

“Making the World Our Home”

The Heyday of Collaborative Settler Colonialism

To bring the empire to a better future, the Japanese should “make the world our home” (*sekai wo ie toshite*), claimed Inoue Masaji, head of the Overseas Development Company, in the keynote speech he delivered at the Conference for Overseas Colonial Migration (Kaigai Shokumin Taikai) in Tokyo in 1930. He encouraged Japanese young people to take on the mission to migrate overseas and explore the land and resources abroad (*kaigai kaitaku*). The Japanese subjects’ worldwide expansion (*sekai shinshutsu*), he argued, would not only increase the wealth and power of the Japanese empire but also bring genuine peace and happiness to the world.¹ Inoue’s claim represented a common understanding of Japan’s expansion held by mainstream Japanese empire builders of the day. As Tokyo embraced the new imperial order after World War I and accepted the new colonial language of pacifism and international cooperation, Japanese leaders considered overseas emigration a crucial means of expansion during the interwar era.

Seeing Brazil as the most promising destination for Japanese migrants, Tokyo began to pour financial and political resources into the promotion of Brazil-bound emigration. To maximize its capacity to promote, oversee, and coordinate campaigns of Brazilian migration, Japan’s migration state underwent a series of additional structural changes, signifying its progression into a mature phase. This new version of the migration state strengthened its supervision of and cooperation with various social interest groups, such as migration companies, business elites and industrial entrepreneurs, and public media, to foster migration to Brazil. The Overseas Development Company (Kaikō), led by Inoue Masaji, was one of the main partners of the Japanese government to this end. Accordingly, the history of Japanese migration to Brazil entered its golden era. During the years from 1921, when the government started providing subsidies to Brazil-bound Japanese

migrants through Kaikō, to 1934, when the Brazilian government imposed a quota restriction on Japanese immigration, nearly ten thousand Japanese subjects reached the Brazilian shores annually. The substantial growth of Brazil-bound migration also led to the rise of Kobe as a major port for emigration in Japan in the 1920s.

This chapter explains how these new structural changes by the Japanese government took place in the global and regional contexts brought by the end of World War I to maximize its ability to promote and manage emigration to Brazil. As the chapter shows, this new version of the migration state operated using two different models, where central and local governments worked closely with industrial capital, migration companies, and various social groups. Together they managed to enlist an unprecedented number of Japanese subjects from different social strata into the march of Japanese collaborative settler colonialism in Brazil. From rural masses to business elites, from desperate job seekers to ambitious investors, Japanese emigrants were hailed by the migration state as trailblazers who would put down the roots of the Japanese empire in the coffee fields of São Paulo and civilize the Amazon jungle. The same migration state, together with some of its collaborative social groups, continued to serve as engines of Japanese expansion in Manchuria and Southeast Asia from the 1930s to the end of World War II. The boom of Brazil-bound emigration, as well as the growth of trade between Japan and South America, also fostered the rise of Kobe as a central port for emigration and commerce.

EMBRACING PEACEFUL EXPANSION: COOPERATION, TRADE, AND EMIGRATION

As a winning nation of World War I, Japan rose quickly to become one of the few world powers that held a voice in the construction of the postwar global order. It not only harvested German Micronesia and expanded its territory into the South Pacific but also joined the United Kingdom, France, and Italy as one of the four permanent members of the Executive Council, the core policy-making body of the League of Nations. However, these stunning diplomatic achievements did not come without a cost, as the empire encountered a variety of new limitations in its path of expansion. Although the United States stood outside the League of Nations, its central role in the construction of the new world order was manifested at the Washington Conference of 1921. The conference reaffirmed the American agenda on the new order proclaimed by President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, emphasizing both disarmament and open trade. The conference terminated Japan's wartime monopoly on Chinese politics and markets and tied Japan into the Five Power Treaty (with the United Kingdom, the United States, France, and Italy) that limited the construction of naval forces by the signatories.

Nevertheless, right after the war, mainstream Japanese politicians and intellectuals embraced the new world order with great enthusiasm. The opinion leaders of a variety of social interest groups ranging from mass media to military strategists recognized the need for Japan to accept the principles of the new order, such as international cooperation, pacifism, and liberalism, in order to continue its pursuit of expansion.² Japanese leaders embraced the idea of "peaceful expansion" as their new principle of empire building. Prime Minister Takahashi Korekiyo's New Year's message in 1922 illustrated this concept well. It was no longer possible to expand one's territory through force, Takahashi argued, because of the fundamental changes that the Great War had brought to the world. Yet, he continued, great powers never stopped expanding. They would no longer do so through military and territorial invasion but through trade and economic competition.³

For Japanese empire builders of the day, the peaceful expansion had three major components: trade, international cooperation, and emigration. As the United States served as a reliable market that consumed 40 percent of Japanese exports throughout the 1920s, the overseas expansion of trade and investment naturally remained one of the top priorities of the empire's diplomacy in this new Anglo-American order. Japanese diplomats managed to reduce tariff obstacles in China for Japanese exports and created more opportunities for Japanese traders in Southeast Asia and the Middle East.⁴ Japanese investment also poured into the South Seas and South America. Represented by the ideas and activities of Shidehara Kijūrō, who served as the foreign minister of Japan from 1924 to 1927, Tokyo's dedication to economic expansion followed the same economic liberalism that buttressed the Open Door policy of the United States. "Shidehara Diplomacy" was firmly supported by the growing business elites of the Taishō era who called for broadening political participation at home and exploring new markets abroad.⁵

Japan's economic expansion was guided by the principle of international cooperation. In addition to playing a key role in the League of Nations' deliberations as a permanent member of its Executive Council, Japan was widely involved in a variety of other international organizations such as the International Labor Organization, the International Court of Justice, and the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs.⁶ Nitobe Inazō, a prominent Japanese intellectual who served as undersecretary general of the League of Nations for seven years, urged Japanese subjects to think beyond the archipelago, become the "citizens of the world," and dedicate themselves to the service of all humankind.⁷

In this new design of the empire, emigration played a central role. For many Japanese leaders of the day, the emigration of Japanese farmers and their permanent settlement overseas would not only be a peaceful means of national expansion but also increase trade opportunities between Japan and the host societies. By the 1920s, various experiments in Japanese farmer migration to the territories in Asia and the Pacific covered by Japan's spheres of influence, including Manchuria, the Korean Peninsula, and Micronesia, proved unsuccessful. The United States

TABLE 2 Japanese emigrants subsidized by the migration state, 1923–1937

	Total Number	Kaikō Model	Aliança Model				Other	
		Kaikō	Shinano Kaigai Kyōkai	Kumamoto Kaigai Kyōkai	Tottoriken Kaigai Kyōkai	Tōyamaken Kaigai Kyōkai	Kaigai Ijū Kumiai Rengōkai	
1923	110	110						
1924	3,167	3,167						
1925	4,917	4,867	50					
1926	6,054	5,854	200					
1927	8,878	8,328	243	135	106	66		
1928	9,604	9,180	235	44	13	127		5
1929	14,923	13,611					843	469
1930	8,292	7,358					554	380
1931	6,746	5,999					192	555
1932	20,277	18,589					1,148	540
1933	21,006	19,479					878	649
1934	21,025	19,251					1,488	286
1935	2,887	1,772					948	167
1936	5,836	4,366					1,334	136
1937	5,089	4,385					684	20

SOURCE: Data from Iikubo Hideki, "Burajiru imin kara Manshū imin e no kessetsuten," in *Ajia to keiei: shijō, gijutsu, soshiki*, ed. Ihara Motoi, Kikkawa Takeo, and Kubo Fumikatsu, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 2002), 109.

also shut its doors to Japanese immigrants entirely in 1924. In contrast, those of Brazil were wide open to Japanese immigration, and the Japanese farming population in the state of São Paulo had been growing at a stunning speed.

The success of Japanese Brazilian migration and community building, in turn, stimulated an unprecedented expansion in the Japanese government's involvement in emigration promotion and management, ushering in a new version of the migration state with substantially enhanced capacity. This form of migration state was marked by two new features that came into being in the 1920s. First, through a series of new legislation and structural changes, the imperial government at both the central and local levels assumed direct responsibility for planning, subsidizing, and controlling overseas emigration. Second, in a manner similar to what Sheldon Garon calls "social management," the government began to collaborate closely with different social groups and managed to involve people from a variety of social strata, from the rural masses to business elites, in the empire's emigration-driven expansion.⁸

The following paragraphs examine more closely the two main models of Japan's new migration state, which supervised most Brazil-bound Japanese emigrants. The first was the Kaikō model, in which the Ministry of Home Affairs formed a partnership with Kaikō and offered various forms of financial assistance to Japanese subjects who would migrate to southeastern Brazil and work there initially as contract laborers on coffee plantations. The second was the Aliança model, exemplified by the Aliança Colony established by expansionists in Nagano Prefecture. Under this model, the Japanese government fostered the formation of Overseas Migration Cooperatives in individual prefectures as state agents to manage emigration at the local level. Working within their respective prefectures, each of these cooperatives functioned as both a migration recruiting organization and a credit union. In addition to receiving financial aid from Tokyo, they collected small funds from individual members to make land purchases in southeastern Brazil and relocated their members there as farming settlers. The two models differed in the ways that the government was involved. While Tokyo functioned as an external partner that provided financial aid and policy support in the Kaikō model, in the Aliança model the state itself was a part of the administrative structure of the Overseas Migration Cooperatives and had more direct control. Both models of emigration were marked by the synergy of state power and private capital.

THE MIGRATION STATE IN THE KAIKŌ MODEL

Kaikō's government-sponsored migration program targeted impoverished Japanese subjects struggling with their livelihood at the bottom rung of society.⁹ Providing them with financial aid through Kaikō, the imperial government encouraged the masses to move to Brazil and start a new life there. The program was not only part of the government's effort to use emigration to alleviate social poverty but also a means for Tokyo to escalate Japanese settler colonial expansion in Brazil. This is because the government's ultimate expectation was for these emigrants to become independent landowners after their labor contracts ended and settle in Brazil permanently.¹⁰ Kaikō itself also took over the management of the Iguape colony in São Paulo previously established by the Tokyo Syndicate, securing its recruits' smooth transition from contract laborers to independent farmers.

This government-sponsored migration program was made possible by the end of World War I. The empire's economic monopoly on the Chinese market during World War I stimulated a short-term economic boom and a record-breaking wave of urbanization in the archipelago.¹¹ The wealth increase in the archipelago, however, came with a growing social gap. The quick emergence of the *nouveau riche* (*Narikin*) was accompanied by the rise of economic tensions in both urban and rural areas in the form of labor and tenant disputes. The end of World War I brought the termination of Japan's economic monopoly in Asia, which led to an immediate economic downturn in the archipelago and only exacerbated existing

social tensions. In 1918, the inflation of food prices triggered the biggest rice riots in Japanese history. These grassroots disturbances not only ushered in the birth of the first democratic regime in Tokyo but also marked the birth of what Michael Lewis calls the “mass awakening.” The urban and rural poor began to adopt more organized means of political protests, forming various unions and civil associations at the national and local levels.¹²

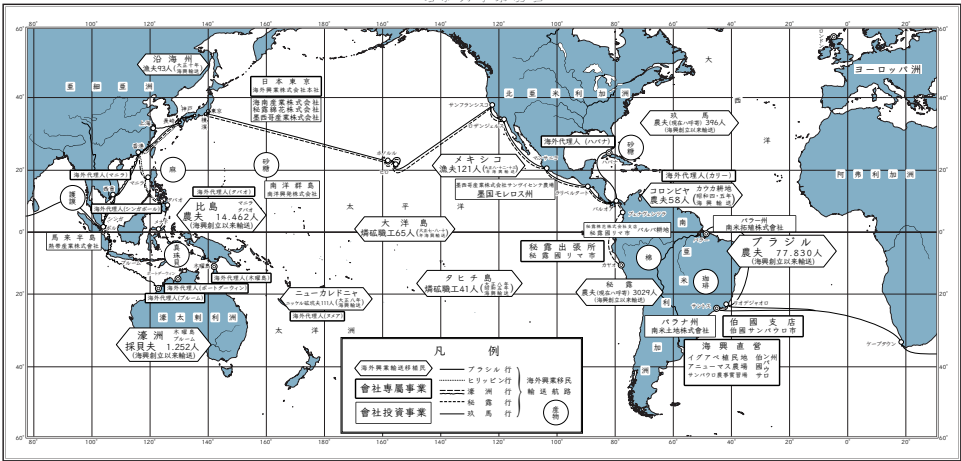
The rise of the masses as a major political force compelled the imperial government to take more responsibility for social welfare by providing poverty relief and basic foods to its subjects. Embracing the increasingly popular claim that overpopulation was the root of all social ills that plagued the archipelago, policy makers began to use emigration as a solution to social problems. The first institutional change in the government was the formation of the Bureau of Social Affairs (*Shakaikyoku*) in the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1920, which began to promote emigration to Brazil as a solution to poverty.¹³ *Kaikō* was the primary partner of the Bureau of Social Affairs. In 1921, the bureau started providing funds to *Kaikō* to aid the company in promoting emigration, recruiting and training emigrants, and conducting physical exams and vaccinations for emigrants.¹⁴

Kaikō was established in 1917 under the imperial government’s auspices to unify migration-related businesses in and outside of the Japanese empire.¹⁵ It came into being based on the merging of four different migration companies focused on Japanese migration to Asia, the South Seas, and Latin America.¹⁶ After annexing the Morioka Emigration Company (*Morioka Imin Gaisha*) in 1919, *Kaikō* was able to monopolize all authorized Japanese business-related emigration to Brazil for several years. In addition to Brazilian emigration, *Kaikō* organized emigration to Peru, the Philippines, and Australia and held investments in trade and agriculture in the Japanese empire and beyond.¹⁷

The first few years of the Bureau of Social Affairs’ financial assistance for Brazil-bound emigration through *Kaikō*, however, proved unfruitful. The average number of Japanese subjects bound for Brazil between 1921 and 1923 remained less than 880, showing a decrease rather than an increase from the yearly average in the 1910s.¹⁸ The number only began to climb in 1924, after the bureau started providing direct subsidies to individual emigrants recruited by *Kaikō*. Since 1923, it had begun to offer a compensation fund of 35 yen per person to up to 2,000 *Kaikō*-recruited emigrants, fully covering their registration fees. The next year, the bureau started providing a more substantial stipend of 200 yen to each of the *Kaikō* recruits to cover their steamship trip to Brazil. The number of emigrants who received the government’s compensation and stipend grew to over 7,500 by 1928, right before the newly formed Ministry of Colonial Affairs (*Takumūshō*) took over management of migration-related affairs from the bureau.¹⁹

This dramatic increase in the government’s financial aid was the result of two related factors. First, the state of São Paulo, where the majority of the Japanese immigrants settled, fully stopped its subsidies to Japanese immigration in 1922.²⁰

海外興業株式会社現勢図
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MAP 3. Redrawing of an original map showing the locations of Kaikō's branches and businesses across the Pacific in 1931. Source: Kaigai Kōgyō Kabushiki Gaisha, *Kaigai Kōgyō Kabushiki Gaisha gensei yōran* (Tokyo: Kaigai Kōgyō Kabushiki Gaisha, 1932). Redrawing by Mario Norton, Fondren Library, Rice University.

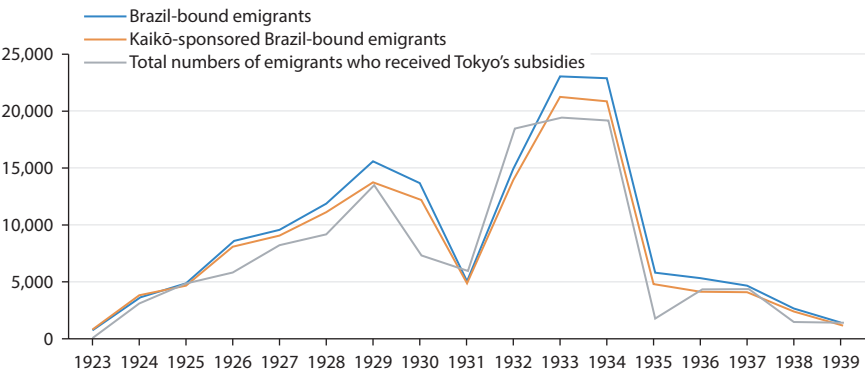


FIGURE 10. Japanese emigrants from 1923 to 1939. This chart illustrates the annual numbers of all Japanese emigrants to Brazil, those who were specifically sponsored by Kaikō, and the total number of emigrants who received Tokyo's subsidies. Tokyo's subsidies were essential for the rapid increase of Japanese emigrants to Brazil since the mid-1920s, and the majority of the Brazil-bound emigrants who received Tokyo's subsidies were emigrants recruited by Kaikō. The chart is based on data in Iikubo Hideki, "1920 nendai ni okeru naimushō shakaikyoku no kaigai imin shōreisaku," *Rekisho to keizai* 46, no. 1 (2003): 40.

The end of World War I brought hordes of European immigrants to southeastern Brazil seeking a livelihood, sufficiently meeting the local demand for coffee laborers. As the Japanese had been commonly seen by the Paulista elites as less desirable substitutes for European immigrants, they were no longer attractive when the supply of the latter was abundant. The termination of Brazilian financial aid, therefore, pushed Tokyo to increase its own financial responsibility to maintain the migration flow.

Second, two events intensified the anxiety about overpopulation in the Japanese archipelago. On the one hand, the deadly Great Kantō Earthquake that struck Tokyo and Yokohama in 1923 immediately created hundreds of thousands of victims demanding a basic livelihood. To prevent potential social uprisings and chaos, the government responded quickly by making Brazil-bound emigration one of its disaster relief programs.²¹ On the other hand, the promulgation of the Immigration Act of 1924 in the United States completely shut the American door to Japanese immigration, further narrowing the options of Japanese migration promoters.²² In the same year, the government hosted the Imperial Conference on the Economy (Teikoku Keizai Kaigi), where policy makers and bureaucrats specializing in social affairs, migration, and foreign affairs had reached a consensus to further expand the state-sponsored emigration program. Participants at the conference believed that the Bureau of Social Affairs, in particular, should play a central role in promoting and guiding overseas emigration as a solution to social problems related to rural depression and overpopulation. This initiative was approved by the Imperial Diet a month later, which offered an extra budget that allowed the Bureau of Social Affairs to cover the expenses of the entire trip to Brazil for all government-sponsored Kaikō emigrants.²³

THE MIGRATION STATE IN THE ALIANÇA MODEL

The Aliança model, which allowed the government to collaborate closely with different social groups and migration promoters, was made possible by the growing passion of a variety of nongovernmental interest groups and of the general public for overseas emigration in general and Brazil-bound emigration in particular. This enthusiasm was reflected in the emergence of several well-circulated emigration-focused magazines in the 1920s, such as *Shokumin* (Colonial Review), a mouthpiece of Kaikō, *Kaigai* (Overseas), and *Burajiru: ishokumin to bōeki* (Brazil: Colonial Migration and Trade).²⁴ These newly founded periodicals were joined by existing mainstream magazines, like *Kingu* (King) and *Ie no hikari* (Light of Family), that started to have more coverage on topics related to emigration. This fed the public passion for emigration, stimulating the private sectors' interest in collaborating with the migration state.

The Aliança Colony, a Japanese setter colony in the state of São Paulo, was established in this context. It was made possible by the synergy between the

Nagano prefectural government and the individual expansionists who had personal ties with the prefecture. The Aliança model exemplified another aspect of the migration state at work, in which the prefectural government played a leading role in financing and managing emigration. The plan to build the Aliança Colony started with the collaboration of Nagata Shigeshi and Wako Shungorō, two Nagano natives who hoped to establish a new type of Japanese settler unit in Brazil. Both had previously migrated to the United States and worked as journalists for Japanese American media on the West Coast. After quitting their careers, Nagata returned to Japan and became president of Nippon Rikkō Kai (Japanese Striving Society), a major migration company based in Tokyo, while Wako moved to Brazil and continued working for Japanese media in São Paulo. Unsatisfied with Kaikō's contract laborer-centered migration programs, Nagata and Wako wanted to establish a new Japanese colony in Brazil that would be composed of independent farming settlers who migrated from Japan and were financially self-sufficient, free from the control of big companies like Kaikō.²⁵

To this end, Nagata and Wako collaborated with the Nagano prefectural government and the Nagano Board of Education to establish the Shinano Overseas Association (Shinano Kaigai Kyōkai) in 1922. The association was jointly funded by public and private money, and its first director and vice director were the Nagano governor and the head of the prefectural diet, respectively. Functioning as a semigovernmental organization, it was in charge of promoting emigration among Nagano residents by hosting public lectures, publishing books, funding overseas investigative trips, and raising funds to support specific emigration campaigns.²⁶ The Aliança Colony was a major accomplishment of the association.

As a product of the migration state, the Aliança Colony differed from the government-sponsored emigration program of Kaikō in a few respects. First, unlike the Kaikō program, which recruited and transported Japanese subjects to Brazil as contract laborers, the Aliança Colony directly recruited and relocated Japanese subjects to Brazil as farming settlers. To this end, the Shinano Overseas Association completed a land purchase in São Paulo in advance and established a series of facilities, including a rice mill, a coffee refinery, a clinic, and a school, to foster the growth of the farming village.²⁷ The prosperity of independent and self-sufficient Japanese farmers, founders of Aliança believed, was essential for the success of Japanese expansion in Brazil. As Nagata claimed with pride, the goal of Aliança was "to cultivate people rather than coffee" (*kōhī yori hito wo tsukure*).²⁸

Second, whereas the Kaikō program relied heavily on government subsidies, a substantial portion of the financial resources of the Aliança Colony came from individual migrants themselves. The recruited migrants fell into two categories: those who were able to purchase land in the colony in advance and would move to Aliança directly as independent farmers and those who would start in Aliança as contract farmers. The latter would receive loans from the Shinano Overseas Association and later become independent owner-farmers by paying off the loans. Both of these categories required the recruits to have a certain amount of money to start

with.²⁹ Accordingly, unlike the recruits of the Kaikō program, most of whom were struggling at the bottom of society, an average participant in the Aliança project was financially closer to becoming an owner-farmer in Japan before migration.

Third, unlike the Kaikō program that recruited nationally, the Aliança Colony emphasized local identity and native ties. The processes of planning, fund-raising, and migration recruiting were limited to residents in Nagano Prefecture and those who held native ties with the prefecture. The prefectural government also supported the project by providing financial and political assistance through the Shinano Overseas Association. The Aliança Colony symbolized a new approach of the migration state, in which local governments began to engage directly with the campaigns of migration promotion and management. Inspired by the Aliança project, the Overseas Associations of Tottori, Toyama, and Kumamoto, backed by their respective prefectural governments, completed land purchases near Aliança in São Paulo. Modeled after Aliança, Tottori's colony, Aliança II, was established in 1926, and Kumamoto's Vila Nova Colony was established in 1927. In the same year, the Toyama Overseas Association and the Shinano Overseas Association jointly established Aliança III.

The Aliança model, with its prefecture-based scope, farmer-centered focus, and principle of mutual support among its members, was officially adopted by Tokyo as one of its major approaches in migration promotion and management. Also in 1927, the imperial government promulgated the Overseas Migration Cooperative Societies Law (*Kaigai Ijū Kumiai Hō*), which authorized each prefecture to establish an overseas migration cooperative society. Each society, backed by its own prefectural government, would recruit emigrants and raise funds to establish its own prefecture-centered settler colony in Brazil. Seven cooperative societies were established in the same year and jointly formed the Federation of Overseas Migration Cooperative Societies (*Kaigai Ijū Kumiai Rengōkai*). As the headquarters of all the prefectural cooperative societies, the federation had forty-four members by the mid-1930s. On its formation, the federation immediately received a loan of 1.7 million yen from the imperial government, allowing it to facilitate and unify the migration and land acquisition campaigns of individual societies in Brazil.³⁰

The federation's first executive director was Umetani Mitsusada, Nagano governor and a central backer of the Aliança project, and he soon arrived in Brazil to conduct land investigation. The federation established the *Sociedade Colonizadora do Brasil Limitada* (Brazilian Colonization Company Limited/*Burajiru Takushoku Kumiai*, or *Burataku*) to serve as its agent in Brazil to carry out land purchases and Japanese community building. By the end of the 1930s, when *Burataku* stopped its operation in Brazil, it had established three Japanese settler colonies, including Bastos along the Sorocabana railway, Tietê along the Noroeste railway in São Paulo, and Tres Barras in northern Paraná. In addition to managing these three Japanese colonies, it also took over the administration of all four colonies associated with Aliança along the Noroeste railway, Aliança I, II, III,

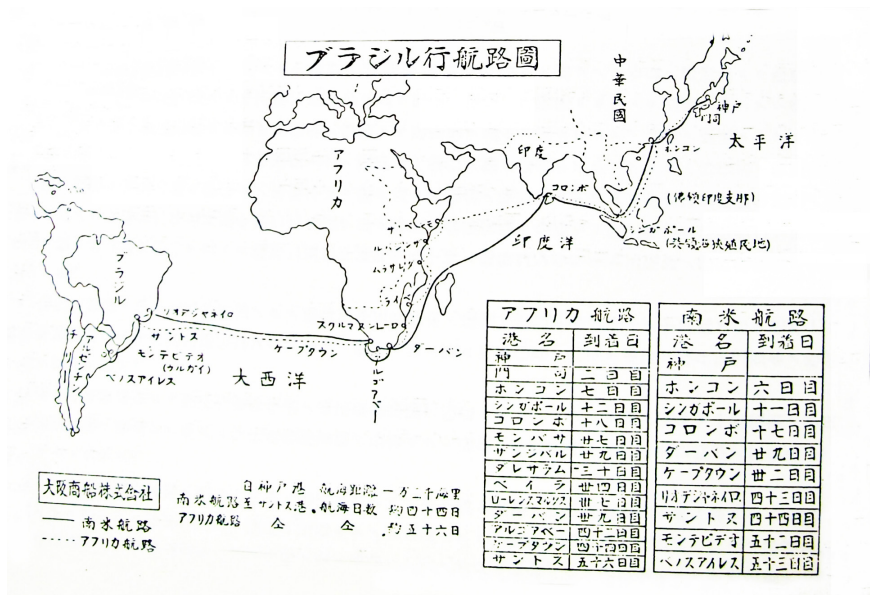
and Vila Nova. In total, Burataku acquired and managed 537,668 acres and 18,317 Japanese settlers, most of whom were owner-farmers.³¹

In addition to Kaikō and Burataku, several other Japanese companies emerged as agents of the migration state in Brazil by receiving support from Tokyo in one way or another. In 1922, Manabe Akira, a cotton specialist in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, led a business delegation to Brazil and attended the World Cotton Conference held at Rio de Janeiro. On his return, Manabe gave a series of lectures to Japanese business leaders emphasizing the importance of encouraging Japanese emigrants to cultivate cotton in Brazil and explaining its benefits for the empire. Many answered his call. Suzuki Iwazō, head of the Kansai-based Suzuki Trading Company (Suzuki Shōten), envisioned that Brazil would become an alternative to the United States as a primary supplier of raw cotton for the empire.³² Iwasaki Hisaya, former president of the Mitsubishi Corporation and founder of the Tozan Nōji Kabushiki Gaisha (Tozan Agriculture Corporation), was another follower. Under his leadership, the Tokyo-based Tozan Agriculture Corporation had established a series of branches in the Korean Peninsula, Taiwan, the Malay Peninsula, and Brazil. Inspired by Manabe, Iwasaki dispatched two of his company's cotton specialists previously stationed in China, Yamamoto Kiyoshi and Nagahara Shunjiro, to São Paulo to conduct further investigation. Both concluded that cotton cultivation was promising for the company's branch farm in Brazil, Caza Tozan, which became one of the earliest Japanese settler farms to experiment with cotton cultivation.³³

The combination of state power and private capital was also responsible for the start of several Japanese enterprises in the same decade in the Amazon region. They included Amazon Kōgyō Kabushiki Gaisha (Amazonia Business Corporation) and Amazon Sangyō Kenkyūjo (Amazonia Industrial Research Center) in the state of Amazonas and Nanbei Takushoku Kabushiki Gaisha (South America Colonization Company Limited) and Nanbei Kigyō Kumiai (South America Cooperative) in the state of Pará.³⁴ Their primary goals were to build Japanese settler colonies in the region and to extract raw materials from the environment.³⁵ Like their peers in southeastern Brazil, they exemplified the combination of capital exportation, land acquisition, and farmer migration.

THE RISE OF KOBE AND THE CRESCENDO OF BRAZIL-BOUND MIGRATION

By the end of the 1920s, the Japanese government was able to form alliances with various social groups and involve Japanese subjects from different social strata in Japan's migration-driven expansion in Brazil. The rise of Japan's migration state ushered in the heyday of Japanese collaborative settler colonialism in Brazil. Through various migration programs that were directly or indirectly supported by the government, over 130,000 Japanese subjects reached Brazilian shores between 1925 and 1934. The Japanese settler villages in Brazil also expanded both in number



MAP 4. Titled *Burajiru yuki kōru zu* (Sea Route Map for Brazil-Bound Emigration), the map shows the schedule and stops of a fifty-six-day steamship trip that started at the Port of Kobe and ended at the Port of Santos. Source: *Kobe ijū kyōyōjo gaiyō* (Kobe: Kobe Ijū Kyōyōjo, 1934), ii.

and in geographic scope. While the state of São Paulo continued to be the home of most Japanese plantation laborers and farming settlers, the Amazon Basin in the north and northern Paraná in the south became new frontiers for Japanese settlers.

The boom of Japanese emigration to Brazil also led to the prosperity of the sea route between Kobe and Santos. During the golden era of Brazil-bound emigration, most Japanese subjects departed the archipelago from the Port of Kobe. Their ships would first travel west to Southeast Asia. After passing the Strait of Malacca, they would sail across the Indian Ocean to the southern tip of Africa. They would then head west across the Atlantic and reach the Port of Santos. The sea route's popularity grew hand in hand with Kobe's quick rise, along with Yokohama, as a central port for Japanese emigration. In 1928, the Japanese government established the National Kobe Emigrant Camp (Kokuritsu Kobe Imin Shūyōjo), a counterpart of the Emigration Center established previously in Yokohama during the heyday of Japanese migration to North America. As an arm of the migration state, the camp offered free eight-day accommodation and meals to Brazil-bound emigrants. These eight days were packed with mandatory orientations and trainings, as well as medical exams and vaccinations.³⁶ The annual number of emigrants who participated in this government-funded accommodation program increased steadily from 10,377 in 1928 to 23,579 in 1932.

TABLE 3 Daily schedule of emigrants in the National Kobe Emigrant Camp, 1934

	Morning			Afternoon			Night	
	6:30-7:00	7:00-8:30	9:00-11:30	11:30-1:00 p.m.	1:00-3:30	4:30-6:00	7:00-11:00	11:30-3:00 a.m.
1/13			Physical exam and room distribution	Lunch	Physical exam, room distribution, tips on the camp	Dinner		Bath and stool exam
1/14	National gymnastics	Breakfast	Vaccination	Lunch	Vaccination and information on dressing during the migration trip	Dinner		Bath and stool exam
1/15	National gymnastics	Breakfast	Signing documents	Lunch	Signatures on passports	Dinner	Information about Brazil	Bath and stool exam
1/16		Breakfast	Checking luggage	Lunch	Checking luggage	Dinner	Information about Brazil	Bath and stool exam
1/17	National gymnastics	Breakfast	Information about migrant destinations in Brazil	Lunch	Class on Brazilian Portuguese	Dinner	Information about Brazil's national religion	Bath and stool exam
1/18	National gymnastics	Breakfast	Distributing the government's financial aid	Lunch	Information about transportation costs and workshop for women	Dinner	Recreational gathering	Bath and stool exam
1/19	Worship in a Shinto shrine	Breakfast	Information about personal hygiene	Lunch	Meeting of the heads of households	Dinner	Field trip to a church	Bath and stool exam
1/20	Checking luggage	Breakfast	Name check and distribution of passports	Bentō and departure				

SOURCE: *Kobe jū kyōyōjo gaiyō* (Kobe: Kobe Jū Kyōyōjo, 1934), 3.

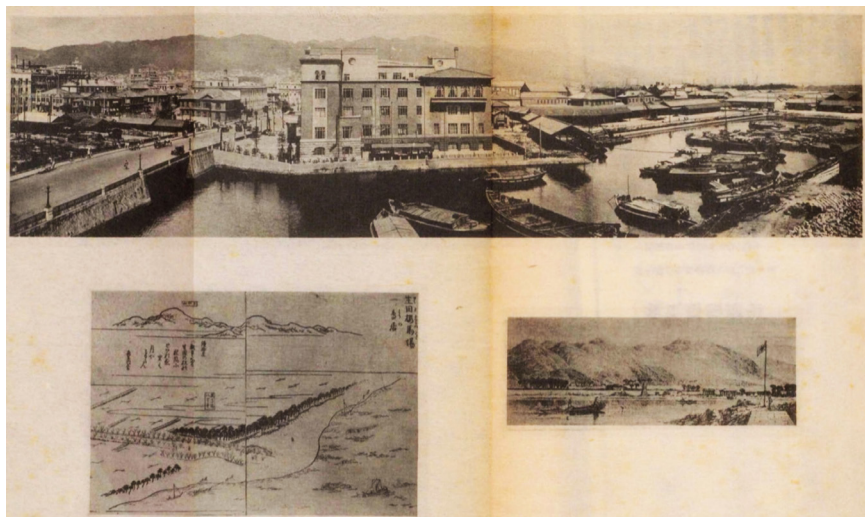


FIGURE 11. This set of pictures on display at the Harbor Exposition contrasted the past and present of the shore of Ikuta (*Ikuta no ura*) in Port Kobe. It aimed to showcase the rapid development of the port as an industrial and commercial hub of the empire. The picture at the top shows the shore at present, the one at the lower left is the shore in 1780, and the image at the lower right is the shore in 1870. Source: *Kobe hakurankai shuppin mokuroku* (Kobe: Kobe Hakurankai Kyōkai, 1931), 15.

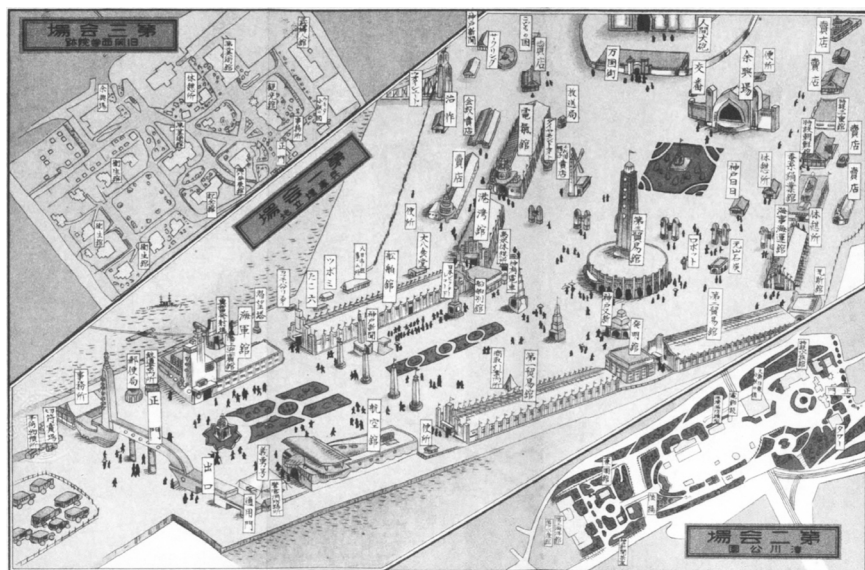


FIGURE 12. The tourist map of the Harbor Exposition. Source: *Kaikō hakuran kaishi: kankan-shiki kinen* (Kobe: Kobe Hakurankai Kyōkai, 1931), 105.

In 1930, one year before the Manchurian Incident that would pull the empire into a new stage of territorial expansion in Northeast Asia, the Kobe municipal government hosted a national event that combined the Harbor Exposition with the Fleet Review (*kankanshiki*). Attended by one and a half million people, the event highlighted Brazil-bound emigration as an integral part of the global expansion of the Japanese empire, which involved the military, trade, and emigration. It also emphasized the increasingly important role of Kobe in this expansion. The Harbor Exposition lasted from September 20 to October 31 and had three exhibition locations. Cosponsored by the Kobe Chamber of Commerce and supported by several ministries of the central government, the exposition aimed to highlight Kobe's historical rise as Japan's top harbor city and a central base of the empire's maritime expansion to the South Seas and South America.

The first location featured the Navy Pavilion, the Ship Pavilion, the Harbor Pavilion, the Aviation Pavilion, the Maritime Trade Pavilion, and three Commerce Pavilions. Through images, goods, music, and films, as well navy and air displays, it showcased the growth of Japan's transoceanic trade, the advancement of the Japanese navy and air force, and the development of the empire's maritime transportation.³⁷ The first location also featured the Textile Pavilion and the Korean Pavilion, which respectively showcased the empire's world-class achievement in its textile industry and its accomplishment in civilizing people in the colonies.³⁸ Similarly, the second location offered a display of the empire's war trophies, the Fishery Pavilion, and an aquarium, which aimed to present the empire's advancement in maritime technology.

The third location, on the other hand, focused on displaying the achievements of emigration-driven expansion. Central to this location was the Pavilion of Overseas Expansion (*Kaigai Hattenkan*). A highlight of the pavilion was the exhibition, *The Dream Land: Migration to Brazil: Ten Years of Hard Work* (*Burajiru Ijū: Jūnen of Funtō*). It drew a sharp contrast between a modern, civilized, but overcrowded Japan and an ancient, primitive, but resourceful and empty South America, legitimizing emigration from the former to the latter as an act of spreading human progress and sharing its benefits. The exhibition had six consecutive scenes, starting with the emigrants' departure from the Port of Kobe and ending with the emigrants harvesting the abundance of the agricultural products as farmers in Brazil. It narrated the experience of the Japanese migrants in South America as a saga of how men conquered nature. In describing a decade of hard work, including laboring on coffee plantations and exploring and taming the forest, the exhibition presented a challenging but rewarding process whereby Japanese migrants eventually became independent farmers with their own land. The exhibition encouraged others to follow in the footsteps of their countrymen to pursue their own success.³⁹

In addition, the Pavilion of Overseas Expansion featured booths from a variety of organizations associated with emigration and trade in South America and the South Seas. They included primary agents of the migration state like *Kaikō* and

海外發展展覽館配置圖

(其 一)

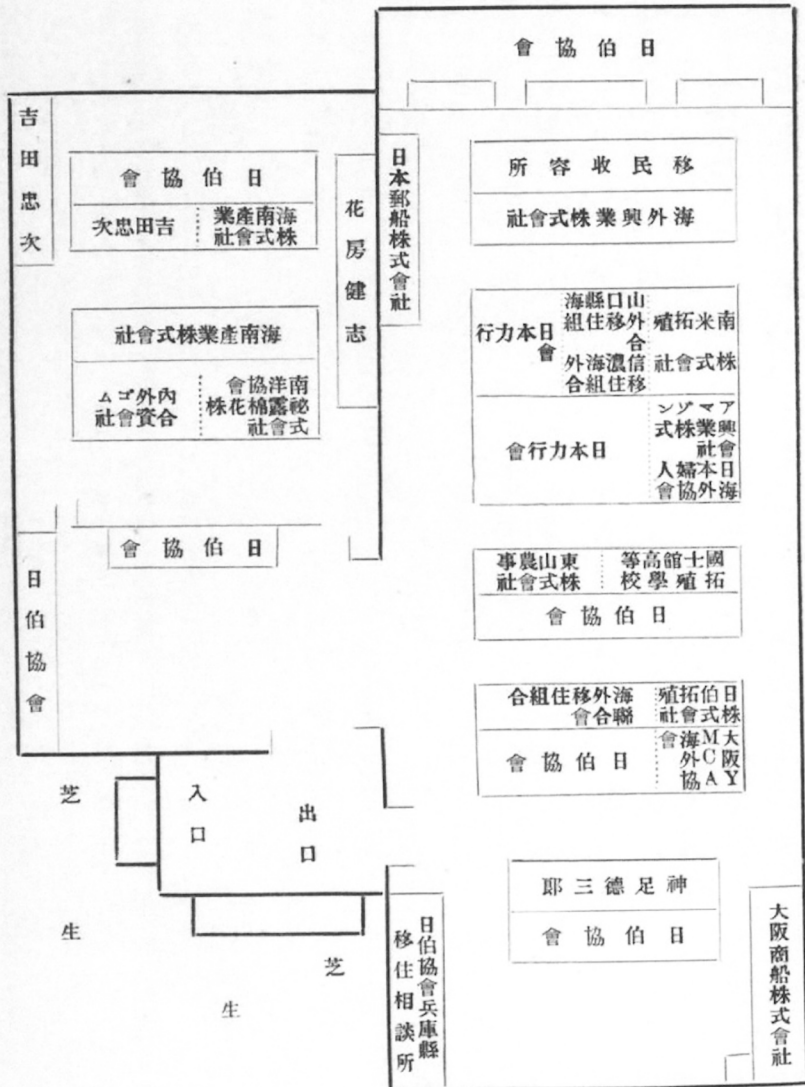


FIGURE 13. Part of the layout of the Kaigai Hattenkan (Overseas Expansion Pavilion). Source: *Kaikō hakuran kaishi: kankanshiki kinen* (Kobe: Kobe Hakurankai Kyōkai, 1931), 217.

the Federation of Overseas Emigration Cooperatives, as well as private businesses like the Japanese Striving Society, the South America Colonization Company, and the Tozan Agriculture Corporation, all of which played a role in Japanese collaborative settler colonialism in Brazil. The Hyōgo-based Japan-Brazil Association (Nippaku Kyōkai / Associação Nipo-Brasileira), which was dedicated to the promotion of Japanese industrial investment and capitalist expansion in Brazil, also had a few booths in the pavilion providing individual consultation. The Fleet Review held on October 25 and 26 marked the climax of the combined event. Attended by Emperor Hirohito and the fleet's commander in chief, Yamamoto Isoroku, the review was by far the largest one that Kobe had hosted, boasting 161 ships of the Imperial Navy. It showcased the empire's naval strength by demonstrating both its size and technological advancement.⁴⁰

As Japanese migration to Brazil grew steadily both in number and in political and economic importance for the empire, it resulted in another profound structural change in the central government in 1929. That year, the government established the Ministry of Colonial Affairs, which took over the responsibilities of subsidizing overseas migration to Brazil and elsewhere from the Bureau of Social Affairs. It continued to provide various grants to migration companies such as Kaikō, Nantaku, and the Federation of Migration Cooperative Societies.⁴¹ At the same time, the ministry managed affairs related to Japan's colonies in Asia by overseeing colonial administrations and colonial companies like the Southern Manchuria Railway Company (Mantetsu) and the Oriental Development Company (Tōtaku). The new ministry strengthened the grip of the migration state by unifying the governmental branches that previously oversaw migration activities in and outside the empire separately. More generally, the Ministry of Colonial Affairs symbolized the institutional convergence in the state structure of the empire between Japanese collaborative settler colonialism in Brazil and Japanese colonial expansion in Asia.⁴²

In 1930, the same year the Harbor Exposition and Fleet Review celebrated Kobe's critical role in Brazil-bound emigration and the empire's southward expansion, the Overseas Colonial Migration Conference (Kaigai Shokumin Taikai) took place in Tokyo. On January 19, in Hibiya Park in downtown Tokyo, next to Kasumigaseki, where the Japanese government buildings were located, the Colonial Migration Association (Shokumin Dōshikai) hosted the conference with the cosponsorship of Tokyo Nichinichi News Agency.⁴³ This half-day conference, attended by over three thousand people, was intended to encourage more Japanese subjects to participate in Japan's migration-driven expansion in Latin America. It began with three keynote speeches given by the representatives of the host and cosponsor and Inoue Masaji, head of Kaikō, who made the call for Japanese youth to make the world their home. The keynotes were followed by a tribute by the minister of colonial affairs, which emphasized the empire's mission of peaceful expansion through emigration and the importance of the collaboration between

the government and social forces. Next were tributes by diplomats from Brazil, Argentina, Peru, and Mexico, the main destinations of Japanese migration in Latin America, who extended warm invitations to more Japanese subjects to their land. The conference ended with the screening of two documentaries. One highlighted the accomplishment of the Japanese farming settlers in Brazil, and the other was a history of Western colonial expeditions in Africa, an example that the Japanese, the empire builders of the new era, were supposed to learn from.⁴⁴

BETWEEN BRAZIL AND ASIA

Japanese migration to Brazil reached a crescendo when the third decade of the twentieth century was about to unfold. Meanwhile, the Manchurian Incident in September 1931 and the establishment of Manchukuo the following year ushered in a new era of Japanese expansion in Asia. Mobilizing Japanese subjects to migrate to Manchuria became a military and political necessity for the empire. Apparatuses of the migration state wasted no time rising to the occasion. Beginning in 1932, the Ministry of Colonial Affairs began to fund investigations in Manchuria and organize migration campaigns. Some individuals who spearheaded Japan's state-sponsored migration to Brazil quickly turned to Manchuria as a new frontier of Japanese expansion. Umetani Mitsusada, first director of the Federation of Overseas Migration Cooperative Societies, moved back to Asia in 1932 to head the migration department of the Kwantung Army. He proceeded to carry out a series of migration campaigns and land acquisitions in Manchuria.⁴⁵ Nagata Shigeshi, a cofounder of the Aliança Colony in São Paulo, also participated in the promotion of Manchurian migration as early as 1932. He would later serve on a government committee to draft a plan for mass migration to Manchuria.⁴⁶ In the early 1930s, institutions that had backed the establishment of the Aliança Colony (including the Shinano Overseas Association, the Shinano Board of Education, the Japanese Striving Society, and the Nagano prefectural government) committed themselves to the promotion of Manchurian migration with great enthusiasm.⁴⁷ It was Nagano that pioneered Japan's prefecture-centered model for Brazil-bound migration; thus perhaps unsurprisingly, of all the prefectures, it was Nagano that exported the largest number of migrants to Manchuria.⁴⁸

However, before Tokyo launched its mass migration project on the eve of the Sino-Japanese War, none of its Manchurian migration campaigns was successful: government subsidies were relatively limited, and the living conditions in Manchuria were unattractive. In contrast, Japan's migration and capital exportation to Brazil continued to grow. In 1933, the annual number of Japanese who arrived in Brazil reached 24,493, the highest in history.⁴⁹ After decades of unfruitful campaigns, the anti-Japanese social forces in Brazil pushed through a quota restriction on Japanese immigration in the Constitution of 1934. However, the restriction was

not strictly imposed and only had limited effects on Japanese immigration, which began to decline but continued until 1941.

As the following chapters explain, however, the decline in Japanese immigration was accompanied by a new surge in Japanese capitalist exportation in Brazil. In 1935, Tokyo dispatched an economic delegation to Brazil headed by Hirao Hachisaburō, director of the Federation of Overseas Migration Cooperative Societies, to promote bilateral trade. A major achievement of this mission was a dramatic increase in Japanese importation of raw cotton from Brazil.⁵⁰ Responding to the Commonwealth nations' boycott of Japanese textiles, the Japanese government eschewed India in favor of São Paulo as a major cotton supplier. Japanese textile companies began to pour investments into Japanese farming villages in Brazil to expand their cotton cultivation.⁵¹ The 1930s also witnessed further expansion of Japanese presence in the Amazon Basin, a trend exemplified by the formation of the Amazonia Industrial Company (Amazonia Sangyō Kabushiki Gaisha) in 1935 based on a land concession in the state of Amazonas. The company was funded by a ten-year loan approved by the Imperial Diet, as well as several Japanese industrial corporations.⁵² It managed both Japanese settler community building and agricultural cultivation.

A turning point in Japanese migration to Brazil was Japan's further expansion into China proper, which led to the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War and, eventually, the Pacific War. To facilitate this total war, the imperial government elevated migration to Manchuria as a national policy (*kokusaku*) by launching an ambitious 1936 campaign with unprecedented financial and political commitments. This program called for relocating five million Japanese farmers to settle in Manchuria within the next two decades.⁵³ At the same time, on the other side of the Pacific, anti-Japanese sentiment continued to intensify. For example, the totalitarian regime Estado Novo, proclaimed by Getúlio Vargas in 1937, banned all Japanese-language schools in the Brazilian countryside.⁵⁴ Then, in 1941, by presidential order, Vargas banned the publication of foreign-language print media, including all Japanese newspapers and magazines.⁵⁵ The next year, after Brazil entered World War II as an Allied power, Rio confiscated all businesses owned by Japanese companies as enemy properties, including those of Kaikō, the Federation of Overseas Migration Cooperative Societies, Nantaku, and the Amazonia Industrial Company, among others.⁵⁶

Around this time, apparatuses of Japan's migration state in Brazil were quick to shift the focus of their activities to Asia in support of the empire's further expansion in Southeast Asia. Kaikō, for example, obtained Tokyo's permission to start emigration programs to Northern Borneo.⁵⁷ With financial assistance from the imperial government, Kaikō and the Federation of Overseas Migration Cooperative Societies relocated some Japanese immigrants in Brazil to Hainan Island in China. These re-migrants from Brazil, with their farming experiences in the

subtropical climate in South America, were expected to become trailblazers of the new subtropical frontier of Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in Asia.⁵⁸ The Japanese Striving Society, led by Nagata Shigeshi, launched campaigns to relocate Japanese subjects to the Philippines and Java.⁵⁹

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The years from 1921 to 1934 were the heyday of Japanese migration to Brazil. This era was marked by the Japanese empire's embrace of the renewed Anglo-American order after World War I, as well as the historic rise of Kobe as a critical industrial and naval port of the empire. The success of Brazil-bound emigration was both a stimulation for and a result of the increasing involvement of the Japanese government in promoting and managing Brazilian migration. This chapter examines important changes in the structure of the government and the new ways it collaborated with various social groups and involved Japanese subjects of different social classes in Brazilian migration campaigns. Together, these changes led to an enhanced version of the migration state that was able to penetrate into the society to mobilize and control emigration as never before. With social groups it had collaborated with for Brazilian migration, the migration state took responsibility for relocating hundreds of thousands Japanese subjects to Asia to facilitate the empire's expansion during World War II. Japanese migration to Brazil during the interwar period, therefore, should be seen as a critical preparation period that led to Japan's state-driven mass migration to Asia during World War II.

In addition to being the heyday of Japan's Brazil-bound migration, the interwar years were marked by the formation of a collective identity among Japanese settlers in Brazil. The next chapter explains how this identity took shape in the state of São Paulo in local, national, and global contexts. It also discusses how Japanese settler elites in Brazil consciously participated in debates among Japanese empire builders in Tokyo by connecting their experience in Brazil with Japan's colonial expansion in Asia.