

This PDF is a selection from an out-of-print volume from the National Bureau of Economic Research

Volume Title: International Migrations, Volume II: Interpretations

Volume Author/Editor: Walter F. Willcox, editor

Volume Publisher: NBER

Volume ISBN: 0-87014-017-5

Volume URL: <http://www.nber.org/books/will31-1>

Publication Date: 1931

Chapter Title: International Migration of the Japanese

Chapter Author: Yamato Ichihashi

Chapter URL: <http://www.nber.org/chapters/c5121>

Chapter pages in book: (p. 617 - 636)

## CHAPTER XX

### INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF THE JAPANESE.<sup>1</sup>

By

YAMATO ICHIHASHI,  
The Leland Stanford Jr. University.

In 1868 the present Imperial Regime in Japan was restored, and with it came a revolutionary change in the national life of the Japanese Empire. This was due to the influence of the Western World. An industrial revolution has been in progress ever since, and has been attended by a rapid increase of population. During the last 60 years the numbers have nearly doubled, and today Japan ranks in density of population third among the countries of the world. When one recalls that for more than a century preceding the establishment of the present rule the population had remained stationary its increase in these 60 years appears spectacular. Before the dawn of the twentieth century Japanese statesmen gave no serious thought to problems of surplus population and food shortage. Such an attitude is partly explained by the fact that Japan had acquired new territories, Riukiu in 1872, Formosa and the Pescadores in 1895, the southern half of Sakhalin in 1905, and Korea in 1910. These acquisitions added 113,000 square miles or more than three-fourths as much as the area of the Japanese islands proper and a population at the time of their acquisition of 18,500,000. Of late, however, both the government and the thinking public in Japan have been agitated over the problem of population and the government has instituted a Commission of Population and Conservation.

The present chapter is an attempt to interpret the statistics about the international migration of the citizens of Japan. Since Japanese migration is generally thought to be a modern phenomenon a word is needed to correct that error. The international migration of the Japanese, though limited in scope, is probably as old as their national history and during the latter half of the sixteenth and the first third of the seventeenth century it was extensive. The mistake

<sup>1</sup>[See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pp. 160-166; 231ff., 255 ff., 933-41.—Ed.]

is due to the so-called "seclusion law" adopted in 1638 and enforced until 1868 by which Japanese citizens were forbidden to go abroad under pain of death and foreigners, except a limited number of Dutch and Chinese traders, were excluded from Japan. In 1854, to be sure, Japan had made a treaty with the United States, and subsequently with several European powers, but that did not alter the Japanese policy in regard to the emigration of its citizens.

In April, 1868, however, the so-called Charter Oath was taken by the Mikado, which contained among other items a provision encouraging the Japanese to seek knowledge throughout the world. Again, in 1871, an imperial edict was issued urging young men and women to seek education in Western nations. But the idea of encouraging the emigration of laborers, and more particularly of the financially helpless but politically troublesome samurai, did not occur to the government. Perhaps the officials, being still feudalistic in attitude, could not think of allowing their fellow countrymen to labor abroad for economic advantages, and realized the wrongs and sufferings such emigrants might face in a strange land. They would be left without government protection and at the mercy of greedy coolie traders or employers. As a result the emigration of Japanese subjects in general was not legalized until 1885. In spite of this, after the beginning of the nineteenth century, either by accident or in violation of law, some Japanese found their way into foreign countries. For instance, the American immigration returns show that a few landed in the United States before 1868, when the Japanese emigration returns began. The Japanese statistics most useful for the present study are the following: passport returns by countries of destination from 1868 to 1924; occupational distribution of migrants from 1884 to 1924; emigrant (labor) returns by countries of destination from 1898 to 1924; distribution of emigrants by sex and principal countries of destination from 1898 to 1924; and emigrants returning to Japan from 1908 to 1924.<sup>1</sup>

These statistical tables may be briefly described to indicate their approximate value. Table I in Volume I contains information supplied by the Japanese government, and apparently was compiled from the *Japanese Imperial Statistical Annual*. The present writer has compiled a similar table for a certain period and a comparison of the compilations shows that as far as the annual totals in the first column are concerned, the table in Volume I is fairly accurate. The distribution of emigration by countries, however, in the other 28

<sup>1</sup>[See Volume I, pp. 933-941, Tables I-V.—Ed.]

columns gives unmistakable evidence of careless compilation, instances of which will be pointed out below. The first part of Table II for the years 1884 to 1898 was compiled from the Japanese *Resumé statistique de l'Empire du Japon* and possesses little value because the sex and occupational distribution are not given by countries of destination. The remaining tables are based on data gathered by the Japanese Department of Foreign Affairs. Table III of Volume I gives the emigrants annually to each of 19 countries or other geographical divisions, but Table IV relates to only 5. These returns begin with 1898 although 13 years earlier the emigration of laborers was legalized. The information is incomplete. Table V is confined to the United States, Hawaii, and Canada, and embraces the years 1908-24, the period during which the gentlemen's agreements were in force. Moreover, when the passport returns and those relating to emigrants are compared, many discrepancies appear. The writer will attempt to remedy these defects but he must ask the reader not to criticize the present study too harshly, because he has to use the defective official information.

After this preliminary statement, the history of Japanese migration may be sketched. The returns of passports issued annually from 1868 to 1924, give a total of about 1,188,000.<sup>1</sup> May it be assumed that this number indicates the amount of Japanese migration? Unfortunately, no. For there is no statement about the number of passports re-issued. The Japanese regulations require a new passport every time one wishes to go abroad. The writer knows a man who has crossed the Pacific Ocean eighty times and therefore has secured forty passports. Furthermore, after 1905 the Japanese government stopped issuing passports to citizens going to Korea. Two years later the same practice was applied, in part, to those going to China. During those years the Japanese continued to emigrate to those countries in increasing numbers. Such being the case, if 1,188,000 is used as a measure of Japanese emigration it must be done with a clear understanding of the facts. The following additional information may be of some value. A recent official investigation showed that Japanese citizens residing in foreign countries in 1924 with their children, many of whom are not Japanese citizens, numbered 594,680 or about one-half of the number of passports issued.<sup>2</sup> From this count the 403,011 Japanese residents in Korea in 1923 are excluded.<sup>3</sup> Adding these two figures, we find

<sup>1</sup>[See Volume I, p. 934, Table I, col. 1.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>*Financial and Economic Annual of Japan, 1926*, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>*Annual Report on Administration of Chosen, 1923-1924*, p. 4.

that approximately 997,000 Japanese citizens and their children were residing outside the Island Empire in 1924.

Prior to 1885 Japanese migration was insignificant. Between 1868 and 1884 only 15,000 passports were issued, an annual average of 900. The majority of these were to persons going to China or Korea. The United States received 1,300, Europe 1,300, and Asiatic Russia 1,200. But according to Table I of Volume I,<sup>3</sup> Hawaii received only 5, all in 1882. Unofficial sources state that, in 1868 under a private contract, 150 Japanese went to Hawaii to stay for a period of three years. The newly established government being unorganized, they may have been smuggled out of Japan. If we except these 150, we may safely assert that prior to 1885 there was no emigration of Japanese laborers. Neither China nor Korea could offer them any inducements. Most of the Japanese who went to China were itinerant tradesmen; those who sought Korea and Russia were itinerant tradesmen and fishermen. Those going to America or Europe were in the main students seeking a knowledge of American or European civilization, many of them sent by the government at its expense.

After 1884 the amount and the character of Japanese migration began to change. In 1885 an agreement was signed between the Japanese government and certain Hawaiian sugar plantation owners under which Japanese contract laborers were permitted to migrate to Hawaii. The agreement was soon followed by an imperial edict legalizing emigration of Japanese laborers in general. During 1885 as many as 3,400 left Japan, of whom 2,000 or more than half went to Hawaii. From that time on emigration increased steadily until 1904 and 1905 when the Russo-Japanese war checked the current. The Chino-Japanese war of 1894-95 had no visible effect. But in 1906 and 1907 a sudden increase took place, stimulated by the pending agreements with the United States and Canada about Japanese immigration. The so-called "gentlemen's agreements" were put in force from 1908 on and greatly curtailed the emigration of Japanese laborers.

Consider now the amount of Japanese emigration before these agreements took effect, or from 1885 to 1907. During that period 540,000 passports were issued, or an annual average of 23,000. The countries of destination and their relative importance are indicated in Table 270 (p. 621).

<sup>3</sup>[Volume I, page 934.—Ed.]

TABLE 270.

EMIGRANTS FROM JAPAN BY DESTINATIONS, 1885-1924.

Destination	Number			Per Cent		
	1885-1907	1908-24	1885-1924	1885-1907	1908-24	1885-1924
Asiatic Russia.....	59,273	243,673	302,946	10.9	37.9	25.6
Hawaii.....	178,927	59,831	238,758	33.1	9.3	20.2
United States.....	72,545	123,998	196,543	13.5	19.2	16.6
China.....	58,388	46,870	105,258	10.8	7.3	8.9
Canada.....	10,513	19,278	29,791	2.0	3.0	2.5
Brazil.....	34	25,913	25,947	0	4.0	2.2
Philippines.....	2,175	19,148	21,323	0.4	3.0	1.8
Peru.....	1,108	19,876	20,984	0.2	3.1	1.8
Korea.....	72,027	.....	[72,027]	13.3	.....	[6.1]
Australia.....	7,540	.....	[7,540]	1.5	.....	[0.6]
Other countries.....	77,161	84,667	161,828	14.3	13.2	13.7
Totals.....	539,691	643,254	1,182,945	100.0	100.0	100.0

After 1908, in pursuance of the gentlemen's agreements, the Japanese government stopped issuing passports to its citizens seeking entrance into the United States or Canada except in the cases specifically provided for, and voluntarily applied a similar practice to those intending to go to Hawaii or Mexico. Consequently, for a few years following 1908 the amount of emigration decreased considerably. Meanwhile new fields were opened in Brazil and Peru. A very large number went to Asiatic Russia between 1914 and 1921 owing to the special conditions created there by the World War. Between 1908 and 1924, passports to the number of 643,000 were issued, an annual average of about 38,000, larger by two-thirds than the average in the preceding period. There was also a shift in destinations, as Table 270 shows.

During the entire period 1885-1924 the total number of passports issued was about 1,183,000.<sup>1</sup> These were distributed by countries as shown in Table 270. Omitting incomplete figures for China and Korea the enumerated returns give a total of 836,000. In other words, fully 70 per cent of the entire number of migrants were destined to one of these seven countries. Before 1885 Japanese emigration was numerically insignificant, but peculiar in that there was no emigration of laborers. The situation changed radically between 1885 and 1908. During that period laborers

<sup>1</sup>[See Volume I, p. 934.—Ed.]

formed the bulk of the emigrants. Then the gentlemen's agreements becoming effective put a stop to the emigration of laborers to the United States, Hawaii and Mexico, and checked that migration to Canada, which admitted a few annually. The new fields opened to emigrants, *e. g.* Brazil and Peru, offered slight compensation. The large migration to Asiatic Russia must be considered as a temporary phenomenon, for after 1921 the number of emigrants going thither diminished steadily. Only 400 Japanese went in 1924.

In regard to the sex composition of the migration no information is available until 1884. It can be safely asserted, however, that in earlier years few female emigrants left Japan, those few finding their way into the neighboring countries, China and Korea. Japanese women by instinct and training are not adventurous and did not at first accompany Japanese men who went to distant lands. In later years some women ventured to accompany their husbands to Hawaii or elsewhere. Between 1884 and 1898, about 31,000 women, more than 15 per cent of the migration, secured passports. Between 1899 and 1924, perhaps 184,000 women emigrated, forming more than 18 per cent of the total migration.

The most important factors which brought about this female emigration are the following: migrants such as officials and business men who expected to remain long in foreign countries found it convenient to be accompanied by wives; other male emigrants who in time established themselves in the countries of their residence induced their wives to join them. Of the two factors, the second was numerically far more important. The statistics of Japanese residents abroad (Korea omitted) in 1924 give the sex composition as 345,000 or 58 per cent males, and 248,000 or 42 per cent females, and this in spite of the fact that among the migrants, as we have seen, females were only 18 per cent. How are we to reconcile these widely different ratios? Had many of the male migrants returned home, had they died off, or were the majority of Japanese children born abroad female? With the information at hand none of these questions can be answered.<sup>1</sup>

As to occupations, our information between 1884 and 1898 gives the following classes: public services, study, commerce, visitors (tourists), agriculture, fishing, various occupations, laborers, and in the employ of aliens.<sup>2</sup> Artisans are not enumerated. Are they

<sup>1</sup>[Perhaps many Japanese males had travelled more than once from Japan to their residence abroad and having obtained a passport for each trip had appeared in the table as two or more emigrants.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>[See Volume I, page 937.—Ed.]

included in the "various occupations"? Or does "laborers" connote skilled as well as unskilled workmen? We can clarify none of these points. From 1899, the categories of "agriculture" and "various occupations" disappear and the "laborers" and those "in the employ of aliens" are thrown into the category of "emigrants." According to the Japanese emigration regulations, an emigrant is a Japanese citizen who goes abroad for the purpose of earning a living at some form of labor.<sup>1</sup> The data do not give his occupational status at the time of emigration.

The "in the employ of aliens" category before 1899 furnished the bulk of the migrants, followed by "commerce," "agriculture," "laborers," and "study," in the order given. After 1899 "emigrants" and "fishing" dominated and were followed by "commerce." The remaining categories steadily increased as years passed.<sup>2</sup> A few more details concerning the "emigrants" are available.<sup>3</sup> The number of passports obtained by emigrants 1898-1924 was 422,000 forming 46 per cent of the total migration of the period. Of this number 173,000 were bound for Hawaii, 86,000 for the United States, 35,000 for Brazil, 27,000 for Canada, 22,000 for Peru, and 20,000 for the Philippines. Asiatic Russia received only 19,000 in spite of the enormous migration to that country. These together account for about 383,000, leaving only 39,000 who were scattered among other countries—Mexico, Chile, Australia, and Indo-China.

#### *Emigration to the United States.*

During the entire period, 1868-1924, there were 200,000 Japanese who found their way to the United States. We will assume that this was the extent of the migration. During the years 1898-1924 the number of passports was 181,000 or about 82 per cent in less than half of the period, which shows the recent character of the migration. Of this number 86,000 or 47 per cent were obtained by emigrants. The cry: "Japs must go" was raised in California as early as 1887 when there were not more than 400 Japanese in that State. A severe criticism of Japanese immigrants appeared in the Report of the United States Industrial Commission of 1900,<sup>4</sup> and in 1905 an organized anti-Japanese agitation was

<sup>1</sup>Hereafter in this chapter the term "emigrant" will be used in conformity with the Japanese legal definition; the term "migrant" will include also all others.

<sup>2</sup>[Vol. I, page 937.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup>*Idem*, page 938.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup>See the article "Chinese and Japanese labor in the Mountain and Pacific States," in Volume 15 of that *Report*.

started culminating in the School Question of 1906. In 1907 the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" was entered into between the American and Japanese governments, and was put into force in 1908. It marks a turning point in the history of Japanese migration, so it will be interesting to indicate the situation before and after the application of that *modus vivendi*.

Between 1898 and 1907 the passports numbered 57,000 of which 17,000, or 29 per cent, were secured by emigrants. During the years 1908 to 1924 the passports numbered 124,000, those to emigrants totalling 69,000 or 56 per cent of the entire migration. Again, during the first period the mean annual migration of emigrants was only 1,700, whereas during the second period it was 4,000. Thus we see that not only was the proportion of emigrants larger during the operation of the agreement than before its application, but the annual migration of emigrants was also much more extensive during the period 1908-24 than during 1898-1906. It should be observed, however, that during the period 1908-24 as many as 114,000 Japanese departed from the United States, all as third-class passengers and therefore presumably emigrants. These departures exceeded the immigrant arrivals by 77,000. What shall we think of the agreement in face of such facts?

The exact text of the *modus vivendi* is not yet available, but the following statement by the American Commissioner-General of Immigration will perhaps clarify its meaning:<sup>1</sup>

This understanding contemplates that the Japanese government shall issue passports to continental United States only to such of its subjects as are non-laborers or are laborers who, in coming to the continent, seek to resume a formerly acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife or children residing there, or to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a farming enterprise in this country; so that the three classes of laborers entitled to receive passports have come to be designated 'former residents' 'parents, wives or children of residents,' and 'settled agriculturists.'

It seems to be clear that no Japanese intending to earn a living by engaging in some form of labor in the United States except in accordance with the provisions of this agreement, was given a passport. The exceptional cases are designated in the passports they obtained as emigrants. This agreement seems to have been executed in good faith by the Japanese government.

At the same time, the Japanese population in the United States increased from 72,157 in 1910 to 110,010 in 1920,<sup>2</sup> and that fact demands an explanation. In the first place, the loss of 71,000 in the

<sup>1</sup>United States Commissioner-General of Immigration, *Report for 1908*, pp. 125f.

<sup>2</sup>*Abstract of the Fourteenth Census (1923)*, p. 104.—Ed.]

emigrant population<sup>1</sup> was more than made up by the total arrivals during the same period. The aggregate of migrants and emigrants arriving<sup>2</sup> was 140,450, or 69,055 more than the emigrant departures. Statistics on migrant departures are not available. On this basis there was a gain of over 69,000 in the Japanese population. This fact alone, however, does not explain the increase of 37,853 between 1910 and 1920. The increase was largely due to the arrival of women, many of whom were "picture brides", and to the number of children born of Japanese parentage on American soil.<sup>3</sup> The "picture brides" were permitted by the agreement, and between 1908 and 1924 there were something over 30,000 emigrant females admitted to the United States.<sup>4</sup> Of course, this number excluded non-immigrant females concerning whom we have no information. Many of these immigrant females, but not all, were "picture brides." Agitation was started against them, and in 1922 the Japanese government voluntarily stopped their emigration. But nevertheless, the agreement was unsatisfactory to the American government and a drastic exclusion law, enacted in 1924, ended the story of Japanese immigration into the United States.

*Emigration to Hawaii.*

The situation in Hawaii presents another important phase of Japanese emigration. During the entire period under consideration 242,322 Japanese went to those islands, or one-fifth more than went to the United States. There is an important error in the passport returns for 1903. Only 86 are recorded in Table I but 9,091 in Table III bound for Hawaii. The writer's own compilation from the *Annals* gives a total of 11,120 passports. The latter figure has been substituted for the erroneous one in order to obtain the following totals. With that change, about 196,000 passports were reported between 1898 and 1924 and of these emigrants secured over 173,000. In the case of Hawaii, then, emigrants formed 88 per cent. of the total migration, while in the case of the United States they formed only 47 per cent.

In 1908 the Japanese government applied the American agreement to Hawaii, partly for diplomatic reasons and partly because

<sup>1</sup>[See Volume I, page 940, Table V.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>[*Idem*, pages 934 and 938.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup>[The number of persons of Japanese stock enumerated in the United States increased, 1910-20, as stated by 37,853; but the number enumerated as born in Japan increased by little more than one-third of that total. The other two-thirds was due to the multiplication of American-born children of Japanese stock. In the same decade there was an increase of 17,212 females born in Japan partly balanced by a decrease of 3,454 males.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup>[*Idem*, page 940, Table V.—Ed.]

of the labor situation in the islands. What was its effect? From 1898 to 1907 a total of 136,000 passports was issued, the number for emigrants being 122,000, or 89 per cent of the total. Moreover, the average annual emigration during those years was 12,177. Thus this decade was most important both as regards the proportion and the extent of emigrant migration. During the next 17 years from 1908 to 1924 the passports numbered only 60,000, of which emigrants obtained 51,000, an annual average of 3,000 or less than one-fourth of what it had been in the earlier period. Nevertheless, emigrants still formed 86 per cent of the total migration.

Another aspect of the situation, the growth of Japanese population in the islands, should not be overlooked. Between 1908 and 1924 the Japanese departing from Hawaii were 68,000, a number larger than the total migration to the islands during that period. Yet the Japanese population in Hawaii, as in the United States, gained considerably during the decade 1910-1920. The explanation of the phenomenon is that already given, the coming of Japanese women and the number of children born of Japanese parentage.<sup>1</sup> No statistics of female emigration to the islands are available until 1898, and those include only emigrant females.<sup>2</sup>

They show that over 51,000 females, or 29.6 per cent, went to the islands from 1898 to 1924, but the percentage increased after the application of the gentlemen's agreement. Of the 51,000 females, 29,000 reached the islands during 1908-24. To them were issued 48 per cent of the total number of passports issued during that period.<sup>3</sup> This large proportion was another effect of the agreement.

It once seemed as if Hawaii would be a splendid field for Japanese laborers, but now the industrial and labor conditions do not appear favorable, and the hostility in the United States toward Japanese immigration naturally affects the Americans who control Hawaiian affairs.

#### *Emigration to the Philippines.*

Japanese migration to the Philippines has a long history. Japanese ships visited that archipelago late in the sixteenth and early in the seventeenth century. In the beginning of the seventeenth century as many as 15,000 Japanese were residing in the

<sup>1</sup>[Of the persons of Japanese stock in Hawaii in 1910 about 25 per cent, and in 1920 about 45 per cent had been born in some part of the United States including, of course, Hawaii.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>Volume I, page 939, Table IV.

<sup>3</sup>*Idem*, Table III, gives 59,831 as total.

district of Dilao [including Manila] alone.<sup>1</sup> Here, however, we are concerned with modern migration. The passport returns<sup>2</sup> mention the year 1891 as the beginning of Japanese migration. From that year until 1924 about 21,000 passports were issued to Japanese destined to the Philippines whereas the immigrant returns enumerate 20,000 for the period from 1898 to 1924 as going to the same destination. On their face such facts suggest that the islands are a fair field for Japanese immigrants, but that such is not the case will presently be shown.

First, the above returns must be checked. When the two sets of figures are compared year by year the following results appear. The passport returns, Table I, show 47, 271, 646, and 396 for 1902, 1903, 1904 and 1910, respectively, while the emigrant returns for the same years, Table III, show respectively 77, 2215, 2923 and 387.<sup>3</sup> Shall we merely say that the former table commits the usual sin of omission and pass on? If so, we must increase the total of passports by adding at least the differences here indicated. That would make the passport aggregate 21,223 plus 5,253 or 26,476 even if we assume that the returns contained no other omissions. On this basis the emigrants constitute 76 per cent of the entire migration, a phenomenon which seems impossible under normal conditions. This insular country was and still is economically less advanced than Japan. Japanese laborers could not compete against native workmen.

Immediately after their acquisition by the United States an abnormal condition developed in the islands. The American government found it necessary to build roads, to construct railways, to erect barracks for the garrison and to improve harbor facilities. Native labor was inefficient, so the Americans imported both skilled and unskilled Japanese laborers. As many as 5,000 emigrants left Japan during 1903 and 1904. These were soon followed by trades men from Japan. A little later a few Japanese capitalists, such as the Ota Development Co., tried to develop certain industries in the islands. Thus 7,000 Japanese immigrants entered the islands during the years 1916-18. These two groups account for over 12,000 or more than one-half of the total immigrants. Apart from these the annual immigration was 393. There is every indication that the Philippine Islands will not attract Japanese emigration.

#### *Emigration to Canada.*

According to the passport returns Japanese did not emigrate

<sup>1</sup>See Murdock and Yamagata, *History of Japan*, p. 463.

<sup>2</sup>[Volume I, page 936.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup>[*Idem*, page 938, Table III.—Ed.]

to Canada until 1891. The writer's own study, however, reveals that as early as 1870 a few Japanese found their way into British Columbia, and from 1886 they continued to come though in limited numbers. These early emigrants are not mentioned in the Japanese or the Canadian statistics. As a matter of fact, Canada has no official record of Japanese immigration until 1904. According to the passport returns 30,000 Japanese went there during the years 1891-1924.<sup>1</sup> Of this number over 10,000 had left Japan before 1908 while the remaining 20,000 emigrated between 1908 and 1924. Again, according to the immigrant returns the total number between 1898 and 1924 was about 27,000.<sup>2</sup> Of these emigrants 9,000 had left Japan before 1908 while the remaining 18,000 emigrated after the application of the Japanese-Canadian gentlemen's agreement. This peculiar situation requires careful analysis, but before attempting to explain it the passport returns must be checked.

The writer's compilation shows that 18,914 passports were issued between 1891 and 1907, instead of the approximately 10,000 indicated above.<sup>3</sup> Between these two there is a difference of over 8,000, an error which can not be overlooked. A comparison of the two returns shows the source of the error. In the official table no returns are made for 1899, 1900, and 1905 while the writer's own table records 2,853, 3,274 and 329 for those years. Again, whereas the official table<sup>4</sup> enumerates 549, 206, and 1,039 for 1896, 1897 and 1898, the writer's records show 938, 261 and 2,532. These differences amount to a total of 8,393, leaving only 8 unaccounted for; but it is not worth while to check the annual returns. The inaccuracy of the passport returns can also be checked by the emigrant returns which, however, cover the years 1898-1924. According to the latter returns 9,350 emigrants were destined to Canada between 1898 and 1907, while the passport returns give a total of only 6,058 for the same period. Obviously, the total number of emigrants could not have exceeded the total number of passports. The substitution of the writer's figure of 15,054 passports for this period would obviate this particular difficulty. On the basis of 15,054 passports, the emigrants formed 62 per cent of the total migration before the enforcement of the agreement. Another puzzling situation is encountered after the application of this agreement, viz., the passport returns give a total of 19,278 for 1908-24, while the emigrant returns record a total of

<sup>1</sup>[Volume I, page 934.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>[*Idem*, page 938, Table III.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup>[*Idem*, page 934 ff., Table I.]

<sup>4</sup>[*Idem*—Ed.]

17,730 for the same period. There is a difference of only 1,539 in favor of the passports. This looks rather suspicious; but the writer's tables do not cover this period. On this basis the emigrants constituted 92 per cent, an unusual phenomenon.

The Canadian agreement is similar to the American, but permits immigration of laborers from Japan to the extent of 400 per annum. In 1907 the passports of persons destined for Canada numbered 3,603 while the number of emigrants going there was 2,753. In 1908 these numbers dropped to 738 and 601 respectively. The American Immigration Commission Report of 1910 concludes that "the great decrease in Japanese immigration to Canada during the year 1908 indicates that the movement from Hawaii was short lived, and also the effectiveness of an informal agreement between Canada and Japan, whereby the issue of passports for Japanese coming to Canada is limited to 400 annually."<sup>1</sup>

On the whole, the tendency indicated above has been fulfilled. The average annual number of emigrants going to Canada during 1908-11 was 562; it increased to about 1,000 from 1912, but from 1908 to 1924 the total departure of Japanese immigrants from the country was 20,000.<sup>2</sup> Departures exceeded arrivals by 1,810. Apparently Canada was satisfied with the result, but in 1924 the agreement was so modified as to admit, annually, only 150 domestic and farm hands instead of 400 laborers.

#### *Emigration to Mexico.*

Because of the geographical position of Mexico, Japanese immigration to that country has attracted undue attention. No Japanese appeared in that country of recent years until 1892 when 39 passports were issued with Mexico as the destination.<sup>3</sup> Only one emigrant went to that country in 1899 and one more in 1900.<sup>4</sup> During the entire period 1892-1924 a total of about 12,000 passports were issued, of which, emigrants secured 11,720. On the surface, these returns seem to be reliable, but when checked year by year one finds a situation similar to that in Canada. For instance, the passports issued for 1903 and 1904 were respectively 159 and 201, whereas the emigrants numbered 281 and 1,261. The author's compilation agrees with the passport returns.<sup>5</sup> The error must have

<sup>1</sup>U. S. Immigration Commission, "The Immigration Situation in Canada," p. 70.

<sup>2</sup>[Volume I, page 940, Table V.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup>*Idem*, page 934.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup>*Idem*, page 938.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup>*Idem*, page 934.—Ed.]

occurred in the *Annals* from which both tables were compiled.

The most interesting fact about Japanese emigration to Mexico is that of the total 12,000 emigrants, about 9,000 left Japan during the two years 1906 and 1907. This large emigration was undoubtedly stimulated by the pending agreements with the United States and Canada. When the American agreement was applied to Mexico in 1908, Japanese emigration to that country practically ceased. In conclusion it may be said that Mexico *per se* fails to attract Japanese emigrants in spite of the above returns.

#### *Emigration to Brazil.*

Brazil is the most important of the new fields for Japanese emigration. That vast territory has but a sparse population, and needs immigrants. Hence European immigration has been assisted by the government, but Japanese immigration was not considered until 1907. In that year an agreement was entered into between the São Paulo government and a private Japanese corporation handling emigrants, by the terms of which the corporation was to send, within three years, 3,000 Japanese including men, women, and children 10 years of age or older, certain monetary assistance being provided by São Paulo. These Japanese were to work on certain coffee plantations under definite arrangement, but it was expected that ultimately they would purchase land and settle in the country. The first band of 1,000 Japanese left for Brazil in 1908; but upon reaching their destination they found the conditions of labor on the plantations unsatisfactory. Many left, causing dissatisfaction on the part of their employers; and in addition, the anti-Japanese agitation in the United States and Canada affected the attitude of the São Paulo government. Such being the situation, the second installment of 1,000 Japanese failed to materialize. However, the situation was cleared and in 1910 another 1,000 left Japan.

Our statistical returns present many difficulties. For instance, the passport returns record 19, 15, 709, and 16 for 1906, 1907, 1908, and 1909, respectively, whereas the emigrant returns record none for 1906 and 1907, but 799 for 1908 and 4 for 1909.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, the total migration for these years was 759 while the emigrant migration was 803. This is an anomalous situation, although numerically not important; but it becomes more complicated, for between 1908 and 1924 the passport returns show a total of 25,948 while the total of the emigrant returns for the same period was 35,102. In

<sup>1</sup>[Volume I, pages 934 and 938.—Ed.]

other words, the number of emigrants exceeded that of passports by 9,189. The matter must be left without further comment, however, since there is no information at hand that would clarify it. It is interesting to note that the emigrants included about 15,000 females, or 42 per cent, a clear case of family emigration.<sup>1</sup>

*Emigration to Peru, Chile, and Argentina.*

Peru received Japanese earlier than Brazil. The emigrant returns show 790, 1,303, and 1,257 for 1899, 1903, and 1906 respectively, but the passport returns fail to record any migration until 1907.<sup>2</sup> The emigrants were brought in under contract to labor on sugar and rubber plantations, but their experiences in Peru were such as to cause the Japanese government to discourage further emigration of its citizens to that country. Nevertheless, about 19,000 more emigrants went there between 1907 and 1924, a total of about 22,000 for the entire period. Of this number 3,326 or over 15 per cent were women. These figures seem to indicate that Peru has proved less satisfactory than Brazil as a field for Japanese emigration.

Neither Chile nor Argentina seems to have been sought by Japanese emigrants, for during the entire period only about 400 went to the former country, and about 1,000 to the latter.<sup>3</sup>

*Emigration to Australia.*

The slogan "white Australia" was coined under the impression that Asiatic immigration threatened that continent, but it is now admitted by Australians themselves that this "threat" was largely a creation of their own imagination. According to passport returns Japanese migration to Australia before 1892 amounted to only 242; but about 5,500 left Japan between 1892 and 1898 for that destination.<sup>4</sup> This number was made up mostly of laborers going to the sugar plantations in Queensland, these being the first and the last group of such Japanese to reach Australia. In 1901 the Australian government began to restrict, or rather prohibit, Asiatic immigration by the so-called "dictation test." Consequently only 1,552 emigrants went there between 1901 and 1924.<sup>5</sup> Australia is a closed field for Japanese emigration.

*Emigration to Korea and China.*

Among the Asiatic countries, Korea was the first to receive

<sup>1</sup>[Volume I, page 939.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>[*Idem*, page 938, Table III, and page 934f, Table I.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup>[*Idem*, pages 934 and 935.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup>[*Idem*, page 935.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup>[*Idem*, page 938.—Ed.]

Japanese immigrants. Unfortunately our statistical information about this migration practically ends with 1904, because Japan assumed a protectorate over Korea in 1905 and annexed it in 1910 and during the protectorate as well as later Japan allowed her citizens to migrate there without passports.

The passport returns<sup>1</sup> enumerate 78,034 as the total migration between 1868 and 1904. According to the Foreign Office returns, there was no migration of emigrants to Korea. This was natural since the country could not offer any inducements to Japanese laborers. The migrants sought to better their economic condition, but independently of the employment offered by Koreans. Furthermore, the majority of these migrants, especially in the early years,<sup>2</sup> returned home after a brief sojourn. They were adventurous "birds of passage." After 1905, however, and more particularly after 1910, the Japanese government offered many inducements to the Japanese to settle in the country. As a result, in 1923 there were 403,011 Japanese residing in Korea.<sup>3</sup>

China was the second Asiatic country to receive Japanese. Since 1868 their migration to China has been important. The statistical returns after 1905 are incomplete although they enumerate about 109,000 as destined to China during the period 1868-1924.<sup>4</sup> As in the case of Korea, the Foreign Office returns do not indicate migration of emigrants. Japanese laborers could not have competed with those of China.

In the earlier years the migration was insignificant. For instance, only 8,400 went to China between 1868 and 1894, an annual average of 311. In 1895, however, the number of Japanese migrants suddenly increased to 1,510. In that year the Chino-Japanese war was concluded by the Shimonoseki Treaty whereby Japan secured many extensive commercial and industrial rights and privileges for her subjects. These newly acquired advantages naturally stimulated Japanese migration to China as shown by the sudden increase noted above. During the decade 1895-1904 the total migration was about 40,000 or an annual average of 3,987. The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 ended with the Treaty of Portsmouth, N. H., under which Japan acquired the Russian railways in South Manchuria, the Russian leasehold of Liaotung Peninsula, and other concessions.

<sup>1</sup>[Volume I, page 936, Table I.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>[*Idem*, page 940, Table VII.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup>*Annual Report on Administration of Chosen, 1923-24*, p. 4; and *Japan Year Book, 1927*, p. 624.

<sup>4</sup>[Volume I, page 936, Table I.—Ed.]

Stimulated to greater activity by these new advantages, Japanese began to seek China at large and Manchuria in particular. Unfortunately, at this important turn of affairs the statistics become incomplete. The partial returns, however, enumerate 64,000 migrants destined to China between 1904 and 1924. That would give an annual average of only 3,000 or less during the preceding decade; but this cannot represent the true migration to China during this period. Aside from the stimuli already noted, Japan was expanding industrially by leaps and bounds stimulated by the outbreak of the World War and her growing political prestige. Japan's occupation of the German leasehold of Kiao-Chow (not restored to China until 1922) and the many additional rights throughout China secured by her famous twenty-one demands, certainly stimulated Japanese migration to China. In fact the most recent official enumeration of Japanese residents<sup>1</sup> shows that there were about 241,000 Japanese residing in China, the largest number of Japanese residents in any foreign country. Of this number 185,000 or three-fourths were found in Manchuria; the rest were scattered through the country. Many must have entered during the period under consideration. It is clear that China constitutes an important field for Japanese migration, although the country itself cannot offer any attraction to Japanese laborers.

#### *Emigration to Asiatic Russia.*

In Asiatic Russia we find a unique case of Japanese migration. According to the passport returns over 304,000 were destined to that portion of Russia and her territories during the entire period 1868-1924.<sup>2</sup> That is the largest number recorded as going to a single country. However, Japanese migration in earlier years to Asiatic Russia, as to other countries, was insignificant. From 1868 to 1891 the annual average was only 1240, but the movement began to increase about 1892 so that during 1892-1903, about 47,000 passports were issued with Asiatic Russia as the destination, or an annual average of about 4,000. No migrant went in the war-year 1904 and only 230 in the following year. In 1906 the number jumped to over 5,000, and by the close of 1910 as many as 31,000 had sought that country. In 1911 the unprecedented annual number of 16,216 went there; this dropped to 680 in 1912, but leaped to 21,000 in

<sup>1</sup>On Oct. 1, 1926, the total number of Japanese residing abroad was 640,018 of whom 240,627, or three-eighths, were in China, according to statistics gathered and published by the Japanese Foreign Office.

<sup>2</sup>[Volume I, page 936.—Ed.]

1913. During the 8 years 1913-20 there were 186,000 emigrants, or an annual average of over 23,000 that dropped almost to 9,000 in 1921. This decrease has continued so that only about 400 were recorded for 1924. Such violent fluctuations in the movement may require a detailed study, but for the present only a general interpretation will be attempted.

Even in this attempt many limitations must be faced. For instance, not until 1884 do we have any information concerning the occupational distribution of migrants<sup>1</sup> and even this available information does not give the distribution by countries. We must be content, therefore, with a general observation. The majority of the Japanese who found their way to Asiatic Russia in early years were itinerant tradesmen and a few fishermen. They were mostly "birds of passage," as is clearly evidenced by the extent of their regular annual return.<sup>2</sup> This is equally true for more recent years. No radical change is to be noted in the character of the Japanese reaching Russia before the conclusion of the war in 1905. By the Treaty of Portsmouth, however, Japan gained fishing rights in Russian Asiatic waters, and these rights guided the migration between 1906 and 1913. The large migration in 1911 and 1913 cannot be explained with the information at hand, but the situation that obtained during 1914-20 was largely due to the Allied Siberian Expedition in which Japan assumed the leading rôle. Her army was not withdrawn until 1922, but even before that was effected the volume of migration had begun to dwindle. As far as the migration of laborers was concerned,<sup>3</sup> it was not important for only 19,000, or about 6 per cent of the total migration, found their way to Russian territories between 1898 and 1924. Thus it seems clear that, in spite of the enormous migration revealed above, Asiatic Russia is not an attractive field for Japanese migration. Certainly it does not invite Japanese laborers.

#### *Emigration to Other Asiatic States.*

The Federated Malay States, India, Siam, Indo-China and Hong-Kong are also enumerated in our statistical information,<sup>4</sup> and the situations in those countries may be briefly discussed. In 1891 for the first time passports were issued for the Federated Malay States and to only 40 migrants. For the entire period 1891-1924

<sup>1</sup>[Volume I, page 937.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>No figures are available, but this is a well-known fact.—Y. I.

<sup>3</sup>[Volume I, page 938.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup>[*Idem*, page 935 f.—Ed.]

about 15,000 such passports were issued. Of this number, emigrants secured 4,000 between 1898 and 1924.<sup>1</sup> These Japanese, whether migrants or emigrants, were mostly itinerant in character. Some were attached to large Japanese commercial and industrial firms, others were employed by Europeans, and a few hundred were engaged in fishing. The Malay States do not provide a field for Japanese laborers since they have an abundant supply of cheap native labor.

The remaining countries are unimportant from the standpoint of Japanese migration. The passport returns give 4,000 for India,<sup>2</sup> 1,300 for Siam, 1,200 for Indo-China and a little over 10,000 for Hong-Kong; the respective emigrant numbers were 400 or less.<sup>3</sup> The migrants were mostly large traders, while the emigrants were itinerant adventurers.

#### *Emigration to Europe.*

According to the passport returns 22,132 Japanese were destined to Europe during the period 1868-1923.<sup>4</sup> Of the European nations only England, France and Germany are specifically mentioned in the returns. These migrants were distributed among the three powers as follows: England 12,000, France 3,000, and Germany 3,000; the remaining 5,000 were scattered among other European states. There was no movement of emigrants to Europe. The migrants included officials, merchants, tourists, and students.<sup>5</sup> The category of merchants requires no interpretation, but in regard to the other categories the following observation may be of interest. Many of the passports designated as "official" were for persons more suitably classed as "student." Strictly speaking, only those in diplomatic and consular service are officials; other officials, including instructors in government colleges and universities, were dispatched to Europe for study or research. The category of "tourists" also includes many students in the strict sense of the word.

It is a well-known fact that the present government early revived the ancient custom of sending students abroad at its expense; and it has been dispatching a certain number of them regularly to various countries of the world. The Charter Oath of 1868 and the

<sup>1</sup>[Volume I, page 938.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>[*Idem*, page 936.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup>[*Idem*, page 933.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup>[*Idem*, page 937.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup>[*Idem*, page 937.—Ed.]

Edict of 1871 (*vide supra*, p. 618) were the first steps adopted by the government towards permitting Japanese students to go abroad. Naturally along with the officially supported students, many private students went. The latter alone are designated in the passports as "student," It is needless to add that the majority of these students sought Europe or America. Today, in the United States there are more than a thousand Japanese enrolled in colleges and universities. Approximately one-third of them are Japanese born in the United States; two-thirds are students, official or private, from Japan. The occupational returns covering the years 1884-1924 give a total of 28,453 students, excluding official students.<sup>1</sup> The presence of such a large number and proportion of students in Japanese migration is unique in the history of the international migration of that race; and since the majority of these students studied in Europe and America, it is quite correct to say that they were largely responsible for the westernization of modern Japan.

In conclusion it may be stated that, viewed broadly, Japanese international migration has not been extensive. Only a little more than a million souls emigrated during the last 60 years in spite of the rapid growth of Japan's population, and many of these migrants proved to be "birds of passage." In 1924 the Japanese residing in foreign countries numbered 594,680, or only half as many as the passports issued to Japanese emigrants between 1868 and 1924.<sup>2</sup> Again, of the million, less than half belonged to the "laboring class." The majority of these laborers sought Hawaii and the United States, while the rest were scattered among Brazil, Canada, the Philippines, Peru and Asiatic Russia. In the early part of the present century not a few of the countries to which the Japanese tended to migrate adopted highly restrictive immigration policies, and those that did not do so were distinctly less attractive to the migrants. In view of these circumstances it seems evident that emigration must prove entirely inadequate as a solution of Japan's population problem.

[Volume I, page 937.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>*Financial and Economic Annual of Japan*, 1926, p. 3.