

THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION OF THE
 JAPANESE AND THE JAPANESE-AMERICANS
 IN HAWAII, 1895-1925

By

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CONTENTS

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| FOREWORD | 74 |
| I. JAPAN-HAWAII RELATIONS AND JAPANESE CONTRACT LABORERS FROM 1860 TO 1895..... | 75 |
| II. THE RISE OF JAPANESE SOCIETY AND ITS ALIENATION | 79 |
| III. RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS | 82 |
| IV. JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS..... | 86 |
| V. THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION | 90 |
| VI. CONCLUSION | 95 |
| FOOTNOTES | 97 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 100 |

FOREWORD

The main purpose of this paper is to examine and analyze the process of acculturation of the Japanese and the Americans-of-Japanese-ancestry in Hawaii. This is done by tracing the history of such institutions as the Buddhist and the Christian churches and the Japanese language schools from 1895 to 1925.

My first intention was to examine the socio-cultural conflicts between the Japanese community and the Hawaiian-American dominated society from 1895 to 1900. As my study advanced, however, I realized that in a short period of five years the change of the ideas, attitudes and movements could not be traced at all. So I decided to extend the period covered to 1925.

Section I, as an introduction, deals with a brief history of Japan-Hawaii relations and with the Japanese contract laborers from 1860 to 1895. The subject discussed in section II is the rise of the Japanese community in the mid-1890's, the community's social condition in Hawaii, and how the community's direction of movement came to stand alone and be a Japanese society instead of becoming a part of the larger Hawaiian-American community. Sections III and IV describe the historical facts of the Japanese community's religious institutions and those of the Japanese language schools respectively; and the process of acculturation of the Japanese and the Japanese-Americans during the three decades viewed through the history of these institutions is analyzed and discussed in the last two sections including the conclusion.

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I. JAPAN-HAWAII RELATIONS AND JAPANESE CONTRACT LABORERS FROM 1860 TO 1895

It was in 1860 that the first official relations between Japan and Hawaii began. An American frigate, the *Powhatan*, which carried on board the first official embassy to the United States, was obliged to put into port at Honolulu on March 5, 1860, because of strong headwinds and a shortage of coal.¹⁾

Hawaiian Foreign Minister Robert Crichton Wyllie, who had harbored the intention of contracting a treaty of friendship and commerce with Japan, did his best to welcome the Japanese ambassadors and to make Hawaii and its king impressive to the visitors. Though Wyllie's earnest effort to contract a treaty eventually ended in failure on that occasion, this visit of the Japanese ambassadors led up to a lasting relationship between Hawaii and Japan.²⁾

Towards the mid-nineteenth century, the problem of the decrease in Hawaiian population was a source of constant anxiety to the people who were not only public-minded but also owners of plantations. In the 1860's, supplanting the whale industry and the production of coffee, the sugar industry established the footing of a most promising enterprise in Hawaii. In order to meet the shortage of farm laborers, "the Masters' and Servants' Act" was passed in 1850, and Chinese coolies supplied the cheapest and most available labor power to the planters. Because of objections from many quarters, however, "such groups as 'cognate population' advocates, tradesmen and mechanics who resented Chinese invasion of other lines of work as their contracts expired, white supremacy advocates, Americanization advocates and anticoolie humanitarians,"³⁾ the Hawaiian Government eventually decided to get more satisfactory labor from Japan.⁴⁾

The Japanese immigration up to 1900 may be divided into three

categories: 1) *Gannen-Mono*, Meiji-First-Year-People, or Van Reed Immigration in 1868; 2) *Kanyaku-Imin*, Official-Contract Immigration or Irwin-Convention-Immigration which started in 1885 and ended in 1894; and 3) *Shiyaku-Imin*, Private-Contract Immigration which began in the summer of 1894 and ended in June of 1900.⁵⁾

The immigration of one hundred and forty-eight Van-Reed immigrants which was realized by the earnest but unlawful fixing of American businessman, Van Reed in Japan, cannot be estimated as successful; and besides, it caused the first international complications which continued for the following two years between Japan and Hawaii. In 1869 the satisfactory fair settlement of this *Scioto* affair was made by the negotiations of the special Japanese ambassadors with the Hawaiian Government. In 1871 a Treaty of Commerce and Friendship was signed between representatives of both countries. This treaty did not make any reference to labor immigration. So, though the treaty was signed, the Japanese Government did not send the laborers at all.⁶⁾

In 1881 King Kalakaua of the Hawaiian Islands, during a round-the-world tour, visited Japan, and offered three proposals to the Japanese Government. The first was the proposal to plant Japanese economic colonies in Hawaii so that Hawaii could bring the good immigrants from Japan; the second was that of the royal matrimonial idea; and the last was the plan of the Asiatic federation though the latter two were made privately to the Japanese Emperor. All these plans of Kalakaua's were cordially received by Japan, but she rejected all of them taking into consideration her international situation at that time.⁷⁾

After that, endless wheeling diplomatic measures were taken by Kalakaua and Walter Murray Gibson, King's political henchman, in view of gaining Japanese labor. The dispatch of J. M. Kapena in 1882, Colonel Curtis P. Iaukea in 1884 and the effort of Robert

Walker Irwin, consul general in Japan, finally succeeded in getting the sanction of the Japanese Government to aid a full scale emigration to Hawaii in 1884, sixteen years after the Van Reed Immigration.⁸⁾

Soon after the first group came to Honolulu on board *The City of Tōkyō*, many troubles occurred between laborers and planters. In order to protect the immigrants' right and to prevent the troubles by making clear the responsibilities of each party, Foreign Minister Inoue agreed to sign the detailed and overall Convention in 1886. Immigrants on the twenty-six shiploads under this Irwin-Convention system, which began in 1885 and ended in 1894, numbered 28,691.⁹⁾ The contract was modified in 1887 and in various particulars later, which, as a whole, took an unfavorable and disadvantageous direction for the immigrants.¹⁰⁾

The purpose and motive of laborers coming to Hawaii was to make money and to return to Japan, and thus to better the economic and social conditions of themselves and their families in Japan.¹¹⁾ And this was what the Japanese Government expected them to do. As is seen in the official instructions made by the Governor of Hiroshima Prefecture to the immigrants in Hawaii who came from the same prefecture,¹²⁾ the Japanese Government wanted them to return home, after the three-year term of the contract, with foreign currencies and a technical knowledge of agriculture.

The life of the plantation laborers, however, was miserable and was not what they had expected; planters were violating the contract; laborers could not preserve social and cultural traditions of any kind.¹³⁾ Squeezed by planters and even by Nakayama's Inspection Bureau, they could not accumulate money enough to return to Japan with prestige after the contract period.¹⁴⁾ At that time there was a folk-song called *Hore-Hore-Bushi*, popular among Japanese immigrants. A stanza of this song, "Shall I go to the United States or shall I go back to Japan? This is the time I have

to rack my brains," symbolizes their situation in Hawaii and the phases of the times.¹⁵⁾

The Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration in 1894 shows the fact that in Hawaii 28,691 immigrants were incremented by 1,422 births; were depleted 1,671 deaths, 7,454 returnees to Japan, and 717 emigrants to the United States. Approximately 20,200 were still in the Islands, though 8,502 were under contracts.¹⁶⁾ This means that of those who had finished the contract period approximately 61 per cent were staying in Hawaii and 39 per cent returned home. By 1894 the total number of Japanese sugar plantation laborers, about 13,000, represented approximately three-fifths of the total plantation laborers in Hawaii.¹⁷⁾

With the end of Irwin-Convention immigration in the summer of 1894, the history of Japanese expansion to Hawaii entered into the age of *Shiyaku-Imin*. According to the "Emigrants Protection Law" established in April, 1894, and further elaborated and revised in April, 1896, and from time to time thereafter, the private immigration companies managed the immigration.¹⁸⁾

By 1895 it is certain that there was antagonism gradually growing against the Japanese. The Japanese in Hawaii were gaining ground in property, trade and interests. Japan's growing international strength accelerated by her victory in the Sino-Japanese war in 1895 and by revising her unequal treaties in 1894, frightened the Government of the Republic of Hawaii which had overthrown the monarchy through the Revolution of 1893. The Hawaiian Government tried to cut down the Japanese immigrants, but mainly because of the planters' desire, the Japanese immigrants between 1895 and 1900 increased rather than decreased. Statistics by the Hawaiian collector general of customs show that 9,195 Japanese passengers arrived at Honolulu in the years 1895-1896, the first full years of the Private-Contract Immigration period.¹⁹⁾ Between July, 1894 and June, 1900,

it is said that approximately 40,000 Japanese came to Hawaii.²⁰⁾

II. THE RISE OF JAPANESE SOCIETY AND ITS ALIENATION

The direction of movement of Hawaii's Japanese at that time is well expressed in an article of October 19, 1895 in the oldest extant copy of a Japanese newspaper in Hawaii, *The Yamato*.²¹⁾ This article introduces the outline of the address made by Shimizu Bunnosuke, the editor of *The Hawaii Shimpō*, under the title of "We Are Subjects of Japan," at the Yamato Club Oratorical Meeting held on the twelfth of the month. Though it is long, some parts of the address are worth citing here :

The other day the steamship *Riyo* carried away Japanese cargo to San Francisco without unloading it, and then the steamship *Koptick* refused the Japanese returnees to board. The inconvenience and misery we Japanese residents suffered as a result of these affairs were not of an ordinary type. Now that the steamship *China* does not bring the mail for the Japanese, it is beyond description how inconvenienced and uneasy we feel. By the revision of the treaty last year [1894] Japan and Hawaii are on an equal footing. It was only for the protection of the happiness and convenience of our nation that our Government tried to get rid of the unequal treaty.

.....
On the other hand, when we observe the policy of the Hawaiian Government towards the Japanese immigration since last year, we can judge that there is a tendency to gradually cut down immigrants from our country. Viewed in the light that they increased Chinese immigrants, judging from the fact that they encouraged the importation of Portuguese immigrants, and in respect to the sanction procedure of Japanese immigrants, it is virtually doubtless that they have an intention of shutting them out.

And he concludes as follows :

Japan is now not what she used to be. If you realize that you are honorable and respectable subjects of Japan, let us stand shoulder to shoulder for the pressing matters.²²⁾

In the mid-1890's, the Japanese in Hawaii were gradually improving their economic position. In 1895, the population of the Japanese (22,463) represented more than one fifth of the total population, Chinese a little less than Japanese, native Hawaiians less than one third of the total population.²³⁾ Many of the Japanese who had finished the term of contract labor were moving to urban districts in order to get better jobs.

The economical improvement, the increase of the population and the increase of the proportion of women among them were gradually laying the foundation of the Japanese community in Hawaii.²⁴⁾ The decision taken by them at the period was to stand alone and be a Japanese society, instead of seeking to amalgamate and becoming a part of the larger Hawaiian-American community. Through the revolution of 1893, and the establishment of the Republic of Hawaii in 1894, the political power was in the hands of the Americans. The Japanese were not allowed to have suffrage, and the government was treating the Japanese harshly as is seen in the newspaper article already cited. Under these situations, the Japanese could not have wedged themselves into the larger community even if they wanted to.

Mizuno Hamon, the editor of *The Yamato* says in his fiery speech made at the same Yamato Club Oratorical Meeting:

We are in the wrestling ring of Yellow-White rivalry named Hawaii. I might go too far to say so, but it is impossible for us to co-exist and co-prosper with them. To my extreme regret, we 25,000 Japanese are being trampled down by the Whites whose population is only less than one sixth of the Japanese If we don't fight against them with as various measures as possible, we shall be doomed to the result of the second "John must go" like the Chinese in the United States.²⁵⁾

Three plans he suggested as a concluding remark in his speech seem sound and moderate in contrast to the above violent words. They are: 1) to improve ourselves, (2) to request the Japanese

Government to appoint a minister instead of a consul and to let him act as a guardian, 3) men of standing should try to keep in contact with Whites.²⁶⁾

Undoubtedly they had the intention of assimilating into the American-dominated society. However, the pride or the inferiority complex of the Japanese people, their sensitiveness and unsociability, the idea of their being Japanese "subjects", the disparity in economic power between the two communities, and the discrimination in treatment expedited the alienation of the Japanese community. The Japanese people in Hawaii kept to the traditional Japanese life and values, and they organized Japanese institutions. They took the Japanese food, they drank Japanese "sake", they celebrated the Emperor's birthday, and they even invited the Japanese wrestlers' group from Japan.²⁷⁾ In a word, it can be said that both the Japanese community and the American-dominated community were deepening the gulf of separation between themselves, though the latter had much greater power than the former.

The leaders of the Japanese community in urban districts consisted of the medical doctors, journalists, clergymen, emigration agents, bankers, merchants and dealers, though some of them were pursuing two or three of these jobs as is often the case with such a small community.²⁸⁾ They often appealed to the Japanese people that they should decide to fix their permanent abode in Hawaii. They tried to tighten the solidarity of Japanese society. Among the articles of the Japanese Guild in Honolulu which was announced in October of 1895, article 29 illustrates the severe attitude the leaders had to take. It provides:

The members of the Guild should have no commercial dealings at all with the Japanese stores in Honolulu which do not join the Guild. A member breaking a contract should be fined \$50,000 as a penalty.²⁹⁾

The Guild was established in 1893, but it had not included all

the merchants until the conventions in October of 1895. Since cholera was prevailing then, ships did not unload the Japanese goods at all; the result was the extreme shortage of the merchandise which was necessary for the Japanese community to keep its way of life. The convention of thirty-two merchants in Honolulu was held and its regulations were revised in order to stand up in unity against the American-dominated community and in order to try to import Japanese goods by any means. The Guild succeeded in bringing a chartered shipload of 700 tons of goods from Japan by borrowing \$3,000 from *Shōkin* Bank in Honolulu.³⁰⁾

III. RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

In examining the process of acculturation of the Japanese in Hawaii, important subjects to be studied among others are their religion, their Japanese language schools and the Japanese-language newspapers. All of them came into being in the 1890's and all of them were the institutions needed to support an organized society of their own. In this paper the first two will be studied.

Christianity was first introduced in 1820, to the native Hawaiians who believed in the primitive and superstitious religion of idol worship, by Rev. Hiram Bingham and twenty-one other American missionaries.³¹⁾ They made a remarkable contribution to the development of Hawaii's culture in various fields.³²⁾ It was by Dr. C. M. Hyde, the secretary of the Hawaiian Mission Board, that in 1886 services were inaugurated for the Japanese residents.³³⁾ It is said that Dr. Hyde invited a Japanese missionary named Shimizu Taizo from San Francisco and let him preach to Japanese people in a room in the Queen Emma Hall.³⁴⁾ In September, 1887, California Conference of Methodist Churches dispatched Miyama Kanichi. After three months, he returned to San Francisco; and in March, 1888,

he came again to Honolulu this time with his wife and two other Japanese ministers.³⁵⁾ Miyama not only engaged in the missionary work but also worked for the public good. With the aid of the Japanese consul general, Ando Tarō, who was baptized in 1888, he established a prohibition and a mutual benefit association; and he helped in bettering the public morals of the Japanese community.³⁶⁾ In 1891 the missionary work of the California Conference of Methodist Churches was interrupted in Hawaii, and was entrusted to the Hawaiian Mission Board, until the time Kihara Tohichi was sent to reestablish the Methodist church in the next year.³⁷⁾

While these Japanese missionaries were invited from the United States, the first comer from Japan was Okabe Jirō. Okabe established a Congregational church for the Japanese at Hilo in 1892. He was followed by six preachers from Doshisha University in Kyoto. After Okabe returned home in 1895, Okumura Takie who had been working under Okabe took his place.³⁸⁾

Around 1900 seventeen Japanese missionaries, twelve Congregational and five Methodist, were preaching the gospel for the Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands.³⁹⁾ The number of Christian churches for the Japanese in Hawaii around 1940 stands at forty-six, nineteen Congregational, thirteen Methodist, and fourteen others.⁴⁰⁾

The relationship between the Government and these Japanese pastors went smoothly because Christianity was encouraged by the American-dominated community as one of the best ways for the Japanese immigrants to understand the American democracy and to adapt themselves to the Western customs.

But the part the Christian churches played by the mid-1890's to bridge the East and West, significant as it was, seems to have been limited to a small number of people taken all together.⁴¹⁾ Considering the fact that most of the Japanese immigrants were Buddhists, it is natural that Christianity could not cope with Buddhism when the

systematic *Hongwanji* Buddhist mission began preaching in 1897.

The history of Buddhism in Hawaii goes back to a priest named Kagahi Sōryū who came to Hawaii in 1889. He seems to have had some success with his preaching and the preliminary arrangement for erecting a temple at Honolulu. When he returned to Japan in order to get the economic help of *Hongwanji*, his campaign had had a successful beginning but his progressive idea and view on Buddhism caused his plan to end in failure and he never came back to Honolulu.⁴²⁾ Shortly thereafter, Kimura Saiji, the inspector of immigration at Hilo, took the lead in erecting a temple there. But the several priests who had no connection with *Hompa Hongwanji* began exploiting believers for their own benefit, and thus Buddhism lowered itself in the estimation of the public.⁴³⁾

In 1897 *Hompa Hongwanji* came to know the real condition of missionary work in Hawaii by dispatching Miyamoto Keijun. In July of the same year *Hompa Hongwanji* authorized a branch temple at Honolulu, and Yamada Shōi and Satomi Hōji directed the mission.⁴⁴⁾ In 1898 a temple of the *Shin* sect was constructed at Fort Street, Honolulu; and after Satomi returned to Japan in 1899, Imamura Yemō succeeded his post.⁴⁵⁾ There was another sect of Buddhism called *Jōdo* which had already started preaching in the district. Judging from the fact that the sect of Buddhism the immigrants “belonged to” (I would like to use the words “belong to” rather than “believe in”) was the *Shin* sect, it is convincing that it was in 1897 that Buddhism set a strong footing in Hawaii. The missionary work by Buddhist priests was not an easy job at all. Partly because of the notoriety Buddhism caused by the shameful priests at Hilo, partly because of the prevailing decadent feeling among plantation workers, the missionary work by the Buddhist priests was not a hurried procedure and it had to be done with patience. They ploughed through difficulties. They acted as coun-

sellors ; they started Japanese language schools ; and later they helped to organize Young Men's Buddhist Associations and Women's Buddhist Associations ; and thus they tried to gradually increase the number of devotees.⁴⁶⁾

According to *Shin Hawaii* by Fujii Hidegorō, in 1901 the number of Japanese Buddhists in Hawaii was estimated approximately at 45,000 among the total Japanese population of about 50,000 and at that time the number of preachers of the *Shin* sect engaged in missionary work in Hawaii was nine.⁴⁷⁾ The preachers of other sects of Buddhism and of Shintoism came to Hawaii in succession after 1900 and, with the exception of the *Shingon* sect, their influence was far less than that of the *Shin* sect and the *Jōdo* sect. In 1935 the *Shin* sect had sixty-six mission halls throughout the Hawaiian Islands, the *Jōdo* sect fifteen, the *Shingon* sect twenty-seven, the *Sōtō* sect seven, and the *Higashi Hongwanji* sect six respectively.⁴⁸⁾

While the attitude of Christian missionaries towards Buddhist propaganda in Hawaii was, generally speaking, broad-minded and lenient, that of Buddhist workers was often aggressive and enterprising. It seemed to be the universal opinion among the Japanese of the educated class then, that the Buddhist priests in Hawaii were mainly concerned with the collection of offerings from their parishioners. Perhaps Christians themselves were not without fault. The lack of cooperation between Christians and Buddhists, the shortage of both Christian and Buddhist priests of far-sighted and exalted ideas who were fully determined to devote their life in Hawaii to the promotion of the spiritual well-being of humanity and who would apply themselves closely to expediting the acculturation of the ignorant masses are reckoned as some of many reasons which retarded the assimilation of the Japanese in Hawaii into the Hawaiian-American dominated society.⁴⁹⁾

IV. JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

From the standpoint of the fundamental principles of education, the history of the Japanese language school may be divided chronologically into three periods, 1) from 1896 to 1914, 2) from 1915 to 1924, and 3) from 1925 to the present. Its history is closely related to the problem of religion because most of the schools were inaugurated by the Buddhist priests and Christian pastors, especially in the early period. It was by a Christian minister, Okumura Takie that the first Japanese language school in Hawaii was established in April, 1896.⁵⁰⁾ In 1904, there were forty-four schools; and at the time of the first general strike of Japanese plantation laborers in 1909, sixty-eight schools; in 1919 one hundred and forty-six; and in 1939 the number increased to one hundred and sixty-six.⁵¹⁾

Some of them were maintained by Buddhists, a few by Christian missions, while others were non-sectarian.⁵²⁾ The fact that Japanese language schools were inaugurated was evidence of the increase of the second generation which is called *Nisei*. The history of the school is also the history of the problems of the Japanese people—"problems resulting from a bi-national, bi-cultural milieu in which racial discrimination is a compelling fact of life."⁵³⁾

The language school was not a full-time school; the children attended not more than two hours each day after the regular lessons of the public school.⁵⁴⁾ The three main subjects taught there were reading, writing, and composition; and besides these, moral lessons and gymnastics were given. The textbooks used were those approved by the Ministry of Education in Japan.⁵⁵⁾ On the three Japanese national grand holidays, the Japanese children, by staying away from the public school, attended the ceremony at the language school; they saluted the Imperial portrait; they sang the Japanese

national anthem; and the principal of the school read Imperial Rescript on Education.⁵⁶⁾ It was nothing less than the exact transplantation of the educational principles of the primary schools in Japan into the language schools in Hawaii.

In 1896, when the first language school instruction was provided, both the first generation and the second generation were the subjects of Japan. To most of the immigrants, Hawaii was a temporary place in which to live, to work, and to earn money. Considering these points, it was natural that they followed the exact pattern of educational principles in Japan. This type of education, however, was continued without revision up to 1914, even after the annexation of Hawaii.

With the amalgamation of Hawaii with the United States in 1898, the second and the third generation who were born in Hawaii came to be able to acquire the citizenship in the United States. But they were also the citizens of Japan under the Japanese law. Thus they were obliged to be bi-national until 1924.⁵⁷⁾ This dual citizenship of the American-borns, together with the exclusion of the naturalization of the *Issei*, the first generation, extremely staggered the resolution of their settling down in Hawaii, and retarded the acculturation of the Japanese into the American civilization.

Towards 1910 anti-Japanese movements were becoming gradually clamorous, especially in the mainland of the United States. In 1907, the Japanese living in Hawaii were prohibited to move to the mainland. The next year the "Gentleman Agreement" was signed between the United States and Japan. Since then many measures discriminating against the Japanese were presented to legislation, and they culminated in the "Anti-Japanese Immigration Law" of 1924.

To cope with this situation the Japanese Educational Association of Hawaii was established in 1915 and they took the initiative in

the reformation of Japanese language schools. In 1916, with the cooperation of Dr. Hōga Yaichi who was invited from Japan for the purpose, they undertook to compile new textbooks in Japanese especially adapted to conditions in Hawaii. The materials incompatible with the ideals and traditions of the American nation were eliminated from the textbooks.⁵⁸⁾

The period from 1915 to 1924 may be termed as a transition period. If the educational principle before 1915 could be defined as the education of a citizen of Japan, the fundamental principle after 1924 was that the *Nisei* should be educated as a complete citizen of the United States. The wave of the Americanization movement—which arose as a result of World War I and which included a touch of anti-Japanese feeling—had been washing the shores of the playgrounds of the Japanese language schools. By 1919 there were one hundred and forty-six Japanese language schools with an enrolment of 17,546 and a corps of approximately 400 teachers.⁵⁹⁾ (Chinese and Korean schools enrolled another 2,000 students in twenty schools with forty teachers.⁶⁰⁾ Critics of these schools remarked that teaching the Japanese language was a means of transmitting the doctrines of Japanese nationalism to American-born children; and public school teachers felt that the long hours divided attention, and oriental method of instruction hindered the process of learning under the American system. The federal government recommended the abolition of all language schools except those for alien children who were denied American citizenship, and suggested that oriental languages be offered in the public schools as part of the regular curriculum.⁶¹⁾

It was 1920 that the “Act Pertaining to the Foreign Language Schools and Teachers” was passed. The main points of the act were: 1) no person shall conduct a foreign language school and no person shall teach in a foreign language school until he shall have obtained a permit from the Department of Public Instruction; 2)

no permit to teach in a foreign language school shall be granted unless the Department is satisfied that the applicant is possessed of a reasonable knowledge of the ideals of democracy, and American history and institutions, and knows how to read, write and speak the English language; the provisions concerning knowledge of the English language will be liberally construed during the two years after this act goes into effect; 3) before issuing a permit to conduct a foreign language school or to teach a school, the Department shall require the applicant for such permit to sign a pledge that he will, if granted a permit, observe the regulations and order of the Department and will, to the best of his ability, direct the minds and studies of pupils in said school as will tend to make them good and loyal American citizens; 5) the Department shall have full power from time to time to prescribe the course or courses of study and the textbooks to be used in any foreign language school.⁶²⁾

One year after this law was enacted, when the teachers of the foreign language schools had been cooperating with the Americanization of boys and girls, the Department of Public Instruction in Hawaii decided that no pupils shall be permitted to attend a foreign language school unless he has finished the course of the first two years in a public school; that the superintendent of the Department shall have full power to shorten the years of the course or to close a foreign language school any time he wants to, and that a foreign language school have a duty to pay the tax of \$1.00 per capita of pupils attending the school.⁶³⁾

With this law of 1922, the opinions of the Japanese community split into two factions. A majority of the Japanese stated a refusal of complying and began legal action to test the constitutionality of it while there were others who insisted on complying with the law. This confrontation of opinion was somewhat related to the opposition between Buddhist and Christian missionaries in Hawaii. The majority

group apparently consisted of those concerned with the Buddhist schools and were supported by two Japanese newspapers, *The Hawaii Hochi* and *The Hawaii Nichi-Nichi*. On the other hand, among the leading advocates of the counter view were Okumura Takie, a Christian minister, Sōga Yasutarō, the editor-in-chief of *The Nippu-Jiji*, and other Japanese intellectuals.⁶⁴⁾ When the Hawaiian supreme court refused to enjoin the Department of Public Instruction from carrying out the law, the case was appealed to the Ninth Appellate Court in San Francisco in 1926. Here the Hawaiian law was ruled unconstitutional and this judgement was sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1927.⁶⁵⁾

The Japanese people, without being elated with the result, steadily tried to seek further betterment of the educational system of the language school as a supplement to the public school. Text-books were further revised in 1928 in accordance with the true ideals and principles of the United States.⁶⁶⁾ It was after about 1925, as the history of the Japanese language school affords a striking illustration of the fact, that the Japanese in Hawaii exerted all possible efforts towards assimilation into the American community.

V. THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

According to the American point of view around 1920, the Japanese language school taught the Japanese language and loyalty to the Emperor, and the teachers, (who are often Buddhist priests) in order to resist Americanization, taught loyalty to Buddhism. The American point of view also believed that the naturalization of the Japanese would be a mere formality because the Japanese will forever remain alien in spirit; and the fact that in the past the Japanese have looked to their home government for protection undoubtedly prolongs their attachment to it.⁶⁷⁾ There is some truth

in the above statement but undoubtedly this is exaggeration and misapprehension based on ignorance of the Japanese culture, ignorance of Japanese character, and ignorance of the immigrants' psychological and practical conditions under racial discrimination.

The object of establishing the Japanese language school was not only to teach the children how to read and write the Japanese language but also to prevent their customs and manners and spirit from being influenced by the degenerated surroundings. As is often the case with the early period of immigrant society, the manners of the Japanese community was deplorably corrupt. This was exerting an injurious influence upon children. Kiyoshi K. Kawakami describes the situation in his *Asia at the Door*:

On the plantation there is virtually no home where children can be cared for and brought up in the proper manner. Camp life does not create a wholesome atmosphere for children. Moreover, most Japanese women work in the fields to supplement the meagre earnings of their husbands. When, therefore, the public schools close in the afternoon, the Japanese children have no where to go and nobody to look after them. If they were allowed to shift for themselves they would acquire no desirable habits and develop no good qualities. For the sake of their wholesome growth, mentally and morally, it seems desirable and even imperative that there should be some institutions where these children of the plantation hands could be kept engaged in light studies and wholesome pastime, until their parents come home from the fields.⁶⁸⁾

As a means to better their children's usage of the Japanese language, intellect, feeling and manner, the *Issei* thought the best way to provide these for the *Nisei* would be through linguistic instruction in the language school. They wished that the school would help facilitate the understanding between the parents and children so that they could enjoy home life.

The language school, and the Buddhist or Christian church, to the immigrants of the early period were also places to maintain social solidarity and to seek healthy consolation. John F. Embree

says in his article in *American Anthropologist* published in 1939: "When a new social group is organized, new social relationship must be formed. The structure of these new social relationships is, as a rule, based on the pattern of the old network of relationships as they existed in the original social situation—for an immigrant group, as they existed in the old country."⁶⁹ Most of the Japanese laborers came from the rural districts of south-western Japan. In rural Japan both the kin ties and the local group ties were very important. The kin ties, or the extended family, comes together and functions as such on seven important occasions: 1) marriage, 2) death and memorioial services, 3) New Year's festival, 4) *Bon*, 5) family council 6) labor exchange, 7) naming ceremony. The local group, *buraku*, is involved in some of the seven various meetings such as funerals and/or marriages and/or New Year's festival. J. F. Embree writes in the same article that in Kona, Hawaii, they organized themselves into cooperative groups of fifteen to twenty-five or more households to substitute *buraku*. On the other hand, it was *tokoro-mon* that they substituted for the extended family in Japan. (*Tokoro-mon* are those who come from the same country in Japan or better still from the same or neighboring villages.)⁷⁰

But it is certain that these substitutes were not satisfactory for them. The result was that they ardently wished to have a religious institution and the language school as a place to seek consolation and to have more social contacts. In the language school, once or twice in a year, they held an athletic meeting when both children and parents enjoyed recreation.⁷¹ It was part of the important annual events in the community.

I do not believe that the Japanese language school and Buddhist church intentionally taught the loyalty to the Emperor in order to resist Americanization. The Japanese language school was the institution, indispensable to the social life in the new community,

which was formed from the pattern of the home country. It is true that some stubborn *Issei* thought the best way to educate the *Nisei* would be to teach them to retain personality traits, attitudes, and ideals of essentially Japanese character. It is true that the difference of cultural patterns caused misunderstandings. However, it was a means of self-defence of the Japanese in Hawaii that they did not change the educational curriculum in the language school even after Hawaii's annexation by the United States.

The American-dominated society did not show a friendly feeling towards the Japanese laborers. Most of them belonged to the lower-middle or lower class in Japan. Poor as they were, they used to live in comfortable homes consisting of at least three or four rooms of good size. At the plantations of Hawaii the housing facilities provided for them were merely bunch-houses divided into narrow cells, each containing two sleeping places. In the earlier days even married laborers were made to live in each cell.⁷²⁾ The wages paid were extremely low. In the case of the general strikes in 1909 and 1920, the planters repressed them by all means. I have mentioned already that the dual citizenship retarded their assimilation. But in the political participation they were segregated. Discriminating legislation against the Japanese denied the *Issei* the rights of citizenship. It is convincing that in the past they looked to their home government for protection. In occupation, they were restricted to plantation labor, fishing, domestic service, contract gardening, small-scale business in ethnic enclaves. A college degree offered no guarantee of securing the white-collar jobs to which the *Nisei* as a group aspired. Assimilation was impeded by the strong bars to racial crossing. The validation of acculturation was impaired and retarded by the social regulations of racial exclusion.

The growth and increase of the *Nisei* raised the question of the conflict between the *Issei* and *Nisei*. David M. Potter introduces

Margaret Mead's view expressed in her *And Keep Your Powder Dry* as follows:

But she does make very fruitful suggestions, and one of these is her statement that "we are all third generation," not, of course, in the literal sense but in the sense that all of us have the attitude of the third-generation American. The first immigrant clings to his traditional ways, while ceasing to honor them; the second-generation American performs the act of rejection, finding it a bitter struggle to do so; the third generation individual finds that his act of rejection is almost expected of him, and without friction he is launched by his parents into the competition for success, in which he is required to go beyond them in perfecting his conformity to American ways and in winning the approbation of his American neighbors.⁷³⁾

The process of Amercanization was, of course, going on more rapidly for the *Nisei* than for their parents. An *Issei*, "because of his isolation from the main body of the rapidly changing culture of his native land,"⁷⁴⁾ is often "more representative of the older rather than of the present-day Japan."⁷⁵⁾ Though I cannot dwell on this problem, the inter-generational conflict was certain to be observed in the aspect of Japanese cultural heritage transmitted to the *Nisei*, such as submission and recognition of authority and prestige of the parents, acceptance of family responsibilities, maintenance of family status within the community, the traditional sex segregation attitudes in the child training, the problem of marriage and other social activities. These conflicts were the steps they had to go through.

Considering the apparent gap between the American and Japanese cultures and the great difference between the Japanese and American languages, the speed of this acculturation was doubly notable. Japanese in Hawaii elaborated their own institutions, which were sometimes adaptations of Japanese forms such as the Buddhist church, but more commonly adaptations of American forms such as the Christian church, Japanese American Citizens League, and

numerous age-graded, sexually differentiated social clubs. Even the organizations such as the Buddhist churches, which might naively be assumed to be agents of cultural conservatism, are very much like the Christian, a similarity first cultivated in Japan, but emphasized in Hawaii. Forrest E. Violette points out the following:

The Buddhist Sunday school songs show how far this imitation has gone, and how much Buddhism has been modified by Western Christian contacts. In Japan the temples do not have memberships and congregations, as do Buddhist churches in America, nor do they, as here, have Sunday schools, young people's clubs, athletic activities—or any of the other familiar activities organized by usual American churches.⁷⁶⁾

Though the process of assimilation had been gradually progressing, it was after 1925 that the Japanese exerted all possible efforts towards assimilation into the American community. With the increase and growth of the *Nisei* and due to the Immigration Restriction Law of 1924, their resolution to settle down in Hawaii was more firmly consolidated. In order to enhance the movement toward Americanization, the saving of money without sending it to Japan, the investment in the Hawaiian business, the learning of the English language, manners, customs, and a general knowledge as an American citizen, the simplification of the ceremonies of marriage and of the funeral, and the betterment of the clothings were encouraged by the community leaders at every opportunity. Their acculturation has been speedily accelerated.⁷⁷⁾

VI. CONCLUSION

In considering the reason why the acculturation of the Japanese and the Japanese Americans in Hawaii was retarded, the best answer will be that the majority of them were late in deciding to live in Hawaii for ever; in other words they were, for a long while,

hesitating whether they should return to Japan or settle down in Hawaii.

Their original purpose for coming to Hawaii was essentially different from that of other European immigrant groups. Strictly speaking, they were not immigrants, but they were contract laborers. They wanted to return to Japan after making money and thus better the economic and social conditions of themselves and of their families in Japan.

This original idea which was retained even later by the *Issei*, their cultural lag and stubbornness, their inferiority complex or their pride, their sensitiveness and unsociability, the shortage of the far-sighted religious leaders in the community, the dual citizenship of the *Nisei*, the attitude of the Japanese Government, the difference of cultural patterns, the political, economical, social and psychological discrimination which stood in their way of expansion such as the segregation in status and in political and occupational participation, these ingredients interacting, conspired to retard their resolution of settling down in Hawaii and consequently to check their acculturation. It is certain that they had an intention of assimilating themselves into the Hawaiian-American dominated community, but they could not wedge themselves into the larger society.

But considering the sharp contrast in which the Japanese culture stood compared to the American culture, the process of acculturation had been remarkable even by 1925. The critics of the Japanese language schools and Buddhist temples around 1920 should have known that they were agents of cultural conservatism and that it takes more passage of time for the Japanese and the Japanese-of-American-ancestry to perfect their conformity to American ways.

When I look back on the process and the cause and effect of their transition from separation to assimilation, I keenly feel how important it is for each nation to understand other nations' cultures

and how significant and necessary it is to eliminate the race hatred in order to maintain the world's peace.

(May 1, 1962; at Philadelphia)

FOOTNOTES

- 1) F. Hilary Conroy, *The Japanese Frontier in Hawaii, 1868-1898* ("University of California Publications in History," Vol. XLVI; Berkley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1953), pp. 1-2.; Kihara Ryūkichi, *Hawaii Nihonjin Shi (A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii)* (Tōkyō: Bunseisha, 1935), p. 392.
- 2) Conroy, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-7.
- 3) *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 4) *Ibid.*, pp., 9-14.
- 5) Kihara, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-69.
- 6) Conroy, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-48; Kihara, *op. cit.*, pp. 409-13.
- 7) Conroy, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53; Kihara, *op. cit.*, pp. 425-32.
- 8) Conroy, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-62.
- 9) "General Statement of Japanese Immigrants in Hawaiian Islands," *Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration for the Nine Months Ending December 31, 1894*, Table B in Appendix E; Conroy, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
- 10) Conroy, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-80.
- 11) *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu), March 19, 1895.
- 12) Nagai Matsuzō et al., *Nichi-Bei Bunka Kōshō-shi (A History of Japan-America Cultural Relations)*, Vol. V, *Ijūhen (Immigration)* (Tokyo: Yōyōsha, 1955), p. 391.
- 13) Sōga Yasutarō, *Gojunenkan no Hawaii Kaiko (My Fifty Years Memoirs in Hawaii)* (Ōsaka: The Ōsaka Kōsoku Printing Co., 1953), pp. 15-19; 27-29.
- 14) Kihara, *op. cit.*, p. 470.
- 15) *Ibid.*, pp. 468-70. (The stanza was translated by the author.)
- 16) "General Statement of . . .," *Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration . . . , 1894*, Table B; Conroy, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
- 17) "Number and Nationality of All Laborers on Hawaiian Sugar Plantation, January 1, 1894," *Biennial Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration, 1894*, Table A; Kihara, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99; Conroy, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

- 18) Kihara, *op. cit.*, p. 478.
- 19) *Report of the Collector General of Customs, 1895*, p. 20; *Ibid.*, p. 12; Conroy, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
- 20) Kihara, *loc. cit.*
- 21) *The Yamato* (Honolulu), Oct. 19, 1895–Oct. 26, 1895.
- 22) *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1895. (Translated by the author.)
- 23) Nagai *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 543, 550.
- 24) Department of Public Instruction (Hawaii), *Report of the General Superintendent of the Census: 1896*, p. 34.
- 25) *The Yamato*, Oct. 23, 1895. (Translated by the author.)
- 26) *Ibid.*
- 27) *Ibid.*, June 13, June 20, – July 7, 1896.
- 28) Sōga, *op. cit.*, p. 3; *The Yamato*, Nov. 6, 1895.
- 29) *The Yamato*, Oct. 26, 1895; Sōga, *op. cit.*, p. 67. (Translated by the author.)
- 30) *The Yamato*, Oct. 19, 1895, Nov. 9, 1895; Kihara, *op. cit.*, pp. 498–500.
- 31) Kihara, *op. cit.*, p. 53; Ralph S. Kuykendall and A.G. Day, *Hawaii: A History, From Polynesian Kingdom to American Commonwealth* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1949), p. 44.
- 32) Nagai *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 426.
- 33) Kihara, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Conroy, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
- 34) Kihara, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 215.
- 35) Nagai *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 426.
- 36) *Ibid.*; Kihara, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
- 37) Fujii Hidegorō, *Shin Hawaii (New Hawaii)* (Tōkyō: Bunkensha, 1902), p. 171; Kihara, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
- 38) Fujii, *op. cit.*, pp. 169–70; Kihara, *loc. cit.*
- 39) Fujii, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–72.
- 40) Nagai *et al.*, *op. cit.* p. 428.
- 41) Sōga, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
- 42) Fujii, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–173; Kihara, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–19; Nagai *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 428.
- 43) Kihara, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
- 44) *Ibid.*
- 45) *Ibid.*
- 46) Nagai *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 429–30.
- 47) Fujii, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
- 48) Kihara, *op. cit.*, pp. 219–22.
- 49) Sōga, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–78; Kiyoshi K. Kawakami, *Asia at the Door: A Study of the Japanese Question in Continental United States, Hawaii and Canada* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1914), pp. 229–33.

- 50) Hawaii Kyōikukai (ed.), *Hawaii Nihongo Kyōiku Shi (A History of Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii)* (Honolulu: Hawaii Kyōikukai, 1937), pp. 3-5; *The Yamato*, May 5, 1896.
- 51) Kawakami, *op. cit.*, p. 216; Nagai *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 447.
- 52) Nagai *et al.*, *loc. cit.*
- 53) Forrest E. La Violette, *Americans of Japanese Ancestry: A Study of Assimilation in the American Community* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1946), p. v.
- 54) Hawaii Kyōikukai (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 3-5; *The Yamato*, Oct. 6, 1896.
- 55) Hawaii Kyōikukai (ed.), *loc. cit.*
- 56) *The Yamato*, Nov. 5, 1896; Nagai *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 440.
- 57) Nagai *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 462.
- 58) Hawaii Kyōikukai (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 73-131; Sōga, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-30.
- 59) Sōga, *op. cit.*, p. 337.
- 60) Kuykendall, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
- 61) *Ibid.*; Sōga, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-45.
- 62) Hawaii Kyōikukai (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 273-76; Kiyoshi K. Kawakami, *The Real Japanese Question* (New York: Macmillan, 1921), pp. 155-56; Sōga, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-39.
- 63) Hawaii Kyōikukai (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 288-89; Sōga, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-41.
- 64) Sōga, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-51; Hawaii Kyōikukai (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 284-85.
- 65) Hawaii Kyōikukai (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 285-317; Sōga, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-54.
- 66) Hawaii Kyōikukai (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 318-19.
- 67) George M. Stephenson, *A History of American Immigration* (Boston: Ginn, 1926), pp. 279-80.
- 68) Kawakami, *Asia at the Door*, p. 227.
- 69) John H. Embree, "New and Local Kin Group among the Japanese Farmers of Kona, Hawaii," *American Anthropologist*, XLI (July-Sept., 1939), 400.
- 70) *Ibid.*, pp. 404-07.
- 71) *The Yamato*, Nov. 5, 1896.
- 72) Kawakami, *Asia at the Door*, pp. 216-17.
- 73) David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 50.
- 74) La Violette, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
- 75) *Ibid.*
- 76) *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
- 77) Nagai *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 597-609; Sōga, *op. cit.*, pp. 421-26.

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