subjects abroad. Writing on the eve of the Japanese government’s launch of its project to migrate one million households to Manchuria, Iriye aimed to reassure his readers that the mass migration to Manchuria was well planned and guarded by the imperial government. 60

Some, on the other hand, attributed the failure of the Japanese American experience to Japanese emigrants’ sojourning (dekasegi) mentality and their primitive emotion toward homeland. For example, Ōtsuka Yoshimi pointed out in 1933 that many Japanese Americans before 1924 considered themselves as migrant workers: They aimed to eventually return to Japan after earning a certain amount of money. Because of this sojourning mentality, they lived in the US as foreigners and never thought to get settled or make any contribution to local society. 61

This sojourning mentality, Ōtsuka pointed out, came from the Japanese people’s love for homeland. Yet, he further argued that such love for homeland was natural. It grew from one’s instinct of loving his own life, since the homeland was a combination of

61 Ōtsuka Yoshimi, Ishokumin to Kyōiku Mondai (Tokyo: Tōkō Shoin, 1933), 61.
the social and natural relations surrounding a human being. In other words, the love for homeland was an immediate extension of the love for oneself. This love for homeland, Ōtsuka continued, was also the foundation of the love for one’s nation and the love for mankind. While Japanese people’s love for homeland was the deepest in the world, Ōtsuka believed, it so far was still in its primitive form. For him, the failed Japanese American experience before 1924 acted liked a display window, which had fully exposed the problems of such primitivity, such as insular pride in one’s homeland, biased love for one’s prefecture, and exclusive dependence on prefecture ties. Such a primitive form of love, he concluded, could not give the Japanese Americans a strong consciousness of collectivity and ethnicity, and hence resulted in the failure of the Japanese American migration.

This discussion of the Japanese American experience served as a setup for Ōtsuka to propose his agenda for Japanese migration to Manchuria in the 1930s. A strong advocator of Manchurian migration, Ōtsuka reasoned that mass migration to Manchuria could both fulfill Japan’s obligation of civilizing its backward neighbors and solve Japan’s problem of overpopulation. The lesson of Japanese American migration could be a scientific guidance leading to the success of the following migration in Manchuria. Ōtsuka proposed to transform the Japanese people’s current primitive form of the love for

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64 Ōtsuka Yoshimi, Ishokumin to Kyōiku Mondai (Tokyo: Tōkō Shoin, 1933), 17-18.
homeland into a scientific one.\textsuperscript{65} At the center of this scientific version of the homeland love were the rational migration planning and the expansion of the homeland.\textsuperscript{66} Ōtsuka argued that the failed migrations in the recent past were generally driven by emotion, in which people’s decisions of migration were blinded by rumors of other migrants’ success.\textsuperscript{67} To ensure a real success, the Japanese migration to Manchuria should be well planned in advance. In addition, Ōtsuka believed that another reason for the failure of Japanese American migration was that the emigrants were not able to carry homeland with them; He encouraged the Japanese emigrants to extend their sense of homeland to Manchuria, the destination of their migration. Instead of isolating themselves as foreigners, just as the Japanese Americans did in the US by mistake, the Japanese settlers in Manchuria should treat Manchuria as their home and be willing to adapt themselves to local culture and to contribute to local society.\textsuperscript{68} Only in this way, Ōtsuka believed, could Japanese people’s primitive form of the homeland love grow into a mature love for the Japanese nation and mankind.

Moreover, not everyone agreed that Japanese American migration should be announced as a failure by the 1924 Act. Some intellectuals even considered Japanese American settlement as an example of success that could be beneficiary for the Japanese empire in various ways. The agricultural development in Japanese America, in particular, was celebrated by some as a great achievement. Chiba Toyoji, a prolific writer and a

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid, 235.
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid, 244-245.
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid, 245.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid, 245-249.
specialist in agriculture who migrated to Japanese Manchuria after his stay in California from 1906 to 1921, for example, proposed to migrate skillful Japanese American farmers to Manchuria in order to improve the local agriculture. During his stay in the US, Chiba served as a director of the Japanese Association of Agriculture in Central California and a journalist of agriculture in the Japanese American News Agency (*Nichibei Shinbunsha*), a major Japanese American news agency in California. In Manchuria, with his knowledge on agriculture gained in California, Chiba was involved in several organizations and programs in promoting local Japanese agriculture. Considering Manchuria a vast land with fertile earth and rich resources, Chiba believed that it would offer a perfect solution to Japan’s food shortage. Yet, he lamented that the agriculture in Japanese Manchuria was far from satisfactory, since the Japanese farmers there could not compete with local Chinese farmers and thus usually had to give up agriculture and switch to other careers.

On the other hand, Japanese American farmers, with their tenacity and diligence, successfully defeated local American farmers and Chinese farmers in the competition of agriculture in the US even under socially and politically unfavorable conditions. Thus, by migrating to Manchuria, Japanese American farmers could develop local agriculture with

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their successful experiences in cultivating cotton, continental rice, and vegetables and
their success with stockbreeding.  

In addition to agriculture, some others believed that Japanese Americans had been
making great contributions to Japan’s overseas development in the long run. Takayama
Kin’ichi, an intellectual who traveled to the US many times between 1906 and 1925,
asserted that it was too early to perceive Japanese American migration as a failure. He
argued that one can only evaluate the forty years of Japanese American experience by
keeping in mind that the white people’s settlement in American continents had four or
five hundred years of history. The problems in Japanese American communities were real,
but they were understandable since the Japanese people were previously enclosed in
Japan by the Tokugawa regime for over three hundred years. He also used his own
observation to show that the Japanese American communities were improving as time
went by. Instead of simply seeing the Japanese Americans as losers due to the passage
of alien land laws and the 1924 Act, Takayama urged his audience in Japan to take the
responsibility to contribute to the ongoing success of their brethren in the US. With the
high birth rate in Japanese American communities, they would substantially increase the
Japanese overseas population in the eras of the second and the third generations.

72 Chiba Toyoji, “Wa ga ryōshoku mondai no kaiketsu to manshu kaihatsusaku no kōsin” (2), 22-23.
Whether it was a lesson calling reformation or a successful model to copy, the Japanese American experience up to 1924 was a constant source for ideological contestations. Japanese colonial thinkers and policy makers integrated this past into their competing narratives of the Japanese overseas development to rationalize their agendas for the empire’s future. Along with the representations of the Japanese American experience were the different ways of perceiving Japanese Americans as useful subjects of the empire. In addition to the wide use of the term “overseas development” (kaigai hatten) to describe both colonial migration (shokumin) and emigration (imin), colonial thinkers also began to adopt the expression of overseas brethren (kaigai hōjin/dōhō) to combine Japanese settlers in the empire’s Asian colonies with those settled in other parts of the world, in which the Japanese Americans were a particularly important group.

_Becoming “Overseas Brethren”_

This integration of Japanese Americans into the genealogy of the Japanese “overseas brethren” around the world was originally initiated by the Japanese American issei leaders themselves. They assigned the Japanese Americans, particularly the first generation, to a particular position in this genealogy. Just two years after the passing of the 1924 Act in the US, a Japanese American intellectual Fujioka Shirō started to use the term “pioneers of Japanese development” to describe the Japanese American issei. He urged his domestic brethren not to forget their brethren on the other side of the Pacific, who endured American exclusion and misunderstandings of the people in domestic Japan
and established the base of Japanese settlement in the US. Not only did they always have the homeland in mind and generously send remittance, their development in America was also closely tied to the development of the Japanese empire. Japan’s national policy of “marching toward South (Nanshin),” Fujioka illustrated as an example, indicated the direction of the Japanese empire’s expansion in Asia as much as the Japanese Americans’ migration to Mexico.

Fujioka’s effort belonged to what Eiichiro Azuma defines as the Japanese American intellectuals’ collective project of “history making.” Under the hardship of racial discrimination and exclusion in the US, they embraced the colonial discourse of the Japanese empire to legitimize their presence in the US in the past and present. They invented their own story as a saga of the Japanese national pioneers in a foreign land, and recorded it as a crucial chapter in the grand narrative of Japanese overseas expansion. Associating their past with Japan, the Japanese American leaders sought respect from home and self-empowerment for the racial struggles in the local society rather than actually to facilitate the Japanese empire’s expansion on the other side of the Pacific.

While Japanese Americans’ diasporic identity formation did not directly involve imperialist intention, colonial thinkers and policy makers in Japan, on the other hand, welcomed this transnational discourse and appropriated it for their own blueprints of Japan’s imperial expansion. In the 1930s, when mass migration to Manchuria became a

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76 Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires*, Chapter 4, 89-110.
much-needed necessity, the identity of the Japanese Americans as patriotic subjects of the empire became further emphasized. As Azuma has shown, in both Japanese academia and the popular culture, the first generation Japanese Americans were acclaimed as the pioneers of Japan’s overseas development and loyal subjects of the Japanese global empire under the ideology of “all the world united under the emperor” (hakkō ichiu). Exploring a wild land and fighting against white racism in the US, their stories not only mirrored the bright future of the Japanese mass migration to Manchuria but also became a successful example from which all the Japanese overseas settlers in following years should learn.⁷⁸

If the issei Japanese Americans were represented as exemplary brethren of the empire in the past, the nisei (the second generation of the Japanese Americans) were considered useful subjects of the empire at present and for the future. Ōtsuka Yoshimi, for example, expected the nisei to avoid the issei’s selfishness and insularity and to strengthen the Japanese American society with the consciousness of collectivity and ethnicity.⁷⁹ He believed that a strong Japanese society in the US under the leadership of the nisei could benefit the Japanese empire in two ways. First, it would become a compass in guiding the construction of Japanese communities in South America. Second,

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⁷⁸ Ibid, 1208-1214.
a booming Japanese American society would better serve as a stable source of remittance for domestic Japan.\footnote{Otsuka Yoshimi, Ishokumin to Kyōiku Mondai, 295.}

In addition to the pragmatic value of the Japanese American nisei argued by Ōtsuka, Kobayashi Masasuke, who led the Japanese Salvation Army in California for over thirty years, emphasized the ideological importance of the nisei. Writing in 1933, the year when Japan withdrew from the League of Nations due to the League’s opposition to Japan’s expansion in Manchuria, Kobayashi argued that the competitions in global expansion between the Japanese and the Americans incubated a detrimental crisis in the world: the clash between the Eastern and Western races. He claimed that the new “chosen people” was the nisei. While the issei had stood in the forefront of the Japanese expansion, exploring American wild land, enduring the persecution of exclusion, and fighting like warriors in the battlefield, the nisei were special since they were Americans in citizenship and Japanese in race. They could understand and speak for both the Americans and Japanese, a capacity that neither the white Americans nor people in domestic Japan could acquire. Since the ultimate happiness of mankind was based on the reconciliation between the Eastern and Western races in general and the Japanese and Americans in particular, the rapidly growing Japanese American nisei held the key to it.\footnote{Kobayashi Masasuke, Nihon Minzoku no Sekai-tekki Bōchō (Tokyo: Keigansha, 1933), 10-12.}

The Japanese American nisei were further called upon to appease the conflicts between Japan and the US after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. Different from Kobayashi’s more nuanced stance on the nisei’s dual belonging to Japan and the US,
Fujimura Nobuo, a director of the American department in Japan’s Foreign Ministry, proposed to further strengthen the Japanese racial and national consciousness of the nisei. Only through Japanese national pride and patriotism, Fujimura believed, could the nisei better represent the empire in the US and promote the friendship between these two countries. 82

To materialize these expectations, different social groups in Japan and the Japanese government alike sponsored a number of programs to encourage the Japanese American nisei to study in Japan. As Azuma’s study demonstrates, these programs varied according to the organizers’ different expectations of the nisei’s role. On the one hand, the Nichibei Home and the Keisen Jogakuin School, established by Japanese Buddhist educator Tsunemitsu Konen and Christian leader Kawai Michi respectively, aimed to develop the nisei’s dual identity as both racially Japanese and nationally Americans and considered the nisei’s duality the key to fostering collaborations between Japan and the US. 83 On the other hand, Waseda International Institute, under the direct influence of the Japanese government, was a pro-Japan nisei incubator. It intended to mold the nisei into loyal subjects of the Japanese empire so that they could better fulfill their mission to speak for the empire in the US.

If there were competing ideas on how and to what extent the Japanese American issei and nisei should be associated with the empire in the 1920s and 30s, the discourse of

integrating the Japanese Americans into the empire as loyal subjects became the dominating voice since the late 1930s. It was a time when Sino-Japanese War was intensified and the mobilization of every possible resource in the domestic and abroad became a necessity for the empire. The efforts of mobilizing the overseas Japanese in general and Japanese Americans in particular culminated in November 1940, when the Japanese government held the Tokyo Conference of the Overseas Japanese (Kaigai Dōhō Tokyo Daikai) to celebrate the 2, 600th Anniversary of the Japanese empire.

The conference was attended by Japanese representatives from all over the world. To downplay the boundaries between the Japanese inside and outside the empire’s political sphere, the representatives were divided into several sections, not by their types of political affiliation with the empire but by geography, including the sections of Hawaii, North America, Middle and South America, South Sea (Nan’yō), and East Asia. Konoe Fumimaro, the Premier of the imperial government chaired the conference and delivered the opening address and several Ministers also contributed with greeting remarks. In addition to holding exhibitions and speeches to glorify the sacrifices and achievements the overseas Japanese made abroad, the conference further award many figures in the Japanese overseas communities for their remarkable contributions to the empire. As a representative from Hawaii, Fujimoto Isaku, told his fellow brethren back home through radio broadcasting from Tokyo,

84 Yamashita Sōen, Hōjuku Kigen Nisen Roppaykunen to Kaigai Dōhō, (Hōjuku Kigen Nisen Roppaykunen to Kaigai Dōhō Kenkōkai, 1941), 53.
85 Ibid. 128-137.
It has been 73 years since our brethren started to migrate abroad. During these years, out of our love for Japan, we worked as paving stones for the empire’s overseas expansion, struggling day and night. Yet we have been feeling extremely disappointed since we thought our motherland did not care about us and only saw us as abandoned people. However, it is the time now to correct this misperception.

Both the domestic government and public has recognized and appreciated our achievement in the past. I have observed it by my own eyes and ears. It gives me such a powerful impression that I will never forget in my life. All other overseas representatives have the same feeling. It is the biggest gain for all overseas brethren who come to visit the motherland this time. This feeling is also a souvenir that I am so honored to share with you!\textsuperscript{86}

Certainly, such recognition and appreciation were not without their costs: the conference, after all, was held to mobilize all Japanese overseas to serve the empire as loyal subjects. As the speech of Primer Konoe made the logic clear,

\textsuperscript{86} Fujimoto Isaku, “Hōshuku Shikiten Sanretsu no Kangeki,” in Ibid, 194.
Looking into our history of overseas emigration/colonial migration that was weaved together through the blood and sweat of your forefathers, my appreciation was immeasurable. Yet it is now a turning point in the world…, when our empire takes the mission to bring the real justice, real happiness to the mankind based on the ideal that all the world is united under the emperor (hakkō ichiu)…It is also the time the empire expected your loyalty as subjects to get united and sacrifice for the emperor.  

Among these overseas Japanese, the Japanese Americans were considered particularly valuable, since they played a crucial role in representing both the past and future of the empire’s overseas development. The first generation Japanese emigrants who settled in Hawaii and the US proper were glorified as earliest examples of overseas expedition since Meiji Restoration. The second generation Japanese Americans, on the other hand, were valued as the ideal speakers for the empire in the West. In particular, as the tension between the Japanese empire and the US was intensified since the outbreak of Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the Japanese American nisei, who were imagined to have an intimate knowledge of both American and Japanese cultures and societies, were further expected to fulfill the mission to restore Japan’s relationship with the US.  

The central role of the Japanese Americans in the empire’s campaign of mobilizing overseas Japanese could be further demonstrated in a radio drama that Japanese

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Broadcasting Cooperation (NHK) broadcasted to all the domestic audience on November 9, 1940, the day after the close of the Tokyo Conference of the Overseas Japanese. Titled “thousands of miles of waves,” the drama mainly depicted a conversation between several Japanese emigrants on a third class cabin of a ship bound overseas.\footnote{The drama’s script was authored by Yamashita Sōen, one of the directors of the Tokyo Conference of the Overseas Japanese. For the script of the show, see Ibid, 219-223.}

The conversation took place when the ship encountered a storm on the sea. Among these passengers only one character’s identity was stated, who was a second generation Japanese American. He was depicted as a promising young man who just completed a three-year study in Japan while the nation was under the war with China. Proud of being a Japanese American, he decided to return to the US in this journey to carry on the great cause of his forefathers. After bestowing his approbation to this Japanese American nisei, another passenger said, “We were used to be called ‘emigrants’ (imin), but now it is time to entirely change this perception (of the domestic people). We went overseas, not to get rich but to explore the frontier of Japanese national development.” In this way, the overseas Japanese eventually shook off the negative label “emigrants” and became the respectful “overseas brethren,” the pioneers of the empire’s expansion. This sublimation in the drama was realized through a Japanese American’s affirmation of his loyalty to the empire by coming back to Japan for study when it was in a war and then returning to his own country to contribute to Japan from abroad.

This much-wanted recognition by the empire, however, was accompanied by a high demand on the Japanese overseas in the future. As the passenger continued, “Yet the true
overseas development of our nation will start from now!” After recounting the pains and sacrifices of the Japanese overseas in the past in different parts of the world, he reminded his audience that Japan now became the leader of East Asia and the overseas Japanese therefore had more responsibilities to support the empire’s mission. Since none of the passengers’ destination was indicated except the young Japanese American, audience could assume that the ship was bound for the US. Yet at the end of the drama, when a female passenger opened the radio in the cabinet, it played a song, “Patriotic March,” in a program that was broadcasted from Tokyo to China and South Sea. The direction of the radio broadcasting mirrored the orientation of the empire’s following expansion. But more importantly, the seemingly strange fact that the song broadcasted toward China and South Sea was received on the emigrant ship bound for America highlighted the ties between Japanese American immigration and the Japan’s colonialism in Asia. Indeed, as the drama revealed, the lives of the Japanese emigrants in the US, past, present, and future, could only become meaningful when they could contribute to Japan’s colonial empire on the other side of the Pacific.

Among the nine characters on the ship appeared in the drama, four were women. Different from the image of the male characters, which was depicted uniformly as decisive, courageous and patriotic, the image of the female characters was more delicate: they were portrayed as physically and mentally weaker, but maintaining the potential to become as strong as their male counterparts. When the ship encountered the storm and
started shaking, three female characters on the ship began to complain. A young woman even burst into tears and started to regret her decision of giving up the peaceful life in Japan’s countryside to migrate overseas. Criticizing her weakness, her husband, a young man, encouraged her that they could only achieve success overseas by overcoming such hardship. In contrast to those women who complained, the other woman, who did not have a word in the drama, was giving birth to a baby on the ship. She was acclaimed by the young man as the evidence that the strong spirit existed in the blood of Japanese women. Echoing this young man’s compliment on Japanese female migrants, the Japanese American nisei also brought up the story of Okei, a fictional female figure in Japanese American history, celebrating her as a pioneer of Japanese overseas expansion.

What role did women play in Japanese overseas migration? How was it different or associate with that of men? The following two chapters will delve into the world of Japanese female emigrants and examine the important ways in which these diasporic women mattered for the Japanese empire.

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89 Ibid, 220.
90 Ibid, 220. For how the story of Okei was invented and used, see Eichiro Azuma, “Pioneers of Overseas Japanese Development,” 1200-06.
Chapter 3

The Shame of Empire

Japanese Overseas Prostitutes and Prostitution Abolition in Modern Japan, 1880s-1927

As part of the tide of migration, since the mid-nineteenth century a large number of impoverished Japanese women flowed into Manchuria, Siberia, Southeast Asia, Hawaii, and North America, and made a living through prostitution.¹ In 1890, a Japanese prostitution abolitionist warned that Japanese prostitutes in the US were about to be deported. The abolitionist complained, “What a shame that a few of our countrywomen in

¹ While studies show that Japanese prostitutes existed abroad before the Meiji era, their prevalence in Southeast Asia, on the west coast of North America, and in Manchuria and China from the late nineteenth century was a direct result of Japan’s modernization and imperial expansion. Fujime Yuki argues that Japan’s military expansion in East Asia not only increased the demand for Japanese abroad but also aggravated rural poverty within Japan, thus driving more women to seek work abroad as prostitutes. See Fujime Yuki, “The licensed prostitution system and the prostitution abolition movement in modern Japan,” positions: east asia cultures critique 5: 1 (1997): 146. Also see Karen Colligan-Taylor, “Translator’s Introduction” in Yamazaki Tomoko, Sandakan Brothel No.8, trans. Karen Colligan-Taylor (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999) xviii-xxii. Bill Mihalopoulos, however, points out that the movement of young Japanese women into sex work occupations abroad was a spontaneous reaction by the rural poor to the radical social restructuring unfolding in Japan from the 1870s onwards as Japan became integrated into the capitalist world economy. See Bill Mihalopoulos, Sex in Japan’s Globalization, 1870-1930: Prostitutes, Emigration and Nation-building (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), 1.

The overseas prostitutes are more commonly known as “karayuki-san” in Japanese, which literally means “people who go to China,” though they actually went to various parts of the world. Japanese prostitution abolitionists of the day, with contempt, often called them “kaigai shogyōfu,” which literally means “women of unsightly career abroad.” For the convenience of writing, I use the neutral term “overseas prostitutes.”
the US are treated and excluded just like the Chinese.”

Fifteen years later, on the other side of the Pacific Ocean, following Japan’s 1905 military victory over Russia, an article in the prominent women’s journal *Fujin Shinpō* expressed a similar lament:

“The empire’s new territory [in Manchuria] where our soldiers shed their blood and exposed their bones is now stained by these Japanese prostitutes… All women [in Japan] should stand up and abolish the licensed prostitution system, a system under which our fellow women’s social position can never be improved.”

Though in different contexts, the denunciation of Japanese prostitution in Manchuria and the United States was grounded by a shared concern: overseas prostitutes stained the reputation of the Japanese empire and race. Japanese abolitionists launched a series of campaigns to eradicate them from the final two decades of the nineteenth century. As the article in *Fujin Shinpō* indicates, the abolitionists tied the issue of overseas Japanese prostitution to the licensed prostitution system at home, in order to mobilize public opinion and support for their domestic abolitionist programs and goals. This chapter illustrates how the campaigns to abolish Japanese overseas prostitution were grounded in Japanese nationalism, and how they came to shape and at times drive the domestic anti-

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2 *Tokyo Fujin Kyōfū Zasshi* 29 (September, 1890): 8. *Tokyo Fujin Kyōfū Zasshi* was the official journal of the Japanese Woman’s Christian Temperance Union. The journal changed its name twice: it was called *Tokyo Fujin Kyōfū Zasshi* (1888-1893), *Fujin Kyōfū Zasshi* (1893-1895), and *Fujin Shinpō* (1895- postwar era).

prostitution movement. In a larger sense, the story of these campaigns tells how Japanese overseas prostitutes, among the most marginalized and disqualified members of society, were involved in the process of nation- and empire-building in modern Japan. The time period of this analysis is between the 1880s (when Japanese overseas prostitution emerged as a key issue in the Japanese prostitution abolition discourse) and 1927 (when the Japanese government signed the League of Nations Convention to abolish the trafficking of women and children and the issue of overseas prostitution started to fade out of the public discourse). While historical narratives of modern Japan often contrast the Meiji, Taisho and Showa eras, I argue that the impact of overseas prostitution on prostitution abolition in domestic Japan and the nationalistic ideologies behind the abolition movement continued from mid-Meiji to early Showa. I parallel sources more than a decade apart in the analysis not only to support my arguments but also to illustrate this continuity.

Following a discussion of the literature, this chapter is divided into three sections. Section one challenges the existing chronology of the movement by examining criticism of and activities against overseas prostitutes in the early years of the abolition movement in both Manchuria and California. Attention will be paid to the shared racial anxieties of the two Japanese communities, which crystallized around the issue of expatriate

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4 It is impossible to generalize the characters in the narratives of each era, but historians’ concerns and debates in these three eras are usually quite different. For example, a major debate of Meiji has been on how to understand the establishment emperor system. The narrative of Taisho is marked by its concerns with the rise of bourgeois society and Japan’s engagement with the international order. A main focus in the studies of early Showa (to 1945) is to evaluate the Japanese empire, in terms of its relationship with colonies and its politics, ideologies and society during the total war. What these narratives often miss is the continuities between these eras.
prostitutes. Section two illustrates the unexpected ways in which campaigns against overseas prostitutes drove the movement against prostitution in Japan proper from the 1880s to the 1910s. The third and final section probes the influence of overseas prostitution on the domestic abolition movement in the 1910s and early 1920s by investigating the social work and activities of the Kyūshū branch of the Japanese Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (JWCTU, or Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai in Japanese).

For scholars in recent decades, a central issue in the history of the prostitution abolition movement has been how to explain its seemingly contradictory character. On the one hand there was a liberal, feminist endeavor to abolish prostitution and promote women’s rights. On the other there was a conservative moral reform movement, which not only advocated monogamy but also stressed women’s obligations at home as wives and mothers. The prostitution abolition movement was eventually transformed into the national purity campaign in the 1930s, tolerating licensed prostitution and manipulating sexual morality to support Japan’s imperial expansion. Using the notion of “social management,” Sheldon Garon perceptively describes the prostitution abolition movement as a constant collaboration between the state and abolition groups to maintain social cohesion and moral standards. It was through such collaboration that the abolition groups
sought to realize their liberal agendas.\(^\text{5}\) Thus, the partnership of some abolition activists and the imperial government in the ’30s was not an anomaly.\(^\text{6}\) Fujime Yuki shares Garon’s view. However, she sees the cause of collaboration between the state and abolitionists to be the bourgeois-based nature of the movement, showing that both liberal abolition campaigns of the ’20s and the shift toward national purity in the ’30s had their roots in Japanese middle-class-oriented “imperial feminism.”\(^\text{7}\) Different from the class-based analyses by Garon and Fujime, Rumi Yasutake and Ann Davis, from a perspective of gender, remind us that the campaigns in the late 19\(^{th}\) century were male dominated and that a large part of the anti-prostitution movement was led by male activists advocating female chastity and women’s domestic responsibility.\(^\text{8}\) Kurahashi Katsuhito further draws attention to the religious dimension of the movement by illustrating the leading roles played by Japanese Christian groups and how Christian ideals and morality shaped the movement. He argues that the purity-centered sexual morality of Japanese Protestants accounted for the movement’s conservative shift in the 1930s. Manako Ogawa looks at the transnational women’s movement, which had been spreading from the West to Japan from the late 19th century and substantially influenced the anti-prostitution movement in

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5 The liberalism of the prostitution abolition movement lay in its association with the “emancipation” of the prostitutes on the one hand and promotion of women’s political rights on the other.


Japan. She shows that this transnational women’s movement was itself closely associated with Western imperialism and nationalism.\(^9\)

Building on these studies, this chapter continues to explore the nature of the prostitution abolition movement in modern Japan. This chapter differentiates itself from the perspectives of state policy, class, religion, and the trans-Pacific flow of feminist ideas by integrating the story of the abolition movement with Japan’s experience of nation-making and empire-building. Andrew Gordon’s concept of “imperial democracy” is particularly useful in capturing the contradictory nature of social liberalism in modern Japan,\(^10\) as also embedded in the prostitution abolition movement, which committed to both imperial glory and wider political participation. This chapter deepens our understanding of such contradiction by unveiling how social reformists’ campaigns to abolish prostitution were driven by their desire to establish a civilized empire and cultivate a progressive Japanese racial self.\(^11\)

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\(^10\) Andrew Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 7-8. While Gordon coins the concept to describe the character of the labor movement and the political struggles of bourgeois parties in prewar Japan, the concept can be used to understand liberalism in imperial Japan in general.

\(^11\) Recent scholars have insightfully illustrated that Japanese racism was much more complicated than the belief of the homogeneity of the Yamato race. In the recently published book *Race for Empire*, Takashi Fujitani demonstrates the convergence between Japan and the United States in terms of their encompassing and multi-ethnic racial discourses during the Pacific War. My analysis, on the other hand, focuses on the earlier period of the Japanese empire, when the purity of Yamato race was still the dominating discourse. Thus, the terms of race and racial self in this article do not include racial groups other than the Japanese, such as the Koreans and Chinese.
This chapter is a story of the abolitionists, not of prostitution supporters or prostitutes themselves. To be sure, the abolitionists’ imperial and racial ideology was just one side of the debate on prostitution in prewar Japan. Supporters of prostitution, too, associated their political agendas with the well-being of the Japanese nation and empire. For example, progressive thinker Fukuzawa Yukichi argued that prostitution contributed to the nation by providing an indispensable outlet for the passion of men who could not marry due to poverty, which otherwise might threaten society’s security and stability. Furthermore, he perceived Japanese overseas prostitutes as a “necessary evil” for the nation in two distinct ways. The women would enhance Japanese overseas expansion by meeting the sexual needs of Japanese single male emigrants abroad, who constituted the majority of the population in Japanese overseas communities in the early phase. Moreover, their remittances back to Japan would promote domestic economic growth. Licensed prostitution was also seen by some government officials as necessary not only to stabilize the Japanese “family system” and gender roles, but also to regulate the productivity of female sexuality, both of which ensured national prosperity. While the national and imperial ideology of Japanese prostitution supporters deserves careful investigation, this paper focuses on the nationalism and imperialism embedded in the abolition campaigns.

13 Most of the Japanese overseas emigrants in the late nineteenth century were single male laborers.
The prostitution abolition movement in modern Japan included a number of far-reaching social and political campaigns, involving a variety of social groups, politicians, and government officials. The backbone of the abolitionists was the new middle class that emerged at the turn of the 20th century with Meiji Japan’s rapid industrialization and urbanization. Members of this new middle class occupied a wide political space of the nation, including educators, professionals, government bureaucrats, journalists, and urban office workers. Armed with newly acquired western social knowledge and an international discourse of progress, new middle class reformers strived to establish their own version of national development as the authoritative standard for the nation, in which the reform of public morality was a crucial element. Many of them converted to Protestant Christianity, receiving it not simply as a religious belief but as an ultimate

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17 The analytical binary of “society” versus “state” can not fully grasp the diversity and complexity of this new middle class. Among its members were civil servants trained with professional knowledge in the government, politicians familiar with international political discourse, and educators with expertise in social works, and many were affiliated with or influential in both social groups and the state apparatus. The conceptual boundaries between state and society were thus blurred in these middle-class-based social reformation campaigns. However, this chapter still uses the terms “state” and “social groups” in order to grasp the power dynamics and political struggles in the abolition movement. As the following paragraphs will illustrate, while the Japanese government was deeply concerned about the overseas prostitutes’ possible damage to Japan’s national image, it made few efforts to stop prostitutes from going abroad until 1927, regardless of the repeated petitions by the JWCTU and the Purity Society. It is because the government was afraid of being accused of violating its citizens’ freedom on the international stage. See Bill Mihalopoulos, Sex in Japan’s Globalization, 1870-1930: Prostitutes, Emigration and Nation-building (Pickering & Chatto Ltd, 2011), 46-51. Supporters of prostitution in the government and Imperial Diet managed to maintain its legality until 1956. Social abolition groups, which had few political powers, on the other hand, attempted to utilize the overseas prostitution issue to persuade the government to take actions to abolish licensed prostitution in domestic Japan. Tying women’s chastity to national progress, it further aimed to widen women’s political participation in the nation.
ethical system to guide the entire nation. This chapter, accordingly, focuses on the ideas and practice of middle-class-based Protestant groups such as the JWCTU, the Purity Society (Kakuseikai), and the Japanese Salvation Army (Kyūseigun), the most vocal and politically active participants in the abolition campaigns. By excluding and eliminating the “other” – the “shameful,” “degenerated,” and “unpatriotic” prostitutes – the abolitionists not only redefined the bourgeois self, but attempted to achieve political power and nationalize their Christian-based sex morality.

This chapter also challenges the established narrative of the prostitution abolition movement in modern Japan by linking the abolition of Japanese overseas prostitution with domestic abolition campaigns. Previous studies either neglect the campaigns to abolish Japanese overseas prostitution or see them as minor extensions of the Japanese

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18 The question of what is the means and ends is acute here. To clarify, I have no intention to claim Christianity is either just a means or an end, since the reasons behind religious conversions should be examined case by case and may not be generalized. What I focus on here is the political concerns behind the Christian conversion of some Japanese middle-class reformers in the specific historical context of the day. Yosuke Nirei has done a comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon. See Yosuke Nirei, “The Ethics of Empire: Protestant Thoughts, Moral Culture, and Imperialism in Meiji Japan,” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2004, 83-90. For example, Tokutomi Sohō believed that the solution to Japan’s national crisis in responding to western powers’ colonization was not the military but rather Christianity, which would endow Japanese people with the morality and spirit of freedom of Western civilization. Yosuke Nirei, “The Ethics of Empire: Protestant Thoughts, Moral Culture, and Imperialism in Meiji Japan,” pp. 83-90. For a more detailed discussion of Christianity’s penetration into the new middle class, see David Ambaras, “Social Knowledge, Cultural Capital, and the New Middle Class in Japan, 1895-1912,” 10-13. Because of the dramatic increase in new middle class conversion, the number of Japanese Christians grew from 35,000 in 1894 to 75,000 in 1909. Sumiya Mikio, Nihon Shihōshugi to Kirisutokyō (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan Kai, 1962), 27-28, cited from David Ambaras, “Social Knowledge, Cultural Capital, and the New Middle Class in Japan, 1895-1912,” 12. As Ambaras further argues, while not all members of this new middle class were Christians, Protestant Christianity profoundly shaped their intellectual environment. Not only did many middle-class social activists and intellectuals graduate from Christian schools and colleges, but the religion appealed to college students in Japan in general due to its connections with western social knowledge and civilization. David Ambaras, “Social Knowledge, Cultural Capital, and the New Middle Class in Japan, 1895-1912,” 11-12.
anti-prostitution movement at home.\textsuperscript{19} I argue, instead, that concerns about Japanese prostitutes abroad not only marked the starting point of a nationwide anti-prostitution movement but also substantially drove and influenced the development of domestic abolition campaigns.

Ann Stoler interprets modern European colonialism as a project that involves the building up of the Western bourgeois self. Her research delineates how the sexual practices of Western colonizers served as crucial levers for nation building and race affirmation for Europeans back home.\textsuperscript{20} In this chapter, I focus, through a similar prism, on the connections between Japanese anti-prostitution campaigns abroad and at home, to illustrate how imperial ideologies and racial discourses in the frontiers of empire came to shape the prostitution abolition movement in Japan proper. The chapter unveils the unexpected ways in which middle-class social reformers legitimized their agendas for sexual morality and expanded their abolition campaigns in Japan by manipulating the issue of prostitution abroad.

Japanese overseas prostitutes were not only among the most powerless members of Japanese society, they were also not usually considered part of the empire, like many

\textsuperscript{19} Major monographs, such as Fujime Yuki, \textit{Sei no Rekishi Gaku}, Takemura Tamio, \textit{Haishō Undō: Kaku no Josei wa Dō Kaihōsareta ka} (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1982) and Onozawa Akane, \textit{Kindai Nihon Shakai to Kōshō Seido: Minshūshi to Kokusai Kankeishi no Shiten kara} (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010) only include a few pages on overseas campaigns, and do not have sufficient discussion on the complicated relationship between these and domestic movements. While Bill Mihalopoulos does observe the link between the two, the connection is not the center of his examination. See Bill Mihalopoulos, “Mediating the Good Life: Prostitution and the Japanese Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1880s-1920s,” \textit{Gender & History} 21:1 (April, 2009).

other men and women who left Japan for Hawaii, North and South America as laborers. By highlighting the diasporic dimension of the story of the abolition movement, I hope to show how women at and beyond the empire’s geographic and social peripheries transformed the metropolis and how the efforts made by Japanese social reformers in disciplining these dispersed and floating subjects were crucial to the creation of Japanese modernity.

Japanese overseas prostitutes moved to many places around the Pacific Rim. They were all viewed by Japanese abolition groups as a problem. In the following paragraphs, my analysis will focus on abolitionists’ campaigns against Japanese prostitutes on the American West Coast and in Manchuria. Existing literature on these diasporic prostitutes is divided into two major narratives through which Japanese colonial history in East Asia (shokumin shi) and Japanese emigrant history in other areas of the world (imin shi) have been understood. Due to the disciplinary boundaries of national history and area studies, the studies of shokumin and imin have been separated until recently. While the story of imin usually falls in the domain of national history in host countries, such as the United States, Canada, and Singapore, with few connections to Japan, the life of shokumin has been submerged in the history of Japanese imperialism.

On the one hand, the narrative of Japanese prostitutes on the US Pacific Coast portrays the women either as pioneers who ran away to pursue personal freedom in the
new land or as victims of international human trafficking and racism.\textsuperscript{21} Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria, on the other hand, are described as casualties of Japanese colonial expansion as well as the precursors of Japanese comfort women.\textsuperscript{22} These nation-based historical narratives are insufficient in an effort to grasp the relationship between Japanese overseas emigration and Japanese imperialism from a global perspective.

This chapter examines the convergence of Japanese abolitionist campaigns to eradicate Japanese prostitution on both sides of the Pacific. Focusing on California and Manchuria, I argue that abolitionists’ criticism of Japanese prostitutes in these two areas represent the two major correlated paradigms of defining self and other in Japanese imperial and national ideologies.\textsuperscript{23} Denunciations of Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria, where the empire was expanding, tell us how “Japaneseness” was invented vis-à-vis the colonized. Criticism of their counterparts in North America, where Japanese immigrants were struggling with white racism, provides clues to how Japan’s racial self was defined in relation to Western imperial powers. Both of these paradigms were crucial for the formation of the modern Japanese nation and Japan’s “reproduction” of Western


\textsuperscript{22} See, for example, Kurahashi Katsuhito, “‘Karayuki’ to Fujin Kyōfūkai: Kyūshū no Ichi Chiiki Joseishi no Shikaku kara (1),” \textit{Kirisutokyō Shakai Mondai Kenkyū} 29 (2002) for the former, and Kurahashi Masanao, “Jūgun Ianfu Zenshi: Nichiro Sensō no Baai,” \textit{Rekishi Hyōron} 467 (March, 1993) for the latter.

\textsuperscript{23} I do not mean to imply that diasporic prostitutes in other locations were less subject to the concern of or less criticized by Japanese abolitionists.
imperialism, to borrow a word from Ayako Kano. The nature of Japanese imperialism, I argue, cannot be fully understood unless it is gauged in relation to Asia and the West at the same time.

The Shame of Empire: The Start of the Nation-wide Abolition Movement

Scholars generally see the campaign against licensed prostitution in Gunma prefecture in the 1880s as the beginning of the Japanese anti-prostitution movement. There is no denying that the Gunma campaign was one of the earliest endeavors to abolish licensed prostitution in Japan. As Fujime Yuki correctly points out, the “success” of the Gunma campaign was invoked as a model for later anti-prostitution activities.

But its impact on the movement, particularly in the 1880s and ‘90s, has been

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24 Ayako Kano, Acting Like A Woman in Modern Japan: Theater, Gender, and Nationalism (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 11. Kano’s concept of Japan’s “reproduction of imperialism” is threefold: first, “reproduction as replication,” indicating that Japan became an imperial power by copying western imperial aggressions in Asia; second, “reproduction as representation,” reflecting how Japanese imperialism was represented in the global discourse of imperialism dominated by the West; third, “reproduction as gendered labor,” pointing the ways in which “women’s bodies become involved in imperialism.” The second and third aspects of the “reproduction” are particularly illuminating for us to understand the nature of the prostitution abolition movement in modern Japan.

25 From 1882, abolitionists initiated a series of petitions against prostitution to the local diet in Gunma Prefecture. After a struggle nearly two decades long between abolitionists and supporters of prostitution, the prefectural government announced in 1898 that it would abolish licensed prostitution. Both the prostitution abolition movement leaders of the day such as Itō Hidekichi and scholars such as Takemura Tamio and Fujime Yuki see the Gunma campaign as the starting point of the abolition movement. See Itō Hidekichi, Nihon Haishō Undōshi (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1995), Takemura Tamio, Haishō Undō, and Fujime Yuki, Sei no Rekishi Gaku.

26 Fujime Yuki, Sei no Rekishi Gaku, 100-103. While Fujime insightfully questions the myth of the Gunma campaign’s success and argues that it neither eliminated prostitutes nor abolished the licensed prostitution system even at the local level, she agrees that the “success” was celebrated as an example by campaigns that followed.
overemphasized. While it may have inspired similar campaigns in other prefectures, its influence on the abolitionists’ lobbying campaigns at the national level was rather limited. Established in 1886, the JWCTU is considered to have been the main leader of the Japanese anti-prostitution movement by the 1910s.27 Directly following its establishment, it started submitting petitions to the central government and the Imperial Diet. It was these petitions that transformed the local abolition campaigns into a national movement. Yet in these anti-prostitution petitions, the union did not mention the Gunma case at all.28

While the union was not oblivious to the perils of domestic licensed prostitution,29 its main focus in the beginning was on the issue of overseas prostitutes. It was the lobbying campaign to abolish Japanese overseas prostitutes, not their domestic counterparts, that was considered to be one of the union’s two major petition projects to the state shortly after its establishment.30 Since the JWCTU’s petitions to the state were seen as the starting point of the prostitution abolition movement at the national level, one can argue that the national movement did not simply grow out of the local anti-

27 The Purity Society, another important association leading the abolition movement, did not emerge until 1911.
28 None of the Union’s earliest petitions as printed in Tokyo Fujin Kyōfū Zasshi and Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai Hyakunenshi (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1986) mentioned Gunma’s abolition campaigns.
30 The other major petition project was to call for monogamy. Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai Hyakunenshi, 62-86. Kubushiro Ochimi, the Union’s leader in the 1930s, even recalled that the Union submitted the petition to abolish overseas prostitution to the Japanese government in 1886, a few years before the establishment of the Imperial Diet. Kubushiro Ochimi, “Kyōfūkai wa Nani o Motte Kokka ni Köken suru ya,” Fujin Shinpō 233 (December 1916): 6.
prostitution campaigns in several prefectures, but was also triggered by the issue of Japanese overseas prostitutes.\(^{31}\)

Why, then, did the abolitionists draw attention to overseas prostitutes who were far away from Japan proper, while somehow putting aside domestic prostitution, which they were facing and fighting on a daily basis? How were overseas prostitutes related to the Japanese abolitionists’ agendas at home? What role did concerns about and campaigns against overseas prostitutes play in the overall prostitution abolition movement in modern Japan? To answer these questions, I will first analyze how these overseas prostitutes were perceived and problematized.

Distinct contexts of Japanese encounters in Manchuria and the American West came to shape criticism of prostitutes in different ways. Japanese prostitutes in Northeast Asia were generally depicted as an obstacle to the colonial agenda. Following Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War, an article in Fujin Shinpō lamented that with the increase of Japanese prostitutes in Northeast Asia, “the Japanese there began to meet with local contempt. Japanese pride in being a victorious nation was devastated by these women of unsightly career (shogyōfu).”\(^{32}\) In another article in Kakusei in 1911,\(^{33}\) Shibata Hakuyō, a Japanese abolitionist and social activist in Manchuria, complained:

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\(^{31}\) The key word here is “also.” I do not deny the connections between Gumma abolition and the nationwide campaigns, but hope to show the crucial role of the overseas prostitution in triggering the national level abolition movement.

\(^{32}\) “Aa, shogyōfu”, Fujin Shinpō 110 (June 1906): 2.

\(^{33}\) Kakusei was the official journal of the Purity Society since its establishment in 1911.
[These prostitutes even] sold sex to the Korean and Chinese coolies who were derided (by our Japanese) as belonging to inferior races and barbarians.…. Thirty thousand Japanese and fifty thousand Chinese live in Dairen. We should not forget that while there are one thousand prostitutes among the thirty thousand Japanese (at a ratio of 30:1) and four or five hundred pimps, among the fifty thousand Chinese there are only one hundred prostitutes (at a ratio of 500:1) and fifty or sixty pimps. In the face of this comparison, can we say that the Japanese [race] is better than the Chinese [race]?34

Associating prostitution with racial inferiority, Shibata contended that the practices of Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria threatened the ideological foundation of Japan’s colonial rule: racial superiority.

While Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria were portrayed as undermining Japanese racial superiority and moral advancement vis-à-vis their colonial subjects, their counterparts in America threatened the ideal of racial equality between Japanese and Americans from the 1880s to the 1910s. As previously mentioned, in 1890 a Japanese abolitionist in the US lamented that due to the issue of Japanese prostitution in the US, American authorities and the American public were beginning to treat the Japanese as an

inferior race akin to the Chinese.\textsuperscript{35} Echoing this contention, in 1913, Inoue Orio, head of the Temperance Bureau of the Japanese Association in North America, more clearly attributed American anti-Japanese sentiment to the prevalence of Japanese prostitutes there:

> While our fellow Japanese [in the US] are struggling with the Alien Land Law,… if we stop doing things that Americans condemn, believe in the same God they believe in, get rid of all the Japanese women of unsightly career, and enhance our morality to the degree that it is worthy of their respect, success will be ours. The point is that it is not the Americans who exclude us, but ourselves.\textsuperscript{36}

Although these abolitionists were on opposite sides of the Pacific, their denunciations of Japanese prostitutes abroad were surprisingly similar. The prostitutes in both Manchuria and the US were labeled as “shame” (haji). The same language, moreover, was applied to Japanese prostitutes in other places around the world. In a petition to the Japanese government to eliminate overseas prostitution in 1892, the JWCTU stated, “They [the overseas prostitutes] have brought disgrace upon us in China, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, Nan’yo, and North America – almost every area on the Pacific Rim…

\textsuperscript{35} \\textit{Tokyo Fujin Kyōfū Zasshi} 29 (September, 1890): 8.
\textsuperscript{36} Inoue Orio, “Sashi ni okeru kakuseigun no shōri,” \textit{Kakusei} 3: 6 (June 1913): 15.
[They] have brought notoriety to our fellow Japanese and brought shame on, and in fact destroyed, our national prestige.”

Mihalopoulos explains Japanese Protestants’ untiring campaigns against Japanese overseas prostitution as a hybrid mentality of samurai virtue, Confucian morality, and Protestant chastity. While the moral crusade might have been grounded in Japanese Protestants’ cultural traditions and religious ethics, we must further explore the meaning of “shame” in this particular historical context.

The “shame” of overseas prostitution came from the harm it caused on the representation of Japanese masculinity and racial progress. As Revathi Krishnaswamy observes in her silent study of British colonial literature in India, “the cult of masculinity

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39 To be sure, seeing prostitution as shame was not a priori but a social construction in Japan. It was invented by abolitionists to combat the arguments of prostitution defenders, such as considering it a Japanese “beautiful custom” to forestall male masturbation. See Sheldon Garon, “The World’s Oldest Debate? Regulating Prostitution and Illicit Sexuality,” 105. Akagawa Manabu has examines a series of different discourses over the debates between supporters and opponents of prostitution in Japan since the Meiji era. He shows that all of these discourses, including the language of “shame,” were social constructions. Anti-prostitution campaigns in modern Japan witnessed a variety of discursive contestations, such as the rhetoric of shame vs. the rhetoric of traditionalism, the argument of sex as labor vs. the denial of the commercialization of sex, and the call to liberalize women’s sexual rights vs. the argument of maintaining chastity inside marriage. Akagawa Manabu, “Baishun no Zen Aku wa Ika ni Katararete Kita ka,” *Bessatsu Takarajima* 224: *Baishun Suru Nippon* (Tokyo, Takarajimasha, 1995), 174-178. While it is absolute necessary to understand the language of “shame” in the contestations of different arguments between prostitution supporters and abolitionists, it is not the focus of this article. The goal of this article, rather, is to further analyze the discourse of “shame” in particular. It aims to show how the idea of “shame” was constructed in the context of Japan’s imperial expansion and how Japanese abolitionists manipulated this discourse to connect the issue of overseas prostitution with their domestic campaigns.
rationalized imperial rule by equating and aggressive, muscular, chivalric model of manliness with racial, cultural, and moral superiority.”\textsuperscript{40} The presence of Japanese overseas prostitutes thus interrupted the imagined gap between the masculine Japanese and the oversexed and polygamous natives in Asia. Further, as an article in \textit{Tokyo Fujin Kyōfū Zasshi} in 1892 complained, these women degraded their human value by taking the barbarous men of “inferior races” as their customers. They, therefore, had to be eliminated in order to “prevent [others] from judging Japanese national progress by these women and labeling Japanese people with the same ill repute as they have earned.”\textsuperscript{41}

The overseas prostitution became a “shame” further because it sabotaged the imagined superiority of Japanese national morality in which female chastity was a crucial principle. Since moral superiority was a key justification of the empire’s global expansion, these Japanese women, who were willing to trade sex for money under the gaze of others in foreign lands, were unbearably detrimental.

A 1906 article in \textit{Fujin Shinpō} about Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria explicitly stated,

Our victory in the Russo-Japanese War has brought pride to our empire… (and) it is important to recognize our nation’s profound responsibility to [improve] Manchurian culture. [However, ‘women of

unsightly career’ and pimps] have caused [local] resentment ever since we started civilizing the morality of the Manchurian men and women… To summarize: first, [the overseas prostitutes] have degraded the Japanese empire’s prestige; second, they give the impression that the level of our people’s morality is even lower than that of the Manchus’; third, they impede the robust expansion of our nation.42

Echoing this logic, another article in Kakusei in 1919 attributed the anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States to the local Japanese prostitutes who presented the wrong image of Japanese morality to the American people. It further argued,

In order to become a great nation, Japan should realize its great dream of expansion in the world. Now is the time to eliminate all misunderstandings about Japan in the world, and make the Japanese people welcome everywhere. [In order to achieve this goal,] it is necessary for the Japanese to enhance the civilization of the world. As a prerequisite to it, [we] must at least stop harming civilization, [as the women of unsightly career are doing].43

43 Shimada Saburō, “Imin Mondai to Wa ga Fūzoku,” Kakusei 9: 11 (November 1919): 4. While these sources (1892, 1906, 1919) were years and even more than a decade apart, they all
Both the claims of masculinity and moral superiority illustrate that Japan’s expansion on both sides of the Pacific was grounded in its self-proclaimed status in the Western-dominated global hierarchy of race and civilization. Rather than from cultural or religious morality, it is from the refusal to be racially grouped with Asian inferiors, and the desire to be racially equal to white Americans, that the abolitionists derived their sense of “shame.” In other words, this “shame” was the result of anxiety over the constantly fluid boundaries between the civilized/uncivilized and rulers/ruled in Japan’s imperial expansion. As the central source of this anxiety, Japanese overseas prostitutes, who were spreading an “uncivilized image” of the empire and exposing the “inferiority of the Japanese race,” were imagined by the abolitionists as sabotaging the empire on both sides of the Pacific: they impeded the progress of Japanese colonial rule in Northeast Asia and the legitimacy of Japan’s trans-Pacific emigrant expansion to North America. Their criticism of overseas prostitutes in both Manchuria and North America was motivated by a desire to sustain this imagined racial and imperial status.

considered Japanese overseas prostitutes sabotaging Japanese national image and its expansion in the world. The parallel of these sources also shows the continuity of the abolitionists’ nationalist ideologies in overseas prostitution abolition from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century.

44 It should be pointed out that prostitution was not always portrayed as backward in modern Japan. As Ann Davis insightfully show, in end of Tokugawa and early Meiji, Japanese prostitution was taken as evidence to show that Japan was not an isolated nation but was pursuing the policy of “controlled openness.” Later, prostitution, however, came to be understood by many Japanese policy makers and social reformers as “uncivilized” for several reasons. For one thing, prostitution in Japan was seen as a practice of slavery, which showcased Japan’s backwardness to the westerners. For another, prostitution was also defined as the opposite side of the monogamy, bourgeois morality, women’s rights, all of which were key standard of “civilization and enlightenment.” See Takemura Tamio, *Haishō Undō*, 3-5, and Ann Davis, “Bodies, numbers, and empires: Representing ‘the prostitute’ in modern Japan (1850-1912),” p. 199.
From the Overseas to the Domestic, 1880s to 1910s

The discourse of civilization and progress was by no means unique to the issue of Japanese overseas prostitutes. It served as an important engine for the domestic anti-prostitution movement, as well. For Japanese abolitionists, women’s chastity was a key criterion of social cultivation and a requirement for the nation’s goal to join the club of enlightened powers in the world. Asai Saku, a founder of the JWCTU, maintained in 1888 that at a time when nations were establishing relations with one another, prostitution disqualified Japan as a civilized nation even in name.45 By the 1920s, such discourse was continuously used by the abolitionists to rationalize their concerns. Arguing against the Japanese government’s plan to show a traditional Japanese geisha performance at the World Exhibition in Los Angeles, an article in Kakusei in 1915 contended that Japanese geisha institution, as a form of prostitution, represented “anti-civilization” and brought shame on Japan.46 Comparing the issue of women trafficking in China with licensed prostitution in Japan, another article in the journal lamented in 1914 that since both practices treated women as a commodity, the Japanese could not claim they were culturally superior to the Chinese.47

If the concerns and logic of problematizing Japanese prostitution both at home and abroad were grounded in nationalism and imperialism, why was Japanese prostitution

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47 “Fujin shisō no kakumei (1),” Kakusei 4: 6 (June 1914): 3.
abroad initially chosen as the main issue by the abolition groups for a nationwide movement? As historian Prasenjit Duara has observed, while a nation’s claim of sovereignty is internal and territorial, nationalism “has never been fully comfortable as a self-contained, self-justifying, and self-glorifying ideology.” Comments from the non-Japanese others, including both the “civilized” in the West and the “uncivilized” in Asia, were crucial sources for the construction of Japanese nationalist ideologies.

The gaze of others, including both the recognition of the civilized and its separation from the uncivilized, were crucial sources for the construction of Japanese nationalist ideologies. Japanese Protestant Christians were sensitive to the censure of Japanese prostitution by Western missionaries. They frequently published reports on Japanese prostitutes by American missionaries in their abolitionist journals, and took the missionaries’ call to eradicate the prostitutes as guidance to follow. An article penned by an American missionary in _Fujin Shinpō_ even justified American bigotry toward Japanese immigrants by arguing that the Japanese should first eliminate Japanese prostitution on the West Coast if they wanted to become civilized and to be treated as

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equals in the US.\textsuperscript{50} Statements about Japanese prostitutes made by such “uncivilized” people as the Chinese also served as warnings of the need for emergency action.\textsuperscript{51}

Unlike domestic prostitutes, whose presence was generally limited to areas in Japan few foreigners could access, overseas prostitutes were constantly exposed to the gaze of others. As abolitionist Ogata Sennosuke argued, “the domestic shame is [after all] the shame inside, and the more serious problem is the external shame of our nation.... Abolishing overseas prostitutes will allow us to maintain our national dignity and rights before foreign nations.”\textsuperscript{52} Japanese prostitutes who went to North America, Hawaii, and places in Southeast Asia under British colonial rule were seen as baring Japan’s inferiority to the world’s ruling powers. Japanese prostitutes in Korea, Manchuria and other parts of China, on the other hand, were accused of sabotaging the empire by selling sex indiscriminately, especially to the subjugated and unenlightened, thus undermining Japan’s hard fought gains in prestige and status in the world community of nations.

I am not arguing that anxiety concerning the Japanese empire and race was the only engine of the abolition movement in modern Japan. As previous studies correctly observe, abolition was part of a broader bottom-up political movement for women’s rights and social stability, which successfully enlarged Japanese women’s political and

\textsuperscript{50} “Nichibei Mondai ni Kanshite Nihon Kokumin no Hansei o Unagasu,” \textit{Fujin Shinpô} 199 (January 1914): 41-44.
\textsuperscript{51} For example, at a public gathering on the issue of overseas prostitutes, Masutomi Masasuke’s speech was titled “Manshů ni okeru nihonjin shōfu ni taisuru ebeijin tokuni shinajin no seji,” which literally means “The words of the British and Americans and particularly the Chinese toward Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria,” \textit{Fujo Shinbun} 317 (June 4, 1906): 2.
social spheres. The movement also belonged to a middle-class-based political struggle, which aimed to build modern society by collaborating with the state and disciplining the urban and rural poor. And the movement was a result of certain religious groups’ philanthropic efforts to rescue and educate the poor and disenfranchised. The issue of overseas prostitution, accordingly, was not the only factor that influenced the abolition movement. In addition to response to state policies, the development of the movement was driven by economic downturns and an increase in Japanese military bases; both were factors in the substantial growth in the number of prostitutes and brothels in domestic Japan. Yet, it was in the context of Japan’s imperial expansion that anxiety over overseas prostitution came to frame Japan’s domestic abolition movement in substantial ways. The remainder of this chapter, accordingly, aims to identify the synergy between campaigns targeting overseas prostitutes and those targeting their domestic counterparts, and illustrates the ways in which the former shaped and propelled the latter.

Besides making denunciations in anti-prostitution-related journals and newspapers, and submitting petitions to the government, a few Japanese Protestant overseas missionaries started to advocate abolishing Japanese prostitution in California and Hawaii.


54 See Sheldon Garon, Molding Japanese Minds, and Fujime Yuki, Sei no Rekishi Gaku.

as early as the last two decades of the 19th century.\textsuperscript{56} Organized abolition activities began in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War. Masutomi Masasuke, a member of the Japanese Young Men’s Christian Association (JYMCA) who went to Manchuria on a comfort mission for the Japanese army,\textsuperscript{57} established the Manchuria Women’s Rescue in June, 1906.\textsuperscript{58} It was handed over to the Japanese Salvation Army after a few months, and was renamed the Salvation Army Dairen Women’s Home.\textsuperscript{59} The Home worked to abolish Japanese prostitution in Manchuria either by assisting the colonial government in extraditing the prostitutes to Japan or by providing them with professional education and resettling them in Japanese communities in other occupations.\textsuperscript{60} Abolitionists also carried out several missions to investigate the conditions of Japanese prostitutes abroad. In 1908, two leading abolitionists, Shimada Saburō and Abe Isoo, embarked on an investigation of Japanese prostitution in Manchuria. With the support of Itō Hidekichi, a Protestant bureaucrat in the Japanese South Manchuria Railway Company, they were apparently able to persuade more than twenty prostitutes they met during the trip to give up their

\textsuperscript{56} For the Japanese abolitionists’ activities in California, see “Beikoku Dokō no Nihon Fujo,” \textit{Tokyo Fujin Kyōfū Zasshi} 28 (August 1890): 5-7, and for their activities in Hawaii, see Okumura Takie, \textit{Onchō Nanajū Nen}.

\textsuperscript{57} This comfort mission was carried out with cooperation between the Japanese government and the YMCA in Japan. Under the leadership of American missionaries, the YMCA in Japan tried to replicate the American YMCA’s successful campaigns to comfort American soldiers in the American Civil War and the Spanish-American War. Japanese YMCA members also hoped this mission would expand their work in both Japan and Manchuria. The Japanese government, on the other hand, aimed to use this Christian mission to show a civilized and progressive image of the empire to the Western powers. The JYMCA’s comfort mission involved delivering speeches of patriotism and Christianity to the soldiers and offering them haircuts, bathing facilities, and clean clothing. See Jon Thares Davidann, \textit{A World of Crisis and Progress: The American YMCA in Japan}, 1890-1930 (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 1998), 112-117.


\textsuperscript{59} Ibid, 48.

\textsuperscript{60} “Manshū dayori,” \textit{Toki no Koe} 262 (November 15, 1906): 3.
The JWCTU also sponsored two expeditions, to Siberia in 1919 and Singapore in 1927, to investigate Japanese prostitution there.\textsuperscript{62}

Admittedly, campaigns against overseas prostitution were much less effective and fruitful than the abolition movement in Japan proper. Due to the accessibility of financial and human resources, activities against domestic prostitution was, no doubt, more manageable, and thus received the most attention. Most criticism and activities were targeted at domestic prostitutes, and most of the human and financial resources were poured into domestic campaigns. Except at the beginning of the movement, most of the abolition groups’ publications, propaganda, and petitions to the government centered on domestic prostitution. It is probably this relative silence on overseas prostitution that has led to scholarly neglect. By focusing on the imperial and racial ideologies behind abolitionists’ strategies to launch and expand the movement, however, we can recognize the importance of overseas prostitutes for domestic abolition campaigns, which is both discursive and political.

Fully aware of the national anxiety over images of the Japanese empire and race, abolitionists exploited overseas prostitution in different ways to propagate their own versions of public morality. As Sheldon Garon insightfully observes, Japanese abolition

\textsuperscript{61} Takemura Tamio, “Dairen Haishō Jishi (2),” \textit{Kitaha} 28 (1982): 59-62. The information about this trip is based on Takemura’s interview with Itō Hidekichi’s son Itō Hidefumi. Also see Takemura Tamio, \textit{Haishō Undō}, 30-33.

\textsuperscript{62} For the expedition in Siberia and Manchuria, see Bill Mihalopoulos, “Mediating the Good Life: Prostitution and the Japanese Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1880s-1920s,” p. 31. After this expedition, the JWCTU planned to sponsor an investigation of the issue in Southeast Asia, as well. See “Kaigai Shugyōfu Bōshikai,” \textit{Fujin Shinpō} 267 (October 1919), 29. For the investigation in Singapore, see Itō Hidekichi, \textit{Nihon Haishō Undōshi}, 294.
groups usually negotiated their agendas with the state to obtain its support. While its endorsement of licensed prostitution hardly changed before the end of World War II, the state was deeply concerned about the damage expatriate prostitutes might cause to the empire’s international image. Examining diplomatic communications between the Japanese Foreign Ministry and Japanese consuls around the world, Mihalopoulos has illustrated the various efforts made by the state to deal with the issue. Before the JWCTU submitted its first anti-prostitution petition to the Japanese government in 1886, a prominent politician, Minoura Katsundo, informed the union’s leader, Yajima Kajiko, that Japanese prostitution abroad was indeed a problem that concerned the state and assured her that the government would pay close attention to the petition. From its first issue in 1888, *Tokyo Fujin Kyōfū Zasshi*, the official journal of the JWCTU, reported on various attempts by Japanese consuls in Hawaii, Shanghai, Manchuria, and California to

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64 Manako Ogawa has a comprehensive analysis on the reasons the Japanese state supported licensed prostitution. Manako Ogawa, “American Women’s Destiny, Asian Women’s Dignity: Trans-Pacific Activism of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, 1886-1945,” 83-86. She argues that the state utilized the licensed prostitution system to control sexual transmitted diseases and social crimes, and to cultivate disciplined males as workers and soldiers for the nation’s modernization project.
66 Yajima Kajiko, “Teisō Mondai no Engen,” *Fujin Shinpō* 233 (December 1916): 1-2, cited from Kurahashi Katsuhito, “‘Karayuki’ to Fujin Kyōfūkai: Kyūshū no Ichi Chiiki Joseishi no Shikaku kara (1),” 26. Neither Minoura nor Yajima mentions why the government cared so much about the issue of overseas prostitutes. But given that Japan was making the effort to change the unequal treaties with the Western powers during that time, it is highly probable that the government was worried that these prostitutes might expose Japan’s “inferiority” to the Western powers and, thus, sabotage treaty negotiation.
eliminate Japanese prostitution.67 From its establishment in 1886, the JWCTU submitted petitions to the government annually until 1927, when the state signed the League of Nations Convention to abolish the trafficking of women and children.68 From the beginning, overseas prostitution was not just a major concern of the abolitionists; it was also an easier issue than the problem of domestic prostitution on which to persuade the state to take action.69

By associating the issue of overseas prostitution with the issue of domestic prostitution, abolitionists attempted to legitimate and mobilize more support and resources for their campaigns at home from at least 1905. Accusing overseas prostitutes in Manchuria of bringing shame to the empire, an article in Fujin Shinpō in 1905 called on Japanese women to abolish the “inhuman licensed prostitution system” in Japan proper.70 In a petition delivered to the Home Minister in 1911, Yajima Kajiko argued that licensed prostitution in Japan was the source of Japanese women going abroad to engage

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69 As Mihalopoulos also correctly observes, the Japanese state’s concern over overseas prostitutes was ambiguous. On the one hand, it sought to pass laws to prevent them from going abroad. On the other hand, however, it had to provide the freedom of going abroad to its people in order to maintain the “civilized” image of the nation. Therefore, while the abolitionists kept sending petitions to the government and the government did consider the issue of overseas prostitutes seriously, the government did not take any substantial actions to eliminate them or stop them from going abroad. See Bill Mihalopoulos, Sex in Japan’s Globalization, 1870-1930: Prostitutes, Emigration and Nation-building, 46-51.
70 “Senryōchi no Shugyōfu,” Fujin Shinpō 99 (July 1905): 4. In the 1930s, the abolitionists eventually comprised their agenda with the state by tolerating the licensed prostitution on the one hand and abolishing private prostitution on the other hand. See Garon, Molding the Japanese Minds, 106-111. But in the early stage of the abolition movement, the abolitionists considered the elimination of licensed prostitution their ultimate goal in domestic Japan.
in prostitution. She viewed overseas prostitutes as the diffusion of an evil domestic system. Yajima urged that the elimination of licensed prostitution at home was necessary to prevent overseas prostitutes from sabotaging the empire’s civilized image. In this way, campaigns for the abolition of overseas prostitution came to justify and empower campaigns against licensed prostitution.

Public speeches and assemblies that purportedly concerned overseas prostitution typically promoted the organizers’ domestic agendas as well. At a gathering in Tokyo called “The Meeting to Discuss the Issue of Prostitutes in Manchuria and Korea” in 1906, attended by more than one thousand people, all three headline speeches by prominent abolitionists focused on prostitution at home. Japanese Salvation Army leader Yamamuro Gumpei’s address discussed how to persuade prostitutes to abandon the profession; Abe Isoo lectured on the relationship between instinctivism and prostitution; and Shimada Saburō’s speech stressed the connections between licensed prostitution and national morality.

Shared concerns about overseas prostitution among abolitionists also facilitated collaboration among abolition groups. The Japanese YMCA’s Manchuria Women’s Home was able to send some prostitutes back to Japan and resettle them in the Japanese Salvation Army’s Women’s Home and the JWCTU’s Women’s Relief Home in Tokyo. It was at the public gathering in Tokyo to advocate the Manchuria Women’s Home, 

73 “Manshū Shugyōfu Kyūsai Undō,” Fujo Shinbun 317 (June 4, 1906). According to this report, 15 prostitutes were sent back and rehabilitated in Tokyo and another 15 prostitutes were resettled as employees of Dairen Telephone Exchange Company in Manchuria.
mentioned above, that the Japanese Salvation Army announced it would take over management of the Manchuria Women’s Home from the Japanese YMCA. Donations raised at this event, moreover, were given to the Japanese Salvation Army’s women’s relief section in Japan proper, not the Women’s Rescue Home in Manchuria.

One can also find close connections between these early experiences and collaboration in dealing with prostitution abroad, and the formation and activities of the Purity Society. Established in 1911, the Society was a male-dominated anti-prostitution association, in which abolitionists from different groups participated. It soon became the leading organization of abolition campaigns nationwide.

As scholars have convincingly argued, the creation of the Society was based on the growth of the domestic abolition movement since the 19th century, in which abolitionists initiated local campaigns to call for relocating or shutting down brothel districts in urban areas. These campaigns reached their peak when a fire in April 1911 burned Yoshiwara, the most famous licensed district in Tokyo, into ash. Taking advantage of this incident, abolition groups such as the JWCTU, the Japanese Salvation Army, and the Japanese YMCA launched a joint campaign criticizing the state’s permission of prostitution on the one hand, and preventing the rebuilding of Yoshiwara on the other. While they failed to stop the resumption of brothel operations, it is through these campaigns that the Purity

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75 “Manshū fujin kyūsai ensetsukai,” Fujin Shinpō, 8.
Society, which directly aimed to abolish Japan’s licensed prostitution system, was established.  

Intriguingly, however, most of the Society’s founders and leaders had experience dealing with overseas prostitutes. The president, Shimada Saburō, and one of its vice-presidents, Abe Isoo, investigated Japanese prostitution in Manchuria in the 1900s. The other vice-president, Yajima Kajiko, had led the JWCTU to petition the government annually to abolish overseas prostitution since 1886. Both Shimada and Yajima saw overseas prostitution as the product of Japan’s licensed prostitution system at home. They argued that in order to eliminate this national shame and obstacle to Japanese overseas development, it was imperative to abolish the licensed system itself. Masutomi Masasuke, the acting director of the Purity Society from 1911, was also the founder of the Manchuria Women’s Home established in Dairen. Another director, Yamada Yajūro, served as manager of the Women’s Home in Manchuria from 1906 to 1910 before participating in the prostitution abolition movement in Japan. Itō Hidekichi, who became the acting director of the Purity Society in 1920 and a key leader of the anti-

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77 Takemura Tamio, “Dairen Haishō Jishi (2),” 59-62; also see Takemura Tamio, Haishō Undō, 30-33.
78 For a full list of Purity Society’s personnel, including the leaders and founders, see Kakusei 1: 2 (August 1911): 69.
80 Shibata Hakuyō, Yamada Yajūrō Shi Kinenshi (Dairen: Ōta Shinzō Shoten, 1939), 7.
prostitution movement in Japan in the ’20s and ’30s,\textsuperscript{81} began his crusade against prostitution in the 1900s working with Shimada Saburō and Abe Isoo to provide accommodation for women rescued from prostitution in Manchuria.\textsuperscript{82} Two other directors, Shimanuki Hyōdayū and Kozaki Chiyoko, did not take part directly in abolition activities abroad. They were, however, both active with women’s issues in Japanese communities in North America, and lobbied strongly against overseas prostitution.\textsuperscript{83}

**Localizing the Problem: The JWCTU in Kyūshū, 1910s-1920s**

The impact of programs to eliminate overseas prostitution on the abolition movement in Japan continued through the 1910s and 1920s. Prostitution abolition campaigns were part of larger social and political movements advocating women’s rights and the modernization of public morality.\textsuperscript{84} Abolition leaders, accordingly, never failed to exploit the issue of overseas prostitution for their wider social and political ambitions. By identifying the districts Shimabara and Amakusa in Kyūshū as the source of overseas prostitution, the JWCTU managed to expand its abolition campaigns to Kyūshū. It also


\textsuperscript{82} Takemura Tamio, “Dairen Haishō Jishi (2),” 59-62; also see Takemura Tamio, *Haishō Undō*, 30-33.


successfully launched a series of campaigns for women’s education and formed alliances with local governments, schools, and other social groups. In addition to revealing how the domestic impact of overseas prostitution extended to the local level, the case of Kyūshū demonstrates how Japanese abolitionists referred to overseas prostitution to expand their domestic campaigns in the 1910s and 1920s.

The JWCTU established branches in Nagasaki and Kumamoto in 1899, and there had been sporadic anti-prostitution activities in Kyūshū in the 1890s. However, there were no organized abolition campaigns on the island even after the JWCTU established its Kyūshū branch in 1913. Neither in 1913 nor in 1914 did the annual reports of the JWCTU’s Kyūshū branch mention any abolition campaigns. The Nagasaki and Kumamoto branches’ main focus was assisting evangelical missions of local churches and promoting alcohol prohibition.

An organized abolition movement eventually materialized in Kyūshū in 1915 in response to a perceived need to eliminate overseas prostitution. Proclaiming Shimabara and Amakusa in Kyūshū to be breeding grounds for overseas prostitutes, the JWCTU’s Kyūshū main branch began petitioning local authorities and communicating with local schools around Kyūshū to tackle prostitution. The branch invited Masutomi Masasuke

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87 Ibid, 27-29.
and Yamamuro Gunpei from the Purity Society to speak on abolishing prostitution. Masutomi’s lecture, in particular, focused on overseas prostitutes. In Nagasaki, Masasuke visited the head of the prefectural police department and reached an agreement with him on JWCTU-police cooperation in abolishing local prostitution. In 1916, the JWCTU embarked on an ambitious project to expand their campaigns to abolish licensed prostitution nationwide. Among other activities, they implemented a plan whereby the JWCTU leaders from Tokyo would visit the Kyūshū main branch at least once a year, showing the organization’s attention to the campaigns on this island.

An investigative trip to Siberia and northern Manchuria in 1919 led by three JWCTU members confirmed the severity of the prostitution problem in those regions and the role of Shimabara and Amakusa in its development. The JWCTU, accordingly, sponsored another investigative mission to Kyūshū in the same year and issued a pamphlet about Shimabara and Amakusa. It attributed the cause of overseas prostitutes to “uncivilized” local customs and to low levels of female education in those two areas.

Reports following both missions concluded that Japan’s licensed prostitution system should be abolished, and that programs to morally educate the women of Shimabara and Amakusa about the dangers and shame of prostitution was imperative. The report of the Siberian investigation noted, in particular, that in order to launch educational campaigns,
greater cooperation between the government and social groups was needed. Public speeches by JWCTU members and Christians, it argued, were far from sufficient, and the government needed to take responsibility for moral education by revising textbooks and providing social campaigns with financial and political support. 

At its annual meeting in 1919, the JWCTU decided to launch special education campaigns in Shimabara and Amakusa. Afterward, JWCTU leaders embarked on a speaking tour of schools in Kyūshū, and the Kyūshū branch sponsored an essay contest on overseas prostitution for all Kyūshū students. By 1921, the JWCTU had successfully launched a series of well-attended gatherings in Kyūshū and had formed close alliances with local authorities and social groups to support women’s education campaigns. These public gatherings and the Kyūshū branch’s meetings were supported and attended by local government officials, social educators, and journalists.

The JWCTU’s expansion and its success in winning support from the state and other social groups cannot be fully understood without discussing the impact of World War I. As Sheldon Garon and Onozawa Akane correctly point out, in the new international and domestic political environment following World War I, the state began relying on

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97 Kurahashi Katsuhito, “‘Karayuki’ to Fujin Kyōfūkai (2),” 90.
98 Ibid. 89.
100 Kurahashi Katsuhito, “‘Karayuki’ to Fujin Kyōfūkai (2),” 93.
women’s organizations to extend its social control;\textsuperscript{101} abolition groups, for their part, mobilized postwar international and “democratic” discourse to propel and enlarge their campaigns against licensed prostitution and for moral education and women’s rights.\textsuperscript{102} While the JWCTU embarked on expansion in 1916, it failed to raise sufficient attention or support.\textsuperscript{103} The union’s substantial local development was not realized until 1921, when it allied with other women’s organizations.\textsuperscript{104}

The JWCTU campaigns in Kyūshū, however, illustrate that the issue of overseas prostitution facilitated the union’s domestic expansion. It enabled the JWCTU to win the support of local authorities from the mid-1910s, and to implement abolitionist campaigns in Kyūshū through the 1910s and 1920s. Therefore, at least in Kyūshū, in addition to the impact of World War I, anxiety over overseas prostitutes loomed large as an important driving force for the abolition movement. The JWCTU also carefully used this issue to raise support for its political and social agendas regarding women’s rights and moral education.

\textbf{Synopsis}

\textsuperscript{102} Onozawa Akane, “Daiichiji Sekai Daisen Go in Okeru Haishō Undō no Kakudai: Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai no Katsudō o Chūshin Toshite,” \textit{Kokusai Kankei Gaku Kenkyū} 26 (1999), 57-64.
\textsuperscript{103} Onozawa Akane, “Daiichiji Sekai Daisen Go in Okeru Haishō Undō no Kakudai,” 58.
\textsuperscript{104} Onozawa Akane, “Daiichiji Sekai Daisen Go in Okeru Haishō Undō no Kakudai,” 59.
A JWCTU member, under the pen name “T.J. in Kagoshima,” wrote to the Fujin Shinpo in 1920 criticizing the JWCTU’s recent investigation of Japanese prostitution in Siberia. “T.J. in Kagoshima” observed that the investigators never attempted to talk with any prostitutes, and hence had failed to understand the prostitutes’ perspective. The author argued that the JWCTU should not have cared about the prostitutes just because they were Japanese. Rather, the union should have been motivated by cosmopolitan compassion that transcended nation and race.\footnote{105}{“Nan to Kotaeraruru ka,” Fujin Shinpō 271 (February 1920), 12.}

As this chapter has illustrated, nationalistic ideologies and discrimination against prostitutes characterizes not only the JWCTU’s Siberian investigation but the entire prostitution abolition movement in pre-war Japan. As Ann Stoler observes in her study of European colonialism, “The charged debate in the late nineteenth century on nationality and citizenship rights for women prompted by the emigration of thousands of women overseas devolved into one about their needed protection against white slavery on the argument that European women would never willingly submit to sexual commerce with foreign, racially varied men.”\footnote{106}{Ann Laura Stoler, Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things, 132.} In a similar way, from the JWCTU’s first prostitution abolition petition to the formation of the Purity Society, from the claim that licensed prostitution was the source of “social evil” abroad to the development of the JWCTU’s women’s education campaign in Kyūshū, overseas prostitution substantially shaped and propelled anti-prostitution campaigns in domestic Japan. The desire to become a civilized, thus ruling, empire was impetus and effective strategy for abolition groups,
gaining support from both the state and the public for their agendas to reform the social morality of all Japanese.

Accordingly, the state’s occasional cooperation and paternal benevolence were enthusiastically celebrated by abolition groups as proof of the movement’s patriotism. The groups were, thus, not only constantly eager to persuade the state to support their agendas, but also more than ready to compromise. Such compromise had existed in the very beginning of the movement, long before the abolitionists’ well-known collaboration with the state and their concessions to licensed prostitution during the total war era of the 1930s and ‘40s.

In reality, the prominent focus of the Japanese Salvation Army’s Dairen Women’s Home was not to eliminate Japanese prostitution in Manchuria per se, but the visibility of it. As Philippa Levine points out in her study of colonial prostitution in British Empire, “The brothel needed to be spectacular and secretive, vulgar and discreet, available but controlled, inviting but off-limits… The brothel, like the slum, was one of the impossible edges of modernity, a place colonialism could not do without, but that it nonetheless rejected.”

After the Russo-Japanese War, the colonial government implemented the licensed prostitution system in Japanese Manchuria, which made the practice of prostitution less visible by restricting it within special locations and renaming Japanese brothels (kashizashiki) and prostitutes (shōgi) as restaurants (ryōriten) and hostesses

107 Philippa Levine, Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire (New York: Routledge, 2003), 321
Recognizing the legitimacy of the licensed system, the Home refused to accommodate Japanese prostitutes who had escaped from the brothels and sought help if they “still owed a debt to their brothel owners.” It, instead, targeted the prostitutes who did not or could no longer work for the licensed brothels due to physical or mental disease. By accommodating these women, the Home reduced the number of private, or “illegal,” prostitutes who were not regulated by the licensed system and thus more visible on the streets. Celebrating the “improvements” in local ethics under the licensed system and the efforts made by the Home, Shibata Hakuyō, in an article in Kakusei in 1912, happily noted that Japanese prostitutes were no longer seen on Dairen’s streets. They were, instead, strictly controlled inside brothels.

To some extent, the abolitionists’ dedication to eliminating overseas prostitution showcased their patriotic soul and, as pointed out previously, won, at least sometimes,
their domestic campaigns the eagerly desired endorsement and support of the state.\textsuperscript{113} The irony is, however, that in the late 1930s, many abolition groups, Christian ones in particular, were either persecuted or fell victim to the state’s authoritarian regulation, because they, as Sheldon Garon precisely puts it, no longer belonged to the national orthodoxy but were labeled “antiwar and antimilitary.”\textsuperscript{114} The presence of overseas prostitutes, whom the abolitionists saw as the most shameful and unpatriotic members of the empire, proved to be more desirable than that of the abolitionists. These women continued to be exploited by the empire either as licensed prostitutes or as comfort women until the end of the Asia Pacific War.\textsuperscript{115}

This chapter has shown the ways in which the anxiety over the overseas prostitutes shaped Japan’s domestic abolition movement. The next chapter will further explores how the activities of abolishing these “bad” women abroad were carried out and how these

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\textsuperscript{113} It should be pointed out that from the 1880s to the 1920s the state’s support for abolitionists was always partial and not consistent. On the one hand, as has been pointed out, some officials in the government and members of the Diet shared anxiety over the expatriate prostitutes and encouraged abolitionists to submit petitions to the Diet. Local governmental officials in Kyūshū were also supportive for the JWCTU’s abolition campaigns on the island. On the other hand, however, the state insisted on the necessity of the licensed prostitution system, and also did not want to block prostitutes from going abroad in order to show that the nation was “civilized” enough to protect its people’s basic freedom.


\textsuperscript{115} Many of the Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria and Korea were legalized as licensed prostitutes during Japan’s expansion in Asia. For Japan’s establishment of the licensed prostitution system in Manchuria, see Fujinaga Takeshi, “Nichiro Sensō to Nihon ni Yoru ‘Manshū’ e no Kōshō Seido Ishoku,” in Katsuragawa Mitsumasa, eds., \textit{Kairaku to Kisei: Kindai ni Okeru Goraku no Yukue} (Osaka: Osaka Sangyō Daigaku Sangyō Kenkyūjo, 1998). Yamada Meiko delineates how Japanese prostitutes in Korea and Manchuria were recruited, either by force or fraud, as comfort women in the Japanese military from the late 1930s. See Yamada Meiko, \textit{Jōshigun no Aishi: Karayuki, Shōfu, Köjo Tachi no Sei to Shi} (Tokyo: Kōjinsha, 1992).
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activities were closely associated with the education campaigns on Japanese women, both inside and outside of the empire, that aimed to mold them into desirable subjects.
Chapter 4

Good Women for Empire

Educating Overseas Female Emigrants in Imperial Japan, 1900-1945

In 1937, the Japanese government launched a plan to send a million households to Manchuria within twenty years to support the empire’s expansion and wars in East Asia. Mobilizing and exporting women from Japan itself was an important part of this policy.1 Referred to as “continental brides (tairiku no hanayome),” most of these women came from rural Japan and were expected to foster Japanese agrarian settlement in the Asian continent by marrying Japanese male peasants there. They were supposed not only to bear and rear racially pure Japanese children and to assist their husbands in farm work, but also to represent Japanese female morality vis-à-vis local women.2 The project of continental brides, just as that of comfort women, has usually been cited by scholars to illustrate how gender subjugation converged with racial subjugation in Japanese empire at the high point of militarism and war mobilization.3 Such an imperial instrumentalization of women, however, was hardly an anomaly in the history of the Japanese empire or simply a product of the Asia-Pacific War. As the following

3 Ibid, 13-14.
discussion demonstrates, between 1900 and the 1920s, the social campaigns for Japanese prostitution abolition in Manchuria and emigrant women’s education in North America jointly paved the way for the state’s mobilization of women for colonial expansion in the 1930s.

As early as 1912, Japanese Salvation Army leader Yamamuro Gumpei argued that Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria should be rescued and resettled with other professions for the sake of the improvement of the colony:

In our new colonies the number of male [settlers] far exceeds that of female. The shortage of housemaids is particularly serious in Manchuria. Meantime, in certain areas of Kyūshū and Chūgoku, it is customary to send daughters abroad [to work] as prostitutes. In addition to simply rescuing these women from the hands of evil people, we will introduce them to good professions to contribute to the colony’s operation.\(^4\)

On the other side of the Pacific, just four years later, Kawai Michi, the National Secretary of the Japanese Young Women’s Christian Association (JYWCA), attributed American anti-Japanese sentiment in California in part to rural Japanese immigrant women’s involvement with agricultural work. As she complained, “husbands and wives working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping working together in the field is what Americans hate most, since it neglects housekeeping

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and childcare. Thus it has been impossible [for Japanese immigrants] to assimilate into the American society.” The JYWCA, accordingly, initiated a series of programs to educate Japanese immigrant women, particularly those from rural Japan, introducing them to the western lifestyle, Protestant morality, and bourgeois social manners.

The Japanese Salvation Army’s plan of abolishing Japanese prostitution in Manchuria and the JYWCA’s strategy to appease anti-Japanese sentiment on the other side of the Pacific emerged in different historical and political contexts. But they both assumed that Japanese emigrant women, most of whom were from impoverished families in rural Japan, would play crucial roles in the empire’s overseas expansion. Both Yamamuro and Kawai believed that after receiving appropriate tutelage and discipline these women could become a powerful force of Japanese settlement abroad. While Yamamuro Gunpei aimed to transform evil prostitutes into good women in Japanese Manchuria, Kawai Michi urged Japanese women in America to abandon outside work and stay at home for housekeeping and childcare.

In this chapter, I examine and compare these two tutelage campaigns initiated by Japanese Protestant educators targeting Japanese emigrant women in Manchuria and California in the first two decades of the twentieth century. It draws the connections between Japanese colonial settlement in Manchuria and Japanese migrant experience in

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5 Kawai Michiko, “Tobei Fujin wa Seikō Shitsutsu Ari ya?” Joshi Seinen Kai (October, 1916): 55. Kawai Michi used the pen name “Kawai Michiko” for most of her essays on Joshi Seinen Kai, the official journal of the JYWCA.
6 Calling Japanese immigration to the US “expansion,” I draw insights from recent studies that treat the Japanese American migration as a part of Japan’s worldwide emigration since the Meiji era, in which emigration was closely intertwined expansionism. See Eiichiro Azuma, Between Two Empires, 17-30.
California to deepen our understanding of the nature of Japanese imperialism. In particular, it shows how the ideas of sending women overseas for expansion and of disciplining emigrant women to maximize their service as mothers, inferior laborers, or symbols of racial and national progress were developed and practiced in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The imperial instrumentalization of women fully embodied in the “continental bride” project, therefore, was not a product of the total war era. Instead, it originated from the prostitution abolition campaigns in Japanese Manchuria and women’s education campaigns in Japanese communities in California one and two decades earlier.

Similar to Chapter three, this chapter is concerned not so much with the agency of the emigrant women as with the role of middle-class social groups in shaping the nature of Japanese female migration. It is divided into three parts. The first looks at the campaign launched by the JYMCA and the Japanese Salvation Army to abolish Japanese prostitution in Manchuria at the turn of the twentieth century, and discusses the unlikely cooperation between Japanese middle-class abolitionists, brothel owners, and local police in maintaining the colonial order. Part two examines Japanese social leaders’ campaigns to educate Japanese rural women who migrated to the United States in the 1910s and 1920s, and investigates how classist and racial struggle interacted with nationalism in this trans-Pacific project of tutelage and discipline. Building on the analyses in Part one and two, in part three, I assert that the social campaigns for Japanese prostitution abolition in Manchuria and emigrant women’s education in North America impacted the women’s education movement in domestic Japan. Further, I argue that these campaigns jointly
paved the way for the state’s mobilization of women to Manchuria in the 1930s. The chapter ends with a short account of the tragic experiences these Japanese female settlers had when they returned to Japan from Manchuria after the end of the Asia-Pacific War, along with Japan’s discursive shift from an expansive empire to a peaceful nation state.

The Women’s Home and the Ethics of Japanese Manchuria

This section explores the nature of Japanese prostitution abolition in Manchuria through the lens of the Salvation Army’s Dairen Women’s Home. It analyzes the close relationship between the Home and the Japanese military as well as the Kantō administration. By looking at how the Home rehabilitated prostitutes, it reveals the unexpected ways in which the Home supported the Japanese licensed prostitution system in Manchuria.

The majority of Japanese overseas prostitutes in Asia ended up in Manchuria, the Japanese abolition campaign in Manchuria was also the most vocal among all overseas projects carried out by Japanese abolitionists. The customers of the Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria included not only Japanese soldiers and businessmen, but also local

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7 Kantō administration refers to the Japanese civilian government. Established in 1906, it was in charge of the leased territories in the Liaodong Peninsular that Japan obtained from the Qing Empire following the Russo-Japanese War.

8 According to Japanese government statistics, in 1910 there were 12203 Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria, comprising 36.5% of the entire Japanese female population there. This far exceeds the number in Southeast Asia (3745), where the second largest population of Japanese prostitutes were found. Kurahashi Masanao, *Kita no Karayuki-san* (Tokyo: Kyoei Shobō, 1989), 38. While there seem to be very few records left, one can expect that debates on Japanese prostitution in Manchuria also existed in other colonies of the Japanese empire, such as Korea and Taiwan.
Chinese, Manchus and Russians. While the call to abolish overseas prostitution in order to maintain the pride and dignity of the race and empire had been voiced since the 1890s, limited financial and human resources left Japanese abolitionists unable to take effective action until the establishment of the Home in 1906 by the abolitionists.9

While celebrated by some scholars as “the light in dark night” or “Buddha in hell,”10 the Women’s Home was closely associated with the Japanese military from the very beginning. The founder of the Home, the Reverend Masutomi Masasuke, went to Manchuria in a mission to solace Japanese soldiers during the Russo-Japanese War. This solace mission was carried out with cooperation between the Japanese government and the YMCA in Japan. Working with local American missionaries, the YMCA in Japan tried to replicate the American YMCA’s successful campaigns to comfort American soldiers in the American Civil War and the Spanish-American War. The Japanese YMCA members also hoped this mission would expand their work in both Japan and Manchuria. The Japanese government, on the other hand, aimed to use this Christian mission to show western powers a civilized and progressive image of the empire.11

10 Ibid, 54.
This picture shows two Japanese YMCA members providing a haircut and shave service to Japanese soldiers in Manchuria during Russo-Japanese War. Courtesy of Kautz Family YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota Libraries.

The solace mission involved delivering speeches on patriotism and Christianity to the soldiers and offering them haircuts, bathing facilities and clean clothing. The JYMCA’s prostitution abolition activities, including the Women’s Home, were an extension of this collaboration. The military not only helped the abolitionists deport a few Japanese prostitutes from Manchuria to Japan but also assisted in the daily operation of

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12 Ibid, 113.
the Home. Protestant officers in the army, such as Major Hibiki Nobusuke, a paymaster, Sano, and an army surgeon, Osaki, sometimes even delivered lectures to the prostitutes in the Home.

Because of similar concerns, the Kantō administration offered support to the Women’s Home as well by providing free land and financial aid to the Home’s establishment and its following upgrades. The administration worried about the trouble the expatriate prostitutes might cause to Japan’s colonial rule in Manchuria, particularly when they were regarded with contempt even by poor Chinese. Thus it expected the Home to improve the image of Japanese women in order to reinforce the difference between the colonizer and the colonized.

The support of the military and colonial authorities to the Women’s Home also resulted from their concerns about the health of Japanese soldiers and male settlers. From the last few decades of the nineteenth century, health examinations conducted on Japanese military showed an increase in the number of soldiers infected with venereal diseases; the ratio was as high as approximately two to three percent of all soldiers who were examined in the 1910s and 1920s. According to an observation of American

14 Ibid, 40.
17 Sabine Frühstück, Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 35.
18 Ibid., 36
Christian missionaries, in a Japanese military hospital in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War, one third of the cases were caused by venereal diseases. In Japan’s Siberian expedition from 1918 to 1920, 2,012 soldiers were infected with venereal diseases, far exceeding the 1,387 who were killed in the battlefield. As early as during the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese military started to manage special brothels for soldiers along the march to control the infection rate. All prostitutes in these brothels were required to receive medical examinations before they served the soldiers. After the war, from the fall of 1905 to early 1906, the Kantō administration issued a series of laws to regulate the booming prostitution business in the Kwantung Leased Territory, in order to maintain the health of Japanese soldiers and male settlers and the stability of the colonial community. This set of laws formed the licensed prostitution system in Japanese Manchuria, which not only legalized prostitution by imposing tax and age requirements on prostitutes but also required them to receive regular medical examinations. These regulations also made the practice of prostitution less visible by restricting it within special locations and renaming Japanese brothels (kashizashiki) and prostitutes (shōgi) as restaurants (ryōriten) and hostesses (shakufu), respectively.

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20 Sabine Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex*, 37.
22 Ibid, 72-77.
23 Ibid, 72-77.
Japanese prostitutes waiting for customers in front of a Manchurian brothel, renamed “restaurant”. A cartoon in Manshū Nichinichi Shinbun (July 26, 1912).

While aiming to abolish Japanese prostitution in Manchuria, the Women’s Home responded actively to the authorities’ concerns about venereal diseases and cooperated with the licensed prostitution system in unexpected ways. The Home accepted Japanese prostitutes selectively at best. As Reverend Uemura, one of its managers, clarified, it only accommodated those prostitutes “who truly decided to quit prostitution and do good work instead.” For those who “escaped from brothels just on an emotional impulse” or “just
wanted to run away from their debts [to brothel owners],” the Home would either persuade them to return to the brothels, or consult with the Kantō administration and accept these prostitutes only with its permission. It was reported by Manshū Nichinichi Shinbun, a major newspaper in Japanese Manchuria, that an escaped prostitute was sent back to her brothel after the Home refused to accommodate her and handed her over to the police.

The Women’s Home’s accommodation capacity was limited to eight or nine prostitutes per month. Since there were several thousand Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria at the time, the Home did not cause substantial damage to the business of Japanese brothels. Instead, the brothel owners were more likely to welcome the Home, since, as historian Kurahashi Masano insightfully observes, it functioned as an asylum for those prostitutes who could no longer work in brothels as a result of sexual diseases or other physical or mental problems. In other words, the Home helped the brothels dispose of the dysfunctional prostitutes.

The Home founder Reverend Masutomi Masasuke lamented the spread of venereal diseases among young Japanese in Dairen and ascribed it to the existence of local

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25 Manshū Nichinichi Shinbun (August 10, 1910)
26 According Yamamuro Gunpei, the leader of Japanese Salvation Army, from June, 1906 to June, 1912, the Home accommodated 620 women in total. By dividing the number of prostitutes by the number of months, therefore, the Home worked at the rate of eight or nine prostitutes per month. See Yamamuro Gunpei, “Manshū ni Okeru Fujin Kyūsai,” Kakusei 2: 6 (1912), 30.
27 See note 20.
28 Kurahashi Masano, Kurahashi Masanao, “Kyūseigun no Dairen Fujin Home (2),” 46-49.
Japanese prostitution. Major Hibiki Nobusuke, the main supporter of the Home in the military, also managed to establish the Dairen Christian Benevolence Hospital with the cooperation of Japanese Protestant groups and the Kantō administration. The hospital provided medical care exclusively to Japanese prostitutes infected with venereal diseases. Because the Women’s Home and the hospital were operated by the same group of people, the hospital could cooperate with the Home and provide treatment for the infected prostitutes it accepted. The Kantō administration also established special hospitals in cities to conduct regular examinations and medical treatment on Japanese licensed prostitutes. Therefore, the Home, by providing treatment to the infected prostitutes, actually helped the government to control venereal disease for the sake of the health of Japanese soldiers and male settlers.

Besides accommodating diseased prostitutes and providing them with medical treatment, the Home also supported the licensed prostitution system by decreasing potential private or “illegal” prostitutes. Without the Home, the prostitutes escaping from

31 Manshū Nichinichi Shinbun (November 22, 1907). Based on the military background and the Kantō administration’s support, we can assume that by providing treatment to infected Japanese prostitutes, the hospital also aimed to decrease the possibility of Japanese soldiers in Manchuria to be infected by venereal diseases via sexual contacts with the prostitutes.
32 Kurahashi Masano, “Kyūseigun no Dairen Fujin Home (2),” 46.
the licensed brothels would go elsewhere, and might end up returning to the business as private sex workers. As a journalist from the *Manshū Nichinichi Shinbun* observed, the Women’s Home prevented those prostitutes from being “cheated by evil people and miring in dangerous situations.” Given that the brothels mentioned here were obviously under the licensed prostitution system, “dangerous situations” thus indicate prostitution beyond governmental and legal control.\(^\text{33}\) The Home, accommodating prostitutes who had escaped from licensed brothels and controlling their mobility, therefore further guaranteed the health of Japanese soldiers and male settlers by forestalling and limiting prostitution without the state’s regular medical examinations.

The Women’s Home not only functioned as an asylum for escaped Japanese prostitutes but also trained and resettled them. Of the prostitutes it accepted, except for a small number who were deported back to Japan, the majority received professional training in the Home, and were resettled in Japanese Manchuria with other occupations. A small number of the prostitutes found jobs such as telephone operators and nurses, but most ended up working as housemaids.\(^\text{34}\) Housemaids became the Home’s main channel of prostitute resettlement for two reasons. First, housemaids did not require substantial professional training; therefore it was practical and manageable for the Home with its limited resources. Second, it echoed the dire need for housemaids in local Japanese communities. Before the mass agricultural migration to Manchuria in the 1930s, Japanese

\(^\text{33}\) *Manshū Nichinichi Shinbun* (July 24, 1912).

\(^\text{34}\) Kurahashi Masanao, “The Salvation Army and the Women Home (1),” 53. Also see Shin Ketsu and Nagaoka Masami, ed., *Shokuminchi Shakai Jigyō Kankei Shiryōshū: Manshū/Manshūkoku Hen*, vol. 6 (Kingendai shiryō kenkōkai, 2005), 294.
settlers were mainly composed of officials in the Kantō administration, bourgeois businessmen, and employees of Japanese colonial companies, such as the South Manchuria Railway Company.\textsuperscript{35} They had both the need to hire housemaids in order to live a bourgeois life and the financial capacity to afford it.\textsuperscript{36}

In Japan proper, the demand for housemaids in cities could be filled by migrant women from the countryside. But in Manchuria, where most of the Japanese settlers lived in urban areas, this labor resource was very limited.\textsuperscript{37} Besides, the occupation of housemaid appeared far from attractive even for impoverished Japanese emigrant women in Manchuria. Compared with the position of a housemaid, which demanded long hours of physical labor at a modest wage, being a prostitute, with a payment several times higher, was more appealing.\textsuperscript{38} Meeting the need for housemaids thus became a major issue for the middle- and upper-class settlers in Japanese Manchuria.

In addition to transforming local prostitutes into housemaids, the abolitionists further planned to import housemaids from Japan to replace the prostitutes. Reverend Yamamuro Gunpei, the leader of the Japanese Salvation Army, which had operated the Women’s Home from 1906, was the initiator of this plan. After his investigation and discussion with colonial officers, Yamamuro concluded that many women were duped

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\textsuperscript{36} Citing Hiratsuka Raicho’s complaints regarding the redundancy of housework, Shimizu Michiko shows that it became a common practice for the newly emerged middle-class families to hire housemaids. Shimizu Michiko, \textit{“Jochū” Imeiji no Katei Bunka Shi} (Tokyo: Sekai Shisōsha, 2004), 77-78.
\textsuperscript{37} Yamamuro Gunpei, \textit{“Manshū ni Okeru Fujin Kyūsai,”} 32.
\end{flushleft}
into believing that they would be legitimately employed, but were then sold as prostitutes. He contended that the prevalence of this practice debased the society and public hygiene in Japanese Manchuria. Meantime, the number of Japanese men there far exceeded that of Japanese women. Their need for housemaids and wives remained unmet. Therefore, in addition to passively abolishing prostitution, he argued, it would be effective to proactively solve the problem by sending good-natured (zenryō naru) women to Manchuria.\(^{39}\) He suggested collaboration with a hotel in Monshi, Kinparo, which would recruit unmarried women in the Kyushu area and send them to the Home. The Home would then provide these women with the necessary training before introducing them to potential employers of housemaids.\(^{40}\)

The distinction between prostitute and housemaid provided the foundation of these two endeavors: the abolitionists attempted to transform the prostitutes—the shameful and filthy—into housemaids—the civilized and healthy—and to use the latter to displace the former. However, both attempts exploited the similarities of these two groups of women in unexpected ways. Coming from rural and impoverished areas of Japan, prostitutes and housemaids alike were assumed to be capable of meeting the needs of the Japanese male settlers, though the former was for sexual needs while the latter was for social needs. The interchangeability between members of the two groups in reality further proved the feasibility of these attempts: While some prostitutes eventually earned

\(^{39}\)“Manshū Shugyōfu no Fukuin: Yamamuro Taisa no Dan,” Manshū Nichinichi Shinbun (May 3, 1912).

\(^{40}\)Yamamuro Gunpei, “Manshū ni Okeru Fujin Kyūsai,” 32 and “Manshū Shugyōfu no Fukuin: Yamamuro Taisa no Dan.”
enough money to repay their debts to brothel owners and quit prostitution, many Japanese women in Manchuria turned to prostitution for higher wages after working as housemaids for a short period of time. Still some who migrated to Manchuria aiming to find jobs like restaurant waitress or housemaid ended up working as prostitutes. While there is no evidence so far on whether sex was involved in any case of housemaid employment in Japanese Manchuria, in early-twentieth-century Japan, prostitutes were sometimes introduced to their customers as housemaids. Housemaids were at times hired for both housework and sex service.

While Yamamuro’s maid importation plan failed to materialize due to the Japanese Salvation Army’s limited human and financial resources, the Home’s program of turning prostitutes into housemaid proved to be fruitful. The Home further worked as an agency to introduce local Japanese women to housemaid jobs and encourage them to continue this career path by hosting housemaid gatherings and rewarding dedicated housemaids.

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41 Manshū Nichinichi Shinbun (October 14, 1912), (December 24, 1916), cited from Kurahashi Masanao, “Kyūseigun ni Yoru Manshū e no ‘Jochū’ no Yushutsu no Kuwadate,” 32, note 9. Based on a survey made by police, about half of the 685 prostitutes in the Sūsaki quarter between 1925 and 1927 were able to quit prostitution by paying all or part of their debts to the brothel owners. Sheldon Garon, “The world’s oldest debate? Regulating Prostitution and Illicit Sexuality,” Molding Japanese Minds, 95.


The cartoon captures the potentially problematic relationship between a master and his housemaid in early twentieth century Japan. The master is looking lasciviously at his housemaid while the mistress, unnoticed by her husband, watches angrily. Fearing an affair between her husband and the housemaid, she makes up her mind to replace the current housemaid with one that is “a more ugly and competent”.
“Yuwaku no ōi hashutsufu (Temporary housemaids with many temptations),”

Shokugyō dukushi: gendai manga daikan dai hachi hen (Numerous occupations: An overview of modern manga, vol. 8), Chūō Bijutsusha, 1928, p. 171

The Japanese social reformers’ war against prostitution was driven by a variety of factors, such as their religious ethics, bourgeois morality, and sympathy over the impoverished. Yet a major goal of the Home’s abolition campaign in Japanese Manchuria was to deal with possible trouble that the prostitutes might cause for Japan’s colonial regime. The Home accommodated the escaped prostitutes and provided medical treatment to those who were infected with venereal diseases. It not only helped brothels to manage the health of prostitutes at a lower cost but also reduced the rate of potential “illegal” prostitutes and hence strengthened the state’s prostitution control. Further, it sought to shift prostitutes in Manchuria toward careers as housemaids, who, they believed, were equally capable of meeting the social and sexual needs of the Japanese male settlers, but in a justified and civilized way.

Representing a Civilized Nation and Race: Japanese Emigrant Women’s Education in California

Abolitionists of Japanese overseas prostitution did not limit their gaze to Manchuria but considered it a global problem for the nation. Yamamuro Gunpei, for example, argued that Japanese prostitutes in the United States fueled local anti-Japanese sentiment and sabotaged Japanese immigrant settlement there. Expressing the same concern, the JYWCA’s National Secretary Kawai Michi lamented in 1923, “It has been said that in the world, the United Kingdom is known for its flying national flags, China is known for its laborers, and Japan is known everywhere for its prostitutes.” As long as Japanese women were seen by the world as “toys,” Kawai reasoned, Japan could never be treated as a civilized nation. However, she further pointed out that the problem did not reflect only on the prostitutes, but on all Japanese women. The judgment on a nation, Kawai argued, was based on the position of women in society, and Japanese women’s current social status and education level were far behind the standard of “first-class” nations. It was therefore imperative for all Japanese women to receive education for the sake of the nation.

Abe Isoo, a prominent Protestant politician and advocate of women’s rights in Japan, further voiced the importance of exporting Japanese females to enhance Japanese settlement on the west coast of the United States. In order to “strengthen the ground of

50 Ibid, 2.
Japanese communities,” he believed that it was imperative to encourage Japanese women to migrate to the United States to rescue Japanese emigrant males from “insipid life” and “degradation.” Exporting women to the United States, Abe continued, would also “inspire our [Japanese] women’s great spirit of overseas expedition.” To this end, Abe suggested that Japanese government both tighten its ban on Japanese prostitutes’ overseas travel and encourage women with “good education and morality” to go to the United States. He also expected Japanese social leaders and organizations both in the United States and Japan to provide assistance to these migrant women.51

This section will examine the JYWCA-led education campaigns targeting Japanese immigrant women in California. I will discuss the ways in which Japanese immigrant women were disciplined for particular national and racial representations and were assigned to specific professions while being refused access to others.

While the bulk of the Japanese population in Manchuria before the 1930s consisted of urban middle-class settlers, Japanese immigrants in California in the beginning of the twentieth century were mainly male agricultural laborers. Most of them were impoverished bachelors.52 Inter-racial marriage between Japanese and white Americans was legally forbidden in California. Japanese male immigrants usually could not afford to go back to Japan to find marriage partners, because of financial limitations and possible

military service obligations in Japan. Many therefore chose to ask their relatives in Japan to pick partners for them. After the two sides exchanged photos by mail and agreed to marry, the man would pay the traveling expenses for his bride, so that she could come to the United States to meet him and live with him. This type of marriage, which became increasingly popular among Japanese immigrants in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century, was called “picture marriage”; Japanese women who immigrated to the United States through this form of marriage were called “picture brides.”

Although scholars now commonly use the term “picture bride,” it was originally coined by Japanese Protestant bourgeois educators to label poor Japanese women who were obsessed with a good life abroad and were willing to obtain a steamship ticket to the United States by marrying a man they had never met. Like Japanese overseas prostitutes, these picture brides, who were mostly from rural areas and poor families, were criticized by Japanese Protestant educators as bringing shame on the Japanese race and nation because of their “inappropriate” manners and “outdated” make-up and dressing styles. Kawai Michiko even attributed American anti-Japanese sentiment in part to the “uneducated” behavior of these women. Those who came to the United States through a picture marriage, therefore, did not feel comfortable being called a “picture bride” because they saw this term as derogatory.

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53 Ibid, 6-7.
Under Kawai’s leadership, the JYWCA and its main branch in California initiated education campaigns to discipline picture brides so that they could represent Japan in more desirable ways.\(^\text{58}\) With support from local government and politicians, the JYWCA established an emigrant women’s school in Yokohama, providing classes on housework, English, childrearing, American society and western lifestyle and travel tips for the picture brides before they left for the United States.\(^\text{59}\) Besides training, the JYWCA disseminated pamphlets with similar guidance among emigrant women. The JYWCA’s California branch also offered accommodation and similar training to picture brides after their arrival.\(^\text{60}\)


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\(^{60}\) Abiko Yonako, “Zaibei Nihonjin Kirisutokyō Joshi Seinen Kai Sōritsu no Shidai,” 16.
A pamphlet distributed to Japanese picture brides in the United States in 1919 by Japanese American Association, titled “A new guide for women migrating to the US.”

Courtesy of Wakayama Municipal Library, Wakayama Prefecture, Japan.
During an investigation of the third-class cabins of a ship headed to the United States, a JYWCA member expressed anxiety about the impression these poor emigrant Japanese women would make on Americans because of their filthy and smelly luggage, improper body gestures and overly loud voices. Deeply concerned about “how to educate these ignorant rural women who know nothing and turn them into ‘ideal women’ quickly,” the author gave them pamphlets of guidance and urged them to go to the JYWCA branch when they reached the shore. She compared this solicitude for them to that of “a mother [who] looks at her daughters and wants her daughters to appear beautiful so that they will not be disliked by others.”

Kawai herself penned a series of articles in JYWCA’s journal, *Joshi Seinen Kai*, to instruct picture brides in preparation both for their journey to the United States and the investigation procedure in the immigrant bureau. The series is laid out as conversations between four fictional figures: a teacher and three students. The teacher, Mrs. Nishida Yoneko, is a well-educated middle-class woman married to a Japanese businessman in New York and familiar with western culture and society. The students are three picture brides: Itō Naho, Shimizu Masa and Nakamura Sei. They are from rural areas and know nothing about lifestyle and polite manners in the United States. Nishida is generously willing to give them guidance before they leave Japan. The first scene is in Nishida’s house, where Nishida teaches the three brides the correct ways to dress and wear makeup,

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as well as appropriate gestures and manner of speaking. The second scene is on a ship, when they are on their way to the US; Nishida, in attractive western clothes, comes to see these brides in the third-class cabin, providing guidance on how to avoid seasickness and warning them not keep smelly food. In the third and last scene, on the deck of the third cabin, Nishida’s tone becomes more critical. After checking the picture brides’ room, she criticizes them for throwing dirty things on the bed and urges them to keep the room clean and tidy. She also warns them not talk to men on the ship. In the end, after a few suggestions on what to do during the immigrant check-in procedures and on bathroom manners in the United States, Nishida urges them to go to the JYWCA branch in California for further education when they reach shore.

Whether it was a caring mother’s concern over her daughters’ appearance or a strict teacher’s warnings to her students regarding their misconduct, both the tropes of parenting and teaching normalized the social hierarchy between middle-class Japanese elites and impoverished emigrant women from rural Japan, and between Protestants (thus well-educated and civilized) and non-Protestants (thus uneducated and uncivilized) into natural categories. Social subordination and cultural tutelage of the former over the latter thus appeared not only justified but also necessary. Such normalized tutelage was further empowered in the name of nation and race. Both the investigation report and instruction

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series ended with the expectation that these uneducated women could eventually represent Japan well to Americans and improve the image of the Japanese race in the United States.  

The mission of disciplining rural women’s wrongdoings did not stop at correcting their manners in daily life but went as far as regulating their marriage and occupation. Owing to limitations of communication and understanding between the two sides before marriage, not all picture marriages ended happily. In order to find a good partner, some Japanese male immigrants used fake pictures to appear younger and more handsome than they really were. Others lied about their financial situation, claiming that they were successful businessmen or rich landowners, while in reality they were merely agricultural labors. As a result, many picture brides felt either disappointed or cheated when they faced the reality. Since there were far fewer women than men in Japanese communities in California, it was relatively easy for a single female to find a job and live by herself. Many disappointed brides thus chose divorce. Japanese Protestant educators and local Issei (first generation migrants) male leaders attributed these wife-initiated divorces to “the weakness of Japanese females” and “degradation of female morality.” They warned that these “degraded women” were the cause of American anti-Japanese

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sentiment, and urged all Japanese immigrant women to remain loyal to their husbands and fulfill their duty to raise children.\textsuperscript{70} Local Japanese Christian women’s homes sometimes even intervened and managed to prevent such divorces.\textsuperscript{71}

In responding to financial difficulties and the hardship of agricultural life, most of the Japanese immigrant women living in rural areas had no choice but to work in the field with their husbands.\textsuperscript{72} American exclusionists accused this of transgressing the normal gender spheres of man and woman in which a man should be the only bread-earner while a woman should stay at home taking care of the family. They described the Japanese women in the field as the slaves of their husbands, and attributed such “transgression” to the racial inferiority and uncivilized tradition of Japanese immigrants.\textsuperscript{73} Replicating the claim made by white racists, Kawai argued that if women went out to work, their housework and childrearing duties would be neglected. She maintained that Japanese female immigrants’ farm work was driven by their greed for money, and assumed it was a cause of American anti-Japanese sentiment.\textsuperscript{74}

I do not deny the historical significance of the JYWCA’s education campaigns as a collective effort of Japanese immigrants to fight for their own racial dignity and equal rights under American racism. Unlike the case of Japanese Manchuria, where the settlers enjoyed political and racial privileges protected by the Japanese colonial power, Japanese

\textsuperscript{70} Rumi Yasutake, \textit{Transnational Women’s Activism}, 133.
\textsuperscript{71} Kusunoki Rokuichi, “Beikoku Kashû Engan no Dôhô,” 7-8.
\textsuperscript{72} Yanagisawa Ikumi “‘Shashin Hanayume’ wa ‘Otto no Dorci’ Datta no ka,” 69-76.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid, 77.
\textsuperscript{74} Tanaka Kei, “Japanese Picture Marriage in 1900-1924 California,” 211, and Kawai Michiko, “Tobei Fujin wa Seikô Shitsutsu Ari ya?” 11.
immigrants in California were at the bottom of society in terms of racial hierarchy and social rights. Due to the overarching white racism, they were left with few choices but to manipulate the discourse of race for their own survival.75

Such white racism, however, ironically lent power to class subordination under Japanese nationalism within Japanese American communities. Protestant family and gender values, bourgeois-based ways of living and manners in daily life were carefully justified and taught to immigrant women in the name of nation and race. Social elites in both Japan and Japanese American communities supported these Protestant-based education campaigns and saw these immigrant women as a crucial force for promoting the overall image of the Japanese around the world. According to a pamphlet issued by the Japanese American Association in 1919, Japanese women in the United States were supposed to have both passive and positive responsibilities (shōkyokuteki sekinin and sekkyokuteki sekinin). They were not to stain the dignity of Japanese women, on the one hand (passive responsibility), and were to represent Japanese women as women of a first-class nation by assimilating to American society and widening their knowledge of the United States, on the other (positive responsibility).76 In order to protect the Japanese race from American exclusion, it became a national and racial obligation for the poor and uneducated Japanese women to follow the tutelage of Japanese Protestant educators and adopt their religious value and middle-class-based lifestyle.

75 As Eiichiro Azuma has pointed out, facing racial subordination and exclusion in the United States, Japanese Americans used ideas such as “Japanese-white likeness” to justify their presence and debunk the fear of “Yellow Peril.” Azuma, Between Two Empires, 8-9.
76 Shin Tobei Fujin no Shiori (Zaibei Nihonjin Kai, 1919), 2.
Expansionism and the Instrumentalization of Women: From Housemaid and Picture Bride to Continental Bride

Both Japanese prostitution abolition activities in Manchuria and the Japanese women’s education campaign in California could be considered unsuccessful. The Women’s Home accommodated escaped prostitutes on a very limited scale and did not challenge the licensed prostitution system in Japanese Manchuria. The lack of financial and human resources thwarted the Japanese Salvation Army’s housemaid exportation plan. Programs for educating Japanese women in California failed to prevail against American exclusionism, since the real problem lay in white racism itself, not in how Japanese immigrants behaved. Nevertheless, as this section will show, these campaigns did have important social effects: they jointly drove the women’s education movement in domestic Japan and paved the way for the state’s nationwide project of mobilizing and exporting women to Manchuria in the 1930s.

In both campaigns the expatriated females were described not only as staining the dignity of the Japanese nation and race, but also sabotaging Japanese overseas expansion. Since Japanese overseas settlement was crucial for the empire’s development,

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77 The passing of the 1924 Exclusion Act shut the American gate against any further Japanese migration.
78 For a comprehensive discussion of Japanese Americans’ racial struggles in the early twentieth century, see Azuma, Between Two Empires, 65-81.
79 Japan’s colonization of Manchuria was a source of great pride for the empire, and Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria were blamed for impeding Japan’s “robust expansion.” Japanese communities in California were claimed to be the most important Japanese overseas settlement.
disciplining and educating these women became a national necessity. This problem of women abroad, in both cases, further came to serve as a powerful justification of the women’s education movement in domestic Japan. As Kawai Michi straightforwardly put it, in order to avoid the trouble caused by the degraded Japanese women in the US, it was imperative to promote women’s education in domestic Japan.\textsuperscript{80}

An investigative trip to Siberia and northern Manchuria in 1919 led by three JWCTU members diagnosed the Amakusa and Shimabara areas in Kyūshū as the origin of Japanese prostitution in Manchuria.\textsuperscript{81} The JWCTU, accordingly, sponsored another investigative mission to Kyūshū in the same year and issued a pamphlet about Shimabara and Amakusa.\textsuperscript{82} It attributed the cause of overseas prostitutes to “uncivilized” local customs and to low levels of female education in those two areas.\textsuperscript{83} Reports following these missions concluded that Japan’s licensed prostitution system should be abolished, and that programs to morally educate the women of Shimabara and Amakusa about the dangers and shame of prostitution was imperative. The report of the Siberian investigation noted, in particular, that in order to launch educational campaigns, greater cooperation between the government and social groups was required. Public speeches by JWCTU members and Christians, it argued, were far from sufficient, and the government

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\textsuperscript{80} Kawai Michiko, “Kichō no Aisatsu,” Joshi Seinen Kai 13: 9 (October 1916): 5.

\textsuperscript{81} Miyagawa Shizue, “Shiberia Shisatsu no Ki,” Fujin Shinpō 261 (April 1919): 9-16.


\textsuperscript{83} Nunokawa Seien, “Shimabara Amakusa no Kenkyū,” Fujin Shinpō 267 (October 1919): 12-16.
needed to take responsibility for moral education by revising textbooks and providing social campaigns with financial and political support.\footnote{Miyagawa Shizue, “Shiberia Shisatsu no Ki,” 14.}

At its annual meeting in 1919, the JWCTU decided to launch special education campaigns in Shimabara and Amakusa.\footnote{“Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai Dainijunananakai Daikai Kiroku,” Fujin Shinpō 262 (May 1919).} Afterward, JWCTU leaders embarked on a speaking tour of schools in Kyūshū,\footnote{Kurahashi Katsuhito, “Karayuki’ to Fujin Kyōfūkai (2),” 90.} and the Kyūshū branch sponsored an essay contest on overseas prostitution for all Kyūshū students.\footnote{Ibid, 89.} By 1921, the JWCTU had successfully organized a series of well-attended gatherings in Kyūshū and had formed close alliances with local authorities and social groups to support women’s education campaigns.\footnote{Kubushiro Ochimi, “Shakai Kaizen no Kanki,” Fujin Shinpō 291 (December 1921): 5.} These public gatherings and the Kyūshū branch’s meetings were supported and attended by local government officials, social educators, and journalists.\footnote{Kurahashi Katsuhito, “Karayuki’ to Fujin Kyōfūkai (2),” 93.} Through these campaigns the JWCTU strengthened its local branches and its cooperation with local government and women’s social groups in Kyūshū.\footnote{See chapter three.} In particular, the JWCTU cooperated with the Virgin Society (Shojo Kai), a state-run women’s organization, to conduct its women’s education campaigns in rural areas from the end of the 1910s.\footnote{Onozawa Akane, “Daiichiji Sekai Daisengo ni Okeru Haishō Undō no Kakudai: Nihon Kirisutokyo Fujin Kyōfū Kai no Katsudō o Chūshin Toshite,” Kokusai Kankeigaku Kenkyū 26 (1999), 60.} The Society planned to include “facilitating Japanese women’s overseas emigration” as its
mission as early as 1918. Though the plan was not carried out at that time, the Virgin Society eventually became the government’s main apparatus for training and exporting women to Manchuria after 1937. The JWCTU itself also launched a series of workshops to train women before they were sent to the Asian continent during the total war era. To facilitate women’s emigration, Japanese government established the Overseas Women’s Association (Kaigai Fujin Kyōkai) in 1927 to encourage and guide Japanese women to migrate overseas and also serve as a marriage agency between Japanese male settlers abroad and women in domestic Japan. Kubushiro Ochimi, a prominent JWCTU leader in the 1920s and 1930s, was one of the association’s directors. The association later served as a key institution of mobilizing and training continental brides.

Similarly, the JYWCA’s school for emigrant women’s training in Yokohama also collaborated with domestic women’s schools and even participated in poverty relief activities in local areas. Through a series of public lectures in Kyūshū and Western Japan, Kawai Michi addressed the problem of Japanese women in California and promoted the collaboration between the JYWCA and local authorities and women’s schools. Her speaking tour was particularly successful in Nagasaki, Kumamoto, and Hiroshima, the places in Western Japan that sent the largest numbers of women abroad

93 Aiba Kazuhiko, Chen Jin, Miyata Sachie, Nakashima Jun eds., Manshū “Dairiku no Hanayome” wa Dō Tsukuraretā ka, 291-301.
94 Ibid, 286.
95 Ibid, 280-283.
96 Ibid, 280-283.
annually. Meeting with local governors, mayors and directors of police departments, Kawai stressed the necessity of establishing local JYWCA branches and enhancing women’s education, and won their support. After resigning from her position in the JYWCA, Kawai Michi established a private women’s college, the Keisen School for Young Women (Keisen Jogakuen), in Tōkyō in 1929. Besides general education, this school aimed to provide training in horticulture and farming skills to young Japanese women who planned to migrate to Japan’s colonies.

This chapter has shown that in the first two decades of the twentieth century two transnational campaigns led by Japanese Protestant educators and social leaders not only laid the social, discursive and institutional ground for training female emigrants and sending them abroad but also formed cooperative networks between the state and social women’s groups. These campaigns and networks eventually enabled the state to readily launch the continental brides project. The idea of instrumentalizing women behind the governmental project of “continental brides” was not new in the 1930s. Nor was it a product of the total war era. In the late 1930s, when state officials went to rural areas in Japan to persuade young women to migrate to the Asian continent on behalf of the empire, they met with few expressions of misgiving and little resistance. Nationwide lectures and speeches by the JWCTU and the JYWCA in earlier decades had already

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99 Keisen Jogakuen Gojūnen no Ayumi (Tokyo, Keisen Jogakuen, 1979), 27. The school also had a special department for “overseas students” (Ryūgakusei Bekka) which provided training in housework skills and Japanese culture to nisei (second generation) Japanese Americans female students.
diffused information on Japanese overseas communities, informed Japanese women in the countryside about the possible opportunities to settle abroad and had convinced them that this would lead to a better life.

While problematizing Japanese overseas women, Japanese abolitionists and social activists never repudiated the importance of women for the nation and race. Instead, they generally considered Japanese women to be the crucial resource for Japan’s overseas expansion. The campaigns on either side of the Pacific did not disavow the value of Japanese emigrant women per se, but aimed to transform bad women into good ones. On the one hand, the Women’s Home accommodated prostitutes and resettled them in Manchuria as housemaids in order to meet the need of Japanese male settlers in Manchuria in a civilized way; Kawai’s programs and Abe’s proposal, on the other hand, focused on educating Japanese emigrant women prior to their settlement in the United States and sending well-educated and proper women to eliminate the racial shame experienced by Japanese in America.

At the core of this transformation was the debated question of how women, the rural and impoverished in particular, should be educated and called into service for the nation. Japanese Protestant educators and social moralists in both Japanese Manchuria and Japanese communities in the United States strived to maintain their leadership in local societies by connecting their class-based social and religious ethics, family values, and standards of cleanliness and social manners with Japanese national and racial
authenticity. Employing the language of patriotism, their programs of abolishing prostitution and enhancing female education and morality not only marginalized impoverished emigrant women but also disciplined them in ways that strengthened middle-class hegemony in Japanese overseas communities. This classist subordination was further conducted under the discourse of racial hierarchy and progress. These degraded and uneducated women became obstacles to claiming Japanese racial superiority over the colonized in Asia, on the one hand, and impediments to proving the desired equal position of the Japanese with white Americans, on the other.

In addition to class-based subordination, the distinction between bad and good women and campaigns to transform the former into the latter testify to the close relationship between womanhood and population power as unveiled by recent post-colonial feminist theories. Women’s sexuality was considered the crucial factor in guaranteeing the health and power of the next generation’s empire-builders; thus it had to be carefully controlled and monitored. To rear children and maintain racial purity and quality became a national duty. Nonproductive women such as Japanese prostitutes on both sides of the Pacific and uneducated Japanese women in California who would work in the field at the expense of childrearing came to be labeled as problematic and unpatriotic. The Japanese social reformers’ value of monogamy, their sexual and social

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ethics, and their embrace of the western discourse of civilization converged seamlessly with the ideologies of instrumentalizing women for Japanese imperial expansion. Japanese Protestant social activists, too, fully sensed the usefulness of their ideologies for the empire, and actively utilized these ideologies to maintain their faith in the dominant social discourses in imperial Japan.

Furthermore, campaigns in Manchuria and California also illustrate that the national and imperial instrumentalization of women went far beyond concern with population power. It materialized in different ways under various historical and political contexts. Accordingly, the category of good women in phases of Japanese expansion was a constantly fluid one, exemplified by the contrasting standards for what it meant to be a good woman in Japanese communities on opposite sides of the Pacific. To satisfy the needs of middle-class Japanese male settlers and their families in Manchuria at the turn of the twentieth century, the occupation of housemaid was elevated and presented to the impoverished and powerless Japanese women as a desirable and patriotic profession. Those who sought to work as housemaids were thus lauded as good women. Sharing the desire for expansion, Japanese prostitution abolition groups formed an unlikely alliance with colonial authorities and the military. The goal of their mission became to maintain the sexual health and hygiene of soldiers and male settlers, so only diseased and unlicensed prostitutes fell into their target group. The state-controlled licensed prostitution system itself coexisted peacefully with the Japanese Women’s Home in

101 While my discussion focuses on the discourse surrounding “good” women, as we can see, “bad” women like prostitutes were equally, if not more, necessary for the empire, though the latter demand was carefully hidden by the emphasis on respectable females.
Manchuria until the end of World War II. On the other side of the Pacific, to foster Japanese settlement in the American west and prevent male emigrants from slipping into degradation, the exportation of female marital partners to meet their needs for sex and family became a national necessity. Under white racism and the class subordination inside the Japanese communities, all emigrant women became responsible for representing the progress of the Japanese nation and race. The rural and uneducated females were thus identified as problematic and shameful, and were assigned the national and racial obligation to learn to dress, speak, and live in middle-class (thus civilized) ways. Only those who fulfilled these obligations and stayed at home as dedicated mothers and wives could be called good women. Those who worked in the field to assist their husbands were criticized as greedy for money and irresponsible. The various roles and obligations assigned to the emigrant women in Manchuria and California aimed to exploit women in particular social conditions on the frontiers of the empire’s expansion. Opprobrium fell on any women that transgressed or failed to fit into the approved category.

The standards for good women were transformed into yet another version in the project of “continental brides” launched by the imperial state in 1937. As the government’s handbook distributed to female emigrant training schools in Japan stated, the goal of the training programs was to make sure emigrant women would serve the empire at three levels in the following ways:

1. As a force to accomplish [Manchurian] frontier policies
a) Increase the stability of the colonial settlement in order to secure
the national and racial resource;
b) Secure national resource and maintain the purity of the Yamato
race;
c) Transplant Japanese womanhood to the continent and create a new
culture in Manchuria;

…..

2. As women in village communities
   a) Take care of food, clothing and shelter, and create domestic
culture in the frontier;

3. As housewives in individual agricultural families in the colony
   a) Competent assistants to pioneer farmers in the field;
   b) Competent comforters in the family;
   c) Competent caretakers of children of the second generation.\textsuperscript{102}

\textsuperscript{102} Joshi Takushokusha Teyô, (Takumushô Takubeikyoku, 1942), 124-125.
This cartoon was drawn by a Japanese colonial artist, Sakamoto Gajō, depicting the morning ritual of Japanese emigrant women in a continental bride training school in Manchuria in 1940. Shin Manshū (New Manchuria), 4, 12, December, 1940, p. 125.

To support the empire, good women now were not only obligated to assist their husbands with farm work in the field, but were also responsible for breeding and rearing children, comforting their husbands, and doing housework at home. Besides these physical obligations, they were further assigned the cultural duties of maintaining Japanese racial purity and transplanting Japanese womanhood to the continent.103

103 Ibid, 124. Purity-centered racial ideology was just one discourse on race in the history of the Japanese empire. Recent scholars have insightfully illustrated that Japanese racism was much more complicated than a belief in the homogeneity of the Yamato race.
The divergence in the standards of good women in Japanese Manchuria and Japanese America in the early twentieth century and in the “continental bride” project in the late 1930s was stark. For example, while continental brides were supposed to help their husbands in the field, the expectation regarding ideal wives in Japanese America in the campaign two decades earlier was exactly the opposite. Yet these three stories converge to reveal how women were utilized in various phases of Japanese expansionism.

The standard of good women shifted again following the intrusion of Soviet troops into Manchuria in 1945. Russian soldiers sexually assaulted a large number of Japanese female settlers. After the end of the Asia-Pacific War, the continental brides, who were mobilized to migrate to Manchuria for the purpose of maintaining Japanese racial purity, returned to Japan only to find themselves regarded as a threat to such purity. The public in domestic Japan perceived these female repatriates not only as possible carriers of venereal diseases but also as potential bearers of mixed-race children. Based on the same anxiety, the Japanese government conducted organized examinations and sponsored abortions of those who were pregnant after assaults, despite the fact that abortion itself

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104 The precise number of Japanese women assaulted remains unknown, but a fictionalized evaluation by a Japanese medical doctor, Takeda Shigetaro, in 1984 estimated the figure to be from 30,000 to 40,000. Lori Watt, When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 111.

105 As an article in Asahi Shinbun on April 24, 1946 showed, cited from ibid, 111-112.

106 In two major repatriation centers in Hakata and Sasebo, the numbers of abortions conducted were 1,200 to 1,300 and 400 to 500 respectively. Ibid, 120. Some of these women died in the abortion process. Ibid, 115. Some committed suicide due to social pressure. Ibid, 116.
was still illegal in Japan. Moreover, these female emigrants, who were once exemplified as ideal women of the nation, in the aftermath of the war now stood on the opposite side of appropriate Japanese womanhood. They served as a foil to the model Japanese women who stayed “at home” in Japan proper during the war and thus did not “fraternize, willingly or not, with foreign men.” These repatriate women were thus stigmatized as Japan’s imperial past, fully carrying its moral guilt and historical trauma, from which the new and peaceful Japan, signified by the “real” and “unstained” Japanese women at home, could easily disengage.

In 1952, to deal with the issue of the mix-blood children in Japan, Nagata Shigeshi, the president of Japanese Striving Society (JSS, Nihon Rikkōkai), an organization that deeply involved in different campaigns of Japanese migration to the US, Brazil and Manchuria from the end of 19th century to 1945, proposed to re-migrate these children to Brazil. He argued that there was no nation on earth that had less racial bias than Brazil and the Japanese communities in Brazil were also happy to accept these children. Made at the wake of the new wave of Japanese overseas migration after the World War II, Nagata’s plan could kill two birds with one stone: it helped to maintain the imagined racial purity in the postwar Japan by eliminating the mix-blood children in the nation on

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107 Abortion was not legalized in Japan until 1948, while the government-sponsored abortions among the female repatriates were conducted around 1945 and 1946. Ibid., p.119-120.
the one hand, and could revive JSS’s migration networks between Japan and Brazil on the other hand.

How did JSS participate in Japanese migration campaigns to different part of the world? How did its projects associate with those of the Japanese empire? How did its migration projects to the US, Brazil and Manchuria before World War II connect with each other? These questions will be answered in next chapter. As the final chapter, it will also conclude the dissertation by recapitulating the important points of the Japanese diasporic imperialism discussed in this study through the lens of the history of Japanese Striving Society.
Chapter 5

Japanese Striving Society and Three Phases of Diasporic Imperialism

On the eastern side of the Nerima District in northeast Tokyo there resides an organization known as the Japanese Striving Society (JSS, Nihon Rikkōkai). Although only a five minute walk from the Kotake Muihara Station on the Tokyo Metro’s Yūrakuchō line, the organization’s headquarters are discreetly nestled in a residential area of winding roads, making it easy for one to get lost on the way. The JSS only has a couple of low-rise buildings, painted in white, the standard color of local structures. One may thus easily confuse them with other buildings in the neighborhood. It currently manages both an apartment rental business and a kindergarten for the local community.

With this nondescript appearance and location, one would be surprised to learn the history of the JSS before World War II. Founded by a Japanese Christian priest named Shimanuki Hyōdayū in 1897, the JSS’s initial mission was to save the “spirit and body” of indigent students (kugakusei) by offering them moral education and working opportunities. Shortly after its establishment, Shimanuki started to send indigent students to the US as the ultimate salvation for them. The JSS’s program of migration to the US soon expanded to include other groups, such as common job-hunters and women who wished to migrate to America through marriage. It provided training to all its members before they left Japan. In 1915, three years after Nagata Shigeshi became president of the
JSS after the death of Shinamuki, JSS already had more than 4,600 members overseas, most of whom resided in the US.¹

Facing intensified Japanese exclusion campaigns in the US, shortly after Nagata took charge of the JSS, he began to direct JSS led emigration to other destinations. The two major projects conducted by the JSS under Nagata’s presidency before 1945 were the training and emigration of Japanese peasants (mostly from the Nagano prefecture) to Latin America (from the 1920s to the 1930s) and Manchuria (from the 1930s to 1945). From 1897 to 1945, it managed to send 30,000 Japanese migrants to North and South Americas, Southeast Asia, and Manchuria.²

After World War II, the JSS continued to function as an agent and facilitator in the repatriation of emigrants from the empire’s former colonies as well as the emigration of Japanese peasants to South America up to 1956. In that year the Japanese government founded the United Association of Overseas Organizations (Kaigai Kyokai Rengōkai), taking over emigration related projects from all major non-governmental groups including the JSS. Since then, the JSS has remained its current size and managed its kindergarten and apartment rental service up to the present.

The Three Phases of Japanese Migration to America

¹ For details of these members’ information and their activities, see Nihon Rikkōkai, Nihon Rikkōkai Hyakunen no Kōseki (Tokyo: Nihon Rikkōkai, 1997), 116-117.
² http://www.rikkokai.or.jp/main/index.html
The story of the JSS is fascinating, not only because it sent a large number of Japanese migrants overseas and that its two leaders, Nagata Shigeshi in particular, had influenced public opinion of the day on migration and national education, but also because the JSS's evolution in training and sending migrants overseas mirrored the changing trajectory of Japanese expansion. In different periods in the history of the Japanese empire, it was common for migration agents and organizations to emerge along with a particular wave of migration and then fade out soon after the campaign lost its public or governmental support. The JSS, however, operated throughout Japan’s age of the empire. Starting from 1897, the JSS was not only involved, but to some extent led the major tides of Japanese overseas migration, such as the migration boom to the US from the late 1890s to the early 1920s, the migration wave to Brazil from the 1910s to the early 1930s, and the mass migration to Manchuria and other parts of Asia between the 1930s and 40s. Consequently, the history of the JSS offers a unique lens for examining the intimate relationship between overseas migration and the history of the Japanese empire.

Through the history of the JSS, this chapter traces the evolution of the domestic discourse on Japanese migration to America. As this chapter will demonstrate, the changing discourse on Japanese American migration in domestic Japan mirrored the shifting trajectory of migration-based Japanese imperialism and expansionism. According to the changes of this discourse, the history of Japan’s diasporic imperialism is divided into three phases: the era of open-endedness (1868 to the 1910s), in which there was no unified domestic voice on whether overseas emigrants should eventually return to Japan or settle abroad permanently; the era of permanent settlement (the 1910s to the 1930s),
when, in response to anti-Japanese sentiment in the US, Japanese intellectuals and social leaders criticized the “sojourning mentality” of overseas emigrants and urged them to permanently settle abroad; and the era of homecoming (the 1930s to 1945), when the imperial discourse in domestic Japan called for the mental return of Japanese emigrants around the world and manipulated their experiences in the past to promote the state’s policy of mass migration to Manchuria.

The Era of Open-endedness, 1868-1910s

Although the mainstream discourse on migration to America in Japan in the late 19th century bound the individual lives of migrants to national interest, the expectations for migration were open-ended and its trends were diverse. According to westernization ideologues such Fukuzawa Yūkichi and Ishida Kumatarō, America was not only the center of western civilization, where Japanese people should go and learn from, but also a land of wealth where poor Japanese after working for several years, could return with a large fortune. Furthermore, by finding their feet among westerners and building a "new Japan" in the US, the settlement of these emigrants could also win dignity for the Japanese nation. Even opponents of westernization, such as the crusader of Japanese national essence Nagasawa Betten, agreed that Japanese emigrants in the US, either

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4 Ishida Kumatarō, Kitare Nihonjin, 5-6.
aiming for temporary work or permanent settlement, would give substantial benefits to
the nation.\(^5\) It was in this context, that Shimanuki launched his migration campaign.

A dedicated Christian, Shimanuki initially established the JSS to realize his ambition of evangelizing East Asia (Tōyō). Yet his campaign, from the very beginning, was religious as much as classist, as he believed that ultimately salvation should be both spiritual and physical. Galvanized by the severity of the poverty he observed during a missionary journey to Western Japan and the Korean Peninsular, he saw the alleviation of poverty as a precondition for the Christianization of East Asia.\(^6\) This idea led him to complete a thesis at the Tohoku Gakuin University’s Department of Theology, entitled "Christian missions in East Asia and Poverty Relief," which explained the importance of material salvation in evangelical missions in East Asia.\(^7\) He further reasoned that the mission of saving East Asia should start from Japan, since Japan was its representative. The first step of saving Japan, argued by Shimanuki, was to solve the problem of poverty in the nation.

Thus, one would not be surprised to discover that the organization was initially named the Tokyo Labor Society.\(^8\) It initially provided moral education and financial aid to the poor, particularly indigent students, who were considered by Shimanuki as the most urgent component of his mission.\(^9\) He believed that as Japan was rapidly changing under new ideas from the outside world, the youth was the best-positioned group in the

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\(^6\) Shimanuki Hyōdayū, Rikkokai to wa Nan zo ya (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1911), 44.
\(^7\) Ibid, 49.
\(^8\) Nihon Rikkōkai, Nihon Rikkōkai Hyakunen no Köseki, 3.
\(^9\) Shimanuki Hyōdayū, Rikkokai to wa Nan Zo ya, 66.
nation to take advantage of these transformations. In particular, the question was how to help these misfortunate young people, namely poor students who had to support their studies with their own hands, in successfully riding the tide of the changing era. Shimanuki contended that finding a solution to this dilemma was crucial to the nation's fate in the future.\textsuperscript{10} When the organization moved from Shimanuki's own house to a new building, he renamed the organization the Japanese Striving Society,\textsuperscript{11} encouraging his students to achieve success by enduring hardship\textsuperscript{12}.

An investigative trip to the US soon after the establishment of the organization inspired Shimanuki to move his gaze from domestic Japan to America. Helping indigent students study in the US, he concluded, was the best way to assist them. Compared to their situation in Japan, in America they would be able to find part-time jobs with better wages and lighter workloads. This in turn would enable them spend more time on their studies. Studying in the US would thus allow them to have better performance in both their studies and self-finance.\textsuperscript{13} Based on his success in relocating these students, Shimanuki built a department of American migration (\textit{tobei bu}) in the organization to further expand this program from indigent students to the common Japanese. He viewed the migration of people from Japan to the US as a panacea to the crises of overpopulation and economic stagnation in domestic Japan.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{10} Shimanuki Hyōdayū, \textit{Rikkokai to wa Nan Zo ya}, 121.
\textsuperscript{11} Before changing to Rikkokai, the Society’s name was changed from the Tokyo Labor Society to the Tokyo Diligence Society (Tokyo Seikinkai) due to a name conflict with another group.
\textsuperscript{12} Nihon Rikkōkai, \textit{Nihon Rikkōkai Hyakunen no Kōseki}, 7.
\textsuperscript{13} Shimanuki Hyōdayū, \textit{Rikkokai to wa Nan zo ya}, 74.
\textsuperscript{14} Nihon Rikkōkai, \textit{Nihon Rikkōkai Hyakunen no Kōseki}, 9.
Yet it would be wrong to assume that Shimanuki established the JSS simply as a migration agent. More importantly, Shimanuki believed that relocating people to America was the best way to train model Japanese national subjects in the future. For him, American society was a fertile field where the ideal subjects of the Japanese empire could be produced and trained.

Because of these aspirations, Shimanuki was not satisfied with the fact that most Japanese emigrants ended up as cheap contract-laborers. He argued that the emigrants should find more noble occupations with better wages, which would allow them to spend more time on their studies. To ensure the quality of the emigrants, instead of simply helping migrants navigate the logistics of migration, the JSS’s department of American migration conducted a rigorous system of selection and training on perspective migrants. It only sponsored the migration of those who passed its exam and understood the JSS’s "mission" and the "true meaning of Japanese overseas development." To further this mission, Shimanuki also established the Japanese-American Business School (nichibei jitsugyō gakkō), aiming to help migrants succeed in more decent careers such as international trade. It was the high-quality emigrants, Shimanuki believed, that could find their feet among white people and establish a solid root for Japanese expansion.

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15 Shimanuki Hyōdayū, *Rikkokai to wa Nan zo ya*, 133-134.
16 Ibid, 127.
17 Ibid, 133-134.
abroad. Whether they eventually returned to Japan or not, their success in the US was the key to realizing his mission of saving Japan as well as East Asia.

While Shimanuki's migrant training was male-centered, women, seen as assistants to these model subjects, also played an important role in his campaign. Shimanuki established the Striving Women's School (rikkō jogakkō) in 1908, aiming to train healthy and competent marriage partners for male Japanese emigrants. Built one year after the Japanese government, due to American diplomatic pressure, stopped issuing passports to its citizens who planned to migrate to the US mainland, the school was a direct response to anti-Japanese campaigns in the US. Attributing American exclusion campaigns to Japanese migrants' own failure in disciplining their life, Shimanuki reasoned that their decadent behaviors such as gambling and committing sexual crimes were caused by their loneliness. Once married, the life of these single men would be controlled and improved. Another reason for sending women to Japanese American communities was that they would give birth to a second generation of Japanese who, born in the US, would have American citizenship and political rights. As these American born Japanese increased, they may eventually be able to fight against local Japanese exclusion campaigns and legislation.

The Striving Women's School also emerged at a moment when young Japanese women, picture brides in particular, became a major subject of Japanese emigration to

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18 Ibid, 180.  
19 Ibid, 138-139.  
20 Ibid, 140-141.
America.\textsuperscript{21} It aimed to avoid the problems of picture marriage,\textsuperscript{22} such as the uncivilized manners of the brides and the divorces that resulted from miscommunication between the two sides before marriage, fearing that such issues might harm the image of Japanese migrants in the US. The school only selected "those who were healthy both physically and mentally and were capable of assisting their future husbands in the US."\textsuperscript{23} It would then provide them necessary training and match them with perspective Japanese male migrants upon a half-year of communication between the two sides.\textsuperscript{24} Due to the high standards of selection, students of the school were generally urban women with a certain degree of education. Most of them were between 24 and 30, who had relatively decent jobs such as teachers in elementary schools or nurses. They were interested in marrying Japanese male migrants in the US because they were past the average age of getting married in Japan, but still had high expectations for their future partners. \textsuperscript{25}

Shimanuki, therefore, assigned Japanese female emigrants, upon selection and training, the obligation of solidifying the temporary Japanese American settlements and allaying local anti-Japanese sentiment. They were expected to regulate the behavior of male emigrants on the one hand and represent the Japanese nation in more desirable ways.

\textsuperscript{21} Based on the Gentleman Agreement between the Japanese and American governments in 1907, only the family members of the existing Japanese American immigrants were allowed to migrate to the US.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid, 146.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, 145
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid, 146.
on the other. However, this program was carried out only on a small scale due to Shimanuki's elite approach. Different from most students in the Striving Women's School, the majority of female emigrants of the day were rural women with little education or wealth. Annually, on average the school was only able to send 30-40 perspective brides to the US. This was not an exciting number given that more than 1,500 Japanese women on average immigrated to the US through picture marriage every year between 1907 and 1920.  

As another strategy for dealing with anti-Japanese sentiment in the US, Shimanuki decided to expand his migration campaign beyond the US. Proposing to change the JSS’s department of American migration into the department of overseas development in 1911, he planned to investigate other areas around the world as possible destinations for Japanese migration, such as Latin America, South and Southeast Asias, China, and even Europe. He expected this department would balance Japanese individual success and national interest by sending "the most suitable people to the most suitable places around the world." This department thus would become the pivoting point for achieving Japan's national development as well as the happiness of his fellow countrymen. The global migration sponsored by the JSS, through both its economic profit and educational value,
would enable Japan to become a "first class nation" in the world in terms of not only material prosperity but also religion and morality.

Shimanuki's campaign of relocating Japanese people overseas as the ultimate method for Japan's national salvation was a part of a much larger trend among Japanese ideologues and social reformers from the late 19th century to the early 20th century, who sought to reform Japan’s national identity through outward migration. Similar to many other Japanese thinkers of his day, Shimanuki embraced Western civilization as the ultimate path for Japan's national progress. He believed that relocating Japanese to the US, regardless if they eventually returned to Japan or not, would raise Japan's position in the global hierarchy of civilization and power dominated by the West. This open-ended migration pattern for Japanese Americans as well as the ideology of westernization began to change along with the intensification of Japanese exclusion campaigns in the US.

The Era of Permanent Settlement, 1910s-1930s and the Conceptual Transition from 殖民 to 植民

Shimanuki died in 1913, two years after publicly proposing to expand the JSS's migration campaigns to other parts of the world. However, the plan was carried on by his successor, Nagata Shigeshi. After serving in the imperial army during the Russo-Japanese War, Nagata joined the JSS in 1907. He developed a close relationship with Shimanuki while studying at the JSS, being baptized by the latter before immigrating to the US. In

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California, he managed the *North American Agricultural Journal (Hokubei Nōhō)*, a Japanese American journal with a specialization in agriculture related information, before returning to Japan to take over leadership of the JSS following Shimanuki's will in 1913.

Nagata started his presidency of the JSS in a critical moment of the general history of Japanese migration. To mollify the increasingly intense Japanese exclusion campaigns in the US, the Japanese government had stopped issuing passports to Japanese citizens who wanted to migrate to the American mainland since 1907. This emigration restriction was further tightened in 1915 when the American government forbade Japanese migrants from entering the continental US via Hawaii. In response to the crisis of Japanese migration to America, the new president began to re-direct the JSS's migration campaign to Latin America in general and Brazil in particular. The JSS's strategy shift mirrored an overall directional shift in Japanese migration in the 1920s, when the major destination of Japanese overseas migration moved from North America to Latin America.

More importantly, Japanese American exclusion stimulated a discursive shift in Japanese migration strategy towards viewing permanent settlement as the only workable choice. To be sure, the call for Japanese emigrants in the US to settle permanently was voiced as early as the 1890s, in response to the rise of Japanese exclusion campaigns in

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31 Ibid, 123.
the US. However, the majority of the migration advocates and pundits, including Nagata, did not begin to problematize the sojourner (dekasegi) mentality of Japanese emigrants until the period of the intensification of the Japanese exclusion movement in the US from 1907 to 1924.

In a guidebook authored in 1916, Nagata argued, due to the mindset of eventual return, Japanese emigrants neither purchased land nor paid attention to assimilating into or contributing to the host societies. This in turn became a major cause of local anti-Japanese sentiment. A resolution of permanent migration, Nagata argued, would not only allow Japanese emigrants to make long-term plans and investment overseas, laying the foundation for overseas communities for future generations, but also enabling them to further integrate into local societies, uplifting their credibility and morality. Under Nagata's lead, the JSS's programs of migration to Latin America from the 1920s to the 1930s aimed for agricultural settlements based on farmland acquisition.

Developed hand in hand with the idea of permanent settlement was Nagata's peasant-centered migration strategy, which replaced Shimanuki's student-oriented campaigns. Nagata promoted the migration of Japanese peasants overseas as a solution to the poverty and constant cycle of depressions that plagued the Japanese countryside. Starting from his home prefecture of Nagano he embarked on a series of successful speaking tours with lanternslides in the rural areas of western Japan in 1915.34 These

32 See chapter two.
34 Nihon Rikkōkai, Nihon Rikkōkai Hyakunen no Köseki, 102-104.
tours disseminated information on overseas migration to Japanese peasants. From 1919 to 1931, Nagata also made a few investigative tours to South America to examine the best methods for facilitating Japanese agricultural settlement there.

*A lanternslide used by Nagata in his speaking tours, showing a picture of a group of agricultural laborers of different ethnicities in a Japanese American farm. The caption reads, “Japanese colony of Garyū Mountain operated by me. The team of the watermelon field.”* Courtesy of the Japanese Striving Society.

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35 For example, a newspaper report shows a young woman from a village in Nagano Prefecture who was attracted by opportunities abroad after listening to Nagata’s lecture. The strong objections of her parents were not enough to dampen her enthusiasm for migrating overseas: She chose to escape from the family and went to Yokohama looking for Rikkokai. *Yomiuri Shinbun* (Chōkan) (December 24, 1916), 5.

Another lanternslide used Nagata’s speaking tours. The description on the picture reads, “The fundamental solution to Japan’s deadlock is national expansion in the world.” Courtesy of the Japanese Striving Society.

This ideological preference toward permanent settlement in the second phase was marked by the shift of intellectuals’ preference on the concept of colonial migration from the word 殖民 to the word 植民. Both concepts were new terms invented around the beginning of Meiji era as a translation for the western word “colonization.” While 殖民
was a combination of the character 殖, literally meaning “reproducing,” with the character 民, literally meaning “people,” 植民 was a combination between 植, with the meaning of “planting,” 民 “people” 民. As a common way of using characters in modern Japanese language, 殖民 and 植民, though different on one character, was used interchangeably by Meiji intellectuals because they shared the same pronunciation “shokumin.”

It is during the period of ideological transformation from the open-endedness to permanent settlement that Japanese intelligentsia became sensitive to the difference between the two. As Nitobe Inazō made it clear in 1916, while 殖民 meant reproducing or increasing people, 植民 indicated planting people.

In print media, 殖民 was much more commonly used in the Meiji period; however, 植民 increasingly gained popularity starting in the beginning of the Taisho period in the 1910s. The change of preference from 殖民 to 植民 took place exactly at the same time that the domestic expectations of overseas migration turned to permanent settlement. The interpretation of the meaning of 植民 by Sakiyama Hisae, president of the School of Overseas Colonial Migration in 1928, explained well why the new concept was necessary for the aim of permanent settlement. He argued that the concept of 植民 was more

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38 Yanaihara Tadao, Nitobe Inazō Hakase Shokumin Seisaku Kōgi oyobi Ronbunshū (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1943), 41. As Yanaihara mentioned in the preface, this book is a collection of his note on Nitobe’s seminars on colonial studies between 1916 and 1917. So we can assume that Nitobe made this statement then.
applicable than 殖民 because the character 植 meant “to plant”. Just like the planting of trees and grass involved the selection of location, and later cultivation, colonial migration, too, was a long-term project. Promoting the education of overseas emigrants, Sakiyama argued, as cultivation and selection were important in the planting of trees, so was education important for colonial migration. He believed that the character 植 itself had a significant educational value because its structure and literal meaning indicated that emigrants could settle overseas, build robust families and communities, and plan for further development. He further urged Japanese overseas emigrants to regard the meaning of the character 植 as their spirit.\(^\text{40}\)

The preference of permanent settlement also transformed ideologies on how overseas migration was associated with the Japan’s empire building process. Shimanuki saw the JSS's campaign of migrating Japanese overseas as a way to achieve Japan’s national salvation. Anticipating the return of some overseas Japanese, Shimanuki used migration as a means of education to meet the ultimate end of uplifting Japan at home. Writing in 1917, when the mainstream discourses on migration began to favor permanent settlement, Nagata proposed a different idea. To encourage emigrants to abandon their plans for returning to their homeland, he placed expansionism at the center of Japanese national identity. He no longer saw overseas migration as a method of upgrading the nation itself, but rather considered it part of the way that the nation ought to be configured. He argued that Japan's overseas expansion was a mandate made by Japan's first emperor Amaterasu

and that the passion to explore lands overseas was already in the blood of every Japanese, since the very beginning of history.\(^\text{41}\) The current task for leaders was to reform general education to restore this national identity,\(^\text{42}\) which was unfortunately suppressed by internal conflicts, social corruption, and the inward-looking policies in the past.

The promotion of permanent settlement also altered Japanese migrant leaders’ expectations of female migrants. The demand on women in the first phase of Japanese overseas migration, as illustrated by the plans of Shimanuki, was centered on improving the image of Japanese emigrants and combating Japanese exclusion. While these requirements on women remained, their obligations in the second phase also included helping their husbands to succeed in agriculture and cultivating the next generation of overseas communities. In a guidebook for Japanese migration to America that Nagata authored in 1916, he urged Japanese American housewives to give up their plans of returning to Japan and to focus on their children’s education and character-building in the American society.\(^\text{43}\)

This agriculture-oriented migration strategy also shifted the main targets of the JSS’s women education from urban residents to those from the countryside. Supported by other thinkers on migration such as Nitobe Inazo and Soeda Shuichi, Nagata established the Training Center for Overseas Migrants (Kaigai dokōsha kōshūjo) as a branch of the Japanese Overseas Migration Association (Kaigai Imin Kyōkai) with the support of the


\(^{42}\) Ibid, 4-9.

Japanese government in 1916. This center aimed to provide common Japanese emigrants, particularly picture brides, necessary training as a way to appease anti-Japanese sentiment in the US. The training center was operated at the same time as when Kawai led JYWCA's education campaigns on picture brides discussed in Chapter four, and was also supported by the latter.

While the training center was short-lived due to internal conflicts among the staff, the migration of women also played an important role in Nagata's campaign to re-direct Japanese migration from the US to South America. On the one hand, Nagata encouraged more Japanese women from rural Japan to migrate to South America to balance the gender ratio of local Japanese emigrants and to enhance their agricultural settlements; on the other hand, he established a women's training department in the JSS in 1926 under support from the Japanese Foreign Ministry, which recruited and trained domestic women who planned to migrate to Brazil. They also matched the women with local Japanese emigrants. No evidence shows how long this women training department last, but the JSS's official records indicate that a similar department was formed again in 1931, shortly before the commencement of the empire's mass migration to Manchuria. It could be assumed that the JSS also was involved in the training and migration of Picture Brides.

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44 Nihon Rikkōkai, Nihon Rikkōkai Hyakunen no Kōseki, 102-103.
45 Evidence shows that some staff in JYWCA’s Yokohama branch attended the opening ceremony of the training center. Nihon Rikkōkai, Rikkō Gojūnen Shi (Tokyo: Nihon Rikkōkai, 1946), 78.
46 As in a well-known example, Shimanuki Takako, the daughter of the former president of the JSS, was also married to a Japanese emigrant businessman in Brazil under the introduction of Nagata Shigeshi. See Yomiuri Shinbun (Chōkan) (July 2, 1926), 7.
47 Nihon Rikkōkai, Nihon Rikkōkai Hyakunen no Kōseki, 405.
women to Manchuria. Such campaigns were to some extent continued in the postwar era, when Nagata established the South Cross Association in 1960, which relocated women from Japan to South America as marriage partners for local Japanese male emigrants.  

The strategy of permanent settlement further allowed thinkers on Japanese migration to conceive of Japanese Americans’ value to the empire in new ways. The Japanese American nisei, as American citizens with Japanese ancestry, were considered especially useful. Familiar with both the cultures of the US and Japan, they were expected to become a bridge (kakehashi) between these two Pacific powers. Thus in the 1920s and 30s Japan witnessed collaborative efforts between the state and social groups to attract Japanese American nisei to come to Japan to receive various types of education and then to encourage these nisei to return to the US upon the completion of their study. The JSS, under the lead of Nagata, was involved in both of these movements. It offered accommodations to incoming nisei students as well as utilized its nationwide networks to send them back to America.

The Era of Homecoming, 1930s-1945

The period of 1931 to 1945 witnessed the intensification of Japan's expansion and wars in Asia and the Pacific. In 1937, to solidify and defend the empire's expanding

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48 Ibid, 405.
50 Nagata Shigeshi, Zaibei Dōhō to Kataru (Tokyo: Nihon Rikkōkai, 1940), 1-2.
territory on the Asian continent, the imperial government adopted the strategy of
migrating a large number of the population from the Japanese home islands to Asia. The
dominant migration discourse in this era favored two sharply contrasting but
unexpectedly converging migration patterns. On the one hand, both the state and social
groups mobilized for permanent migration from Japan to the Asian continent on a
massive scale. On the other hand, government officials and advocates of migration began
to re-appreciate the sojourning identity of the Japanese overseas outside of the imperial
territories and celebrate their mental return to the empire in Asia. As the following
paragraphs will demonstrate from the example of Japanese Americans, the call for the
mental return of the Japanese overseas was ultimately aimed at promoting the empire's
campaign of mass migration to Asia.

Similar to Meiji Japan's strategy of what is defined by Louise Young as "mixed
colonization" to Hokkaidō, which extended control through both administrative rule and
settlement, the mass migration policy of the imperial government in 1937 was aimed at
consolidating Japan's colonial rule in Manchuria by establishing agriculture-based
settlement. Common men and women in the countryside were encouraged by state
officials and social leaders to leave their crisis-laden home for the promised land on
Asian continent. They were urged to build a paradise for their new lives there. Neither
the perception of overseas migration as panacea nor the idea of agricultural settlement
was new in the 1930s. Both of these key elements in the Japanese government's migration

51 Louise Young, Japan’s Total Empire, 312.
project were invented by thinkers of Japanese migration in dealing with Japanese American exclusion in the early 20th century. Yet the intensity of the state's involvement as well as the massive scale of mobilization was unprecedented. As a leading participant in this migration campaign, the JSS trained and exported a large number of peasants from Japan to Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia and Southeast Asia. Nagata himself also served the imperial government as a planner for its project of Manchurian migration.

To further mobilize peasants in Japan proper, advocates of migration integrated Japanese diasporic communities outside of the empire's territories into Japan's imperial expansion with unprecedented depth. The domestic discourse on Japanese migration to America, accordingly, entered an era of "homecoming," in which the migration was reinvented as a story with epic achievement. It was thus historicized as a glorious chapter in the history of Japanese expansion. This story was used to inspire peasants' passion for the new program of Asian migration and to convince them of its success.

Avoiding the much criticized term dekasegi (temporary migration), Nagata used the positive term ikin kikyō (or nishiki o kite kyō ni kaeru) to describe the situation of Japanese Americans in 1940. Ikin kikyō means a glorious homecoming. It was traditionally used to describe a man who left home for personal success eventually achieves his goals and returns to his home village in gorgeous dress.

53 Nihon Rikkōkai, Nihon Rikkōkai Hyakunen no Kōseki, 210-241.
54 Ibid, 213.
55 Nagata Shigeshi, Zaibei Dōhō to Kataru, 149.
In 1936, the government-funded historian Iriye Toraji depicted the story of the first generation of Japanese emigration to America as a heroic saga. In this narrative, as the pioneers of the Japanese overseas expansion, the Japanese American issei had competed with and defeated white Americans in racial competition, so that the latter had no other resource but discriminatory legislation to exclude them.\footnote{Eiichiro Azuma, “Pioneers of Overseas Development,” 1199.} In a similar tone, Nagata argued in 1940 that Japanese Americans had successfully achieved their original goal of emigration. Over the past few decades, they had prospered in the US in their individual lives as well as with community building. They further contributed to Japan by both sending large amounts of remittance and by providing a great example for succeeding Japanese emigrants.\footnote{Nagata Shigeshi, \textit{Zaibei Dōhō to Kataru}, 149-155.}

Yet just as the scenario of \textit{ikin kikyō} included both the story of success outside and the actual scene of returning home, Japanese Americans' ideological return also consisted of two steps. If Iriye and Nagata’s portrayal of the successes of Japanese Americans issei belonged to the first step, Japanese American representatives' participation in the Tokyo Conference of Overseas Japanese (\textit{Kaigai Dōhō Tokyo Daikai}) in Japan in 1940 completed the plot of glorious homecoming by fulfilling the second step, the return. Both at the conference and in the reports of public media, Japanese American delegates were represented as the heroes of the national expansion in the past. In a few carefully
designed ceremonies and demonstrations, they received applause and approbation from the government and general public as national heroes. 58

In the traditional story of *ikin kikyō*, the protagonist's glorious homecoming was to win himself respect from the people of his home village, for the imperial government in 1940, however, the ideological return of the Japanese American *issei* was aimed at appropriating their story to present common Japanese with a bright future for their following emigration. This would hopefully mobilize more people from domestic Japan to migrate to Manchuria. 59

Although state officials and the advocates of migration were passionate about the Japanese Americans' ideological return, they were much less enthusiastic on Japanese Americans' plans for actually migrating back to Asia. The empire's expansion and wars in Asia in the 1930s deepened the diplomatic tension between Japan and the US, which further intensified existing anti-Japanese sentiment in the US based on racial discrimination. The favorable racial hierarchy and economic opportunities in Japanese Manchuria lured many Japanese Americans who were upset about their lives in the US. A number of them even managed to migrate to Manchuria and build a life there. 60 However, the Japanese government and advocates of migration did not favor this return migration. Just as the symbolic significance of Japanese Americans was to persuade a domestic audience to migrate to Asia, their material significance to the empire, on the contrary, lay

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59 Ibid, 1206-1222.
on sustaining Japanese communities on the other side of the Pacific. Although Nagata considered it understandable that Japanese Americans wished to migrate back to Asia, he painstakingly argued that they should stay in the US for the sake of the Japanese empire. In addition to continuing to contribute to Japan via remittances, by cultivating the second and third generations of the Japanese Americans, they would further increase the Japanese American population and its political power in the US. 

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Conclusion

Japanese diaspora and the Japanese Empire

By demonstrating the close relationship between Japanese overseas and Japanese imperialism and the connection between the changing demands of the Japanese empire and the evolution of overseas migration, this dissertation rejects the validity of the label of *kimin* (people abandoned by the nation) to categorize overseas Japanese in the history of the Japanese empire. Instead of being discarded, overseas Japanese were an important group of subjects, being constantly called into service by the empire for different purposes at different periods.

The story of the JSS in Chapter five epitomizes the diasporic character of Japanese imperialism that is examined by this dissertation. The JSS's involvement in the migrations to the US, South America, then Manchuria challenges the existing definitions of the Japanese empire that are based on territorial control and political dominance. Caught in the intersection between narratives of the Japanese diaspora and Japanese imperial expansion, the history of the JSS, echoing Chapter one, demonstrates how Japanese migration to areas outside the formal boundaries of the Japanese empire also had a significant impact on Japan’s nation-making and empire building process.

Similar to the Japanese social leaders’ campaigns to abolish overseas prostitution and to educate Japanese women abroad discussed in Chapters three and four, the untiring efforts of both of the JSS's presidents in training and exporting women overseas illustrate
that Japanese expansionism involved men as much as women. They also demonstrate that the impulse to send the rural and poor to foreign lands came from an Malthusian anxiety as much as from a desire for racial reproduction; the ways in which Japanese trans-pacific migrations transformed Japan's domestic society were manifested through the issue of class as much as that of gender.

Chapter five further shows that the history of Japanese overseas migration can be divided into three phases according to the changing discourse in Japan on how Japanese emigrants outside of the imperial territories should be connected to the empire. More specifically, through the history of the JSS, this study has traced how domestic expectations on the development of Japanese migration to America shifted from ideas of open-endedness to permanent settlement, and then finally to ideological return. The story of the JSS, together with the intellectual debates examined in Chapter two, highlighted the changing role of Japanese migration to America in the construction of the Japanese empire.

To "save East Asia" was Shimanuki's ultimate goal for Japan's national salvation. After being saved, Japan was expected to lead Korea and China toward the same end.\(^1\) Shimanuki believed that western civilization lay ahead of the rest of the world in the linear history of human progress. As many other thinkers of the day discussed in this dissertation, he believed that relocating Japanese people to the US would refine Japan's

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\(^1\) Shimanuki Hyōdayū, *Rikkōkai to wa Na zo ya*, 49.
national identity and lift Japan's position on the international stage. It would then allow Japan to eventually fulfill its colonial mission in Asia.

As discussed in chapter two, Japanese exclusion campaigns in the US disappointed many Japanese ideologues, including some of the most passionate proponents of western civilization, such as Shimanuki's loyal follower Nagata Shigeshi, who migrated to California and spent several years there. Exclusion not only allowed them to criticize the hypocrisy of western imperialism, but also inspired them to challenge the western world order and seek alternative discourses for Japanese expansion. Nagata took leadership of the JSS also at the moment when thinking on Japanese migration to the US became increasingly pessimistic due to the exclusion campaigns. Shimanuki's strategy of national salvation through migration to the US appeared to be no longer possible. A new ideology was thus necessary to guide and legitimize the policy changes of the JSS's migration campaign.

Written in 1917, Nagata's proposal of migration was no longer based on an embrace of western civilization, but rather on a criticism of it. Attacking white racism against African-Americans and Asians both in the US and around the world, Nagata argued that the mission of the Japanese empire was to lead all people of color to overthrow white domination of the world. To fulfill this mission, instead of migrating to the US, Nagata argued that the Japanese should migrate to all areas around the world except the West. In order to lead all colored people, it was necessary for the Japanese to have intimate

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interactions with them. Because Japan was too small to house other people from outside its national borders, it was the Japanese who had to immigrate to the lands of the latter to meet the goal of interaction. ³ The mission of Japan was no longer to bring western civilization to Asia as well as to the rest of the world, but rather to liberate the rest of the world from the rule of the West and to establish a new ideal world order. It was not based on "the peace of the British, the equality of the Germans, or the freedom of the Americans" but on the genuine peace, liberty and equality of the Japanese spirit. ⁴ Japanese exclusion in the US thus stimulated the second president of the JSS to create a new ideology for the JSS's migration campaigns that simultaneously moved toward alternative destinations of migrations and challenged the world order of the west.

Japanese mass migration to Asia ceased upon the collapse of the empire in 1945. Yet, the uncertainty over the length and result of American occupation and the economic depression of the nation in 1947 and 48 soon led to a revival of Japanese overseas migration. ⁵ This uncertainty which underpinned the new migration campaign was further strengthened by the Malthusian concerns raised by the return of 6 million repatriates from the empire's former colonies and the 7.5 million new members of the population that were produced by the "baby boom" between 1947 and 1949. ⁶

This new wave of overseas migration also emerged in the context of Japan's ideological transformation in the postwar era. Japanese intellectuals' efforts since the

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1910s in challenging western imperialism triggered by Japanese exclusion in the US were quickly replaced by the re-appreciation of the US-centered western civilization. Japanese migration to America, once again, was seen as an expressway for Japan to join the western world. However, similar to the pre-war era, Japan's embrace of the West could not be fully realized. While the US government abandoned the Immigration Act of 1924 that excluded Japanese immigrants based on racial categories, the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, although permitting Japanese to naturalize, limited their immigrant flow through a quota system. This time, instead of challenging the race-based discrimination behind the act, the Japanese government and public learned to acquiesce. Accordingly, with the consent of the US, they looked at less developed areas in the world such as Latin America as a suitable destination of Japanese emigration.

As Takashi Fujitani observes, just as Japanese Americans were assigned the role of the model minority in the American society, Japan sought to fit into the US-dominated political and racial hierarchy of the postwar world as the most advanced nation of color. Japanese overseas migration was thus endowed with a cosmopolitan mission: helping undeveloped areas with their economic growth. With a new constitution at home based on pacifism and democracy, overseas Japanese were supposed to export civilization and concrete skills to local societies as if they were the surrogates of the West.

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7 Ibid, 148.
8 Takashi Fujitani, Race for Empire, 211
9 Yukiko Koshiro, Trans-Pacific Racism and the US Occupation of Japan, 124, 131.
Using its migrant networks in South America from the prewar era, the JSS played an important role in this postwar migration movement as well as the construction of the new image of the overseas Japanese. To plan and promote these new migration projects, Nagata Shigeshi was appointed by the Japanese government to conduct an investigative tour of the US, Brazil and Argentina in 1951. Based on his observations during this tour, Nagata concluded that the current prosperity of the American society were mainly because of its 4H club movement, an educational movement that aimed to develop the skills, leadership and responsibility of the youth in agriculture. He proposed to transplant this movement from the US to Japanese communities in Brazil in order to develop the leadership of the Japanese nisei in Brazilian society. If the second generation of the Japanese diaspora in Brazil could grow under the 4H training, Nagata believed, they would develop Brazil into the best nation on earth. To further promote the cosmopolitan image of Japanese migration, the JSS translated the record of the heroic experiences of Japanese American soldiers in the US military during World War II into Japanese immediately after it was published in the US. While the American government used the Japanese American soldiers' heroism to legitimize its inclusive racial policy, the JSS, on the other hand, celebrated it as an example of Japanese people’s cosmopolitan

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11 4H stood for head, heart, hands and health, the four aspects of youth’s development.
patriotism in its migrant training. All Japanese emigrants, Nagata argued, should learn to transplant their patriotism and national loyalty to their host societies.¹⁴

Overseas migration campaigns in postwar Japan were short-lived. They ceased around late 1950s. The economic boom of the nation since then consumed most of the domestic labor resources and the Malthusian anxiety vanished accordingly. Due to the shortage of labor, Japan even turned into an immigrant receiving country since the late 1980s.¹⁵ However, just as overseas migration shaped Japanese imperial ideologies and expansion before 1945, the nation’s postwar emigration campaigns in the 1950s also provide clues on how overseas migration played an important role in constructing Japan's new national identity in the postwar era. This is a topic that requires further scholarly examination.

¹⁵ Iyotani Toshio, *Gurōbarizēshon to Imin* (Tokyo: Yūshindō Kōbunsha, 2001), 211.
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