

國學院大學學術情報リポジトリ

The Japanese Socialists and Anarchists in the San Francisco Bay Area, from 1900 to 1910

メタデータ	言語: English 出版者: 公開日: 2024-02-29 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 小原, 薫 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.57529/0002000124

The Japanese Socialists and Anarchists in the San Francisco Bay Area, from 1900 to 1910

Ohara Kaoru

The purpose of this essay is to outline the activities of the Japanese socialists and anarchists¹ in the San Francisco Bay area, mainly from 1900 to 1910. I focus especially on the activities of the Social Revolutionary Party established in 1906 and supported by Kōtoku Shūsui (1871–1911), a famous Japanese socialist and anarchist. Kōtoku is a major figure in the history of political thought and many studies have been written about him. However, there are few studies about his followers in the U. S. Most of these people are unknown.

In this paper, using such sources as contemporary newspaper and magazine articles as well as the Japanese government reports about them,² I will show how their activities were limited and brief because of

I wish to thank Karen Lee Callahan for assistance in editing this article.

1 In this paper, I do not distinguish socialists from anarchists. This is because very few Japanese dared to call themselves anarchists due to their fear of oppression by the government. Even in Kōtoku's case, the number of times he dared to call himself an anarchist was limited.

2 See *Zaibei shakaishugisha museifushugisha enkaku* (*The Japanese governmental report about Japanese socialists and anarchists in the U. S.*) (hereafter *Zaibei enkaku*) (*Shakai bunko sōsho*, Kashiwa Shobō, 1964). At the front page, it is sealed confidential. Matsuo Shōichi, "Small history about Japanese socialists in the U. S." *Ibid.*, pp. 17–29. *Shakaishugisha museifushugisha jinbutsu kenkyū shiryō (1)* (*Shakaibunko sōsho* 7, Kashiwa Shobo, 1964).

two difficulties. One difficulty was the Anti-Japanese exclusion movement, which was caused by the rapid increase in the number of Japanese immigrants to the U. S. This exclusion problem burdened both Japanese socialists and American socialists with a double dilemma. The other difficulty was the increase in control and regulation by both the U. S. and the Japanese governments in the early 1900s. These two difficulties limited the activities of these people to a brief period. However, through their activities we can observe the transition underway in American society in the early 20th century.

I will survey the Japanese immigrants to the U. S. and the background to this history first. Next, I will focus on the activities of the Japanese socialists and anarchists in San Francisco before Kōtoku's visit. Third, I will consider how Kōtoku influenced Japanese socialists and anarchists in the San Francisco Bay area and follow their activities. Then I will describe the difficulties they encountered in their activities.

Part 1 : The Japanese Immigrants to the U. S.

After the regulation of Chinese immigrants in 1882 (the Chinese Exclusion Act), the number of Japanese immigrants to the U. S. A. increased drastically. According to the U. S. Census, the number of Japanese in California was only 86 in 1880. Then it leaped to 1,147 in 1890, 10,151 in 1900 and 41,356 in 1910.³ There was a rush to immigrate

3 This rapid increase in the number of Japanese immigrants caused an anti-Japanese exclusion movement in the U. S., and led to restrictions. From early in 1905 the *San Francisco Chronicle* began to publish anti-Japanese articles, and a San Francisco school board segregation order was carried out after the San Francisco earthquake in 1906. The Immigration Act of February 20, 1907, pro-

into the U. S. The Japanese movement encouraged them to go to the U. S.

It was very attractive for young Japanese workers to go to the U. S. Katayama Sen (1859–1933), who became a socialist and later a leader of parliamentarism in Japan, inspired many young Japanese men to go to the U. S. Katayama was the second son of a farmer in Okayama Prefecture and a print shop worker in Tōkyō, and went to the U. S. in 1884. He worked as a school boy and earned 2 dollars and fifty cents a week at first, then 3 dollars and fifty cents. He sometimes worked as a cook and received 20 dollars a month, which he saved for school tuition. In Japan, he earned 4 yen and fifty sen (about 2 dollars and twenty five cents) a month as a print shop worker⁴. He graduated from the graduate school of Iowa College (renamed Grinnell College in 1909) and earned a Master of Arts degree in 1893, and also graduated from the Department of Theology of Yale University in 1895. During his stay in the U. S., he began to be interested in socialism and social problems and went to the United Kingdom to pursue studies in urban autonomy and urban socialism. He returned to Japan at the end of the year in 1895. After returning to Japan, he established Kingsley House to promote Christian social projects supported by a Congregational Church group. But financial support from the Christian group ceased when Katayama leaned toward socialism. He joined Shakai Mondai Kenkyūkai (the Social Problems Study Group) in 1897, Shakaishugi

hibited trans-migration to the continental U. S. A. from Hawaii, Canada and Mexico. In 1908 the U. S.-Japan Gentlemen's Agreement limited the number of Japanese immigrants. In 1913, the Alien Land Law, which denied ownership of land to "aliens ineligible to citizenship," was passed in California. In 1924, the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1921 went into effect.

4 Sumiya Mikio, *Katayama Sen* (Tokyo University Press, 1977), p. 2.

Kenkyūkai (the Socialism Study Group) in 1898 and Shakaishugi Kyōkai (the Socialism Association) in 1900. He supported the establishment of labor unions such as Rōdō Kumiai Kiseikai and Tekkō Kumiai, and published the magazine *Rōdō sekai* (Labor World), renamed *Shakaishugi* (Socialism) in March 1903, which was the magazine of labor unions, and later that of the Socialism Association. Many kinds of projects and events were held in Kingsley House, such as a youth club, a kindergarten, and lectures about social problems, western cooking, and English. Katayama gave advice to those who wanted to go to the U. S. and introduced them to his friends in the U. S.

He published a book, *Tobei annai* (*The Guidebook to go to the U. S.*) in August 1901, which had great success. This book aroused people's eagerness to go to the U. S. In 1902 he published the second edition of *Tobei annai* and established Tobei Kyōkai (The Association for Going to the U. S.). and membership in this group was required to buy *Rōdō sekai* where information and news about the U. S. and Japanese immigrants was published every month. Katayama wanted to inspire not only eagerness to go to the U. S. but also socialism. Hence *Rōdō sekai* was not only a magazine for laborers but also for those who wanted to go to the U. S.

Katayama inspired them to go to the U. S. because he saw this as a solution to the problem of the rapid increase in the Japanese population. The increase in the rural population caused an increase in rents and forced tenants into greater poverty. The increase in the city population caused a circular decrease of wages and high rents. Only the landlords and capitalists gained advantages from the increase in the population. On the contrary, tenants and laborers were disadvantaged. To save those suffering people, Katayama encouraged them to go to the U. S. He also thought that the final plan to solve the population problem was

to adopt socialism.⁵

However, many young workers just wanted to be rich. The gap of wages between the U. S. and Japan brought them to the U. S., as later happened in Japan in 1980s and 1990s.⁶ But some people were attracted to socialism. Two kinds of Japanese immigrants came to the U. S. in the early 20th century. One group was composed of students and intellectuals. They served as school boys or house boys and helped with housework and gardening. Then they went to school during the daytime. The other group of immigrants was made up of farm laborers and unskilled workers. It was the first group that contained the leading figures of the Japanese socialist and anarchist movement.

Part 2 : The Dawn of the Japanese Socialist and Anarchist Movement

On December 29, 1903, Katayama stopped in Seattle before going on to participate in the 6th International Socialist Congress in Amsterdam.⁷

5 Katayama Sen, "Jinkō zōka to rōdōsha" (The increase of the population and laborers), *Nihonjin* vol. 159, 1902. See Okamoto Nobuo, "Aru shakaishugisha no shōzō - Yamane Goichi oboegaki," *Dōshisha Hōgaku* No. 243, 1995, p. 224.

6 According to Nagasawa Betten, the average wage for agricultural labor in the U. S. was 1 to 2 dollars a day, railway construction 1 to 2 dollars a day, cooking 15 to 50 dollars a month, house work 10 to 25 dollars a month, and daily employment more than 1 dollar a day. In contrast, average wages of Japanese workers were, for example, police officer, 8 yen (about 4 dollars) a month, and daily employment, 0.18 yen (about ten cents) a day in 1892. Nagasawa Betten, "Yanki," *Meijibungakuzenshu* vol. 37 (Chikuma Shobo, 1980), p. 317, p. 344. Shūkan Asahi hen, *Nedan no meiji taisho showa fūzokushi*, jo (Asahi Shinbunsha, 1987), p. 571, p. 607. Okamoto Nobuo, p. 204.

7 The 6th International Socialist Congress was held in Amsterdam in 1904. It became famous because even though their countries were in the midst of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), Katayama shook hands with the Russian socia-

Katayama contacted American socialists and leaders of the labor movement as well as Japanese socialists in the U. S. He organized the first Japanese socialist organization in the U. S., named the Japanese Socialist Party, on January 19, 1904. Katayama also spoke in Portland (January 22), Sacramento (January 26), San Francisco (January 28-30) and Oakland (February 1-2). Then he went back to San Francisco.

In San Francisco, Katayama organized the San Francisco Japanese Socialist Association but its activities soon fizzled out because he did not do anything beyond organizing it. The Fukuinkai (Japanese Gospel Society) was the center for Japanese immigrants in the U. S. The Fukuinkai, the oldest organization for the Japanese in the U. S., was established in 1887 and started out as a Bible study and English class for young men from Japan. At first it included members from the Methodist and Congregational Churches, but after the second split, the Fukuinkai came to be managed by a member of the Methodist Church.⁸ Some of the younger members of the Fukuinkai, such as Iwasa Sakutarô (1879-1967) and Kuramochi Zenzaburô (1884-?), were attracted to socialism. Iwasa was born in Chiba Prefecture, the second son of wealthy farmer. He graduated from Tôkyô Hôgakuin (now Chûô University) in 1898 and came to the U. S. in 1901. Kuramochi, born in Ibaraki Prefecture, had graduated from Sapporo Agricultural School (now Hokkaidô University) and came to the U. S. to study animal husbandry in 1904. As young members of the Fukuinkai, they were

list Plekhanov.

During his second stay in U. S., Katayama had another purpose, which was to manage an agricultural enterprise and promote Japanese immigrants to cultivate rice fields and settle down in Texas. But his efforts then were in vain.

8 Oka Seizo, "Biography of Kyûtaro Abiko," *The Hokubei Mainichi*, September 3, 1980.

inspired by socialism and the anti-Russo-Japanese War movement and supported both causes. Akabane Hajime (1875-1912), a journalist for *Shin-Sekai* (*The New World*) in San Francisco, also worked with Iwasa and Kuramochi. Akabane was the first son of a wealthy landowner in Nagano Prefecture but his family had declined financially. He studied at Tōkyō Hōgakuin but did not graduate, became a journalist, and came to the U. S. in 1902. According to *Zaibei enkaku*, the Fukuinkai was reported to be “a nest of Japanese Socialists.”⁹ Katayama tried to organize the members of the Fukuinkai as core members of the Japanese Socialist Association.

It was Oka Shigeki (1875-1959), a member of San Francisco's Japanese Socialists Association, who established a San Francisco branch of the Heiminshā¹⁰ (which means Common People's Office) at 680 Hayes Street on October 10, 1905.¹¹ Oka was the first son of a wealthy merchant in Kōchi Prefecture and studied at Kōchi Junior High School. He became a journalist for *Yorozu chōhō* and came to the U. S. in 1902. He imported and introduced Japanese magazines and

9 *Zaibei*, p. 109.

10 The Heiminsha was established by Kōtoku Shūsui and Sakai Toshihiko in November 1903. It issued the weekly paper *Heimin-shinbun* (*The Common People's Paper*) and aimed to oppose the Russo-Japanese War and to support socialistic social reform. *The Common People's Paper* ceased publication in January 1905 because Kōtoku, as editor, was prosecuted. The Heiminsha in Japan was dissolved on October 9, 1905. The San Francisco branch existed in spite of the dissolution of its headquarters.

11 *Hikari*, vol. 1-1, November 20, 1905, p. 7. *Zaibei enkaku*, Ibid., p. 59. The branch was located at Oka's house. After he moved out, the branch changed its address several times; its address was 1676 Post Street in 1906.

12 Karl Yoneda pointed out that the date of the establishment of the Heiminsha San Francisco branch was October 10, 1905. Karl Yoneda, *History of Japanese Labor in the United States* (Shin Nihon Shuppan-sha, 1967), p. 73.

books issued by the Heimisha. Members of the San Francisco branch included Mr. and Mrs. Oka, Kuramochi, Hasegawa Ichimatsu (1883-1917), Yamauchi Gonziro (who later died in Mexico), Ichikawa Tōichi (1881-1955) and others. Hasegawa, born in Nagasaki Prefecture, studied at the Kumamoto Buddhist School and came to the U. S. in 1904. Ichikawa, born in Aichi Prefecture, had graduated from the Meiji Hōritsu Gakkō (now Meiji University) and came to the U. S. in December 1901 or January 1902. Among them, Oka, Kuramochi and Hasegawa were leaders in the San Francisco branch.

In Oakland, Saijō Satoru (1879-?) was active. He was born and completed elementary school in Kumamoto Prefecture, and came to the U. S. in 1899. Takeuchi Yosōjirō (1865-1927) was active in Fresno. Takeuchi was born in Ishikawa Prefecture and studied at the Kanazawa medical school and the Sapporo Agricultural School. He managed a drug store and became a Christian in Sapporo and came to the U. S. in 1905. In Berkeley, Ueyama Jitarō (1871-1941), owner of Taihei (Taiheiyō) Ryokan (the Pacific Inn), was a leading figure who introduced socialism to the Japanese community. Ueyama was born in Ōita Prefecture, completed junior high school and was a temporary junior high school teacher from 1885-90. He went to Hokkaidō in 1894, returned to Tōkyō in 1897, and came to the U. S. in 1902.

It was after Kōtoku Shūsui came to the U. S. in 1905 that the Japanese socialist movement in the U. S. made rapid progress.

Part 3 : Kōtoku Shūsui in the U. S.

Kōtoku's visit to the U. S. made the Japanese socialists more active. Kōtoku stayed in the U. S. from November 29, 1905 to June 5, 1906. During his stay in the U. S., he acted energetically. He had many

discussions with his American anarchist friend Albert Johnson, Mrs. Rose Fritz (who was a member of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party and a friend of Pyotr Kropotkin), and their socialist and anarchist friends. He also held many study meetings about socialism with his followers and attended many meetings, not only those of the Japanese socialists but also those of the American socialists as well, and made many speeches. He tried to deepen his relationship with the members of the Socialist Party and the IWW (The Industrial Workers of the World), and joined the Socialist Party on Dec. 14¹³. He also once made a visit to the San Francisco branch of the Socialist Labor Party.

The Socialist Party and the IWW members wanted to deepen their relationship with Kôtoku and the Japanese socialists. *The Socialist Voice*, the newspaper of the Socialist Party in Oakland, reported Kôtoku's visit to the U. S. on December 9, 1905, and covered the activities of Kôtoku and his followers. Many Socialist Party members such as George Williams (organizer of the San Francisco branch), Cameron H. King, Jr., and William McDevitt (editor of *The Socialist Voice*) came to see him. They cooperated with Kôtoku for many meetings, on, for example, December 16, January 6, January 21, and March 3. The IWW members also wanted to deepen their relationship with Kôtoku. They came to see him and invited him to join their meeting. It was the IWW, not the AFL (American Federation of Labor), that had great influence on Japanese socialists and anarchists at that time.

13 The relationship between the American Socialist Party's members and the Japanese socialists was ironic, as I will discuss below. The Socialist Party had close relations with Kôtoku and other Japanese socialists and anarchists in the San Francisco Bay area, but it also supported the movement to exclude Japanese immigrants. Yûji Ichioka, "Early Issei Socialists and the Japanese Community," *America Journal*, vol. 1, No. 2, July 1971, p. 5.

The IWW was founded in Chicago in June 1905. Eugene V. Debs, Daniel DeLeon, and William D. Haywood were the prominent founders of the IWW, which challenged the largest labor union in the U. S., the AFL (American Federation of Labor), which was established in 1886. The AFL was a more moderate labor union and excluded foreign laborers. It was opposed to the membership of foreign laborers such as Mexicans, Chinese, and Japanese. On the other hand, the IWW appealed to all workers regardless of skill, nationality, race, or gender. On June 2, 1906, the *Socialist Voice* remarked that “[in] the American history of labor there has never been such a union that may contain the labors of every nationality in its membership.” It sought to abolish capitalism and provide the basis of a socialist commonwealth by using direct action tactics. It supported syndicalism. Some Japanese activists hoped for a relationship with the AFL, but it was the IWW that welcomed Japanese workers as its members and supported them at that time.

As stated above, Kôtoku was very active and strengthened his relationship with the American socialists. It was important to do so because the future of the relationship between the U. S. and Japan was not hopeful, he thought. In his famous essay, “The Future of the Relationship Between the U. S. and Japan,” written in 1906, he predicted an increase of tension between the U. S. and Japan due to both countries’ growing economies and overlapping trade markets. He believed that conflict over profit-making was inevitable and would lead to war. The more the Japanese immigrated to the U. S., the more serious job competition between the American workers and the Japanese workers would become. The exclusion movement against Japanese laborers occurring in the U. S. was an example of the conflicts between the two nations, he thought. To prevent this crisis, Kôtoku insisted on socialism because socialism rejected competition and supported cooperation

among other workers.¹⁴

The San Francisco earthquake, which on April 18, 1906, destroyed and burned most of the city, was a blow to the Japanese socialists' activities. The San Francisco branch of Heiminsha avoided destruction, but many of its members lost their jobs. The situation of the city after the earthquake, however, suggested to Kôtoku that the anarchist communism dream had come true. All commerce closed, and postage and both railway and ferry fares were free. Meals were delivered by rescue members every day. Everyone worked not compulsorily but voluntarily to transport meals, to care for the injured, to clear the ruins and to set up shelters. Currency became useless because there were no goods to buy. Private property was destroyed. It was an interesting period, and it was a pity that this ideal would come to an end in a few weeks and capital private property would be recovered.¹⁵

As San Francisco was severely damaged, Kôtoku moved to Oakland on May 2nd and stayed at the room of Takeuchi Tetsugorô (1883-1942), who had also worked as school boy and offered his living space to Kôtoku. Takeuchi, born in Iwate Prefecture and educated at Morioka Junior High School and Tôhoku Gakuin, came to the U. S. in 1903. Other members of the San Francisco branch also came to Oakland, and rented the third floor of a Methodist Church in Oakland.

It was on June 1, 1906, that the Social Revolutionary Party was established with the support of Kôtoku. Although it was just before Kôtoku returned to Japan on June 5, the Social Revolutionary Party had become active and issued a paper *The Kakumei (The Revolution)*, which promoted anarchism and criticized the Japanese and U. S. gov-

14 *Kôtoku Shûsui Zenshû* (Meiji bunken, 1968), vol. 6, pp. 43-52.

15 *Kôtoku*, vol. 6, p. 84.

ernments.

Part 4 : The Social Revolutionary Party

The Social Revolutionary Party was organized in Oakland on June 1, 1906.¹⁶ It had 52 members¹⁷ and included not only persons living in California but also residents of New York, Chicago, Boston and other places. Members included, Iwasa Sakutarô, Takeuchi Tetsugorô, Kuramochi Zenzaburô, Saijô Satoru and Oka Shigeki.

Its platform was as follows :

- 1) We will abolish the current system of economic and industrial competition, making all land and capital the common property of the people, thereby rooting out the cause of poverty.
- 2) We will reform the traditional, superstitious class system and guarantee equal rights to all :
- 3) We will eliminate national and racial prejudices and work for true brotherhood and carrying out of international peace ; and
- 4) To accomplish the above stated purpose, we recognize the need to unite with the comrades of the world to carry out a great social¹⁸ revolution.

The foundation of the Social Revolutionary Party occurred at the peak of their activities. Their activism had to face two simultaneous

16 The organizational meeting was held at the headquarters of the Socialist Party in Oakland, 405 Eighth Street, Oakland.

17 *Zaibei enkaku*, Ibid., pp. 110-114.

18 *The Kakumei*, No. 1, December 20, 1906. I slightly changed the translation by Yûji Ichioka. Ichioka, p. 4.

difficulties. The first was the Anti-Japanese exclusion movement, which was caused by the rapid increase in the numbers of Japanese immigrants to the U. S. This exclusion problem burdened both Japanese socialists and American socialists with a double dilemma.

The first action of the Social Revolutionary Party members was a street meeting in Oakland on June 10. They held a red banner bearing the words, in Japanese : “Japanese Revolutionary Socialist Party.” As a result of this meeting not having a permit, Takeuchi and Saijō were arrested. They were released on a bail of 10 dollars each, and *The Socialist Voice* reported on June 16, 1906, that their cases were later dismissed. This meeting revealed their difficulty. In the meeting, they pleaded with Japanese laborers not to disturb the seamen’s federation then on strike by acting as scabs. Most of the Japanese immigrants to the U. S. worked as scabs, and this was one of the major reasons why the Anti-Japanese exclusion movement spread in the U. S. The cheap wages of the Japanese immigrant laborers worsened the working conditions of the American laborers, and they were a menace to them in instances such as this. The Social Revolutionary Party members had to struggle with the Anti-Japanese exclusion movement to keep their relationship with the American Socialist Party.

As for the American Socialist Party, Japanese immigration was a serious problem and dilemma, too. As Katayama previously pointed out, the wage gap between the U. S. and Japan brought the Japanese laborers to the U. S., and their low wages worsened the working conditions of the American laborers. At last William McDevitt, who had a relationship with Kōtoku, wrote an article in support of the law excluding Japanese immigrants on December 8, 1906, in the *Socialist Voice*. “Even if it were true that the position taken here in our state by the Socialists would alienate the Japanese,” he said, “it remains that it

is very much more important for us to gain the support of labor right here in this country in preference to labor in Japan. Every country has to fight out the class struggle on its own field." He continued, "[s]ome sentimental Socialists say that the working class of the Orient has a right to come here. But I answer that the workers of the Orient have no rights that are paramount to the rights of our own workers." Even after McDevitt's article, there were many discussions about the Japanese immigrant laborers in the *Socialist Voice*. Their stance was different from that of the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *San Francisco Examiner*, although both supported the exclusion of Japanese laborers. However, facing the low wage Japanese laborer problem, American Socialist Party members had to struggle between their relationship with the Japanese socialists in the U. S. and the protection of their own workers. For both the Japanese socialists and the American socialists, it was a double dilemma.

The second difficulty the Japanese socialists faced was increasing control and regulation by both the U. S. and the Japanese governments. The first issue of the paper of the Social Revolutionary Party, *The Kakumei* (*The Revolution*), which was published on December 20, 1906, caused the so-called *Kakumei* Incident. In *The Kakumei* No. 1, the following appeal appeared: "Our policy is toward the overthrow of Mikado, King, President as representing the Capital Class as soon as possible and we do not hesitate as to the means." When the San Francisco papers reported this, it caused serious problems. On December 30, the *San Francisco Chronicle* said, "Japs favor killing of President Roosevelt. Anarchistic paper advocates assassination of all rulers," and the *San Francisco Examiner's* headline read "Japanese anarchists publish paper urging President's death." The Japanese Consulate in San Francisco reported this news immediately to Hayashi

Tadasu, the Foreign Minister of the Japanese government. The Japanese government took this as a challenge to the emperor and began to investigate the socialists and anarchists of the Social Revolutionary Party. The Japanese Consul at San Francisco tried to ban the publication of *The Kakumei* but this was beyond its authority. Therefore they planned a strengthening of control over socialists in Japan.

It was also beyond the expectation of the Social Revolutionary Party members that *The Kakumei* No. 1 would cause such a backlash. Takeuchi, who was considered to be responsible for publishing *The Kakumei*, was prosecuted under Article 20 of the Immigration Law by the U. S. government. Takeuchi insisted that he was not an anarchist and that he had misunderstood “revolution” as “evolution” because of his poor English ability. The aim of *The Kakumei*, he said, was to inspire socialism among the Japanese, and not to kill the President of the U. S. They tried to find him guilty, but in vain. Article 20 of the Immigration Law was only applicable to persons who had stayed in the U. S. for three years or less. He was discharged, because Takeuchi had stayed longer. Neither the U. S. government nor the Japanese Consul in the U. S. could do anything about him.

Following this incident, a company named Kakumei-sha was established to issue socialist and anarchist publications on January 13, 1907, at 2551 Telegraph Avenue,¹⁹ Berkeley, where Ueyama Jitarō owned Taihei Ryokan (the Pacific Inn). Many socialists and anarchists gathered at Ueyama’s Inn. Since it was painted red, Ueyama’s Inn came to be called “The Red House.” They issued *The Kakumei* No. 2 on February

19 This address was printed on the last page of *The Kakumei*, No. 1, as the office of the Social Revolutionary Party. However, *Zaibei enkaku* published two articles indicating that its office was at 2551 Telegraph Avenue, and Ueyama’s Inn was at 2459 Parker Street, Berkeley. *Ibid.*, p. 120, p. 193.

10, and No. 3 on April 1. However, after issue No. 1, no one wanted to print *The Kakumei* because of the disturbance it caused with the Japanese government. It was very difficult to find a print shop that would agree to print it. *The Kakumei* ceased publication with No. 3.

In spite of increased control over them by the Japanese Consul, they came up with another plot. On November 3, the birthday of the Meiji Emperor,²⁰ some of the Social Revolutionary Party members passed out a pamphlet entitled “An open letter to Mutsuhito Emperor²¹ of Japan from an artists-Terrorists.” It was a warning letter to the Emperor. They said,

”When spring arrives, flowers bloom, when summer comes, fruits ripen, this is the power of nature. When a revolution arises, it is not because someone bring it about, it arises naturally. And our terrorism is what comes at the end of this process.”

“Don’t mistake this for an empty, armchair theory. Terrorism is now succeeding in both Russia and France. Our terrorism will come into being based upon detailed studies of the successes and failures of terrorism in these advanced nations. Mutsuhito, pitiful Mutsuhito, your life will not be long. There will be a bomb planted beside you which will soon explode. And then!²²”

20 The birthday of the Meiji Emperor was called “Tenchō-setsu” and was an important national holiday in Japan.

21 Mutsuhito was the given name of the Meiji Emperor. Imperial family members have only given names and not family names.

22 This is a quotation of the translation done by Ichioka, p. 7. The original letter is included in *Zaibei enkaku*.

This so-called Terrorists' Pamphlet strengthened the caution of the Japanese government. They began to increase their watch over socialists and anarchists in Japan and in the U. S., although no one was charged.²³ Frustrated by their inability to charge radicals in the U. S., the Japanese government strengthened the regulation and control of socialists in Japan. This would lead to Kotoku's execution in 1911.

Facing those two obstacles, it became difficult for Social Revolutionary Party members to continue their activities. They had splits about ideological policy and movement tactics. "The Red House," the headquarters of the Social Revolutionary Party, was forced to disband after the Terrorists' Pamphlet Incident.

Part 5 : After "The Red House"

After *The Kakumei* and Terrorists' Pamphlet Incidents, many Japanese socialists and anarchists began to return to Japan, because of the increasing anti-Japanese exclusion movement and government pressure. However, some members remained in the U. S. and tried to keep up their activities.²⁴

Oka Shigeki went to Japan with Kotoku in 1906 and bought a kit of Japanese printing type for the Japanese socialists to use. After coming back to the U. S., he began to issue a paper named *The Shokumin* in Sacramento, but failed. He worked in various occupations such as farm labor and transportation, and managed a print shop in Los Angeles. It was after beginning the Golden Gate print shop at 2204 Pine Street in

23 Yamagata Aritomo, a rival of Saionji Kinmochi, used this incident to overthrow the first Saionji Cabinet.

24 See *Biographical Dictionary About Figures Involved in Social Movements in Modern Japan* (Nichigai Associates, 1997).

San Francisco that he became a success. He also had a close relationship with Katayama Sen. Katayama and his daughter Yasuko had stayed at Oka's house before he sought refuge in the U. S. S. R. He managed the paper *Oufu Nippō* before WWII. During WWII, he cooperated with the U. S. and British governments by renting his kits of printing type and printing pamphlets to encourage the Japanese soldiers to surrender in India. After WWII, he issued the paper, *The Progressive News*²⁵ and died in 1959. He was a socialist throughout his whole life.²⁶

Ueyama Jitarō remained in Berkeley after the disorganization of "The Red House." He founded a Japanese labor club. When the Japanese Foreign Ministry enacted a regulation requiring Japanese living outside of Japan to register on May, 1909, Ueyama opposed it and led the movement against the registration.²⁷ After Kotoku's execution, he refrained from socialist activity, and died in 1941.

Iwasa Sakutarō established a Saturday study meeting in Oakland and managed to begin the Asahi print shop with Murata Minoru (1877-?). Murata, born in Nara Prefecture, graduated from Waseda Senmon Gakko (now Waseda University) and came to the U. S. in 1902. He was also a member of the Fukuinkai and the Social Revolutionary Party. This shop had been managed by Onarida Tsunero (1882-?), a member of the Social Revolutionary Party. Iwasa printed various anarchist books and magazines such as Kropotkin's *Appeal to the Young*. He also printed *The Roudō (The Labor)*, owned by Takeuchi Tesugoro in Fresno, and issued the magazine *The Shinsei (The New World)*.

25 After transfer of management, it became *The Hokubei Mainichi*.

26 Oka Naoki, et al, editors, *Sokoku wo tekitoshite (As an enemy of the home country)* Meijibunken, 1965. Oka Naoki was the younger brother of Oka Shigeki.

27 Matsuo, p. 25.

Through the magazine *The Shinsei*, he continued to criticize the Japanese government. He returned to Japan in 1914 and died in 1967.

Kuramochi Zenzaburō collaborated to organize a labor league in Fresno with Takeuchi and became the leading member of it in 1908. He also worked at the Asahi print shop that Iwasa owned. After Kotoku was executed, he was said to have moved to the state of Arizona.

Takeuchi Tetsugorō worked on a farm, making regular speeches to the Japanese in Vacaville, Sacramento, and Walnut Grove. Then he went to Fresno, place famous for grape production where 5,000 to 6,000 Japanese agricultural laborers gathered every year from August to November. He organized the Japanese laborers into the Fresno Labor League on August 20, 1907. In their platform, they stated their objectives as : 1) To prevent the lowering of wages and to secure the highest possible ; 2) To vigorously attack the unfair competition of corrupt labor contractors ; and 3) To unify members to take concerted action to elevate the status of workers and to gain the confidence of grape-growers.²⁸

The Fresno Labor League succeeded in organizing 4,000 Japanese laborers and raising their wages. Takeuchi issued a paper *The Roudō* (*The Labor*) No. 1 on October 20. The IWW also supported the Fresno Labor League. The more the Fresno Labor League grew, the more attacks from farm owners, contractors, and the Japanese papers increased. The League fizzled out due to lack of funds after Takeuchi was injured in a quarrel with a newspaper reporter, Ôtsuka, who accused the League of being a nest of anarchists. When he was charged with bodily injury, Austin Luis, a lawyer and a member of the Socialist Party, defended him. He died in a WWII Japanese “relocation center”

28 Ichioka, p. 8, Yoneda, p. 32.

in 1942.

Conclusion

Kôtoku's execution in 1911²⁹ was a great blow to Japanese socialists and anarchists. After news of the arrests was reported in the U. S., they began to protest the special tribunal against Kôtoku and his followers. Iwasa criticized the Japanese government in his magazine *The Shinsei*. Emma Goldman vigorously campaigned to save them. She sent letters and telegrams to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington, the Consul General in New York, and American newspapers.³⁰ In San Francisco, the protest meeting against their trial was held on December 4, and Iwasa and American socialists gave speeches.³¹ They continued their protest in cooperation with American socialists.³² Despite these protests, Kôtoku and ten socialists were executed on January 24, 1911.³³ On January 25, the day after Kôtoku's execution, Iwasa, Oka, Ueyama, Kuramochi, Takeuchi, and others held a ceremony in memory of the victims of the Kôtoku Incident. They picked January 24, 1911, as the commemoration day of

29 Kôtoku and his 25 socialists were prosecuted with the charge of plotting to kill the Meiji Emperor under Article 72 of the Criminal Law, high treason. After the secret special tribunal, Kôtoku and 11 others were executed, 12 were sentenced to life in prison, and 2 to prison for years.

30 Emma Goldman, *Living My Life* (Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1970), vol. 1, p. 474.

31 On the protest movement against Kôtoku's trial in the U. S., see Yamaizumi Susumu, "Taigyakujiken kenkyû," *Meiji daigaku jînbun kagaku kenkyûjo kiyo*, vol. 3, 1992, pp. 157-186, and "Taigyaku jiken to SF sôryôjikan," *Meiji daigaku kyôyô ronshu*, vol. 264, March 1994 pp. 1-80.

32 See Yamaizumi Susumu, "Taigyaku jiken to SF sôryôjikan," pp. 1-80.

33 Kanno Suga was executed on January 25, 1911.

the Japanese revolution and decided to close the Asahi print shop.

After Kôtoku's execution, it became very difficult for Japanese socialists and anarchists in the U. S. to continue their activities, because of the heightening of the anti-Japanese movement and the strengthening of control in the U. S. Many Japanese socialists and anarchists had to choose whether they wanted to cease their activities or return to Japan.

Even though the period when the Japanese socialists and anarchists were active was brief, through their activities we can observe the transition underway in American society in the early 20th century.