Japanese Emigration

by

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In recent years, under the influence of the depression, a number of countries have more or less completely closed their frontiers to foreign labour. For some time past, however, declarations from various sources have furnished grounds for anticipating a possible resumption of emigration, helped by a reopening of frontiers as a result of economic recovery. The question has naturally been the subject of much attention on the part of the International Labour Office, and during the last two years the Review *has published a number of articles on migration problems.*[1] *These articles, however, were mainly concerned with the possibilities of settlement in various parts of the world, and therefore treated the subject essentially from the standpoint of the countries of immigration. The following survey, on the contrary, takes the complementary point of view, namely, that of the countries of emigration. It is of course unnecessary to remind readers of the* Review *of the importance of this question for Japan, where the population problem takes a particularly acute form.*

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[1] Cf. *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXX, No. 4, Oct. 1934 : " Openings for Settlers in Argentina ", by Dr. Enrique SIEWERS ; Nos. 5 and 6, Nov. and Dec. 1934 : " Jewish Colonisation in Palestine ", by M. BERENSTEIN ; Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, Feb. 1936 : " Land Settlement in Brazil ", by Dr. R. PAULA LOPES ; No. 5, May 1936 : " The Levant States under French Mandate and Problems of Emigration and Immigration ", by M. BERENSTEIN ; Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, July 1936 : " Migration and Settlement in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada ", by D. Christie TAIT ; No. 3, Sept. 1936 : " Land Settlement in Chile " ; No. 4, Oct. 1936 : " The Problem of European Settlement in the Belgian Congo ", by Jacques LEGOUIS.

Historical Survey

UPON the collapse of feudalism in 1868, the ban on immigration which had been in force in Japan since 1613 was raised, and the new Government instituted a regime of complete freedom in the matter of emigration.

In the same year, 153 emigrants were transported to the sugar plantations of Hawaii, in pursuance of an agreement between the Hawaiian Consul at Yokohama and the Japanese Government. These emigrants held contracts concluded before their departure—a characteristic feature of emigration at that time. Many of them soon returned to their native land, discouraged by unfamiliar customs, a strange language, and the inactivity of the Japanese Government with regard to them.

A series of arrangements concluded in 1884 between the Hawaiian and Japanese Governments, in particular regarding the conclusion of treaties to deal with the voyage between the two countries, emigrant workers, navigation, etc., had favourable effects on Japanese emigration to those islands. This time, the Government was careful to conclude for itself the immigration contracts with the Hawaiian employers. The result was that in 1885 956 Japanese sailed for Hawaii as immigrants with contracts signed in advance. By about 1894, the number of Japanese who had emigrated to Hawaii had attained 30,000.

During the year 1894, however, the Government, finding its attention fully occupied by the war it was waging with China, entrusted the control of emigration to private companies, which took over almost all the duties formerly discharged by the public authorities. The Government confined itself to passing in 1896 a "Law for the Protection of Emigrant Workers", which contained provisions relating *inter alia* to the definition of an emigrant, to emigration agents, to the deposit required from emigration agents, and to emigrant ships, supplemented in 1907 by the publication of an Ordinance concerning the application of this Law.[1]

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[1] These two texts form the basis of emigration legislation at the present day, but it is generally recognised that the 1896 Law, whose scope was limited, should be modified to adapt it to present circumstances.

(Footnote continued on next page.)

After the Sino-Japanese War the wave of migration, exclusively controlled by the private companies, was very considerable. In 1898 over 10,000 Japanese went to Hawaii, 1,000 to Canada, and 1,000 to Australia ; in 1899 over 23,000 emigrants went to Hawaii, 3,000 to the United States, 1,700 to Canada, and 790 to Peru.

The public, however, was soon put on its guard by grave abuses. The Hawaiian employers inhumanly exploited the Japanese workers, while the private companies which recruited emigrants stopped at nothing to increase their gains, looking upon the emigrants as profit-earning machines, and not as human beings.

In 1898, when the United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands, the ban on the employment of immigrants with contracts, which was then in force throughout the whole territory of the United States, was extended to them, a step which marked the end of emigration under contract to these Islands. By way of compensation, North America was to offer an important outlet for Japanese emigration. As early as 1884, a large number of Japanese had landed in the United States to replace the forbidden Chinese labour ; they became agricultural labourers in the State of California or worked on the construction of the railway in the West. Japanese from Hawaii came in to swell their number. Thus, in 1906, 1,700 Japanese arrived in the United States, while 2,700 came in 1907. By 1910, 91,000 of them were settled in the United States, whereas in 1902 their number did not exceed 5,000, which represents an annual increase of some 10,000.

Contrary to the practice in the Hawaiian Islands, the United States received " free emigrants " who had signed no previous contract with the employers. This lack of discriminatory measures led to an influx of undesirable elements. Anti-Japanese feeling was aroused in America, and a campaign was started against Japanese labour which led to the conclusion

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(Footnote continued.)

Apart from these basic texts, the following provisions also concern emigration more or less directly :

(1) the passport regulations ;
(2) the regulations concerning institutions for the preparation of emigrants ;
(3) the Act of 1896 on the supervision of merchant vessels ;
(4) the Act of 1927 on emigration societies *(Kaigai Iju Kumiai Ho)*.

of the " Gentlemen's Agreements " of 1907 between the two Governments concerned. Nevertheless, these Agreements did not suffice to arrest the anti-Japanese movement : in 1913 the State of California promulgated a law forbidding the Japanese to own land, and in 1920 the right even to rent it was taken from them. Finally, in 1924 the promulgation of the Federal Immigration Act practically put an end to Japanese emigration to the United States. [1]

In accordance with the " Gentlemen's Agreements " of 1907, Japan undertook to reduce the number of her emigrants. As a result, the total number of Japanese emigrants (for all destinations) fell in 1908 and 1909 to some 4,000 and 2,000 respectively.

Canada, for her part, has adopted much the same attitude with regard to Japanese immigration : an agreement concluded in 1923 between the British and Japanese Governments stipulates that the number of passports to be issued each year to agricultural workers and domestic servants may not exceed 150, and the restrictions imposed by the Canadian authorities under this agreement have reduced Japanese immigration to an insignificant figure.

The full effects of the restrictive policy instituted by the United States were seen in the years 1909, 1910, and 1911. Towards 1912, however, a change took place, and in 1913 16,000 Japanese emigrated from Japan. This change must be attributed to the awakening of public opinion with regard to emigration. It was realised, in fact, that the problem of Japanese over-population could only be solved by emigration. Institutions for the encouragement and development of emigration, whether new or old, redoubled their activity. The Government, for its part, unable to continue the negative policy of restriction which it had followed since the conclusion of the " Gentlemen's Agreements ", endeavoured systematically to encourage emigration, realising that it was closely linked with the greatest problems facing the country. The new policy which it adopted aimed : (1) at supplying emigrant labour with sufficient capital to obtain the best results ; (2) at facilitating

[1] Section 13 of the Federal Act provides that : " No alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted to the United States. " Eligibility to citizenship being exclusively reserved to persons of white race or of African origin (cf. the naturalisation laws), the Japanese are thereby excluded.

the assimilation of Japanese elements in the countries of immigration; (3) at encouraging emigration itself by means of subsidies.

North America being closed to the Japanese, the current of emigration turned towards South America.

The year 1899 marks the beginning of Japanese emigration to South America. In that year 790 Japanese workers with contracts went to Peru, and subsequent figures were 981 in 1903, 774 in 1906, 203 in 1907, and 1,714 in 1908.

An investigation carried out by the Government of the State of São Paulo on the work performed by Japanese labourers in the Hawaiian Islands and in Peru having led to satisfactory conclusions, that Government in 1908 sent for 781 Japanese to employ them under the terms of a contract signed with a Japanese emigration company. However, Japanese emigration to Brazil did not always run smoothly. For the Japanese to have become an important factor in the economic life of Brazil, and in particular in the State of São Paulo, the immigrants should have been familiar with working conditions in Brazil and especially with the methods of coffee growing, while the employers should have had some knowledge of Japanese mentality. [1] Thanks to the manifold attempts made by different institutions to overcome these difficulties, however, the necessary mutual understanding was achieved by slow degrees.

Manchuria has long been of great interest to Japan as an outlet for emigration. Immediately after the Russo-Japanese War, the possibility of sending emigrants there was seriously discussed, and numerous programmes were successively considered and put into practice for this purpose. Unfortunately, none of them led to conclusive results. However, the creation of " Manchukuo " marks a change in the succession of failures: various plans have already been applied, to which we shall return later.

The following tables show the classification as emigrants and non-emigrants of the Japanese who left for foreign countries

[1] According to the statistics of the Labour Office of the Brazilian Federal Government, 24,130 Japanese settled in the State of São Paulo in 1933, while the total number of immigrants of other nationalities was only 15,061, of whom 6,136 came from the other Brazilian States.

An investigation by the Bureau of Agricultural Affairs of the State of São Paulo showed that in 1930-31 the Japanese owned some 175,000 hectares of land in that State, of an estimated value of 81,605 contos.

between 1898 and 1933, and the distribution of Japanese emigrants according to the country of destination.

CLASSIFICATION OF JAPANESE LEAVING FOR FOREIGN COUNTRIES, 1898-1933 [1], AND STATISTICS OF EMIGRANTS RETURNING TO JAPAN, 1922-1933

Year	Emigrants	Non-emigrants	Total	Emigrants returning to Japan
1898	12,393	20,904	33,297	—
1899	36,048	14,566	50,614	—
1900	20,654	18,734	39,388	—
1901	6,767	16,645	23,412	—
1902	12,810	19,056	31,866	—
1903	14,159	20,370	34,529	—
1904	12,822	8,858	21,680	—
1905	3,739	15,398	19,137	—
1906	8,046	50,490	58,536	—
1907	10,585	32,745	43,330	—
1908	4,463	16,692	21,155	—
1909	2,209	13,414	15,623	—
1910	6,715	15,184	21,899	—
1911	7,774	22,176	29,950	—
1912	16,530	25,724	42,254	—
1913	16,581	27,503	44,084	—
1914	15,826	27,744	43,570	—
1915	12,581	31,110	43,691	—
1916	14,759	29,458	44,217	—
1917	23,369	37,003	60,372	—
1918	23,195	38,888	62,083	—
1919	18,224	41,943	60,187	—
1920	13,541	42,066	55,607	—
1921	12,944	22,696	35,640	—
1922	12,879	17,532	30,411	14,412
1923	8,825	16,022	24,847	10,784
1924	13,098	13,934	27,032	12,579
1925	10,696	11,840	22,176	14,918
1926	16,184	12,434	28,618	14,529
1927	18,041	13,176	31,217	14,735
1928	19,850	14,158	34,008	15,004
1929	25,704	12,286	37,990	14,073
1930	21,829	16,550	38,379	15,432
1931	10,384	16,760	27,144	12,965
1932	19,028	11,729	30,757	13,170
1933	27,317	15,134	42,451	14,141
Total	530,589	780,562	1,311,151	—

[1] The classification as "emigrants" and "non-emigrants", based on the "statistics of travel permits to foreign countries" of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, goes back only to 1898. From 1868 to 1897, 177,173 Japanese left to go to foreign countries. The total for the period 1868-1933 is therefore 1,488,324.

DISTRIBUTION OF JAPANESE EMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF DESTINATION, 1927-1933

Country of destination	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Brazil	9,625	12,002	15,597	13,741	5,565	15,108	23,299
Philippine Islands	2,660	2,077	4,535	2,685	1,109	746	941
Peru	1,271	1,410	1,585	831	299	369	481
Canada	1,062	1,050	430	137	106	98	91
U.S.S.R.	896	870	888	1,512	1,238	1,096	1,095
Malay States	475	420	513	835	549	356	322
Netherlands Indies	248	191	507	558	447	533	468
United States	370	306	236	—	—	—	—
Hawaiian Islands	526	265	119	—	—	—	—
Argentina	262	387	430	489	362	239	135
Mexico	319	353	249	434	283	149	85
Australia	129	270	277	75	34	101	59
Other countries	198	249	338	531	392	233	341
Total	18,041	19,850	25,704	21,829	10,384	19,028	27,317

Protection and Development of Emigration

The creation in 1929 of the Ministry of Oversea Affairs, whose scope embraces, in addition to colonial questions, those relating to emigration and colonisation, which hitherto came within the joint competence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Bureau of Social Affairs, shows the interest which the Japanese Government attaches to emigration problems. It should, however, be noted that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is still responsible for any diplomatic negotiations arising out of the expatriation of emigrants and their protection abroad.

Governmental Measures

Development and Encouragement of Emigration.

Since 1921, a subsidy has been paid to the *Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha* [1] (International Development Company), to assist its propaganda work in favour of emigration. Furthermore, since 1923 the Budget has included an item of " expenditure for the protection and development of emigration and colonisation ". The Government has thus been able to make direct use of its staff in carrying out far-reaching campaigns in favour of emi-

[1] Sec below, p. 628.

gration by compiling statistics, undertaking investigations, and organising lectures, broadcasts, cinema performances, etc. There exist to-day two Government reviews for information and propaganda. The Ministry of Oversea Affairs has also instituted an information office for emigrants, which anyone interested in emigration may consult free of charge.

Further, the official authorities remain in close contact with the various private institutions, in order systematically to co-ordinate and direct the different propagandist undertakings.

Government action to encourage emigration has taken the form of a series of direct measures, which may be briefly reviewed.

Emigrants have in general the right to half fares on all the State railways, both for themselves and for the conveyance of their luggage, provided they are going to Manchuria, South America, the islands of Oceania, southern Asia, or the Pacific Islands. Private railway companies which have concluded agreements with the State railways concerning tariffs and transport allow them the same terms.

Grants are also given for the journey by sea. These owe their origin to the great earthquake of 1923, when the Government tried to persuade persons who had suffered through the disaster to emigrate to Brazil, by allowing them a subsidy to cover the cost of the journey. This measure, which was started in response to a temporary need and was intended to cover only a limited number of emigrants, afterwards became permanent. To-day the beneficiaries under its terms are agricultural labourers and their families going to the countries of South America. The grant covers all the expenses of the voyage. Between 1923 and 1933, the beneficiaries numbered 109,556 and the sum total of subsidies made to them amounted to 16,364,264 yen.

In addition, as the Government forbids emigration agents to levy dues on emigrants going to Brazil, it has granted them an indemnity since 1923, by way of compensation. The number of emigrants who benefited by this system between 1923 and 1933 amounted to 73,182.

It should further be pointed out that, at the time of the great agricultural depression of 1932, the Government encouraged starving peasants to go to Brazil by making them a grant for that purpose of 50 yen for adults, 25 yen for children between 3 and 7 years of age, and 12 yen 50 sen for children under 3.

Preparation of Emigrants.

In 1928, in pursuance of an Imperial Ordinance of 1927, an Emigrant's Training Centre was founded at Kobe, the port of departure for Brazil. It has 850 beds for emigrants, who are required to stay there during the ten days preceding their departure. An attempt is made, by free lessons, to give the emigrants an idea of the language, manners, customs and general agricultural conditions of Brazil. They are also subjected, free of charge, to the health measures required by the Brazilian laws and regulations. The number of emigrants who had stayed in the Centre up to the end of October 1934 was 103,130.

An institution of the same kind, for the use of emigrants going to the South Seas, was founded in January 1933 in the city of Nagasaki. The total number of emigrants who had passed through it up to the end of October 1934 was 997.

Transport of Emigrants.

According to the terms of the 1896 Law, any vessel is considered to be an " emigrant ship " if it carries more than 50 emigrants who intend to disembark in one of the countries specified by Ordinance, i.e., at the present time, all the countries of South America, Hawaii, Canada, and the islands of Oceania. The Philippines are an exception on account of their proximity to Japan, and there are special conditions for the voyage to these islands.

Anyone desiring to transport emigrants on board a vessel answering to the above definition must obtain a permit for this purpose from the Administration. Transport tariffs do not become valid until authorised by the competent authorities.

In addition to satisfying the requirements of the laws and regulations for securing the safety of ships, the vessel must contain certain special equipment required for this particular work. Supervision is ensured by means of regular inspections. At present, there are in existence 10 emigrant ships whose tonnage varies between 7,000 and 10,000.

For the better protection of emigrants, the *Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha* has been instructed by the Government to see that certain stipulations are complied with on ships bound for Brazil. An official subsidy is made to it for this purpose. Inspectors of emigrants, one of whom is allotted to each vessel, perform this task in co-operation with the staff of the shipping company.

Particular attention is paid to health measures, in order to conform to the Brazil immigration laws and also to protect and improve the health of the emigrants. Medical attention and medicines are supplied free of charge as needed.

As at the Emigrants' Training Centre at Kobe, courses are given free of charge on the manners and customs, the religion, the agricultural situation, and the language of Brazil. Elementary education is provided for the children and lessons in dressmaking for the women. Entertainments of various kinds are frequently organised on board.

Arrangements for the Assistance of Emigrants Abroad.

Institutions for the assistance of emigrants abroad at present depend on both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Overseas Affairs. In collaboration with Japanese associations, these Ministries organise lectures and distribute pamphlets to raise the intellectual level of emigrants. The Japanese consulate general at São Paulo has instituted a service called the " Industrial Encouragement Division " in order to supply emigrants with information and advice concerning their employment or their undertakings.

State subsidies are made to Japanese educational institutions. On 1 April 1934, there were 277 schools in Brazil with 14,887 pupils and 507 teachers ; in Peru there were 29 schools, with 2,473 pupils and 113 teachers ; and in the Pacific Islands 20 schools, with 1,929 pupils and 77 teachers.

The Government also makes grants to hospitals and similar institutions for emigrants.

It may be added that the " emigration societies " *(Kaigai Iju Kumiai)* and the various " foreign development societies " *(Takushoku Kaisha)* have also founded a number of institutions for the instruction and protection of emigrants. In particular, the emigration societies have founded 24 elementary schools with 2,183 pupils and 48 teachers, including 16 Brazilians, and 8 hospitals with 8 doctors, 8 pharmacists, and 8 nurses. Among their foundations are several hospitals for infectious diseases, ice factories, etc.

Assistance to Private Institutions.

The Government sends lecturers to the propaganda meetings organised by private emigration institutions, and provides them

with the information they require. Subsidies are also made to the institutions for the protection and general education of emigrants. Similar subsidies and loans at low rates are made to the emigration societies and to their Federation.

It may be noted that there exist at present some 40 private institutions which receive Government subsidies in return for carrying on propaganda in favour of emigration.

Further, the Government has never ceased to give financial assistance to the colonisation and emigration schools which, though still few in number, are of the greatest importance.

Private Organisations

The " Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha ".

Founded in 1917 on the initiative of the Government by the fusion of several private companies of the same kind—a measure which put an end to the numerous drawbacks of the previous lack of co-ordination—the *Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha* (International Development Company) is an " emigration agent " in the sense of the Emigrants' Protection Law. From its foundation until the end of 1933, it enabled 133,732 Japanese to emigrate, of whom 113,267 went to Brazil. It has the additional task of organising agricultural undertakings abroad and of lending capital to other organisations carrying on the same work in South America or the Pacific.[1] Its capital is at present 5 million yen. The following is an outline of its work as regards emigration to Brazil.

For propaganda purposes, the company owns a travelling cinema which goes all over Japan, visiting especially the country districts, in order to inform the public as to the real situation of the emigration countries. It supplies the press with information, inserts advertisements in the newspapers, and distributes pamphlets and other printed matter. In addition, it organises lectures, generally with the assistance of the local authorities.

As regards the recruiting of emigrants, the company's agents get into touch directly with would-be emigrants, in order to give them a clear idea of what emigration involves and of the working conditions which they may expect abroad. The elimination of undesirables is carried out with extreme care. The

[1] The total amount of these loans now amounts to 7 million yen.

company also undertakes responsibility for the administrative formalities which have to be complied with before departure, and thus saves the emigrants the trouble of having to do this for themselves.

Before embarkation, the emigrants stay in the Emigrants' Training Centre. After they have passed a test of physical fitness, a place is reserved for them on an emigrant ship. As mentioned above, agents of the company travel on board the ships to superintend the life of the emigrants.

It is also these agents who arrange for the allotment of land to the emigrants and for the protection of their interests. Offers of work, accompanied by details regarding the conditions of employment, are previously reported to the local agent of the company, which then distributes the emigrants over the different areas according to their individual wishes, though this distribution is only provisional until approved by the local Japanese officials and the authorities of the State of São Paulo. In the event of a dispute between employers and immigrants, the company's agents act as mediators. It is they who provide relief for indigent immigrants. When the repatriation of certain immigrants is thought necessary, the agents take the necessary steps for their return home.

Lastly, the need having long been felt for a better class of immigrants with a good general and technical education, the company in 1931 founded an agricultural training farm in the State of São Paulo, occupying some 250 hectares. This training farm annually recruits some 50 young Japanese, either from Japan or from the colonies already founded in Brazil. They are all lodged in a hostel attached to the farm and are under strict discipline.

The Emigration Societies.

The emigration societies are constituted in accordance with the Act of 29 March 1927. There are at present 42 of them. Their object is to give effective assistance to their members who emigrate and to their families. They are bodies corporate with limited liability ; one only may be established in each district. Except as otherwise stipulated in the 1927 Act, their organisation must conform to the provisions of the Co-operative Societies Act.

The chief tasks of these societies are the recruiting of emigrants and the development and encouragement of emigration.

The transport of emigrants is the concern of the Federation of Emigration Societies, a central organisation including all the district societies.

In Brazil, the Federation has founded the Brazilian Development Society *(Brazil Takushoku Kumiai)*, in conformity with the Brazilian laws and regulations. This Society purchases land for re-sale to immigrants belonging to a society, and it undertakes all the work necessary for the settlement of the immigrants. Up to the end of 1934, it had acquired some 200,000 hectares of land in several different parts of the country. It also holds about 50,000 hectares by way of concessions.

The Society has carried out numerous tasks in its various settlements, including laying out roads, and starting elementary schools, hospitals, immigrants' camps, saw mills, brick-works, rice husking sheds, warehouses, spinning mills, ice factories, tobacco factories, flour mills, etc. The telephone has recently been installed. Police stations, notaries' offices, post offices, hotels, cemeteries, etc., have also been established.

The " Nambei Takushoku Kaisha ".

Founded in 1928 with a capital of 10 million yen, the *Nambei Takushoku Kaisha* (South American Development Company) owns, in Brazil, a vast area of land in the State of Para, amounting in all to about a million hectares. While principally concerned with developing the various regions of the country, it also carries on commercial and industrial activities, in particular the sale, purchase, and management of land. It also employs a large number of immigrants on its estates (337 families, or 1,977 persons, at the end of October 1934).

At the port of Belem it manages an immigrants' camp with accommodation for 500 persons. The jetty of this port was constructed by it, and it has also founded some hospitals and warehouses.

The " Amazonia " Institute for Industrial Research.

Founded at Parincins Amazonas in 1930 and possessing some 1,500 hectares of land, this Institute is intended to train immigrants for the Kamitsuka concession. This concession, situated in the State of Amazonas in Brazil, covers about 1,000,000 hectares. Meteorological, geological, health, and other research has been carried on there, and research concerning

jute, the principal product of the region, has already yielded good results, from which a considerable development of this crop may be expected.

Students holding the certificate of the *Nippon Koto Takushoku Gakko* of Tokyo (Japanese Colonisation College) are sent to this concession for a year to complete their knowledge of subjects useful to immigrants. At the end of 1934, 371 young men were under instruction there. For purposes of agricultural experiment, 140 hectares of land are cultivated by them under the auspices of the Institute.

Previous to this, 17 young Japanese had been placed on the " Ouai Klappa " concession, which was rapidly brought into cultivation thanks to their efforts. By the end of March 1934, 350 hectares had been cleared and there were about 200 settlers, cultivating rice, cocoa, jute, etc. An elementary school and a medical station have been established in this concession.

The " Osaka Shosen Kaisha ".

Founded in 1884, the *Osaka Shosen Kaisha* is one of the largest shipping firms in Japan, having at the present time a capital of 100 million yen and 130 ships (530,000 tons).

The emigrant ships, as defined by the Emigrants' Protection Law, are all the property of this company. Many improvements have been effected in the service. The 10 emigrant ships, all of modern design, owned by the company make 24 passages a year on the Kobe-Santos route. The number of emigrants who can be transported annually by them is estimated at 20,000. A State subsidy is made to the company.

Other Organisations.

During the war of 1914-1918, at a time when it was first realised that the population problem would have to be solved by emigration, associations for the encouragement of emigration were formed in many districts. There are at present 40 of these, without counting those which are not subsidised by the Government.

The activities of these associations may be summarised as follows :

(*a*) the organisation of lectures, courses, cinema performances, etc. ; the publication of reviews and pamphlets, to

supply accurate information about the immigration countries, and to encourage emigration ;

(*b*) research and investigations regarding immigration and, when necessary, the despatch of agents for this purpose to immigration countries ;

(*c*) the organisation of an information service on emigration questions for the assistance of persons who are thinking of emigrating ; assistance with the formalities required of emigrants before their departure ;

(*d*) the organisation of an information service for the assistance of emigrants already settled abroad, and of facilities for enabling emigrants to correspond with their families who are still in Japan.

Emigration Schools.

There are at present only 6 emigration schools, but these are performing important and admirable work with the object of training a better class of emigrants. Most of them require a secondary school leaving certificate as a condition of entrance. The course of study lasts for about two years.

Present Situation of Japanese Emigrants Abroad

The number of Japanese abroad, according to the statistics of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, amounted to 1,058,328 on 1 October 1934. This total includes only persons of Japanese race in the strict sense, not including Koreans, inhabitants of the Island of Formosa, etc. On the other hand, officials, the staff of business houses, etc., who are only abroad temporarily, or on a definite mission, are included in this total, but as their number is insignificant the statistics of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs give an almost exact picture of the volume of Japanese emigration.

The following table shows the general distribution of Japanese in the various foreign countries. Their present situation in the most important of these countries will be briefly examined in subsequent pages.

DISTRIBUTION OF JAPANESE IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

Country	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Foreign countries proper:							
Far-Eastern Russia	1,592	1,966	2,790	2,101	2,201	2,285	2,492
Manchuria	103,720	108,532	112,137	112,735	135,507	182,601	243,868
China	55,156	55,708	54,391	53,632	53,374	55,604	56,049
Hong Kong, Amoy	1,577	1,622	2,219	1,801	1,472	1,408	1,478
Siam	284	259	336	309	290	211	389
Indo-China	332	302	346	307	265	245	236
Sarawak, British North Borneo, British Malaya	9,478	8,728	7,425	7,007	6,446	6,369	6,659
Syria	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Iran	—	3	19	21	20	25	32
British India, Ceylon	1,342	1,285	1,916	1,394	1,443	1,473	1,416
Netherlands Indies	4,874	5,581	6,325	6,775	6,874	6,949	6,538
Guam, Philippines	14,241	15,772	19,572	19,695	30,316	20,400	20,838
Islands of Oceania, New Zealand, Australia	3,626	3,524	3,948	3,563	3,548	2,677	2,852
United States	141,550	140,945	99,552	103,996	102,895	103,765	146,708
Hawaii	130,941	134,042	120,908	114,295	146,764	149,207	150,832
Canada	22,506	22,664	20,835	20,156	19,626	20,393	21,062
Mexico	4,506	4,857	5,832	5,930	5,824	5,297	5,360
Salvador	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
Cuba	784	788	787	764	754	761	761
Panama	224	216	228	306	330	341	333
Colombia	42	50	122	132	111	144	169
Venezuela	—	11	12	12	12	7	8
Peru	16,979	18,401	20,535	20,650	21,141	21,281	121,127
Bolivia	421	463	551	628	599	627	761
Chile	625	713	610	629	625	635	638
Brazil	76,488	103,166	116,502	119,740	132,699	157,476	173,500
Argentina	3,466	3,888	4,027	4,846	5,124	5,334	5,492
Paraguay	5	5	8	12	10	5	6
Uruguay	11	20	36	29	36	37	39
European countries	2,992	3,314	3,433	3,696	3,778	3,886	2,961
Egypt	41	80	48	51	56	70	81
Union of South Africa	24	15	21	24	26	29	41
British East Africa	21	21	—	22	63	54	71
Algeria	—	—	—	7	7	2	2
French Morocco	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
Total (foreign countries proper)	596,848	636,941	605,471	635,265	672,266	749,158	872,814
Pacific Islands under Mandate [1]	12,281	16,021	19,835	22,663	28,009	31,905	39,885
Kwantung [1]	100,709	106,477	115,468	120,018	124,825	137,114	145,629
Grand total	709,838	759,439	740,774	777,946	825,100	918,177	1,058,328

[1] The Province of Kwantung is a Leased Territory in Manchuria; the Pacific Islands under Mandate are administered by Japan. These two regions are therefore excluded from the category of foreign countries proper.

Hawaiian Islands and North America.

Hawaiian Islands.

We have already seen that the conclusion of the " Gentlemen's Agreement " of 1907 ended Japanese emigration to the Hawaiian Islands. Notwithstanding, the number of Japanese settled there remains very considerable (150,832 in 1934), for they have, in general, abandoned the practice formerly current among them of returning to their native land when their fortune was made, a custom which caused Japanese emigration to be a somewhat unstable affair.

The bulk of the Japanese population of the Hawaiian Islands consists of middle or lower class town dwellers. In 1934, there were 25,313 persons engaged in commerce or handicrafts, carpenters, motor drivers, labourers, and members of the liberal professions, while the whole gainfully occupied Japanese population amounted to only 43,059. There were only 10 exporters or importers in a large way. Out of 16,467 agriculturists, the great majority (13,382) were in receipt of wages, most of them being employed on the sugar plantations. The few farmers working on their own account did not own more than 10 acres of land. Japanese (to the number of 1,171) have been especially active in the fishing industry, which they monopolise; the value of their catch amounts to 2 million dollars per year. It is to be feared, however, that the Japanese fishing industry is likely to die out, as the younger generation, accustomed to a new way of life, is tending to abandon so arduous a calling.

Owing to their custom of sending home all unspent earnings to their families, without troubling to lay by a small sum for the subsequent extension of their activities, many Japanese in Hawaii live permanently in precarious circumstances.[1]

United States.

Although Japanese emigration to the United States has definitely ceased since 1924, the number of Japanese in that country remains high (146,708 in 1934). Over 90 per cent. of them live in the Pacific States. Agriculturists are numerous,

[1] Although the Japanese element represents some 40 per cent. of the total population of the Islands, its financial potentialities are slight. According to a report by the Hawaiian bank inspectorate, the sum total of deposits on 30 June 1932 amounted to $35,030,829, of which only $8,604,952, or 24 per cent., stood to the credit of Japanese.

amounting to 20,855, or nearly half the gainfully occupied Japanese population of the United States (46,778). The vegetables, fruit, and flowers produced by Japanese are reckoned to have a total value of 50 million dollars. These products are sold throughout the United States, where they enjoy an established reputation. In all, the Japanese cultivate some 340,000 acres, compared to which figure the area of land owned by Japanese is very small (45,000 acres). We have seen that the law forbids Japanese to acquire land. This places insurmountable difficulties in their way, as a result of which their future prospects in this direction seem nil.

The number of Japanese in commerce or other urban occupations reaches the considerable total of 24,306. Among the most numerous groups may be mentioned the following: labourers, about 5,000; laundrymen and dyers, 884; merchants in business on their own account, 3,376; employees in banks or business houses, 1,746; hotel keepers and hotel employees, 2,005; hairdressers, 602; domestic servants, 3,044.

The number of Japanese fishermen is 1,250, of whom 552 are in receipt of wages. Off San Pedro and San Diego, in the State of California, Japanese fishermen provide more than 60 per cent. of the local catch.

Canada.

In Canada there were 21,062 Japanese in 1934, the figure for the gainfully occupied population being 7,083. Most of these were in British Columbia; Vancouver alone had 7,000 Japanese inhabitants. By about 1930, some 3,000 Japanese were engaged in the lumber industry. The depression greatly reduced their number, and in 1934 only 450 remained, only 28 of whom were working on their own account. There are 1,344 agriculturists. About 1,000 Japanese carry on small trades in the towns of the Pacific coast (laundrymen, carpenters, masons, retail traders, hotel keepers and hotel staff, hairdressers, etc.). The report of the Japanese Consul at Vancouver attributes the slow development of Japanese commercial enterprise to the following two causes: (1) most of the Japanese enter Canada as labourers and have not the necessary capital; (2) the very nature of the commodities which make up Canadian trade (corn, timber, fish, ores, etc.) makes considerable capital a necessity, so that it is not possible for many Japanese to set up in commerce. The Consul's report estimates the annual

value of transactions carried out by Japanese at 11 million dollars.

The fishing grounds of British Columbia employed 1,131 Japanese fishermen in 1934, most of whom were in receipt of wages. The flourishing condition of the salmon industry in this region is almost entirely due to their efforts.

Australia and the Pacific Islands

Australia and the Islands of Oceania.

In 1882, a number of Japanese pearl fishers settled on Thursday Island. Their activities soon extended to Western Australia and to Queensland, where they took work on the sugar plantations.

The creation of the Australian Commonwealth in 1901 was the signal for a general campaign in favour of a " white Australia ". The exclusion of Asiatics, hitherto limited to the Australian States of Victoria and Queensland, and the Colony of New Zealand, was extended to the whole Commonwealth. It is true that this principle of the elimination of Asiatics is not applied, at least so far as the Japanese are concerned, in an over-brutal form: any Japanese wishing to settle in Australia must pass a dictation test, which in practice excludes him from access to Australian soil, but an agreement concluded in 1904 between Australia and Japan stipulates that merchants, tourists, and students of Japanese nationality may obtain a permit to stay in Australia. The number of Japanese merchants who have since been admitted is, however, very small, as the Federal Government has the power under this agreement to define a " merchant " and is therefore always in a position to dispute a claim to that title.

The *Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha* nevertheless supplies pearl fishers and crews to the pearling companies on Thursday Island and at Broome, in Western Australia.[1] The pearling companies

[1] About 1,000 Japanese work as pearl fishers in the neighbourhood of Thursday Island, Darwin, Broome, and Cossack. In 1930, there were about 2,000 of them, but many were dismissed in 1931 when the Australian Minister for Home Affairs, on 3 February of that year, required the pearling companies to reduce their oyster catch in order to maintain prices, which had fallen heavily owing to the depression. The result was a fall in production to 875 tons in 1931, as against 2,212 in 1928. The depression also induced the Federal Government to instruct the companies not to employ Japanese up to a total of more than 50 per cent. of the crew of their fishing vessels, with the object of protecting Australian labour.

must first submit a request to the Federal Government for a residence permit for these workers. Fishermen and crews admitted in this way may work for a period not exceeding one year. If they wish to prolong their stay, they must apply to the Federal Government through a Japanese consulate general for permission to do so.

The number of Japanese at present living in Australia is about 2,000. Those who settled there before 1901, at present about 500, have the right to remain without any time limit.

Up to 1919, the nickel mines of French New Caledonia had attracted some 3,500 Japanese miners, but since that date none have gone there. The phosphorus companies in Tahiti have frequently asked the *Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha* to send them skilled workers, but the number of these remains very small.

The total number of Japanese living in Australia, New Zealand, and the surrounding islands in 1934 was 2,852.

Philippine Islands.

When foreign labour was required in 1903 to construct a road between Manila and Dabao, 500 Japanese went to the Philippines. Their number has continually increased since that date, chiefly owing to the development of the Japanese hemp plantations at Dabao [1], and in 1934 the total amounted to 20,558, of whom 11,383 were gainfully occupied, some 5,500 being in the island of Luzon, mostly at Manila, 13,000 in Dabao and the neighbourhood, and 2,000 in other districts.

The Japanese hemp plantations at Dabao attracted a great deal of Japanese labour.[2] Upon their arrival, these Japanese take work, with few exceptions, as labourers on the plantations. No subsidy is paid towards the transport of these workers, who are " free emigrants ". In fact, as already mentioned, the United States Government has totally prohibited emigration under contract, and it is unlikely that the independence granted to the Philippine Islands will lead to any change in this respect.

[1] Upon the competition of the Manila-Dabao road, a large number of Japanese workmen found themselves unemployed. A Japanese named Ohta organised a hemp plantation at Dabao, with the object of giving work to these unemployed rather than of making a profit. The difficulties were at first very great, but success soon came, and the result was the famous Dabao hemp plantations.

[2] These plantations, of which there are about 40, all on a large scale, produce a total of 261,000 sacks, or 30 per cent. of the entire hemp production of the Philippine Islands ; they cover 4,000 acres of land in all.

The Japanese agriculturists who have settled in the Islands under these conditions receive no real assistance, and passively accept their lot as wage earners. Their number amounts at present to about 10,000. A few Japanese are also employed on the sugar, rubber, and date plantations, etc.

The Japanese of Manila are mostly either retail traders or exporters or importers of various goods. In recent years, some of them have settled in the interior of the country to carry on their business, and their situation appears to be becoming more and more secure. The fishing industry is almost entirely monopolised by Japanese. In the Bay of Manila 600 Japanese fishermen dominate the market. The sawing of timber is also monopolised by the Japanese. There are, in addition, some agriculturists in the neighbourhood of Bakio.

South Seas.

In 1934, Japanese emigrants in the regions known as the " South Seas " were distributed as follows : 389 in Siam, 236 in French Indo-China, 5,847 in British Malaya, 812 in British North Borneo and Sarawak, 1,416 in British India and Ceylon, and 6,538 in the Netherlands Indies. The gainfully occupied population of these regions amounts to 8,893 persons.

There are many flourishing Japanese undertakings in these parts. At the present time, throughout the South Seas (including the Philippine Islands), a capital of more than 100 million yen is invested in the Japanese rubber, cocoanut, hemp, sugar, tea, cinchona, and other plantations, and also in undertakings for timber sawing, the extraction of iron and oil, fishing, etc.

In the Malay Peninsula and the Netherlands Indies, a large number of Japanese planters have rubber [1] and cocoanut [2] plantations. In the island of Java, hemp plantations occupy the first place.

These undertakings provide indirect employment for a large number of Japanese workers. In 1934, there were 2,317 employees in commerce, banks, and shops, 653 domestic servants, and 933 retail traders.

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[1] The Ministry of Oversea Affairs estimates the area planted with rubber by Japanese undertakings in the South Seas at 122,848 acres, and the capital invested at 80 million yen.

[2] The Ministry of Oversea Affairs estimates the capital invested in Japanese cocoanut plantations in the South Seas at 8 million yen.

The soundest method of ensuring prosperity for the emigrants to these regions seems to be to continue the operation of independent undertakings to form centres of small Japanese communities. The low rates of pay with which the Native workers are satisfied excludes all possibility for the Japanese of making a livelihood as wage earners except in the case of fishermen, as appears from the consular reports sent to the Government at Tokyo.

Commerce offers good prospects, even to persons with only a small capital, and the *Nanyo Kyokai* (South Seas Association) has made praiseworthy efforts in this domain. Since 1929, it has sent 30 young men every year from Japan to Java, to prepare them for subsequent commercial work in that country. Highly qualified handicraftsmen also have good prospects of success.

Central and South America

In 1934 there were 6,460 Japanese in Central America and 201,740 in South America, or a total of 208,200.

Brazil.

The number of Japanese in Brazil is 173,500, of whom 36,838 are gainfully occupied. Over 90 per cent. of these immigrants work on the coffee plantations in the State of São Paulo. The gainfully occupied Japanese population is distributed as follows : agriculture, 33,285, including 19,499 persons working on their own account ; commerce, 1,279 ; industry, 884 ; public services and liberal professions, 422 ; domestic service, 245 ; transport and communications, 355 ; etc.

The number of Japanese who may enter Brazil in any given year with the intention of settling there is fixed in advance by the Brazilian Government. The figure was considerably reduced by the new Federal Constitution, adopted on 24 May 1933, which limits it henceforth to 2 per cent. of the total number of Japanese who have settled in Brazil during the last fifty years.

The emigration agents *(Imin Toriatsukai Nin)* recruit emigrants up to the number fixed by the Brazilian Government and, after obtaining the authorisation of the Japanese authorities in Brazil, distribute them over the various coffee plantations. The wages and working conditions of these workers are fixed by contract. They are engaged in most cases for one agricultural year, beginning in October and ending in September of the

following year. It is often possible to prolong these contracts by special arrangement, in order to enable the workers to aquire additional experience.

The emigrants live in dwellings supplied by the planters. Each worker has from 1,500 to 2,000 coffee plants to look after, making a total of 4,500 to 6,000 per family, which generally consists of three persons capable of doing this work. In addition, the immigrants cultivate rice, peas, maize, vegetables, etc., and raise cattle for their own needs, according to the quality of their land and the amount of spare time at their disposal.

Four or five years' work enables the immigrants to save some 2,000 yen, to learn the methods of coffee growing, and to adapt themselves to Brazilian ways. Once this preparatory stage is over, they either grow coffee under a kind of share-farming contract or set up as independent planters.

The contracts for coffee growing are for four or six years. One family looks after about 7,000 coffee plants. In the case of the four-year contracts, the owner usually provides land already planted, and housing. Over and above the wages fixed in their contracts, the immigrants make some money by selling the vegetables they grow in their spare time, and the coffee produced during the fourth year of the contract. In the case of six-year contracts, the owner merely places his land at the immigrants' disposal; the latter clear it, plant it with coffee, and build themselves a house, etc., at their own expense.

It should, however, be noted that the Brazilian regulations of 1932 forbidding the opening up of new plantations have put an end to this kind of coffee-growing contract.

Another method sometimes adopted is for the immigrants to acquire, on arriving in the country, a certain amount of land on which they start coffee growing on their own account. For this purpose, the Federation of Emigration Societies, the International Development Company, and the South American Agricultural Development Company prepare large areas of land in advance, so that the cultivators can settle on them as soon as they arrive. Up to the present, few immigrants have followed this course, since the Japanese who wish to emigrate are recruited among persons of very modest means. Nevertheless, the pioneer work which has so far been done in this field is not without interest, for it is the lessons learned by these experiments that will help to place Japanese emigration on a sound and systematic basis.

The Federation of Emigration Societies undertakes the aquisition of land in the countries of destination (at the present time in São Paulo and Parana), the development operations needed by the land, the transport of the emigrants, etc.

In order to be admitted to an emigration society, candidates must contribute 50 yen and be heads of families including at least three persons able to perform effective work.

On admission to a society, the emigrant deposits with the Federation a sum of money which is repayable according to his requirements in the country of destination. The Government pays emigrants who are members of a society a subsidy covering the entire cost of transport.

On their arrival in the country of immigration, 25 cho [1] of land are sold to each family. In fixing the price of this land, account is taken of the transport facilities, the fertility of the soil, the quality of the trees planted on the land, the buildings and other equipment, the value of the adjoining land, etc. The price varies from 3 to 8 contos for 25 cho.

When the preparations are completed, the immigrants settle in and devote themselves to the cultivation of various crops (rice, maize, peas, vegetables, tobacco, bananas, oranges, pine-apples, etc.) and stock raising (cattle, pigs, horses, poultry, etc.). At the end of October 1934, 4,669 persons (769 families) belonging to emigration societies were settled in Brazil.

The *Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha* has begun settlement operations at Iguape, in the State of São Paulo. The settlement, which was founded in 1912, after the conclusion of a contract between the Government of São Paulo and a financial group in Tokyo, was purchased in 1917 by the *Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha* and is well known for its excellent organisation.

It covers about 75,000 hectares. The Company's chief function is to sell land to Japanese settlers and to sell the agricultural products of the settlers after preparing them for sale in its own factories. A capital of more than 2 million yen has already been invested in this undertaking, and 767 Japanese families, consisting of 4,873 persons, were living in the settlement at the end of 1933, in addition to 3,590 Brazilians. The value of the annual production is estimated at about 500,000 yen. Institutions and factories established there include an agricultural research laboratory, a stock-breeding station, sheds for rice husking and coffee sorting, brick-works, and a saw-mill.

[1] 1 cho = 0.9917 hectare = 2.45 acres.

The Company owns a warehouse for its products at the port of Santos.

Apart from these industrial activities, the Company looks after the settler's general interests, and has founded two medical stations, twelve elementary schools, and a school of practical agriculture.

As a condition of admission, the Company requires a deposit of 950 yen and, in addition, each family must include at least three members capable of working. The deposit is intended to cover living expenses during the first year and the cost of buying land. The settlers are independent farmers on land they buy from the Company, usually 25 cho per family at a cost of 1,000 yen, which can be repaid by annual instalments over a period of seven years. They first build a hut and clear their land, after which they begin to grow various crops and to raise stock. The chief crops at present are rice and sugar-cane.

In order to complete this survey of Japanese enterprise in Brazil, certain settlements have still to be mentioned, most of which accept workers of all kinds, though, like the preceding ones, they tend chiefly to encourage the immigration of independent settlers.

The *Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha* manages a coffee plantation at Anumas, in the State of São Paulo. Covering 1,500 cho, with an invested capital of 630,000 yen, this plantation accepts agriculturists on a variety of different contracts (ordinary tenancy, share-farming contracts, coffee-growing contracts of the special type described above). In March 1934 it had 85 families (a total of 459 persons), of whom 46 families (265 persons), were Japanese. The area planted with coffee is 412 cho, and the coffee grown there is well known for its quality. A certain area is set aside for vegetable growing and stock raising.

As at Iguape, but on a smaller scale, a whole series of institutions has been organised in the colony, both for industrial and for general purposes.

The *Nombei Takushoku Kaisha* (South American Agricultural Development Company) owns two settlements in the State of Para, one at Acara, with an area of 600,000 cho, the other at Montealegre, with an area of 400,000 cho. This land may be sold to immigrants. Applicants wishing to obtain land in the Acara settlement must be agriculturists and must deposit at least 300 yen with the Company. This serves to cover their living expenses during the first year and the cost of equipment.

Most immigrants cultivate land rented from the Company, not having yet saved enough money to purchase it. As a general rule, each family is allotted an area of 25 cho of forest, which it then has to clear. The Company advises the settlers as to the choice of crops and the best use to make of their land. It takes 30 per cent. of the total production as rent, the remainder being the settlers' own property. The chief products of the Acara settlement are cocoa, rice, cotton, hemp, tobacco, peas, peanuts, vegetables, and fruit, and also, though of less importance, chickens, pigs, silkworms, etc. Between 1928, when the settlement was founded, and October 1933, 353 families, consisting of 1,417 persons, settled at Acara.

Peru.

On 1 October 1934, there were 21,127 Japanese in Peru, with a gainfully occupied population of 7,612. The number of agriculturists was only 1,899 owing to the suppression of immigration under contract since 1923, the prohibition of the sale of land in small lots, the severity of the climate, etc. These agriculturists cultivate either cotton, on the Pacific coast, or coffee, in the forest regions of the Amazon in the interior. The quality of the cotton has been improved, and it now vies with that of Egypt.

There are 4,763 persons engaged in commerce, most of them in retail trade. In industry 452 Japanese (including managerial staff and manual workers), are engaged in the production of rubber goods, electric light bulbs, hats, etc., under excellent technical conditions.

This slow but ceaseless infiltration of Japanese elements into the towns led to an anti-Japanese campaign, which had, however, no serious consequences. In order to put a stop to it, the authorities and residents are endeavouring to distribute the Japanese population over the country districts. The newly-founded Peruvian Agricultural Development Society *(Peru Takushoku Kumiai)* owes its origin largely to the same consideration.

Mexico.

The Mexican coal mines and sugar plantations formerly gave work to a large number of Japanese, but epidemics and political disturbances have considerably reduced immigration,

for which the figure was 434 persons in 1930, 283 in 1931, 149 in 1932, and 85 in 1933.

At present, there are 5,360 Japanese living in Mexico. Half of these are in urban areas, the others being settled in the three north-western provinces and the province of Lower California.

The gainfully occupied population consists of 2,119 persons, who are chiefly engaged in the following branches ; agriculture, horticulture, and stock raising, 479 ; commerce, hairdressing, baths, etc., 789 ; fishing and salt extraction, 224 ; medicine and pharmacy, 98. A reciprocity convention concerning the practice of medicine is in force between Mexico and Japan.

Commerce as carried on by Japanese is generally on a small scale, and consists of selling goods retail.

Japanese undertakings have made remarkable progress in recent years. In 1930 the Mexican Industrial Company *(Mexico Sangyo Kaisha)* was founded. It carries on business at San Vicente, 40 kilometres from Mexico City, and is engaged in the cultivation of rice on an estate of about 1,200 cho. The Great Ocean Industrial Company *(Taiyo Sangyo Kaisha)* is a fishing business off the coast of San Diego employing 200 Japanese ; the value of its annual production is 3 million yen.

Cuba.

During the war, many Japanese were employed in the Cuban sugar industry, but they have nearly all been scattered as a result of the depression. There are at present in Cuba not more than 761 Japanese, of whom 463 are gainfully occupied. They are chiefly engaged in the following occupations : gardening, agriculture, and horticulture, 227 ; hairdressing, 54 ; domestic service, 46 ; fishing, 35 ; employees in various undertakings, especially sugar firms, 34. Most of the agriculturists are in the island of Pinos. There are Japanese fisheries on the southern coast of Cuba.

Colombia.

Despite the conclusion in 1908 of a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Japan and Colombia, the latter remained one of the countries with which Japan had least to do, as regards commerce and emigration alike.

In 1929, however, the *Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha* bought 96 cho of land near the town of Cali, with the object of making it a centre for the Japanese settlements which it proposes to found

by degrees. During the first year, 10 families of Japanese cultivators, consisting of 58 persons, settled on this land and proceeded to grow maize, rice, and vegetables with success.

There are now 169 Japanese in all, with a gainfully occupied population of 60. Apart from the settlers brought by the *Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha*, as just mentioned, these immigrants earn a livelihood as gardeners, horticulturists, dealers in everyday articles and foodstuffs, hairdressers, etc.

Argentina.

In 1908, there were only 2 Japanese in Buenos Aires, but the high wages paid for labour attracted a great number in subsequent years, some of whom came from Brazil, some from the other countries of Latin America, and others direct from Japan.

In 1934, the number of Japanese was 5,492, of whom 3,482 were gainfully occupied. More than half of these immigrants live in Buenos Aires, the other half being scattered over the agricultural districts (Chaco, Mendosa, etc.).

There are 747 laundrymen and dyers, 334 retail traders, 82 exporters and importers, 84 pawnbrokers, moneylenders, etc., 704 employees in commercial houses and banks, 170 motor and horse drivers, 44 labourers (not counting agricultural labourers), and 134 domestic servants.

In agriculture, there are 239 persons working on their own account, and 794 in receipt of wages. The soil is suited to the cultivation of cotton, tea, cinchona, coca, etc., in which most of the Japanese agriculturists are engaged. The Argentine Government is especially anxious to encourage rice growing, and is counting on the efforts made in this direction by Japanese cultivators, as the home-grown supply does not cover half the home demand. There are also three Japanese stock-raising undertakings. The fishing industry offers good prospects for the future ; it is hoped that the recently started *Nambei Suisan Kaisha*, which began operations in 1935, will improve the organisation of an industry in which there has hitherto been too much dispersion of effort.

Bolivia.

The Japanese immigrants in Bolivia were formerly employed on the rubber plantations, but are now mostly engaged either in retail trade or in agriculture in the interior of the Amazon

region. Their total number is only 761, of whom 374 are gainfully occupied. The Japanese merchants in La Paz, of whom there are some dozens, have an admirably organised co-operative credit system, which enables them to live in comparative ease.

Chile.

There are 638 Japanese in Chile, of whom 357 are gainfully occupied. Most of them are employed either in the nitrate industry or as hairdressers in the towns. There are very few engaged in commerce or agriculture. In both these branches, however, there are good prospects for persons with even a small amount of capital.

Other Countries.

In the other countries of South America, there are very few Japanese (6 in Paraguay, 39 in Uruguay) and their activities are of little importance.

Manchuria and Mongolia

Just before the Manchurian affair, the number of Japanese in Manchuria and Mongolia (including the Leased Territory of Kwantung) was estimated at about 200,000, most of whom were employed by the South Manchurian Railway Company, or in public or private establishments. Agriculturists, who are normally an important factor where emigration is concerned, represented only 3 per cent. of the whole Japanese population.

Two attempts have been made to organise emigration. One was the foundation of a Japanese agricultural village in the commune of Ai Chun Chuan, in the province of Chin Chow, by the authorities of the Leased Territory of Kwantung. The other was the cession to ex-soldiers by the South Manchurian Railway Company of land situated along the railway line. Both these schemes broke down entirely.

In 1929, the Railway Company founded the Dairen Agricultural Company *(Dairen Noji Kabushiki Kaisha)*, itself supplying the necessary capital. It purchased 3,500 cho of land in the Leased Territory of Kwantung, the intention being to have this land cultivated by 500 agricultural families brought direct from Japan. But when the Manchurian affair broke out, all these plans were interrupted and they have not since been resumed.

It may further be noted that in 1922, on the initiative of the state and with its financial support, the *Toa Kangyo Kaisha* (Eastern Industrial Encouragement Company) was founded with the object of organising the various Japanese ventures for the development of Manchuria. This Company has endeavoured, though without much success, to recruit and distribute immigrants.

The failure of Japanese emigration throughout the period prior to the Manchurian affair is to be attributed to the insecurity of the country, intervention by the Chinese authorities, legal uncertainty regarding the ownership of land, the absence of institutions for the protection of the immigrants, and their inadequate agricultural experience.

Since the creation of " Manchukuo " in 1932, the question of emigration to that country has once more attracted the attention of the public. The general opinion is that the external reasons just mentioned for the failure of emigration have been entirely eliminated by the introduction of a new administrative system, and that the future now offers great possibilities.

The Japanese Ministry of Oversea Affairs was able to send some 2,000 agriculturists to Manchuria as settlers between 1932 and 1935. Since the difficulties encountered by Japanese immigrants in Manchuria were due, apart from the severity of the climate, to the customs of the native population, whose standard of living is extremely low, the steps taken by the Ministry to encourage emigration aim chiefly at assuring relatively high living conditions for the emigrants. The agriculturists begin with a system of collective economy, each community trying to supply the needs of its members without asking any outside assistance. Gradually, as the economic basis of the settlement becomes more secure, the settlers change over to an individualist system. They do not confine themselves to cultivating a specified or limited number of agricultural products. In addition to wheat and soya beans, which are the most profitable crops, they grow rice, besides raising cows, sheep, and other animals. They produce tobacco and wool, and work in the forests. In this way they endeavour to spread their work over the whole year.

The first settlers chosen were ex-soldiers, who had previously been given the necessary training in Japan. They settled at Yangpaochan, near Chamusu, but their settlement was frequently disturbed, and the population fell to little more than half its original number. In spite of these difficulties, many

of those who remained have married, and the settlement at present contains over 500 people.

A second group of 500 emigrated to Manchuria in 1933, and settled at Chifuli, near Yangpaochan. They encountered numerous difficulties and experienced great hardships. When their plight became known in Japan, it discouraged many who would otherwise have been prepared to emigrate. Some of these settlers, however, have sent for the members of their family from Japan, and some of them have married. The population of the settlement is now 280.

In settling a third group, great care was taken to profit by the experience of the two earlier attempts. The emigrants were no longer required to be ex-soldiers trained in Japan for agricultural work. In 1934, a group of 300 persons settled at Koin, along the Pinpei line, and in 1935 some other emigrants went out to join them.

A fourth group of 500 families is now being transferred to Hatako and to Chengcho (Mishanhsien) in the upper basin of the river Mulingho. Care is being taken here to supply them with instructors, who teach them methods of cultivation and other matters. The Government also grants them subsidies, usually in kind, on the following scale :

		Yen
Cost of sea voyage		80
Purchase of clothing		30
Cattle		75
Maintenance for first 17 months		85
Agricultural implements		150
Cost of sending for members of family :	Per adult	80
	Per child	40
Construction of a dwelling		250

For a married couple and one child, the total subsidy amounts to about 800 yen. Further, if account is taken of possible subsequent expenditure on their installation, and on medical services, dormitories, baths, wells, and provision for the defence of the settlement against attack by bandits and for the encouragement of industry (from the fourth year onwards), the average value of the subsidies is estimated at over 1,000 yen per person.

The authorities have not confined themselves to organising the immigration of ex-soldiers. There are also in Manchuria the Tenshoen settlements, founded by immigrants selected from among unemployed casual workers in Tokio, and the Tetsudo Aigo settlements, founded by the members of the " Tenri " sect of the Shinto religion.

On 23 December 1935, a company was founded at Hsingking under the patronage of the Ministry of Oversea Affairs, the Japanese army in Kwantung, and the South Manchurian Railway Company. This new Company, the *Manchu Takushoku Kabushiki Kaisha* (Manchurian Development Company Limited), has a capital of 15 million yen ; it will purchase the land leased by Japanese in Manchuria, and will undertake the protection both of the agriculturists sent out by the Ministry of Oversea Affairs and of other emigrants who may subsequently settle there.

There has also been founded in Japan itself an Association for Emigration to Manchuria, which will co-operate with the above Company. It will found hostels and training centres in Japan for persons who wish to emigrate to Manchuria, encourage emigration, select emigrants, and engage in other activities connected with emigration.

The number of Japanese at present in Manchuria (not counting the Leased Territory of Kwantung or Mongolia) is 243,868, of whom 108,706 are gainfully occupied. The total was 112,735 in 1931, 135,507 in 1933, and 182,601 in 1933.

According to the statistics for 1934 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the distribution of the Japanese in Manchuria among the most important occupations is as follows :

Occupation	*Number*
Agriculture, horticulture, stock raising [1]	1,567
Mines	1,929
Metallurgical industries [1]	968
Food industries [1]	943
Architecture	3,941
Carpenters, masons	3,042
Gas, electricity, etc. [1]	792
Labourers	3,441
Retail trade	5,619
Salaried employees	14,563
Hotels, restaurants, entertainments	3,177
Posts, telegraph, communications	2,113
Staff of the Railway Company	11,885
Permanent way workers	1,226
Horse and motor drivers	1,257
Transport [1]	1,147
Public administration	10,948
Education	1,183
Medicine and pharmacy	2,136
Journalists, lawyers, artists, musicians, photographers, etc.	3,459
Domestic servants	3,730
Students and apprentices	2,388

[1] Persons carrying on business on their own account.

Conclusion

It will be seen from the above study that the organisation of Japanese emigration, in its present form, is the result of a process of gradual growth. Its origin goes back to the years before the war, a period at which public opinion, seriously perturbed by the population problem, began to show its anxiety to reform the conditions of emigration and to unify the principles on which it was organised. Since then twenty years have passed, rich in varied experiences, an outcome of which has been the coherent group of methods applied to-day.

Japanese emigration is distinguished primarily by the close control or intervention of the State in all the phases of its operations : the recruiting of the emigrants (a task not carried out directly by the State, but by the emigration agents) is very much facilitated by the activities of the staff of different ministries ; much of the cost of transport of the emigrants is borne by the State, which pays substantial subsidies to the shipping company concerned ; there are strict regulations for the protection of the emigrants, from departure to arrival ; and the State takes an active interest in the measures taken by various institutions on behalf of emigrants in foreign countries.

The State thus completes the activities of the private organisations. The result is a homogeneous whole, and it may fairly be said that the whole series of operations involved by emigration is the subject of a carefully co-ordinated single policy.

Over and above the wish to assist the emigrants—who are specially privileged in Japan in the matter of social protection, as compared with all other classes of citizens—it should be noted that all the measures described in the preceeding pages have a further essential motive. This is the wish to transplant the agricultural knowledge and skill of Japan to the countries where they can be put to good use, and to surround such action by a whole series of precautions—taught by the experience of the failure of Japanese emigration to the United States—to enable the Japanese to settle in the foreign country without injury to its moral, intellectual, or material conditions. Thus the only emigrants now accepted, with few exceptions, are agriculturists, either for certain countries of Latin America, or for Manchuria, and arrangements are made to prepare emigrants going to Brazil by giving them some instruction

in the religion, language, and manners and customs of that country.

It should also be pointed out that the recently created " emigration societies " are particularly interested in emigrants with some capital. Here again we find manifested the wish to try to meet the needs of the countries of destination. Although it is still too early to assess the results obtained in this direction, the present writer is of opinion that this tendency will become the characteristic feature of Japanese emigration in the future.

Japan has almost completed the organisation of its system of emigration. It is, however, a striking fact that the number of Japanese resident in foreign countries is barely a million, whereas the population of Japan is increasing at the rate of about a million a year. Emigration, numerically considered, is thus a failure, and the recognition of this has for some time past produced a sort of apathy on the part of public opinion. In spite of all the efforts exerted and the degree of efficiency reached by the emigration institutions, a large number of difficulties still await solution, notably the problem of persuading the Japanese to emigrate. It may however be said that a large proportion of the non-success, numerically considered, of Japanese emigration is also to be attributed to the restrictions placed on immigration by a great many countries. And it is permissible to think that when the other States feel reassured as to Japan's readiness and ability to send them only the kind of workers they need, they will lose their fear of opening their frontiers to a labour force whose ways and customs differ too widely from their own. When that time comes, not only will economic problems find their solution, but it may also be hoped that the shadow of doubt and distrust will vanish in the immigration countries as well as in Japan itself, and that the value of organised emigration as a factor of adjustment on the international employment market will be duly recognised.