A Buried Past:

Early Issei Socialists and the Japanese Community

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> The Japanese government "is not by the people, of the people, for the people. It is the government of the few, of the nobles, of the titles, and above all, of the figurehead – the Mikado."
>
> –Kaneko Kiichi, May, 1905.

Introduction*

Much of Japanese-American history remains unwritten in English, not because of any conscious efforts by past historians to ignore it, but due to a particular preoccupation they have had. On the whole historians have only been interested in Japanese-Americans as "objects" of the pre-war exclusion movements or have focused upon the "excluders" with the former then studied only in relation to the latter. Secondary reasons, in either case, account for their studies which has led one historian to say "other immigrant groups were celebrated for what they had accomplished; Orientals were important for what was done to them."[1] The results of this preoccupation are apparent. Whether we speak of general political, social, economic or cultural histories, or specific community histories, or biographies, there is an appalling dearth, if not an absolute void, of historical studies on Japanese-Americans in English. As an illustration of what can be uncovered in what, in the opinion of the writer, is a rich and varied history which still remains essentially buried, this essay will examine the early Issei socialists and anarchists in the San Francisco Bay Area and Fresno and a related lèse-majesté affair which occurred in Bakersfield in 1911.

THE MEIJI BACKGROUND

As with other aspects of the Japanese immigrant and his society, an understanding of the Meiji background is essential. The modern labor and socialist movements in Japan developed after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. And, curiously enough, in the case of the labor movement itself, it had immediate roots in the incipient Japanese immigrant society in California. The first organized group to investigate the possibility of forming industrial trade-unions was formed in Tokyo in April, 1897. Called the Shokko Giyu Kai (Friends of Labor), this group had been initially formed in San Francisco in 1890 to study labor problems by Takano Fusataro, Sawada Hannosuke, Jo Tsunetaro, and others under the influence of the American Federation of Labor. Upon their return to Japan, they reconstituted it in 1897 out of which two other organizations developed.[2] In July, 1897 the Rodo Kumiai Kisei Kai (Society for the Promotion of Trade-Unions) was created with a wider membership than the Shokko Giyu Kai, including the later renown communist, Katayama Sen.[3] But like its

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forerunner it was a study society intent upon examining labor problems and solutions. In December, 1897 the first industrial trade-union, the Tekko Kumiai (Iron Workers' Union), was successfully organized in the Tokyo-Yokohama area, and simultaneously the **Rodo Sekai** (Labor World), the first labor journal, was launched under the editorship of Katayama Sen.[4] The initial start of the modern Japanese labor movement therefore lies not in Tokyo but in California.

The beginning of the Japanese socialist movement can be traced to the formation of the Shakaishugi Kenkyu Kai (Society for the Study of Socialism) in October, 1898.[5] As its name implies, it was a study group whose aim was "to examine the principles of socialism and determine whether or not they are applicable to Japan."[6] Most of the original twelve members were Christians; three were Christians who had studied in America.[7] And five members played some kind of role in the activities of the Issei socialists and anarchists in America. These five were: Kawakami Kiyoshi, Katayama Sen, Abe Isoo, Kaneko Kiichi, and Kotoku Shusui. This group later established the first socialist political party in Japan on May 20, 1901, the Shakai Minshuto (Social Democratic Party), whose existence was short-lived. As soon as the party published its proclamation and platform, the Meiji government declared it illegal and ordered it to disband.[8] Confronted by a repressive government, the members of the party had no choice but to reorganize themselves, this time into an "educational" organization called the Shakaishugi Kyokai (Socialist Association), with Abe Isoo as its head, which conducted public lectures on socialism and labor problems in various parts of Japan.[9] It dared not step directly into the political arena, however, for the Public Peace Preservation Law of 1900 strictly prohibited labor agitation designed to form labor unions to fight for higher wages and better working conditions.[10]

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 had far-reaching effects on the Japanese socialist movement. As with the war in Vietnam, anti-war voices emerged, especially from socialist and Christian quarters. Chief among the socialist dissenters was Kotoku Shusui. In November, 1903, just at the time when war with Czarist Russia appeared imminent, Kotoku and Sakai Toshihiko formed the Heiminsha (Commoners' Society). From the very first issue of its journal, the **Heimin Shimbun,** published on November 15th, this society started an anti-war campaign which became more and more strident as hostilities opened and the war continued. In November, 1904 Kotoku was arrested for violating the National Press Law, tried and found guilty, and sentenced to five months imprisonment.[11]

Upon the conclusion of the war and the inauguration of the new Saionji Cabinet in January, 1906, the Meiji government adopted a less repressive policy toward the Japanese socialist movement. Under this circumstance, the second socialist political party, the Nihon Shakaito (Japan Socialist Party), was launched in February, 1906. Emphasizing parliamentary tactics aimed at securing universal sufferage and electing candidates sympathetic to or actually drawn from the working class, its constitution incorporated the key phrase "we advocate socialism within the limits of the law." But within a year these tactics came under heavy criticism at the party's first anniversary conference in 1907. The main critic was Kotoku who, instead advocated what he called "direct-action."[12] By direct-action Kotoku meant the use of massive general strikes, interpreting them as the only real means by which the working class could secure power. Over this issue a heated debate took place between Christian socialists and anarcho-syndicalists, and when the party adopted a compromised position which nonetheless deleted the key constitutional phrase "within the limits of the law," the government immediately suppressed it. This party hence suffered the same fate as its abortive predecessor, and the socialist movement split into a number of factions until the celebrated "Daigyaku Jiken" of 1910.

The Daigyaku Jiken involved the wholesale arrest of leading anarchists and socialists, beginning in May, 1910, with the disclosure of a "plot" to assassinate the Meiji Emperor.[13] The

controversial trial which ensued was conducted in secrecy, and despite the fact that no conclusive evidence was presented--except that four individuals, excluding Kotoku Shusui, had some kind of preliminary plans to manufacture bombs--26 persons were found guilty. Twelve persons, including Kotoku, were executed in January, 1911, twelve others were sentenced to life imprisonment, and two remaining defendants were sentenced to serve definite terms in the military. Of the effects of this event on the socialist movement, Katayama Sen wrote: "All books on socialism were confiscated and all public libraries were ordered to withdraw socialist books and papers. Even moderate papers like ours were severely censured and a few months after the said trial it was practically suppressed by the authorities."[14] Japanese historians call the year 1911 the start of the "cold, wintry period" for socialists, for they were subsequently driven into hibernation until after World War I when they emerged again under the influence of the Russian Revolution.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Issei socialists came from the foregoing Meiji background. Since the Japanese socialist movement began after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, one would not expect any immigrant socialist before this period.[15] Indeed, immigrant socialists did not appear until after the turn of the century, with many of these pioneers being Christians who, not surprisingly, centered their activities around a Christian organization, the Fukuin Kai or Gospel Society, in San Francisco.[16] By the beginning of 1904, there were two socialist groups, akin to discussion-study societies, one located in San Francisco and the other in Oakland, which were influenced by the arrival of certain socialist leaders from Japan.

Both Katayama Sen and Abe Isoo came to the Bay Area. Katayama arrived in January, 1904 to attend the National Convention of the American Socialist Party in Chicago in May and then to proceed to Amsterdam for the Sixth Congress of the Second International. Landing first in the Pacific Northwest, he spoke on socialism in Seattle on January 19th, assisted by Kawakami Kiyoshi, before a Japanese audience in a talk sponsored by the Japanese Association.[17] Upon his arrival in the Bay Area, he also spoke before Japanese groups, and he formed the Soko Nihonjin Shakaito (San Francisco Japanese Socialist Party) on February 3rd.[18] According to Iwasa Sakutaro, one of its founding members and at that time the manager of the Gospel Society, this organization dissolved as suddenly as it was formed. Though entrusted with the responsibility of drafting up the party constitution and governing rules, Iwasa confesses that he never got around to this task. "Our minds had not progressed to the thought of starting a movement," he stated, and the 38 original members slowly drifted away.[19] Yet they did undertake one activity: an anti-war meeting in San Francisco. Under the influence of Kotoku Shusui's anti-war campaign in Japan, they held their meeting in the San Francisco Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church in March, with the support of the Oakland group led by Uyeyama Jitaro and Takeuchi Tetsugoro, amid accusations of being "traitors" and "disloyal Japanese subjects."[20] Following the heels of Katayama, Abe Isoo visited the San Francisco area in the spring of 1905, leading of all things the Waseda University baseball team.[21] During the interval between Katayama's departure and Abe's arrival, very little occurred aside from occasional meeting of the immigrant socialists.[22] Abe too addressed different Japanese groups and met with the immigrant socialists, but his moderate brand of Christian socialism did not appeal to them.[23] The decisive influence had to await the arrival of Kotoku Shusui.

Upon his release from Sugamo Prison, Kotoku decided to come to America to regain his health and to observe at first-hand the socialist movement in this country. To Albert Johnson, a veteran anarchist in California, with whom he had corresponded before his imprisonment, he wrote that he had entered Sugamo "as a Marxian Socialist and returned as a radical Anarchist" and that he wished to criticize Japan from "where the pernicious hand of 'His

Majesty' cannot reach."[24] In addition, he had in mind the possibility of making San Francisco a "logistical base of operation" for the Japanese socialist movement as well as a "sanctuary for the persecuted" such as Switzerland had become for Russian revolutionaries.[25] On December 5, 1905 he arrived in San Francisco from Seattle. Besides Albert Johnson, among the welcoming party there was Oka Shigeki, a former newspaper associate. Much to his delight and satisfaction, he was quickly whisked off to the San Francisco branch of the Heiminsha which had been established earlier in the year by Oka and 10 others.[26]

Thus Kotoku's sojourn in the San Francisco area started, a sojourn which lasted six months, and during which he undertook many activities both within and without the Japanese immigrant community. At the invitation of Sagitani Seiichi, a reporter for the *Nichibei Shimbun,* he contributed a number of articles to this newspaper, written primarily for the Issei immigrant readers, on the need for socialism.[27] He attended the weekly Sunday night meetings of the Heiminsha, and he joined the American Socialist Party. He conducted study sessions on socialism at the Gospel Society; after the Great Earthquake of April 18th, he moved to Oakland and led similar sessions there. He also spoke before special gatherings and rallies and met a wide variety of people, including members of the Industrial Workers of the World, and lamented that "the majority of Japanese workers, not only are ignorant of socialism, but also do not know of the existence of the I.W.W."[28] Most historians consider Kotoku's sojourn as the period in which he finally shifted from Marxist socialism to anarcho-syndicalism. While here he is even reported to have stated:

> ...in order to introduce new social ideas into Japan it would be necessary to destroy the traditional belief in the divinity of the Emperor and that the most effective method would be to assassinate him and thus demonstrate that he was mortal.[29]

Regarding the two Japanese socialist groups on either side of the bay, he wrote: "Among the Japanese in Oakland there are new knowledgeable students and socialist thought is very prevalent. In the future, if the comrades here and in Oakland join hands and work together, I believe their influence will be great."[30]

The main product of his sojourn was the formation of the Shakai Kakumeito (Social Revolutionary Party) in the East Bay. Officially launched on June 1, 1906, just before his return to Japan, it brought together certain members of both groups for political action. Its general aims were spelled out as follows:

> 1) We will abolish the current system of industrial and economic competition, making all land and capital the common property of the people, thereby rooting out the causes of poverty;
>
> 2) We will reform the traditional, superstitious class system and guarantee equal rights to all;
>
> 3) We will eliminate national and racial prejudices and work for true brotherhood and international peace; and
>
> 4) To accomplish the above stated purposes, we recognize the need to unite with the comrades of the world to carry out a great social revolution.[31]

Though the party's original membership is counted at 52 members, many of them were listed as living outside of the Bay Area (some of these outside the State of California and one in France).[32] Among those outside the Bay Area, only two played a role in party activities: Kaneko Kiichi, one of the founders of the Society for the Study of Socialism, in Chicago where he was active in the American Socialist Party, and Saijo Toru who was in Iowa but later came to Oakland.[33] Even among those who were listed as original members in the Bay area--the majority of the membership--most of them played no role in the party--some like Takeshita Shizuma, for example, never participated in any manner; others like Oka Shingeki were not present in the early period of the party; and still others like Iwasa Sakutaro were

erroneously listed as original members.[34] The actual number of members in the Bay Area therefore probably never exceeded more than 15 individuals, and the active core consisted of Takeuchi Tetsugoro, Konarita Tsunero, Kuramochi Zensaburo, Hasegawa Ichimatsu, Uyeyama Jitaro, Ogawa Kinji, and Iwasa Sakutaro (who later joined).[35]

The Social Revolutionary Party appeared in public almost immediately after its establishment. On the evening of June 10, 1906, on the corner of 8th and Franklin Streets in Oakland, it attempted to hold a street rally.[36] Several hundred persons had congregated at this site in the heart of the Japanese and Chinese settlement, and the party made its grand entrance with red flags inscribed with the Chinese characters in black "Shakai Kakumeito."[37] But no permit had been secured. The police prohibited the rally and arrested two party members.[38] Subsequent to this rather inauspicious debut, the party supported, in mid-June, the International Seamen's Union of the Pacific which had gone on strike for higher wages.[39] Since the shipping companies sought Japanese workers as scab seamen through Japanese employment agencies in San Francisco, the party issued two separate leaflets which exhorted the Japanese not to become scabs in the name of the international unity and brotherhood of workers, and party members went to the docks to dissuade Japanese workers who went to sign-up or had actually done so.[40]

The party's support of the Seamen's Union was ironic. The party was established, it must be remembered, at the time when the anti-Japanese exclusion movement was gaining momentum. The *San Francisco Chronicle,* on February 23, 1905, had begun its racist, anti-Japanese crusade with a front-page editorial headlined: "The Japanese Invasion, The Problem of the Hour." The Japanese and Korean Exclusion League (later called the Asiatic Exclusion League) had been organized in May, 1905. After the disastrous earthquake in April, 1906, there occurred many anti-Japanese outbursts in San Francisco. The major event in 1906, however, was the San Francisco School Board's resolution to segregate Oriental students in October which caused an international crisis.[41] The Seamen's Union, along with other labor groups, played a prominent role in this movement; and its leader, Andrew Furuseth, a man who had definite prejudices against Orientals, consistently favored exclusion.[42]

The irony points to the dilemma faced by the Japanese immigrant socialists, for there was a basic contradiction in the American socialist position. On the one hand, American socialists were proclaiming the international solidarity of workers and, on the other hand, supporting the call for the restriction of Asiatic laborers. In its annual convention, in September, 1906, the California Socialist Party adopted a resolution favoring restriction.[43] The National Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party adopted a similar resolution in March, 1907.[44] Some American socialists used economic reasons to rationalize their position on this matter, while others like Ernest Untermann bluntly stated: "I am determined that my race shall be supreme in this country and in the world."[45] Others justified exclusion with tortuous, theoretical subterfuges:

> ...the rational Japanese socialist of the Japanese labor movement will certainly see that if the capitalists in Japan can ship their surplus millions to America, the Japanese labor movement, if it depends, as those who favor unlimited immigration into this country assert, on the 'philosophy of misery,' will be injured by this deportation of the very element that tends to make the misery in Japan sufficiently keen to breed revolution.[46]

Designed to conceal the racial motive, this line of reasoning concluded with the statement: "the working class of each nation owes its first duty to itself." The working class of America by definition meant the *white* working class!

The racial motive behind the growing clamor for exclusion never escaped the attention of Japanese socialists. In 1905 Abe Isoo, after his trip to America, as a Christian socialist, observed that "it is rooted in racial prejudice," and went on to comment that, though those who favor exclusion

> can use the 'labor problem' as the surface reason .... they cannot use the racial reason in public. The United States is known as a Christian nation. But if she will not accept the yellow race because we are not to her liking, then she no longer has any justifications for sending Christian missionaries to Japan and China.[47]

In January, 1907 the Japan Socialist Party sent an open letter to American socialists on this exclusion question signed by Kotoku Shusui, Sakai Toshihiko, and Nishikawa Kojiro. This letter read:

> Comrades: We believe that the expulsion question of the Japanese laborers in California is much due to racial prejudice. The Japanese Socialist Party, therefore, hopes that the American Socialist Party will endeavor to bring the question to a satisfactory issue in accordance with the spirit of international unity among workingmen. We also ask the American Socialist Party to acquaint us with its opinion as to this question.[48]

No reply was ever given to this open letter.[49] Kaneko Kiichi, through whom the letter was distributed, perhaps best pinpointed the problem when he asked "whether or not American socialists are going to be true to the exhortation of Marx--'Workingmen of all countries, Unite' -- or whether they are to encourage contention and division on the ground of race prejudice."[50] As a Japanese socialist, the dilemma was perfectly clear to him, and his indignant disappointment stemmed from the clarity of his perception:

> I was really disappointed to have found that the Socialists in this country are not altogether good fighters ..... Not only have they been silent in this matter but they have vainly tried to narrow their socialism by joining with the cheap political grafters and so-called labor leaders in the disapprobation of Japanese immigration. So far as I know, not a single Socialist paper in this country spoke out plainly on this Japanese question without showing race prejudice.[51]

In short, the Social Revolutionary Party emerged in the midst of the anti-Japanese exclusion movement, and Japanese socialists, immigrant or otherwise, were aware that American socialists too were very much a part of it.

Two subsequent events brought the Social Revolutionary Party into sensational light: the first issue of its official journal, the *Kakumei* (Revolution), and an "Open Letter" addressed to the Meiji Emperor.[52] Primarily in Japanese but with some English, the first of only three issues appeared on December 20, 1906. It was published out of the party headquarter, a lodginghouse operated by Uyeyama Jitaro located at 2459 Parker St. in Berkeley and dubbed the "Red House" because it was painted red.[53] Somehow a copy of this first issue found its way into the hands of the Secretary of the San Francisco School Board who passed it on to the newspapers. The immediate cause for the ensuing controversy was an English passage which read: "Our policy is toward the overthrow of Mikado, King, President as representing the Capitalist Class as soon as possible, and we do not hesitate as to means." All the Bay Area newspapers carried sensational stories. The *San Francisco Chronicle,* on December 30, 1906, headlined its story "Secret Service Men on the Trail of Japanese Publishers--Japs Favor Killing of President Roosevelt." The *San Francisco Examiner* echoed the *Chronicle:* "Japanese Anarchists Publish Paper Urging President's Death." The *San Francisco Call* had an almost identical tone: "Japanese Socialists Threaten Roosevelt--Violent Pronouncement Is Issued." And the *Berkeley Daily Gazette* voiced its own alarm: "Hotbed of Japanese Anarchists Located Here--the Yellow Peril."[54] In each instance the central focus was placed on the implied threat to assassinate President Theodore Roosevelt. The local Japanese-language paper, the *Shin Sekai,* carried its story under the title "Rantings of Socialism."[55]

The authorities began an investigation and the question of responsibility became crucial. The Japanese Consul General explored the possibility with U.S. Immigration officials and the

U.S. Attorney General of having the responsible individuals deported. Ultimately the matter came before a Special Board of Inquiry of the San Francisco Immigration Commission, and Takeuchi Tetsugoro who had assumed responsible for publishing the first issue was ordered to appear before it for deportation hearings. Takeuchi appeared on January 3, 1907 with Austin Lewis, a lawyer and one-time socialist candidate for the governor of California. To exonerate himself, he pleaded his knowledge of English was so insufficient that he even made the error between "evolution" and "revolution" in the title of the journal, accounting for the unfelicitous English passage.[56] According to the existing law relating to anarchists, however, he could not be deported. To do so, the government had to prove that the defendant had been an anarchist at the time of his entry or that he had been in the country less than three full years and had committed an overt act of anarchism. Takeuchi had come to America in 1903 and had only expressed anarchistic thoughts.[57]

The content of this first issue--and indeed of the later two issues - definitely was anarchistic, particularly in the Japanese section which was written with a good deal of youthful gusto. In the first issue, for example, an article on the development of socialism put forth the view that the revolutionary tide has made parliamentary tactics passe and ends with the exhortation: "People, wake-up! And arise! Arise and seize your freedom! Seize your happiness! Destroy evil governments, the enemies of freedom, with bombs!"[58] Another article stated the message more clearly:

> The only revolutionary means is the bomb. The bomb is also the means to harvest the revolution. The bomb is also the means to destroy the bourgeoisie. Today, with the mergers of capital and the rapid increase of the poor, the different policies of reform and parliamentarianism are equivalent to a child squirting his water pistol into a conflagration.[59]

An anti-Emperor system current also ran through the pages of the *Kakumei.* Labelling the Meiji shibboleth "Chukun Aikoku" (Loyalty to the Emperor, Love of the Nation) as a "slave morality," it expressed contempt for the institution as a tool of the ruling class, as a denial of scientific knowledge, and as a vestige of superstitious belief. The third issue reprinted Kotoku Shusui's speech on "direct-action" which he had delivered in February, 1907 before the first anniversary conference of the Japan Socialist Party.

The next incident spelled the end of the party. During most of the course of 1907, besides publishing the second and third issues of the *Kakumei,* the party continued to conduct indoor meetings in a quiet manner. But on November 3, 1907--the Meiji Emperor's birthday--it again came to public attention by causing an uproar in the Japanese community. On the morning of that day, certain members of the party--generally conceded to be Takeuchi, Konarita, Iwasa, and Kuramochi--tacked on the entrance to the Japanese Consulate General in San Francisco a mimeographed "Open Letter to Mutsuhito Emperor of Japan" and distributed copies throughout the Japanese community. This open letter declared that the Emperor and the writers had evolved from "monkeys" and hence were "peers"; that the Emperor was responsible for the poverty and suffering of the poor; that he is "vanity" personified if he believes the "fabrications" scholars relate about his origins. And it concluded with the following remarks:

> When spring arrives, flowers bloom; when summer comes, fruits ripen; this is the power of nature. When a revolution arises, it is not because someone brings it about; it arises naturally. And our terrorism is what comes at the end of this process.
>
> Don't mistake this for an empty, armchair theory. Terrorism is now succeeding in both Russia and France. Our terrorism will come into being based upon detailed studies of the successes and failures of terrorism in these advanced nations. Mutsuhito, pitiful Mutsuhito, your life will not be long. There will be a bomb planted beside you which will soon explode. And then![60]

The open letter was signed: "Anarchist-Assassin." The local community response was adverse to say the least, for the Emperor's birthday or Tenchosetsu was one of the most important Japanese national holidays which it commemorated with nationalistic reverence.[61] The Japanese Consul General again tried unsuccessfully to have the responsible party members deported.[62] In the end a split occurred within the party because a few members had drafted up the open letter without consulting everyone.[63] So what began as a small, youthful group of Issei socialists and anarchists organized for political action for all intents and purposes came to an abrupt end, and members eventually started either to return to Japan or to disperse to regions outside the Bay Area.[64]

FRESNO AND JAPANESE AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

During this period, as it still is today, the Fresno area was a major grape growing region, and Japanese agricultural laborers then comprised 60% of the grape-picking labor force. In 1908 upwards of 4000-5000 Japanese workers migrated into this area for the picking season which ran from mid-August through the fall months.[65] Labor conditions were far from ideal, especially with the common outbreak of malaria and typhoid; from 1898-1907 182 Japanese laborers had died, and out of this total 40 had passed away in 1907 alone.[66] In mid-1905 there had been formed a socialist study group similar to the earlier Bay Area groups in Fresno.[67] The arrival of a key member of the Social Revolutionary Party led to the establishment of a much bigger organization than either this group or the party itself which tried to cope with the basic problems of the Japanese agricultural laborers in this area.

This organization was the Fresno Rodo Domei Kai (Fresno Labor League) which was organized on August 20, 1908.[68] The central figure was none other than Takeuchi Tetsugoro. After the split in the party, he had first gone to Vacaville and worked as an agricultural laborer; From there he proceeded to Fresno to organize the Japanese agricultural laborers. His efforts resulted in the formation of the Labor League which became an incipient agricultural labor union with a sizeable membership of about 2000 workers.[69] Its aims were outlined as:

> 1) To prevent the lowering of wages and to secure the highest possible;
> 2) To vigorously attack the unfair competition of corrupt labor contractors; and
> 3) To unify members to take concerted action to elevate the status of workers and to gain the confidence of grape-growers.[70]

Neither anarchistic in tone nor in fact, these aims addressed themselves to the concrete problems facing agricultural laborers.

In the 1908 picking season there were many problems in the Fresno area. One of these was the competition among Japanese labor contractors. To prevent harmful competition, 53 Japanese contractors met on June 7, 1908, in Fresno and organized themselves into the Central California Contractors' Association, and agreed upon $1.65 per ton as the set rate with which to contract with the growers in the coming season.[71] To punish violators, or "corrupt bosses" as they were called, the Association members resolved to request the San Francisco Consulate General not to have any dealings with such contractors, to report their "immoral" activities to their hometowns in Japan, to inform other Japanese organizations in other areas of these individuals, and to sever all personal relations with them. The Association anticipated some difficulties in contracting with one of the biggest vineyards in the area, the 900-acre Tarpey Ranch, because of similar troubles in the previous season. In early August, contrary to the agreed upon rate and the dismay of the Association, three renegade Japanese contractors from Kings County contracted with this vineyard for $1.25 per ton.[72]

The news of this event brought an instantaneous response from the Japanese community. The Contractors' Association appealed to Japanese laborers not to work for these "corrupt"

contractors. Issuing a circular couched in nationalistic language, it asserted that the Japanese laborers should "make as much money as possible and send remissions to Japan" to make her a big power and that the contractors in question were only interested in enriching themselves. The circular ended with the assurance that, as far as the Contractors' Association was concerned, it would continue to insist upon the $1.65 per ton rate.[73] The Association secured the support of the Japanese Association of America whose Secretary, Kuma Toshiyasu, attempted to persuade the three contractors to break their contract with the Tarpey Ranch but to no avail; and as additional pressure the two contractors who were members of the Hanford Japanese Association were officially expelled on August 31, 1908 from that organization.[74] The *Shin Sekai* also lined up behind the Contractors' Association. Reviewing the arguments for exclusion, in a major editorial on August 13th it noted the three contractors lent substance to the argument that Japanese laborers worked for lower wages--Japanese laborers, in its view, should be demanding the same wages as white laborers. And in sharp terms it condemned the three contractors as "one type of traitors."

In California agriculture, beginning with Chinese laborers in the 19th century, a system of labor contractors had been established as the principal mechanism by which a migratory labor force was organized.[75] Within this system the Japanese labor contractor was more than a labor boss or agent of the employer, for he occupied an intermediate position between the employer and his labor gang. On the one hand, his role as a contractor depended on his ability to meet the labor demands of the employer by supplying a required number of workers for a specific period to do a designated task. But since he was not paid by the employer for this service, his own income came from the wages of his workers through a flat commission, and sometimes additional kickbacks. In the case of a contractor who was in the retail merchandising business- such as Kamikawa Riichi in Fresno at this time- his income came from his exclusive right to supply provisions to his workers, usually on credit.[76] In either case the contractor had to offer sufficient wages to attract and maintain his workers, and in this limited sense, he had to represent their interests.[77] Hence, whenever Japanese contractors resorted to short strikes before the harvest season, refused to scab against other Japanese, regulated the supply of labor to seek higher wages, defined territorial rights, and even boycotted certain growers, they were functioning as quasi-labor leaders. And precisely because of this intermediate position it was crucial for the contractor to eliminate competition. If competition existed, he could be underbid by another contractor or deserted by his workers for better wages offered by his competitor which would threaten his own livelihood. The Central California Contractors' Association was organized to prevent this kind of competition to protect the contractors themselves.

The three aims of the Fresno Labor League were formulated directly out of the issue surrounding the three renegade Japanese contractors who had defied the Contractors' Association. The $1.25 per ton rate inevitably meant lower wages for the Japanese laborers. Takeuchi and others actively opposed them, going out to Fowler and other places to obstruct their attempts to recruit Japanese workers.[78] The members of the Labor League were so successful that no Japanese would work for the three contractors, forcing them to hire Mexican, Indian, and Korean laborers to fulfill their contract with the Tarpey Ranch.[79] The U.S. Immigration Commission surveyed the Japanese population in the Fresno area in 1908. Emphasizing the significance of the Contractors' Association's role in controlling contract prices and wages, its report stated: "When the dependence of the vineyardists upon the Japanese is considered, the importance of this organization will be realized."[80] If the word "Japanese" is changed to "Japanese contractors," then another important dimension comes into focus in connection with the Labor League. In 1903, in one of the earliest attempts of its kind, 1000 Japanese and Mexican sugar beet workers in Oxnard, California went on strike to eliminate labor contractors and to secure the right to bargain directly with the grower.[81] Though there is no record of the Labor League contracting with any grape-grower, Takeuchi

did go to the Tarpey Ranch, trying to get the contract for his own organization, and the Labor League did oppose the Contractors' Association.[82] To this extent the Labor League can be interpreted as an effort to organize Japanese agricultural laborers free from Japanese contractors into an agricultural labor union.

In addition to the competition of contractors, there were other problems in the Fresno area in 1908 which affected Japanese laborers. Two problems in particular stood out: Chinese gambling houses and Japanese prostitution. In an editorial "Debauchery and Gambling–What Did You Come to American For?," on June 12, 1908, the *Shin Sekai* decried the prevalence of these two "vices" among the Japanese throughout the State of California. In Fresno Christian and Buddhist ministers banded together in the spring into a Kyofu Kai or Moral Reform Association which initiated a drive to close down Chinese gambling houses.[83] According to the Congregational minister, Fukunaga Kumazo, there were 19 such establishments in operation which took approximately $200,000 from Japanese laborers who patronized them during the previous season. .[84] One of the biggest gambling houses, operated by a Lee Troy, supplied free wine, beer, and tea and had a moving picture display which was changed once a week to attract customers.[85] Through the summer and fall of 1908, the Association carried out a crusade against them, usually with limited success, and the Labor League joined in.[86] But the Association's anti-prostitution campaign was a different matter. Not only did the Labor League disagree with such a campaign, it also criticized the ministers. Estimates vary as to the exact number, but it is safe to say that there were between 20-40 Japanese prostitutes in Fresno during the picking season.[87] The Association had a number of these women arrested in October and undertook a concerted campaign against them in 1909.[88] The Labor League pointed out, rather bitterly, that the zealous ministers already had wives and that, until the laborers had the opportunity to lead stable family lives, prostitution was an evil but unavoidable necessity. But more important, since prostitution was a product of a capitalistic system from its perspective, to chase the prostitutes out of Fresno, as the ministers tried, did not solve this social problem. The problems of labor and prostitution were interrelated and could be solved only by fundamental changes in society, not by a moral crusade.[89]

The official organ of the Labor League, the *Rodo* (Labor), was published from November 20, 1908 to September 14, 1909.[90] Its editorial staff consisted of Takeuchi Tetsugoro and Matsushita Zenpei in Fresno and Iwasa, Konarita, Kuramochi, and Ogawa in San Francisco, members of the Social Revolutionary Party who had remained in the Bay Area.[91] From the few extant issues of the *Rodo,* it is possible to get an idea of its content.[92] Articles which attacked the Emperor system, the capitalist class, and militarism were prominent along with the constant appeal to workers to unite:

> According to recent statistics, out of 1000 persons 343 ruling class members live to the age of 60-years old but only 256 members of the working class. Why is this so? We workers die early from physical ailments caused by excessive labor, by working in dangerous factories or in mines with inadequate facilities. Or by working long hours with an injury, by unsanitary living conditions injurious to health, and by mental disorders stemming from living in perpetual poverty.
>
> But no matter how dangerous the work may be, no matter how long the working hours may be, we workers have no right to voice our grievances. For if we express our likes and dislikes, we will never be able to secure work, and will pitifully starve to death.
>
> If one thinks in these terms, what difference is there between workers today and the slaves of old?
>
> •••
>
> Today the workers of the world are awakening to how wretched their conditions are. The workers in Japan are also awakening. This is natural. Thus we workers also must unite.[93]

Other articles went further and advocated the public ownership of land and the means of production, stating that unions (such as the Labor League)

> cannot take effective measures to cope with the evils which come from the private property system and laissez-faire economic competition, nor with unemployment and dips in wages which accompany economic depressions ...
>
> Thus if we workers are to seek our own welfare, we must not stop at denouncing exploiting employers, shady merchants, and corrupt bosses. We must also go one more step forward and destroy the private property system which continually spawns unemployment and poverty. We workers must make all land and the means of production public property for society as a whole and eliminate laissez-faire competition .....[94]

In the year 1909 the Labor League participated in two major activities. First, on August 25, 1909, it convened a labor convention of Japanese workers in Fresno timed to coincide with the beginning of the picking season.[95] Representatives from Sacramento, Los Angeles, Fresno, and San Francisco addressed an audience of 300 workers, and the convention passed four resolutions to further the labor movement among Japanese workers which stated:

> 1) that the welfare of workers cannot depend upon ministers, community leaders, or newspaper reporters--the slavish jesters of the capitalist class--it can be secured only by resorting to the principle of justice and the power of worker unity; and resolved:
>
> 2) to affiliate with labor groups in other areas and to establish branches of the Labor League in other areas to further the labor movement:
>
> 3) to publish an English monthly to educate and inform ignorant anti-Japanese elements; and
>
> 4) to affiliate with other labor groups in other areas to ban Chinese gambling.[96]

Second, on September 19, 1909, the Labor League held a joint rally with the Fresno branch of the Industrial Workers of the World in Japanese-town. Besides the Fresno I.W.W. head, Mexican and Italian I.W.W. speakers also spoke, and Takeuchi himself talked on the international brotherhood of workers and the necessity of workers to unite irrespective of nationality or color.[97]

Despite the resolutions passed by the labor convention, the Labor League did not expand its activities--it neither established branches in other locales nor published an English monthly. Indeed it ceased publishing its official journal on September 14, 1909, forecasting the eventual demise of the organization in the following year. One explanation for this setback is the lack of funds; litigation costs to defend Takeuchi in a court case drained the Labor League's limited financial resources.[98] Japanese-language newspapers had not been sympathetic to the Labor League, and one in particular, the *Soko Shimbun*, carried caustic articles by Otsuka Zenjiro which attacked it as an anarchist organization. Incensed by these articles, Takeuchi and another member of the Labor League had gone to San Francisco in November, 1908 ostensibly to challenge him to a public debate. On November 30, 1908, however, a knife fight between Takeuchi and Otsuka occurred in which both were badly lacerated, resulting in costly expenses to defend Takeuchi in the court case which ensued.[99]

Yet in a more basic sense the cessation of the journal, when coupled with the Labor League's failure to expand its activities as outlined by the labor convention, was a symptom of a larger problem. For the Labor League undoubtedly experienced the inherent difficulties of organizing a migratory agricultural labor force. The very fact that Japanese laborers, for the most part, did not remain in the Fresno area except for the duration of a picking season--a short 2½ months--made it difficult, if not impossible, to maintain an on-going, cohesive organization. The composition of the labor force moreover underwent seasonal changes with some workers migrating to other areas like Southern California while others moved on to become farm operators.[100] In addition to a hostile Japanese-language press, the Labor League also met local community opposition. The Japanese Association of Fresno refused to

recognize it as a legitimate organization, obstructed its activities, and labelled it as a group with anarchist elements; and when news of the Daigyaku Jiken in Japan came into this already trying situation in the summer of 1910, it made it next to impossible for anyone associated with Kotoku Shusui, as Takeuchi and other immigrant socialists were, to function in the Japanese community, whether in Fresno or any other area.[101] Finally, Takeuchi, the founder and principal leader of the Labor League, departed from the Fresno area sometime in 1910, marking the end of this organization which was an unsuccessful but significant attempt to organize Japanese laborers into an agricultural labor union.

THE 1911 BAKERSFIELD LÈSE-MAJESTÉ AFFAIR

On November 3, 1911, less than 10 months after Kotoku's execution, the small Bakersfield Japanese community, like all the other Japanese communities in California and elsewhere, came together to commemorate the Meiji Emperor's birthday. The event was held at the Bakersfield Buddhist Hall with representatives from various local groups participating in the program; Takeda Shojiro represented the Bakersfield Japanese Methodist Mission. At this local commemoration, Takeda reportedly paid no respect to the Emperor's portrait, an important ritual in this event, and went further in his "disrespect" by asserting, two days later at a meeting in the Methodist Mission, that such a practice was a form of "idolatry" which Christians should not follow.[102] As a local cause celebre, Takeda was accused of being a "traitor" for these assertions, and what started as a local incident developed into an unprecedented lèse-majesté affair which was related in a significant way to the previous activities of the Issei socialists and anarchists.

At the heart of this lèse-majesté affair was Kitazawa Tetsuji, the pastor of the Fresno Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church. Because of the unfavorable newspaper coverage of Takeda's remarks, as the minister responsible for supervising the Methodist Mission, he went to Bakersfield two weeks later. While there, on November 17, 1911, he presented a talk entitled: "The Christian Viewpoint on the Emperor's Portrait."[103] In this talk he made the distinction between the act of showing respect and its meaning--though the outward act appeared uniform for all people, the inner meaning differed and could be categorized into those who respect the Emperor in Japan through the portrait, those who respect the portrait as a portrait and nothing more, and those who respect the portrait as the embodiment of some transcendental value. Christians, he insisted, look upon the portrait and pay respect only in the second sense. In addition, he defined the difference between "respect" and "worship" (keirei and reihai) The former was a secular term used to denote human relationships based upon ceremonial propriety; the latter was a religious term used exclusively to designate man's relationship to God. Hence, while Christians should "respect" the Emperor's portrait in the second sense, they should never "worship" it. The newspaper described his talk as "pouring oil into a small fire," for Reverend Kitazawa "justified" Takeda's conduct by saying "to show respect or not in an individual choice" and not to do so "did not violate any law."[104]

The furor quickly spread to Fresno. Besides being the pastor of the Fresno Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church, Reverend Kitazawa was also at the time the head of the Japanese Association of Fresno. Due to the discrepancy between the public explanation of his talk and the earlier newspaper coverage of it, a dissident group, led by Taira Chizan, Yoshii Setsunan, and Ito Bansho, met in Fresno on November 27, 1911 and decided to send a delegation to Bakersfield to investigate exactly what had occurred in that city.[105] In spite of this initial uproar, the Board of the Fresno Japanese Association, in an emergency session on December 5, 1911, gave Reverend Kitazawa a vote of confidence, rejected his resignation, and declared the matter closed.[106] On the next day a public hearing was convened at which the Fresno delegation to Bakersfield presented its report, and 302 individuals present adopted a resolution which labelled him a "fukeikan" or "disrespectful turncoat" and "called upon the

Fresno Japanese Association to take punitive measures."[107] Upon being presented with this resolution, the Board refused to alter its position, and most of its members then resigned from their posts.[108] As the last but most significant act of the year, on December 27, 1911, at a specially called membership-wide meeting of the Fresno Japanese Association, a similar resolution was overwhelmingly endorsed. It read:

> The head of our Association, Kitazawa Tetsuji, cannot be forgiven, for he is a person who has disloyal and disrespectful ideas and moreover has publicly expressed them. Because he is a 'fukeikan,' we relieve him of his post and expell him forthwith;
>
> The above action will be reported to the San Francisco Japanese Consulate General, the Japanese Association of America, and all local Japanese Associations, and a public notice of expulsion will be published in all newspapers.[109]

Since most of the officers had already resigned, the execution of this resolution had to be postponed until the election of new officers in January.

This action was the harbinger of a prolonged, bitter conflict which divided the Fresno Japanese community into two hostile camps. The regular annual membership meeting took place on January 7, 1912, and the newly elected officers decided to execute the resolution.[110] The first public notice of expulsion appeared on February 14, 1912.[111] The Japanese Association of America in San Francisco, to which local associations were affiliated, on the same day, responded by withdrawing the "certification right" from the Fresno Japanese Association on the ground that "under present circumstances" it "could not advance the welfare of the Japanese," and severed its ties with it.[112] In the meantime the former members of the Fresno Japanese Association who had disagreed with the action against Reverend Kitazawa organized another association which was officially inaugurated on March 10, 1912, as the Fresno County Japanese Association.[113] Efforts by the older association to regain its certification right--through negotiation with San Francisco, by direct appeals to Consul General Nagai, and even through a mediator--all proved fruitless. Thus two associations came to exist, one old and one new, each claiming to represent the Fresno Japanese community.

This unprecedented situation was not settled until 1914. To worsen the problem, the Japanese Association of America recognized the new association on April 3, 1912 and bestowed upon it the certification right. Throughout the rest of the year there were many unsuccessful attempts at mediation with this act being one of the main sources of contention. To exacerbate matters even more, on March 11, 1913, a group of men from the old association, let by Taira Chizan again, invaded the office of the Fresno Japanese-language newspaper, assaulted the reporter, and left the place in a shambles in response to a series of vituperative articles in this newspaper which called the old association a "total fraud."[114] And again, under the influence of this latest development, renewed efforts at mediation took place. But the final reconciliation did not occur until January, 1914 at which time by common consent both the old and new associations formally dissolved themselves and them came together to form another new organization.[115]

Here the significance of this strife is neither in the details nor the underlying causes, but in the anti-Christian nature of the action against Reverend Kitazawa. Since 1891 Christians had aroused suspicions and enmity in Japan when the noted Christian, Uchimura Kanzo, had refused to pay his respect to the Emperor's portrait.[116] This most celebrated lese-majeste affair led to the acrimonious debate between the critics of Christianity and its Christian defenders during the 1890's. Led by Inoue Tetsujiro the critics attacked Christian teachings as incompatible with the Meiji state--because Christianity stressed the equality of all men, they first asserted, it made no basic distinction between different races and nations so central to the Meiji Constitution and the Imperial Rescript on Education which defined the uniqueness of the Japanese people; because it taught universal love and charity, it transcended the limited ideals of the state; because it emphasized salvation in another world, it was antithetical to the

secular orientation of the state; and lastly--and here the critics were the harshest--because Christianity did not teach filial piety, it did not inculcate loyalty to the Emperor--indeed Christians recognized a higher authority in God! These criticisms of Christianity were reenforced by the Christian participation in and leadership of the socialist movement in the succeding decade. During the Russo-Japanese War certain Christians like Uchimura Kanzo and Kinoshita Naoe also added their voices to the anti-war campaign begun by Kotoku Shusui, providing additional substantiation to the charge that they were disloyal subjects.[117] And the later public association of Christians with anarchists, especially after the disclosure of the Daigyaku Jiken, was an extension of their involvement in the socialist movement that made them more suspect.[118]

The Bakersfield lèse-majesté affair was a reflection of this anti-Christian bias. Reverend Kitazawa was labelled a "disloyal" Japanese with "subversive ideas" (kiken shiso) for expressing his "Christian Viewpoint on the Emperor's portrait", by the anti-Kitazawa forces who defined themselves as "patriots." On March 31, 1912, the leaders of the old Fresno Japanese Association, in cooperation with Soejima Hachiro and others in the Bay Area, convened a conference of "Imperial Subjects" in Oakland.[119] Soejima was the founder and one-time publisher of the *Shin Sekai* and a recognized community leader. Naming the Bakersfield event another "Uchimura Kanzo Fukei Jiken," the conference participants denounced the Japanese Association of America, the Fresno County Japanese Association, and even the Consul General for their failure to take action against Reverend Kitazawa. As the head of the conference, Soejima Hachiro stated that "Consul General Nagai" and "the Japanese Association of America ... were protecting a 'fukeikan' and had subversive ideas."[120] And in the attack upon Consul General Nagai, it was no accident that he was referred to as a "Christian."[121] The logic in its crudest form ran:

> Persons who protect traitors are traitors. Kitazawa Tetsuji is a traitor. Nagai Shozo, the Executive Council of the Japanese Association of America, and the Fresno County Japanese Association are protecting Kitazawa. Therefore, the Consul General, the members of the Executive Council of the Japanese Association of America, and the Fresno County Japanese Association are traitors.[122]

Since the Japanese-language newspapers had also refused editorially to condemn Reverend Kitazawa, they too came under fire. Of all the newspapers the *Nichibei Shimbun* was the object of the heaviest criticism, for the anti-Kitazawa forces linked it to Kotoku Shusui and the Social Revolutionary Party, implying that the publisher, Abiko Kyutaro, had socialistic leanings.[123] Abiko too was a Christian who had been the head of the Gospel Society. They accused him of having assisted the socialists by permitting them to reside in the Gospel Society, by allowing Kotoku to conduct meetings there, and by letting him become a guest contributor to his newspaper. To insinuate Abiko had more than sympathy with the socialists, they noted he had had Sagitani Seiichi on his staff, an individual who was identified with the Social Revolutionary Party.[124] Associating him in this manner with Kotoku, the anti-Kitazawa forces hoped to discredit the Executive Council of the Japanese Association of America as well because Abiko was also a member of it. Their dissatisfaction with the newspapers was so great that they even initiated their own newspaper called the *Kokumin Shimbun*.[125]

That the local Bakersfield incident mushroomed into this type of lèse-majesté affair is not surprising. Subsequent to the Daigyaku Jiken, the Japanese community became extra-sensitive to instances of "disrespect" to the Emperor and prepared to take action against them (the death of the Meiji Emperor in the summer of 1912 no doubt reenforced this sensitivity). Coming as it did less than 10 months after the execution of Kotoku and others, all socialists and anarchists by definition were "treasonous" individuals, whether in Japan or America. In America the words and deeds of the members of the Social Revolutionary Party and the

Fresno Labor League, both of which could be traced to Kotoku, provided tangible evidence for this judgement. And their protest activities in response to the Daigyaku Jiken left no room for any doubt--from November, 1910 through February, 1911--the Issei socialists and anarchists issued open letters of protest to the Japanese government and held rallies in San Francisco and Oakland in conjunction with American socialists, including the noted writer, Jack London. On the evening of January 25, 1911, the day after the execution of Kotoku and others, 19 individuals conducted an all-night vigil in San Francisco, declaring that "the deranged Japanese government, heedless of the protest movement throughout the world, murdered the warriors of humanism and the forerunners of the Japanese revolution" and "designated January 24, 1911 as a commemoration day of the Japanese Revolution."[126] Christians to be sure were not *ipso facto* "disloyal" Japanese subjects. Yet with the antecedent historical bias against them, strong suspicions lurked. In San Francisco back in 1902, well before the socialists and anarchists had arrived on the scene, an instance of Christian "disrespect" had taken place which had confirmed these suspicions. In that year Sakon Yoshisuke had written articles critical of the Meiji Emperor in the monthly publication of the San Francisco Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church, and he had had to resign his job as its editor and his position as the English instructor in the church because of the community response.[127] In the patriots' mind Reverend Kitazawa gave further confirmation of these suspicions, and given the activities of the socialists and anarchists in the intervening time and the public tendency to associate all Christians with them, his behavior called for prompt, unequivocal condemnation in the name of the Meiji shibboleth "Chukun, Aikoku"--Loyalty to the Emperor, Love of the Nation.[128]

CONCLUSIONS

It might be worthwhile to dwell upon the meaning of the early Issei socialists and anarchists and the Bakersfield lèse-majesté affair of 1911 to conclude this essay. The most obvious point is that there were Issei socialists and anarchists in the early inchoate stage of the Japanese community. Admittedly the Social Revolutionary Party consisted of only a handful of individuals, but it did have an impact upon the community, brief though it may have been, and the Fresno Labor League which developed from the party was a significant attempt to organize Japanese laborers into an agricultural labor union. And all their combined activities did reenforce the historical, anti-Christian bias as witnessed by the Bakersfield lèse-majesté affair, suggesting conflict rather than unity may have been more characteristic of the Japanese community, at least during this period.[129]

But beyond this there is a deeper meaning. Marcus L. Hansen, a past historian of European immigration to America, indicated long ago the intimate relationship between emigration and immigration, between the emigrant nation and the immigrant land, demonstrating the need to study both.[130] The two subjects of this essay exemplify his dictum: neither the Issei socialists and anarchists nor the Bakersfield lèse-majesté affair can be separated from Japan--they can be fully understood only by reference to events in late Meiji times. By extension other aspects of Japanese-American history such as Japanese language schools or the entire 1930 period cannot be understood without reference to modern Japanese history. To insist Japanese-American history must be studied alongside the history of modern Japan, however, does not mean the two are synonymous. Japanese-American history after all is an integral part of American history, the essential larger context from which its basic meaning derives. But to the extent modern Japanese history influenced it, it cannot be ignored. In sum, Japanese-American history must be studied with reference to the influence of modern Japanese history within the larger context of American history to be fully understood. From this perspective Japanese American history remains essentially buried.

FOOTNOTES

1. Daniels, Roger, "Westerners from the East; Oriental Immigrants Reappraised," *Pacific Historical Review,* 35:4 (November, 1966), p. 375.

2. Kublin, Hyman, "Takano Fusataro: A Study in Early Japanese Trade-Unionism," American Philosophical Society, *Proceedings,* 103:4 (August 15, 1959), p. 573 and p. 577. The purposes of the Shokko Giyu Kai in San Francisco were stated as "to study the labor problems in Western countries and to apply the knowledge to solutions to labor problems in Japan in the future." Quoted in Katayama Sen and Nishikawa Kojiro, *Nihon no Rodo Undo,* reprinted in *Meiji Bunka Zenshu,* Shakai-hen, (Tokyo, 1929), p. 169.

3. Kublin, Hyman, *op. cit.,* pp. 578-580.

4. *Ibid.,* pp. 580-582. Except for a short three-week period in which the *Rodo Sekai* became a daily under the title *Naigai Shimpo* in January, 1902, it continued until March, 1903 when its title changed to Shakaishugi. See Watanabe, Yoshimichi and Shiota, Shobei, *Nihon Shakaishugi Bunken Kaisetsu* (Tokyo, 1958), pp. 48-49. In 1902 Katayama Sen formed the Tobei Kyokai (Association for the America-bound) whose aim was to encourage Japanese to come to America and used the *Rodo Sekai* and its successor as its official organ to disseminate information about America, attempting to combine such information with knowledge about labor problems and socialism. In January, 1905 the *Shakaishugi* changed to the *Tobei Zasshi* (America-bound Magazine) which then focused exclusively on the procedures for coming to America and news about it. See Sumiya, Mikio, *Katayama Sen--Kindai Nihon no Shisoka* (Tokyo, 1960), pp. 136-143. Some Issei came to America through the help of Katayama's Tobei Kyokai. For a biography of Katayama Sen, see Kublin, Hyman, *Asian Revolutionary: The Life of Sen Katayama* (Princeton, 1964).

5. Kublin, Hyman, "The Origins of Japanese Socialist Tradition," *Journal of Politics,* 14:2 (May, 1952), p. 261.

6. Quoted in *Ibid.,* p. 262.

7. These three were Abe Isoo who was a graduate of the Hartford Theological Seminary, Murai Tomoyoshi who was a graduate of the Andover Thoelogical Seminary, and Katayama Sen who took his master's degree from Yale Divinity School.

8. The platform of the Shakai Minshuto consisted of 8 essential points: 1) Universal Brotherhood: 2) Disarmament and International Peach: 3) Abolition of Political and Economic Distinctions: 4) Public Ownership of Land and Capital: 5) Public Ownership of Communication and Transportation Facilities: 6) Equitable Distribution of Wealth: 7) Equality of Political Rights: and 8) Free State Supported Education for all. See Kawakami, Kiyoshi K., *The Political Ideas of Modern Japan* (Iowa City, 1903), pp. 187-188.

9) Ishikawa, Kyokuzan and Kotoku, Shusui, *Nihon Shakaishugi Shi,* reprinted in *Meiji Bunka Zenshu, op. cit.,* pp. 367-368.

10. Kublin, Hyman, "The Origins of Japanese Socialist Tradition," *op. cit.,* p. 267.

11. Kublin, Hyman, "The Japanese Socialists and the Russo-Japanese War," *Journal of Modern History,* 22:4 (December, 1950), pp. 322-339. Before Kotoku and Sakai formed the Heiminsha, they both worked as reporters for the *Yorozu Choho,* one of the leading Tokyo dailies. In early October, 1903 the publisher of this newspaper adopted a jingoistic, pro-war stance, and so both individuals resigned at once.

12. Ike, Nobutake, "Kotoku Denjiro: Advocate of Direct Action," *Far Eastern Quarterly,* 3:3 (May, 1944), pp. 222-235.

13. See Itoya, Toshio, *Daigyaku Jiken* (Tokyo, 1970).

14. Katayama, Sen. *The Labor Movement in Japan* (Chicago, 1918), p. 140. The newspaper he refers to is the *Shakai Shimbun* which he edited.

15. The major source for this portion of this essay is the special report compiled by the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Japanese government entitled *Beikoku ni Okeru Nihonjin Shakaishugisha Museifushugisha Enkaku* which has been reproduced in Shakai Bunko, *Zaibei Shakaishugisha Museifushugisha,* v. 1 (Tokyo, 1964), pp. 35-455. (This report will hereafter be cited as *B.S.M.E.)* The Japanese government began its secret surveillance of socialists during the Russo-Japanese War and in July, 1908 compiled its first secret report under the title *Shakaishugisha Enkaku.* Report no. 2 followed in July, 1909, no. 3 in July, 1911. This special report on the Japanese socialists and anarchists in America was compiled from portions of no. 1 and no. 2 in July, 1911 and covers the period from December, 1903 to June, 1911. See Ohara, Kei, "Zaibei Nihonjin Shakaishugisha Museifushugisha no 'Kotoku Jiken' ni Oyoboshita Eikyo," *Tokyo Kei Daigaku Kaishi,* no. 26 (January, 1960), pp. 157-169. Japanese historians have studied the early Issei socialists and anarchists in terms of their influence upon the socialist movement in Japan. The best summary of their activities is in Matsuo, Shoichi, "Meiji Makki ni Okeru Zaibei Nihonjin Shakaishugi Museifushugi Undo Koshi," Shakai Bunko, *op. cit.,* pp. 17-29 which I have freely used. Other works are cited in subsequent notes.

16. The Fukuin Kai was the first Japanese-American organization formed in America. Established in October, 1877, it started out as a bible-study group under the direction of Rev. Otis Gibson, the Superintendent of the Chinese Methodist Episcopal Mission, and met on Saturday evenings in the basement of the Mission headquarters located at 916 Washington St. Out of this modest beginning, the First Japanese Presbyterian Church and the Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church of San Francisco developed in the mid-1880's. By the time of the Russo-Japanese War it had evolved into an independent residence for young men and a center for social and other activities located at 725 Geary St. See Zaibei Nihonjin Kai, *Zaibei Nihonjin Shi* (San Francisco, 1940), pp. 340-346.

17. On the same program, according to Katayama, a member of the Seattle Socialist Party spoke and urged the Japanese to form a socialist group which he promised to cooperate with. Before the end of this meeting, Katayama, Kawakami, and 7 others organized the Seattle Nihonjin Shakaito (Seattle Japanese Socialist Party). See Katayama, Sen, "Beikoku Tayori," nos. 2-4, *Shakaishugi,* 2/18/04 and 3/3/04. Before coming to America, Kawakami Kiyoshi had worded on the *Yorozu Choho,* along with Kotoku Shusui and others, and he was one of the founders, as noted already, of the short-lived Social Democratic Party in May, 1901. Less than three months later, in August of that year, he came to American and studied at the University of Iowa where he took his master's degree in Political Science. See Kawakami, Kiyoshi, *Beiso Tatakawaba* (Tokyo, 1949), especially pp. 213-215 in which he recollects about his motives for coming to America. In 1903 the University of Iowa published his thesis, written in 1902, entitled *The Political Ideas of Modern Japan, op. cit.,* in which he discussed the fate of the Social Democratic Party, pp. 180-193. At the time of Katayama Sen's visit to Seattle, he was working as a reporter for the *Shin Nihon,* a Seattle Japanese-language newspaper. Later he became a prolific journalist who wrote on Japanese-American relation in English as well as Japanese. See Fujioka, Shiro, *Ayumi no Ato* (Los Angeles, 1957), pp. 42-48.

18. Katayama, Sen, "Beikoku Tayori," no. 7 *Shakaishugi,* 4/3/04. Enroute to San Francisco he also gave talks in Portland and Sacramento. See *Ibid.,* no. 5 and no. 6.

19. Iwasa, Sakutaro, "Zaibei Undo Shi Banashi," in Shakai Bunko, *op. cit.,* pp. 524-525. A native of Chiba Prefecture, Iwasa was a graduate of Tokyo Hogakuin (later Chuo Daigaku) who came to America in 1901 to study law through the assistance of Katayama's Tobei Kyokai. See *Ibid.,* p. 523 and Shakai Bunko, *Shakaishugisha Museifushugisha Jimbutsu Kenkyu Shiryo,* v. 7 (Tokyo, 1964), p. 43.

20. *B.S.M.E.,* pp. 44-46 and Iwasa, Sakutaro, *op. cit.,* pp. 525-526. Uyeyama Jitaro, a Christian, was a native of Oiita Prefecture who came to America in 1902. One of the few early married Issei, he later operated a small lodginghouse in Berkeley where many of the socialists would gather. See Shakai Bunko, *op. cit.,* v. 7, pp. 157-158. Takeuchi Tetsugoro

was a native of Iwate Prefecture who came to America in 1903 (reportedly as a draft dodger) and who later became the key leader. See *ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

21. *B.S.M.E.*, p. 47.

22. Reports of such meetings can be found in the *Chokugen* for 2/26/05 and 3/26/05.

23. Iwasa, Sakutaro, "Hokubei Soko Yori," *Chokugen*, 5/28/05. Iwasa indeed records that Abe was invited to speak in Oakland on April 30th for the International Workers' Day but he declined the offer. See also *B.S.M.E.*, p. 48 and Otsuka, Zenjiro, *Hishakaishugi* (Tokyo, 1911), pp. 146-147.

24. Havel, Hippolyte (ed.), "Kotoku's Correspondence with Albert Johnson," *Mother Earth*, 6:6 (August, 1911), pp. 182-183.

25. Shiota, Shobei, *Kotoku Shusui no Nikki to Shokan* (Tokyo, 1965), p. 216. Kotoku's correspondence and dairy while in America have been reprinted in this volume. For the diary, see pp. 129-146.

26. Like Kotoku Shusui, Oka was a native of Kochi Prefecture who came to America in the spring of 1902. Before leaving Japan, he too had worked for the Yorozu Choho, and hence personally knew Kotoku. His brother writes that Oka came here because he had had a fight with one of the staff members of the newspaper and had been asked to resign. See Oka, Naoki, *Sokoku wo Teki to Shite* (Tokyo, 1965), pp. 7-8. The members of the Heiminsha were Oka Shigeki and his wife, Toshiko, Kuramochi Zensaburo, Ogawa Kinji, Hasegawa Ichimatsu, Yamauchi Gonjiro, Ichikawa Toichi, Ashida Tsunejiro, and Nobeoka Tsunetaro, and it was located at Oka's home at 680 Hayes St. See *ibid.*, p. 9 and *B.S.M.E.*, p. 59. No precise date for its establishment is given in either source.

27. *B.S.M.E.*, p. 60 and Otsuka, Zenjiro, *op. cit.*, p. 152. Kotoku wrote three such articles: "Nichibei Kankei no Shorai," 1/21/06, in which he predicted a future war between Japan and America over economic issues; "Nihon Imin to Beikoku," 2/20/06, in which he blamed the Japanese government for the wretched plight of the Japanese people which forced them to emigrate and argued for the return of political and economic power to the common people; and "Zaibei Doho wa Kofuku Nariya?," 2/25/06, in which he argued for a socialist society which would not force its people to emigrate to a foreign land and be homesick for their native place. These articles have been reprinted in *Kotoku Shusui Zenshu*, v. 6 (Tokyo, 1968), pp. 43-52, pp. 53-57, and pp. 57-61 respectively.

28. Shiota, Shobei, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

29. Quoted in Ike, Nobutake, *op. cit.*, p. 225. These remarks were made to Oka Shigeki.

30. Shiota, Shobei, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

31. *B.S.M.E.*, pp. 104-107.

32. *Ibid.* pp. 110-114.

33. Kaneko Kiichi, a native of Kanagawa Prefecture, came to America in 1901 and studied at Harvard University. While here he became active in the American Socialist Party in Chicago. In 1908 he married Josephine Conger, an American woman who edited the *Appeal to Reason* and *Socialist Woman*. He returned to Japan and died in October, 1909 of consumption. See Kindai Nihon Shiryo Kenkyu Kai, *Shakaishugisha Enkaku*, v. 1, pp. 312-313 and Kaneko, Kiichi, "Tsushin," *Kumamoto Hyoron*, 8/20/08. Saijo Toru, a Christian and a native of Kumamoto Prefecture, came to America in 1899, Shakai Bunko, *op. cit.*, v. 7, pp. 225-226.

34. Interview with Takeshita Shizuma, 11/10/70. Takeshita states he was a close friend of Uyeyama which may account for his name appearing on the list of original members. An active Christian he was the Oakland correspondent for the *Nichibei Shimbun* at the time. Oka returned with Kotoku to Japan in early June, 1906 to purchase Japanese type, Oka,

Naoki, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Iwasa recalls he was away when the party was organized, Iwasa, Sakutaro, "Zaibei Undo Shi Banashi," *op. cit.*, p. 529.

35. Konarita Tsunero, a native of Iwate Prefecture, came to America in 1902, Shakai Bunko, *op. cit.*, v. 7, pp. 90-91. A native of Ibaragi Prefecture, Kuramochi Zensaburo came to America in 1904, *ibid.*, pp. 167-168. Hasegawa Ichimatsu, a native of Nagasaki Prefecture, came to America in 1904, *ibid.*, p. 53.

36. *B.S.M.E.*, pp. 114-115.

37. Iwasa, Sakutaro, "Beikoku Yori," *Hikari*, 8/5/06.

38. Takeuchi Tetsugoro and Saijo Toru were arrested, but the American socialist lawyer, Austin Lewis, got the charges dropped. *Ibid.* and *Oakland Socialist Voice*, 6/16/06.

39. *B.S.M.E.*, pp. 115-120.

40. Kuramochi, Zensaburo, "Shakai Kakumeito Okoru," *Hikari*, 7/20/06. For further details of this 1906 strike, see Weintraub, Hyman, *Andrew Furuseth: Emancipator of the Seamen* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959), pp. 74-78.

41. See Daniels, Roger, *The Politics of Prejudice* (New York, 1968) pp. 24-45 for further details of these and other events.

42. Weintraub, Hyman, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113. Despite this recorded help which the Social Revolutionary Party rendered, there is no mention of it in the Seamen's Union official journal, the *Seamen's Journal.*

43. *Oakland Socialist Voice*, 12/8/06. This issue was devoted to what was entitled: "Oriental Exclusion Symposium."

44. Kipnis, Ira, *The American Socialist Movement, 1897-1912* (New York, 1952), p. 277.

45. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 280.

46. *Oakland Socialist Voice*, 12/8/06.

47. Abe, Isoo, *Hokubei no Shin Nihon* (Tokyo, 1905), pp. 76-77.

48. *Oakland Socialist Voice*, 1/19/07. Kaneko Kiichi distributed this open letter to all socialist newspapers in America.

49. Kipnis, Ira, op. cit., p. 277.

50. *Oakland Socialist Voice*, 1/19/07.

51. *Oakland Socialist Voice*, 3/16/07. Kaneko Kiichi's article, entitled "American Socialists and Japanese," was printed in the English section of the Social Revolutionary Party's official organ, *Kakumei*, on 2/10/07. See below.

52. Through the remainder of the summer and fall of 1906, the party conducted various talks at different places. On 6/21/06, for example, party members conducted a talk at the Oakland Buddhist Church, Kuramochi, Zensaburo, "Beikoku Ofu Yori," *Hikari*, 9/5/06. On 8/23/06 in Alameda, on 9/14/06 in Oakland again, and on 10/6/06 in San Francisco, Anonymous, "Beikoku Bakurei Yori," *Hikari*, 11/15/06. The content of the San Francisco program provides a good idea of what these talks were like. Iwasa spoke on the "Consul General and the So-Called Bourgeoisie"; Kuramochi on "Slave Morality"; Uyeyama on "On Crime"; and Konarita on "Why We Advocate Socialism."

53. The three issues appeared on 12/20/06, 2/10/07, and 4/1/07 respectively. They are reproduced in Shakai Bunko, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 461-485.

54. *San Francisco Examiner*, 12/30/06; *San Francisco Call*, 12/30/06; and *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, 12/31/06.. It is interesting to take note of the images used in reporting this event. The *San Francisco Call*, on 12/31/06, for instance, after questioning the members of

the "Red House" further reported that "these Japanese anarchists ... still declined to name the man who was their editor-in-chief, and they insisted, as before, that they had no commander. If the authorities really do put a hand on the anarchistic group, they will discover as slippery a band of Oriental smoothness that baffles inquiry, and which leaves their questioners at the end of a hunt for information regarding their business at about the place where a start was made."

55. *Shin Sekai,* 12/30/06. Unfortunately the two other Japanese-language newspapers in San Francisco at this time, the *Nichibei Shimbun* and *Soko Shimbun,* have not been preserved.

56. *B.S.M.E.,* p. 129 and *Berkeley Daily Gazette,* 1/4/07.

57. *B.S.M.E., p. 136.*

58. Shakai Bunko, *op. cit,,* v. 1, p. 466.

59. *Ibid.,* p. 467.

60. The complete text of this open letter is in *B.S.M.E.,* pp. 178-189.

61. The *Shin Sekai,* on 11/4/07, called it the work of "madmen." The practice of commemorating Tenchosetsu goes as far back as 1878 when the Consul General and 80 Japanese celebrated it in San Francisco, Toga, Yoichi, *Nichibei Kankei Zaibeikoku Nihonjin Hatten Shiyo* (Oakland, 1927), p. 45. After the victory in the Russo-Japanese War, this event was carried out with newly invigorated patroitism.

62. *B.S.M.E.,* pp. 194-195. The Consulate General reported to the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo that Uyeyama Jitaro, Iwasa Sakutaro, Takeuchi Tetsugoro, Konarita Tsunero, Kuramochi Zensaburo, Ogawa Kinji, Hasegawa Ichimatsu, and a few others were connected with this incident and required careful watching, and began to employ two agents to secretly survey their activities. See wires from San Francisco Charge D'Affaire to Foreign Minister Hayashi, 11/4/07 and 11/15/07, in *Meiji Bunka Zenshu,* v. 6 (Tokyo, 1955), pp. 578-581. Japanese historians have related this incident and the other activities of the Social Revolutionary Party with efforts to topple the Saionji Cabinet (1/7/06 to 7/14/08) by the Genro, Yamagata Aritomo. See Kanzaki, Kiyoshi, *Kakumei Densetsu: Tenno Ansatsu no Kan* (Tokyo, 1960), pp. 91-110; Ohara, Kei, "Takahashi Sakue Kyoju Ate Koike Chozo Tatsumi Tetsuo no Tegami," *Tokyo Dei Daigaku Kaishi,* no 29-30 (October, 1960), pp. 395-424 and the same author's "Genro Yamagata Aritomo e no Shokan," *Tokyo Kei Daigaku Kaishi,* no 39 (June, 1963), pp. 157-197. This incident also was brought out in the Daigyaku Jiken secret trial to connect Kotoku Shusui with it. See Itoya, Toshio, *op. cit.,* pp. 53-62.

63. Shin Sekai, 12/7/07 and *Telegram* from Consul Koike to Foreign Minister Hayashi, 12/30/07, in *Meiji Bunka Zenshu,* v. 6 (Tokyo, 1965), p. 586.

64. Hasegawa Ichimatsu, for example, returned to Japan in March, 1908, *B.S.M.E.,* p. 397. Others who were in some ways connected with the party but not active core members also returned to Japan, Ibid., pp. 398-399. Oka Shigeki moved to Sacramento and began the newspaper, *Shokumin Shimbun,* at the start of 1908, *Shin Sekai,* 1/10/08.

65. U.S. Immigration Commission, *Immigrants in Industries,* Part 25: Japanese and Other Immigrant Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States (Washington, D.C., 1911), p. 577.

66. Fujioka, Shiro, *op. cit.,* p. 425. These figures were compiled by the Fresno Japanese Association and published in the *Shin Sekai,* 9/1/08.

67. Anonymous, "Hokubei Furesuno Shakaishugi Kenkyu Kai," *Chokugen, 8/27/05.*

68. B.S.M.E., p. 216.

69. It is difficult to determine the exact membership. To begin with there are conflicting figures ranging from 2000 to 4000 members. See *B.S.M.E.,* p. 217 where the figure 2000 is

given and p. 237 and p. 251 where the figure is stated at 4000. One could account for this discrepancy by showing that the smaller number is for 1908 while the larger one is for 1909. Another source hostile to the Labor League places the membership at 1000. See Ito, Bansho, *Fukei Jiken no Shinso* (Fresno, 1912), p. 126. Because of the migratory nature of Japanese laborers in Fresno, it is hard to believe 4000 laborers out of an approximate labor force of 4000-5000 could be organized in one short picking season. Moreover, membership was simply determined by an annual $1.00 due paid by workers, and so figures by themselves do not mean much. I have elected to take the lower figure of 2000.

70. *B.S.M.E.*, p. 213.

71. *Shin Sekai*, 6/9/08.

72. *Shin Sekai*, 8/12/08 and 8/22/08.

73. The circular was printed in full in the *Shin Sekai*, 8/22/08. An English version of it appeared in the *Fresno Morning Republican*, 8/31/08.

74. *Shin Sekai*, 8/17/08 and 9/3/08.

75. For the following analysis, see Chapter 2, "History of Contract Labor in California Agriculture," in Fisher, Lloyd H., *The Harvest Labor Market in California* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 20-41.

76. U.S. Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 591. This source contains an example of a contract between a contractor and grower in the Fresno area for 1908. pp. 586-589.

77. For the social and recreational functions of the Japanese labor contractor, see Ichihashi, Yamato, *Japanese in the United States* (Stanford, 1932), pp. 160-177.

78. *B.S.M.E.*, pp. 215-219.

79. *Shin Sekai*, 9/1/08. The three contractors even tried to get Japanese workers from outside the Fresno area in Oakland and Los Angeles but failed.

80. U.S. Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 592. This report also had the following comments on the Contractors' Association: "The larger contractors have an organization designed, among other things, to control the prices to be charged for work and the wages to be paid to laborers. Some of the Japanese contractors have had trouble with their laborers. Demands for higher wages have been of common occurrence. On the other hand, several of the contractors have left the community without paying wages due, this tending to discredit the race and to injure the business of other contractors. To meet this situation and to eliminate competition, or, at any rate, to prevent undue competition which would destroy profits while wages are rising, the Japanese bosses of this entire district in 1908 organized the Fresno Contractors' Association. With reference to this the following is in point: 'Up to that time the 'bosses' had met in Fresno once or twice before the grape season opened to establish uniform prices for picking and curing as far as practicable. In the year mentioned (1908) a permanent organization was formed. Most of the larger contractors are now members of the association. The number of members is 56. Still underbidding each other for contracts is going on and the members lack harmonious action.

81. Jamieson, Stuart M., *Labor Unionism in American Agriculture*, v. 1, Ph.D. Dissertation (Berkeley, 1943), p. 140. This strike also involved the question whether the A.F. of L. would move into the agricultural sector and whether the white trade-union movement would allow non-whites in.

82. *Fresno Morning Republican*, 8/29/08. As far as the owner of the Tarpey Ranch was concerned, he stated: "We have all of us been trying to eliminate the Japanese. They are the most costly labor we have ever had. They are truculent, careless and ruthless in their work ... The Mexican is a far better picker than the Japanese. I am going to try him out and see if I can't eliminate the Orientals next year." *Fresno Morning Republican*, 8/31/08.

83. *Shin Sekai,* 5/25/08 and 5/31/08. Japanese laborers were single men in their twenties and thirties at this time. Recreational outlets were few and far between, and gambling provided a release from the dull monotony of grape-picking. Chinese gambling houses were so numerous throughout the State of California and the Japanese losses so great that there was the exaggerated story about the Japanese in California having financed the Chinese Revolution of 1911, Kawakami, Kiyoshi K., *Asia At The Door* (New York, 1914), p. 116.

84. *Fresno Morning Republican,* 6/10/08. Besides Rev. Fukunaga, Kitazawa Tetsuji and Kino Kaizo, the Methodist and Buddhist minister respectively, were also active.

85. *Fresno Morning Republican,* 6/12/08.

86. The Moral Reform Association issued circulars, held public meetings, monitored the gambling houses, and tried to organize boycotts. It also submitted a formal petition to the Mayor and sought the cooperation of the Fresno Chief of Police. See *Fresno Morning Republican,* 6/9/08 and 6/11/08 and *Shin Sekai,* 6/11/08.

87. See *Shin Sekai,* 10/23/08, which cites a figure of 40. During the 1909 picking season, the Moral Reform Association submitted a formal petition to the Fresno City Council which asked for the elimination of "ill-fame houses" with "20 women." *Fresno Morning Republican,* 7/1/09.

88. In 1909 Rev. Kitazawa took the lead and filed formal complaints in August and September against the prostitutes and Iwata Hidekuni, the prostitution ringleader, and had them arrested a number of times for vagrancy. See *Fresno Morning Republican,* 8/5/09, 8/7/09, 8/29/09, and 9/15/09.

89. *Shukan Rodo,* 8/4/09. See below.

90. At first the *Rodo* was published bi-weekly from 11/20/08 to 4/20/09 (v. 1:1-4 and v. 2:1-7). On 8/5/09 it became a weekly, *Shukan Rodo,* until the final issue on 9/4/09 (v. 2:8-12). Its lowest press run is reported to have been 2500; its average between 4000-5000. Ohara, Kei, "Furesuno Rodo Domei Kai ni Tsuite," in *Fujibayashi Keizo Hakase Kanreki Kinen Ronbun Shu* (Tokyo, 1960), pp. 36-37.

91. *B.S.M.E.,* p. 216. Matsushita Zenpei, a native of Shizuoka Prefecture, came to America in 1905, Shakai Bunko, *op. cit.,* v. 7, pp. 184-185. Konarita started a printing shop in April, 1909 called the Ashi Insatsujo at 1510 Buchanan St. in San Francisco (which Iwasa later took over) which printed the *Shukan Rodo* issues. It also printed two political tracts by the noted Russian anarchist, Peter Kropotkin, in Japanese translation: *Seinen ni Uttau* (An Appeal to the Young) in December, 1910 and *Kokkaron* (The State: Its Historic Role) in April, 1911. In addition, it published three issues of a journal entitled *Shinze* (New World) edited by Iwasa in February, July, and a August, 1910. See *B.S.M.E.,* pp. 277-305.

92. Only four issues have been preserved: 8/05/09, 8/14/09, 8/21/09, and 8/28/09 (v. 2:8-11), and they have been reproduced in Shakai Bunko, *op. cit.,* v. 1, pp. 489-505.

93. *B.S.M.E.,* pp. 230-231.

94. *Ibid.,* pp. 233-234.

95. *Ibid.,* pp. 245-260.

96. *Ibid.,* pp. 248-254.

97. *Ibid.,* pp. 261-263.

98. *Ibid.,* p. 245.

99. Otsuka Zenjiro worked for the *Soko Shimbun* which was published from 1906 to 1909 by Fujii Hiromoto, Zaibei Nihonjin Kai, *op. cit.,* p. 516. He was a bitter foe of socialists, feeling that they were "disloyal Japanese" (hikokumin) and that loyal subjects,

like himself, "felt the natural urge to kill them," Otsuka, Zenjiro, *op. cit.*, p. 164. For details of this knife fight, see *ibid.*, pp. 161-182, *B.S.M.E.*, pp. 263-269, *Shin Sekai*, 12/1/08 and 12/4/08, and Ohara, Kei, "Furesuno Rodo Domei Kai ni Tsuite," *op. cit.*, pp. 42-45.

100. In 1907 the Japanese in Fresno and its vicinity worked 9217 acres: 4099 acres owned, 1796 acres leased for cash, and 3322 acres leased for a share of the crop. By 1911 the total had jumped to 25,231 acres: 5653 acres owned, 6347 acres leased for cash, 12,556 acres leased for a share of the crop, and 675 acres under special contract. See *Nichibei Nenkan*, no. 4, 1908, p. 131 and no. 8, 1912, p. 108.

101. Ohara, Kei, "Furesuno Rodo Domei Kai ni Tsuite," *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38. The first mention of the mass arrests appeared on 6/4/10 in the *Shin Sekai* under the caption "Great Plot of the Socialist Party." Thereafter, whenever news of the Daigyaku Jiken appeared, Kotoku Shusui was always referred to as a "traitor" (gyakuto). See the last section of this essay.

102. *Shin Sekai*, 11/12/11 and 11/19/11.

103. Because of the resultant uproar over his talk, Reverend Kitazawa prepared a written statement on its content for all the newspapers. It was printed in the *Shin Sekai*, 11/25/11.

104. *Ibid.*, *11/21/11.*

105. Ibid., 11/30/11.

106. *Ibid.*, 12/7/11.

107. *Ibid.*, 12/8/11.

108. *Ibid.*, 12/16/11.

109. *Ibid.*, 12/29/11.

110. *Ibid.*, 1/9/12 and 2/11/12.

111. *Ibid.*, 2/14/12. This public notice continued until 2/19/12. It might be noted that this was a common practice which operated as a means of social control. For example, if an individual absconded with someone's wife--which occurred with some frequency during this period--a public notice with pictures would be placed in the newspapers, making it difficult for such a person to live in any Japanese community.

112. *Ibid.*, 2/15/12 and 2/16/12. Effective January, 1909 the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs had granted the certification right to local Japanese Associations through the Consul General and the Japanese Association of America in San Francisco. Certification was required for a number of things--for the required annual draft deferment, the summoning of a picture-bride, the registration of births and deaths, the return to America upon visiting Japan, and other matters. To solve the financial problems of the associations, it was established that half the fee charged for certification would be retained by local associations while the other half would be remitted to the Japanese Association of America in San Francisco. Through the authority of the Consul General, the Japanese Association of America in San Francisco delegated the certification right to local associations upon their affiliation with it. At the same time it retained the option of severing its ties with any local association and withdrawing it. See Zaibei Nihonjin Kai, *op. cit.*, pp. 638-640.

113. Shin Sekai, 3/12/12.

114. *Ibid.*, 3/13/13 and 3/14/13. This newspaper was the *Chuka Jiho* which had been established in 1906 and published by Doi Uchizo, Zaibei Nihonjin Kai, *op. cit.*, p. 517. Unfortunately also no copies of this paper have been preserved. The reporter was Wakao Kyonan. Out of this incident 7 persons, including Taira Chizan, were arrested and charged with assault and battery and 32 were charged with disturbing the peace. See *Shin Sekai*,

3/17/13 and *Fresno Morning Republican*, 3/15/13.

115. *Shin Sekai*, 1/25/14.

116. See Kuyama, Yasushi, *Kindai Nihon to Kirisutokyo*, Meiji-hen (Tokyo, 1962), pp. 201-204.

117. *Ibid.*, pp. 270-275.

118. *Ibid.*, p. 336.

119. This conference was officially called "Wanto Zairyu Teikoku Shinmin Gikai" (Conference of Imperial Subjects in the East Bay), and was attended by 400 people, *Shin Sekai*, 4/1/12 and 4/2/12. Prior to this conference, the leaders of the old Fresno Japanese Association had conducted meetings in other locales.

120. *Ibid., 4/2/12.*

121. Ito, Bansho, op. cit., p. 80.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

123. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-119.

124. Sagitani was listed as an original member of the Social Revolutionary Party, but there is no evidence to indicate he played any active role in party activities, though the calligraphic title of the *Kakumei* is attributed to his hand, Otsuka, Zenjiro, *op. cit.*, 154-155. He did attend the all-night vigil on 1/25/11 for Kotoku and the others executed. See below. In March, 1911 he resigned from the *Nichibei Shimbun* and went to Texas, Shakai Bunko, *op. cit.*, v. 7, pp. 233-234.

125. Soejima Hachiro, Ikeda Kando, and Taira Chizan started this newspaper in 1912. As with the other newspapers, as far as the writer knows, no copies have been preserved.

126. *B.S.M.E.*, pp. 311-384 and Ohara, Kei, "'Daigyaku Jiken' no Kokusaiteki Eikyo," *Shiso*, no. 471 (September, 1963), pp. 62-73. Iwasa Sakutaro, writing in the second issue of the Shinze, wrote that the Kaigyaku Jiken was the product of a "repressive" regime and that, as long as the Japanese government "does not change its attitude, terrorism will inevitably appear" as it did in Czarist Russia with "Vera Zasulich," *B.S.M.E., pp. 287-288.*

127. *Toga, Yoichi, op. cit.*, p. 102. The monthly was called *Yorokobi no Otozure* (Glad Tidings) and had been published since 1894, *Ibid.*, p. 81. No copies are available. Interesting enough, Sakon had sympathized with the people near the Ashio Copper Mines in Tochigi Prefecture who had suffered over the years from the sulfuric gas discharged by the mines. Just two months prior to his first controversial article which appeared in the February issue, an incident relating to the mines had occurred. In an unheard of manner, Tanaka Shozo, in December, 1901, had unsuccessfully attempted to present a petition, drafted up by Kotoku Shusui, directly to the Emperor to bring the plight of the people to his attention. See Itoya, Toshio, *Kotoku Shusui Kenkyu* (Tokyo, 1967), pp. 143-149 for further details of this incident.

128. After his 11/25/11 public statement, Reverent Kitazawa did not again voice his opinions in print. Instead he quietly returned to Japan in June, 1912. See *Shin Sekai*, 6/6/12. Different underlying causes can be given for this lese-majeste affair. On the simplest level it might have been a personality matter between Kitazawa and those opposed to him. As a part of this explanation, it is said that certain persons resented Kitazawa's anti-prostitution campaign and were out to discredit him at the first opportunity. Secondly, it might have been--as it was suggested by the *Shin Sekai*--an Association. Since the position of President, which Kitazawa occupies, was largely honorary, he was not the central issue, the real fight having been the Secretary's position which administered the certification right and in which power and influence hence rested. Takeda Shojiro, the initial focus of the controversy, returned to Japan in 1912 and died enroute, interview with Haratani Iwakichi, a former resident of Bakersfield and friend of Takeda, 11/17/70.

129. Cf. Miyamoto, Shotaro Frank, "Social Solidarity Among the Japanese in Seattle," University of Washington, *Publications in the Social Sciences,* 2:2 (December, 1939), pp. 57-130.

130. Hansen, Marcus L., "The History of American Immigration as a Field for Research," *American Historical Review,* 32 (April 1927), pp. 500-518.