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JAPANESE IMMIGRATION IN BRAZIL

Henri Hauser

Translated by William F. J. DeJongh

[The original French copy of this as yet unpublished article was submitted, in 1937, for publication in a Latin American journal. Circumstances prevented its publication at that time. It is now printed in English in consideration of the intrinsic importance of the subject and the prominence of the author, who is one of the foremost contemporary specialists in economic history.]

Henri Hauser, Litt. D., was born in 1866. He graduated from the Ecole Normale, was professor at the Universities of Clermont-Ferrand and Dijon, and, in 1919, he was appointed to the chair of economic history in the Sorbonne. He was retired in 1936 and has been honorary professor since. He was a visiting professor at Harvard University in 1923 and at the University of Rio de Janeiro in 1936. He is a corresponding member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques and an honorary doctor of the Universities of Toronto, Riga, and Tartu (Estonia). Among his books are *Méthodes allemandes d'expansion économique*, 1916, *Les débuts du capitalisme*, 1927, *La prépondérance espagnole*, 1933, and *La Paix économique*, 1935.

In order to cover the developments since this article was written, some additions have been made by Richard F. Behrendt in the form of footnotes marked "R. F. B." Present conditions made it impossible to get in touch with the author.]

I

BRAZIL COVERS more than 3,286,000 square miles. In this vast territory there live, if one accepts the census of January 1, 1936, nearly 47,800,000 people. Let us add at once that that figure is to be admitted cautiously. It results, in many regions, from an extrapolation of the curves of increase drawn between the period 1900-1920. At the opening of the century, the official figure for the population scarcely exceeded seventeen millions. This figure, which was calculated on fiscal transactions, was doubtless too low, since many people who were liable to taxation could have escaped taxation. The figure for the year 1930, or about forty-one and a half millions, would doubtless be closer to the

fact; it is probable that the figure (47,800,000) given to us at present warps the fact.¹

But even if we subtract five or six millions there remains a population slightly larger than that of France for a territory fifteen and a half times greater. Europe with its 3,600,000 square miles hardly surpasses by a seventh what we may call the continent of Brazil; but its 500,000,000 men represent ten times the boldest estimates of the population of Brazil.

The whole problem of Brazil lies in those few figures, or more simply, in the figure of the density of population. That figure, 14.9, is almost applicable to a desert. And when we think of the accumulation of the population in certain coastal districts, in the Federal District (at least 1,700,000 inhabitants) and sections bordering upon the state of Rio de Janeiro, in the region of São Paulo-Santos, in certain parts of the south, in the suburbs of Victoria, Recife, and Bahia, we realize that the interior is nearly stripped of men. The virgin forest of the Amazon, the thick forests and the "Bush" (Sertão) of Matto Grosso and of Goyaz are, strictly speaking, wildernesses, where the aeroplane, the only possible means of transportation in those countries, discovers human settlements very rarely. Even at a slight distance from the cities, when one has crossed the fringes of population, one penetrates "pioneer" regions which man is gradually wresting from nature. The drama of the "frontier," which lies at the bottom of the history of the United States, is at present performing in the east of the state of São Paulo, in north Paraná, and elsewhere.²

Brazil is therefore an appealing foyer for immigrants. Considering immigration over a long period, one can admit that from 1820, the eve of her independence, until 1930, Brazil received approximately four million inhabitants. The original Portuguese stock was increased only by 30 per cent of that total. And when you add to that 30 per cent the Spanish immigrants (12.2 per cent), the increase from the Iberian peninsula accounts for hardly more than 42 per cent, whereas Italians account for 34½ per cent. German immigrants who are concentrated in the south, constitute only 3½ per cent of the total. From other

¹ The *Boletim do Ministério do Trabalho, Indústria e Comércio*, July, 1936, warns us to accept it only with "all kinds of reservations." Brazil took its fifth general population census in the fall of 1940. The fourth had taken place in 1920 and had shown 30,635,605 inhabitants. Official results of the 1940 census will not be published before 1943. According to tentative estimates a population of approximately 43,000,000 is expected.—R. F. B.

² See Pierre Monbeig, "A zona pioneiria do norte Paraná," *Geografia*, 1935, pp. 221-238.

countries, France, Belgium, and more recently Poland, arrived another 19.8 per cent. In absolute figures this immigration has sketched for ten years a very capricious curve. There were 98,000 immigrants in 1924; more than 121,000 in 1926. For the next two years the figure remained above 100,000, but fell in 1931 to 31,000. It rose only to 50,000 in 1934 and dropped again in 1935 to 30,000.³ The country could have absorbed more immigrants.⁴

In 1935, what was the ethnic composition of that influx of foreigners? The figures quoted above show that since 1820 currents of Latin origin—Italians, Portuguese, and Spaniards—had predominated. In spite of the enormous number of the nationalities represented (67), the character of the immigrant white population (negro immigration ceased after 1850) had remained the same. That result could be modified by the decrease of the Italian immigration, which had exceeded 537,000 between 1894 and 1903, but which kept on falling to 196,500 between 1904 and 1913, down to 86,000 between 1914 and 1923, and which hardly exceeded 70,000 in the decade 1924-1933.

Those facts, however, are nothing compared with the new phenomenon which appears toward the opening of the twentieth century, i.e., Japanese immigration, and especially the ceaselessly increasing proportion of this immigration. The decade 1904-1913 had already seen more than 12,000 Nipponese enter Brazil. In 1914-1923 the entrance figures were more than 20,000, and in 1924-1933 more than 110,000. Then occurs a prodigious event unsettling everything that might be foreseen and nullifying the interpolations of the geometric curves that the statisticians had so painstakingly drawn: the Japanese take precedence by a wide margin over all other immigrating nationalities. Nothing could speak more eloquently for immigration to Brazil during the single year 1934 than the following table:

³ Between 1820 and 1937, Brazil received 4,603,414 immigrants. Of this total 32.6 per cent (the largest individual group) were Italians, 30 per cent Portuguese, 12.9 per cent Spanish, 4.9 per cent German, and 3.9 per cent Japanese.—“Latin American Immigration Statistics,” *Commercial Pan America*, Pan American Union, No. 87 (August, 1939), p. 4.

Between 1936 and 1940 the annual immigration fluctuated between 12,773 and 34,677 and amounted to a total of 114,369. Immigrants entering during the decade 1930-40 numbered about 290,000, compared with about 1,000,000 in 1920-30.—*Brasil Novo*, Publicação de Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda, Rio de Janeiro, III (January, 1941), p. 102.—R. F. B.

⁴ Commenting upon the investigation which he made in Brazil in 1935, for the International Labor Office, Fernand Maurette estimates that Brazil could absorb without difficulty annually 90,000 immigrants.

Japanese ..	21,930
Portuguese .	8,732
Germans ...	3,629
Italians	2,507
Poles	2,308
Spaniards ...	1,428

When we remember that the first arrivals from Nippon had disembarked at Santos in 1908 only eight hundred strong, we can gather the importance of the Japanese trek.⁵

As it happened, in 1934 Brazil was introducing into her constitution stipulations analogous to North American legislation on quotas. As in Washington, they wished in Rio to keep away elements considered undesirable, that is, people who could not be easily assimilated or who were of inferior quality, and to preserve the historically dominant characteristics of the nation. The enterprise was rather bold in a country, which has been, even more than the United States, a crucible or a "melting pot" of the most diverse populations, and which, quite contrary to Yankee custom, glories in knowing nothing about the questions of race and color. In Brazil, wrote a traveling publicist, "no one can escape the dilemma of being the son or the grandson of another race."⁶ The late Dr. Miguel Conto had at first proposed in the Chamber of Deputies to close Brazil "to Africans and to their descendants," in other words, to cut off possible recruiting of the negro population, and to admit from Asiatic countries only 5 per cent of the total number which had already immigrated. For reasons of a diplomatic nature, and

⁵ Immigration of the principal nationality groups from 1935 to 1937 was as follows:

	1935	1936	1937	Annual Average 1931-1937
Japanese	9,611	3,306	3,055	11,387
Portuguese	9,327	4,626	2,198	7,461
Germans	2,423	1,226	1,297	2,236
Italians	2,127	462	909	1,856
Poles	1,428	1,743	1,956	1,684
Spaniards	1,206	355	561	1,211

—"Latin American Immigration Statistics," *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

The following estimate of people of European and Japanese descent in Brazil has been made by Charles A. Gauld, "Brazil Takes a Census," *Journal of Geography*, April, 1941.

Portuguese descent	5,500,000
Italian or half Italian descent	3,800,000
German or half German descent	1,100,000
Spanish, Slavic, Syrian, etc.	3,600,000
Japanese	"fewer than 270,000" —R. F. B.

⁶ Bruno Lobo, writing under the sensational title, *Esquecendo os antepassados, combatendo os estrangeiros (Forgetting Our Ancestors and Fighting Against Foreigners)*, Rio de Janeiro, 1935.

conforming to the North American example, the Brazilians decided (Art. 121 of the constitution) that a nationality would not be allowed to introduce annually more than 2 per cent of the total of its citizens who had settled in Brazil during the last fifty years.⁷ The constitutional amendment was aimed squarely at the Japanese, since their first demographic appearance went back only a quarter of a century. We do not have here to examine the multiple consequence of the new legislation: we simply give it perspective in its relations to the Japanese problem.

II

At that date (1934) what did the Japanese colony represent in Brazil and how could it justify any apprehensions?

The first point requiring impartial explanation is this: if the Brazilian authorities desired to admit preferably agricultural elements already prepared for rural life, able to adapt themselves to the working conditions of the *fazendas*, and not townspeople destined to increase uselessly the population of the cities, they could not have been luckier if they had summoned the Japanese. No other immigrating nationality gave so high a proportion of farmers. If we declare the year 1928 to be typical, the immigrating Portuguese, who still were leading with 33,882 individuals, numbered only 10,123 men of agriculture. On the contrary, out of 11,169 Japanese, 11,086 of them worked in the fields. Out of 5,493 Italians (the third highest nationality represented) only 674 went to the farms. The times were past when the poor people of southern Italy had populated the coffee plantations. The new arrivals were coming to try for good fortune in the large and small cities, in retail business, the petty trades, and in the factories. The number of farmers is high again among the Poles: 3,126 out of 4,708, or roughly 75 per cent. But we are far away from the Japanese statistics. Spanish farmers did not make up more than a quarter of the total Spanish immigration, or 1,010 out of 4,436. As for the Germans, the parents of those who colonized Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina furnished out of a total of 4,228 persons (the figure is close to that of the Poles or of the Spaniards) the insignificant number of 171 farmers—practically none.

⁷ In 1934 the total annual immigration quota was set at 79,020. The official figures of the total immigration since that year have been consistently below this. In 1939 some concessions were made to immigrant groups considered desirable in the national interest. Thus, all quota restrictions on Portuguese immigrants were removed. Annual quotas for the American countries were raised to 3,000 each. Refugees from Central Europe, Finland, and Poland were admitted under special arrangements.—R. F. B.

The man who knows Brazil will not be astonished to learn that out of 3,127 Syrians, there were no more than 765 attracted to farms. Indeed you cannot penetrate the interior of Brazil without coming across, in the smallest cities and even in the villages, the inevitable Syrian or Lebanon shop, *armazen libanes*, which retails textiles, ready-made clothing, cushions, drugs, etc.

In brief, Brazil would have failed completely in her program of acquiring farmers if she had not received the Japanese and, secondly and in a lesser proportion, the Poles and the emigrants from the Spanish peninsula. The other nationalities served regrettably only to congest the capital cities.

The Japanese colonists, furthermore, did not come "in extended order," but by virtue of contracts signed with the State of São Paulo, which needed men in order to realize its vast projects of colonization and the clearing of land. The earliest contract had been drawn in 1907 with the Imperial Japanese Company of Immigration for the introduction of a contingent of 3,000 colonists. The State of São Paulo paid for the colonists' trip from Japan to São Paulo.⁸ Indeed, the need of men, keenly felt in Brazil after the disappearance of slavery, was becoming particularly urgent, since the State of São Paulo had been systematically developing the cultivation of coffee and since Italian immigration had been restricted as early as 1902. Another reason was the ultra-rapidly increasing exodus from farms to the cities. Japanese emigration, to which North America had been closed since 1890, was going to find an outlet at the port of Santos.

Between 1912 and 1917 nearly 18,000 Japanese arrived in Brazil. But then there was organized a new society called the "Company for International Development"—*Kaigai Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha*—which addressed itself to the task of organizing immigration rationally by adapting it to local conditions. It recruited directly from Japanese zones of emigration the future colonists, selected them carefully from the points of view of health, of agricultural experience, and the will to settle permanently in South America. If chosen, the recruits were expected to take the courses of a special school where they learned the rudiments of the Portuguese language, and received notions about Brazilian agronomy and economics. Thus, upon their arrival, they were

⁸ See Astrogildo Rodrigues de Mello, "Imigração e Colonização," *Geografia*, 1935, pp. 25-49.

fit not only to perform field labor for pay, but also to exploit as petty landowners the colonization lots. Out of a few more than 6,000 families (for this is a question of family immigration) introduced between 1931 and 1933 inclusive, one-third were settled immediately as landowners.⁹ The others, the wage earners, gradually changed their status into landowners on lots turned over to them by the company.

Thanks to that system, according to figures presented by the Japanese Consulate of São Paulo, the number of immigrants, which was 6,330 in 1925, rose to 11,169 in 1928, and by an uninterrupted progression climbed to 24,090 in 1933. Still, these figures perhaps understate the facts. Careful observers have assured us that Japanese steamships discharge at Santos numbers of people which exceed the legal quotas (at present, the quotas fixed by the constitution of 1934). The police closes its eyes in order not to raise obstacles against the needs of colonization. Furthermore, after the disembarkment of the adults, children are seen leaving the steamship, who carry in their right hand a flag of Brazil and in their left hand a flag of Japan. Would it not be inhuman to send back these little Nipponese whose parents have landed?¹⁰

In short, the number of Japanese who have settled in Brazil is estimated at 150,000. Of that number the State of São Paulo alone acquired 130,000 settlers for her coastal regions and the pioneer country of the northwest. They represent 80 per cent of the total number of Japanese immigrants to Brazil. Next in number are the Japanese of Amazonas, of Pará, of Goyaz, etc. At least half of these immigrants come from central and southern Japan where the men are particularly energetic.

What are the results of this immigration? It is generally admitted that "the Japanese immigrant is an excellent colonist, a steady worker, and very good farmer."¹¹ Those whom we have seen at work between São Paulo and Santos near artificial lakes of the Light and Power Company are distinguished by their clean and well-kept cottages and by their very carefully cultivated gardens. Inland, especially in the north-

⁹ *Boletim do Ministério do Trabalho*, etc., August, 1936, pp. 292-299.

¹⁰ On April 7, 1941, all entrance permits into Brazil were suspended except for citizens of other American countries and Portugal and for certain types considered particularly useful for the country. Yet, according to an AP dispatch of August 1, 1941, from Valparaíso, a Japanese liner calling there carried 531 Japanese agricultural immigrants destined for Brazil.—R. F. B.

¹¹ De Mello, *loc. cit.*

west, the communities begin as Japanese encampments. The men are squatters and planters.¹¹ Such is the case at Marillia.

The Japanese Consulate General employs four agricultural engineers who travel through the country and advise their nationals. The K.K.K.K. Company maintains an agricultural school at M' Boy, twenty miles from the capital. It has even been asserted that the example of the Japanese landowner goads the local peasants, negroes or mulattoes (the *caboclos*), out of their nonchalance. Right now the Japanese produce 8 per cent of the rice and 5 per cent of the coffee of São Paulo, but 46 per cent of the cotton and 57 per cent of the silk. They grow 14 per cent of the potatoes. As for tea, their coefficient is 75 per cent and they consume more than a quarter of the quantity locally produced. Ten per cent of the bananas come from their plantations. They have almost transformed the food supply of São Paulo by reason of their production of fresh vegetables (tomatoes and greens), particularly in the suburbs where the market gardens are.

It is, therefore, incontestable that the Japanese has become an essential element in the economy of São Paulo. A more debated question is the one which asks whether the Japanese tend to be assimilated by the Brazilian population or whether the Nipponese do not represent a foreign corps that is dangerous to national unity. To this question there is no unanimous answer. Without accepting the exaggerations of the "Integralists," whose tenets recall those of the Ku Klux Klan and who would like to close Brazil to all foreigners, we have seen that the authors of the constitution would like to reserve their country for the white race, preferably for the Latin races. Article 121 was written by men who considered Japanese immigration as undesirable. On the other hand, we shall not rely upon the optimistic statements (which have seemed scandalous to some) of a few young writers¹² who exult in seeing male children of the Rising Sun wearing coats and their women disporting the most recent fashion in hairdress. They show genuine satisfaction over a few mixed marriages, from which are supposed to have sprung remarkably adaptable types. They point out a few conversions—and conclude that the Nipponese not only can be assimilated but that they are already half assimilated.

But all that is peculiar to the state of São Paulo. Her 130,000 Japanese are scattered among a total population of nearly 7,000,000

¹² *Ibid.*

inhabitants.¹³ They are dispersed over several regions and they live not only close to Brazilians of different shades of complexion but also near Italian, Polish, Finnish, and other colonists. These are exceptionally favorable circumstances.¹⁴

III

The problem appeared differently in 1936 in another state of Brazil, a state within the equatorial zone. Amazonas is an almost unpopulated area traversed by *seringueiros* in search of rubber creepers, by smugglers, and by trappers who have often escaped from the French penal colonies. The question of peopling Amazonas is a question of cultivating rubber. In fact, gum was pretty nearly a monopoly of Brazil in the time of woodland rubber. The success attained by plantation rubber in Malaysia reversed the situation. In 1912, exportation from Brazil amounted to 43,000 tons compared with 26,000 tons coming from the Far East. The next year the figures were respectively 40,000 tons and 48,000 tons. At present the figure for Brazil has fallen to 12,000 tons. (In 1932 it was as low as 6,000 tons.¹⁵) Now the North Americans, at the time of the Stevenson Plan, wondered whether they could shake off the Malayo-British yoke by establishing plantations of hevea in Brazil. An American commission had declared that the soil and climate were more favorable than in the Far East, that the seeds (in Amazonas) were of better quality; and it concluded: "There appears no reason why rubber plantations should not give even better results in South America than in the Far East." To make of Brazil a country of plantations is to restore it to its former predominance. The question of laborers arose and in spite of the hopes of a few patriots, local laborers could not effect so great a change. They are not numerous enough, persevering enough, or, perhaps, educable enough. For that reason the Amazonian government, as early as 1926, had signed an option contract with

¹³ P. Monbeig, "População de Estado de S. Paulo," *Geografia*, 1936, pp. 30-32.

¹⁴ The present Brazilian legislation prohibits more than 25 per cent of the immigrants of any one nationality from settling in one locality. It also requires that 30 per cent of the residents of a district be Brazilians and that, if this minimum cannot be obtained, the difference be made up preferably by Portuguese. Yet, in 1941, investigators from the Brazilian Colonization Council reported that, in spite of this law, 90 per cent of the inhabitants of Bastos, in the State of São Paulo, were Japanese. "The people of Bastos read only Japanese, and the only Portuguese books in town were two dictionaries. Until recently Bastos inhabitants went to the Japanese Consulate to be married by rites of their homeland."—*The Hemisphere* (New York), April 4, 1941.—R. F. B.

¹⁵ See João Pandia Calogeras, *Problemas de governo* (São Paulo: Companhia editora nacional, 1925), pp. 95-97, and Mario Guedes, "A situação da borracha," *Boletim do Ministério do Trabalho*, etc., June, 1936, pp. 191-195.

two Japanese subjects representing a company. It was no longer, as in the case of São Paulo, the matter of a certain number of families selected for dispersion over colonization lots placed at the disposal of immigrants by state authorities. It was a question of the total concession of approximately two and a half million acres. Among the 300,000 people living on those almost 4,000 square miles, the company announced that it would disperse planters of rubber trees, of sugar cane, etc. Thus a real renovation was announced for a disinherited region. Satisfaction was promised to those who were preoccupied with the want of balance between the rich countries and the poor countries of the Brazilian federation.

But this enormous concession was an action exceeding the recent provision requiring that there be submitted to the approval of the Federal Parliament any contract involving more than 10,000 *hectares* (25,000 acres). For that reason, during the summer of 1936, the Nippo-Amazonian contract was submitted to the Federal House of Representatives. The orators were brilliant, eloquent, and stirring. Every one strove carefully to avoid any race prejudice. Those who favored the concession founded their arguments upon the economic advantages. It was not difficult for them to demonstrate that these advantages were considerable. The opponents (among whom figured representatives of the neighboring states of Pernambuco and Pará, which already had Japanese settlers) insisted on political and moral reasons. With a good deal of tact they averred that the language, the customs, and a religion which resembled none of the European religions would keep these colonies isolated. Brazilian law, which strictly maintains *jus soli* for the children of immigrants born in Brazil, could not transform into Brazilians the sons and daughters of Nipponese families. It was contended that these foreigners would preserve right in Brazil their Japanese soul, their national mystical theology which makes them see in the Mikado a descendant of the celestial powers, and the moral code of the *Bushido*. The final argument—and here São Paulo might have been cited as an example—was that the Japanese would remain loyal to the consuls, whose numbers the government of Tokyo would multiply; the immigrants would turn to the consuls and to the agents of the immigration company more willingly than to the authorities of Brazil. The very mass of them, the 300,000 who were counted upon for the development of the country but who would be

balanced neither by an older local population nor by various nationalities, would weigh mightily on the life of the state, the more so because the Japanese are an eminently prolific race. That is to say that Amazonas would be Nipponese or that a Nipponese state would arise among the United States of Brazil; that it would influence public life, the elections to the Parliament in Rio, and the presidential elections. To the old words "a state within the state" were added new metaphors borrowed from scientific language. This massive colony, it was alleged, would form a "cyst"—the word was used with the highest success—"a dead spot in our national organism."

One must not forget that many Brazilians, by reason of the immensity of their fatherland and by reason of the diversity of the regions which compose their country, are haunted by the ghost of separatism. Political quarrels usually have an effect upon the way in which things are done in the different regions. Unpleasant memories are associated also with certain experiences; e. g., the peopling of the states of the south with immigrants of one hue and color which had run the risk of making Rio Grande and Santa Catarina German communities, the dangerous pioneers of *Deutschtum im Auslande* ("German patriotism abroad").¹⁶ And since the Fascist revolution the Italians have been none too favorably considered either. But now it is a question of people infinitely less capable of being assimilated than the Germans, than even those of the Second (not to mention those of the Third) *Reich*, or even the protégés of Mussolini.

We have already noticed that the Mikado's government exercises control over its nationals settled on the banks of the Amazon and includes them in its own organizations. The General Staff of Brazil seems to have seen in that control a possible military danger. Can one believe, however, that the great Archipelago of the Pacific would even think of interfering on the immense estuary which empties into the Atlantic? Can one imagine the United States opening to her the gateway of Panama? However that may be, the opponents of peopling Amazonas with Japanese immigrants won the argument in the Chamber and in the Senate. Amazonas will not have her 300,000 Japanese.

It is very delicate for a foreigner to advance an opinion on a ques-

¹⁶ For information on the German element in Brazil see Reinhard Maack, "The Germans of South Brazil—A German View," *The Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*, I (July, 1939), pp. 5-23; Robert King-Hall, "Foreign Colonies of Brazil—A North American View," *The Inter-American Quarterly*, III (Jan., 1941), pp. 5-19.—R. F. B.

tion of which the Brazilians alone are the judges. We do not believe that we have the right to blame the Brazilians. Certainly it runs counter to righteousness and to humanity, counter to the interests of the world, to exclude certain races. I shall add that every racial policy, even every policy of restricted and selective immigration in the Anglo-Saxon manner, would be absurd in a country which is three-quarters unpopulated, which needs pioneers of every extraction, and which cannot develop without contribution by foreigners. The integralist formula would be mortal to Brazil. On the other hand, it is impossible and dangerous to open wide the doors to nationals who, too markedly different from the other elements of the population, can be considered as unassimilable and who come from other states with distinctly imperialistic tendencies, from those states which by tradition never abandon their nationals. This is not only a problem of numbers but a problem of dispersion. Three hundred thousand Japanese spread over Brazil's three and a third million square miles would represent no danger; the same 300,000 spread over 4,000 square miles within the single state of Amazonas would constitute an undeniable danger. Those are facts which a realistic mind cannot afford to neglect.

Brazilians who are the most moderate in their nationalism have their own ideas about the future formation of their fatherland. In spite of the entire absence of any prejudice unfavorable to the Negroes—a striking contrast with the mind of North Americans—, in spite of the real progress achieved by the black man, and in spite of a few brilliant exceptions, they allege a kind of relative and congenital incapacity of the Negro in directive functions of an intellectual, a social, or a political order. They have only a semi-confidence in the half-breeds with their greatly varied complexions. Disregarding conspicuous individual successes among the half-breeds, the nationalists are fond of reproaching them for combining within them the defects of the two races and for not always uniting their good qualities. Their program is, then, to favor the immigration of the Portuguese, their brothers in language (wretched living conditions are favoring just now Lusitanian emigration), the immigration of the Spanish, the Italians, and even of the Germans whether the latter are voluntary emigrants or refugees. In short, the nationalists desire assimilable peoples. They dream of constituting thus in the central part of the Atlantic coast, between the states situated south of São Paulo and those bordering Rio on the

north, a strong Brazilian fatherland, a white civilization where the Latin type will so predominate as to permit the assimilation of other elements given to it in moderate doses. This program (which, besides, does not obviate the danger of a recession in the basin of the Amazon) does not altogether exclude the admission, in small packages, of some excellent Japanese colonists; but it offers no solution to the problem of Japan's overpopulation and of the emigration *en masse* of the Nipponese to South America. Japan will have to look elsewhere.¹⁷

¹⁷ For further information on Japanese immigration into Brazil, see *Far Eastern Survey* (New York), December 4, 1935, February 17, 1937, August 10, 1938; Robert King-Hall, "Foreign Colonies of Brazil—A North American View," *loc. cit.*; J. F. Normano, "Japanese Emigration to Brazil," *Pacific Affairs*, VII (March, 1934); Bruno Lobo, *De japonês a brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do Dep. Nacional de Estadística, 1932); Ferdinand Maurette and Enrique Sievers, "La inmigración y la colonización en el Brasil, en la Argentina y en el Uruguay," *Revista Internacional de Trabajo* (Geneva), March-April, 1937; Max Biehl, "Brasilien als japanisches Kolonisationsgebiet," *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* (Heidelberg), IX (1932); Donald Pierson, "Racial and Cultural Contacts in Brazil: Present State of Research in This Field," in *Handbook of Latin American Studies: 1940* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), pp. 463-470.