

《研究ノート》

The Condition of Japanese Immigrants in Seattle and its Vicinity, 1925-1929

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The early 1920s was an era of bitter struggles and disappointments for the Japanese Community in Seattle and its vicinity. In 1921, the Alien Land Act that aimed at Japanese farmers was enacted in the state of Washington. In 1924, the so-called Japanese Exclusion Act passed through the United States Congress and the entry of immigrants who were “ineligible to citizenship” was prohibited completely. At the same year, the Japanese exclusion movement by labor organizations recurred at sawmills of Lake Stevens and Mukilteo. For Seattle’s Japanese community, it meant that its long efforts to establish friendly relationship with organized labor ended in vain⁽¹⁾. Some Japanese decided to go back to Japan in despair and the departure of the Japanese from the United States often exceeded the entry⁽²⁾. Katsunari Sasaki, who had been one of the most dedicated supporters of the organization of Japanese workers and served as the secretary of the Japanese Labor Association for a long time, also came back to Japan, though I have not yet confirmed the exact time when he did so⁽³⁾. His role as the supporter of the rights of Japanese workers in and around Seattle seems to have been succeeded by Kazue Miyata, the editor of the *Rodo (Labor)*⁽⁴⁾. The increase of returnees also did damage to the economy of the Japanese community in addition to the effects of the Alien Land Act.

Most Japanese, however, chose the course to stay and carve out their futures in the United States. The purpose of this article is to study problems that they confronted since the enactment of the Japanese Exclusion Act through 1929, the year of the beginning of the Great Depression. In so doing, I will put focus especially on four points, i. e., the reaction of the Japanese community against the anti-Japanese cases, the relationship between the Japanese community and the Filipino workers who began to enter the labor market of the Pacific Northwest, the influences of the growth of the Nisei, the second generation Japanese, on the Japanese community, and the general economic condition of the Japanese community in and around Seattle. Main sources of this study are articles and editorials of the *Taihoku Nippo (Great Northern Daily News)*, the vernacular newspaper published in Seattle in those years. The observations and opinions of Gogai Nakajima published in his serial essay, “the Betsukuchi Zakkicho” (Another Notebook), were especially helpful, though his expectations seemed too optimistic to me in some cases⁽⁵⁾.

I

Even the people who decided to stay in the United States did not hide their disappointments against the attitudes of American whites. In 1919, the Northwest United Japanese Association established the Americanization Committee and encouraged Japanese residents in Washington to adopt American customs. For example, restaurants and shops in Japanese districts changed their signboards from Japanese characters to alphabets. However, all their efforts were useless to prevent the passages of the Alien Land Act and the Japanese Exclusion Act. Consequently, the argument in the Japanese community began to take on the nationalistic tendency at least in some quarters⁽⁶⁾. Though some insisted that the exclusion movement would grow weaker because its aims were almost completely fulfilled, others objected that the racial prejudice was the root of American cultures and anti-Japanese forces would find another purpose if one was realized.

In fact, even after the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, the Japanese exclusion cases by white residents occurred at various places of the Pacific Northwest. Especially, anti-Japanese cases at sawmills made the Japanese community uneasy⁽⁷⁾.

Many Japanese had been turned out from farms since the enactment of the Alien Land Act. Of course, they had to find new means of livelihoods. Some encouraged them to go into the commerce⁽⁸⁾. However, it was difficult to succeed in the commerce without the capital. And sawmills were very important places to work for the Japanese without sufficient capital for business. Under the pen name of Jirosaku, a contributor of *the Taihoku Nippo* argued as follows :

Washington State is the place where lumbering was most prosperous among the Pacific states. Because of rich forests throughout the state, we need not fear that the deforestation would go too far and the business would slack off in ten or twenty years. As regions are developed and industries of the coast thrive, the annual output is increasing and there is no indication of decline. Conditions are very good. Compatriots who live in this area have been taking part in this business for long years and are recognized as a powerful source of labor that was the production factor in this field.

Therefore, it has the latent power that should not be neglected and occupied the important position in the compatriot society that cannot be made light of to make the plan for the development of the fellow compatriots' future in both the number and the economic power.

Especially, in the difficult situation such as the present time that we reached a dead end in every direction, we must keep our eyes on this field, strengthen the basis for sound development, and have hope in our future.

However, the Japanese exclusion problems, in connection with labor disputes that have occurred frequently in sawmills in recent years, have begun to oppress us unfairly. As a result, we are falling into disadvantageous and difficult situations and we cannot be optimistic⁽⁹⁾.

Then, how should the Japanese community cope with the anti-Japanese movements in sawmills? Jirosaku argued that workers in sawmills should organize the Japanese labor union "to remove misunderstandings of

organizations of white workers and the general public" and "to strengthen the ties of friendship with them." He also maintained that it would be useful for the mutual understandings of Japanese workers in sawmills and the improvement of their living conditions.

Not a few Japanese had the same opinion as Jirosaku's. Therefore, in July 1924, immediately after the exclusions at Lake Stevens and Mukilteo, the Labor Section of the Japanese Association of North America hosted a meeting of the representatives of Japanese workers in sawmills. This meeting does not seem to have produced remarkable results. The representatives of only two sawmills attended this meeting, though others expressed their support for the plan by letters⁽¹⁰⁾.

At the end of 1925, the Labor Section dispatched Kazue Miyata to camps around Seattle. He observed the condition of camps and reported it not only to JANA but also to *the Taihoku Nippo*. Therefore, we can know conditions of many camps where Japanese immigrants were working at the mid-1920s by his seventeen letters published as "Camp Zakan" (Impressions on Camp) on *the Taihoku Nippo*.

However, the inspection of conditions of camps was not the only mission of Miyata's journey. Based on his report, the Labor Section decided to open the meeting of camp leaders (bookmen) on the following subjects :

Plan to promote mutual understandings of compatriot workers.

Study on the harmony of Japanese and white workers.

Study on the best way for troubles in camps etc.

Measures for the foreigner registration that is on the verge of practice

The improvement of public morals in camps

The improvement of livelihoods in camps

Study on the permanent residence of compatriot workers

Study on the preservation of employment or the finding of new employment and the supply of workingmen.

Subjects that camp leaders present will submit

The meeting was held on November 8 at Seattle. At that meeting, Kanbe, the director of JANA, gave suggestions on the organization of the camp leaders as follows :

The nine subjects are impossible to take effect unless the union of camp leaders is established. It would be a good thing to publish the bulletin, if necessary. I believe that we greatly need such a union organization as the measure for improvement of the compatriot society.

Most camp leaders present agreed with his opinion and some suggested that they should develop this organization to a union that contained all workers as members by the support of JANA⁽¹¹⁾.

II

Another problem that threatened Japanese workers in sawmills and other workplaces in the Pacific Northwest was the increase of the Filipino workers.

Even after the Immigration Act of 1924, the Filipinos could immigrate to the United States because the Philippine Islands were the colony of the United States. Therefore, the population of the Filipinos in the United States, which had been only twenty-seven thousands (less than one thirds of the Chinese population) in 1920, increased rapidly in the 1920s and surpassed the Chinese population by 1930. More than twenty percent of Asians in the United States were the Filipinos in 1930⁽¹²⁾. Of course, they flowed into the Pacific Northwest, too, and even at Seattle, they began to affect the labor market of the Japanese. As early as in 1924, *the Taihoku Nippo* warned the Japanese on the effects of the influx of the Filipino workers with the headline of “Jobs of the Japanese Were Taken by the Filipinos : Employment of Compatriots Decreased to Half.” :

We already reported on the fact that compatriot workers in the city were taken their jobs by the Filipinos and were falling into difficult situation. Such a situation became more and more serious recently and we need to study this problem as a social problem of compatriots⁽¹³⁾.

As the number of the Filipino workers increased, their influences on the Japanese workers expanded. About two years later, *the Taihoku Nippo* published the following article :

The Filipinos who are said that about four hundreds are coming to San Francisco every month began to move northward recently and stepped into this city too. “This is the very serious problem”, so Mr. Setsugo Hosoda, the manager of the Togo Keian (Togo Employment Office), said.

“Many Japanese are unemployed. There were always many job offers from restaurants, hotels and others in winter but, contrary to our expectation, there are very few ones this year. Unemployed persons are gradually increasing and we ought to be pessimistic. Of course, the depression is one of the causes of such a situation but the most serious cause of the shortage of job offers for the Japanese is the inroad of the Filipinos to jobs for the Japanese by low wages. For example, because the Filipinos are doing the jobs of dish washing at 30 dollars which have been done at 75 dollars, the employers even who have been satisfied with ways of working of the Japanese are perplexed now. Especially at the depression such as these days, they tend to fire the Japanese and hire the Filipinos as soon as they find excuses because they need not to be worried about the efficiency. It is absolutely impossible for the Japanese who are supporting their families and experienced in jobs to compete with the Filipinos by low wages. Under these circumstances, compatriot workers should try to maintain the status quo and make efforts to keep away from giving excuses to employers by working faithfully. We cannot help but hold fast to present jobs patiently in the era when the labor market is in bad shape and powerful competitors appear.”⁽¹⁴⁾

As a matter of fact, it was difficult for the Japanese to compete with the Filipinos. The Filipinos were young

and lively in those days. On the other hand, the Japanese community of 1920s was an aging society. After the Gentlemen's Agreement between Japan and the United States of 1907-1908, the entry of Japanese immigrants to the United States decreased sharply. The man who had immigrated in 1907 as a youth in his twenties was living his middle year's life at 1927⁽¹⁵⁾. Gogai deplored changing times as follows :

In the years that the Japanese took jobs of whites, the scramble for jobs was an evenly-matched game because whites were hot-blooded and the Japanese were young.

However, the situation of the present competition is entirely different. Offensive Filipinos are vigorous but defensive Japanese are mingled with decrepit old men. Their bodies cannot keep up with their spirits.

However, the arrival of the Filipinos was not only woes but also boons for the depressed Japanese community because they offered a fresh market for Japanese shops instead of decreasing Japanese residents. Gogai continues as follows :

Though the Filipinos are formidable competitors against Japanese workers, they are great customers for everyone except workers. They are beneficial to a party but injurious to the other party. They were disliked by some people but welcomed by some people.

...

The Filipino problem put us in a dilemma. It is a devil for compatriot workers but a god of wealth for the business circles. Former must behave so as not to be possessed by and latter must behave not so as to let it slip. Compatriots need to use their ways according to the situation⁽¹⁶⁾.

At any rate, it was obvious that the Japanese community had no future unless it would find a new market in addition to decreasing Japanese customers. Many shops and restaurants in the Japanese district began to study the way to attract the Filipino customers. Gogai introduced their experiences and impressions months later as follows :

A proprietor of the hotel says : the Filipinos are not as fastidious as the Japanese and they are good customers if we treat them adequately. It is the policy for good business of some hotels to think the way how to make up for the decreasing Japanese by the Filipinos.

A proprietor of the dry goods store says : we should not make light of the purchasing power of the Filipinos who came back from Alaska. We will be able to make them good customers if we study their demand.

There are not a few businesses that have the Filipinos as customers, such as grocers, Chinese foods, restaurants, barbers. In these days that the business with the Japanese reached a dead end, the Filipinos certainly will fill up the business. Nay, it is not a bad bargain to change the policy⁽¹⁷⁾.

III

Even if the demand of the Filipinos offered an additional market for Japanese shops and restaurants in the second half of the 1920s, it would not be long before the Filipinos would have open their own shops and restaurants for their compatriots. All over the west coast, the Japanese community was increasingly putting their hopes on the Nisei, the second generation Japanese, who had citizenships of the United States. Though most Nisei were still children in 1920s, a few Japanese Americans already began their social and political activities that were impossible for the Japanese. In Seattle, they organized the Seattle Progressive Citizens' League :

Last night, more than thirty voters listened to the political views of Judge Griffiths, the candidate for the U. S. Senator, and Mr. Caytom, the candidate for the representatives of the state of Washington.

This was the second time Judge Griffiths stated his political views at the meeting of the said league. The first speech was done at first active days of Japanese Americans when the late Miss Haruko Ohsawa and Mr. George Yamaoka were leaders.

Though the number of voters was only ten-odd at that time, they were very active and listened to the political view of the candidate as soon as they established the league. Both hosts and guests were satisfied because Haruko showered serious questions on the political view of the Judge and gained earnest and faithful answers.

The number of the voters now exceeds sixty and will reach the influential numbers six years later. Especially, at the 43rd electoral district where many Japanese Americans are living, politicians will not be able to do nothing without consulting with the Citizens' League.

Mr. Caytom who attended last night is the black person and privately told that he will be elected without doubt if he can grasp the votes of the Japanese and the Chinese. Though the state of affairs in the political world is difficult to expect, the fact that the Citizens' League is building up the latent foundation pleases us.

The foundation of the political world is determined by persons and number of them. If we guess from the school census and the statistics on schoolchildren, Japanese American voters will increase rapidly and the league will establish the firm foundation in the next five years.⁽¹⁸⁾

Four days later, Gogai again took up this problem and concluded as follows :

The anti-Japanese is too late. An era will come when the anti-Japanese factions have a rough time if they contest against the Japanese in the same way as they once teased workers and tortured farmers. Japanese Americans who are loyal to the United States will do their best to oppose trouble makers.⁽¹⁹⁾

However, there were some anxieties on the future of the Nisei, too. In spite of their positions as Americans, the Nisei, too, faced the exclusion especially when they looked for jobs after they graduated from schools. In 1928, two girls were refused employment as student nurses by hospitals in Seattle because they were Japanese Americans. In spite of the protests, both hospitals continued to exclude these girls. The existence of

discriminatory treatment in employment was evident in many cases even if managers denied the facts.⁽²⁰⁾

In consideration of such situations and based on the judgment that the worst time that the Alien Land Act had brought about was over, some Japanese advised the Nisei to choose the farming as their occupations. Gogai was one of them.

As a certain prosecutor declared, the Washington State Alien Land Act brought about the fear. However, it could not rage on the people who owned or leased their land lawfully.

Proof is better than argument. Though the prosecutor indicted many lawsuits on land, every case except only a few was decided as lost cases for the prosecutor. He could not give even one tenth of damage that they had expected and he stamped his feet with mortification.

...

Though the fear ruled over at one time and we had anxiety that Japanese farms might be completely wiped out, frequent news of victory gradually brought about the stability and, at present, Japanese Americans can purchase or lease land without anxiety by the guarantee of decisions of the Supreme Court.

In addition to this, the farming is supported enthusiastically as the best measure to solve the employment problem of the Nisei. Advances of the Nisei to farms will produce great effects on the industry of compatriots in future by gradually switching over from temporary farming in old time to permanent farming.

...

The storm of the land act was over, threatening clouds scattered, and today's weather is fine. Fresh forces of the Nisei are developing the tendency to improve their lots by setting out for farms. Let us strengthen the basis of compatriots by taking this opportunity. A principal of the junior high school said, "To solve the employment problem of Japanese Americans, they should throw the white—collars away and put on the overalls."⁽²¹⁾

However, not all Japanese agreed to his opinion. Some Japanese were more cautious on the danger of the anti-Japanese movement. Many prosecutions against Japanese farmers certainly turned out against the public prosecutors. However, it was reported that the discontented public prosecutor of King County was planning to amend the Alien Land Act. Moreover, *the Seattle Star*, the van of the anti-Japanese campaign in Seattle, published an article that seemed to attack not only the Japanese but also the Japanese Americans in September 1927. In consideration of such situations, they did not believe that the right of Japanese farmers in Washington was put on the firm footing by decisions of the Supreme Court as Gogai argued.⁽²²⁾

In addition to this, some Japanese posed a question as to whether the agriculture was the profitable business or not. An article of *the Taihoku Nippo* of 1928 insisted as follows :

As far as I judge, the agriculture is not a remunerative profession in the United States. It seems that the agriculture is less profitable than the commerce and the industry, and to be farmers is less advantageous than to be doctors, lawyers, and politicians.

Of course, this is only an outline. I cannot deny the fact that the agriculture is more suitable than any other professions in the world for some persons. At the same time, the agriculture is the most inadequate professions for some persons among jobs in the world.

It is said that the recent investigation by the Minnesota State Railways Union indicated that the agriculture is the least remunerative works . . .

Therefore, it is more sensible to tell them to become brokers than to tell them to be farmers..... At any rate, there is still room for study on the argument that the Nisei should do the farming.⁽²³⁾

Seattle's Japanese community of 1920s had another problem to solve concerning the Nisei. The habits and likings of the Nisei were different from the Japanese, as the habits and likings of the Filipinos were different from the Japanese. Therefore, shops of the Japanese district had to change their style of business to attract the Nisei as their customers. If not, the purchasing power of the Nisei would be consumed outside the Japanese district. In this sense, even the appearance of the enterprise that was managed by the Nisei was not a totally welcomed event for the Japanese community.

Street bills written in bold as "Dai-Nisei Keiei Gasoline Station Kaigyo" (Opening of the Gasoline Station Managed by the Nisei) is attracting people's attention. Dai-Nisei Keiei . . . there would be no more serious characters that narrate the change of the compatriot society.

...

As most incomes of the Chinese restaurants labeled as the Japanese management go into the purses of the Chinese, most money that went into pockets of the Nisei by his management would not be consumed at the Japanese district.

Stores of compatriots are putting the Nisei who are big consumers outside of their targets for reasons we cannot understand. Though there are stores that make babies their customers, there is no facility and service that makes the youths its target. Young men are making complaint that there are no stores to purchase even if they wish to do so.

...

Though I am glad to see the street bills of the "Dai-Nisei Keiei" because it shows the enterprising spirits of young persons, at the same time, I feel as if customers came in when we were getting ready. It is urgently necessary for us to make preparations for coexistence and co-prosperity.⁽²⁴⁾

Of course, many managers recognized the need to change their styles of business to attract the Nisei customers. About a year later, Gogai took up this problem again :

The styles of the compatriot business have gradually changed. When the purchasing power of the Issei is decreasing little by little and one of the Nisei begin to compensate it, the styles of compatriot business must change.

A young merchant explains this trend as follows : our business would be terrible in future if we cannot make the Nisei customers. Therefore we are starting preparations to respond to changes.⁽²⁵⁾

IV

Then, how was the overall economic condition of the Japanese community in Seattle and its vicinity in the latter half of 1920s?

The 1920s of the United States is usually remembered as the “prosperity decade”. Based on the popularization of durable consumer goods such as automobiles and electric appliances, American economy thrived especially in the latter half of it. However, it seems that the Japanese in Seattle were not thinking that they were enjoying the prosperity. If anything, they were thinking or at least saying that business condition in Seattle, especially at the Japanese district, was at the state of the depression.

As the reason of the depression, they usually enumerated the following problems :

The decrease and the aging of the Issei

The decrease of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe : the Immigration Act of 1924 not only prohibited the Japanese immigration but also limited the immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe drastically. After that, they were absorbed in eastern cities and their influx to western cities including Seattle dropped sharply

The popularization of cars : the Japanese and the public in 1920s spent much money on cars and the power to purchase other goods dropped. Moreover, they began to use money at distant places because of cars

The Policy of Bertha Knight Landes, the mayor of Seattle, 1926–1928 : Landes was the first woman mayor of large American cities and tightened the control over public morals⁽²⁶⁾

However, some contemporaries posed the question about the accuracy of their observations. The amount of the deposit in banks for the Japanese residents in Seattle such as the Japan Commercial Bank, the Sumitomo Bank and the Toyo Bank was increasing in those years⁽²⁷⁾. The working conditions of sawmills and Alaskan canneries, too, seem to have improved considerably in 1920s. The Japanese who were deplored the depression in Seattle might have been taken hold by the memory of the boom of the World War I⁽²⁸⁾.

At any rate, the improvement of business seems to have become obvious by the end of 1928 or beginning of 1929. In the “Betsukuchi Zakkicho” of the New Year issue of *the Taihoku Nippo*, Gogai offered congratulations to the prosperity of the Japanese community.

Best of all, the boom of the end of the last year animated the compatriot society on the whole. Though we repeated a conventionally-worded address “Domo Fukeikide” (Times are hard) for a time to go along with whites, as a matter of fact it was the best time we had had in recent years. We saw the old year out and the New Year in happily.

If all the members make good money, the society of compatriots will be happy. If the people who make money supply money and the people who are working supply services, and if the principle of the cooperation is put into practice, the society of compatriots will improve and progress⁽²⁹⁾.

The prosperity of the Japanese district in Seattle reflected the general improvement of the employment opportunities of the Pacific Northwest, because it was the center of the Japanese communities in the Pacific Northwest in those years. In an article at the beginning of summer, a writer of *the Taihoku Nippo* wrote as follows :

The cannery season of Alaska has come and the Filipinos markedly decreased in the city. Considerable number of the Japanese also went to Alaska.

Even women and children go to work because the strawberry pickings have begun. Works in farms and works in sawmills also increased and populations moved from town to country.

In Japan, they describes the United States as the country where gold flows. We may do so if we compare these countries. The United States is the country of the prosperity⁽³⁰⁾.

Such prosperity gave gratifications to leaders of the Japanese community who had passed uneasy days since the enactment of the Alien Land Act. Even at the end of 1929, Gogai wrote as follows :

The stabilization of the farming and the business in the compatriot society delighted us this year. People who had felt depressed and had made preparations to run away owing to the Japanese exclusions regained their composes, gathered their courages and set to work in earnest.

In the filed of the farming, compatriot farmers had been blown off with the land act. Though not a few of persons ran away by the roar of the wind rather than the fury of the wind, they realized the fact that wind was weaker and its damage was smaller than they had expected.

The people who had held their grounds braced up their nerves. They changed householders to Japanese Americans for whom the power of the land act does not reach and set about managing farms and worked twice or three times as hard as before. . .

. . .
In the filed of business, too, the policies for management became semi permanent ones. Hotel managers based on the long-term leases that we had not heard began to emerge. Some stores began to be ready to turn over the management to sons.

. . .
As the society steadies, every thing becomes comfortable to live in. People get livery and become intimate with the community. Compatriots who took defiant attitudes for a time overpowered the exclusionists by real abilities. The Japanese are enthusiastically received at everywhere.

. . .
This year comes to end. This end is the more pleasant than the end of the last year even though both are same ends. The next year will bring out more light to the compatriot society⁽³¹⁾.

Needless to say, Gogai was too optimistic. The prosperity and stability of the Japanese community depended

on the trend of American Economy and he failed to estimate the effect of the sharp decline of stock prices in the Wall Street at the end of 1929.

The Taihoku Nippo of October 26, two days after the so-called Black Thursday, reported that the Japanese of Seattle lost two hundred and fifty thousand dollars by the decline of stock⁽³²⁾. At June 1930, the loss of the Japanese was estimated one million dollars only in Seattle⁽³³⁾. Of course, this was a great loss. However, the long and severe depression after the crash of the stock market undoubtedly did greater damage to the economy of the Japanese community. The Japanese community in the 1930s had to carve out its future in this severe circumstance.

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1. After the Seattle General Strike of 1919, Seattle's Japanese community had contact with progressive leaders of the labor movement such as James Duncan, Harry Ault and Anna Louise Strong and succeeded to establish cordial relationships with them. However, Duncan resigned from the secretary of the Seattle Central Labor Council in 1923 because of the pressure from the American Federation of Labor. After that, the anti-Japanese feelings of labor organizations began to surface. See Takeuchi, Kojiro, *Beikoku Seihokubu Nippon Iminshi*, Yushodo 1994 (First ed., *Taihoku Nippou*, 1929), pp.158–159, *the Taihoku Nippo*, June 18, 1925.
2. The Japanese population in the city of Seattle rose from 7,874 of 1920 to 8,448 of 1930. However, this increase reflected the increase of children born in the United States (*Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population*, Vol.3 pt.2, p.1231).
3. Sasaki was reported as a member of the Seattle Club at Tokyo in 1925. Kojiro Takeuchi, editor of *the Taihoku Nippo*, met him at a party of the said club in 1928. See *the Taihoku Nippo*, January 30, 1925, January 4, January 5, 1929.
4. See "Instead of Letters, from Paris" by Sonan (Akiyama), *ibid.*, September 13 and 16, 1925.
5. "Gogai" is the pen name. His real name is Katsuji Nakajima.
6. It seems to be true of some articles of *the Taihoku Nippo*. Gogai, however, criticized this tendency in the "Betsukuchi Zakkicho" of July 8, 1924.
7. For example, Tredo, Oregon in July 1925 and Copalis Crossing, Washington. *the Taihoku Nippo* carried many articles on these cases.
8. See *ibid.*, July 7, 1924. However, the anti-Japanese movement was the serious problem in this sphere, too. A bill that was proposed to the Washington State Congress in 1927 was obviously aimed to exclude Japanese grocers by limiting the qualification of the certified grocers to the Americans and the aliens who expressed the will to become Americans. See *ibid.*, January 29, 31, February 11, 1927.
9. *Ibid.*, October 21, 1925.
10. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1924.
11. See *the Taihoku Nippo*, November 4, 6, 10, 11, 1925.
12. Herbert R. Barringer, Robert W. Gardner and Michael J. Levin, *Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States*, New York, 1993, pp.39, 42.
13. *Ibid.*, September 4, 1924.
14. *Ibid.*, December 4, 1926. Cf. *ibid.*, May 24, 1926. As the article that argued the competition between the Japanese and the Filipinos in Alaska cannery, see "The Formidable Competitor of Compatriot Workers : Cheap Labor of the Filipinos", *ibid.*, January 30, 1926.
15. In 1927, a traveler wrote his impression on the Japanese district in Seattle as follows, "I have often read in the "Zakkicho" of Mr. Gogai and other articles that young people decreased among compatriots in the United States, I keenly feel it by visiting Seattle. Nine of ten persons whom I see on the street are about forty years and many are over", *ibid.*, June 10, 1927.
16. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1928.

17. *Ibid.*, August 30, 1928. By the way, though I put focus on their relationship with the Japanese in this article, most serious problem for the Filipino workers in those days was undoubtedly the exclusion by white workers and the *Taihoku Nippo* often reported on the exclusion cases against the Filipino workers, too. In an article, the writer wrote as follows, "The Chinese were excluded when the residents in the American continent reached a hundred thousand. The Japanese were also excluded when we reached a hundred thousand. How will be the future fate of the Filipinos?" *ibid.*, May 11, 1927.
18. *Ibid.*, August 28, 1928
19. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1928. Their activities were not confined to the city of Seattle. Clarence Takeya Arai and other leaders of the Seattle League made appeal to the Japanese Americans of other areas, see *ibid.*, October 19 and 20, 1928.
20. *Ibid.*, July 20, 26, August 9, 20, 31, November 24, 1928.
21. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1928. See also January 21, 1927.
22. *Ibid.*, September 3, 6, 7, 8, 1927, August 29, 1928.
23. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1928.
24. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1927.
25. *Ibid.*, December 28, 1928.
26. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1926, June 28, September 19, October 3, 8, 15, December 16, 1927.
27. *Ibid.*, November 2, 1927
28. *Ibid.*, January 1, December 13, 1927, December 26, 1928.
29. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1929.
30. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1929.
31. *Ibid.*, December 30, 1929.
32. *Ibid.*, October 26, 28, 1929.
33. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1931.