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Lydia N. Yu-Jose



This article is about two Asian peoples that experienced moving out of their homelands in the twentieth century to find jobs in foreign lands: the Japanese who went to the Philippines and the Filipinos who went to Hawaii. The more normal investigation might be to compare Japanese and Filipinos in Hawaii or in California, as the destination of emigration is the same or to compare Chinese and Japanese immigrants in the Philippines. I have chosen to compare the emigration of Japanese to the Philippines and the emigration of Filipinos to Hawaii for the reason that follows:

Japanese emigration to the Philippines is important from the perspective of Philippine history, although it may not be as important from the perspective of Japanese history. The history of Japanese emigration to the Philippines occupies only a few pages in the history of Japan and very few of the present generation of Japanese—and of the world—are as aware of it as they are of the Japanese emigration to the U.S. and Latin America. This is not surprising, considering that Japanese emigration to the Philippines happened during a period of time much shorter than their emigration to the U.S. If emigration in large numbers is counted, it occurred in the Philippines only between 1903 and 1940 and was never resumed even after the restoration of Philippine-Japan relations. On the other hand, Japanese emigration to Hawaii, and eventually the U.S.A., took place from 1885 to the outbreak of World War II, was resumed upon the restoration of relations between Japan and the U.S., and gradually declined in number as the Japanese economy developed.

Another reason why Japanese emigration to the Philippines was more a natural part of Philippine history than that of Japanese history is that the volume of Japanese emigrants to the Philippines in the first forty years of the twentieth century was only a trickle of

the total number of Japanese emigrants to Hawaii and other destinations. Even at its peak, the number of Japanese emigrants to the Philippines was less than a tenth of the total number of Japanese who emigrated to the U.S. and Latin America. On the other hand, the number of Japanese who emigrated to the Philippines was the largest in all of Southeast Asia. Between 1907 and 1917 thirty percent of all Japanese in Southeast Asia were in the Philippines. The percentage rose to forty five in 1918, 50.3 in 1929, hovered around sixty in the 1930s, and jumped up to 63.7 in 1940 (Hiroshi 1985, 33). One may ask, why did many Japanese prefer the Philippines to other countries in Southeast Asia? Answers can tell a lot not only about Philippine economy and Philippine-Japan relations, but also about Philippine society and American colonial policy.¹

The other side of the comparison, Filipino emigration to Hawaii, is very much a part of the history of Hawaii as well as of the Philippines. This fact, however, is not reflected in the body of literature on Filipino emigration. There are more written works on Filipino emigration from the point of view of Hawaii and the mainland U.S.A., than there are from the perspective of Philippine history.² Moreover, the problems of today's Filipino emigrants, or the overseas workers (OCWs), as they are now more popularly called, are, more often than not, discussed without any reference to Filipino emigration of the preceding century, as if the phenomenon of Filipino emigration appeared for the first time only in recent years. There are more differences between Filipino emigration of the past century and the present than there are similarities, but there were similarities and, if present Filipino emigration is analyzed in the light of this historical background, a deeper understanding of the problems may be achieved.

It may be argued that the above explanation is not convincing enough to warrant the slanted comparison of two emigration histories that happened at the same time but went to two different directions and came from two countries of different historical, political, and socio-economic backgrounds. The questions that the comparison raises may be answered by a single-country study of either Japanese emigration to the Philippines or Filipino emigration to Hawaii. But the sending by the Philippines of its workers overseas at present has more similarities with the sending by Japan of its workers in the twentieth century than there were similarities between Japanese and Filipino emigration during the same century.

Emigration Management

In the first fourteen years (1903–17) that Japanese laborers went to the Philippines, there were more than a dozen recruitment agencies that sent them. The complicated process of recruitment involved not only the recruitment agencies and the laborers, but also the governors of the prefectures where they operated, the Japanese consul in the Philippines, the local agents of the recruitment agencies, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The recruitment agencies were obligated to make regular reports on the situation of demand for labor in the Philippines and, they were supposed to recruit only when there was demand. They had to describe the living conditions in the place of work: climate, housing, health condition. They were also the legal guarantors for a period of ten years of the laborers they recruited.

The consul also had to report on the labor situation and the conditions of the Japanese laborers. In addition, he had to write repetitious memoranda to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, advising it to remind the shipping companies that no more than one hundred laborers per ship should be allowed to depart for the Philippines, so as not to arouse the suspicion of the immigration officer, and so as not to attract the attention of the press. On the whole, his responsibility, as far as emigration was concerned, was to see to it that Japan was able to send to the Philippines, legally or otherwise, laborers without unnecessarily damaging relations between the American colonial government in the Philippines and Japan.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs exercised overall control of the emigration of the Japanese. Its power included not only decision regarding passport applications of the prospective emigrants but also approval or cancellation of licenses of recruitment agencies. Moreover, to assure that laborers were not beguiled by exaggerated advertisements by recruitment agencies, all advertisements had to be approved by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before posting. It must also be underscored that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was in charge not only of emigration, but also of foreign trade and investment. These three—trade, foreign investment, and emigration, were important elements of Japan's policy of peaceful expansion in the 1920s and 1930s. The Japanese policy makers aimed to send emigrants who had some capability to invest, or who would save part of their wages and gradually accumulate capital for investment abroad. This policy,

as would be seen later, would partly explain why not a few of the Japanese emigrant workers progressed from being mere agricultural workers to being landowners themselves.

The above rules and system of control were adopted to meet the problems and changing conditions of emigration and to insure a smoother flow of emigrants. In 1917, the Japanese government decided to exercise stricter control on the emigration process by amalgamating all recruitment agencies into one, the Kaigai Kōgyō Kabushikigaisha (Overseas Development Company). The Ōta Development Company, the first Japanese Manila hemp company in the Philippines, and one of the biggest, was designated as the nominal employer of all Japanese laborers bound for Davao, where the biggest Japanese community in the Philippines had begun to form. To top all these, government subsidies were given to most emigrants.

On the other hand, Filipinos were recruited, in the beginning, by only one organization, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA)—the association of around forty-five sugar planters and one hundred thirty individual members. The process involved, aside from the HSPA and the laborers, only a few offices: the government of Hawaii, the American colonial government in the Philippines, the HSPA resident agent in Manila, and the sub-agents in designated places.

There was no deliberate policy-making on the part of the Philippines regarding emigration. Instead of planning to meet future difficulties, measures were adopted to solve problems as they occurred. Thus, as a response to several complaints received from the workers in Hawaii, Act No. 2486, amended by Act No. 3148, was passed in 1915.³ Among its provisions was that the Governor General, with advice and consent of the Philippine Senate, should appoint a commissioner for service in Hawaii. His duty was to receive and hear the complaints made by Filipinos, to mediate between them and their employers, to see to the compliance of the contracts made with the laborers, to look after the interests of the laborers, and to make a report to the Governor General every six months.

As the supply of labor increased, the HSPA discontinued aggressive recruitment and in 1926, provision of free transportation to Hawaii was stopped, although free transportation back to the Philippines after completion of seven hundred twenty working days, was still included in the contract signed by the laborer in Hawaii. With the supply of applicants being greatly above the demand for labor, the HSPA could afford to be careful and strict in the selection process. This spawned the mushrooming of private recruitment agencies, not

a few of which were indiscriminate and unscrupulous in their recruitment, thus victimizing many eager applicants.

The management of emigration by Japan and by the American colonial government in the Philippines developed in opposite directions. In Japan, it moved towards stricter, more centralized control and more financial support from the government, while in the Philippines, it developed from a monopoly to a more liberal, but relatively unwieldy one. The contrary developments stemmed from the basic difference between Japan as a sovereign country which had adopted emigration as part of its foreign policy, and the Philippines as a colony unable to resist the temptation of an easier but short-sighted solution to the problems of poverty and unequal distribution of population, without any purposive policy.

As soon as Japan started sending laborers abroad, questions were asked as to the necessity of this emigration. Japan might be relatively overpopulated, but there was still much underdeveloped land in Hokkaido. Nevertheless, the Japanese government had made the decision that emigration was one of the ways to Japan's economic development, and did use state power to enforce this decision and to take care of the interests of its citizens abroad.

As soon as the first group of Filipinos departed for Hawaii in 1906, doubts were raised as to the advisability of sending manpower, unskilled though they might be, to Hawaii, when there was much land in Mindanao awaiting tillers. Objections to sending Filipino laborers abroad and allowing Japanese laborers to exploit the natural resources of Mindanao were raised from time to time, but did not really develop to a significant level to warrant government attention. The government was resigned to the fact that the plans—such as homesteading—to attract internal migration from the more populated regions of Luzon to the less populated areas were less attractive than the offer of the sugar planters in Hawaii.

Filipino and Japanese Emigration

Initially, Filipino emigration to Hawaii was a response to the sugar planters' and the Hawaiian government's policy of attracting foreign labor to solve the problem of labor shortage in the sugar plantations. The HSPA had to recruit Filipino laborers through a policy of attraction, for the Filipinos were at first hesitant to go. The first agent of the HSPA who went to the Philippines was expected to bring to

Hawaii three hundred Filipino families, but he was able to recruit only fifteen, and they were all male laborers. The association's agents in the Philippines went to villages and showed movies that pictured life in the plantations at its best. The HSPA also had to hurdle ir-resolution of the U.S. Congress and of the American governor general in the Philippines who rightly foresaw the negative impact of a large emigration of Filipino labor on the economy of the Philippines.⁴

Eventually, the push-pull factors of emigration worked. HSPA's aggressive recruitment strategy and higher wages and better working conditions in Hawaii pulled Filipino emigrants, who were pushed by poverty and unequal distribution of population in many regions of the Philippines, especially the Ilocos region and the Visayas. Between 1907 and 1919 a total of 28,449 Filipinos went to Hawaii. In the next five years, there were 29,226, and between 1925 and 1929 there were a total of 44,404 (Lasker 1931, 352).

While Filipino emigration was simply a result, at least in the beginning, of an intensive recruitment by a foreign agency to meet the demand for labor in a foreign land, and of overpopulation and unemployment in many regions of the Philippines, the beginnings of Japanese emigration were more complicated. To begin with, the Japanese, unlike the Filipinos, went to a number of destinations: China, Manchuria, Korea, Taiwan, Hawaii, mainland U.S.A., Latin America, the mandated territories (the Marianas except Guam, the Carolines, and the Marshalls), and Southeast Asia.⁵

During the latter years of the nineteenth century, there had been Japanese advocates of emigration to the Philippines. Suganuma Teifū (1865–89) wrote about it and recommended the exploitation of the rich natural resources of the Philippines by the Japanese emigrants.⁶ Sano Tsuneki (1892, 19–32), although critical of what he perceived as oppressive Spanish regime in the Philippines, recommended emigration to the Philippines for economic, political, and strategic reasons. Suzuki Nariaki, the Japanese consul in Hong Kong, who was sent to the Philippines to explore the possibility of sending laborers to the Philippines, reported that it might be better to send prospective landowners, rather than workers (JMFA 1952, 435–40). The consul included in his report excerpts of rules and regulations regarding purchase of land in the Philippines, and wrote suggestions on how a Japanese should deal with the "corrupt" Spanish government officials.

Economic conditions in Japan, however, were not bad enough to push prospective emigrants. Most of those who left Japan were the adventurous ones, and a majority of them went to Hawaii and Guam,

the two places designated by the Japanese government as official destinations of Japanese emigration. In the Philippines, on the other hand, the Spanish colonial government was against the importation of Japanese laborers because they were "immoral," which probably meant the Japanese were not Christians (*ibid.*).

The pull towards the Philippines became strong only when American rule, perceived by the Japanese to be liberal, replaced that of Spain. Unlike the case of the first Filipino emigrants to Hawaii who were all male, the first Japanese who came to the Philippines in large number to work were female prostitutes, or the "karayuki-san." They were attracted by the presence of American soldiers in the Philippines. From a mere sixty-four in 1900, the "karayuki-san" in the Philippines—variably classified in survey reports as "entertainers," "serving women," "miscellaneous," or "unemployed"—increased to two hundred eighty in 1903 and two hundred ninety in 1907 (JMFA 3).⁷ The number of Japanese prostitutes in the Philippines, however, was significantly smaller than of that in other Southeast Asian countries, especially in British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies (see Terami-Wada 1986, 287–316).

The first large number of male Japanese workers—around one hundred fifty—went to the Philippines in 1903 and joined Filipino and Chinese laborers in the completion of the Kennon Road that connected Baguio to Manila. The American supervisor of this construction work requested Japanese laborers because he became impatient with the slow progress of the work which had begun in 1901. It was also in 1903 that the first attempt by a recruitment agency to lure the Japanese to southern Philippines in Davao and work on an abaca plantation was made. The enterprise failed, but in 1904, some one hundred fifty laborers, anticipating unemployment once the Kennon Road was finished, transferred to Davao.

By the middle of the 1920s the number of Filipinos going to Hawaii and of Japanese going to the Philippines as workers had tremendously increased. One reason for the increase was common for both Japanese and Filipinos. By this time, there were already successful emigrants who had gone home well dressed, much endowed with material wealth, and rich with stories of opportunities abroad. There were already letters coming from the emigrants, most of which narrated only the good things about their emigrant life, and more often than not, the letters were accompanied with photos of the emigrants and their handsome dwellings abroad. This visible sign of success, plus the presence of relatives and friends abroad who could

be depended on for moral and material support, enticed more workers to try their luck abroad.

The immigration laws of the United States also contributed to the enlargement of the emigrating population from Japan and the Philippines. As early as 1900, upon the annexation of Hawaii by the United States and the extension to it of the U.S. law prohibiting the entry of contract laborers, a few Japanese recruitment agencies had considered the Philippines as an alternative destination for Japanese laborers who might not be able to enter the United States either legally, or by circumventing the law.

It is hard to ascertain that the Japanese who were not able to go to Hawaii and the mainland went instead to the Philippines, for many of them just gave up on the idea of working abroad, and many more went to Peru or Brazil. Nevertheless, there is evidence that recruitment agencies who desired to stay in business even after contract workers were banned in the United States, recruited laborers to be sent to the Philippines (Moriyama 1985, 154). There were also allegations that some unscrupulous agencies lured some emigrants who wanted to go to Hawaii, to go to the Philippines instead.⁸ Recruitment was also begun in Okinawa, until then neglected by the recruitment agencies that sent emigrants to the United States and the Territory of Hawaii.

However, enforcement of U.S. immigration laws in the Territory of Hawaii did not have a significant impact on Filipino and Japanese emigrants until the enforcement of the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907 and the National Origins Act of 1924. The Gentlemen's Agreement may be considered as an indirect offshoot of Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 and 1905. The Russo-Japanese War brought about a two-pronged effect on Japan's international image: that of a strong Asian nation worthy of emulation, and that of an ambitious empire that engendered fear and suspicion. In the Philippines, there were signs that the image of Japan as an Asian nation worthy of emulation was stronger than the other image.⁹ In the United States, on the other hand, the Japanese victory only fanned stronger anti-Japanese feeling and suspicion.

In an attempt to minimize U.S. suspicion about Japan's expansion, and to persuade the U.S. government that stricter control of Japanese emigration to the U.S. was not needed, the Japanese government signed the Gentlemen's Agreement. By this accord, the Japanese government would, on its own, refrain from issuing passports to Japanese contract workers. In effect, the Japanese government,

through this agreement, sought to avoid the embarrassing situation where a prospective Japanese emigrant not qualified to enter the United States would be denied entry by American immigration officers at the ports.

The Gentlemen's Agreement was superseded in 1924 by the National Origins Act, more commonly known as the Immigration Law of 1924, which banned nationals ineligible for American citizenship from entering the United States as laborers or immigrants. This act freed the Japanese government from the obligations of the Gentlemen's Agreement and gave to the American consuls abroad the power to judge who were qualified to be issued visas for entry to the United States.

The impact of the Immigration Law of 1924 on Japanese emigration to the Philippines can be inferred from statistics on the Japanese population in the Philippines. From 1915 to 1923, the trend of the growth of the Japanese population in the Philippines slid up and down along with the market price of abaca.¹⁰ Between 1923 and 1931, however, the price of abaca could no longer explain the steady upward trend of the Japanese population, for during this period, the price of abaca was on a consistent decline. An explanation could be found in the stability of the family lives of the emigrant Japanese in the Philippines, who, out of consideration for their families, did not recklessly abandon their jobs, even though the price of abaca dropped. They stayed on and persevered (Hiroshi 1985; Hiroji 1920). Another explanation which has been mentioned in some sources, but not fully explored, was that the increase was a result of the Immigration Law of 1924. One of them says: "In 1924 the American Congress...passed an Immigration Act excluding Japanese from the United States, and would-be Japanese emigrants looked increasingly to the possibilities of settlement in the Philippines" (Goodman 1965, 172).

Statistics of emigration from Hiroshima and Okinawa tend to support the thesis that the 1924 Immigration Act contributed to the increase of Japanese emigrants to the Philippines.¹¹ In 1923 Peru and the Philippines shared the same rank in percentage (2.2 percent) of emigrants from Hiroshima. Both were fourth, tailing Hawaii (33.5 percent), the mainland, and Brazil. In 1928, however, Hawaii's share dropped to 10.2 percent, while that of the Philippines went up to 15.3 percent. From 1925 to 1930 the Philippines was consistently the number one destination of emigrants from Okinawa. The impact of the 1924 Immigration Law on the Philippines was most visible two years after the passage of the Immigration Law. While the total number

of Japanese who entered the Philippines and Guam (the number for Guam was negligible) in 1924 was only 548, it increased to 1,635 in 1925, and 2,197 in 1926, when, for the first time, the number of Japanese in the Philippines rose above 10,000 (Consular Emigration Section 1971, 143).

The 1924 Immigration Law had an ideological impact on the Japanese policy makers and opinion leaders, and more acutely on the rightist elements. The Japanese who had considered themselves as equals of the West and different from other Asians, took it as an affront to their dignity as a nation. It contributed to the determination of the Japanese government to promote emigration to Asian countries. It colored the way the advocates of expansion to the Philippines tried to persuade the Japanese to emigrate to the Philippines. The Filipinos were described as friendly to the Japanese, and their country as free of racial discrimination. It reinforced the idea already present in the late nineteenth century that Japanese should emigrate to Asian countries and not to Europe or America.

As the Japanese exodus to the Philippines was happening, Filipino exodus to Hawaii was also taking place. Due to the Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan, the large potential sources of labor for the Hawaiian sugar plantations were reduced to only Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The Filipinos and Puerto Ricans, being American nationals, were not covered by the exclusionist immigration policy of the United States. The introduction of Puerto Rican labor, however, was not successful, making the Philippines the primary source of labor (Lasker 1931, 29).

The peaks in the trend of Filipino emigration to Hawaii were in 1922, when 8,183 workers entered the Territory, and in 1924 (9,869 entered) (Bureau of Labor 1929, 104). Since 1924, the Filipino workers outnumbered all other racial groups in the Hawaiian plantations (Cariaga 1937, 4). A large number of Filipinos was recruited in 1922 because the number of Japanese workers employed was reduced to 16,992, as compared with 24,791 in 1919 (Lasker 1931, 31). The reduction was a result of a strike by the Japanese in 1920. In 1924, a labor strike in Hawaii and a labor shortage in California, partly caused by the Immigration Law, drew upon the labor force of the Hawaiian plantations. The Filipinos replaced the Japanese laborers who could no longer enter Hawaii and the mainland. Not only did they replace those who could not enter, they also took the place of the Japanese laborers who had risen from their lowly beginnings and

had become landowners themselves, or business entrepreneurs and, those who had crossed over to the mainland.

Certainly, the status of the Philippines as an American colony and the laws that prohibited Japanese laborers from entering Hawaii and the mainland played a key role in the exodus of Filipino laborers to Hawaii. Similarly, the exclusionist policy of the United States also played an important role in pushing the Japanese to emigrate to the Philippines.

Filipino and Japanese Immigrant Communities

It was mentioned earlier that the first large group of Japanese emigrants to the Philippines were the prostitutes who could provide comfort to men, but not the stability that a wife and family could provide. This unfavorable condition was remedied through the efforts of the Japanese Consulate in Manila and the Japanese Club, who banished the Japanese prostitutes. By the 1920s, Japanese prostitution had been largely eradicated. In order to replace the undesirable females with women who could take care of children, Japanese opinion leaders wrote articles appealing to Japanese women to emigrate and be partners of the Japanese men in their endeavors in the foreign land. They often invoked patriotism and working for the sake of the progress of Japan.

The HSPA also exerted efforts to attract Filipino women to Hawaii, and encourage prospective emigrants to bring their wives and families. This was done in order to check the sex imbalance in the predominantly male Filipino immigrant population, which was seen as one of the roots of social problems of Filipinos in Hawaii. The campaign was done not by appealing to the sense of patriotism of the Filipinos, but by pointing out the material and psychological rewards of family life. Whatever appeal was done, it was on the level of personal improvement of the emigrant, and not on the level of Philippine national progress.

Japan was more successful in providing its male emigrant population with feminine care than the Philippines was. In 1930, there were only 10,486 Filipino females in Hawaii, while there were 52,566 males (Cariaga 1937, 2). This unfavorably contrasts with 3,838 Japanese females and 8,631 Japanese males in Davao for the same year (Mantetsu 1937, 176-77).¹²

The difference between the attitudes of the Filipino woman and the Japanese woman towards emigration says a lot about the difference between Filipino and Japanese culture. The Japanese government was more successful in attracting Japanese to become wives of the Japanese men abroad, or in enticing Japanese wives to join their far-away husbands because Japanese, at least, at that time, had a more utilitarian view of the role of women and a less romantic view of marriage than the Filipinos. "Picture-brides" were more numerous among Japanese than among Filipinos.

The momentum of emigration continued for the two Asian populations. By the 1930s 69 percent of the employees on the sugar plantations in Hawaii were Filipinos and 18 percent of the total population of Hawaii were Filipinos (Lasker 1931, 308). Meanwhile, Davao had been called Davao-kuo, after Manchukuo, because of the Japanese economic dominance there.

The Filipino community in Hawaii faced the threat of exclusion in the 1930s, mainly on the ground that the cheap Filipino labor was competing with native labor and was contributing to the problems of unemployment. Their staunchest allies against this accusation were naturally the sugar planters who did not want to lose a valuable source of cheap labor. Due to their lobby, the doors of Hawaii remained opened to Filipinos. The Japanese in the Philippines experienced anti-Japanese sentiment in the 1930s for more complicated reasons. First, their expansion into the Philippines came to be associated with their aggressive activities in Manchuria. Second, economic nationalism in the Philippines found a form of expression in the exposé of allegedly illegal acquisition of lands in Davao by the Japanese. Third, there was unemployment in the Philippines, and labor unions pointed to the presence of foreign labor as one of its causes. In 1940 the Immigration Law was passed limiting the entry of any nationality to the Philippines to not more than five hundred a year, but it was not this law which finally put an end to Japanese emigration to the Philippines. It was the outbreak of World War II and the defeat of Japan, after which, Japanese large emigration to the Philippines was never resumed

Conclusion

The Japanese government in the twentieth century, just like the present Philippines, adopted an emigration policy to solve what the government perceived as problems of overpopulation and surplus

labor. The emigration of surplus labor could be effectively used as an economic policy, and state power could be used to protect the interests of the country's citizens who were working abroad. How did the presence of Japanese workers and capitalists in Mindanao affect the homestead program? How great was the impact of the material wealth that Filipino emigrants brought back to the Philippines? Why do Filipino laborers, even now, have to seek in foreign lands the wages they need for a better life?

Notes

1. One explanation as to why Japanese preferred the Philippines to other South-east Asian countries was that the overseas Chinese population here was smaller than in other countries. Since the Chinese population was relatively small, the Japanese felt that competition would not be as hard as it was in other countries where there was a big Chinese population. The Japanese did not see much competition with the Filipinos, who were not given to business. Another explanation, which was that the American colonial policy was liberal, is developed in Grant K. Goodman's (1983, 37-62) "America's Permissive colonialism."

2. The imbalance becomes obvious when one examines the bibliographical listing by Shiro Saito (1977).

3. The title of this Act is "An Act Fixing a Tax Upon Every Person or Entity Engaged in Recruiting or Contracting Laborers in the Philippines," and Amending Sub-section (a) of Section Fifty-Three of Act Numbered Twenty-Three Hundred and Thirty-nine.

4. Recommendable references on the history of Filipino emigration to Hawaii are Mary Dorita (1975), Bruno Lasker (1931), and Ruben Alcantara (1981).

5. According to H. Otley Beyer, however, in late 1920s there were Filipinos in the following countries: 60,000 in China and Hong Kong, 45,000 in Hawaii, Guam and other Pacific Islands, 20,000 in Indo-China and Siam, 15,000 in Japan and Korea, 12,000 in the Dutch East Indies, 6,000 in the Malay Peninsula, 4,000 in Spain, 3,500 in South America, 1,200 in the Indian Empire including Ceylon and Burma, 1,000 in England, 500 in France, and 1,800 in other countries. Cited in *Philippine Islands*, Department of Commerce and Communications, Bureau of Labor, "Labor Supply and Conditions in the Philippine Islands (Report of the Director)," 9 September 1926, p. 36. The report is in J.R. Hayden Collection of the Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

6. This is the theme of Suganuma Teifū's, "Shin Nihon tonan no yume" [A Dream of the South of New Japan], written in 1889, but was made popularly available only in 1940, upon its publication by Iwanami shoten.

7. For more on Japanese prostitution in the Philippines, see Motoe Terami-Wada (1986, 287-316).

8. See, for example, report of Hyōgō Prefectural Governor to the Foreign Minister, 22 July 1903 in *Gaikōmonjo* 36: 436.

9. For example, some eighty-eight law students in the Philippines sent a telegram to the Japanese consul in Manila, Narita Gorô, congratulating the Japanese people for the victory of Japan (Goodman 1971, 168).

10. The best study to date of the correlation between the changes in the Japanese population in the Philippines and the changes in the market price of abaca is that of Hashiya Hiroshi.

11. Figures for Hiroshima were culled from Japan, Prefecture of Okinawa (1993). Those for Okinawa were constructed from Asato (1941).

12. Perhaps the writer could be forgiven for giving only the statistics for Davao, for after all, the biggest and the most stable Japanese community in the Philippines before the war was in this province.

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