

**Families Precede Nation and Race?: Marriage, Migration, and Integration of
Japanese War Brides after World War II**

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Introduction

Abstract

Unlike other war brides of World War II, the international and interracial marriages between Japanese women and U.S. servicemen, which were seen as the products and symbols of the U.S. occupation, posed distinct challenges to the American and Japanese state and, in particular, to the image of American families at home and abroad.

This dissertation examines how these Japanese women were treated as a “problem” by American and Japanese societies and how the “problem” was approached through diverse but intertwined sites, venues, and agents such as legal discourse, American Red Cross brides’ schools in Japan, social science studies, and Japanese War Brides Club at the International Institute in San Francisco, in the late 1940s and 1950s. It also examines how these women responded to those approaches, how they remembered their experiences, and their ongoing transnational relationships with their two home countries, Japan and the United States.

I argue that Japanese war brides, who were the majority of not only Asian war brides, but also postwar Japanese immigrants, played a key role in redefining the “American family” and concepts of race and citizenship. They became central to the debate about the makeup of the “ideal American family” and led to changes in postwar U.S. immigration policy as well as popular and scholarly understandings of not only “Japanese war brides” but also interracial marriages. Disciplining these ex-enemy nationals, who were considered to be racially inassimilable and ineligible for citizenship,

into good wives and mothers of U.S. citizens became an important mission for Americans in the United States and Japan during the rise of the Cold War. Their “successful” marriages and integration became a display of American racial tolerance in early Cold War America. As a result, the image of these women shifted from a “problem” to a showcase of ideal, “model minority” brides. These Japanese women, both individually and collectively, played a significant part in changing American and Japanese perceptions of “Japanese war brides” and interracial marriage since they had made their decisions to marry U.S. servicemen and immigrate to the United States as young women.

Background

World War II and postwar U.S. occupations in Asia and Europe mobilized nearly sixteen million American men. It is estimated that roughly one million of them married overseas. Nearly three quarter of these foreign wives eventually entered the United States as “war brides” from more than fifty countries.¹ Japanese war brides comprised the majority of Asian war brides due to the U.S. occupation of Japan (1945-1952) and the Korean War (1950-1953) which brought U.S. soldiers to their military bases in Japan.² Japanese war brides also became the first Japanese immigrants allowed to enter the United

¹ Elfrieda Berthiaume Shukert and Barbara Smith Scibetta, *War Brides of World War II* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1988), 1, 2.

² At least 30,715 Japanese women were allowed to enter the United States as wives of U.S. servicemen from 1947 through the 1950s. Between 1947 and 1975, 66,681 Japanese wives were admitted to the United States. U.S. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, *Annual Reports*, 1947-1975.

States since the Immigration Act of 1924 ban on Japanese immigration. They constituted the majority of postwar Japanese immigrants through the 1960s.

Given the strong anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States prior to and during World War II that resulted in the incarceration of 110,000 Japanese Americans following the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the marriage, migration, and integration of Japanese war brides became an unexpected problem to be solved and contained in both the United States and Japan. American-Japanese marriages crossed many borders that fell into three categories: 1) interracial marriages that crossed racial boundaries; 2) marriages that crossed political boundaries between former enemy-nationalities; and 3) marriages that crossed legal boundaries between U.S. citizens and aliens who were “ineligible to U.S. citizenship.”³ In occupied Japan, Japanese women who were associated with American GIs, in both casual and formal relationships, were lumped together as prostitutes and traitors. The fraternization between American GIs and Japanese women became a symbol of Japan’s defeat and humiliation. It was also considered a threat to Japan and Japanese men’s masculinity, patriarchal authority, and eugenics and the purity of the Japanese “Yamato” race. Almost all the brides’ parents objected to their marriages at first because they worried about their daughters’ life in the United States, the prospect that they might never be able to see their daughters again, or the disgrace their marriages would bring to the family. Many parents reluctantly came to accept their daughters’ decision, but some disowned their daughters by telling them never to come back or even by removing them

³ Japanese immigrants were considered as inassimilable and the U.S. Supreme court case, *Ozawa v. U.S.* (1922), ruled that Japanese were “ineligible to citizenship.” Japanese war brides were first allowed to enter the United States in 1947 but it was not until 1952 that they were granted the right to apply for citizenship.

from their family registry. In a symbolical sense, these women were also disowned by Japan, which was seen as a “family nation” that revered the Emperor as the head of the family.

Japanese war brides were not the only foreign wives to come to the United States married to American servicemen. For example, at least 90,588 foreign wives entered the United States from Europe, Australia, and New Zealand between 1946 and 1948.⁴ Despite that, Japanese war brides attracted unparalleled attention from American government bodies, the military, media, popular culture, social scientists, and social welfare agencies. During the Cold War era, families were seen as the bedrock and safeguard of American capitalism and healthy democracy in both U.S. postwar domestic and foreign policies. In particular, women were expected to be “good” wives and mothers as homemakers for America. However, racialized definitions of “the American family” surfaced when the nation faced an unprecedented influx of Japanese war brides beyond racial and national boundaries. These women, unlike prewar Japanese immigrants who first settled in their predecessors’ ethnic enclaves when they arrived in the United States, directly entered into mainstream American society as homemakers of American families. In the immediate postwar era, anti-Japanese sentiment toward ex-enemy nationals was prevalent, and Japanese immigrants, who were ineligible for citizenship until 1952, were considered to be racially inassimilable in American society and culture. In addition, in the late 1940s and 1950s, many states had anti-miscegenation statutes. How did the United States respond to the contradiction that these Japanese women were

⁴ This figure does not include those who were admitted to enter the United States as alien fiancées of U.S. servicemen. *INS Monthly Review* (June 1949), 168.

represented as "inassimilable aliens" ineligible for citizenship while also being wives and mothers of U.S. citizens in American families? And, how did these women react to the approaches and intervention made in the United States and Japan?

The mission of transforming Japanese war brides into contented housewives in modern American families became central for Americans in the United States and Japan during the rise of the Cold War. It was when Communists accused the United States of racism and immorality, reports that American GIs had abandoned 200,000 illegitimate children in Japan, and the Civil Rights Movement called attention to racial segregation and black-white racial conflict and violence throughout the country. Integrating these "inassimilable" ex-enemy nationals into American society and transforming them into "model minority" brides reaffirmed the prevailing power of American "democracy" and produced an alternative image of American race relations.

After the late 1980s, Japanese war brides organized themselves transnationally and refuted Japanese negative image of "war brides" as former prostitutes whose marriages to U.S. servicemen were mostly unsuccessful. They redefined the image of "war brides" in Japan to reflect that of loyal and hard-working Japanese immigrant women who had lived up to the ideal of Japanese womanhood and maintained Japanese spirit and values. At the same time, such self-representation resulted in reinforcing the image of these women as good U.S. citizens as well as model minority brides. This dissertation shows how the marriage, migration, and integration of Japanese war brides were transnationally shaped in changing U.S.-Japan relations, American and Japanese domestic and foreign politics, and the Cold War.

Literature Review and Significance

Few studies have explored why and how significant legal, political, scholarly, media, and social attention was paid almost exclusively to Japanese war brides among war brides of World War II in the late 1940s and 1950s and how these women responded to such attention and interferences in Japan and the United States. It represents a gap in the historiography of immigration history, history of U.S.-Japan relations, Cold War history, Asian American history, and studies of Japanese war brides.

In the field of immigration history, historians have begun to pay closer attention to the formation of American law in relation to immigration.⁵ However, immigrants' experiences and legal changes from the end of World War II to the enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 have been less than fully explored.⁶ In particular, gendered and racialized migration and laws such as the migration of Asian war brides and laws and legal discussions regarding these women's migration and citizenship

⁵ These studies include Erika Lee's *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2003), Lucy Salyer's *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), and Mae M. Ngai's *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).

⁶ Studies on immigrants, race, and laws in this period include "The World War II Internment of Japanese Americans and the Citizenship Renunciation Cases," "The Cold War Chinese Immigration Crisis and the Confession Cases," and "The Liberal Critique and Reform of Immigration Policy" in Mae M. Ngai's *Impossible Subjects*, 175-264, and Philip E. Wolgin and Irene Bloemraad's "'Our Gratitude to Our Soldiers': Military Spouses, Family Re-Unification, and Postwar Immigration Reform" in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XLI:I (Summer 2010): 27-60. For studies on race, law, and interracial marriage, see Peggy Pascoe's *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

have never been fully discussed.⁷ This dissertation fills the gap and illustrates how significant legal changes, such as the 1947 amendment of the War Brides Act which lifted racial restrictions on the immigration of foreign spouses of U.S. citizens for the first time in U.S. history, occurred during this period and how the changes had an impact on not only Japanese and Asian war brides but also the Japanese immigrant community and American and Japanese society. It also suggests that these changes and debates surrounding Japanese war brides led to the enactment of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, which repealed the 1924 Immigration Act.

This dissertation provides new perspectives in not only immigration history but also history of U.S.-Japan relations, Japanese history, and Cold War history. Studies in these fields have usually paid attention to formal issues---social problems such as prostitution and mixed-heritage children and political, legal, economic, social, and cultural changes brought to Japan by and as a consequence of the U.S. occupation of Japan---and not to private and intimate realms such as the marriages between Japanese women and U.S. servicemen. This dissertation illustrates how U.S. military involvement in East Asia from 1945 through the 1950s as a result of the Cold War, along with American Cold War domestic and foreign politics, shaped their marriages and the migration of these women.⁸ It also shows how these marriages, in turn, led to a critical

⁷ Linda K. Kerber's "The Meaning of Citizenship" in *The Journal of American History* 84, no.3 (December 1997): 833-854, offers a perspective on the multiple and unequal meanings of citizenship in U.S. history. For studies on U.S. servicemen's rights, sexuality, and citizenship, see Margot Canady's "Building a Straight State: Sexuality and Social Citizenship under the 1944 G.I. Bill" in *Journal of American History* 90:3 (2003): 935-957.

⁸ Ji-Yeon Yuh's *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown: Korean Military Brides in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2002) discusses Korean wives of U.S. servicemen within the

transition of U.S. racial relationships, immigration laws, and citizenship, and how immigrants lived in the transition.

In the same way, little attention has been paid to how the family culture of the era affected changing American attitudes toward these interracial and international marriages and how these marriages also contested the idealized and racialized idea of American family.⁹ Once the bans of immigration laws were lifted, the integration of these women, in other words, transforming these women into modern and happy Japanese housewives in American families, became a national concern and urgent project for the American state to demonstrate American society's racial tolerance as the nation leading decolonizing Asian and African countries in the 1950s.¹⁰ This dissertation demonstrates the involvement of the U.S. government and military in Americanization of these women and how it was fostered through public agencies while these women were still in their

context of U.S.-Korean relations, Japanese and U.S. colonialism, and the legacies of military prostitution. Catherine Ceniza Choy's *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003) links between U.S. colonialism and migration of Filipino women as nurses. This dissertation also owes to the insights of the studies on the U.S. occupation of Japan such as Yukiko Koshiro's *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) and John W. Dower's *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000).

⁹ For studies on family-centered Cold War culture, see Elaine Tyler May's *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, [1988] 1999). For studies on women and gender in the late 1940s and 1950s, also see Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1994).

¹⁰ This dissertation draws on the insights of Christina Klein's *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), which argues that the metaphor of "the American family" was promoted in the American middlebrow culture in imagining new postwar U.S. relations with a decolonizing Asia, not through militarism but through a wide-ranging discourse of racial tolerance and inclusion.

home country.¹¹ A more acceptable image of these women and their marriages was also pushed forward by popular culture, media, social scientists, and social workers. It also reveals how American women played an important role as teachers and mother figures at home and abroad in postwar years in shaping the idea of “American Orientalism,” which shaped American modernity through representation of Asia and Asians, the feminine, backward-looking, and childish “East,” as the polar opposite of the United States and Americans, the masculine, progressive, and adult “West.”¹²

In addition, the dissertation sheds new light on Asian American history. Scholars have pointed out that postwar Hollywood and popular media representations of Japanese war brides contributed to the creation of the myth and stereotype of Asian immigrants and their descendants as a “model minority.”¹³ This dissertation shows that the view of Japanese war brides as ideal “model minority” brides were transnationally shaped not

¹¹ For studies on Americanization education for immigrant women, see Peggy Pascoe’s “Gender Systems in Conflict: The Marriages of Mission-Educated Chinese American Women, 1874-1939,” George F. Sanchez’s “‘Go After the Women’: Americanization and the Mexican Immigrant Woman, 1915-1929,” Vicki L. Ruiz’s “Dead Ends or Gold Mines? Using Missionary Records in Mexican American Women’s History,” and Gail Paradise Kelly’s “To Become an American Woman: Education and Sex Role Socialization of the Vietnamese Immigrant Woman” in *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-Cultural Reader in U.S. Women’s History*, 2nd ed., edited by Vicki L. Ruiz and Ellen Carol DuBois (New York: Routledge, 1994), 139-156, 284-297, 298-315, 297-507.

¹² Mari Yoshihara’s *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) analyzes white American women’s roles in shaping American imaginations about the Orient.

¹³ See Caroline Chung Simpson’s “‘Out of an Obscure Place’: Japanese War Brides and Cultural Pluralism in the 1950s,” in *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar American Culture, 1945-1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 149-185, and Robert G. Lee’s “The Cold War Origins of the Model Minority” in *Orientalism: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 180-203. Lee points out that *Sayonara*, a Hollywood movie, describes that a Japanese woman becomes a true woman through her love of a white man and becomes a candidate for the motherhood of the American nation.

only through a single venue but through various sites such as social science studies and even brides' schools in Japan. It also illustrates how Japanese war brides, like many Asian and other immigrants, retained their ethnic identity and culture, and shaped transnational identities and networks.¹⁴ Their experiences were, however, unique because many of them lacked support from their Japanese families and social networks with other Japanese war brides and Japanese immigrant communities in the United States.

U.S. and Japanese scholarship on Japanese war brides has been predominantly sociological, social work, and anthropological. These studies have focused on these women's marital adjustment and assimilation, based on interviews of small sample in large cities. These studies represent one of three major trends of the studies on Japanese war brides. These studies conducted in the 1950s found that these women adjusted fairly well and their marriages were as successful as other marriages.¹⁵ Follow-up studies in the 1970s and 1980s found mixed and contradicting findings regarding these women's

¹⁴ For historical studies on transnational networks and Asian immigrants, see Madeline Y. Hsu's *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration Between the United States and South China, 1882-1943* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000) and Adam McKeown's *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, Hawaii, 1900-1936* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2001).

¹⁵ These early studies include Anselm L. Strauss' "Strain and Harmony in American-Japanese War-Bride Marriages" in *Marriage and Family Living* 16 (May 1954): 99-106, and Gerald J. Schnepf and Agnes Masako Yui's "Cultural and Marital Adjustment of Japanese War Brides" in *American Journal of Sociology* 61 (1955): 48-50. These studies found that American-Japanese marriages could be successful despite negative assumptions about their marriages. Social work studies such as Yoshiko Gloria Yamaji's "The Impact of Communication Difficulties in Family Relations Observed in Eight Japanese War-Bride Marriages" (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1961) followed these sociological studies in the late 1950s and early 1960s for the purpose of identifying their problems and needs so that social workers could assist these women more efficiently.

marital stability.¹⁶ The few studies conducted in the 1990s found that these women were not fully or successfully assimilated into American society.¹⁷ This dissertation puts these studies, in particular the early studies in the 1950s, in question and analyzes the role of these social scientists in producing the knowledge of Japanese war brides.¹⁸

¹⁶ During the 1970s, along with the rise of the Asian American movement and new scholarly interest in Asian American women in a socio-economic context, social work scholars and sociologists again started studying Japanese war brides and found that these women were not assimilated as much as earlier works had claimed. On the contrary, many scholars found that these women had socioeconomic problems and needed social support. In 1972 and 1977, Bok-Lim Kim conducted studies from a sociopolitical perspective and identified Asian war brides' struggles, including those of Japanese war brides, as a social problem and urged the building of support networks for them ("Casework with Japanese and Korean Wives of Americans" in *Social Casework* (1972): 273-279, and "Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen: Women in Shadows" in *Amerasia Journal* 4:1 (1977): 91-115). Kim was the chairperson of the National Committee Concerned with Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen, which was organized in 1976 from the 1975 National Consultation on Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen. Evelyn Nakano Glenn's *Issei, Nisei, War Bride: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1986), which examined the interaction between their oppression and struggles in the labor market and in the family in the San Francisco Bay Area, found that they had difficult socioeconomic conditions in comparison with *Issei* (first generation) and *Nisei* (second generation) women because of the lack of supporting networks. She also found that their marriages were unstable and frequently disrupted by divorce and that "the dominant theme that ran through the war bride marriages was that of female powerlessness." On the other hand, John W. Connor's *A Study of the Marital Stability of Japanese War Brides* (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1976) and Paul R. Spickard's *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989) found that their marriages were successful despite the fact that these couples faced a lot of adjustment in both Japan and the United States. Thus, these studies produced in the 1970s and 1980s had mixed findings regarding the adjustment of Japanese war brides.

¹⁷ Rogelio Sanéz, Sean-Shong Hwang, and Benigno E. Aguirre's "In Search of Asian War Brides" in *Demography* 31.3 (Aug. 1994): 549-559, found that Asian war brides had the lowest socioeconomic standing among Asian wives. Shizuko Suenaga's "Goodbye to Sayonara: the Reverse Assimilation of Japanese War Brides" (Ph.D. diss., Boston College, 1996) found that these women retained strong ethnic cultures against the popular "assimilation theory" and called their unique assimilation pattern "reverse assimilation." Fumiko Takatsu's "Floating in the Ocean: The Peripheral Lives of Japanese War Brides" (Master's thesis, California State University, Sacramento, 1999) found that these women were neither fully assimilated into the United States nor belonged to Japanese society.

¹⁸ Henry Yu's *Thinking Orientals: Migration, Contact, and Exoticism in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) shows how sociological studies on "Orientals" have been influenced the formulations of the most prominent theorists of race and culture but does not refer

The second trend is the studies of media or cultural representations of these women. These cultural studies analyzed the politics of representations of these women in popular magazine articles, Hollywood movies, and novels, considering their historical context.¹⁹ Almost all films and magazine articles these studies have examined were produced in the 1950s, and this dissertation provides a historical context to better understand how such cultural representations of these women were produced. It also suggests that changing image of these women in popular culture was coincident with the findings of social science studies.

The last trend is historical studies to recover these women's experiences and voices.²⁰ This dissertation, a historical study, complements the third trend by examining the dynamics and complexities of their experiences from a transnational perspective,

to the studies on war brides and its significance in postwar sociological interests in interracial marriages.

¹⁹ These studies include Gina Marchetti's "Tragic and Transcendent Love: *Sayonara* and *The Crimson Kimono*" and "Japanese War Brides: Domesticity and Assimilation in *Japanese War Bride* and *Bridge to the Sun*" in *Romance and the "Yellow Peril": Race, Sex, and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 125-175, David Palumbo-Liu's "War, the Homeland, and the Traces of Memory" in *Asian/American Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 217-254, Robert G. Lee's "The Cold War Origins of the Model Minority" in *Orientalism*, 180-203, and Debbie Storrs' "Like a Bamboo: Representations of a Japanese War Bride" in *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 21 1/2 (2000): 194-224. Aside from these studies focusing on American representations, Yasuko Kawarasaki's "Negative Stereotypes of Japanese War Brides: An Outburst of Japanese Frustration" (Master's thesis, University of California Los Angeles, 1994) examined Japanese representations and found that negative stereotypes of Japanese war brides projected the strong frustration of the Japanese people after the defeat of Japan.

²⁰ Shukert and Scibetta's *War Brides of World War II*, the first historical study of war brides of World War II, discusses the experiences of Japanese war brides. In the late 1990s, *Umio wattatta hanayome-tachi: senso hanayome no profairu [Brides Who Crossed the Ocean: Profile of War Brides]*, an interdisciplinary, comparative study on Japanese war brides in the United States, Canada, and Australia, was conducted by Takeshi Ueki, Kazuyo Suzuki, and Fumiteru Nitta (2000) with the financial support of the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. However, their study does not fully examine these women's experiences in the 1950s.

without depicting these women solely as victims, survivors, or heroes. It also locates their experiences in both U.S. and Japanese history.²¹ It shows how these women not only challenged but also led to actual change in U.S. immigration laws, the concept of citizenship and race, the pattern and perception of interracial marriages, and the image of “war brides” in Japan.

Exploring the marriage, migration, and integration of these women is necessary to fully understand the postwar Japanese immigration history and communities, given the fact that these women constituted the majority of Japanese immigrants for the postwar few decades. It provides a historical background of the changing postwar Japanese American community that evolved into the multiracial, multiethnic, and most interracially mixed population among Asian American communities.²² It also helps us better understand the current Japanese migration, as Japanese women have one of the highest rates of international marriages among all immigrant women arriving in the United States, for these women were pioneer Japanese women who married internationally and emigrated to the countries where their husbands resided. Furthermore, it gives a historical perspective of the image of Asian women as “ideal partners, traditional wives and mothers

²¹ This dissertation owes much to the insights of Regina Frances Lark’s “They Challenged Two Nations: Marriages between Japanese Women and American GIs” (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1999). Lark’s study, a ground-breaking historical study of Japanese war brides, recovers these Japanese women’s agency and voices and located their experiences in both Japanese and American history. For example, Lark points out that these women were not outcasts, but rather, inherited an earlier wave of Japanese feminism and challenged gender norms in Japan when they chose to marry Americans and migrate to the United States.

²² Jessica S. Barnes and Claudette E. Bennett, “The Asian Population: 2000,” A Brief of Census 2000, issued in February 2002.

who fit into a nuclear-family ideal.”²³ War brides played a significant part in shaping postwar American families, culture, citizenship, and race relations.²⁴ They and their families contributed to a more multi-ethnic, multi-racial, and culturally diverse society in America.

Methods and Sources

Research for this dissertation was conducted in both the United States and Japan. I found more relevant sources in the United States, partially due to the choice of focus on the American Red Cross brides’ schools and the Japanese War Brides Club at the International Institute of San Francisco. The unbalanced sources also reflect Japanese society’s comparatively small interest in these women, in particular, once they had married into American families and left Japan. It also shows the significant attention paid to these women and their marriages by American society. The censorship in Japan during the U.S. occupation might also have contributed, to some degree, to the absence of Japanese official documents and records regarding these Japanese wives of U.S. servicemen.

The dissertation analyzes archived English and Japanese language materials and oral history interviews. Key sources include the following: records of the U.S. and Japanese governments, U.S. occupation forces, and non-governmental organizations such as the

²³ Nicole Constable, *Romance on a Global State: Pen Pals, Virtual Ethnography, and “Mail Order” Marriages* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 95.

²⁴ The few historical studies published on war brides include Janel Virden’s *Good-bye, Piccadilly: British War Brides in America* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

American Red Cross, the International Institute, and the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); laws and legal cases; letters written by U.S. servicemen and Japanese women; social science studies; newsletters and memoirs written by Japanese women; and oral history interviews. Many of these have been understudied or have just recently been opened up to researchers. I conducted oral history interviews with Japanese war brides, had informal individual and group conversations with them, and participated in their gatherings in California, Minnesota, Texas, Georgia, and Maryland, to complement archival materials and enhance my understanding of their experiences.

The Japanese term “*senso hanayome*” came to be used as the translation of “war bride.” In this dissertation, I define Japanese “war brides” as Japanese women who married members of the allied occupation troops or U.S. Armed Forces and immigrated to their husbands’ countries from the end of World War II through the 1950s. I understand that many of these women do not feel comfortable with the term because of the stigma attached to it, and prefer to refer to themselves as brides of “international marriages.” I use the term “war bride” for the purpose of exploring how the term specifically came to be identified with Japanese brides and considered as a problem, and how the term was conceptualized in the late 1940s and 1950s. I also share the concern expressed by Haruhiko Yoshimeki, author of *Sekiryō koya (Solitude Point)*, a prize-winning novel about a Japanese war bride, that renaming these women might blind us to the historical context which shaped their experiences:

I feel that, by referring to war brides as brides of international marriages, the strength and sorrows of the human beings, who lived through a certain

historical context, and something like the essence of living woven in one's relations with other human beings, are simply cut off.²⁵

The term also shaped the identity of these women. Kazuko Umezu Stout, the president of the Nikkei International Marriage Society (NIMS) and organizer of the first world convention of Japanese war brides, proudly called herself and other women like her “war brides.” She expressed, “I cannot die until I change the negative image of ‘war bride.’”²⁶ For these reasons, the dissertation refers to these women as war brides and pays attention to the association between these women and the term rather than looks away from the term and underestimates the power of political, legal, social, and cultural forces that shaped their experiences and the image of these women as war brides.

Summary of Chapters

The dissertation is organized in a roughly chronological way. It first examines the debates and approaches surrounding Japanese war brides and these women's experiences moving from Japan to the United States, and later from the United States back to Japan with their transnational networks. The first four chapters discuss how Japanese war brides became a social, political, and legal “problem” in the United States and how the “problem” was approached through different but intertwined sites and venues such as legal discourse, American Red Cross brides' schools in Japan, social science studies, and Japanese War Brides Club at the International Institute in San Francisco, in the late 1940s

²⁵ Tatsuya Sudo, “Obei ni watatta hanayome tachi [Brides who Went Over to the West],” *Suka* Jan. 1991, 3.

²⁶ Keisuke Tani, “Senso hanayome ga dosokai [Reunion of War Brides],” *Asahi shimbun*, New York edition, 22 Nov. 1988: 19.

and 1950s. The fifth chapter traces their experiences through oral history interviews. The last chapter discusses how Japanese war brides themselves shaped their own understandings of themselves and their experiences after the 1980s against or along with the popular assumptions and images of Japanese war brides.

The first chapter examines the process of the enactment and enforcement of the 1947 amendment to the War Brides Act of 1945 through an examination of legislative discussions, judicial decisions, enforcement practices, and individual and collective challenges to the amendment. Even though European, Australian, and New Zealand war brides were encouraged to immigrate by the War Brides Act of 1945 and the G.I. Fiancées Act of 1946, Japanese war brides were not allowed to enter the United States under the racial restrictions of the 1924 Immigration Act, which had banned the immigration of any "alien ineligible to citizenship," a criterion that applied only to Asians. The 1947 amendment allowed alien spouses and minor children of U.S. servicemen to enter the United States regardless of race; it was the first immigration law that lifted racial bans on international marriages. The 1947 amendment contested the racially restrictive national membership in immigration law, but it simultaneously reconstructed the racial hierarchies of such membership by granting Japanese wives admission to the United States, but not allowing them to become U.S. citizens. Continuing negotiations between congressmen and the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) supported by U.S. servicemen of all racial backgrounds from 1946 through 1952 led to redefining the idea of the American family and the enactment of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952.

The second chapter analyzes how the Christian Women's Association (CWA) and the American Red Cross (ARC) brides' schools institutionally educated Japanese war brides to become "good" wives and mothers and "good" U.S. citizens while they were still in Japan during 1951-1963. This chapter argues that these schools, which were established at the request of the U.S. State Department and expanded on the request of the U.S. military, were a microcosm and an extension of the U.S. occupation policy and mission to democratize and re-invent Japan as a new ally of the United States in the Cold War. In the process, the CWA and the ARC brides' schools and its American occupation women volunteers, who were white and African American wives and daughters of U.S. occupation soldiers and officers (housewives residing in Japan), played a significant role in shaping American national identity and nation-state building by exercising their female citizenship (through their "civilizing mission") in transforming Japanese "inassimilable" wives into "model minority brides." The schools became a site of negotiation in defining both the United States and American national identity.

The third chapter discusses how American social scientists built a body of knowledge of Japanese war brides, their American husbands, and their marriages during the 1950s. Their marriages spurred postwar sociological interest in interracial marriages in the United States. No other groups of war brides received such scholarly attention during the 1950s. These studies were conducted in Chicago, Detroit, Ohio, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Honolulu and found that American-Japanese marriages were not strained or unstable, contrary to general assumptions. These new findings confirmed and coincided with the changing media view of these women. Diverse individuals and groups, including

ex-GIs, Nisei, Japanese, and American male and female researchers, became involved in these projects, but the sociological studies were predominantly conducted by University of Chicago sociologists or in their networks, while the social work studies were conducted under the auspices of the social welfare organization, the International Institute. Even though the latter tended to put more focus on the problems of their marriages, these studies together played a role in shaping an image of these women as “model minority brides” and fostering American racial tolerance towards these marriages. These studies mainly focused on “Japanese-White” marriages and depicted those marriages as “Occidental” marriages based on love, unlike many “Oriental” marriages based on parental arrangement. They also contrasted these wives to prewar Japanese immigrants who practiced a “picture marriage” custom and lost almost all of their property and businesses during their war-time internment camps. Instead, Japanese war brides were seen as successors more broadly to (European) immigrants in general who had left their home countries for their “American dream” and “made it” in the United States. Many of these U.S. studies were translated and briefly introduced to Japan, but this did not necessarily change the Japanese negative perception of these women.

The fourth chapter examines how social workers at the International Institute of San Francisco put Japanese war brides under their supervision and care and how the brides responded to this during the 1950s. The social workers carefully took the initiative in forming a Japanese war brides club at the Institute to observe these women’s needs and provide preventive support. This project, which they sometimes called the “Japanese War Brides Project,” provided Japanese wives with an opportunity to meet other

Japanese wives and a sense of acceptance from American workers and the agency. However, the workers' efforts to encourage the brides to assume more responsibility in the club were not successful, and the brides enjoyed their loose affiliation with the club by taking advantage of the support from the workers and the resources of the International Institute. It was in fact difficult for the brides to organize themselves and find common ground with each other due to the great diversity that existed among them, including the degree of acculturation and their husbands' racial backgrounds and occupations after being discharged from military service. Despite their internal divisions and tensions, their club and its Japanese cultural events became a meeting place where they could collectively maintain their ties with Japan, put aside their differences under their shared appreciation for Japanese culture, and in some cases, receive greater acceptance from their in-laws for their cultural heritage. Thanks to the club's affiliation with the Institute, celebrating their Japanese-ness was appreciated, without being considered "un-American." Even though the club became one of the biggest Japanese war brides' clubs by the end of the 1950s, the workers could not reach out broadly beyond the club to those who needed their professional assistance. In the 1960s and 1970s, the gap between well-adjusted brides and less privileged brides widened.

The fifth chapter tells the stories of Japanese war brides through oral history interviews. It traces their experiences: in particular, their marriage decisions in Japan and the ways in which they responded to their new life in the United States in the late 1940s and 1950s, from their own perspectives. Many Japanese war brides grew up and spent their adolescence years under the shadow of the long, challenging wartime. For their

country, they endured wartime regulations and restrictions. Suffering from a lack of food, material comfort, and freedom to express their thoughts and feelings, they longed for a better life. During the occupation, they, along with many other young Japanese women, adopted the ideas of democracy and enjoyed the freedom and cultural expression they could not have during the wartime. Despite strong disagreement from their family, they made decisions to marry American GIs and immigrate to the United States. In the United States, with few kin or support networks, much less the Japanese government's protection, they had to turn to their personal talents and resources, which were their only assets, other than their husbands.

The last chapter considers how these women collectively remembered their experiences and how, after the 1980s, they transnationally organized Japanese war brides who had married into different countries such as Australia and Canada. Acceptance from their home country of Japan was a primary factor behind this transnational activism. The group, the Nikkei International Marriage Society (NIMS), was organized by a Japanese housewife living in Seattle, Washington after she was inspired by meeting Princess Michiko of Japan and received comforting words from her. NIMS claimed their experiences were a part of Japanese immigration history and should be legitimately recognized for their contributions as grassroots ambassadors between the United States and Japan. Without emphasizing their marriages to occupation GIs or their legal status as non-Japanese citizens, they shaped an emotional and racial tie with Japan based on their successful maintenance of Japanese culture and values abroad. They identified themselves as the first generation of postwar Japanese immigrants who were hard-

working, loyal to both their mother country and their adopted country, and who had transplanted Japanese culture into a foreign land. They also embraced the self-image that they were dutiful daughters of Japan who lived up to the ideal of “Japanese womanhood” with “Japanese spirit” at their heart, as truthfully as, and in some cases, even more truthfully than Japanese women in Japan. They used the term “war brides” proudly and intentionally to unite Japanese war brides of different nationalities. However, their self-representation as successful immigrants might have hindered recognition of the existence of less privileged Japanese war brides. It might have also resulted in reinforcing the previously produced American image of these women as “model-minority brides” and good U.S. citizens, while they sought acceptance from Japan as loyal Japanese immigrants.

Chapter 1

Families Precede Nation and Race?²⁷: The 1947 Amendment of the War Brides Act and the American Family

WASHINGTON, July 22--President Truman signed legislation today to permit racially inadmissible wives of members of the United States armed services to enter the United States for permanent residence if they meet other qualifications. Previous laws prohibit the entrance into this country of persons of some nationalities, such as Japanese or Koreans. The new law applies to marriages that take place not later than thirty days from today.

-----*The New York Times*, July 23, 1947²⁸

Introduction

On May 9, 1946, Helene Emilie Wilson married John Anthony Bouiss, an American soldier whom she had met while working as an interpreter for the U.S. occupation forces in Japan. Helene was born in Japan of a German father and a Japanese mother, and had a daughter from her previous marriage with a Swedish man. Helene and John married on the high seas en route from Japan to the United States as John ended overseas military duty in Japan. Helene entered the United States with her husband on her Swedish passport. Upon her arrival, however, she was stopped at the immigration station in Seattle, Washington. After she had been detained at the immigration station for two months by the immigration authorities, the Board of Immigration Appeals ruled that she was an "alien ineligible to

²⁷ The title echoes words in "Brief of Appellee" for *Bonham v. Bouiss*, 161 F.2d 678 (9 Cir. 1947). In supporting the entrance of a half-Japanese wife of a U.S. serviceman to the United States, her attorneys quoted the remarks of *Schouler*, (6th Ed.) Section 3: "Whether we consult the facts of history or the inspirations of human reason, the family may be justly pronounced the earliest of all social institutions. ... Families preceded nations."

²⁸ "Law Admits Barred Wives," *The New York Times*, 23 July 1947, sec. L++, p.23.

citizenship" because she was half-Japanese. The Board ordered her deportation from the United States.²⁹

World War II brought an unexpected new postwar "problem"--- international and interracial marriages of U.S. servicemen. The unprecedented mass immigration of American servicemen's foreign wives from all over the world led to a critical transition of postwar U.S. immigration and naturalization policies in the early Cold War. Between 1939 and 1946, nearly sixteen million American servicemen were mobilized to take part in World War II and postwar occupations that involved fifty-seven countries. Roughly one million of them, many of whom were single and young, married foreign women. It is estimated that two-thirds of these women eventually immigrated to the United States as war brides from more than fifty countries.³⁰ European, Australian, and New Zealand war brides were encouraged to immigrate by the War Brides Act of 1945 and the G.I. Fiancées Act of 1946.

By contrast, Asian war brides were not allowed to enter the United States under the racial restrictions of the 1924 Immigration Act, which banned the immigration of any "alien ineligible to citizenship," a criterion applied only to Asians. Japanese women constituted the majority of Asian war brides who interracially married American

²⁹ "Brief for Appellant" in *Bonham v. Bouiss* (1947); "Ex-GI Appeals for U.S. Entry of Japanese Bride," *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, July 8, 1946. Helene, forty years old, resided in Japan all her life until she married John and arrived in the United States on May 12, 1946. When she married, she was a citizen of Sweden, having acquired Swedish nationality by her previous marriage with a Swedish man.

³⁰ Elfrieda Berthiaume Shukert and Barbara Smith Scibetta, *War Brides of World War II* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1988), 1-2.

servicemen as a consequence of the Allied occupation of Japan (1945-1952).³¹ Since the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled in 1922 that the Japanese were not eligible for citizenship, they were excluded from admission into the United States as immigrants.³² It was not until July 24, 1947 that the War Brides Act was amended to allow alien spouses and minor children of U.S. servicemen to enter the United States regardless of race.³³ The 1947 amendment marked the first immigration law that lifted racial bans on international marriages.³⁴

Despite such significance, little scholarly attention has been paid to the 1947 amendment.³⁵ This chapter explores the process of the enactment and enforcement of the 1947 amendment to the War Brides Act of 1945 to examine the changing notions of race, citizenship, and family in the postwar U.S. immigration policy. How did the original War

³¹ U.S. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, *Annual Reports*, 1947-75.

³² *Ozawa v. the United States*, 260 U.S. 178 (1922).

³³ Public Law 271 (War Brides Act) (1945), ch.591, 59 Stat. 659; Public Law 471 (G.I. Fiancées Act) (1946), ch.520, 60 Stat. 339-340; Public Law 213 (1947), ch.289, 61 Stat. 401.

³⁴ However, it was not until 1952 that immigrants were granted the right to naturalize regardless of race, and it was not until 1965 that other restrictions based on nationality---which were closely related to race---were lifted in response to the civil rights movement and changing U.S.-foreign relations in the Cold War.

³⁵ Lark's "They Challenged Two Nations" has a chapter on the 1947 amendment. Lark argues that the lowering of racial barriers in immigration laws was an aspect of domestic containment and Japanese wives and their marriages served as perfect metaphors for containing gender, race, and sexuality in Cold War America. Shigeyoshi Yasutomi's "Nihonjinhanayomehou to nikkei shakai (Japanese Brides Act and the Japanese American Society)" from *kenkyu ronshu* 46.1 (2003), 125-143, discusses the links between the JACL and the 1947 amendment. His analysis is mainly based on the JACL's newspaper, *Pacific Citizen*. No studies have discussed the process of the amendment from multiple perspectives or in relation to the rights of U.S. servicemen or citizenship. This dissertation also examines understudied sources including legal cases, private bills, Japanese government records, letters written by Japanese women, Harry S. Truman Library records, and Mike M. Masaoka papers.

Brides Act of 1945 shape the immigration and citizenship of alien spouses of U.S. servicemen?³⁶ Who played what kind of role in the process of amending the War Brides Act? How were race, family, and the rights of U.S. servicemen discussed in the amendment process?³⁷ How did Cold War politics play out in the amendment process? How did the amendment affect the marriage, immigration, and citizenship of Japanese wives of U.S. servicemen?

To answer these questions, this chapter examines not only legislative discussions but also judicial decisions, enforcement practices, and individual resistances over the amendment. It analyzes a wide range of English and Japanese language sources, including the records of U.S. Congress, Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS), Harry S. Truman, U.S. Eighth Army, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, legal cases, and letters written by U.S. servicemen and Japanese women.

This chapter is divided into four sections. First, it examines how the War Brides Act of 1945 was enacted and applied to alien wives of different nationalities, race, and cultural

³⁶ Scholars have discussed how the meanings of citizenship were shaped by immigration, marriage laws, and legal cases. See Kerber, "The Meaning of Citizenship," Nancy F. Cott, "Marriage and Women's Citizenship in the United States, 1830-1934," *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 5 (Dec., 1998): 1440-1474, Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), Eithne Luibheid, *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 2002); Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, Siobhan B. Somerville, "Sexual Aliens and the Racialized State: A Queer Reading of the 1952 U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act" in *Queer Migrations: Sexuality, U.S. Citizenship, and Border Crossings*, edited by Eithne Luibheid and Lionel Cantu Jr. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 75-91, and Martha Gardner, *The Qualities of a Citizen: Women, Immigration, and Citizenship, 1870-1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

³⁷ On the rise of consciousness for U.S. servicemen's rights after WWII, see Canady, "Building a Straight State." On the debate over U.S. husbands' rights and immigration control by race before 1924, see Todd Stevens, "Tender Ties: Husbands' Rights and Racial Exclusion in Chinese Marriage Cases, 1882-1924," *Law & Social Inquiry* 27: 271 (2002): 271-305.

backgrounds. It discusses how the War Brides Act played a pivotal role in integrating Caucasian war brides into the United States as the desirable immigrants while it did not allow Asian war brides to enter the United States. Second, it explores how U.S. servicemen, who wished to marry Japanese women, contested the marriage and immigration restrictions posed by the Army and U.S. immigration laws. Working with a new awareness of interracial and international romance, they raised questions about the relationship between family and immigration laws. Third, it analyzes how the War Brides Act was amended in negotiations of different groups and individuals in 1947. Last, it investigates how the amendment was implemented in postwar occupied Japan. This amendment and new regulations set by the U.S. Army and the U.S. occupation authorities further policed the interracial marriages and left many couples unable to marry in Japan.

I argue that the 1947 amendment contested the racially restricted national membership but simultaneously reconstructed racial hierarchies of such membership by granting Japanese wives the admission to the United States but not allowing them to become U.S. citizens. Continuing negotiations between Congressmen and the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) in lieu of U.S. servicemen of all racial backgrounds from 1946 through 1952 led to the enactment of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952.³⁸ The story of the 1947 amendment illuminates a dilemma of the postwar U.S. immigration and naturalization policy in regulating and re-drawing racial boundaries, while the

³⁸ On how the new image of the American family was produced, circulated, and consumed through middlebrow culture, see Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*.

importance of family increased as the bedrock of the democracy and the safeguard for the nation in the Cold War.³⁹

1. The War Brides Act of 1945

By late 1944, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) of the U.S. Department of Justice had realized that the existing immigration laws were not sufficient to efficiently process the unprecedented mass immigration of foreign wives of U.S. servicemen to the United States. In the first half of 1944, seven-eighths of all visa petitions received at the Central Office were petitions filed by U.S. servicemen to enable their foreign wives to obtain non-quota visas.⁴⁰ Both alien wives and husbands were entitled to preference status under the Immigration Act of 1924 that allowed alien wives and unmarried children under eighteen years of age to enter the United States as non-quota immigrants and gave alien husbands preference within quotas.⁴¹ However, the wartime shortage of transportation for civilian passengers prevented foreign wives from getting a visa, for no visa would be issued either to a wife or to a fiancée who was not reasonably sure of securing transportation within a short time after applying for a visa.⁴²

³⁹ On how the Cold War shaped family-centered culture in America, see May, *Homeward Bound*.

⁴⁰ *Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) Monthly Review* (Dec. 1945), 78. During the three-month period August to October 1944, 1,701 petitions were approved. Three-fifths of the petitions approved in 1944 and more than half (956) of those approved during the above period were Australian-born wives because only an annual quota of 650 in total was allowed for the entire Pacific area, compared to a quota of 65,721 for Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

⁴¹ However, alien spouses and children who were “ineligible for citizenship” were not admissible. Immigration Act of 1924, ch.190, 13(c), 43 Stat. 162.

⁴² *INS Monthly Review* (Dec., 1944), 79. They organized a Joint Transportation Committee in

When the shortage of transportation continued even after the war, frustrated wives of U.S. servicemen protested in England and Australia. In England, over 3,000 British wives, who organized the Married Women's Association, gained a hearing from Ambassador Winant's assistant at Caxton Hall on October 11, 1945. Receiving little sympathy at the hearing, they organized a demonstration in Hyde Park, London for an hour and a half, until uniformed and civilian crowds drowned them out. In late October, they picketed in front of the American embassy in Grosvenor Square, holding their babies and shouting, "We want our husbands! We want ships." They held banners with the slogans: "We demand transport," "Forgotten GI Wives," and "Who will feed GI babies?" In Australia, members of the Australian Wives' Club demanded transportation at General McArthur's headquarters in Brisbane. Others pursued Sir Thomas Gordon, the Australian representative of the British War Transport Ministry.⁴³

U.S. servicemen also appealed to President Harry S. Truman. Many newspaper articles also evoked sympathy for European and Australian war brides. Soon, the Army, the State, War, and Justice Departments recognized the necessity to take action and give special attention to the immigration problem. In October 1945, the War Department authorized, at its expense, a mission to proceed to the United Kingdom and Europe for the purpose of ascertaining the facts and establishing immigration processing centers in large cities. By November, processing centers had been established in London and Paris, and

Brisbane to help the transportation, for example. According to Army regulations, the wives and children of servicemen were under certain conditions entitled to free transportation. If they had to pay for transportation, the cost was kept low.

⁴³ Shukert and Scibetta, 37, 38; Virden, *Good-bye, Piccadilly*, 61.

personnel were employed for the processing of “about 300 alien dependents of U.S. servicemen every day beginning December 1.”⁴⁴

Within a month, on December 28, 1945, the War Brides Act was enacted with President Truman's signature to facilitate the entry of alien spouses and minor children of U.S. citizens serving in, or honorably discharged from, the Armed Forces of the United States during World War II.⁴⁵ The law waived passport and visa requirements and the excluding provisions concerning physical and mental defectives. It also ruled that alien spouses and children were not subject to the quota system.⁴⁶ On June 29, 1946, the G.I.

⁴⁴ The mission, composed of Lieutenant Colonel Walter Kerwin of the War Department's General Staff; Howard K. Travers, Chief of the Visa Division of the Department of State; Doctor Herbert Spencer, Medical Director, U.S. Public Health Service; and Herman R. Landon of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, completed its assignment late that month. After the “necessary” health immunizations by the Army and U.S. Public Health Service and the issuance of immigration visas, the dependents were supposed to be given transportation to the United States by the Army as soon as it was available. "News of the Month---Mission Sent to Europe to Aid 50,000 War Brides," *INS Monthly Review* 3, no. 5 (Nov., 1945): 229-230; Folder O.F. 190-Z: Families of Armed Forces Desiring to Come to the United States, 1 of 2, Box 817, Office File, Harry S. Truman Library.

⁴⁵ The application for admission had to be made within three years of December 28, 1945. According to *INS Monthly Review* (May 1946), 306-7, all of the marriages, under Army regulations, were required to be approved in advance by the serviceman's superior officer. In addition, the citizen husband needed to submit a written application from the wife, containing such items of information as the wife's destination in the United States; his statement that he was legally married to the person for whom he was requesting transportation; statement in the case of children, indicating whether the child was a legitimate child of the applicant, a stepchild, or adopted child; whether or not his wife was pregnant; and a statement affirming that the applicant was an American citizen. The wife was further advised to have in her possession at the time of reporting to the reception center the following: (a) passport and exit visa if required from country in which residing; (b) proof of marriage; (c) proof that husband was in service or was honorably discharged; (d) proof of American citizenship of husband; and (e) for children: (1) copy of birth certificate--- for a child of servicemen and alien wife, (2) an immigration quota visa---for adopted or stepchildren.

⁴⁶ The new legislation resulted in giving the INS more authority over the issue and the Army turned over the immigration part of processing to the INS. The INS also made clear that “aliens excludable under the immigration laws as criminals or as persons who seek to overthrow the U.S.

Fiancées Act was enacted to allow alien fiancées and fiancés of U.S. citizens serving in or honorably discharged from the armed forces to visit the United States as non-quota immigrants so that they could marry in the United States.⁴⁷

However, these laws did not solve all of the problems faced by U.S. servicemen and their alien wives. The regulations of marriage and emigration in their countries of origin restricted the timing and conditions of these women's departure to the United States. For example, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. officially decreed that citizens of the Soviet Union were forbidden to marry foreigners on February 15, 1947.⁴⁸ The New Zealand government did not issue an exit permit to wives or fiancées of U.S. servicemen until the husband or prospective husband had returned to the United States or was under orders for such return. Almost all countries restricted the export of currency, which left even wealthy women little choice but to depend on their husbands or fiancés to finance their journeys and to support the family after their arrival in the United States.⁴⁹

Brides and fiancées of African American servicemen were discouraged from applying for visas for the reason that they might become public charges as a result of

government by force and violence, or as members of similar groups may not be admitted." "News of the Month---Admission of Alien Brides Expedited by New Statue," *INS Monthly Review* 3, no.7 (Jan. 1946), 253; In February 1946, the INS also ruled, as a clarification of the law, that alien brides admitted to the United States on a temporary basis as visitors before the enactment of the law might become permanent residents without obtaining visas and without leaving the country. They, however, might be pre-examined in the United States at Immigration Service offices to determine their qualifications for admission as permanent residents. "News of the Month---Service Issues Ruling on War Bride "Visitors," *INS Monthly Review* 3, no.9 (Mar. 1946), 285.

⁴⁷ The GI. Fiancées Act was later amended to extend the deadline in 1947, 1948, and 1949.

⁴⁸ Andre Garnefsky, *Public Policy in Soviet Private International Law* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968), 64.

⁴⁹ "Wives and Fiancées of Members of Our Overseas Forces," *INS Monthly Review* 2, no.6 (Dec., 1944): 79.

conviction and imprisonment under the miscegenation laws in some states. A public complaint was made declaring that 2,000 British wives of black American servicemen had been prevented from leaving Britain.⁵⁰ On December 20, 1945, Walter White, Secretary of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), wrote a letter to Robert P. Patterson, Secretary of War. White charged that U.S. army officers refused to give permission to African American soldiers to marry in France, Italy, England and other countries and therefore they were prevented from legitimatizing their children by marriage. White requested that the War Department take steps to issue orders and enforce them.⁵¹ On February 18, 1946, Frances Rawls, a House representative of New York, also wrote to Patterson in protest against “discriminative preparation” for wives of African American soldiers overseas.⁵²

Brides of ex-enemy nationalities faced different problems. An Advisory Opinion from the Secretary of State was required prior to the issuance of an immigration visa to wives of alien enemy nationality. The State Department cancelled this requirement for Italian nationals in September 1944, two years after Italy had surrendered and one month after Paris was liberated.⁵³ The U.S. Army Headquarters lifted the ban on marriages

⁵⁰ Shukert and Scibetta, 49.

⁵¹ Letter to Robert P. Patterson from Walter White, December 20, 1945, Folder 291.2, Box 1507, RG407, National Archives. I acknowledge Yasunori Okada for guiding me to the source.

⁵² Memo on correspondence regarding Frances Rawls’ letter, Folder 291.2, Box 221, RG107, National Archives. I acknowledge Michiko Takeuchi for guiding me to the source.

⁵³ However, the American Consular Officers retained the right to request an advisory opinion if the circumstances in any given case seemed to them to call for it. The citizen husband had to file a visa petition in his wife's behalf and with it he had to submit *satisfactory proof* of American

between U.S. servicemen and Austrian nationals on January 2, 1946. However, an examination of each prospective spouse had to be made and the marriage applications had to include complete physical data and information on the political and moral status of the spouse. They were also not eligible for special living accommodations, Post Exchange (PX) purchases, or medical and dental care.⁵⁴ The marriages between U.S. servicemen and German nationals were called “mixed marriages,” and it was not until December 11, 1946 that the ban on marriage between U.S. servicemen and German nationals was officially lifted.⁵⁵ Even after the ban was lifted, some restrictions were applied and German women who had been at one time members of the Nazi party were prohibited from marrying U.S. servicemen.

Most importantly, the War Brides Act and the G.I. Fiancées Act were not applicable to Asian wives, husbands, or fiancé(e)s. These laws did not explicitly exclude alien spouses by race, but in January 1946, the INS clarified that "the statute requires that the aliens be racially eligible to citizenship."⁵⁶ This meant that the racial restrictions of the

citizenship and of ability to support her, which was the form 633, and later called form I-133. Acceptable proof meant: a certified statement of petitioner's health; a certified statement from former employer; if possible, an indication as to reemployment; a statement from petitioner's commanding officer regarding petitioner's rank, salary and the allotment made for his wife; affidavit of support from the petitioner himself; and if it seemed necessary, from one or more close relatives, the financial proof might be submitted together with form 633 at Central Office. If not submitted then, it had to be available when the wife applied at an American Consulate for immigration visa. *INS Monthly Review* 2, no.6 (Dec., 1944), 78.

⁵⁴ “Army Permits Soldiers to Marry Austrian Girls,” *The New York Times* 3 Jan. 1946: 7.

⁵⁵ Folder 291.1-2 Marriage Policies (In Germany), Box 13, RG 331, National Archives; “Headquarters---U.S. Forces, European Theater,” 19 Dec. 1946, Folder 618.4 War Brides, German, Box 1,280. RG 200, National Archives; “U.S. Army Ends Ban on German Brides,” *The New York Times* 12 Dec.1946: 22.

⁵⁶ "News of the Month: Admission of Alien Brides Expedited by New Statue," *INS Monthly Review*

Immigration Act of 1924---"no alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted to the United States"---overrode the War Brides Act and the G.I. Fiancées Act.⁵⁷ The law applied to the peoples of all the nations of East, Southeast, and South Asia.⁵⁸ While the brides of ex-enemy nationalities---Italy, Austria and Germany--- came to be allowed to immigrate to the United States by the end of 1946, Asian war brides remained inadmissible.

The War Brides Act of 1945 sustained and reinforced the idea of American-ness as whiteness.⁵⁹ Caucasian war brides of diverse backgrounds were integrated into the idealized image of the American family under the shared belief that they would become good U.S. citizens. Ernest E. Salisbury, Operations Advisor of the INS, reported that "it is believed" that these women would "make a real contribution to the economic and social progress of our Nation," even though there was a general concern among government officials that the mass migration of foreign wives presented "many new problems and difficulties."⁶⁰ Between April 1945 and December 28, 1948, 22,754 alien wives and children entered the United States from England, approximately 4,000 from Australia and

3, no. 7 (Jan., 1946), 253-254.

⁵⁷ Immigration Act of 1924, ch.190, 13(c), 43 Stat. 162.

⁵⁸ As Ngai points out, the exclusion of persons ineligible to citizenship in 1924 achieved statutory Japanese exclusion and completed Asiatic exclusion, which constituted "Asian" as a peculiarly American racial category. Ngai, 37.

⁵⁹ Laws and legal decisions construct races and racial identity. On a discussion of the legal construction of white racial identity, see Ian F. Haney Lopez, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University, 1996).

⁶⁰ "The Immigration of G.I. Brides," *INS Monthly Review* 3, no. 11 (May 1946), 308.

New Zealand, 2,603 from France, 1,200 from Italy, approximately 1,000 from Ireland, and several hundred from North Africa which was under the rule of European colonization.⁶¹

The law also shaped gendered implications of national membership by privileging U.S. servicemen, the majority of whom were men, to bring their alien spouses and minor children back home as non-quota immigrants by lifting two immigration bars, physical and mental defects and visa requirements. Although the law was applicable for husbands as well as wives, the overwhelming majority were alien wives. By September 1946, only 61 alien husbands of American women members of the U.S. armed forces had entered the United States.⁶²

The law, which most benefited European, Australian, and New Zealand wives of white American servicemen, played a role in categorizing and racializing these alien women as the desirable immigrants as wives and mothers of U.S. citizens. Their differences in country of origin, ethnicity, language, religion, and class came to be seen as less important. The law fostered their immigration to the United States and contained the family-forming of American servicemen within the national borders of the United States. It was a national concern *where* Americans would build their homes. For example, President Truman had expressed his opposition to sending American wives and families to Europe to unite with their American husbands serving in the U.S. army, for the reason that he “did not

⁶¹ “War Brides,” *INS Monthly Review* (June 1949), 168.

⁶² However, these figures do not include war brides and grooms who entered the United States as quota immigrants. “61 War Husbands Brought To U.S. By Service Women,” *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 3 Sept. 1946: 2.

want Americans to settle in Europe.”⁶³ A more serious concern was *with whom* Americans would build their homes. The law excluded Asian war brides from the reaffirmed and celebrated pluralistic national vision of the United States as “melting pot.” However, this racialized vision of national membership was not without contestation.

2. Contesting the Racialized National Membership

The racial restrictions inscribed in the War Brides Act were first contested by individual U.S. servicemen who wished to marry and bring their Japanese wives back home. By 1946, Chinese, Filipino, and Indian wives of U.S. servicemen became eligible to immigrate to the United States. For the wartime U.S.-China alliance, Chinese Exclusion laws were repealed in 1943 and Chinese immigrants were allowed to enter the United States within a small quota and apply for U.S. citizenship.⁶⁴ In 1946, Public Law 713 further permitted Chinese wives of American citizens to enter the United States as non-quota immigrants. In 1946, Filipinos and Indians were granted the right to naturalize and a small quota for immigration when their countries achieved independence from the United States and the United Kingdom respectively. However, other Asians and Pacific Islanders

⁶³ However, President Truman’s statement met opposition from the Women’s Division of the Democratic National Committee. After 1946, American dependents of U.S. servicemen were sent to Europe and Asia to live with their husbands. A memo about the letter sent by Frances G. Satterfield and Eleanor R. Bolton to the President, July 30, 1945, Folder O.F. 190-Y Occupation Forces, Box 817, Office File, Harry S. Truman library.

⁶⁴ The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was the first immigration law that singled out a racial group for exclusion. Erika Lee argues that beginning in 1882, the United States stopped being a nation of immigrants that welcomed foreigners without restrictions and became a gate-keeping nation. The Chinese exclusion reinforced the important part that the federal government was beginning to play in controlling race relations, immigration and immigrant communities, and citizenship. See Lee’s *At America’s Gates*.

remained inadmissible. In particular, as aliens of enemy nationality which had attacked Pearl Harbor and for the racialized propaganda images of Japanese soldiers during World War II, there were strong anti-Japanese sentiments among members in Congress as well as ordinary Americans.

The U.S.-led Allied occupation brought 400,000-600,000 American soldiers to Japan by August 26, 1945.⁶⁵ Many of them first came to know Japanese women through professional prostitution in the Recreation and Amusement Association (RAA) that was arranged for them by the Japanese Home Ministry on August 28, 1945 to protect “respectable” Japanese women from rape.⁶⁶ As soon as the high incidence of sexually transmitted diseases among the soldiers was reported to the U.S. media, the RAA was terminated by the order of the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers (GHQ/SCAP) along with the existing system of licensed prostitution in January, 1946. However, illegal prostitution continued.

Many Japanese women also came to know American servicemen through their jobs or their friends who worked in U.S. occupation facilities. To feed their family members in

⁶⁵ Shuko Takeshita, "Senso hanayome ni kansuru ichi kosatsu [An Analysis of War Brides], " *Rekishi minzoku gaku* 13 (1999): 194; Even though called Allied Occupation, Americans dominated the leadership and decision making. About 40,000 British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF), comprised of Australian, British, Indian, and New Zealand servicemen, were stationed in Chugoku and Shikoku area. As a result, hundreds of Japanese women married these BCOF soldiers and immigrated to Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and former British colonies in the 1950s. Junko Sakai, "'Senso Hanayome' no raifu hisutori---Igirisu ni wattata jyosei tachi no chinmoku ni tsuite [Life Histories of 'War Brides': Silence of Women who Went Over to Britain]," *Rekishi Hyoron* 648 (April 2004): 53-63.

⁶⁶ On the observation of fraternization in occupied Japan, see the second and third chapters of Lark's dissertation titled, "Fraternization in Occupied Japan: Images, Stereotypes and Sexual Politics" and "The Racial and Gendered Politics of Marriage in Occupied Japan," 102-228, Koshiro's *Trans-Pacific Racism and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, and Dower's "Cultures of Defeat" in *Embracing Defeat*, 121-167.

place of dead or disabled fathers and brothers, young Japanese women, regardless of class and educational background, took various jobs such as interpreter, typist, nurse, housemaid, waitress, and dancer in U.S. facilities. Although most American servicemen abandoned their Japanese mistresses, girlfriends, or common-law wives upon returning to the United States, there were some servicemen who wished to marry Japanese women and bring them back home.

However, the Americans, both civilians and servicemen, found it impossible to bring their Japanese wives or fiancées back home. Under U.S. law, the laws of the country in which a marriage takes place determined its validity. No regulations for American-Japanese marriage existed in Japanese laws as few had applied for such marriages before the war. Thus, they could legally marry Japanese women under Japanese laws. The problem, however, was that they could not bring them back home due to the 1924 Immigration Act. On the other hand, the marriage of any U.S. serviceman was under the jurisdiction of the commanders of the Allied Forces. To marry Japanese women, U.S. servicemen were required to talk to the army chaplains and get approval from their commanding officer and the GHQ/SCAP. Chaplains tried to persuade them to give up their marriages and commanding officers rarely approved those marriages. The few who succeeded in getting approval from their commanding officers were strictly blocked by the GHQ/SCAP on the grounds that Japanese were ineligible for U.S. citizenship, and therefore not able to immigrate to the United States under the Immigration Act of 1924.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ "Marriage of Military Personnel," by General Headquarters United States Army Forces, Pacific, 15 September 1945, GHQ/SCAP Records Box 1424, Japan National Diet Library.

For example, the Eighth Army personnel officers at Yokohama had received ten requests by Nisei, U.S.-born second generation of Japanese American servicemen, and fifteen requests from “other” American servicemen to marry Japanese women by June 25, 1947. Some African American soldiers also expressed their intention to marry Japanese women.⁶⁸ According to the legal adviser to the Headquarters and Service Group, approximately 30 Nisei and 20 white American servicemen had applied for permission to marry Japanese women, and all had been disapproved.⁶⁹ Tragedies were prevalent. For one example, in May, 1947, Robert Wilson, an American soldier, and his Japanese fiancée, Kiyoko Tanaka, were found dead wearing wedding rings, after he received an order to return to the United States within a month.⁷⁰ Another soldier was discharged and renounced his U.S. citizenship, deciding to marry a Japanese woman and stay with her in Japan.⁷¹

⁶⁸ For example, see “Letter from James A. Wilson” and “Letter from R.G. Loveless, (by command of Lieutenant General Etchelberger of the Headquarters Eighth Army) to James A. Wilson, 30 September, 1946,” Folder 291.1 Jan 46, Box271, RG338, National Archives.

⁶⁹ Tom Lambert, “Few Americans Want to Marry Japanese Girls, Officials Reveal,” *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 25 Jun.1947: 4.

⁷⁰ The Army investigators rejected that they committed a double suicide on the grounds that Wilson had not shown any symptoms of suicide before the incident. “Wakare tsurasa ni doku o moru [They Didn’t Want to be Separated and Took Poison],” *Yomiuri shimbun*, 1 May 1947.

⁷¹ “Nippon musume to kekkon shi shiminken houki [Renounce Citizenship to Marry a Japanese Girl],” *The Rafu Shimpo* 5 June 1947. Some American soldiers also wanted to marry Nisei women in Japan, but many Nisei women lost their U.S. citizenship by voting in a Japanese election in 1946, without knowing that they were losing their U.S. citizenship. People would not get any food rations if they did not vote. In addition, General MacArthur urged all to vote as a step for democracy. For example, Rose Shirata, a Nisei who had grown up in the United States and spent the war years at a relocation camp lost her U.S. citizenship when she visited Japan with her parents in 1946. In January 1947, she married Eugene F. MacMahon, who was a veteran and working as a shipping clerk when she worked as a telephone operator in a Tokyo hotel taken over by the Army. She

For both American servicemen and civilians, one way to solve the problem was to appeal to their Congressmen to introduce a private bill waiving immigration laws in Congress and get special permission from President Truman. Another possibility was to challenge immigration laws in a legal case. The last way was to push their Congressmen to introduce a public bill to bring a change in the existing immigration laws. A new postwar consciousness among young American soldiers made their fighting for their marriages a heroic act. Ernest Hoberecht's *Tokyo Romance*, which became a best-selling novel among U.S. servicemen in Japan in early 1947,⁷² best expressed their new consciousness of internationalism:

Kent intended to marry Tamiko. He knew the fuss that his marriage would stir up among some of his friends. But he was prepared for that. He knew some people did not---and never would---understand international marriages. He knew that he would lose some friends. But, he also knew that he would rather have Tamiko than his narrow-minded friends.

In a way, Kent looked upon his romance as more than just a personal thing. He knew it would be observed by others. He knew he and other Americans who married Japanese girls would be an example. It might be tough to be on the spot, as he would certainly be.

"But somebody must break down all this hatred," he told himself. "Somebody must promote international friendship and understanding, and have the courage to cast aside all ideas of racial superiority so that all the people of the world can meet as individuals rather than as members of various races."⁷³

Only a few American soldiers and civilians successfully pursued their Congressmen to introduce private bills. Such exceptional cases were the marriages that did not raise the

unsuccessfully filed an application to return to the United States at Yokohama in February 1947. American consul told her that they were waiting for a "Supreme Court action." But her husband, knowing that there were no suits along that line pending in Washington, was frustrated, "If they won't let her come here, I will go to live with her in Japan." "Vet to Come to Japan if Wife is Denied U.S. Entry," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 1 Aug. 1947: 1.

⁷² "Tokyo Romance...", *Pacific Citizen* 8 Feb. 1947: 5.

⁷³ Earnest Hoberecht, *Tokyo Romance* (New York: Didier, 1947), 144.

spectacle of miscegenation. In addition, such marriages needed to be contained within Japan with the husband's intention to settle in Japan. One of such husbands was George Goda, a Nisei lieutenant. Expressing his intention to settle in Japan as a businessman, he married Mitsuko Miura, a Japanese actress, with President Truman's permission on April 7.⁷⁴

However, the exception to permit Japanese wives to *enter* the United States was made only for "influential" white American husbands who married before the war.⁷⁵ One of these cases was the marriage of William J. Sebald, an American naval officer who later joined the diplomatic service. In 1926, he married Edith Frances de Becker Sebald, daughter of an English father and a Japanese mother. He was General MacArthur's political adviser in Tokyo, and his last post was ambassador to Australia. Edith could stay in the United States as a visitor for only six months at each entry and had to leave at the end of that period to await renewal of her permit for another six months. A private rescue bill was introduced in Congress. William was described as a "well known international lawyer" who was of "incalculable value" to the Navy department during the war. Edith had a Japanese mother of "high caste" family and she was "highly commended for services to the Office of Strategic Services (OSS)." In 1946, President Truman signed the bill to permit Edith to remain in the United States.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ "Miura mitsuko san kekkon [Mitsuko Miura's Marriage]," *Yomiuri houchi* 7 April 1946.

⁷⁵ Later, there was a case that a Kibei (U.S.-born Nisei who had education in Japan) serviceman's Japanese wife was permitted to enter the United States by submitting the financial certificate to show that she would not be under public welfare. "Kibei kyoka sareta Mizushima-fujin no baai [The Case of Mrs. Mizushima who were Permitted to Return]," *The Rafu Shimpo* 12 Jun. 1947: 3.

Another exception was made for the couple of a California-born white American journalist, Raymond A. Cromley, and his wife, Masuyo Sudo Cromley, who were separated from each other by the Japanese and the U.S. governments during the war. Raymond was a correspondent for *The Wall Street Journal* and took leave from his post to join the army. Masuyo was a medical doctor and a researcher at Tokyo Imperial University. When the war broke out, Raymond was sent to a Japanese prison and concentration camp and later sent back to the United States with his son as an exchanged prisoner. Upon his request, the U.S. Department of State tried to get Masuyo out of Japan to the United States through the Swiss government in 1942. In December, 1942, he wrote an article about his wife, "My Japanese Wife...the Girl I Loved and Left in Tokyo," in *The American Magazine*, which had 2,500,000 readers. However, it was not until April 2, 1946 that the House passed the "Bill for the Relief of Mrs. Masuyo Cromley." The legislation was too late, for Masuyo, who had been diagnosed with a serious stress-related illness, died two weeks after he arrived in Japan to take her to the United States.⁷⁷

The only legal claim that questioned the racialized interpretation of the War Brides Act was made by John Anthony Bouiss of Portland, Oregon, in July, 1946. He was a recipient of an honorable discharge from the armed forces. At the inspection at a port in Seattle, immigration officers found his wife, Helene Emilie, possessing her Swedish

⁷⁶ "Jap Wife of Lawyer Now Citizen," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 5 Aug. 1946: 2; Mike Masaoka and Bill Hosokawa, *They Call Me Moses Masaoka: An American Saga* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1987), 202.

⁷⁷ Raymond Cromley, "My Japanese Wife...The Girl I Loved and Left in Tokyo," *The American Magazine*, Dec. 1942, 28, 29, 114-116; "Japanese Wife of Newspaperman Permitted U.S. Entry," *The Rafu Shimpō* 9 Apr. 1946; "House Bill Lifts Immigration Bars," *The New York Times* 3 Apr. 1946; "Senso o koeta aijou [Love over the War]," *Asahi shimbun* 14 June 1946.

passport but not a valid immigration visa. But the visa requirement would be waived for alien spouses entering the United States under the War Brides Act of 1945. Helene was 5 feet 4 inches tall and had medium complexion with black hair and brown eyes, which did not quite fit the popular notion of Swedish women with blond hair and blue eyes. Immigration officers had first typed her “race or people” as “Swedish.” Later, they crossed it off and added in hand-writing, “½ German, ½ Japanese,” after they found out her racial background. They examined and found her not a polygamist or anarchist, in good mental and physical health “except nervous,” and not “deformed or crippled.”⁷⁸ There was no question raised as to her marital status, either. The only problem was her Japanese blood. She was taken into custody and her hearings were held before a Board of Special Inquiry. The Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization acting on behalf of the Attorney General entered an order excluding her from the United States and the order was approved by the Board of Immigration Appeals.⁷⁹

Her deportation order reassured that the racial provisions of the Immigration Act of 1924 applied to the War Brides Act of 1945. It also made clear that an alien of half-Asian blood (except for Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians who were granted their naturalization rights in 1943 and 1946) was ineligible to citizenship and therefore inadmissible. The Nationality Act of 1940 regulated the eligibility of mixed-blood aliens for citizenship.

⁷⁸ “List of Manifest of Alien Passengers for the United States Immigrant Inspector at Port of Arrival.” S.S. Stetson Victor, Passengers sailing from Yokohama, Japan, May 2, 1946. Arriving at Port of Seattle, Washington, May 12, 1946.

⁷⁹ Ibid. Transcript of Record in the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1946, No. 11454, Helene Emilie Bouiss vs. R.P. Bonham, upon petition for a writ of certiorari to the United States circuit court of appeals for the ninth circuit.

Under the law, a person of mixed racial blood was eligible for naturalization “only if the person has one-half blood of the white race, African nativity or descent, a race indigenous to the Western Hemisphere, or a combination of any of these races.”⁸⁰ “Asian” was not mentioned and therefore excluded from the law.

On July 7, 1946, Bouiss petitioned for a writ of habeas corpus to release his wife from the custody of the immigration officers by whom she was detained for deportation. On July 25, the judge of the district court ruled in favor of Helene by extending the interpretation of the War Brides Act based on the principles of family unity and the rights of U.S. servicemen. The judge held that the War Brides Act was a remedial statute for “millions of the personnel of the armed forces of the Nation in distant and widely separated foreign areas around the globe,” and therefore eschewed the racial restrictions of the 1924 Immigration Act. He concluded:

The intent to keep intact all conjugal and family relationships and responsibilities of honorably discharged service men of the Second World War is clearly expressed, and the obvious purpose to safeguard the social and domestic consequences of marriage of service men while absent from the United States must take precedence over a generalized phrase which if interpreted along purely racial lines would frustrate the plain purpose of the whole statute. Such a construction should not be adopted.⁸¹

The court ruled that Congress intended to equally protect all servicemen’s family relationships. The court decision was significant in the sense that it would be applied to all alien wives of U.S. servicemen regardless of race.

⁸⁰ *Ex parte Bouiss*, 67 F Supp. 65 (W.D. Wash. 1946); "Ex-GI Appeals For U.S. Entry of Japanese Bride," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 8 July 1946.

⁸¹ *Ex parte Bouiss* (1946).

However, R.P. Bonham, District Director of the INS, filed an appeal. Bonham's appeal resulted in not only preventing Helene from benefiting from the court decision but also tightening the U.S. regulations in Japan regarding the immigration of half-Japanese wives of U.S. servicemen. Within a month, Meredith Weatherby, American Consul in Yokohama, announced that "an alien person with 50 percent or more Japanese ancestry is not eligible for admission to the United States for residence even though married to an American citizen." Referring to the Bouiss case, he explained that the lower court decision was being contested by the Department of Justice and therefore its Japanese restriction would continue until the results of a higher court were known.⁸² The decision of the lower court and the INS' further appeal illuminated a dilemma of the nation caught between the desire to protect U.S. servicemen's rights to secure their family relationship and the fear that such a decision would cause the mass immigration of Japanese women to the United States as wives and mothers of U.S. citizens.

Meanwhile, most of the Japanese Americans who had been "evacuated" to relocation camps during the war were released from the internment camps and began to re-settle in the West Coast, the Midwest, and the East.⁸³ Nisei soldiers who had fought for the United States during World War II returned from Europe. The Nisei were ready to re-organize the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) and launch their postwar civil rights activities.

⁸² Arthur Gottlieb, "Alien Japanese Are Restricted From U.S. Entry," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 29 Aug. 1946: 2.

⁸³ Nearly 120,000 Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans on the West Coast were sent to internment camps by Executive Order 9066 in 1942.

3. JACL-ADC's Lobbying and the 1947 Amendment

The JACL held their first postwar national meeting in Denver, Colorado, from February 28 to March 4, 1946.⁸⁴ The immigration of Japanese wives was not in their original fourteen goals they adopted at the meeting but it was included when the goals were written as a series of resolutions after the meeting. Soon, it became a major goal of the JACL.⁸⁵ As a new postwar strategy, the JACL organized the JACL-Anti-Discrimination Committee (JACL-ADC) as a temporary emergency corporation for active legislative campaign. Mike M. Masaoka, the thirty-one-year-old National Legislative Director of the JACL, launched his energetic and patient lobbying in Washington, D.C. The JACL-ADC's active campaign for legislation to permit all inadmissible spouses of servicemen or veterans to enter the United States as non-quota immigrants started with their concern for specific cases in which a Nisei serviceman or veteran could not bring back his Canadian citizen wife of Japanese ancestry in the United States. Soon, the scope of the campaign for immigration reform outgrew these isolated cases, with increasing numbers of requests made by servicemen of all racial backgrounds.⁸⁶ The cause was considered significant by

⁸⁴ The JACL, the nation's oldest and largest Asian American civil rights organization, was founded in 1929 to address issues of discrimination targeted specifically at persons of Japanese ancestry residing in the United States.

⁸⁵ "President Truman Signs Bill To Permit Entry into U.S. of Japanese Wives of GIs," *Pacific Citizen* 26 July 1946: 2; Bill Hosokawa, *JACL in Quest of Justice* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1982), 269-282.

⁸⁶ Mike Masaoka, "Final Report, First Session, 80th Congress, Washington Office, JACL-ADC, Inc.," August 11, 1947, Folder 9 "ADC, progress reports, 1947," Box 64, Mike M. Masaoka Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah.

the JACL, for “it would breach the ban against Japanese embodied in the Immigration Act of 1924” and open up the way for their other legislative goals.⁸⁷

Such lobbying proved critical in the immediate postwar years, when the Japanese government had a limited voice under the U.S. occupation, and Japanese women, unlike British or Australian war brides, could not organize themselves to claim their rights as wives and mothers of U.S. citizens simply because they were not even entitled to marry U.S. servicemen. In addition, Nisei’s loyalty and distinguished service to the United States during World War II gained national recognition. When the 442nd Regimental Combat Team of Nisei was reviewed by President Truman at the White House with a special parade following on July 15, 1946, President Truman stated, “You fought not only the enemy, but you fought prejudice---and you won. Keep up that fight, and we will continue to win---to make this great republic stand for what the Constitution says it stands for: ‘The welfare of all the people all the time.’” Masaoka was a veteran of the 442nd. Soon, he was appointed as a consultant to the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

On April 22, 1947, a bill (H.R.3149) to amend the War Brides Act was introduced by Frank Fellows, a Republican representative from Maine, who was the chairman of the Subcommittee for Immigration and Naturalization of the House Judiciary Committee. It was a product of Masaoka’s lobbying and approval by congressmen sympathetic to the cause.⁸⁸ By mid-February, 1947, George P. Miller (D-AL) and Francis E. Walter (D-PA)

⁸⁷ “Memorandum (ADC) from Masaoka to Okada and Satow,” April 12, 1947, Folder 3 “April 1947,” Box 5, Mike M. Masaoka Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriot Library, University of Utah.

⁸⁸ By then, Masaoka found several friends in Congress such as Walter H. Judd (Minnesota), Elbert E. Thomas (Utah), Arthur B. Watkins (Utah), Walter Granger (Utah), William Dawson (Utah),

had introduced bills for the relief for Canadian-born Nisei wives of (white) American veterans. Walter asked Masaoka to testify in private or executive committee hearings on the subject. By early March, Gordon L. McConough (R-CA) agreed to introduce a bill to permit the entry of a Japan-born Canadian citizen wife of a Nisei veteran. Masaoka had a discussion with Ed Gossett (D-TX) concerning this subject, and on March 19, Masaoka appealed for a bill in a hearing before the Subcommittee for Immigration and Naturalization of the House Judiciary Committee.⁸⁹

In the hearing, Masaoka argued that the War Brides Act was discriminatory not only toward Asians but also toward the millions of Americans who had served in various parts of the Pacific Theater. He stated that the law “does not cover those American soldiers who were unfortunate enough to fall in love with and marry a person of Japanese ‘race,’ even though that person is a citizen of our neighbor, Canada. They cannot bring their wives into the United States with them.” He also pointed out a “curious situation” the law created---it permitted Nisei to marry white women but not women of their own race:

Some of our Japanese-American soldiers serving in Australia and in India married Indian and Australian girls; they can bring these girls into the United

Joseph Farrington (Hawaii), in addition to the ones mentioned in the paragraph. His friends outside Congress included Roger Baldwin, Norman Thomas, and Clarence Pickett and they “had influence enough to write or telephone some members of Congress and urge them to give him a hearing.” Masaokka and Hosokawa, 201-203.

⁸⁹ “Progress report #5, February 16, 1947,” “Progress report #6, March 2, 1947,” Folder 9 “ADC, progress reports, 1947,” Box 64; “Regulating Powers of Attorney General to Suspend Deportation of Aliens’ Hearings before Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Committee on the Judiciary House of Representatives, Eightieth Congress, First session, on H.R. 245, H.R.675, H.R. 1115, and H.R.2933, bills to amend subsections (c) and (d) of section 19 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, as amended.” February 26, March 19, April 21,25,28, 29, and May 2, 1947, Serial No.5, printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary, Folder 13 “Hearings, report, 1947,” Box 33, Mike M. Masaoka Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriot Library, University of Utah.

States, yet when they marry one of their own fresh and blood, they can't bring them into the United States.⁹⁰

On April 12 (Saturday), he spoke to members of the Subcommittee. Masaoka observed that the members were of the opinion that an amendment ought to be made to permit Japanese wives to enter the United States on a non-quota basis and Fellows would introduce the bill "next week." Nine days had passed since then and the bill was not yet introduced. On April 21, Masaoka spoke in a hearing before the same Subcommittee again. The next day, Fellows introduced the bill.⁹¹

Fellows as the chairman of the Subcommittee took this action, coincidentally, after the Soviet official government gazette announced that the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. banned marriages between citizens of the U.S.S.R. and foreigners, aiming to contain its women and men within the national body of the U.S.S.R. family. The new Soviet family legislation was reported in *The New York Times* of March 22 as a provision which had "no parallel in any other country."⁹² It can be suggested that this might have influenced the decision of the members of the Subcommittee to introduce the bill as a gesture to showcase the United States as a nation with more tolerant, family-oriented legislatures. As Mary L. Dudziak and Thomas Borstelmann argue, the Cold War competitiveness with the Soviet Union highlighted the hypocrisy of American racism amid U.S. claims to leadership of the "free world" under the unprecedented international attention given to American society.

⁹⁰ "Regulating Powers of Attorney General."

⁹¹ "Memorandum (ADC) from Masaoka to Okada and Satow," April 12, 1947.

⁹² "Russians Forbidden to Marry Foreigners," *The New York Times* 22 March 1947; The Edict of the 15th of February 1947 prohibited marriages between Soviet citizens and aliens. The edict was abrogated by a Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. of the 26th of November 1953. Garnefsky, 64.

As a result, the Cold War played a role as an agent of domestic civil rights reform as well as repression.⁹³

Around that time, the JACL had filed an amicus brief for Helene Emilie Bouiss. A.L. Wirin, who was a prominent attorney of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)-Southern California, represented the JACL. The major argument in the case was whether alien spouses who were “ineligible to citizenship” were admissible under the War Brides Act. Discussing the matter as attorneys representing the United States, J. Charles Dennis (U.S. Attorney), John E. Belcher (Assistant U.S. Attorney), and John P. Boyd (INS), argued that Congress did not intend to extend the War Brides Act to inadmissible aliens because the law indicates Congress’ intention to retain other immigration restrictions through the following phrase, “if otherwise admissible under the Immigration laws.” On the other hand, attorneys for Helene, Leo Levenson, John Caughlan, Irvin Goodman, and Samuel Jacobson, who were distinguished civil liberties attorneys in Oregon and Washington, argued that Congress did not intend to exclude alien spouses who were “ineligible to citizenship” from the War Brides Act as they did not declare so in plain language in the text. They emphasized that otherwise it is discriminatory to American servicemen and laws governing family relations should be respected universally. In the

⁹³ Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 63-65, 79-82, 249-254; Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 106; The United Nations also expected to consider the revision of immigration laws on a world-wide basis which would lead to the probable removal of present restrictions against Japanese immigrants in the various nations. “Predicts Revision of Immigration Law,” *The Rafu Shimpō* 9 July 1947.

JACL brief, Wirin further argued that the right of American citizens to have a spouse join them in the United States should not be deprived of solely on racial grounds.

Another equally significant point contested in the case was whether alien spouses of U.S. citizens were exempted from the racial provisions (Section 13(c)) of the 1924 Immigration Act because another subdivision (Section 4 (a)) of the same Immigration Act permits alien wives of U.S. servicemen to enter the United States as non-quota immigrants. Bonham's attorneys argued that the 1925 U.S. Supreme Court decision (*Chang Chan vs. Nagle*, 268 U.S. 346) ruled that the subdivision (the section 4 (a)) is "subject to the positive inhibitions against all aliens ineligible to citizenship who do not fall within definitely specified and narrowly restricted classes." On the other hand, Helene's attorneys argued that although the U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1925 did not accept the exemption, "it did not have a background of a global war involving the occupation of foreign lands by young American soldiers, and the normal inclination of fraternizing with peoples of such lands."

In addition, the JACL brief emphasized that racial discrimination is unconstitutional. It argued that (a) Helene is a refugee to seek a chance to make her home and work in a free country, (b) *Ozawa v. United States* (260 U.S. 178) which ruled Japanese were "ineligible to citizenship" in 1922 and companion cases were erroneously decided and should be overruled, (c) the Nationality Act of 1940 is "unconstitutional because unreasonable." In its conclusion, the brief suggested that the U.S. judicial policy should be consistent with national policy and both should not tolerate discrimination because of race. It cites three documents: the United Nations Charter that protected "human rights and fundamental

freedom for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion;” the Japanese Bill of Rights which the United States induced the Japanese government to adopt: and the Japanese Constitution, which the United States had assured to provide, “all of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic, or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status, or family origin.” In short, it urged the United States to act as a model for the post-war Japan they were guiding.⁹⁴

However, attorneys representing the United States successfully gave an impression to the court that Helen was a prostitute and therefore undeserved for a serious consideration. In their brief, they raised questions on Helene’s criminal, moral, and mental character. Citing the record of hearings for Helene, they stated that Helene testified that “while her husband was absent without official leave, they could only live by doing bad things” in Japan and that she admits that she had intimate relations with soldiers. They also remarked that at the insistence of her mother and sister, she was once submitted to a mental examination and given a “shot,” though she did not admit to practicing prostitution and she was examined and passed inspection by a medical officer of the U.S. Public Health Service.

On May 7, 1947, Judge Bone of the Circuit Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit, overturned the lower court decision. At the beginning of his statement, he mentioned that Helen and her husband “cohabited and although appellee’s moral character is not an issue the record shows that in Japan she also openly engaged in immoral practices with various other men.” Judge Bone ruled that Helene was not admissible because “it is clear that

⁹⁴ “Brief of Appellee,” “Brief of Japanese American Citizens League, Amicus Curiae,” *Bonham v. Bouiss* (1947).

Congress did not go further and provide complete exemption from *all* immigration requirements” in the War Brides Act. He stated, “Congress intended to let down only two bars, one as to physical and mental defects and the other as to documentary requirements which are clearly stated in the statute” and therefore “important as asserted family considerations and claimed (Japanese) racial discrimination may be, we must follow the obvious and plain command of the statute.”⁹⁵ This decision, which explicitly prioritized racialized immigration control over the protection of family relationship, left American soldiers and veterans no choice but to leave their fiancées or “families” behind in Asia and the Pacific Islands.

However, Masaoka decided not to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, considering that the price of an appeal would be too high for the small numbers and principle involved, that the chances for success looked “exceedingly slim,” and that they could have the amendment passed. Masaoka was also bitter about the fact that Helen “has such an unsavory reputation.”⁹⁶ Now he refocused and concentrated on passing the amendment bill. Two days later, on May 9, 1947, Masaoka urged the President's Committee on Civil Rights to act to protect the civil and property rights of Japanese in the United States, charging that persons of Japanese ancestry, citizens and aliens alike, were still being subjected to discriminatory treatment because of race.⁹⁷ By June 2, many American

⁹⁵ *Bonham v. Bouiss* (1947).

⁹⁶ “Memorandum (ADC) from Masaoka to ADC Headquarters,” May 17, 1947, Folder 4 “April-May 1947,” Box 5, Mike M. Masaoka Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriot Library, University of Utah.

⁹⁷ “'Race' Persecution against Issei and Nisei Deplored,” *The Rafu Shimpo* 10 May 1947.

servicemen and civilian workers in Japan and many veterans in the United States, of all racial backgrounds but mostly Nisei (particularly, Japan-educated Nisei called Kibei) were “deluging” the JAACL-ADC office with inquiries.⁹⁸

As a first breakthrough, on June 16, 1947, the bill to amend the War Brides Act passed the House of Representatives. The bill was steered through its course by Ed Gossett of Texas in the House Judiciary Committee. He felt obliged to speak for the cause of Nisei soldiers as their Japanese American segregated unit, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, rescued the Texas "Lost Battalion" which had been caught behind enemy lines in the hills of northern France. In a ferocious battle, the 442nd suffered 814 casualties, including 140 killed, to rescue 211 members of the Texas battalion. Gossett, known as the anti-liberalization leader on naturalization and immigration matters in the House, first had agreed to talk with Masaoka because he had heard of the 442nd's rescue of the Lost Battalion. Not only he himself was a veteran of the 442nd, but Masaoka's brother was killed in the rescue of the Lost Battalion.⁹⁹ Referring to *Bonham v. Bouiss*, Gossett reported the passing of the bill:

A number of United States citizen soldiers of the Japanese or Korean race have married girls of their own race while serving in the Pacific” but “these girls,

⁹⁸ “Memorandum (ADC) from Masaoka to ADC Headquarters, June 2, 1947,” Folder 7 “August-September, 1947,” Box 5, Mike M. Masaoka Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah.

⁹⁹ "Sanka nikkei yushi no oya he---Ataheyo! Shimin-ken [Give Citizenship to the Parents of Japanese American Soldiers!]," *The Rafu Shimpo* 9 May 1947; "House Passes Legislation to Permit War-Bride Entry," *The Rafu Shimpo* 23 Jun. 1947; The men of the 36th (Texas) Division declared all members of the 442nd “Honorary Texans” and survivors of the Lost Battalion presented a silver plaque to the Nisei to express their appreciation. Another ally for the JAACL was Walter Judd of Minnesota, once a medical missionary in China. Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1969), 405, 406, 409-411, 443, 444.

under present law, are ineligible for admission and the only relief in such cases is through private legislation.

One court on the west coast ruled that a GI bride of the half-Japanese race should be admitted to the United States. However, the Department of Justice appealed that decision and the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit sustained the appeal of the Department of Justice.

It was felt that this discrimination should be eliminated and the present bill was introduced to amend Public Law 271, ...¹⁰⁰

Masaoka was excited to hear the news: "We hope this marks the beginning of a new trend for our legislation. Our next job is to get the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration to approve the amendment."¹⁰¹

As soon as major Japanese newspapers reported on the JACL-ADC's successful lobbying in the House, U.S. servicemen sent their inquiries to the JACL-ADC, Congressmen, the American consulate in Yokohama, Army agencies, and occupation officials.¹⁰² More than 150 American soldiers telegraphed requests that the JACL-ADC contact the War Department with the view of suspending or rescinding a directive prohibiting the marriage of American soldiers and Japanese women. On June 27, 1947, Masaoka contacted the office of Howard C. Petersen, Assistant Secretary of War, and

¹⁰⁰ "Amending the Act to Expedite the Admission to the United States of Alien Spouses and Alien Minor Children of Citizen Members of the United States Armed Forces," *House Reports*, 80th Congress, 1st Session, January 3-December 19, 1947; *Senate Reports*, 80th Congress, 1st Session, January 3-December 19, 1947.

¹⁰¹ "House Passes Legislation to Permit War-Bride Entry," *The Rafu Shimpō* 23 Jun. 1947.

¹⁰² "Inquiries Pour in from Bridegrooms about New Bill re Oriental Brides," *Mainichi shimbun* (English) 25 June 1947; "Americans Asking More Orient Marriage Facts," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 22 June 1947; "Passage of Marriage Law to Admit over 1,500 Alien GI Brides Into U.S.," *Nippon Times* 29 July 1947.

brought up the War Department's policy regarding the marriage of American soldiers and Japanese women for discussion.¹⁰³

Around that time, with the efforts of Roger N. Baldwin, Director of the ACLU, the JACL established a Tokyo Chapter in Japan.¹⁰⁴ The Tokyo Chapter, with Baldwin as its representative, started their campaign to support approximately 10,000 Nisei who had been trapped in Japan because of the war. Their urgent goal was to deal with immigration laws so that Nisei would be allowed to return to their homes in the United States, Peru, and Canada. As a part of the campaign, the Tokyo Chapter also started to work to support marriage between Nisei soldiers and Japanese women.¹⁰⁵ Concerned about the increasing disruption of family relationships, Baldwin reported upon returning to the United States in late June 1947:

Over 40 servicemen and civilians in Tokyo alone put up to me pathetic cases of babies and pregnant would-be wives for whom the fathers under the regulations can make no provision whatever. ... [I certainly would] urge the War Department to change the policy of compounding sin and irresponsibility [and permit servicemen to marry Japanese women of their choice].¹⁰⁶

By July 5, 1947, under these pressures, the U.S. State Department started to discuss the possibility of allowing U.S. citizenship for the babies of American white fathers and

¹⁰³ "Soldiers Bride Act Talk Continues," *The Rafu Shimpō* 7 July 1947; "Memorandum (ADC) from Masaoka to ADC Headquarters, June 28, 1947, Folder 6 "June-July, 1947," Box 5, Mike M. Masaoka Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah.

¹⁰⁴ Baldwin visited Japan and South Korea at the invitation of the War Department to assist in developing civil liberties agencies. He founded the Japan Civil Liberties Union (JCLU) in Japan.

¹⁰⁵ "Zainichi nisei no tame katsudo suru sikefu shibu [Chapter which Supports Nisei Residing in Japan]," *The Rafu Shimpō* 4 Jun. 1947: 2; "Nisei Planning Solution to Army Marriage Curb," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 5 Jun 1947: 4.

¹⁰⁶ "Army Marriage Ban in Japan Encourages Sin, Baldwin Avers," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 24 Jun. 1947: 2.

Japanese mothers if the couples married in a Christian ceremony, even though their marriage was not officially permitted by the army and registered by American law.¹⁰⁷

On July 17, the bill passed the Senate. On July 22, President Truman signed the bill into law. The law amended the War Brides Act of 1945 by adding a new section, which enabled alien spouses of U.S. servicemen or honorably discharged veterans to enter the United States regardless of race:

Sec.6. The alien spouse of an American citizen by a marriage occurring before thirty days after the enactment of this Act, shall not be considered as inadmissible because of race, if otherwise admissible under this Act.¹⁰⁸

This passage permitted the entrance of Japanese, Korean, Canadian Nisei, Guamanian, Thai, and other war brides who were inadmissible under the racial restrictions in the 1924 Immigration Act.¹⁰⁹ Mike Masaoka declared that the passage of the bill proved that the mainstream society's prejudice toward Nisei was being broken down.¹¹⁰ The amendment was applicable not only to Nisei but also to all U.S. servicemen. Frank Fellows, who had introduced the bill, made it clear: "The bill is designed to correct an

¹⁰⁷ "Papa ga haku-kei beijin no baai---nihon fujin no ko no shiminken [If the Father is a White American: Citizenship for a Child of a Japanese Mother]," *The Rafu Shimpō* 5 July 1947: 2.

¹⁰⁸ "Amending the Act to Expedite the Admission to the United States of Alien Spouses and Alien Minor Children of Citizen Members of the United States Armed Forces," *House Reports*, 80th Congress, 1st Session, January 3-December 19, 1947.

¹⁰⁹ Canadian Nisei women were not allowed to enter the U.S. until then, "Veteran's Bride Barred from Entering This Country," *The Rafu Shimpō* 7 Mar. 1947; "Kanada nisei hanayome no nyubei---genko iminno ga stopu [Entrance of Canadian Nisei Brides to the U.S.: Existing Immigration Laws Stop Them]," *The Rafu Shimpō* 23 Apr. 1947.

¹¹⁰ "Tsui ni kain o tsuka shita---GI hanayome syusei ho an [Finally Passed the House: GI Brides Amendment Bill]," *The Rafu Shimpō* 23 Jun. 1947.

injustice to Americans of oriental ancestry. But it also permits American soldiers of non-oriental ancestry to marry Japanese brides and bring them into [the United States].”¹¹¹

However, the consensus among U.S. officials was that if and when the bill became law, all marriage applications would still be thoroughly screened by Army authorities who would “make it tougher” for non-Nisei to marry Japanese.¹¹²

4. Enforcement of the Amendment and New Restrictions

True, Congress had no intention of encouraging the marriages between U.S. citizens and aliens who were racially ineligible for citizenship. The 1947 amendment discouraged and prevented such marriages by setting a tight deadline, by requiring a complicated procedure for marriage, and by providing no avenues to citizenship. The amendment in fact provided immigration and occupation officers new legal grounds for strictly regulating and policing interracial marriages in Japan.

The time limitation, called a “30-day clause,” which was inserted in section 6 of the amendment, imposed a major obstacle for couples who wished to marry under the law. The law applied only to couples married prior to or within 30 days of the enactment of the law. This 30-days clause was a compromise among Congressmen and also between Congress and the JACL. When the bill was first introduced in Congress in April 1947, the House Judiciary Subcommittee limited the eligibility to those already married before

¹¹¹ "Truman Signing Alien Marriage Law Verified," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 27 July 1947: 1.

¹¹² “Inquiries Pour in from Bridegrooms about New Bill re Oriental Brides,” *Mainichi shimbun* (English) 25 June 1947.

January 1, 1947. As *House Reports* confirms, this was because the Subcommittee did not want to encourage interracial marriages:

In order not to encourage marriages between United States citizen service people and racially inadmissible aliens the subcommittee felt that a date should be placed in the bill making it applicable only to those marriages occurring before January 1, 1947.¹¹³

Few couples would have been eligible under such original bill, for few American servicemen or veterans had ever been permitted to marry Japanese. The JACL-ADC protested this deadline, declaring that the spouses of all American soldiers or veterans should be placed on the same basis, but the Subcommittee was unable to go that far.

However, when the Subcommittee reported out the bill for the consideration of the full Judiciary Committee, the date had been changed to “thirty days after the approval of this Act.”:

After further deliberation, however, it was discovered that many of these servicemen are awaiting the enactment of this measure before getting married and that many of the commanding officers in the Pacific are withholding the necessary permission until the passage of this legislation. Therefore, the subcommittee has amended the bill by striking out the date "January 1, 1947", as it appears on page 1, line 9, and inserting in lieu thereof the words "thirty days after the approval of this Act."¹¹⁴

Masaoka recalled that action: “Congress finally settled on a ridiculous compromise providing a thirty-day period entry.” Finding the amended bill “preposterously racist,” Masaoka objected to the 30-days clause but in vain. Although the ADC was not satisfied

¹¹³ "Amending the Act to Expedite the Admission to the United States of Alien Spouses and Alien Minor Children of Citizen Members of the United States Armed Forces," *House Reports*, 80th Congress, 1st Session, January 3-December 19, 1947.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

with the restriction, they knew that it was the extent to which the Subcommittee was willing to go at that time: “It was the best we could get out of Congress at the time.”¹¹⁵ American servicemen, too, found the bill discouraging. A lieutenant engaged to a Japanese woman predicted glumly the ineffectiveness of the bill: “It takes 90 days for an application to marry an American girl to pass through channels.” It would take much longer to marry a Japanese woman.¹¹⁶

Indeed, the complicated procedure of marriage prevented many couples from completing their paper work within the “30 days.” President Truman signed the bill on July 22 but it was not until July 27 that American servicemen stationed in Japan were informed of the news of the amendment.¹¹⁷ The news that President Truman signed the bill was “delayed in dispatches from the United States,” according to *Pacific Stars and Stripes*.¹¹⁸ Whether intentional or not,¹¹⁹ the five-day delay was critical for the

¹¹⁵ “Soldiers Brides Act Passed; Awaits President's Signature,” *The Rafu Shimpō* 19 July 1947; Masaoka and Hosokawa, 204; Mike Masaoka, “Final Report, First Session, 80th Congress, Washington Office, JACL-ADC, Inc.,” August 11, 1947.

¹¹⁶ “Inquiries Pour in from Bridegrooms,” *Mainichi shimbun* (English) 25 June 1947.

¹¹⁷ “Truman Signing Alien Marriage Law Verified,” *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 27 July 1947; Japanese-language *Mainichi shimbun*, reported the enactment of the law on June 25. “Nichibei kekkon ha hyakkenyo [Nearly 100 American-Japanese Marriages],” *Mainichi shimbun* 25 July 1947: 2.

¹¹⁸ “Truman Signing Alien Marriage Law Verified,” *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 27 July 1947: 1.

¹¹⁹ It can be suggested that their commanding officers intentionally delayed conveying the news of the amendment to soldiers, for Colonel F.P. Munson, Executive Officer in the Office of Assistant Secretary of War Department, confirmed in his letter to Masaoka, that radio communication had been taken immediately between War Department and Far East Command after the legislature became the law. “Letter from E.P. Munson to Masaoka,” received stamp on August 7, 1947, Folder 7 “August-September, 1947,” Box 5, Mike M. Masaoka Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah.

servicemen because now they had only 25 days left to make a decision to marry and go through all the red tape for marriage.

Four more days passed before *Pacific Stars and Stripes* published the application instructions on July 31. The list was forbidding:

1. Filling out the marriage applications according to the instructions given in Far East Command Circular No. 6 and also attaching discharge papers or a statement from the individual's commanding officer or any other evidence of honorable military service.
2. Submission of the application to the individual's Commanding Officer.
3. After approval, applicant will receive letter of authorization to marry. This must be presented to the American Consulate in Yokohama and allowing sufficient time to permit orderly processing and performance of the marriage ceremony.
4. Applicants not yet 21 years of age must have notarized parents consent which specifically states that there are not objections to the marriage to a Japanese national.

All these steps had to be taken by August 21, 1947.¹²⁰

This was not all. In addition, a Japanese woman was required to submit to the American Consulate a full copy of her family registry, a career resume covering the past three years, an identification certificate from her neighborhood district's president, and a certificate naming two acquaintances who had paid a certain amount of property tax. The U.S. Office of Special Investigations (OSI) ordered Japanese Police to screen the woman out if she was a prostitute, had any criminal record, or had any Communist relatives.¹²¹

Anti-miscegenation state laws, which specifically prohibited the marriage between whites and Japanese, also prevented some white American servicemen from marrying

¹²⁰ "American-Oriental Wedding Procedures Listed by FEC," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 31 July 1947: 1.

¹²¹ Takeshita, 112.

Japanese women.¹²² For example, the marriage application of Joseph Elliot, a soldier from Montana, was rejected on the grounds that a Montana state law prohibited marriage of Montana citizens to Japanese nationals.¹²³ In addition, servicemen who were serving in the Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) were not allowed to marry. Veterans or servicemen on duty in the United States had to find a way to return to Japan, paying about \$600 for a commercial trip over Japan, to get married.

Even if couples managed to get married,¹²⁴ marriages did not guarantee the migration of the brides. The admitted alien spouses were required to enter the United States by midnight on December 27, 1948. This was not mandatory but an announcement was made that the failure to report at a port of entry on or before the time limitation “may result in the spouse being barred forever or a least for an indefinite period, from entry into the United States.”¹²⁵ In addition, these alien spouses remained “ineligible to citizenship” and had to retain their Japanese citizenship. The issue of citizenship was excluded from the text of the law. The postwar Japanese Constitution allowed Japanese men and women who married

¹²² In 1944, 30 states had some form of anti-miscegenation laws and it was not until 1967 that the U.S. Supreme Court declared anti-miscegenation laws unconstitutional in *Loving v. Virginia* (1967).

¹²³ Frank Parson, "831 Couples Married by Orient Bride Deadline," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 23 Aug. 1947: 1.

¹²⁴ According to an article of *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, 823 couples cut through the red tape by the deadline. The racial background of the husbands was: Nisei (597), white (211), and black (15). The couples could register for their marriages at three locations. 627 marriages were registered in Yokohama, 142 in Kobe, and 62 in Okinawa. Parson, "831 Couples Married by Orient Bride Deadline."

¹²⁵ "Action advised on Alien Spouse Entry," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 6 Oct. 1948; "US Alien Spouse Act," *Mainichi shimbun* (English) 13 Oct. 1948; A bill was introduced to extend the deadline but in vain. "Japanese Wives Bill Won't Pass," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 6 Jun. 1950. The first ship for them left Japan for Hawaii on November 15, 1947. "Harete ottogimi to konya tobei [Finally Leaving for America Tonight with Her Husband]," *Yomiuri shimbun* 15 Nov. 1947.

foreigners to retain their Japanese citizenship unless they gained the citizenship of their spouses' countries. As a result, the 1947 amendment produced a unique immigrant group: women who were wives and mothers of U.S. citizens but also aliens who were considered not qualified to become U.S. citizens.

Despite all of these obstacles, 750 Japanese wives and 5 children out of these marriages entered the United States by December 28, 1948. In contrast, by then, 85,896 European wives, husbands, and children of U.S. servicemen had entered the United States.¹²⁶ According to a newspaper article, 1, 518 American men (659 civilians, 513 enlisted men, and 346 officers in the Army or Navy) married in total from May 28, 1946 through December 31, 1947 in Japan. About half of them married Japanese women. On the other hand, 629 American women married during the same period and only 21 of them married aliens, who were of nine different nationalities, particularly Australia and Britain. Three Japanese American women married Japanese men. Romance between a white woman and a Japanese man was a taboo though it existed. For example, in early 1948, a Japanese student of an art school, who was a son of a wealthy family, and a white woman, who was a wife of an American military officer and had Australian citizenship, ran away and committed a double suicide at a train station by taking poison.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ *INS Monthly Review* (June 1949), 168. 7, 588 were from Asia, 7,495 from Canada, 404 from Newfoundland, 2,295 from Mexico, 1,308 from West Indies, 515 from Central America, 487 from South America, 917 from Africa, 7,857 from Australia and New Zealand, 2,463 from the Philippines, and 458 from other countries.

¹²⁷ "824 Japanese Girls Become US War Brides," *Mainichi shimbun* (English) 19 Feb. 1948; "Bei fujin to nihon-seinen shinju (Double-suicide of an American woman and a Japanese young man)," *Yomiuri shimbun* 25 Jan. 1948; "Bei fujin, nihongaka to shinju [Double-suicide of an American Woman and a Japanese Painter]," *Asahi shimbun* 25 Jan. 1948.

The law left many couples unable to marry. In desperation, Japanese women wrote letters to General MacArthur and Mrs. MacArthur. On July 15, 1948, Teruko Murazawa wrote to General MacArthur to request that measures be adopted again whereby she and many others in similar plight would be granted permission to marry U.S. servicemen. She and her Nisei fiancé missed the deadline because he had to go back to Hawaii as he got a telegraph from the American Red Cross that his grandfather was in critical condition. He decided to re-enlist in the Army to come back to Japan to marry her but he still could not marry her because he was assigned for duty with CIC. "I've heard that America is a democratic country. Will there be such an irrational thing that one cannot marry because of one's job? There is no national border in love. Please help us marry and help others too." On August 15, Sumiko Yukinaga wrote to Mrs. Jean MacArthur. Her Nisei fiancé wanted to re-enlist and extend his duty in Japan to marry her but he failed to pass health examinations (for one bloodshot eye and one poor ear). The Army sent him back to Hawaii. In her English letter, Sumiko asked Mrs. MacArthur for permission to enter Hawaii so that she could marry him there, "Dear Mrs, please show me the way if you can for me will you? Is there any way that I can visit to his family?"¹²⁸

Masaoka began writing letters to the War Department and Congressmen asking for a bill to extend the deadline, as soon as the compromised 1947 amendment was enacted.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ "Letter from Teruko Murazawa to General MacArthur, July 15, 1948" (Translated from Nakamura) and "Letter from Sumiko Yukinaga to Jean MacArthur, August 15, 1948," Folder "291-1 No.1 1948," Box 555, RG331, National Archives.

¹²⁹ "Letter from E.P. Munson to Masaoka," received stamp on August 7, 1947"; "Letter from Masaoka to Frank Fellows, March 25, 1948," Folder 12 "March, 1948," Box 5, Mike M. Masaoka Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriot Library, University of Utah.

His efforts were not initially successful. However, American servicemen did not give up. By March 2, 1949, the JACL-ADC office received “pathetic” letters asking for help mostly from “non-Japanese.” They even enclosed contributions.¹³⁰ Some Congressmen were sympathetic to these soldiers and Masaoka. On May 9, 1949, Frank L. Chelf (D-KY) introduced a bill (H.R.4577) drafted by and at the request of the JACL-ADC. On the same day, Joseph R. Farrington, Republican Delegate to U.S. Congress from Hawaii Territory also introduced an identical bill in the House. Pat McCarran introduced another identical bill (S.1858) in the Senate. Soon, both House and Senate Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization have requested reports from the State, Justice, and National Defense Departments. The bill, S.1858, faced objections from several Midwest congressmen. They suggested an amendment to apply only to Nisei servicemen or veterans. They were concerned that Japanese women with no English skills or knowledge of the American Midwest would be completely lost in small communities where there are no other Japanese and moreover “the young men serving in the Army overseas cannot appreciate the difficulty of adjustment to such mixed marriages.”¹³¹ In February 1950, Farrington urged Congress to permit marriage of American servicemen to Japanese women. In late February, Masaoka urged both chairmen of the Subcommittee on Immigration and

¹³⁰ “National legislative progress report #4, March 2, 1949,” Folder 11 “ADC, progress reports, #4-6,” Box 64, Mike M. Masaoka Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriot Library, University of Utah.

¹³¹ “National legislative progress #7,” Folder 12, “ADC, progress reports #7-11, 1949,” Box 64, Mike M. Masaoka Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriot Library, University of Utah.

Naturalization in the Senate and the House, Francis E. Walter and Pat McCarran, to push action on a new bill.¹³²

In Japan, in early April, 1950, an anonymous letter appeared in an English-language newspaper in Japan and appealed to its readers to write to McCarran and Walter. The letter blamed the 1924 Immigration Act for disuniting families:

Not all of the Americans who have taken Japanese wives are playboys, and many of the fathers of the 4,000 or more half American children love their children and wish to take them home. ...Marriages are made in heaven, not by act of Congress. It is a very wicked law that breaks up a happy family.

It also accused the law of depriving the rights of their children as U.S. citizens: “The congressmen who passed the law would be horrified if they realized that the law now causes the breaking up of homes and that a child of an American father is deprived of his birthright as a citizen of the United States.”¹³³ While others were waiting for a bill to pass, more than a dozen soldiers successfully got married through private bills. Local JACL chapters in the United States helped such soldiers appeal to their Congressmen.¹³⁴ The

¹³² “Group Urges Action on Japan Bride Bill,” *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 24 Feb. 1950.

¹³³ “To the Editor,” *Nippon Times* 10 April 1950; the Japanese government also received many inquiries regarding such marriage by mid-June. Letter from Midzuho Ishida, Acting Chief of Yokohama Liaison and Coordination Office, to Adjutant general, Headquarters, Eighth U.S. Army, June 14, 1950. Folder 291.1, Box 464, RG338, National Archives.

¹³⁴ “Congress Allows Japan Girl to Wed Former US Soldier,” *Mainichi shimbun* (English) 19 Feb. 1950; “Congress Action and Aids Transpacific Romance,” *Nippon Times* 22 Feb. 1950; “Japanese Girl Weds Michigan U. Student,” *Mainichi shimbun* (English) 22 March 1950; “Transpacific Romance OK’d,” *Nippon Times* 28 May 1950. Between February and September 1950, Congress passed at least ten bills to permit Japanese fiancées, wives, and their children to enter the United States. Folder “Ito, Mitsuko, Fiancee of Corporal Thomas Stafford Radtke—H.R. 7658,” Folder “Kurihara, Ayako, Fiancee of Steve Seiji Sugano—H.R. 7706,” Folder “Morita, Mrs. Clause and Son Rodney, Wife and Son of Claude Morita—H.R. 8956,” Folder “Nishitsuru, Mieko, Fiancee of Frank Endo—H.R. 7256,” Box 1-2, the Sidney R. Yates Papers, Harry S. Truman Library.

increasing number of the requests from soldiers made Congressmen aware of the emergency character of the issue.

On August 19, 1950, the so-called “Oriental Brides Bill” was signed by President Truman as Public Law 717 (S.1858) as another compromise for the JACL-ADC and Congress. Congress passed the bill to temporarily and partially satisfy the JACL-ADC, rather than deal with the whole issue of race and immigration laws: *A Senate Report* by McCarran states:

Although there are pending in the Committee on the Judiciary bills which would completely remove the racial bar to immigration and naturalization, such bills are still being studied in connection with a revision of the entire immigration and naturalization laws. In order to alleviate the situation and to avoid the necessity of considering a substantial number of private bills, the committee feels that the racial bar should promptly be removed in this limited type of case. It should be pointed out that although the bill would permit the entry of a limited group of racially ineligible spouses and minor children it does not remove the racial bar to naturalization at this time.¹³⁵

Public Law 717 was the first law that explicitly bypassed the racial restrictions of the 1924 Immigration Act for Japanese nationals:

That notwithstanding the provisions of section 13 (c) of the Immigration Act of 1924, as amended (8 U.S.C. 213 (c)), alien spouses or unmarried minor children of U.S. citizens serving in, or having an honorable discharge certificate from the armed forces of the United States during World War II shall, if otherwise admissible under the immigration laws, be eligible to enter the United States.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ “Permitting the Admission of Alien Spouses and Minor Children of Citizen Members of the United States Armed Forces,” Senate report. 81st Congress 2nd Session. Report No. 1878. June 26, 1950.

¹³⁶ “An Act to Permit the Admission of Alien Spouses and Minor Children of Citizen Members of the United States Armed Forces” (Public Law 717), ch.759, 64 Stat. 464 (1950).

The chief of the Japanese residents abroad division (*zaigaika-cho*) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan favorably reported the 1950 law.¹³⁷ Japanese government officials saw the laws regarding Japanese war brides as a reflection of the U.S. government's attitudes toward Japanese nationals. And, it is true that the law was such an eagerly-awaited law for many American soldiers and their fiancées since 1947.

The law allowed the entrance of alien spouses of U.S. servicemen or veterans to the United States for six months. The deadline was later extended to March 19, 1952, by Public Law 6 of 1951 (ch. 9, 65 Stat. 6) because of the observed difficulties for many couples to marry by the deadline in the midst of the Korean War. Public Law 717 was not an amendment and therefore not an extension of the War Brides Act, so it did not waive other requirements of immigration such as the health and visa as did the original Act. In addition, the red tape of marriage application remained and Japanese spouses were still ineligible for citizenship.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ *Zaigai houjin kacho*, "Beikoku ni okeru gunjin hanayome hou [GI Brides Act in America]," October 1950. J'0073. Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan.

¹³⁸ "Japan-U.S. Marriage Regulations Clarified," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 19 Sep. 1950; "Marriage Law Extended Year," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 23 May 1951. To be applicable, the marriage had to take place within six months, before February 18, 1951, later extended to March 19, 1952. The law did not have any deadline of entry. There were three major requirements. First, an American serviceman had to claim that he had legal residence in a state whose statutes contained no barrier to marriage between persons of different races. Second, if the man had been previously married, a copy of his final decree of divorce had to be submitted. Last, if the bride was under twenty, written parental permission was necessary. A Japanese spouse had to pass a physical examination from an approved civilian physician in Japan. "Japan-U.S. Marriage Regulations Clarified," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 19 Sep. 1950; "Clarification Due on Marriage Bill," *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, 3 Sep. 1950; "Washington Clarifies Alien Spouses Law," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 7 Sep. 1950; "Marriage Ruling for Forces Told," *Nippon Times* 21 Sep. 1950; "Lifts Ban Against GIs Marrying Japan Girls," *Mainichi shimbun* (English) 22 Sep. 1950; "Marriage with Japan Girls," *Mainichi shimbun* (English) 30 Sep. 1950; "Doctor's Check Needed," *Nippon Times* 1 Oct. 1950; "Marriage Law Extended Year," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 23 May 1951.

The U.S. Army kept discouraging interracial marriages by ordering the servicemen to leave Japan. For example, Sumie Cheeks' fiancé was sent to Korea after applying for his marriage with her. She had to wait to marry him until he returned from Korea in 1952.¹³⁹ Even after they married, the army tried to minimize the rights and privileges of Japanese wives of U.S. servicemen. Unlike American widows, Japanese widows whose American husbands were killed in Korea were not considered “spouses” anymore. Their privileges as spouses of U.S. servicemen were discontinued and their logistic relations with the U.S. armed forces were terminated within thirty days after such widow received official notice of her spouse’s death. Then, what would happen to their children? Their fate was uncertain. The army ordered that citizenship and right to entry into the United States for their children had to be based on the facts in each case, if their fathers were killed in Korea.¹⁴⁰

On June 27, 1952, the so-called McCarran-Walter Act removed racial barriers to naturalization and granted a quota of immigrants for every country, while empowering the Justice Department to deport immigrants or naturalized citizens engaging in subversive activities. The law further fostered family reunion by giving alien spouses and children of American citizens the non-quota status. The year, 1952, coincided with the end of the Allied occupation of Japan. By then, Japan was rebuilt as a new ally with major U.S. bases

¹³⁹ Sumie Cheeks, interviewed by a photographer, Tsuneo Enari. Tsuneo Enari, *Hanayome no amerika [America of the Brides]* (Tokyo: Kodan-sha, 1981), 71.

¹⁴⁰ Letter from K.B. Bush, Brigadier General, to all commanding generals of Eight Army, XVI Corps, Japan Logistical Command, Headquarters and Service Command (GHQ, Far East Command), U.S. Naval Forces, Far East Air Force, Ryukyus Command, July 26, 1951. Folder “Marriage, Parentage and Nationality 1949-1951,” Box 1260, RG331, National Archives.

and the hub of capitalism in Asia, after China became a Socialist country run by a Communist Party in 1949. Even though the Allied occupation was over, the 1952 Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the Korean War increased the number of American soldiers who were stationed in Japan and, as a result, the number of American soldiers who wished to marry Japanese and Korean women increased. The Korean War provided these soldiers the ground to claim their rights as citizens serving in the U.S. Armed Forces and fighting in the war. Under the McCarran-Walter Act, Japanese war brides became eligible to enter the United States with the preference status as non-quota immigrants and also became eligible for citizenship. However, the passage of that act did not mean that these marriages were encouraged. For example, Shizu Williams' husband was ordered to return to the United States within two weeks immediately after they applied for their marriage in July 1952.¹⁴¹

According to a 1952 survey by James B. Pilcher, Tokyo Consul General, the racial background of these husbands were fifteen percent Nisei, twelve percent African American, and 73 percent Caucasian.¹⁴² Interracial marriages far outnumbered the same race marriages between Nisei soldiers and Japanese women. It was also recognized that several Japanese "war grooms" of Nisei women in Women's Army Corps (WAC) entered the United States.¹⁴³ At least 66,681 Japanese wives and 28,205 Korean wives entered the United States between 1947 and 1975.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Shizu Williams, interviewed by Enari. Enari, *Hanayome no America (America of the Brides)*, 122.

¹⁴² Peter Kalischer, "Madame Butterfly's Children," *Collier's*, 20 Sep. 1952, 17.

¹⁴³ Mike Masaoka, "Report on Naturalization and Immigration of Japanese in the United States," April 30, 1951, Folder 6, Box 35, Mike M. Masaoka Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard

Conclusion

American TV reported the news that American GIs and Japanese women registered their marriages at the American Consulate in Yokohama on August 14, 1947:

Romance takes over the American Consulate in Yokohama, as the GIs and their Japanese sweethearts apply for a license to marry and a passport to the United States. The Army expects 600 couples to register before the deadline. To the folks at home, this is a somewhat unexpected post-war development. A limited number of these girls will be admitted to Hawaii and States as residents, retaining Japanese citizenship. ...[The most publicized couple] of all the couples are a former lieutenant Frank K. White from Pennsylvania and a girl he since married. She is Pia Kurusu, a daughter of a white American mother and a Japanese diplomat who was talking peace in Washington when Pearl Harbor was attacked. She seems very happy!¹⁴⁵

The news delivered double messages. While cheerfully celebrating these marriages as an embodiment of postwar internationalism and the new U.S.-Japan relationship, the broadcast clearly assured its American viewers that these Japanese women retained their Japanese citizenship. It also eased the fear of miscegenation by showcasing a "less intolerable" marriage between a white serviceman and a half-white American woman. At the same time, by implicating Pia Kurusu's father in the attack on Pearl Harbor, the broadcast

Marriot Library, University of Utah.

¹⁴⁴ U.S. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, *Annual Reports*, 1947-75.

¹⁴⁵ "News of the Day---G.I.'s Find Romance in Japan," commentary by Jay Sims. Partially edited newsreel footage. *One-thousand Japanese war bride and her husband, an American soldier in Tokyo, congratulated by General MacArthur's diplomatic chief, William J. Sebald*. Hearst vault material, HVMc2936r6, 84099. 1951, University of California, Los Angeles; the year that the news was taped and on air was not known. However, Frank K. White and Pia [Teruko] Kurusu married on August 14, 1947, "Report 300 Nisei Veterans, GIs will Wed Girls in Japan: American Consulate Swamped as Couples Seek to Qualify Under GI Brides Amendment," *Pacific Citizen* 16 Aug. 1947: 1.

provoked viewers to draw parallels between these unexpected marriages and the surprise attack of Pearl Harbor ---both representing unexpected threats to the nation.

By 1947, international events as well as pressure from servicemen and civil rights activists led Congress to take action. The Cold War conflicts led the U.S. government to redefine its national identity as the leader of democracy, freedom, and human rights in order to attract decolonizing Asian and African countries to the capitalist model of state organization associated with the West rather than to the Soviet communist model. Proponents of American-Japanese marriages took strategic advantage of the United States' desire to remake its national image in the world. U.S. servicemen and civil rights activists pressured Congress to solve the problem of the marriages and to consider not only race, but other factors, such as family unity and U.S. servicemen's rights and responsibility.

The 1947 amendment contested racialized conceptions of national membership in the U.S. nation-state especially for Asian immigrants. The 1947 amendment marks the passage of the first major bill favorably affecting Japanese Americans and it was the JACL's first major victory in post-war civil rights lobbying.¹⁴⁶ As a result, the 1947 amendment opened a door for the first time since 1924 for immigration from Japan and many other countries of Asia and the Pacific Islands. Most importantly, the 1947 amendment allowed the entrance of alien spouses of U.S. citizens regardless of race, which was followed by the unprecedented migration flow of Asian wives and mothers of U.S. citizens under Public Law 717 of 1950 and the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952.

¹⁴⁶ "President Truman Signs Bill To Permit Entry into U.S. of Japanese Wives of GIs," *Pacific Citizen* 26 July 1946: 2; Hosokawa, 288.

However, the 1947 amendment did not automatically make these Asian spouses part of the "American family." On the contrary, the amendment shaped and reinforced racial hierarchies of U.S. nation-state membership by granting these Asian women neither citizenship nor the right to naturalize, while privileging European, Australian, and New Zealand women to become U.S. citizens. In this sense, the amendment reinforced the idea of Americanness-as-whiteness as a prerequisite for U.S. citizenship and national membership. Not only the legislative discourses but also judicial decisions and enforcement practices of the amendment reveal the ways in which a racialized national membership was both reaffirmed and contested.

Mixed feelings over miscegenation and whether Japanese women would be assimilated into American society persisted even after the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act. In fact, such anxieties seem to have increased. *The Saturday Evening Post*, for example, carried an article titled, "They're Bringing Home Japanese Wives," in 1952:

...the Japanese-race population back home [the United States] will be increased 4 or 5 percent,... But the effect of these mixed marriages on American life at home is still to come---the arrival of thousands of dark-skinned, dark-eyed brides in Mississippi cotton hamlets and New Jersey factory cities, on Oregon ranches or in Kansas country towns. The thousands are on the way, and their bright-eyed children soon will be knocking on school doors in most of the forty-eight states. The great question of how they will fit in and whether they generally will be welcomed or shunned remains to be answered.¹⁴⁷

Indeed, the marriage, migration, and integration of Japanese wives posed important questions to be answered.

¹⁴⁷ Janet Wentworth Smith and William L. Worden, "They're Bringing Home Japanese Wives," *The Saturday Evening Post*, 19 Jan. 1952, 27.

In the late 1940s, interracial and international marriages of American servicemen became a national concern as the United States sent millions of its young men all over the world for the sake of “democracy.” As a product of compromises and dilemmas in defining its new role in the world and a national identity in the early Cold War politics, the 1947 amendment produced a unique group of immigrant women---wives and mothers of U.S. citizens not “good enough” to be citizens. At the same time, the amendment played a crucial part in reconsidering the relationship between family and race in immigration laws: family relations grew in importance in relation to American servicemen’s rights in the late 1940s, when many of them became determined to marry alien women who were racially “ineligible to citizenship” and bring them home.

On March 19, 1948, the Board of Immigration Appeals ordered “outstanding exclusion” of Helene Emilie Bouiss withdraw and the case was reopened to determine. She was admitted to remain in the United States on April 15, 1948.¹⁴⁸ Helene and John passed away in 1988 and 1994 respectively in Oregon.

¹⁴⁸ Handwritten notes on “List of Manifest of Alien Passengers for the United States Immigrant Inspector at Port of Arrival.” S.S. Stetson Victor, Passengers sailing from Yokohama, Japan, May 2, 1946. Arriving at Port of Seattle, Washington, May 12, 1946.

Chapter 2

Making “Model Minority Brides”?: American Red Cross Brides Schools for Japanese Wives of U.S. Servicemen in Japan, 1951-1963

“Fumiko Coleman, Miyoshi Sandberg, Yoshie Harrison---,” the Red Cross instructress calls out, and high-pitched answers of “hai” instead of “present” come back from Japanese G.I. brides. The strange names---half Japanese and half American---exemplify the purpose of the class: to teach young Japanese girls how to make happy homes for their American husbands upon the couples’ return to the United States.

-----*The New York Times Magazine*, Nov. 7, 1954¹⁴⁹

Introduction

In 1946, Emperor Hirohito asked George D. Stoddard, the head of an advisory educational mission in Japan, to recommend a Christian American female tutor for his 12-year-old son, Crown Prince Akihito. The U.S. Department of State recommended two American women, and Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Vining was chosen. She was a graduate of Bryn Mawr College, a Philadelphia Quaker, and author of several books for children. The American media was well aware of the significance of her mission as she was the first Christian American woman that was invited to the imperial court as a teacher. The job was not merely teaching English to the prince, but rather, teaching the future emperor the American way of life and democratic ideas through his language education. “If Mrs. Vining’s tutelage inculcates in him an appreciation of our way of life and of our thinking,” says an article in *The New York Times*, “the result will be favorable for peace in the Pacific.” In the article, she was seen as the American version of Anna Leonowens,

¹⁴⁹ Ray Falk, “G.I. Brides Go to School in Japan,” *The New York Times Magazine*, 7 Nov. 1954, 54.

a British tutor of Crown Prince of Siam in the 1860s: “If Elizabeth Vining achieve half that success [of Anna Leonowens] with Prince Akihito she can consider her assignment a brilliant success.”¹⁵⁰

The relationship between Elizabeth Vining and Prince Akihito can be understood as a reflection of the postwar U.S.-Japan relationship; America as teacher and Japan as student. It was also parallel to the relationship between American female teachers and Japanese female students at the American Red Cross (ARC) brides schools in Japan. The ARC brides schools were established as one solution to the “Japanese war brides problem.” Japanese war brides, who were wives of U.S. servicemen, became the first Japanese permitted to enter the United States since 1924 and constituted the majority of Japanese immigrants during the 1940s-1960s. As we saw in the previous chapter, after the U.S. legal ban against Japanese immigration was lifted temporarily for these women in 1947, 1950, and finally in 1952, a new question surfaced: how can these Japanese women of ex-enemy nationals be integrated into American society?

Japanese immigrants were ineligible for U.S. citizenship until 1952 because they were considered racially inassimilable. Now, these “inassimilable” women would enter mainstream American society as wives and mothers of U.S. citizens, unlike pre-1924 Japanese immigrants, who settled in their predecessors’ ethnic enclaves upon their arrival. The prevailing assumption was that these Japanese wives would suffer severe adjustment problems and American-Japanese marriages would fail. This is why these

¹⁵⁰ Vining stayed in Japan until 1950. “Elizabeth and the Prince,” *The New York Times* 29 August 1946.

brides schools were set up to make an intervention to lead their marriages to success. The ARC brides schools in Japan were the first ARC brides schools established in Asia. The operation was also the largest in the world in scale in terms of the number of schools and years they were operated.

This chapter examines the ARC brides schools in Japan from 1951 to 1962 to understand how these schools contributed to shaping American and Japanese understandings of Japanese war brides. I argue that the ARC brides schools, which helped Japanese wives gain familiarity with the modern American way of life, was a microcosm of the U.S. occupation mission to Americanize and reform Japan as a new Cold War ally. Also, these schools offered American women a chance to exercise their female citizenship in a new form of “civilizing project” in 1950s Japan just as GIs did the male counterpart. The ARC brides schools helped transform Japanese war brides and their image, who were considered racially “inassimilable” and “ineligible to citizenship,” into “model minority brides” from the early 1950s through the early 1960s. I define “model minority brides” as racial minority wives in modern postwar American households who were considered ideal wives and a model for other minority women.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ “Model minority” is a stereotypical image imposed on Asian Americans and often internalized by Asian Americans themselves. The image of “model minority” appeared after World War II to describe highly educated, loyal Japanese Americans and became a stereotype for Asian Americans. According to Ji Hyun Lim, sociologist William Peterson first coined the term “model minority” in an article he wrote in *The New York Times Magazine* (9 January 1966) entitled “Success Story: Japanese American Style.” Hannah Seoh points out, “in it, Peterson portrays the Japanese as ‘better than any other group in our society’” and “examples given as evidence in this article are that Japanese are intelligent, law-abiding, have a strong sense of pride, and have a compelling respect for authority.” My definition of model minority brides draws on it. Ji Hyun Lim, 2001, “Just Call Me Doctor: The (API) American Dream,” *AsianWeek*, Oct. 12-Oct. 18, 2001, <http://www.asianweek.com/2001_10_12/feature.html> (30 March 2008); Hannah Seoh, “I Could be a Minority Model, but Am I ‘The Model Minority’?,” 13 February 2002 ,

The image of these women produced through the ARC schools, along with the image of these women shaped through legal discussions, social scientists, popular culture, and social workers, was mediated and circulated by the American media to the American public as a first-hand account of Japanese war brides. In the process, the ARC brides schools became a site of negotiation in defining what it meant to be an American, and what the American family meant.

This chapter is based on institutional records and publications of the ARC. They are ideal sources for exploring the complexity of race and gender relations between American women and Japanese women in postwar Japan. However, the documents reveal more about the American women who wrote them than the Japanese women they taught. In an attempt to narrow the gap and to more comprehensively assess the ARC schools, I also examine American and Japanese newspaper and magazine articles, a U.S. servicemen's newspaper, U.S. government films, and oral history interviews. Exploring the relationship between American women and Japanese women will complicate our understanding of the U.S.-Japan relations beyond the racialized and gendered dichotomy of the West and the East.

1. Historical Background

Founded by Clara Barton in 1881, the American Red Cross (ARC) was a private, voluntary, non-profit organization that had had a mandate from Congress to carry out

<<http://iis.stat.wright.edu/munsup.seoh/pointOfViews/Discrimination/modelMinority.htm>> (30 March 2008).

disaster relief and services to the military. Its overseas missions began in 1898 during the Spanish-American War (by sending relief workers and nurses) and then the civil war in Mexico (by supporting starving refugees). In 1945, more ARC workers were working abroad than in the United States. But the number decreased after that year. War brides, as foreign wives of U.S. citizens serving in or honorably discharged from the U.S. Armed Forces, were considered to be entitled to assistance from the ARC, for the ARC's services included assistance to U.S. servicemen and their families. After World War II, ARC workers landed in Japan along with the first U.S. occupation troops, and the ARC headquarters were attached to the GHQ in Tokyo.¹⁵²

The first small brides school was opened by American female volunteers of the Christian Women's Association (CWA) of Tokyo in 1948. They were wives of U.S. army officials and offered "English, civics, and cooking classes" for a small group of Japanese war brides who were allowed to enter the United States by the 1947 amendment of the War Brides Act.¹⁵³ The women of CWA also held another brides school in Tokyo in early 1951 after Japanese women were once again allowed to enter the United States by Public Law 717 of 1950. This time, however, the CWA school was opened not purely through American women's volunteer efforts: it was established and institutionalized at the

¹⁵² Barbara Pathe, "The American Red Cross Overseas: A Brief Summary," April 1989; The American National Red Cross, "Table 17: Total Paid Personnel on Duty, Domestic and Overseas, as of June 30, 1940-46," *Red Cross Service Record: Accomplishments of Seven Years, 1939-1946*, Washington, D.C., Page 29. Folder "WWII SAF/ War Brides," American Red Cross Archives.

¹⁵³ "Tobei hanayome ni oryori denjyu [Teaching How to Cook to Brides who would Emigrate to America]," *Yomiuri shimbun* 18 May 1948: 2.

request of the U.S. Department of State.¹⁵⁴

Soon, the ARC took over the project and expanded it to cover Army, Navy, and Air Force bases throughout Japan, at the request of the Army.¹⁵⁵ By 1957, as many as 3,979 Japanese women graduated from 102 brides schools and at least 2,474 American women taught at these schools as volunteers.¹⁵⁶ The ARC records do not show how many students graduated from the schools or how many American women volunteered for the project after 1957, but the records indicate that such schools were still in operation as late as 1963. Considering the fact that the ARC made efforts to compile a standard textbook in 1957-1959 and the number of Japanese war brides was increasing in the late 1950s, I roughly estimate that approximately 5,000 Japanese women graduated from and 3,000 American women taught at the ARC schools between 1951 and 1963.

The ARC had previous experiences with war brides in Europe during 1943-1946, where they offered brides schools as early as 1943.¹⁵⁷ The first ARC school grew out of a

¹⁵⁴ Larry Sakamoto, "GIs' Japanese Wives Offered Schooling," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 10 March 1951; "Kokusaiban 'Hanayome gakko' [International Version of 'Brides' School]," *Yomiuri shimbun* 17 March 1951: 3.

¹⁵⁵ According to an ARC report, "the Military requested similar ARC projects be set up throughout the command." Mrs. Frank O. Blake (Director of Volunteer Services, Far East Command), "Excerpt from bi-monthly volunteer services report for July-August 1951, Headquarters, Far East Theater of Operation, APO 500;" Letter from Louis J. Carissimi to All Installation Heads, SAF-V, August 23, 1951, Folder "618.4 War Brides, Japan and Korea, Japanese War Brides' School," Box 1,280, American Red Cross, RG200, National Archives. These schools included Camp McGill (Yokosuka), Tokyo, Tachikawa, Yokohama, Sendai, Kokura, Camp Drake (Tokyo/Saitama border), and Kisarazu in Chiba.

¹⁵⁶ "Minutes of Meeting on Brides Schools," 19 August 1957, Folder "618.4 War Brides, Japan and Korea, Japanese War Brides' School," Box 1,280, American Red Cross, RG200, National Archives.

¹⁵⁷ The ARC's assistance for war brides dated back to WWI with their clinic at the YWCA Hostess House for European war brides in the United States in 1919. "Assimilation of War

Christmas gathering for U.S. servicemen and their British wives at ARC Club at Rainbow Corner in London in December 1943. Privileged to enter ARC clubs, British war brides formed the GI Wives Club at the ARC Club and started to hold a regular seminar.¹⁵⁸ ARC Home Service workers were sent to Great Britain and started orientation classes. In addition to ARC staffs and experts, the school invited a variety of guest speakers including Eleanor Roosevelt. By 1945, the ARC schools had been expanded to other parts of Britain.¹⁵⁹ The major purpose of these schools was to “de-glamorize” British war brides’ Hollywood-distorted image or “tall tales” by homesick soldiers, of America. British brides enthusiastically learned subjects of immediate use from cooking and fashions to educational system and geography, for they “wanted very much not to be different and to be accepted and understood, especially, by ‘his’ family.”¹⁶⁰

Before long, the ARC project was expanded to other European countries. The ARC opened brides schools in Australia, France, Italy, Belgium, and Netherlands by the

Brides,” *The New York Times*, 14 December 1919: during World War II, the ARC offered extensive support for war brides abroad by checking the background (eligible for marriage or not) of U.S. servicemen, arranging transportation and assisting with marriage, housing, paternity, infant care, financial, emergency communication with husbands, legal, and medical problems, since 1943. At the same time, the ARC also conducted “marriage investigation” of American-Australian marriages at the request of the U.S. Army Far East (USAFE) in 1943 until it was exposed to the American public in *Yank*. American Red Cross, RG200, National Archives.

¹⁵⁸ “‘GI Wives Club’ Tells British Girls All About Fruit Salad and Mobsters,” *The New York Times* 6 April 1945; Virden, 107.

¹⁵⁹ Virden, 107; “‘Deglamourizing Schools’ for GI Brides Help English Girls Understand America,” *The New York Times* 28 Nov. 1945. The newspaper article shows that at least 350 war brides graduated from such an ARC school in Nottingham by late 1945.

¹⁶⁰ Charlotte Johnson, “The Start of a New Day,” *The Red Cross Courier*, March 1946, 4.

fall of 1945.¹⁶¹ In Europe, the ARC particularly made efforts for Italian war brides, for the ban against American-Italian marriage had been already lifted. Finding that there were no local welfare agencies and the Italian Red Cross was not sympathetic to Italian war brides, the ARC even opened an American-style kindergarten for their half-American children in Naples.¹⁶²

These post-1945 ARC schools were led along with the “War Brides Operation,”¹⁶³ the Army-sponsored mass transportation program of war brides from Europe, Australia, and New Zealand¹⁶⁴ to New York and San Francisco from January 1946 to June 1946 after the enactment of the War Brides Act.¹⁶⁵ By mid-1946, ARC Home Service

¹⁶¹ The ARC sent its Home Service staffs to Germany and Austria too, but it was not war brides but displaced persons of nationalities other than German or Austrian whom they assisted, because of the U.S. Army’s marriage bans; Vivien Harris, “Uncle Sam’s Newest Daughters-in-Law: ARC Home Service Plays Important Role in Helping GI Wives From Overseas,” *The Red Cross Courier*, July 1946, 18; The American National Red Cross, *Annual Report*, 1946, 60. All American Red Cross chapters provided Home Service for the benefit of families of service members. In many cases, Home Service workers maintained close touch with Camp and Hospital Service field directors as information moved back and forth between military installations and home communities. For Home Service responsibilities, see American Red Cross, *World War II Accomplishments of the American Red Cross*, <<http://www.redcross.org/museum/history/ww2a.asp>>(1 September, 2007).

¹⁶² Johnson, 3.

¹⁶³ Folder “618.4 War Brides (miscellaneous),” Box 1,279, American Red Cross, RG200, National Archives; American Red Cross, *World War II Accomplishments of the American Red Cross*, <<http://www.redcross.org/museum/history/ww2a.asp>>(1 September, 2007).

¹⁶⁴ The “operation” was not extended to other war brides. War brides of other countries came individually. For example, there was a case that ARC workers offered assistance to an alone and scared Chinese war bride on a train. Alexander C. Boase, “Red Cross Emblem Disperses Chinese War Bride’s Fear of New Country,” *The Red Cross Courier*, December 1948, 7, 30; The capacities of the ships range from 225 to 2400 passengers. Johnson, 5.

¹⁶⁵ Even after the Army finished its operation, the ARC continued their support for war brides’ transportation until 1949. Paul B. Zucker, “War Brides Project Ends: Red Cross Workers Assist Alien Dependents of GI’s to Reach American Shores before Deadline,” *The Red Cross Courier*, February 1949, 28; Working with the U.S. Armed Forces at the request of the War Department,

personnel were withdrawn from these countries by mid-1946, but the idea of brides schools was adopted by local Red Cross in some countries. In Australia, similar schools were continued after the withdrawal of the ARC from the operation in 1946. In the Philippines, the ARC did not operate any schools, but the Philippine Red Cross held orientation classes for Filipino war brides in 1946.¹⁶⁶ Five years later, the ARC instituted a new project of brides schools in Japan, but it little resembled their earlier efforts with European war brides.

The ARC brides schools held in Japan can be viewed as a product of a unique mixture of American and Japanese cultural practices which had sustained U.S. and Japanese nation building. Therefore, it was relatively easy for both American and Japanese women to understand and accept general concepts of the ARC brides schools, have positive views of it, and get involved in the project in a cooperative manner.

ARC played a central role in working for the welfare of war brides and their babies during the sea transportation and following domestic train travels to their final destinations. Among their efforts was to offer orientation classes, which were equivalent to “brides schools,” for war brides. On board ships, ARC staffs held orientation classes and distributed a variety of publications for a short guide to the United States on board ships. The ARC also offered similar classes in the United States. For example, in Queens, New York, a school was organized by the local ARC workers to teach war brides and fiancées twice a week for seven consecutive weeks and classes were taught by experts in each field in 1945. In 1946, the Overseas Wives Club offered the program of English-Speaking Union and clubhouse facilities, activities including sessions for advice on new babies and husband-and-wife gatherings, secretarial and beauty salon fields, in New York. The United Service Organization (USO) clubhouses also offered dances and sewing services, a help to run a nursery (in Newfoundland), shopping and sightseeing tours (in Alaska and Hawaii). “GI Brides Attend Red Cross Housewives School in Queens,” *The New York Times* 26 October 1945; “Unit Helps Wives Going Overseas: ‘Travel Bureau’ Operated by AWVS Gives Data to Those Soon to Join Veterans,” *The New York Times* 19 June 1946; Judy Barden, “Red Cross Girls Aid Brides,” *The New York Sun* 6 February 1946.

¹⁶⁶ American Red Cross, RG200, National Archives.

Three essences of the ARC bride schools--American women's volunteerism,¹⁶⁷ Americanization program of immigrants and racial minorities, and private schools for training young women for marriages¹⁶⁸--were inherited from American practices. In particular, from the late 19th century to the early 20th century, white native-born middle-class Christian women found themselves as central players in an imperialistic "civilization mission" through "Americanizing" immigrants in settlement houses, "uplifting" African Americans for the Freedmen's Bureau, and "bringing civilization" to American Indians on reservations. In the midst of the nation's transformation caused by rapid industrialization, an unprecedented influx of immigrants, and expansion of its military influence overseas, American women shaped their intertwined racial and gender identity by linking the home to the state through their religiously motivated but often

¹⁶⁷ By the 1780s, the era of the foundation of the nation, white native-born women began to organize their own voluntary associations within churches such as sewing circles and charitable organizations. Such women's public activities against republican theories relegating women to the home imposed a dilemma over and debate on the place of women, but "the problem of female citizenship" was solved by endowing domesticity itself with political meanings" and the result was the idea and image of the republican mother. The ideology of republican motherhood, in which a woman's patriotic duty is to educate her sons to be moral and virtuous citizens, linked her to the state and gave her some degree of power over its future. It also stimulated a debate on women's education and provoked the founding of female academics. As Sara M. Evans points out, republican motherhood was not an ideology simply imposed from the outside by a romantic male imagination, but rather one that women themselves crafted by weaving together familial commitments with their newly discovered sense of civic duty and individual possibility. During 1865 and 1890, "women's sphere" was evolving in new and internally contradictory ways, and motherhood was redefined in Victorian domesticity. Women became publicly visible through working girls' associations, women's clubs, missionary societies, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1989), 57-59, 141-143.

¹⁶⁸ One type was "finishing school" for training in cultural social activities. Another was "brides school" for training in scientific housekeeping. One example of the latter was the School of Scientific Housekeeping in New York, which was popularly known as the "Brides' School," "Brides' School' to Give Party on Thursday in Behalf of the Red Cross War Relief Fund," *The New York Times* 15 December 1940.

ethnocentric Americanization programs. In doing so, they claimed their rights and place in the nation in transition.¹⁶⁹

Two other distinctive aspects of the ARC bride schools---the involvement of a government and the system of brides schools as an imperial project---were rooted in Japan. Brides schools and empire-building went hand in hand as a national project since the 1870s when Japan decided to take a road to modernization, industrialization, and militarization. Along with the modernization of the nation, education of women to be examples of the “good wife, wise mother” (*ryosai kenbo*) was legally institutionalized in the system of national girls’ high schools (*koutou jyo-gakko*).¹⁷⁰ Private “brides schools” (*hanayome gakko*) were also popular as an alternative, shorter training for women. In the late 1930s, with the expansion of the Japanese Empire, the gender ideology was further racialized in “the way of Japanese women (*nihon fudo*).” According to the ideology, the duties of women in wartime regime were to eliminate the permeation of individualistic foreign ideas, to protect the original virtues of Japanese women--submission, morality, gentleness, patience, sacrifice, and service--and to continue their culture training.¹⁷¹ In

¹⁶⁹ Louise Michele Newman, *White Women’s Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 8; Pascoe, “Gender Systems in Conflict”; Sanchez, “Go After the Women”; Ruiz, “Dead Ends or Gold Mines?”

¹⁷⁰ In the ideology, women’s primary role was defined to be “in the reproduction and socialization of children, and as passive supporters of a ‘wealthy country and strong army’ (*fukoku kyohei*).” Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3. Such education system was enforced by a series of laws such as the Girls’ High School Act (*koto jyogakko rei*) of 1899. Girls’ high schools (four to five years) functioned as finishing schools for young upper-class women who graduated from elementary schools.

¹⁷¹ Women were expected to be aware of their motherly responsibility and mission for the discipline nursing of children, as “a child is a motherly reflection and the one in your motherly hands moving a cradle today will become the one who move the world in the future.” Rumi

government-sponsored “continental brides schools,” Japanese women learned *fudo* through instruction in cooking, child care and nursing, and general house-keeping, farming industry, domestic animal training, martial arts, tea serving, and flower arrangement, in a military style. These schools educated more than 10,000 Japanese women who would immigrate to Manchuria to marry Japanese farming colonists as a part of the state’s colonization program.¹⁷² The gender ideology (*fudo*) was also imposed on non-Japanese female subjects in the empire. For example, schools and lectures were held to educate Korean women to follow this Japanese ideology in colonized Korea in the 1930s.¹⁷³

Both in the United States and Japan, women were considered mothers of the nation, this concept built on the idea of women as cultural bearers responsible for keeping racial/ethnic culture and traditions, however these women were also seen as the embodiment of the modernity of the nation. In both Americanization and Japanization

Kurihara, “8. Taiheiyo sensouki no fujin, katei-kan [View of Women and Family during the Pacific War],” <http://www.ads.fukushima-u.ac.jp/~lumi/gender_h_08.html> (1 September 2007).

¹⁷² These schools were operated differently by municipal governments in Japan. Similar schools were also held in Manchuria. They offered a course from one week to six months. Kazuhiko Aiba, et al., *Manshu “tairiku no hanayome” ha doutsukuraretaka [On How Manchuria’s “Continental Brides” were Constructed]* (Tokyo: Akashi, 1996); “Imin hanayome gakko [Immigrant Brides School],” *Shashin shuhou*, 4 May 1938. Even after World War II, the Japanese government recruited Japanese “volunteer brides” to marry Japanese pioneer farmers in Hokkaido (the northern “frontier” of Japan), and trained them in a six-month course, teaching the same qualifications demanded by Japanese husbands in Manchuria in 1947. “Kaitakusha no hanayome san [Brides of Colonists],” *Asahi shimbun* 7 May 1947: 2; Frank Emery, “Japanese Government Offers Wives to “Pioneer” Farmers in Hokkaido,” *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 27 June 1947.

¹⁷³ “Senji taisei to bousei no syokuminchi [War Order and the Colony of Motherhood]” <http://dSPACE.wul.waseda.ac.jp/dSPACE/bitstream/2065/5283/8/Honbun-4173_02.pdf> (1 September 2007).

programs, women played a key role as teachers and students. An irony for the postwar Japanese nation-state was that Japanese young women, who were considered to be future “good wives, wise mother[s]” of the nation, were marrying Americans and being educated in Japan to become good wives and mothers of American families.

The first hybrid brides school was sponsored by the CWA at the request of the U.S. Department of State in 1951, along with a U.S. Cold War strategy to promote American democracy at home. The opening reception of the 1951 CWA brides school was held by the volunteer CWA women called “American occupation women” at the Masonic Temple at 7:30pm on Friday on March 16. Invitations were sent to local residents to attend the reception, but those who did not receive invitations were also encouraged to make their reservation and attend the reception. Their husbands were cordially invited to attend as well. The American women hoped to “accommodate the majority of war brides now residing in the Tokyo-Yokohama area.” Japanese women living in the outlying districts like Tachikawa, Johnson and Yokota Air Bases “may attend classes if transportation is available,” and the American women “expressed desire to meet as many wives as possible in this project.”¹⁷⁴

Due to the outreach effort, more than 300 Japanese women attended the reception accompanied by their American husbands. The reception was opened by Mrs. William Woodard, president of the CWA. She introduced Rev. (Mrs.) Tamaki Uemura, a well-known Japanese Christian leader, who spoke briefly to the Japanese students. According

¹⁷⁴ “Reception Fixed for GI Brides,” *Pacific Stars and Stripes* March 1951. Sakamoto, “GIs’ Japanese Wives Offered Schooling”; “Kokusaiban ‘Hanayome gakko’ [International Version of ‘Brides’ School].”

to *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, the evening's program included two movies, followed by a reception.¹⁷⁵

Consequently, about 300 Japanese women registered for the school opening March 26 and learned about "American government and ethics, customs and manners, child care, cooking, homemaking and English" on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday from 9-11:30am for two months at the GHQ Tokyo Chapel Center. According to *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, the purpose of the school is to "teach courses in American living dealing with the social and cultural background for democracy."¹⁷⁶ Instructors "[would] be trained women in various fields and Japanese interpreters [would] accompany each class."¹⁷⁷ In addition to their regular classes, the students went to the homes of volunteering American housewives for home cooking every Friday at 9am. Each group was expected to consist of ten students and about thirty instructors were needed. "American housewives who wish to assist the school" were asked to call the chairman of the school, Mrs. Franklin D. Morrison.¹⁷⁸

A photograph of the reception of this CWA school captured the involvement of U.S. military officers in the school. The place where the reception was held was ironically

¹⁷⁵ "300 Japanese Brides Attend Class Reception," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* March 1951; A Japanese major newspaper, *Yomiuri*, reported slightly differently that at the reception, Japanese women listened to a lecture on etiquette, watched a movie, and enjoyed a reception party. "Kokusaiban 'Hanayome gakko' [International Version of 'Brides' School]."

¹⁷⁶ "300 Japanese Brides Attend Class Reception."

¹⁷⁷ Sakamoto, "GIs' Japanese Wives Offered Schooling"; "Kokusaiban 'Hanayome gakko' [International Version of 'Brides' School]."

¹⁷⁸ Larry Sakamoto, "Brides School Starts Monday," *Pacific Stars and Stripes* March 1951.

where the former fraternity of Japanese Imperial naval officers, *Suikosha*, had been located before confiscated by the occupation government. In this picture taken by a U.S. Army photographer, hundreds of young Japanese women wearing western dresses with their permed hair are sitting on chairs. Their American husbands were also invited to the reception, but there is no recognizable presence of these husbands or of American women in the picture. Of course, there is no presence of Japanese men in it. Instead, the photograph captured Lt. Col. George B. Schuyler and another U.S. Army officer who are passing out registration forms to these women at its center.¹⁷⁹



Figure 1: Reception of a bride school sponsored by the CWA, Tokyo, March 16, 1951 © U.S. Department of the Army

This photograph shows remarkable similarity and contrast to a 1935 photograph

¹⁷⁹ This photograph (March 1951) was first published in “300 Japanese Brides Attend Class Reception,” *Pacific Stars and Stripes* (March 1951), and then in *Ichiokunin no showa-shi: nihon senryo* [*Showa History of A Hundred Million People: Occupation of Japan*] 3 (Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbun-sha, 1980), 250; A similar photograph but with American husbands was published in a Japanese newspaper, “Kokusaiban ‘hanayome gakko’ [International Version of ‘Brides’ Schools’].”

taken at the commencement of a “military bride school” in Tokyo. In July 1935, 235 women graduated from the military school.¹⁸⁰ In the photograph, young Japanese women in *kimono* were sitting on chairs. They were listening to a speech of Lieutenant General Oshima at Seiwa Women’s High School. We can see a Japanese national flag on the wall. Both of these photographs clearly show the involvement of army officers in the bride schools. The 1951 photograph signifies the loss of such power of the Japanese government over Japanese women under the U.S. occupation. The U.S. Army and the occupation government took over that place.

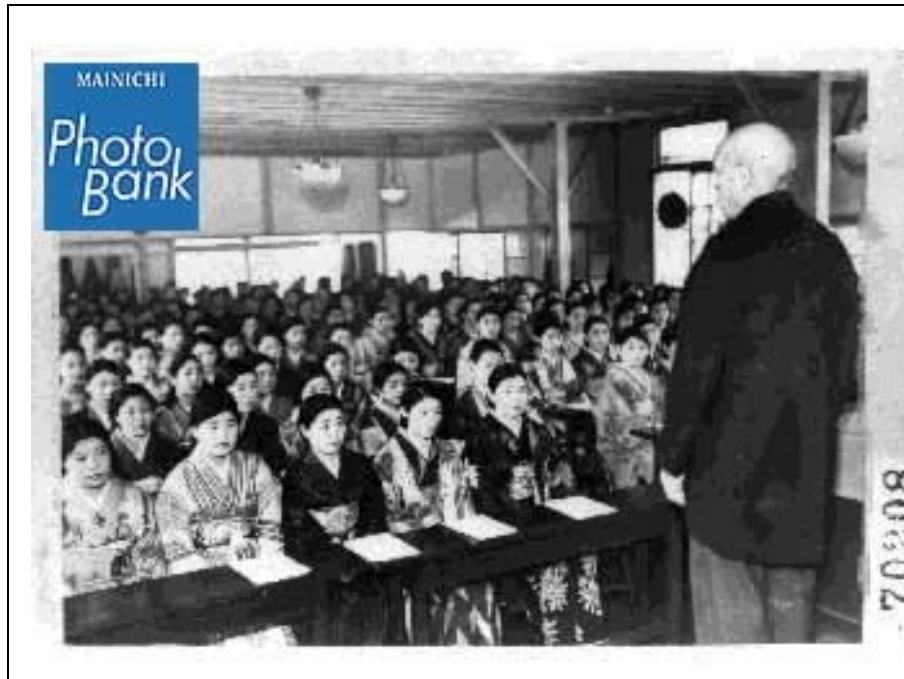


Figure 2: Commencement of a “military bride school,” Tokyo, May 14, 1935
©Mainichi Shimbun-sha

¹⁸⁰ “Chiyogadani no seiwajyoshi-koutou-gakugeiin nite, ooshima-tyujo no aisatsu [Lieutenant General Oshima Speaking at Seiwa Girls’ High School in Chiyogadani], Tokyo,” May 14, 1935, Mainichi photo bank.

Even though Japan regained full sovereignty in April 1952 under the San Francisco Peace Treaty, U.S. troops and bases lawfully continued to stay in Japan under the 1952 Security Treaty signed between Japan and the United States. As a consequence, the number of American-Japanese marriages increased, and the 1951 CWA school became a model for the new ARC brides schools throughout the 1950s.

2. ARC Brides School Textbooks

Unlike the CWA school, many of the ARC brides schools discontinued English classes and instead added more classes, over time, on various subjects such as history, geography, legal rights of military wives, visa and travel information, religion, and women's place and social life. Each local ARC group organized and operated their schools in different ways, but they usually held classes together with other local American women groups. For example, in Camp Fuji, the ARC worked with Camp Fuji Women's Club. In Nagoya, the ARC cooperated with the Chapel Guild for their program. In Itazuke, the ARC worked with "the officers' wives club." The spirit of cooperation with local American volunteers was encouraged by the ARC because "it makes for a stronger program."

What did the ARC brides schools teach Japanese women? The schools offered Japanese brides orientation classes to help with their adjustment to American society when they were still reachable as a group in Japan. The tuition was free of charge, and these schools were not mandatory. Students met three times a week in the morning and

studied one or two subjects a day in a four- or five-week course. Students had to register for school and registration functioned as a background check. For example, for registration, wives had to be accompanied by their husbands. At a reception of a bride school in Kokura Camp (1956), a husband had to fill in a registration form, giving his name and rank, serial number and organization, address in the United States, when he would return to the United States, and a statement as to whether he planned to make the Army a career. A wife filled in her name, address, telephone number, education, a statement as to whether she read, spoke, or wrote English, a statement as to whether she had children, and if so, how many and how old; and what she was most interested in. Commencement and reception usually followed registration. The ARC brides schools usually invited U.S. military officials for their commencement as well as graduation ceremonies.

Each school used different handouts or textbooks until the ARC volunteer teachers compiled a two-volume standard textbook --- one volume in English and the other in Japanese --- in 1959.¹⁸¹ The subjects of these textbooks can be categorized into ten groups as follows:

1. Visa and passport information
2. Travel information (this class offered students the information about their passage to the United States and their travel to their final destination in the United States)
3. Legal rights of dependents of the Armed Forces (this class informed participants of various agencies and services available to Japanese wives, such as legal office in the Armed Services, the Servicemen's and Veteran's Survivor Benefits Act, the Dependent's Medical Care Act, husband's will, and insurance)

¹⁸¹ The ARC records hold only three bound textbooks: a 1956 Camp Kokura textbook, a 1956 Camp Fuji textbook, and the 1959 standard textbook, as well as handouts and lecture notes.

4. History, geography, and government
5. Citizenship
6. Religion
7. Customs, culture and manners
8. Make-up and good grooming
9. Housekeeping
10. Home nursing and child care

The last two subjects, housekeeping and home nursing and child care, were given much emphasis with detailed instructions. For housekeeping, students learned: 1) proper buying of household items, 2) familiarity with general household equipment, electrical and manual, 3) proper methods of doing (a) laundry, (b) dish washing, (c) bed making, (d) general cleaning, 4) correct table setting and service and importance of good table manners, 5) instructions on being a gracious hostess, and 6) an admonition to “learn to housekeep, but not let the house keep you.” For home nursing and child care, students learned the importance of good care in safeguarding the lives of the mother-to-be and unborn baby, milestones in the first year of the baby’s life, child rearing, and home nursing when sickness occurs. The high mortality rate of babies and young children ages 1-4 was a problem in Japan. For example, 60.1 babies out of 1000 died in 1950. The number was double the mortality rate of infants of the United States (29.2).¹⁸² Therefore, the American way of infant care was seen as a model by the Japanese. *Mainichi* newspaper carried a series of articles to introduce baby care in the American style in 1948.¹⁸³ The ARC textbooks emphasized that three factors were important as they

¹⁸² “*Sekai no nakano nihon no kodomo [Japanese Children in the World]*,” <http://www.asahi-net.or.jp/~dw3r-isbs/kosodate_53.html> (18 September 2007).

¹⁸³ “*Amerika shiki ikuji hou [American Way of Baby Care]*,” *Mainichi shimbun* 31 October 1948: 4; “*Amerika shiki ikuji hou [American Way of Baby Care]*,” *Mainichi shimbun* 5 November

greatly influenced child development: parental care, love and “cleanness” as the key to prevent illness and infection. “Good health habits play a part in maintaining good health.” The 1959 standard ARC textbook recommended that teachers demonstrate the following in their classrooms: hand washing techniques, use of a fever thermometer, vaporizer, ice bag and enema bag, and a sample home first aid kit.

In addition to classroom lectures and demonstrations, students visited volunteer teachers’ homes for cooking and homemaking classes. These classes demonstrated “some key roles of a housewife”: cooking, cleaning, entertaining houseguests as a hostess, and budgeting. For food preparation, students learned: 1) proper shopping at the Commissary, 2) five categories of food needed for good health, 3) planning well balanced meals -- (a) use of basic seven food groups every day, (b) appearance, and (c) taste -- and 4) measuring and equivalents, as well as (a) how to read recipe from cook book, and (b) explanation of cooking terms such as bake, broil, stew, and fry, and sanitary methods of food preparation and preservation. The classes also introduced kitchen appliances such as a dishwasher, an electric stove, a coffee maker, a toaster, and a pancake griddle to Japanese wives. Some schools also offered a 30-minute “coffee time” after their daily class schedule.

American specialists were invited to the schools as guest speakers on various topics. Guests included chaplains and missionaries for religion and nurses for personal and home hygiene. Japanese guests were occasionally invited as well. These Japanese guests included Tatsuo Doi (archbishop), Tamaki Uemura (priest), and Shirley Toshiko

1948: 4; “Amerika shiki ikuji hou [American Way of Baby Care],” *Mainichi shimbun* 5 December 1948: 4.

Yamaguchi (actress in Hollywood movie “Japanese War Bride”).¹⁸⁴ Yamaguchi was also married to a well-known Nisei architect Isamu Noguchi. Unlike the ARC brides schools in Britain that invited Eleanor Roosevelt, American-style ARC brides schools in Japan did not invite any political figures.

The ARC handouts and textbooks reveal that Japanese brides were encouraged to value and retain their Japanese culture in America. ARC teachers told their students to keep their Japanese culture, for the United States was the “melting pot” and “a blend of cultures and customs of people from all over the world.” Americans were “eager to learn different cultures from other people.”¹⁸⁵ Teachers encouraged students to contribute to the cultural pluralism by bringing their Japanese culture, both objects and customs to the United States: “Give all your knowledge and talents, for you have many.” *Kimono*, a traditional dress, was one of them, and students were told, “Your clothing is very beautiful and when you go to your new home in the United States you should take some of your things with you. There will be occasions when you can wear them.”¹⁸⁶ Japanese brides and their husbands were even shown a 30-minute U.S. Information Service film produced by the U.S. Army titled “Japanese War Bride in America” at their graduation

¹⁸⁴ “Kokusaiban ‘hanayome gakko’ [International Version of ‘Brides’ School]”; “Sensei ni yamaguchi toshiko san [Toshiko Yamaguchi as a Lecturer],” *Yomiuri shimbun* 1 March 1952: 3.

¹⁸⁵ 1956 Camp Kokura textbook writes, “the United States is often called the ‘melting pot’ ---in which people of all the word mix and blend together their hopes, ambitions and daily lives.”

¹⁸⁶ 1956 Camp Kokura textbook.

ceremonies, to remind participants their knowledge of Japanese culture such as bamboo crafts would work advantageously and help them adapt to their new life in America.¹⁸⁷

More importantly, Japanese wives were told never to belittle their Japanese heritage and their native country. Teachers told them, “Do not belittle your origin and country. Be proud of both.” Students were told never to decry things Japanese, “Never make the mistake of belittling things Japanese. In America there is the custom of taking you and yours at your own evaluating, and it might be very misleading and uncomfortable if you speak disparagingly of your own possessions and belongings. Do not make that mistake!” However, teachers did not intend to encourage students to keep all Japanese customs. They encouraged their students to combine the best of the two cultures and let the rest go.

The appreciation of elements of immigrants’ culture such as ethnic food and festivals, or “immigrant gifts,” as they were termed by John Higham, was not new among Progressive reformers, but had been observable since the turn of the nineteenth century. However, the idea of recognizing cultural contributions of non-European immigrants as “immigrant gifts” was new. There were four major factors behind such the culturally liberal attitude of the ARC teachers toward Japanese brides. First, it reflected American women’s new awareness of internationalism in the Cold War era. One textbook expressed the sentiment thus:

Remember that you yourselves have a proud and a great history behind you. You have had the advantage of being a Japanese. Take with you loyalty and love to the new country. Keep with you whatever good you have known here

¹⁸⁷ In the film, the couple opens a store of bamboo crafts. “Japanese War Bride in America,” U.S. Information Service film. National Archives.

and in doing so each one of you will in your own way help in the coming of that day when we all shall be a part of one world in understanding and peace.¹⁸⁸

As Christina Klein points out, ethnic cultures came to be seen as imperative assets for Asian Americans as U.S. citizens in the 1950s. In other words, they were seen as worthy citizens in part because of their ethnic cultures and their racial “Asian” appearance. As an embodiment of American democracy, they were seen and represented throughout the American middle-brow culture as cultural ambassadors in the postwar U.S.-Asia relations.¹⁸⁹

Second, the United States was experiencing an unexpected “Japan boom” in the 1950s. The popularity of Japanese arts, clothes, food, and architecture grew out of returned American soldiers’ nostalgic recollections of Japan, the prosperity of 1950s America, and wartime research interests of Japan.¹⁹⁰ Third, there was a tendency among Japanese brides to “shed everything Japanese in favor of American substitutes as fast as they can.” Therefore, teachers probably felt the necessity to teach them about the value of their Japanese-ness, understanding that their American husbands married them precisely because they were Japanese and different from American women and that they needed to keep their Japanese-ness so that their husbands would not abandon them for

¹⁸⁸ “The Japanese Brides’ School of 1951, held under the auspices of the Christian Woman’s Association of the Tokyo Area: An informal, verbatim account of comments and opinions expressed by teachers and officers at the close of the school,” 1951, Folder “618.4 War Brides, Japan and Korea, Japanese War Brides’ School,” Box 1,280, American Red Cross, RG200, National Archives.

¹⁸⁹ See Klein’s *Cold War Orientalism*.

¹⁹⁰ “Amerika no nihon buumu [Japan Boom in America],” *Shukan Asahi*, 8 September 1957, 3-11; Donald Keene, “West Goes East---East Goes West,” *The New York Times* 27 March 1960.

other women in the United States. Teachers almost certainly wanted to protect and prevent their students from any possible marriage tragedies such as negligence and divorce in the United States.

Last, the teachers appreciated and used certain Japanese customs and values as tools to make these Japanese wives into obedient U.S. subjects. Japanese traditions and customs that Japanese brides were encouraged to retain were not seen as impediments to their smooth integration into American life. Rather, those values became a tool for molding Japanese brides into law-abiding, loyal, and responsible American citizens. Teachers told them that “many of Japanese daily customs seemed very beautiful.” The examples they gave were the certain customs based on “filial piety,” such as “little phrases of courtesy” and “children going to greet the grandparents after a day in school.” If Japanese wives kept such self-disciplining ethics and virtues to be loyal to their paternal figure, it would be easier for them to adopt and embrace the authority or social order of their new nation. The students were told, “There is nothing new and different from what you have been true to in your life as a Japanese citizen,” and “if you are a good Japanese citizen you would be automatically a good American citizen.”

Japanese wives were told to become loyal U.S. citizens for the sake of their husbands and children. They were told, “Bear in your mind always: ‘Because of my husband and his love for me, I am going to be a loyal American. I will do my part in that country to help in any way I can. It is my country now, and my children’s country.’” Japanese customs based on filial piety worked in favor of Japanese wives who could apply self-discipline to regulate their behavior and way of thinking. It would work as a

substitute for Christian ethics, and perhaps for that reason, the ARC schools did not try to convert their students to Christianity.

Taking the best of Japanese culture to the United States with them, however, was not enough for Japanese brides to become good U.S. citizens. They were expected, first and foremost, to be good homemakers as their prerequisite quality for citizenship.

Japanese brides were inculcated with the gender ideology of the 1950s American society.

The schools taught them: “Your primary role in life is now being your husband’s helpmate.” The 1959 standard textbook described for Japanese brides what an ideal wife was:

“My ideal wife is one that is fundamentally honest, in her thoughts, speech, and action. She reads each day the headlines, at least, of a good newspaper, and adds one or more radio or TV news broadcasts. She is interested in the civic affairs of the city, town, or village where she lives, especially if she has school-age children. (For they will ask questions!) She reads a good magazine for women, for it has many useful articles on household matters and those concerning children. She should join the PTA of the school where her children are enrolled, and take as active a part in it as possible. She will try to be at home when the children come in from school. This is important. She helps them with their “homework.” She plans her day so as to have her work done methodically. Few American women have maids, but there are many appliances which make her work easily and quickly done. Much of her sewing or mending may be accomplished while listening to the radio. With TV it is more difficult, but it can be done. If she is wise, she budgets both her time and money. She is a good housewife and mother, as well as a companion to her husband in whose work she takes a great interest, but never makes the mistake of telling him how it should be done. If she is wise, she criticizes when necessary, but remembers that appreciation for something well done will go much further than twice the amount of criticism. She looks her best at all times. This doesn’t mean being “dressed up” always, but to have her hair well combed, and a new housedress on at the beginning of the day. Rouge, eye shadow, bright shades of lipstick are all very good in their place, which is at the end of the day, when one is ready for relaxation and diversion.¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ The 1959 standard textbook was illustrated by a Japanese benefactor of the Japanese National Red Cross in Tokyo. He designed two Mandarin ducks, as a symbol of fidelity and a good

In addition, a good wife was expected to understand the husband's religion, which was assumed to be Christianity: "We are anxious that you fully understand your husband's religion so that you may prove yourself a good wife and mother... a credit to your community and country."¹⁹² Thus, they learned that the unwritten code of laws for being a good wife would regulate every aspect of their private and social life. The home was the place where they were expected to begin their citizenship, because the home is the cradle of civilization and the foundation of their "life and happiness; the first school of citizenship and democracy." They learned that "the well-ordered home based on love, mutual helpfulness, and intelligent cooperation is the highest achievement of mankind."

According to the lessons taught, the gender systems of Japan and America were not viewed as completely conflicting, and Japanese femininity was seen as complementary to American gender norms.¹⁹³ For example, regarding the American gender norm, they

marriage. In her forward to the textbook, Mrs. Hugh O. McTague, Director Office of Volunteers, Far East Area, writes, "both in China and Japan for many years (we heard this years ago from old service friends) the American couples have been referred to as "Mandarin ducks" because you see the wife always with the husband, which isn't quite the pattern in the Orient. We do love to tag along, don't we?" The illustration symbolized a good marriage in which the wife and the husband are always together.

¹⁹² They learned about Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism as three major faiths in America.

¹⁹³ American and Japanese gender norms of the 1950s were similar in terms of sustaining the idea of women's primary role as good wives and mothers, but their definitions of "good wife" were quite different. In the United States, after the war, the society was homeward bound and Americans embraced a family-centered culture. Under the fear of communist threats and a possible nuclear war, the idea of home and family was romanticized, and "Americans of all racial, ethnic, and religious groups, of all socio-economic classes and educational levels, married younger and had more children than at any other time in the twentieth century." May's *Homeward Bound* revised edition, ix. In Japan, the new postwar constitution and revised legal codes granted Japanese women unprecedented political, economic, and civil rights. More women worked outside home and a new idea of marriage based on not family arrangement but love became more accepted. However, the gender ideology of "good wife, wise mother" was socially sustained and

were told that they should be neither too submissive nor aggressive to their husband because “the competitive spirit is unattractive in a woman and the opposite, complete submissiveness and subservience to a man, does not make for companionship between husband and wife.” At the same time, they were told to retain their Japanese femininity: “However, never forget to keep your Japanese womanly qualities of gentleness, patience, thoughtfulness for your husband’s comfort, and respect for him as the head of your little household.”

Good grooming became a tool of social control to mold Japanese wives into the desired citizenry who were expected to conform to the middle-class gender norms and the conservative social mores reflected in fashion. Students learned what to wear and what not to wear on different occasions---for breakfast, housework, morning coffee or shopping, afternoon wear at home, an evening at home, shopping in the city, shopping in a small town, luncheon or church, cocktail hour, and dinner dance. For example, for big city shopping, they should wear suit, hat, gloves, walking shoes (medium heels), and cotton blouse; but they should not wear cocktail dress, jewelry, sheer blouse, or nylon blouse. They also learned how to wear accessories (hat, bag, gloves, shoes, stockings, scarves, and jewelry) and were encouraged to study fashion and household magazines to get the sense of what women wear in the United States. For demonstration, fashion shows were held at the schools. Students were also encouraged to be very attractive and look smart even in maternity clothing.

continued to influence state policies until the 1980s. Kathleen S. Uno, “The Death of ‘Good Wife, Wise Mother’?” in *Postwar Japan as History*, edited by Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 294, 295.

An inscribed idea in good-grooming was that if a wife is attractive, it would help keep her husband happy, contain their husband's sexuality within their marriage, and therefore make their marriage successful. Students were told, "ALWAYS be neat and clean to greet husband at lunch or for dinner in the evening." For make-up, they were told, "Apply your make-up lightly to give you a natural, healthy look" and not to "paint" their face on, because "your husband will want you to be naturally beautiful, too, and will not want his friends to think your beauty comes from lipstick and powder."

In addition, good-grooming and cleanness (hygiene) was considered necessary for Japanese brides to gain social acceptance. For example, it would help them make a good first impression on their in-laws. They were advised:

Your husband's family will probably be on hand when you step from the ship, train or bus. To make a favorable impression on that important occasion, you must be clean, neat and well-groomed. Just before arriving, apply a minimum of fresh make-up. If you are going to travel in a suit, have an extra, clean blouse with you that you can change into before arriving.

For another example, it would help them fit in and avoid unwanted attention from strangers. They were told, "In some communities in the States, the very fact that you are Japanese will make you different. It is best, therefore, to dress conservatively, and not cause unfavorable comment about your appearance," and "Remember to keep yourself sparkling from your hair and eyes to your well-polished shoes, and the world will smile with you."

Such instructions surely pushed Japanese wives to conform to the American standard of beauty and provoked a desire to look like white women, but the schools did not teach them to blindly apply popular fashion or make-up to themselves. For example,

the 1959 textbook writes that good grooming means cleanliness¹⁹⁴ and that one should know one's own figure well and dress wisely.¹⁹⁵ The textbook gave a number of suggestions on how to flatter average Japanese women's figures: for hair, "Most Japanese women look very attractive with the short, Italian-type hair cuts. It gives them a dainty appearance;" for make-up, "Orange-reds and rose-reds are the best colors for Japanese skin coloring" and "Most Japanese girls do not need eye-make-up" because "Japanese girls have naturally beautiful eyes;" and for clothing, "You are shorter than most American women. This is really an asset, because it is much easier to appear dainty and well-groomed when you are short. However, you must choose your clothes more carefully."¹⁹⁶ The textbook also advised students to buy clothing which is appropriate in the community they would settle in.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ 1959 textbook writes, "Good grooming means with cleanliness": 1) daily bath, 2) shaving underarms and legs, 3) using a deodorant under arms daily, 4) keeping your fingernails neat, clean and well-manicured, and not too long; 5) shaving the face; 6) care of the hair.

¹⁹⁵ 1959 textbook writes, "women all over the world are interested in clothes. It is one of our common bonds." For clothing, the textbooks suggest that women study their own figure by standing before a full-length mirror and take "a long....long look at yourself." One needs to ask basic beauty questions such as "Am I round-shouldered or square-shouldered?," "Are my hips small or large?" and "Am I flat-chested or full-busted?" The textbook gave suggestions on how to cover major shortcomings by choosing what to wear carefully. And, it suggests to be sure that their clothes are comfortable as well as suitable so that they will feel at ease.

¹⁹⁶ A short woman should avoid "overly large and bulky shoes, jewelry, handbags, collars and frills on your clothes" and instead "choose the modified small or medium size." In order to make them a few inches taller, it was suggested that they wear vertical stripes or lines and "a bit of color or detailing on the bodice or shoulder or your outfit, or a bright, small hat in order to attract the observer's eye to those instead of your feet." "Never draw the eye to your feet as the focal point of your outfit, as it will make you look shorter," they were warned.

¹⁹⁷ The textbook writes, "Buy only the absolute minimum of clothing before you reach your new home" and buy "appropriate clothing for the life you will lead in your particular community" with an in-law's or a friend's aid in shopping when they get there.

Japanese wives were also taught how to make a budget, shop wisely, save money, and live within their income. Students were warned that America is not as rosy a country as they saw in Hollywood movies: “Be on guard against being carried away by rosy dreams of luxurious comforts, expensive smart fashions and ideas of life in America you may have acquired from American movies.” Teachers were aware that although their students were enjoying luxuries in Japan as wives of U.S. servicemen because they could shop in PX in Japan at one-sixth the price of the United States, most students would go to “the farming and the poorer sections of the United States.” Therefore, at the schools, “emphasis was placed on a Sears, Roebuck norm of existence rather than the Vogue pattern.” Their husbands were also concerned that their wives tended to pick out all the expensive items at Army commissary.¹⁹⁸ A sample budget for average income families in early 1950s America was shown as: housing 25%; food 37%; clothing 10%; transportation 11%, medical care 5%; recreation, reading materials 5%; and other 7%. And, students were given suggestions on how to cut down on expenditures such as “Make use of the cheaper cuts of meat,” “When you are buying clothes, shop around and look for bargains,” and “Shopping at large super markets instead of small neighborhood stores where prices are higher can save a little for you.” They were told, “Be happy to live within your income and don’t become dissatisfied because you cannot have everything you want as soon as you want it.”¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ Falk, 55.

¹⁹⁹ Textbook, 1959.

In the ARC textbooks, there was silence about racial inequality in American society. Students were only “warned that they may be stared at [with curiosity] in the communities where they take up residence but not to mind that.” Students did not learn anything about Native Americans, African Americans, non-European immigrants, or the internment of Japanese Americans in history class.²⁰⁰ They did not learn racial segregation in the South or anything about U.S. territories such as Puerto Rico or Hawaii in geography class. Thus, the ARC schools little prepared those who married African American soldiers to face their husband’s second-class citizenship status and its effects on their marriage and social life.²⁰¹ Hawaii-bound brides were also less prepared in these schools. In addition, presuming that Japanese brides would become housewives in America, the schools offered no instructions on getting a job or vocational training. The ability to speak English, which was viewed as the most fundamental skill necessary for the assimilation of both male and female immigrants, was considered of secondary importance at the ARC schools. Unlike other immigrants, Japanese brides were not expected to go into the American industrial order as workers, but expected to do their duty as citizens by being good wives and mothers through their homes.

²⁰⁰ “To best understand the important events in the history,” the 1959 standard textbook introduced the history of the United States by explaining historical background of major national holidays observed in the United States; Lincoln’s Birthday, George Washington’s Birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Columbus Day, Veteran’s Day, and Thanksgiving Day. Even though the “Lincoln’s Birthday” portion of the textbook mentions slavery, there were no references to American Indians or African Americans in any pages of “History” in any of these textbooks.

²⁰¹ According to a 1952 survey by James B. Pilcher, Tokyo Consul General, the racial background of Kalischer, 17.

3. The Role of American Women

The CWA and ARC brides schools provided a unique opportunity for American housewives residing in Japan. Unlike the ARC brides schools in Europe during 1943-46, which were staffed by ARC workers because U.S. servicemen were not allowed to bring their families to where they were serving at the time, these schools in Japan recruited “American housewives” to teach and demonstrate cooking and housekeeping classes. As a result, these schools were uniquely “staffed mostly by housewives.”²⁰² American women participated in the CWA and ARC brides schools, hoping that “their project, although short, will give Japanese wives a chance to learn about America and prepare them for eventual introduction to the American ways of life,” according to an article in *Pacific Stars and Stripes*.²⁰³ These women, who were called “American occupation women” in the same article written in 1951, were mostly daughters and wives of American officers.²⁰⁴ Teaching at the schools not only helped them use their abundant time in Japan on a benevolent cause, but also socialize with other American women. Once involved in ARC brides schools, American women found their new roles through compiling their textbooks, giving lectures, and interacting with their Japanese students as well as other American women.

²⁰² Smith and Worden, 79.

²⁰³ Sgt. Larry Sakamoto, “GIs’ Japanese Wives Offered Schooling,” *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 10 March 1951.

²⁰⁴ They were “colonels’ daughters and corporals’ wives, young mothers and wives of commercial entrants.” Smith and Worden, 79.

American teachers played a role in defining what kind of country the United States was and who Americans were, in addition to articulating what socially accepted gender roles were. They aimed to debunk Hollywood's glamorization of America and surely gave Japanese wives a different image of America, but the newly given image was another idealized version of the nation and its people. Teachers described the United States as the "melting pot" and a nation of Christianity. They taught that the nation was comparatively a "very young" but "wonderful" country of diverse cultures made by "the people of Europe, Africa, Asia and other countries of the world, who came to the United States to establish new homes, to find freedom of speech and religion, to build new careers, and to achieve happiness and a worthwhile life." "It is that fusion which gives to the United States its strength, its courage and its power," they taught.²⁰⁵ However, there was a hierarchy among these cultures. For example, their textbook writes that there were communities which were not Christian in America but Christians were "the kindest, most thoughtful people."²⁰⁶

Teachers also articulated the persona of an ideal U.S. citizen by describing "the laws of right living" that "the best Americans have always obeyed": good health, kindness, sportsmanship, self-reliance, duty, reliability, truth, good workmanship,

²⁰⁵ Textbook, 1959.

²⁰⁶ Textbook writes, "If you have a Christian husband you are very fortunate. A non-Christian American husband is no different from any other non-Christian husband. But a truly Christian man is kind and considerate of his wife and family."

teamwork, and loyalty.²⁰⁷ Some of these virtues such as duty, teamwork, and loyalty might have sounded familiar to students because they did not conflict with the Japanese social norms of the era, but the meanings of these terms were quite different in the United States and Japan. For example, in terms of “loyalty,” one is expected to be loyal to the nation and the parents in Japan, but in America, according to an ARC brides school, one is expected to be loyal to “humanity and civilization” first, and then to the nation and the family.²⁰⁸

American teachers also played a role in defining and teaching about Japan and Japanese to their students, for they often explained the nature of America and Americans in contrast with Japan and Japanese. They usually situated America as the opposite to Japan: for example, Americans are outspoken, optimistic, and laugh easily, while Japanese rarely display emotion and were fatalists; Americans are more public spirited and would help anyone in need rather than limiting it just to members of their families, while Japanese society is based on the family unit; as for class structure, in Japan, people belong to the upper class or the lower class, while in the United States, most people belong to the middle class; as for economy, the economy of Japan is one of scarcity, while that of America is one of plenty, which makes Japanese very frugal and resourceful in adapting their way of living to their economy, while Americans are wasteful, generous and productive by Japanese standards; and as for work style, Japanese are exceedingly

²⁰⁷ The textbooks also encouraged readers to contribute to the welfare and happiness of all in the community, vote and pay taxes, be politically conscious, and maintain a friendly and cooperative attitude toward members of all races and creeds.

²⁰⁸ Textbook, 1959.

industrious in a steady, methodical manner, whereas American activity is of a fast pace and displays efficient snappiness.²⁰⁹ In short, these comparisons depicted America/Americans favorably as frank, public-spirited, equal, affluent, productive, and efficient, while describing Japan/Japanese as reserved, clannish, unequal, accustomed to scarcity, and steady.

These American women came to find their new role not only as teachers but also as guardians of their students, as their view of their students changed. The schools gave American women an opportunity to get to know Japanese women. This positively changed their perception of Japanese brides and intermarriages. One teacher recalled that she used her first class not for cooking but for getting acquainted with her students and talking about her family and her children in her own kitchen and so they “became very good friends.” It seems that American teachers found their students “very anxious to learn,” “quite responsive,” “certainly outstanding,” “most interesting,” and having “innate ability.” They were fondly surprised to see the cleanness and neatness of their appearance: they expressed, “What impressed me with my girls was that they were all so clean and neat” and “they were very, very neat, and each time they would have on different shoes and blouses.” As a consequence, they came to have a little more optimistic view on interracial marriage:

Most of us were brought up to feel that a mixed marriage could end only in tragedy, and when we were in school I think most of our professors had the same feeling. I think many of us now have decided that we were mistaken and that the only way to get a United Nations spirit the world over is to

²⁰⁹ Textbook, 1959.

forget that there are such differences and to realize that there can be successful intermarriage, regardless of differences in race.²¹⁰

Even one woman who had a less than positive view of Japanese women, much less American-Japanese marriages, changed her view:

When I was asked to help with the school I said I did not want any part in it, that I had five sons and it would break my heart if one of them should marry a Japanese girl. But by the time I had been teaching these girls eight weeks I was admitting that I could understand why the American boys fell in love with such lovely girls. I cannot help saying here that I would enjoy having one of them as my own daughter-in-law.²¹¹

The more they got to know their students, the more sympathetic they came to be to their students.

As a result, American teachers found a new mission to protect their students from racial prejudice from other Americans in Japan and the United States and the necessity to extend their work beyond classroom. For example, having heard that one of her students faced discrimination in the PX and Commissary, one teacher pledged to continue her assistance even after the students graduated: “it made me aware that our job is not yet completed, because there is some feelings against the girls and quite a lot of different attitudes are shown to them in the PX and Commissary. ... particularly they need our friendship in the face of some of the opposition they are meeting.” Another teacher expressed her plan to send a picture of her students with a letter to each husband’s family

²¹⁰ “The Japanese Brides’ School of 1951, held under the auspices of the Christian Woman’s Association of the Tokyo Area: An informal, verbatim account of comments and opinions expressed by teachers and officers at the close of the school,” 1951, Folder “618.4 War Brides, Japan and Korea, Japanese War Brides’ School,” Box 1,280, American Red Cross, RG200, National Archives.

²¹¹ Ibid.

in America, “because I want the family to understand what we have tried to do for them and maybe it will help them to be a little more sympathetic as time goes on.” Teachers thought that their students were the successful product of their efforts to promote international and interracial friendship and evidence that intermarriage could be successful. One teacher says, “As we send some of these girls we have met here over to the United States and through them show some of the people in the United States that Japanese and those of different races are fundamentally the same and that we can get along together, perhaps it will help.” Another also expressed, “If all Americans could get to know these girls they would not be so prejudiced.”²¹²

These American women’s attitudes and their relations with their students can be described as maternalistic; they treated their students in a motherly manner. They referred to their students as “girls” or “my girls.” For example, one stated, “I really enjoyed the girls very much,” and another expressed, “I was quite thrilled with my girls.” It was not merely because their students were Japanese, for ARC staffs also called European war brides “girls” in the 1940s. As far as ARC brides schools are concerned, calling Japanese war brides “my girls” can be understood as an expression of American teachers’ maternalistic attachment and affection. Indeed, some students saw their teachers as a mother figure. For example, one husband wrote to a teacher that “she [his wife] does not think of you only as a teacher but as a mother and a good Christian lady. I think the same of you for being so good to my wife.”²¹³ However, teachers never called

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

themselves “mothers,” but rather referred to themselves as “friends” of these Japanese women.²¹⁴

African American women played a role in giving students some information about American race relations and reminding white American teachers of the necessity to extend their understanding to black-white race relations. For example, in the luncheon meeting at the end of the first CWA school for teachers and officers, an African American teacher insinuated that it was hypocritical if white teachers would not practice their newly gained racial tolerance in white-black relations:

About my own race (negro) especially, I think it is very nice that she [a white teacher] spoke up so boldly, that you of other nations should put down that discrimination and try to be real Christians, because unless we are real Christians, we cannot live with other people, that is, in the right way. One of the girls asked me one day ‘Mrs. Bell, what is a hypocrite?’ I told her it was one who does things on the one side for show, but who does not feel the same on the inside.’²¹⁵

She had a Japanese daughter-in-law, and at first her students and friends of her daughter-in-law did not want to tell her what they had read in Japanese papers about the second-class citizenship of African Americans because her daughter-in-law was classed as “a negro” now. But soon they asked her “very personal” and “all sorts of” questions which “would be embarrassing to the [white] ladies present.” She indicated that racial boundaries were slippery and a Japanese wife of a black soldier would be racialized as a black in American society. A little later, in the meeting, one teacher spoke, probably in

²¹⁴ For example, *The Red Cross Courier* writes, “The brides, like their husbands, GI or officer, look upon Red Cross, if not actually as ‘the Greatest Mother,’ at least as their greatest friend either at home or abroad.” Johnson, 4.

²¹⁵ “The Japanese Brides’ School of 1951, held under the auspices of the Christian Woman’s Association of the Tokyo Area.”

response to the black teacher but not expressly so, “I think we have learned that basically all people are alike if we give them a chance. If a few more of us would close our eyes and do a little more listening and take people as they are, instead of thinking of the color of their skin, or where they come from, we would all be happier.”²¹⁶

Nisei (second generation of Japanese Americans) and some Japanese women worked as interpreters and some had been students as well at the brides school. They worked as a bridge between teachers and students and encouraged their understandings of each other. One of the interpreters who was apparently either Nisei or Japanese, expressed, “I got a great deal from both sides (American women and Japanese students), and I have learned that greater understanding grows out of love.”²¹⁷

Through all these roles, American teachers acted as an example of good Americans, which strengthened their identity as Americans. They tried to act as a fine example of “Americans” and the American society that they were teaching about in their brides schools. It paralleled how the United State tried to guide Japan for democracy and capitalism by introducing modern life style and American values. As model Americans, ARC workers and volunteer teachers demonstrated racial tolerance and appreciation for foreign cultures: they tried to learn and appreciate Japanese culture to become better teachers.²¹⁸ One teacher said, “To do an understanding job, we in turn have to learn

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ The Cold War competitiveness with the Soviet Union highlighted American racism amid U.S. claims to leadership of the “free world” under the unprecedented international attention to American society. As a result, the Cold War played a role as an agent of domestic civil rights

many things about Japanese ways of living.”²¹⁹ The results were satisfying and gave them new self-images and images of “American women.” A teacher expressed, “The most enlightening thing to me during the whole course was the attitude of the American teachers themselves.” “I am hoping that many of the American women here will take back with them the feeling that we can get along with people of other races and that intermarriage with people of other nations can be a success,” she said.²²⁰

For many American teachers, teaching at the schools was a “rewarding” experience. For example, some expressed that it was “the most gratifying thing I have done,” or “one of the best experiences of my life.” “I enjoyed every minute of my class,” one said. Another stated, “Happiness is not found, but it is created by doing things for others, so I found happiness for myself in my experience with these girls.” One teacher found her experience very enlightening, enough to stop her drinking habit, “I learned a lot about Japanese customs from the girls, and not having beer here very long, I found it a very enlightening experience.” Some also felt that they gained more than their students. “I feel that I learned more than they did,” a teacher expressed.²²¹

Their husbands or fathers who were U.S. military officials stationed in Japan took a part in making postwar Japan an ally and a partner in democracy which would appreciate

reform as well as repression. See Dudziak’s *Cold War Civil Rights* and Borstelmann’s *The Cold War and the Color Line*.

²¹⁹ “School for G.I. Brides: Red Cross Helps Japanese Prepare to Live in U.S.A.” *Ebony* (September 1956), 44.

²²⁰ “The Japanese Brides’ School of 1951, held under the auspices of the Christian Woman’s Association of the Tokyo Area.”

²²¹ *Ibid.*

the American-style capitalist model of life. While the men got involved in the mission in a masculine manner by using military and political power as the protagonist, these women as the “helpmates” of their husbands took their part in the occupation by embodying and presenting themselves as the conscience and modernity of the United States. They used their privilege and influence as Americans to educate Japanese wives of U.S. servicemen in support of successful American-Japanese marriages and tried to demonstrate that Japanese women could become assimilable and even “good” U.S. citizens. Using their knowledge of domesticity in teaching Japanese brides how to become homemakers, they worked without defying or stepping out traditional gender roles as wives, mothers, and teachers. In addition, their schools belonged to U.S. military bases which were U.S. extraterritoriality spaces.

However, by conforming to the conservative gender norms of the era, they claimed their own authority over the schools and gained much autonomy in their work from the military. In fact, many of them taught Japanese women in their personal space---their own home kitchens--- outside the schools, which was a space in which they had more freedom in teaching or socializing with their students. They did not always have an interpreter in their cooking class and it is doubtful that they always could communicate with their students well, but they at least had autonomy in that space.

Most importantly, their “Cold War Americanization” project strengthened their identity as Americans, as they came to find or invent their roles in Japan. Their attitudes were surely “progressive” in terms of their respect for Japanese culture and not imposing Christianity, compared to earlier Americanization efforts by missionaries or reformers

toward immigrant women of color. They chose to teach their students to retain their Japanese culture and gave their students a new idea that Japanese culture was their asset. Although their culturally liberal attitude was based on the idea that the American way of life was superior, it gave Japanese brides a space to negotiate their identity between Japan and the United States. As better-informed Americans, these teachers also contributed to producing a better image of Japanese wives of U.S. servicemen and their marriages. Assuming their newly found roles, American housewives residing in Japan became a force to educate and discipline these Japanese women to fit in and pursue excellence in modern American families as wives and mothers of U.S. citizens and as future U.S. citizens themselves

4. Media and Government Films

Being so proud of their work, the ARC staffs encouraged writers, photographers, and radio and television people to observe their school sessions. As early as 1951, a CWA volunteer teacher had expressed such an impulse to publicize the success of their project:

This is a wonderful story, --- too good to be kept to ourselves. It should be written up for our home churches, our home newspapers and our denominational magazines. There is no way to measure how much effective help we might be giving these brides as they leave us, if we could let it be known widely in America that close contacts with these girls have brought to us understanding and a sympathetic love that breaks through all racial barriers. Let's spread this story as widely as possible.²²²

²²² Ibid.

As a result, American popular magazines such as *The New York Times Magazine*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, and *Ebony* carried articles on the ARC brides schools. Brides schools were also filmed for “motion picture and television news-feature purposes” by Fox-Movietone, M-G-M, Warner-Paths, Columbia Broadcasting System, National Broadcasting Company, American Broadcasting Company, and ABC in New York.²²³ The U.S. Department of Defense also filmed ARC brides schools in Tokyo several times between 1952 and 1956.

The mainstream American media favorably reported both Japanese brides’ and American teachers’ efforts to make American-Japanese marriages successful. They presented Japanese brides as diligent students eager to get “training they need to make their marriage successful.” They would become good U.S. citizens if proper instructions were given by good-willed Christian American women like the ARC volunteer teachers, “most of whom are amateurs, a little uneasy in their jobs, but willing to spend hour after hour in order to get results.”

A similar representation was also seen in recording footage filmed by the U.S. Army. The U.S. Army attempted to produce two documentary movies to “give the Japanese viewers in Japan a true account of America through the eyes of Japanese war brides and how Americanized Japanese war brides were, and introduce the marriage life of the couples of Japan-born wife and Nisei husband.” For these purposes, the U.S.

²²³ They included “Sunday Magazine, Sunday supplements of many newspapers, *Readers Digest*, *Good Housekeeping*, *King Features Syndicate*, photo services of American, European, and Asiatic news agencies.” Betty Burleigh, “Teaching Americans to Understand Japanese Brides,” *Far East Review* Vol.V. No.4. December 1955: 5, 10. Folder “618.4 War Brides, Japan and Korea, Japanese War Brides’ School,” Box 1,280, American Red Cross, RG200, National Archives.

Army requested the Anti-Discrimination Committee of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) for cooperation in 1951.²²⁴ In footage taken by the Army at a Tokyo brides school in 1952, Lt. Jenkins asked Mrs. Hammond, the chairman of the school, “Do you think the girls would make good American citizens?” When this scripted interview was taking place, these Japanese wives were not yet eligible for U.S. citizenship, but the McCarran-Walter Act, which would allow Japanese immigrants to apply for citizenship, was under process. Mrs. Hammond confidently answered to Lt. Jenkins, “Yes, they have been very receptive to this course, and I feel with the aid of American people at home they would make excellent American wives.” Lt. Jenkins also interviewed Kyoko Underwood, a Japanese bride, “Are you going to become an American citizen?” Kyoko answered, “Yes, I hope I can be a good citizen.” “I’m sure you would be a very excellent American citizen,” Lt. Jenkins said.²²⁵ This film represented Kyoto as a professional, highly educated woman: in the interview, Kyoko told Lt. Jenkins that she was a dentist and planning to go to dental school in the United States. Young women like Kyoko represented an achievement of the U.S. occupation which satisfied one of its five goals--- liberation of Japanese women, despite the fact that they were neither taught to be career-minded nor given vocational training at the ARC schools. Thus, these films were

²²⁴ “Beikoku gunjin no Nikkei hanayome ni eiga wo toshite beikoku no seikatsu youshiki syokai [Introducing the American Life Style, through Movies, to Nikkei Brides of American Servicemen],” *Chicago Shimpō* 8 August 1951.

²²⁵ “Japanese War Brides School, Tokyo, Japan,” Department of Defense. Department of the Army. Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations. U.S. Army Audiovisual Center, 1952, National Archives. This film also shows an interview with a volunteer teacher of good grooming and a lecture on the differences of American and Japanese customs.

intended to showcase not only the success of ARC brides schools but also the success of the U.S. occupation and deliver a favorable image of these American-Japanese marriages.

American media and government films contributed to making the image of Japanese war brides and American-Japanese marriages more acceptable to the American society. They assured that these brides were “no prostitutes, criminals or chronically diseased” and “not the very best Japan has, and certainly not the worst.”²²⁶ In such representations, they drew a line between prostitutes and war brides, who were now members of the “respectable” American family. They also showed that these women were liberated from the gender inequality and patriarchal family system in Japan. For example, a magazine article wrote, “Equality between the sexes is not stressed [at the brides school], but at the end of the course that in America she will no longer be a second-class citizen just because of her sex.”

As a consequence, in contrast to Japan, the United States was depicted as a modern, democratic country in which women enjoyed higher status, affluence, and scientific household and childcare technologies. The image was also seen in the U.S. government films produced on Japanese war brides living in the United States. All those films, which were taken in the South in 1954 and given titles such as, “Japanese War Brides, San Antonio, Texas” and “Japanese War Brides, Forest Park, Georgia,” show how Japanese brides enjoyed the modern middle-class life style with material comforts

²²⁶ Smith and Worden, 27, 81. I am not suggesting that these media representations of these schools alone had a strong impact on American perception of these women. But I suggest that these media representations helped improve the image of these women in conjunction with social science studies and popular culture. The role of social science studies and popular culture in producing the knowledge about Japanese war brides will be discussed in Chapter 3.

such as a TV, a car, and kitchen appliances in a house. One Japanese bride explains in Japanese that housewives in the United States could do their housework efficiently, showing some kitchen appliances such as a toaster to the viewers. She also tells how a Japanese doll and artifacts she brought from Japan were complimented by American house guests. One film footage also shows a Japanese bride shopping at a supermarket with her husband and baby, in which the affluence of the society was made obvious in the sights of beautifully arranged and piled fruits, meats, and many other kinds of foods.

These footages produced a counter image of racial relations in 1950s South where anti-miscegenation state laws and racial segregation were prevailing: one bride tells its viewers that everyone is very kind to her. However, these brides were married to white American servicemen and no wives of African American servicemen appeared in these U.S. government film footages. The American teachers who appeared in the footage of a Tokyo brides school were Southern white women with Southern accents. However, it is not clear if they were intentionally chosen to be in the footage because they were from the South.

Japanese major newspapers, magazines, radio, and TV broadcasters also reported on the brides schools in Japan.²²⁷ However, their coverage was smaller compared to that

²²⁷ “Brides’ School Report,” at Camp Crowford. Mrs. Myrtle Rottenberg, Director. 1953, Folder “618.4 War Brides, Japan and Korea, Japanese War Brides’ School,” Box 1,280, American Red Cross, RG200. Some of the Japanese magazine articles are: “Sanzennin no hanayome: taiheiyo wo wataru Nippon musume [Three Thousand Brides: Nippon Women Crossing the Pacific Ocean], *Sunday Mainichi*, July 28, 1957; “Jiken [Incident],” *Shukan Shincho*, 12 August 1957; “Kokusaiekkon ha kanashikarazuya [International Marriage is not Necessarily Unhappy],” *Shukan Sankei* 14 Sep. 1958; “Kokusai kekkon kichino nakano hanayome gakko [Brides’ School in Military Base],” *Jyosei jishin*, 5 June 1959.

of the American media.²²⁸ In general, the Japanese media coverage of these schools were neutral or positive ones. For example, *Sunday Mainichi* in 1957 briefly mentioned that the role of the ARC brides schools was important for leading these marriages to success.²²⁹ A 1959 article of *Josei Jishin* reported a brides school in an affirmative way, but it also expressed a concern about the school's not offering any English class.²³⁰ The title of this article, "*Kichi no nakano hanayome gakko* (Brides School inside Military Base)," also contains a slightly negative tone. Many more articles were written on other aspects of Japanese war brides rather than the optimistic experiences in the brides schools: they reported on tragic stories such as divorce, suicide, poverty, in-law problems, racial discrimination, homesickness, and adjustment problems.²³¹

²²⁸ The few newspaper articles on brides schools were usually short and not interpretive. The several magazine articles on brides schools were no better. Their description of the schools was short and some articles only carried photographs of brides schools without writing about those schools.

²²⁹ "Sanzennin no hanayome [Three Thousand Brides]," 5.

²³⁰ A Japanese magazine article expressed the concern about the lack of English lessons at the schools and how it might be critical to these women's new life in the United States. "*Kichi no naka no hanayome gakko* [Brides' School in Military Base]," 73.

²³¹ "Rotari Hanayome tokai beigunshouhei to nihonmusume no kekkon shikiri [Marriages between American Soldiers and Japanese Girls Increased]," *Shukan Asahi*, April 23, 1950; Nyusu stouri kokusaitushin tobira hiraku nichibeikekkonn [Japan-American Marriages Opening the Door]," *Shukan Asahi*, Feb. 25, 1951; "Watashino kekkonshita nihon no hanayome [Japanese Bride who Married Me]," *Maru*, January 1952; "Kokusaikekkon ha zekahika [Is International Marriage Good or Bad?]," *Maru* April 1952; "Tobei hanayome hakusho [Voice of Brides who went to America]," *Shukan Sankei*, Oct. 26, 1952; "Kokujin hanayome no higeki umio watatta nihon no hanayome [Tragedy of Brides who Married Black GIs: Japanese Brides who Crossed the Ocean]," *Shukan Yomiuri*, Oct. 18, 1953. In early 1950s, an U.S. Navy chaplain wrote an open letter to ask U.S. servicemen not to marry Japanese women as such marriages would not be successful, and it became a controversy among U.S. servicemen as well as among the Japanese. "Kokusai kekkon ha fukou [International Marriage is Unhappy]," *Asahi shimbun* evening 4 May 1953: 3.

Almost all American as well as Japanese media were silent about the fact that these schools were originally held at the request of the U.S. government and expanded at the request of the U.S. Army. In addition, in emphasizing how these Japanese brides were making a big transformation from “the East” to “the West,” the American media reinforced the stereotypical image of Japanese women as Oriental women by calling them “the little Madame Butterflies [*sic*]” and “these chrysanthemum-bud brides.”²³² The American media and U.S. government films, which always showed its viewers white teachers, with the exception of an African American teacher in an article of *Ebony*,²³³ further reinforced the assumption that Christian, white, middle-class, native-born women were the holders of authentic American culture and the legitimate agents for passing on the culture.

5. Response to ARC Brides Schools

²³² Ibid., 27. Chrysanthemum is the crest of the emperor of Japan and therefore seen as a symbol of Japan. The flower was also used in the title, *Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (1946), by Ruth Benedict, a commissioned anthropological study of the Japanese culture at the end of WWII.

²³³ For example, *Ebony*, an African American magazine, carried one article of bride schools with photographs including a black female volunteer and a married couple of a Japanese woman and a black man in 1956. Two of the photos show that Tomeko, a Japanese wife of a black serviceman, and other few Japanese wives were happily having sessions with Mrs. Milton Flemings, a black wife of a U.S. captain, in Mrs. Felming's house. The Red Cross National Headquarters Director of Office of Volunteers sent several copies of the article to the Red Cross Director of Office of Volunteers and the Public Information Office in the Far East for distribution and reference. “School for G.I. Brides: Red Cross Helps Japanese Prepare to Live in U.S.A.,” 43-45; Letter from Rosemary Kornfield to Mrs. Kester L. Hastings, August 27, 1956; Letter from Mrs. Robert Whitelaw Wilson to Mrs. John G. Fowler, September 4, 1956, Folder “618.4 War Brides, Japan and Korea, Japanese War Brides’ School,” Box 1,280, American Red Cross, RG200.

How did Japanese brides think about and respond to the ARC schools and the American teachers? The majority of Japanese brides did not attend these ARC brides schools: many had never heard about these schools or there were no such schools near them. Some brides simply did not have enough time to go to an ARC school before their departure to the United States after their marriage. For example, M.P. did not know that there were such schools. Even if she had known, she was not eligible for those schools because she was not married when she was still in Japan. She and her fiancé faced difficulties in going through marriage paper work because her fiancé had returned to and was serving in the United States. She entered the United States as a fiancée and not as wife unlike other Japanese war brides, because a private rescue bill, which was helped by Minnesota Senator Eugene McCarthy, passed the Congress to permit her to come to the United States to marry her fiancé in 1959.²³⁴ Another bride, K.G., also did not study at an ARC brides school even though she had a wedding ceremony in the GHQ Tokyo Chapel Center in late 1951 where a major ARC brides school was being held. She recalls:

I might have heard about such a school, but I did not have time to go to a brides school. I had to go through marriage paper work before the date on which my husband was ordered to go back to the United States. It took for long, about three months to get marriage permission from the Army, and then I had to leave Japan very soon (so that she could come to the United States with her returning husband).²³⁵

Then, how did the Japanese brides who actually attended ARC brides schools think about their school? According to archived sources and newspaper and magazine articles,

²³⁴ Interviewed by author, Minneapolis, MN, 2006.

²³⁵ Interviewed by author, Silver Spring, MD, 2008.

many of them enjoyed their school. One bride expressed, “I just wish the school could last forever. I love every minute of it.”²³⁶ Such an enthusiastic attitude was also seen in their high attendance. “I wouldn’t dare be absent,” another bride said, “I might miss something American.”²³⁷ Some brides even attended a school twice. Their teacher-student relationships seemed favorable, even outside the school. Some brides invited their teachers to their houses in Japan.²³⁸ Others wrote letters to their former teachers from the United States.²³⁹

Japanese brides chose to go to an ARC school for themselves, their husbands, and their children. These schools were the only means for many Japanese brides to learn the American way of life except Hollywood movies and their husbands, and the nitty-gritty of the American household and female concerns, through the first-hand knowledge of American women.²⁴⁰ Their ARC textbooks were probably the only bilingual how-to-

²³⁶ “The Tokyo Volunteer, Bride’s School Issue vol. no. 3, American Red Cross,” 1954, Folder “618.4 War Brides, Japan and Korea, Japanese War Brides’ School,” Box 1,280, American Red Cross, RG200.

²³⁷ “School for G.I. Brides: Red Cross Helps Japanese Prepare to Live in U.S.A.,” 43.

²³⁸ “The Japanese Brides’ School of 1951, held under the auspices of the Christian Woman’s Association of the Tokyo Area.”

²³⁹ Hundreds of letters were sent to their teachers and friends in Japan by Japanese brides who immigrated to the United States. “Chopsticks to Forks,” (no source, no date), Folder “618.4 War Brides, Japan and Korea, Japanese War Brides’ School,” Box 1,280, American Red Cross, RG200.

²⁴⁰ Students were not well aware of what and how important those roles were, before they came to the schools. A teacher recalled, “We asked the girls for some questions, and one was---“What does an American lady do all day?” The thing that made them laugh the most was getting three meals a day.” “The Japanese Brides’ School of 1951, held under the auspices of the Christian Woman’s Association of the Tokyo Area.”; there was also some ignorance on the part of Japanese wives about the fact that there are actually rules in American society. An interpreter expressed, “When I first met them [Japanese wives] for the first time, I was really worried if they were misunderstanding American manners and if they can really become Americans. There was an

book for cooking, budgeting, child-care, traveling, and so on, that they could get in Japan or the United States. Equally importantly, they also learned that they did not have to leave behind their Japanese-ness and that rather their Japanese heritage and culture were assets to them. Probably as a result of that, it seems that many Japanese brides chose to wear their traditional dress, *kimono*, in their graduation ceremony at these ARC's "Americanization" brides schools. For example, all ten Japanese brides in a photograph taken at a graduation ceremony were wearing *kimono* and escorted by their husbands. It can be also pointed out that attending these schools might have satisfied their sense of superiority to other Japanese women because they gained more knowledge about the modern American lifestyle with access to modern kitchen and household materials, which was a privilege in 1950s Japan.²⁴¹ Studying at these schools might have also given them the opportunity to perform as "respectable" women in their attempt to differentiate themselves from *panpan*, Japanese prostitutes.

Even though not always held regularly, ARC brides school was still in demand in the early 1960s. For example, finding no such schools around her, Y.E. successfully requested that the ARC hold a brides school in Camp Zama for her and others like her in early 1961. She remembers, "I've heard that there was such a school in the camp before,

aspect that they mistook American frank attitudes for no-rules." "Kichi no nakano hanayome gakko [Brides' school in Military Base]," 73.

²⁴¹ In the 1950s, the United States seemed a dream country to many young Japanese. Many Japanese studied English, enjoyed American popular culture such as movies, dancing, and jazz, and longed for the country's affluence and technology/science. The American Exposition was held in Osaka in 1950 and attracted many Japanese. In the 1950s, TV, refrigerator, and electric laundry machine were called "three treasures" in Japan. "Blondie," an American cartoon, appeared on a newspaper and a magazine from 1949 through the 1950s and showed American life style, gender roles, and family relations.

but no school at the time I've got married. So, I decided to ask the ARC to hold a brides school." She has kept a photograph taken at her graduation ceremony. In the picture, Mrs. Dorothy Erskine is pinning a rose on the *kimono* of Y.E. who is smiling broadly. Proudly, she also showed me the ARC certificate of achievement she received at the graduation ceremony.²⁴² Clearly, these schools helped them to learn basic household skills, eased their anxieties for their new life, and gave them some welcoming feelings.

Not all Japanese students were, however, happy with the classes or the teachers. Y.C., who attended a school around 1951, was one of them. She found her school very unsatisfying:

I went to a brides school...My husband did not ask me to go there or say anything. I was working for the ARC at that time, and I've heard about the school from American women there...The school was not so organized, you know, the teachers were not professionally trained teachers. They were just ordinary American women...they did not use to teaching. It was difficult to understand their poorly delivered lectures. We did not have any interpreters...We had cooking class, but I only learned macaroni cheese! I found the school not useful, so I decided not to continue. I don't think that the school was successful at all. I think, that is why that school was short-lived... it was only continued for three months or so.²⁴³

Her story shows that in early years, (1) students did not always have interpreters; (2) some American teachers were not good at teaching; (3) some Japanese brides did not like their school and teachers; and (4) some even decided to discontinue their studies in their ARC brides school.

Not so disappointed as she was, many other students nonetheless found some subjects not relevant, and were often puzzled or confused by, or did not fully understand

²⁴² Interviewed by author, Houston, TX, 2003.

²⁴³ Interviewed by author, Minneapolis, MN, 2008.

what their teachers were talking about. American magazine articles described some of such occasions. On one occasion, Japanese brides expressed “a slight disinterest” in a “boy-meets-girl” lesson. On another occasion, there was also “something less than enthusiasm when one teacher spent class time detailing to sergeants’ and corporals’ wives the proper method of answering an engraved invitation.”²⁴⁴ When they were told to be sure to wash their hands carefully before cooking, students thought that it was such a waste of water.²⁴⁵ They heard “somewhat opposing views”: one volunteer told them, “it helps hubby’s expense account when you ask him for a new pin or a scarf instead of a new dress,” while another said, “Although it has often been said that most American women are self-supporting I imagine all of you will be happy to have your husband provide the income. I know I have found it very enjoyable.”²⁴⁶ Students also expressed to their teachers that they needed an English class, but the ARC brides schools usually did not offer an English class, explaining that their class schedule did not have enough space for that.

How did Japanese brides utilize or understand what they were taught at their schools? They usually came to understand Americans by combining what they had learned at their schools and what they had learned from their own experiences outside their schools. They “[had] already been treated well by some Americans and insulted gratuitously by others, so they [expected] mixed treatment when they get [got] to the

²⁴⁴ Smith and Worden, 80.

²⁴⁵ “The Japanese Brides’ School of 1951, held under the auspices of the Christian Woman’s Association of the Tokyo Area.”

²⁴⁶ Falk, 55.

States.” Once arriving in the United States, they came to understand that the reality is much more complicated. One Japanese bride recalls that she was taught by a military chaplain at a Tokyo brides school that “if anyone slaps you on the right cheek, let him slap your left cheek too.” But she found that “the reality is not so sweet. In America, a mother teaches her child that ‘if anyone slaps you, slap him back.’”²⁴⁷ Another bride, who married an African American serviceman and went to some classes in a Tokyo brides school, became disillusioned about the country and Christianity when she faced racial segregation in North Carolina in the 1950s.²⁴⁸

Reactions from American husbands were generally quick and favorable. Not surprisingly, many husbands encouraged their wives to attend the ARC brides schools. Some even went along to school with their wives “just to be sure the wives were getting to the right place and listening to the teachers.”²⁴⁹ American husbands’ expectations of these schools was varied. For example, one husband wanted his wife’s school to teach her how to wear a slip. A young soldier brought his wife who looked “obviously frightened” to a Red Cross building in Yokohama and told a Red Cross worker, “I don’t know about this government and history stuff you teach—what I want her to learn is how to wear a slip,” “I tried and tried, but I can’t make her understand. Like I told you, I brought her three of them---and she’s got all three on right now.”²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ Chiyono Scarborough, interviewed by Enari. Enari, *Hanayome no amerika [America of Brides]*, 170.

²⁴⁸ Interviewed by author, Minneapolis, MN, 2008.

²⁴⁹ Smith and Worden, 80.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

The most common request from American husbands was that their wives receive cooking lessons. An American magazine article described that “for their otherwise satisfactory wives, and by far the most common cooking demand is that the wives finally, somehow, learn to make a decent cup of coffee” because “it’s a rare husband who can stand fish soup for breakfast or breakfast without coffee.” Kazueko Campbell expressed why she attended a brides school, “My husband was getting tired of ham and eggs. That was the only Western style meal I knew how to prepare before I went to the brides’ school.”²⁵¹ An African American soldier bringing his wife “waved away” the school curriculum. “Never mind that,” he said, “I’ve told her all she needs to know about the United States. You just teach her how to cook.” Some husbands sent special instructions for specific dishes such as hamburger.

Husbands were happy with the outcome, in general. Teachers usually invited husbands to a dinner at the end of their cooking course. Hearing that their wives had cooked the mealserved at the buffet, a husband was “pleased to think that he might look forward to such a dinner every night.” Husbands often expressed their appreciation to teachers. One sergeant wrote a letter from Korea to just express his gratitude to the teachers.²⁵² Another husband excitedly told a teacher, “What do you suppose my wife brought home today? An apple pie she baked just like my mother used to make.” One husband saw his wife’s teacher on a bus and told her, “You are my wife’s cooking

²⁵¹ Falk, 54, 55. She said, “Like several others, I’m going to school for a second time.”

²⁵² “The Japanese Brides’ School of 1951, held under the auspices of the Christian Woman’s Association of the Tokyo Area.”

teacher. Please tell all those good Christian women they are wonderful!" Another wrote, "On behalf of my wife and myself I cannot express how much we want to thank you for your own time you have taken to show her, not only to cook, but to do everything." A Nisei husband thanked his wife's teacher for teaching her to keep up her good grooming at home. He married his wife because she was so beautiful, but "he would come home and find her not looking nice, --- she had let herself go and had become careless about her appearance." The teacher recalls:

I told the girls it was important to have a clean house, but just as important for the wife to keep herself neat and attractive as she had been before they were married. The [Nisei] husband told me later that the first night he came home after the class his wife was all fixed up, and he asked, "Where are we going?" She said, "Nowhere, but my teacher told me to get dressed up for you."²⁵³

For some minority husbands, these ARC brides schools gave a sense of changing American race relations. In 1951 when Japanese wives were still ineligible to citizenship, a Nisei husband wrote to the chairman of the school his wife had attended, "The sincere and effective teaching by your instructors has convinced my wife that she can and will some day become an American citizen. She feels assured that no matter where she goes, she can live as an American because you have taught her that America is a country for all, regardless of race, color or creed. This is her first step into the U.S."²⁵⁴

The ARC brides school project was viewed as successful by not only Americans but also the Australian military officers.²⁵⁵ The Australian Armed Forces in Hiroshima

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ "Minutes of Meeting on Brides Schools," 19 August 1957, Folder "618.4 War Brides, Japan and Korea, Japanese War Brides' School," Box 1,280, American Red Cross, RG200.

²⁵⁵ The Japanese government's official attitude toward these ARC brides schools was little

copied the idea and opened their own brides school in Camp Kure for Japanese wives of Australian servicemen in January 1953. Australian officers working at the YWCA gave lectures at the school with the aid of interpreters. They taught Western hygiene and how to shop, dress, and cook. A Japanese wife who attended the school recalls that she learned how to make a meat chop, a popular dish in Australia, how to cook Irish stew, and how to dress in Australian style.²⁵⁶

The ARC bride schools in Japan became a successful model to educate other Asian as well as European wives of U.S. servicemen in the 1950s. By 1955, similar schools were opened in Okinawa (which remained under U.S. occupation until 1972) and the Philippines.²⁵⁷ In the United States, too, the ARC held a brides school in 1957 for foreign wives of U.S. servicemen regardless of nationality or race: in Fort Dix, New Jersey, a course of eight two-hour classes titled “Introduction to the American Way of Life” was offered every Monday evening by local ARC chapters. The military invited foreign wives to the school and forty one foreign wives of seven nationalities (Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Japan, Korea, Poland and Scotland) attended the school in 1957. Classes covered food purchasing and preparation, budgeting, clothing

recorded. Only one American magazine article mentioned that “Japanese officials have credited the course with contributing to the viability of these interracial marriages.” Falk, 54.

²⁵⁶ Australia permitted marriage between Japanese women and Australian soldiers and the immigration of Japanese wives to Australia in 1952 for the first time. Kaori Hayashi, Keiko Tamura, and Fumiko Takatsu, *Senso hanayome: kokkyo o koeta onna tachi no hanseiki [War Brides: A Half-Century for Women who Crossed National Borders]* (Tokyo: Fuyou-shobo, 2002), a photograph (no page), 149.

²⁵⁷ Betty Burleigh, “Teaching Americans To Understand Japanese Brides,” *Far East Review* 5:4 December 1955: 5, Folder “618.4 War Brides, Japan and Korea, Japanese War Brides’ School,” Box 1,280, American Red Cross, RG200.

and good grooming, baby and child care, home nursing and family relationship.²⁵⁸ The school was considered to be “a follow up on the bride schools which were held at overseas installations.”²⁵⁹ In Korea, in the 1970s, similar schools were held by the United Service Organizations (USO) for Korean wives of U.S. servicemen.²⁶⁰

Conclusion

In 1952, the Emperor expressed his gratitude to Elizabeth Gray Vining: “If ever anything I did has been a success, it was asking Mrs. Vining to come here.”²⁶¹ Crown Prince Akihito succeeded to the throne to the Emperor in 1989. Under the postwar Japanese constitution, the Emperor was a mere symbol of Japan, and therefore the new emperor Akihito had no power to reform Japan. However, he changed one of the imperial family traditions when he was still crown prince: in 1959, he married non-royalty Michiko Shoda. He invited Vining to his wedding; she was the only foreigner that was invited to this imperial wedding. An article of *The New York Times* (1959) assessed her mission as a success:

²⁵⁸ Letter to Mr. Harry Martin from Page N. Price, September 27, 1957; “Foreign-Born Wives of GI’s Americanized at Fort Dix,” *The Evening Bulletin* 9 December 1957; “Red Cross Slates Classes for Foreign-Born Wives,” (no information of the source and date); “41 to Graduate Mon. From Class For Alien Brides” (no information of the source and date); handouts; A report on the course (no date); schedule for the course from October 21 to December 9, 1957. Folder “618.4 War Brides, ‘Introduction to the American Way of Life’ A Course for brides, foreign born wives of American servicemen,” Box 1,280, American Red Cross, RG200.

²⁵⁹ Letter from Harry L. Walden to A.G. Klamke, January 15, 1958. American Red Cross, RG200.

²⁶⁰ Yuh, 70, 71.

²⁶¹ John Gunther, “A Quaker and the Prince of Japan,” *The New York Time* May 11, 1952.

Apparently Mrs. Vining has won the affection of the Japanese because they credit her with having instilled in the young Prince some of the democratic and generous qualities that have appealed to the public. His insistence on a commoner as his bride was a notable expression of the tendencies that are admired in the future Emperor.²⁶²

Their teacher-student relationship demonstrates that the American-Japanese relationship in the U.S. occupation of Japan was a little more complicated than usually described in the relationship between masculine Americans and feminized Japanese.

Exploring the teacher-student relationship in the American Red Cross (ARC) brides schools in Japan reveals the role of ARC volunteer teachers, who were wives and daughters of U.S. military officers, in educating Japanese wives of U.S. servicemen to make their marriages successful in the United States. The ARC brides schools was a product of the U.S. occupation of Japan and reflected the U.S. occupation mission to transform Japan to be a major Asian ally for the United States after the establishment of the People's Republic of China and the Korean War.

Sustained by American women's volunteerism and Japanese brides' enthusiasm, these schools played a unique role in helping transform Japanese war brides and their image from "Oriental women" who were racially "inassimilable" and "ineligible to citizenship" to "model minority brides" from the 1950s through the early 1960s. In an attempt to modernize and integrate these women into the American national family, these schools inculcated Japanese brides to be "good wives and mothers" and therefore "good citizens," with the gender ideology of the 1950s and the idealized national vision of the American "melting-pot."

²⁶² Robert Trumbull, "Mrs. Vining a Celebrity in Japan," *The New York Times* 8 April 1959.

These brides schools provided both American and Japanese women with a space to negotiate their identities and roles in changing U.S.-Japan relations. For American women, these schools provided an opportunity to exercise their female citizenship in their newly found “civilizing mission” to educate Japanese brides, and they acted as the good examples of the Americans they were teaching about in their schools. In the process, they tried to educate the American public by publicizing their efforts through the American media, as a way to protect their students.

For Japanese brides, the ARC schools provided a new way of seeing themselves and their Japanese-ness. They learned to be proud of being Japanese and never to belittle things Japanese. Appreciation for this approach was expressed in Haru M. Reischauer’s welcoming speech for the first meeting of an ARC brides school in Camp Zama-Atsugi on March 1, 1963. Mrs. Reischauer, who was the Japanese wife of the U.S. ambassador to Japan, though she was not a war bride, contributed to a less stigmatized image of postwar American-Japanese marriages and embodied a model for Japanese wives of American citizens. Her speech echoed the essential message of the ARC brides schools that Japanese wives could become a bridge of the two countries by becoming good wives and mothers, and good U.S. citizens:

To all of you, I want to extend a very warm welcome into the American family. ...I feel very close to you, because you ladies and I share many things in common. ...First of all, you may feel some regret in losing your Japanese citizenship. But, you will find that you are not losing anything but gaining something because to your Japanese heritage and culture, you will be adding another culture. You will learn that America is made up of peoples of many lands, cultures and religions, which together have made America the great country it is. ...

When you are in America do not be ashamed of your Japanese background but try to tie it in with American culture, ...

We have an important role to play in international relations and can do much to further better understanding our two countries. We can do this by being good wives to our husbands, and good mothers to our children, and also by becoming good American citizens bringing something of Japanese culture with us to America.²⁶³

However, these schools, which offered Japanese brides little English or vocational training, did not prepare them to become independent citizens and made them almost completely dependent on their husbands in their early settlement years in the United States.

These ARC schools, physically away from the United States, created a liberal, and even a utopian-like space for racial tolerance toward American-Japanese marriages and Japanese wives of American servicemen. In the process, these schools became a force to transform not only the Japanese brides but also the American teachers and the idea about “an American” and the American family. A 1956 Camp Fuji textbook ends its lectures with these closing remarks:

We Americans in Japan wish you “Bon Voyage” and the people in the United States welcome you wholeheartedly.

²⁶³ She was not present at the ceremony but her taped speech was delivered. Her husband, Edwin O. Reishauer, was the first Japanese-born and Japanese-speaking U.S. Ambassador to Japan (1961-1966). Haru M. Reischauer’s speech was taped and edited by the U.S. Army Information Office and released on Pacific Report for all 25 Armed Forces Radio and Television System stations in the Far East, in addition to 16 commercial stations on the West Coast. The transcript of her speech was attached to “Letter from Mrs. Abbot L. Mills, National Director, Office of Volunteers to Mrs. Kester L. Hastings, Mrs. Robert C. Hunt, Mrs. G. Chadbourne Taylor, Mrs. Richard L. Sloss, Mrs. R. Platt Boyd, Jr,” May 29, 1963, Folder “618.4 War Brides, Japan and Korea, Japanese War Brides’ School,” Box 1,280, American Red Cross, RG200, National Archives.

Good luck, and may God bless you and your new home.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ Camp Fuji Women's Club and American Red Cross, *Camp Fuji Brides School, Feb. 1956*.

Chapter 3

“Are War Brides Happy Here?”: Sociological Studies of the Marital Adjustment of Japanese War Brides

Contrary to the usual assumption that interracial marriages, like other exogamous unions, are peculiarly subject to strains and instability, we have argued that the strains incurred in war-bride marriages are much like those in more endogamous marriages. We have further suggested that many strains indeed are less likely to occur in mixed marriage than in many non-mixed marriages.

-----Anselm L. Strauss, 1954²⁶⁵

Introduction

On November 13, 1953, Etsuko Britton, 24, strangled her two-year old son and tried to kill herself in the apartment of her husband's parents in Chicago. Her husband, 29, an army sergeant, was stationed in Japan for the Korean War at the time. Etsuko told police that she killed her child and attempted to take her own life because of criticism from her husband's parents, with whom Etsuko and her two children had lived for one month. According to her, the parents of her husband verbally abused her, forbade her to go out, and threatened to take her children away from her and send her back to Japan. The parents, however, denied that such abuse had happened. Etsuko was tried on a manslaughter charge but her attorneys successfully reduced her charge to non-criminal homicide by mental disorder and informed the court that the Japanese vice consul in Chicago would arrange for her return to Japan. The judge placed her on probation for a year, specifying that sixty days of the sentence be spent in jail. Her husband filed a divorce case during her trial and her one-year-old daughter was placed in custody of the

²⁶⁵ Strauss, 105, 106.

parents of her husband. On May 15, 1954, she was released from jail and left the Midway Airport at midnight to return to her parents in a village of Niigata Prefecture.²⁶⁶

When the legal obstacles to the entrance of Japanese wives of U.S. citizens to this country were removed by the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 at the end of the U.S. Occupation of Japan, no one had a clear idea of how these marriages would work and how these Japanese wives would be accepted, or even rejected, in the communities where they settled down. Therefore, the news that a Japanese war bride had killed her child and attempted suicide shocked American society, not to mention Japanese society. What was further upsetting was the statement she made to the police that she had been abused and that her husband's parents had threatened to take her children away from her. This "should not" have happened in a Midwestern city like Chicago, which was seen as cosmopolitan, "the most American of big cities," with no anti-miscegenation statutes or explicit Jim Crow laws, unlike the situation in the Southern states. It was nine days after the tragedy that the *Chicago American* newspaper carried an article asking, "Are Chicago's war brides happy in their new lives as American housewives?"²⁶⁷

Immediately after the tragedy, American scholars started producing a series of studies on the marital stability and adjustment of Japanese war brides. Recognizing the

²⁶⁶ Ruth Moss, "Mother Slays Baby; Relates Tale of Abuse," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 15 November 1953; "War Bride Who Killed Son Takes Sleeping Pills," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 23 December 1953; "Jap War Bride Who Killed Son Tries Suicide," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 20 February 1954; "Seeks to Keep Jap War Bride in County Jail," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 19 April 1954; "Jap Wife Who Slew Baby Set to Fly Home," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 16 May 1954.

²⁶⁷ Wesley Hartzell, "War Brides Happy Here: Kindly Neighbors Help in Crises," *Chicago American* 22 Nov. 1953.

increasing number of Japanese war brides who were arriving in the United States, social scientists – predominantly sociologists and social work professionals – produced a body of new knowledge about Japanese war brides, their marriages, and their American husbands, from the early 1950s through the early 1960s. Such scholarly attention had never been paid to any other group of war brides. The only exception was the interracial marriages between white European women and black GIs, which became another problem in the mid-1940s, but sociological attention to black-white marriages was not a new phenomenon in the United States. What kind of role did these social science studies play in shaping, circulating, and processing knowledge about Japanese war brides, and what were the factors behind the emergence of these studies and their findings?²⁶⁸

This chapter argues that these sociological works, which found that their marriages were as successful as other marriages, played a significant part in improving the image of Japanese wives in the 1950s. These sociologists' concern about their marriages and how well these racial minority wives would be integrated into American society reflected a concern of American society. The findings of these sociological studies upheld American society's expanding racial tolerance and the healthy American democracy in

²⁶⁸ This chapter goes beyond an analysis of the role of sociologists and their institutionalized knowledge production; it explores both academic and non-academic institutional studies to understand who got involved in producing the sociological knowledge. It is difficult to draw a clear line between sociologists who belonged to academic institutions and those who conducted their studies on Japanese war brides but had no affiliation with any academic institutions, because both researchers were trained in social science and used similar methodologies in their studies. Therefore, in this chapter, I refer to both groups as “social scientists.” For these purposes, this chapter examines not only scholarly journal articles and books, and master’s theses and dissertations, but also the works produced by those who had no affiliations with academic institutions, in the United States and Japan. No scholars have ever fully identified what kind of sociological studies were produced on Japanese war brides in this period, much less those by non-university-affiliated social scientists.

which immigrants could realize their “American dream.” On the other hand, Japanese-black marriages did not comfortably fit the storyline of Japanese war brides as happy housewives, but rather revealed the racism that still lingered in society. Their stories were paid little attention by either social scientists or the media. Sociological studies indicated that white-Japanese marriages would not threaten the existing racial hierarchy because the American husbands were not from elite or upper-middle class families and did not have strong moving-up or career aspirations.

Scholars in social work and professional social workers started their studies in the late 1950s, picking up the stories the sociologists left off. These social work scholars found more complicated stories about these women’s adjustment to marriage. They found that their problems were more serious than the sociologists suggested and that they needed assistance from social agencies in the United States and Japan. They also complemented some findings of sociological studies that these marriages were workable, in addition to assertions that these women were better adjusted in white communities than in Japanese immigrant communities and that these women had higher social backgrounds than Americans had assumed. For Japanese social scientists residing in Japan, it was almost impossible to follow these women’s footsteps once they left Japan. Even though some of these U.S. studies were translated in Japan, they had little significant impact on Japanese society’s general perception of Japanese war brides as prostitutes.

1. “Are War Brides Happy Here?”

From the early 1950s through the early 1960s, more than ten studies were conducted on Japanese war brides by social scientists. Their studies were published in journals and filed at universities for MA or MSA degrees (see Appendix B). Sociologists who first started studying these women in Midwestern cities in the early 1950s went on to examine whether or not the negative assumptions of their marriages were true. The general belief was that “American-Japanese war marriage will have a high rate of failure because of two assumptions: that they are the hasty result of casual contact and that they involve sharp cultural contrasts.”²⁶⁹ That is, it was assumed that these “war marriages” were a product of the casual sexual relationships between occupation soldiers and women of the occupied country and their hasty decisions were made under abnormal circumstances brought by war. The heart-breaking news in 1953 about the child-murder in Chicago seemed to confirm these negative assumptions. Not only that, newspaper articles on the incident suggested that these Japanese women, if maladjusted, could even take the lives of their own children, who were considered “Americans.”

These sociologists were well aware of the pessimistic views and tragedies reported in the media. Anselm L. Strauss, for example, referred in his study to the pessimistic predictions in the article written by J.E. Smith and W.L. Worden, “They’re Bringing Home Japanese Wives” in the *Saturday Evening Post* (January 29, 1952), and to the 1953 tragedy in Chicago as an example of severe strain arising from relations between wives and in-laws.²⁷⁰ In “Strain and Harmony in American-Japanese War-Bride Marriages” in

²⁶⁹ Schnepf and Yui, 46. Eleanor Roosevelt also expressed her concern about unhappy marriages of Japanese war brides in 1953.

²⁷⁰ Strauss, 99, 105.

Marriage and Family Living (1954), Strauss tested “a ready assumption that Oriental-Caucasian marriage are subject to greater strains than the ordinary marriage,” in particular for “race prejudice and in-law reception,” in addition to “differences in religion, in language, and in East-West mentality.”²⁷¹ Similarly, Gerald J. Schnepf and Agnes Masako Yui’s study, “Cultural and Marital Adjustment of Japanese War Brides” in *The American Journal of Sociology* (1955), examined the two prevailing assumptions: whether they were really marriages of poor decisions and whether they suffered severe cultural constraints, in order to assess their marital success.

By the middle of the 1950s, sociologists found that these negative assumptions to be untrue. At least, their findings challenged the negative assumptions. For example, Strauss’ 1954 study, based on interviews with fifteen Japanese war brides and thirteen “Caucasian” husbands in Chicago, found that “the easy assumption that interracial marriages are doomed to destruction or that the couples must have something extra special to make a successful go of the marriage are much over-simplified notions.”²⁷² Schnepf and Yu’s study (1955) concluded that the assumptions of hasty marriages and severe cultural conflicts “are not valid,” based on their interviews with fifteen couples in the St. Louis area and five in the Chicago area.²⁷³ Their study found stability rather than

²⁷¹ Ibid., 99.

²⁷² Ibid., 100, 105, 106. In addition, “several Nisei-war-bride and Negro-war-bride couples have been interviewed for contrast.” This study became one of the most frequently cited researches on Japanese war brides and later reprinted in *The Blending America: Patterns of Inter-marriage* edited by Milton L. Barron in 1972.

²⁷³ Schnepf and Yui write that the International Institute estimated that there were between 40 and 50 Japanese war brides in the St. Louis area, and the Chicago Resettlers Committee estimated that

conflict, and all the marriages in their sample were “successful.”²⁷⁴ Sociologists found that the couples usually experienced certain kinds of strains that are “universal issues” but that their marriages were workable despite the difficulties.²⁷⁵ Leon Kurtz Walters’ unpublished master’s thesis, “A Study of the Social and Marital Adjustment of Thirty-Five American-Japanese Couples” (Ohio State University, 1953),²⁷⁶ also found that their marital problems were caused by cultural differences rather than by the fact that their marriages were interracial marriages. He writes, “it can be stated that what problems these couples did have resulted not from their different racial backgrounds but rather from their different cultural backgrounds.”²⁷⁷

Sociologists further found that these women were generally well accepted in white communities and by their in-laws. Walters (1953), for example, maintained that American-Japanese couples were occasionally discriminated against but were mostly

between 2,000 and 2,500 resided in the Chicago area. Schnepf and Yui, 48.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 48.

²⁷⁵ Strauss found that by the time these couples were interviewed by them the differences of age, class, religion and education apparently did not make for great marital strain. He studied to determine whether the couples faced the following strains and if so how the couples handled the strains: (1) strain attendant upon symbolic separation from one’s family; (2) strains deriving from strong institutional loyalties; (3) strains attendant upon career and mobility aspirations; (4) strains attendant upon separation from and formation of, peer group relations; (5) strains arising from the occupational transition of the male; and (6) strains arising from relations with the husband’s family. Strauss also found that some wives were trying to persuade their husbands to return to Japan, but he did not see this as an indication of the wives’ poor adjustment. Strauss, 102-105.

²⁷⁶ There is no information in Walters’ thesis about his adviser or his committee members and about from which department or program he was earning his master’s degree. I am categorizing his thesis as a work of sociology because of its methodology and its sociology-focused bibliography.

²⁷⁷ Walters, 182.

well-accepted and not ostracized by either racial group. Strauss (1954) also found that “the husband’s parents generally greeted their daughters-in-law warmly at first and without visible racial prejudice or ethnocentric manifestations.” In addition to this “relatively open-armed policy,” many in-laws “appear to have played an important part in the acculturation of the bride, teaching her about shopping, about kitchen equipment, and the like.”²⁷⁸ Sociologists also found that Japanese women who were interracially married to white Americans were happier than those who were married to Nisei (the second generation of Japanese immigrants). Yukiko Kimura’s comparative study, “War Brides in Hawaii and Their In-Law,” in *The American Journal of Sociology* (1957), revealed that Japanese women married to Nisei experienced more severe problems with their in-laws, more so than Japanese women married to white Americans and European women married to Nisei.²⁷⁹ Strauss (1954) also suggested that “many strains indeed are less likely to occur in mixed marriages than in many non-mixed marriages.”²⁸⁰ These findings revealed the complexities of race relations and challenged the general assumption of interracial marriage as less workable than non-interracial marriage. As a result, Japanese women’s marriage to white Americans came to be seen as less of a problem, compared to other interracial marriages. With these findings, the sociological studies delivered a

²⁷⁸ Strauss, 105. Schnepf and Yui also found that “generally speaking, the husband’s family cordially welcomed the Japanese girl, and the mother-in-law was helpful in teaching her how to shop, prepare meals, and care for the baby.” Schnepf and Yui, 49.

²⁷⁹ Kimura, “War Brides in Hawaii and Their In-Law,” 70-76. Kimura’s studies on war brides’ relationships with in-laws and its result were reported in some Japanese ethnic newspapers such as *Chicago Shimpō* and the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL)’s newspaper, *Pacific Citizens*, in the 1950s.

²⁸⁰ Strauss, 105, 106.

message that a tragedy like the 1953 child-murder case was nothing but an unfortunate exception and that other Japanese wives were, in general, making smooth adjustments and enjoyed better relationships with their in-laws.

In these studies, the American-Japanese marriages were depicted as unions based on love. Strauss (1954) found that Japanese women's marriages to American GIs were "not the desperate moves of very old-aged women" or desperate moves of underclass women, for few of these wives interviewed were older than twenty-four at the time of formal marriage and these women's records were "checked by the Japanese authorities to screen out known prostitutes and criminals."²⁸¹ Schnepf and Yui's study (1955), which found that these unions did not result from casual contacts followed by quick marriages, also contributed to normalizing the image of these marriages.²⁸² Ernest W. Burgess's article on "The Romantic Impulse and Family Disorganization" (1926) wrote that the "Orient" such as Japan, China, and India as well as ancient Greece and Rome, and, some modern European peoples had practices of family-arranged marriage based not on love but on social status and economic standing. Love, as the proper prelude to marriage, was a watershed to distinguish the Orient and the Occident and the uncivilized and the civilized, according to him. Burgess cited the "audacious" thesis proposed and elaborated by Henry T. Finck that romantic love "is a modern sentiment, less than a

²⁸¹ Ibid., 99, 100.

²⁸² Their study found that the husband's stay in Japan averaged over four years and the courtships averaged about two years, in addition to that their first contact was not of the casual, street pick-up variety, but about three-fourths of the couples met at work and the rest at parties and picnics. Schnepf and Yui, 48.

thousand years old, and not to be found among savages, barbarians, or Orientals,”²⁸³ and complements the thesis by asserting that “it is in the United States that perhaps the only, at any rate the most complete demonstration of romantic love as the problem and theme of marriage has been staged” dating back to early eras of American society. Thus, sociological studies implied that Japanese war brides, who married American GIs against opposition from their parents,²⁸⁴ were modern women who made independent decisions to choose their mate for love, which was “an American practice,” over family-arranged marriages, a Japanese practice.

Sociologists also played a part in assuring that these marriages would not necessarily challenge the existing racial and class order. The unpublished master’s thesis of Boyd Lester Peyton, an ex-GI, “Identification in Husbands of Japanese War Brides” (Sociology, University of Chicago, 1956), the only study on American husbands of Japanese wives, found that fourteen of his thirty-four white interviewees living in the Chicago area had remained in the military (they were from “lower class”),²⁸⁵ eleven had

²⁸³ Burgess cites two works of Henry T. Finck, *Romantic Love and Personal Beauty* (1887) and *Primitive Love and Love-Stories* (1889). Ernest W. Burgess, “The Romantic Impulse and Family Disorganization,” 1926, page VI-8a. Folder 11, Box 27, Ernest W. Burgess Papers, the University of Chicago Library Special Collections Research Center. Japanese immigrants were discriminated against by alien land laws and immigration and naturalization laws in the early twentieth century, and their arranged marriage through pictures and the consequent immigration of so-called “picture brides” were among the reasons why Americans saw Japanese immigrants un-American and inassimilable.

²⁸⁴ Schnepf and Yui found that parental opposition was general at the start of the relationship, but opposition broke down rapidly. Schnepf and Yu, 48; Strauss found that few parents “encouraged marriage with Americans and a great many at first opposed it,” but “none of the families were actively seeking mates for their daughters in the well-known Japanese style.” There was little direct or strong family interference on the part of the husbands’ parents. Strauss, 101.

²⁸⁵ A third of these army men were of urban origin, another third of rural origin, and a third came from small towns. They tended to be of lower class status as determined by occupation, father’s

had reasonable jobs (they were from and in lower class), and seven had embarked upon occupational careers (they were from and in the middle class).²⁸⁶ In addition, he found that their ethnic and religious affiliations, as well as strong ties, loyalties, and obligations to their family of origin, friends, institutions, or ideologies, were lacking.²⁸⁷ Thus, they were free from strong class, family, or other obligations which would have restrained them from marrying Japanese women first of all. Peyton concluded that “marriage to a Japanese by a Caucasian American, in most cases, seems not to have created problems of identity of the severity hypothesized at the outset of the study.”

Strauss (1954) and Schnepf and Yui (1955) also found that these women were not career-minded, and “apparently, the wives cheerfully accepted their domestic tasks,” which indicated that these women were not potential labor competitors to American

occupation, and education. They had “no mobility aspirations” and weak or non-existent associational ties and casual and fleeting friendships. Their ages ranged from twenty-one to thirty-nine. Age at marriage varied between eighteen and thirty-seven and they tended to be either over or under the average age of marriage for American males. Ages with the highest frequencies at the time of interview were twenty-seven and thirty-three. Ages with the highest frequencies at the time of marriage were twenty-one and twenty-six. The younger men experienced more difficulties than the older men in their marriage decision because the younger men had closer sentimental ties to their families and were subject to some pressures against marriage to Japanese women, but both younger and older men tended to lack obligations or close ties to the family as well as long term loyalties or obligations to particular groups or institutions. Thus they expected no strong or persisting opposition to their marriage or were willing, or became willing, to defy it. Payton, 41-69. Apart from these men, Payton put two other husbands (one professional soldier and one jazz musician) into a different category, for these two men suffered from severe strains.

²⁸⁶ Peyton, 105. Payton recognized the limitations of his study: “The sample may be biased because of uncertainty of the respondents’ memory and whether or not respondents will give accurate and truthful accounts concerning their experience, emotions and self-conceptions,” “The marriages of some of those who refused to be interviewed are possibly troubled or strained, though the number was few” (seven out of 41), but on the other hand, “the fewness of the refusal indicates few such strained and unstable marriages.” Peyton, 36, 38, 39.

²⁸⁷ Peyton examined the process of identification of the white husbands during the period from the respondents’ arrival in Japan through the date of the interview, approximately mid-1953.

laborers (unlike prewar Japanese immigrants) and also satisfied the gender expectation of the era that they were content to be housewives.²⁸⁸ Therefore, the wives did not exert much pressure upon their husbands to improve themselves occupationally or in status, and husbands did not require their wives to take up a career or to become mobility-conscious.²⁸⁹

All these findings produced a more acceptable image of Japanese wives and even shaping an image as “model minority brides,” successful examples of a racial minority immigrant woman’s assimilation into content housewives in American families. As a consequence, these 1950s sociological studies also contributed to change the image of Japanese immigrants as well as the Japanese in general from Orientals to “model minority” who were considered to be worthy of U.S. citizenship. Sociological studies eased the general American public’s vague anxieties over these women’s integration as their daughters-in-law, sisters-in-law, and neighbors, as the immigration of these women continued through the 1950s.

These major sociological studies on Japanese war brides and their marriages during the 1950s were produced by scholars who had been trained in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. For example, Strauss earned a Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Chicago in 1945. His dissertation adviser, Ernest W. Burgess (1886-1966), a leading scholar of the second generation Chicago sociologists (along with Park), published a number of articles and books on family, in particular,

²⁸⁸ Shnepp and Yui, 49; Strauss, 103.

²⁸⁹ Strauss, 103.

about courtships, engagement, marriage, and children during the 1950s.²⁹⁰ After earning his Ph.D., Strauss taught at Lawrence College in Wisconsin and Indiana University, and had returned to the University of Chicago as an assistant professor. The materials of his 1954 study were “drawn from a study being carried on” at the University of Chicago under the joint sponsorship of the Family Center and the Race Relations Center.²⁹¹ An ex-GI, Boyd Lester Peyton, conducted the interviews with American husbands of Japanese war brides for the study and analyzed those interviews for his master’s thesis and used his interviews in his master’s thesis on American husbands of Japanese war brides in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago in 1956. A Japanese-born scholar, Yukiko Kimura, gathered some background data on Japanese wives for this study.²⁹²

Kimura earned her Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Chicago in 1952. Her dissertation was a comparative study of Japanese residents of Hawaii and Chicago, focusing on the adjustments of Issei (first generation Japanese immigrants) from the time

²⁹⁰ When Peyton conducted the research for his master’s thesis on American husbands of Japanese war brides, he was working with Strauss, and probably he was also working with Burgess for his thesis. Peyton’s thesis does not contain any information about his adviser or thesis committee members.

²⁹¹ Strauss, 100. Strauss worked on his master’s thesis with Herbert Blumer but he changed his advisers to Earnest Burgess for the doctorate because working with Blumer took too long and he wanted to finish without endless revisions. Adele E. Clarke, “Introduction of Anselm Strauss for the Cooley-Mead Award,” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 58 (March 1995): 1.

²⁹² A Nisei woman, Mrs. T. Mukoyama, interviewed the wives. The study, under joint sponsorship, had not yet been completed when Strauss published his study in 1954, and therefore he writes that “his paper should be looked upon as a preliminary and brief report” but the data at hand “are adequate to challenge the customary assumption about intermarriage discussed above.” Strauss, 100.

of the outbreak of the Pacific War.²⁹³ Then, she returned to the University of Hawaii, where she had earned her master's degree and she became one of Andrew Lind's researchers.²⁹⁴ Kimura led a comparative study, "War Brides Interview Project," a project of the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL) at the University of Hawaii from 1953-1956. Kimura's RASRL project studied the war brides who were residing in urban Honolulu and rural districts of the Island of Oahu. Kimura's project resulted in two journal articles, "War Brides in Hawaii and Their In-Law" (1957), as mentioned earlier in the chapter, and "Religious Affiliation of War Brides in Hawaii and Their Marital Adjustment" in *Social Process* (1963). In these articles, she does a comparative analysis to examine how in-laws relationships and religious affiliations affected the marital adjustment of Japanese war brides.

The Department of Sociology at the University of Hawaii at the time was staffed exclusively with graduates of the University of Chicago. Henry Yu pointed out that like the chain migration of Chinese and Japanese immigrants, Chicago sociologists sent their colleagues and students back and forth between universities. Romanzo Adams, a Chicago graduate and the founder of the sociology department at the University of Hawaii in 1919, brought Roderick McKenzie and Robert Park's student Andrew Lind to the university. Later, Lind brought Clarence Glick and Bernhard Hormann to Hawaii from Chicago. Adams, Lind, and Glick also trained a number of Chinese and Japanese

²⁹³ Yukiko Kimura, "A Comparative Study of Collective Adjustment of the Issei, the First Generation Japanese, in Hawaii and in the Mainland United States since Pearl Harbor" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1952).

²⁹⁴ She retired in 1968. She received her early education in Japan and a M.A. degree from Oberlin College before she came to the University of Hawaii for another M.A. degree.

students to conduct research on “Orientals” in Hawaii, and many of these students went on to the University of Chicago for advanced degrees.²⁹⁵ Kimura was one of them. Studies by these scholars in Chicago networks influenced one another. For example, in his 1954 study of Japanese war brides, Strauss referred to Adams’ *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii* (1937) and wrote that Adams’ study, which found that for some groups the divorce rates were much higher for the endogamous racial marriages, “inadvertently presents suggestive support for our conclusion.”²⁹⁶ Thus, the leading sociological studies on Japanese war brides were mainly produced by Chicago sociologists. These studies more or less inherited their predecessors’ liberal views of race and “Oriental” problems as caused by cultural differences and prejudice they experienced because of physical differences, and upheld a view of social progress. These studies contributed to expanding a sociological focus on the assimilation of Japanese immigrants beyond the Pacific Coast by studying Japanese war brides in the Midwest. However, considering the fact that Japanese war brides settled down all over the United States, these studies only showed a part of their reality, as an example of how they had adjusted in Midwestern cities.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ Yu, 156.

²⁹⁶ Strauss, 106. Schnepf and Yui (1955) similarly refer to the findings of Strauss (1954) and also writes that their study confirms Bruggess and Wallin’s comments that adaptability facilitates decision-making and collective action of husband and wife” (Eanest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage* [New York: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1953], 456) in Schnepf and Yui’s article, 50.

²⁹⁷ There are no official sources that show any demographic information of where these women settled, but a Japanese popular magazine mentions that more Japanese war brides settled in small towns or farming area in the South such as Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee. Fukumoto, 19.

2. Social Work Studies in the Late 1950s

In the mid-1950s, social work professionals also started their own research on the marriages of Japanese war brides. Their research questions varied, but they were commonly interested in identifying the problems of these women's adjustment to marriage, learning the needs of these women, and suggesting how social workers could assist these women in support of better adjustment if necessary. Almost all these social work studies were conducted under the auspices of or in cooperation with the International Institute. In Detroit, the International Institute of Detroit hired a Japanese social worker, Toshiko Tabe, to serve as the researcher of an interview project in 1955.²⁹⁸ Similarly, Chizuko Tsutsumi was hired by the International Institute of San Francisco in 1958 and she interviewed 100 wives in order to "discover needs and relate community services to the needs expressed."²⁹⁹

The International Institute also made their resources available to outside researchers who were not affiliated with the Institute. For example, the International Institute of San Francisco received from the INS a list of all persons over the age of 18 immigrating into San Francisco each month, and gave a list of Japanese war brides' names, upon

²⁹⁸ The International Institute of Metropolitan Detroit (IIMD) was founded in 1919 by a group of YWCA volunteers who sought to help immigrants learn English, become citizens, be assimilated into their new communities, and to learn to understand each other's culture.

²⁹⁹ The project was concerned with: 1) factors influencing and leading to the intercultural marriage; 2) personal adjustments of the wives to the American ways of life; 3) interaction between the Japanese women with other members of their family and with members of the greater community. Chizuko Tsutsumi, "General Interim Report---Study of Japanese-American Intercultural Families," The International Institute of San Francisco, 1961, 1, 2.

permission, to leaders of Deborah Beck, et.al.'s project. This resulted in their master's thesis, "Personality Patterns and Problems of Adjustment in American-Japanese Intercultural Marriages" (School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley, 1959).³⁰⁰ The International Institute of Los Angeles selected and provided case records to be used in Yoshiko Gloria Yamaji's project whose objectives were three-fold: to examine how communication affected marital stability, to verify whether negative stereotypes of Japanese wives were true or not, and to recommend "what could be done from the social worker's point of view."³⁰¹ This project resulted in her unpublished master's thesis, "The Impact of Communication Difficulties in Family Relations Observed in Eight Japanese War-Bride Marriages" (School of Social Work, University of Southern California, 1961).

The close connections between sociological studies and Christian social workers were not new, for sociological studies of Asians or Asian immigrants had been often supported by Christian missionaries in prewar years. Recent studies argue that Jane Adams, who founded the Hull House in Chicago in 1889, can be considered to be one of the leading sociologists in the 1890s and that her Hull House, her work, and her social

³⁰⁰ Deborah Beck, et.al., 11-12. The study was supervised by their faculty adviser, George A. De Vos, who had earned his B.A. in Sociology, M.A. in Anthropology, and Ph.D. in Psychology (1951) from the University of Chicago. He wrote his dissertation on the acculturation of Japanese Americans. He later wrote two mimeographed articles on Japanese war brides, "Patterns and Problems of Adjustment in American-Japanese Inter-Cultural Marriage" in 1958 and "Some Observations on Guilt in Relation to Achievement and Arranged Marriage in Japanese" (undated). These papers are cited in Yamaji's bibliography. He was teaching in School of Social Work at Berkeley at the time (1959). De Vos move to the Anthropology Department and became a professor of anthropology at Berkeley in 1965.

³⁰¹ Yamaji, 4.

thoughts had a significant impact on Chicago sociologists such as George Herbert Mead. It is also pointed out that Adams was also associated with the original group of the Chicago School of Pragmatism such as John Dewey. Mary Jo Deegan even calls Adams “the greatest woman sociologist of her day.”³⁰² Some of the university-affiliated sociologists who studied Japanese war brides also had previous experience as social workers, or had some kind of institutional ties with Christianity.³⁰³ Kimura, for example, was a former YWCA social worker in Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and Hawaii from 1938 to 1944.³⁰⁴ As Henry Yu points out, women who became involved as researchers in defining the problems of “Orientals” in the earlier period were especially likely to have

³⁰² Deegan says that after World War I, these two tracks within the profession split into social work as female-dominated and sociology as male-dominated and that almost women with sociology training in Chicago prior to 1918 were ultimately channeled into social work positions. Female sociologists were expected to work in “women’s sociological institutions.” Mary Jo Deegan, *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School: 1892-1918* (Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 2, 5, 8. The significance of scholarly works by female social workers /sociologists were neglected, compared to those by male sociologists, despite the fact that social workers and sociologists were sometimes nearly equivalent in essence, and influenced each other.

³⁰³ Schnepf earned his Ph.D. in Religion from the Catholic University of America in 1942. He was teaching at St. Mary’s University and then St. Louis University when he wrote his article on Japanese war brides. Five years later, he was elected Treasurer General of his order, headquartered in Rome, a post he held from 1960 to 1976. Then, he taught in Sociology at St. Mary’s University in San Antonio, TX. (1908-1985). He was President of the American Catholic Sociological Society in 1945, and President of the Association for the Scientific Study of Religion-Southwest, 1985. Schnepf wrote for a wide variety of journals and publications on the family, Catholic education, economics, sociological theory, and social justice issues. Loretta Morris, “Schnepf, Gerald J.,” *Encyclopedia of Religion and Society*, edited by William H. Swatos, Jr. (AltaMira Press, 1998). Yui came to the United States in 1950 and studied sociology in a graduate program at St. Mary’s University. She went back to Japan in 1954 and was an assistant in the sociology department at the Catholic University of Nagoya [*Nanzan daigaku*] when she and Schnepf published their study. She published another Japanese-language article in Japan in 1955, on the trend of the studies of intermarriage. Yui, “Intermarriage ni kansuru syogakusetsu no kenkyu [A Study on Different Theories of Intermarriage],” *Akademia* 11 (Oct. 1955).

³⁰⁴ Yu, 209.

come from church and social work connections,³⁰⁵ and in particular, “Hawaii became a locus for research as a direct result of the same alliance between missionaries and sociologists that had produced the survey.”³⁰⁶ Sociologists such as Kimura, who studied war brides in Hawaii, and social work professionals who studied war brides under the auspices of the International Institute, were an example of a continuing alliance of Christian-originated institutions, social work, and sociological studies on the problems of Asian immigrants in the postwar era.

Unlike the prewar sociological studies, however, more diverse actors played a part in studying Japanese war brides. Peyton, who interviewed American husbands in Chicago for Strauss and for his master’s thesis, was an ex-GI. Japanese or Nisei women helped sociological studies as interviewers. For example, as mentioned earlier, a Nisei woman referred to “Mrs. T. Mukoyama” interviewed Japanese wives for Strauss’ study. Walters’ Japanese wife had interviewed war brides in Ohio for her husband, and Walters put his insights as “one who is married to a Japanese” into his analysis.³⁰⁷ Nisei men also assisted in some research studies. Beck, et.al.’s study in the San Francisco Bay Area was assisted by a Nisei research assistant named Harry Nishio, who wrote a letter in Japanese for the wives and translated their answers to interview questionnaire.³⁰⁸ Social work

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 155.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 82.

³⁰⁷ There is no information in their studies as to whether Walters was an ex-GI or if Peyton served in Japan or married a Japanese woman.

³⁰⁸ Beck, et.al., 13. They conducted research from June 1957 to October 1958 with 27 couples including white and black husbands. But there is no reference on how many black husbands they interviewed.

studies were mostly conducted by Japanese or Nisei women, and utilized their knowledge of social work and of Japanese culture and society, as well as their perspective as Japanese women, in their studies. The International Institute, who hired these workers, was also a key player in producing the studies of Japanese war brides.

The research project led by Tsutsumi in San Francisco was a good example of how diverse individuals and groups became involved in a study under the auspices of the International Institute. The two-year study was supported by a research grant of \$13,000 from the Rosenberg Foundation,³⁰⁹ a local philanthropic organization. An advisory committee, which consisted of representatives of the local Japanese American community, worked with Tsutsumi in the early stages of the project. Mary M. Williams, a social worker and the supervisor of the project, “worked with Japanese war brides and put significant efforts into the project throughout the process.”³¹⁰ Williams also sent Tsutsumi’s interim and final reports to the National Headquarters of the American National Red Cross, which made copies available to overseas Red Cross installations for distribution. As a result, Tsutsumi’s interim and final reports reached Red Cross service

³⁰⁹ The website of the organization states that the organization is concerned with improvements in the lives of the people of California. “Our Grantmaking,” <<http://www.rosenfound.org/>> (1 September 2008). According to the “History” section of the same website, “Rosenberg Foundation was established in 1935 by a group of relatives and business associates who were designated as trustees in the will of Max L. Rosenberg. Mr. Rosenberg, a San Francisco businessman and philanthropist who died in 1931, was the president and major shareholder of Rosenberg Brothers & Co.” “The 1946 policies guided the Foundation for nearly twenty-five years. An external evaluation in the period 1955-1957 sharpened the Foundation’s focus on children and youth. The explosion of creativity and the concern for civil rights in the 1960’s provided increased opportunities for grantmaking, including, particularly, those related to social movements involving youth, farm workers, minorities, and women.”

³¹⁰ Tsutsumi, “Kokusai hanayome no ayunda michi [The Path International Brides Took],” *Fujin koron*, August 1961, 74.

workers who were teaching at brides schools in Japan.³¹¹ The networks and resources of the International Institute helped social work researchers locate more Japanese war brides than sociologists could because INS sources were not available to those sociologists.³¹² However, it was also felt that the involvement of the Institute limited or pre-determined the scope of their studies. Yamaji expressed her concern about the selectivity of the sources provided by the Institute. When Tabe was hired for research, the “schedule” (which consisted of 56 questions and topics to ask) had been already prepared by the Institute, and no space was left for her input except the opportunity to make some suggestions.³¹³

These social work studies found that the problems Japanese wives faced were more serious than the sociologists had suggested. For example, Tabe’s study, conducted in Detroit in 1955, suggested that a significant number of Japanese wives needed some kind of assistance: 33 out of the 90 couples she interviewed needed some kind of social services, either case work (individual counseling) or group work.³¹⁴ Yamaji’s study on

³¹¹ Letter from Harry Lambly to Mr. Harry Walden, Mr. T.P. Brookes, Mr. John Gordon, Mr. John Dugan, Mr. T.F. Lavelle, and Mr. A.G. Klamke, October 26, 1962; Letter from Mary M. Williams (no receiver’s name or date); “Letter from Jane L. Betterly to Miss Christina I. Moir, Mrs. Helen Huttig, Miss Helen Penhale, Miss Margaret Allee, Miss Eloise Whitney, Miss Raphael Henry. November 8, 1962. Folder 618.4 War Brides, Japan and Korea, Japanese War Brides’ School, Box 1,280, RG 200 (Records of the American Red Cross, 1947-1964), National Archives.

³¹² Walters writes that he had difficulty locating these women because neither the INS in Washington nor the American Consulate in Tokyo was able to furnish any information (to locate the people in question) for him. Walters, 5; Peyton also regrets that “It was not possible to obtain access to military records of these couples (home address, etc.).”

³¹³ Tabe also reported an interim report once a month at a staff meeting during the period of her research. Tabe, 96, 113. Tabe was teaching at a Christian university, *Hokusei gakuen*, founded by an American Protestant missionary, Sara Clara Smith, when she published her article.

³¹⁴ Tabe, 107 (Table 28).

Japanese war brides in Los Angeles also found: "A.L. Strauss states that the problems of war-bride marriages tend to be mild. The problems seemed mild to observers, but were serious from the war-brides' point of view." She also found that although language was a problem for these women, and their communication with husbands was highly limited in some instances, it did not trouble them as much as cultural differences. They had found ways to reconcile the language difficulties by other communication media described as body and appearance language which included "facial expression, hand, appearance--- clothing, hairdress, action, and pictorial language."³¹⁵

By 1955, the American media started reporting successful integration of Japanese war brides, which coincided with what the sociologists were finding at the time. By then, sociologists concluded that the answer to the question of whether American-Japanese marriages would be successful or not was "yes." The same answer was also found in William L. Worden's 1954 article, "Where are Those Japanese War Brides" in *The Saturday Evening Post*: "Did the marriages of some 15,000 American soldiers to Japanese women in the last half dozen years work out? The answer is yes---provided that

³¹⁵ Yamaji, 37, 42, 43, 44. Language difference was considered to be one of the most difficult obstacles for the wives, and their English learning attracted scholars' attention. For example, Susan Ervin-Tripp, a psychology professor of the University of California, Berkeley, was awarded a grant of \$31,500 from the National Science Foundation in 1960, in order to "determine factors that have influenced 150 Japanese soldier brides married to Americans in learning their second language." "Why Do Japanese Soldier Brides Learn English?" *Pacific Citizen* 5 Aug. 1960: 2; Ervin-Tripp (1964), 100. She studied Japanese war brides' bilingual learning as a case study and published the article titled "An Analysis of the Interaction of Language, Topic, and Listener" in *American Anthropologist* 66:6 Part 2 (Dec. 1964): 86-102. In 1967, she also published another study on the same grant. Susan Ervin-Tripp, "An Issei Learns English," *Journal of Social Issues* 23:2 (1967): 78-90.

there was intelligence, willingness and plenty of *gaman* (grin-and-bear-it).”³¹⁶ *The Reader's Digest* carried an interview of a Japanese war bride in “America Through the Eyes of a Japanese War-Bride,” in April 1955. The article starts with a question of how these women, who came from an Oriental country being poles apart from the Occident, were doing in the United States: “They have all the problems that bewilder other immigrants, and in addition they are Orientals---their culture, language, customs and loyalties so unrelated to our Western civilization they could as well have come from the moon. How are these transplanted little rice shoots doing in our native soil?” A war bride, Mieko Malloy, was introduced as a sophisticated, independent-minded, and modern woman from a respectable family: her father was a diplomat and her grandfather owned the public utilities of Osaka, and during the occupation, she, then 21, wrote an article on birth control for a Japanese paper; when the American censor at MacArthur's headquarters banned it, she stormed into his office to demand an explanation and met the censorer, Lt. Pat Malloy.³¹⁷ Sociologists and social work scholars also found that these women were generally from the middle class and some were even from higher class than their husbands’.³¹⁸

³¹⁶ William L. Worden, "Where are Those Japanese War Brides?" *The Saturday Evening Post*, Nov. 20, 1954, 38.

³¹⁷ J.P. McEvoy, "America Through the Eyes of a Japanese War-Bride," *The Reader's Digest*, April 1955, 95.

³¹⁸ Strauss, 103.

Yamaji's finding that these women married their husbands not only for love was also echoed in the article about Mieko who expressed the idea that they had escaped their "rigid, tradition-bound life in Japan" for a better life in the United States:

'Because I love the man' does not seem to satisfy people. They think there must be more to it than that. Of course there is. I think that all the girls who met young American men found them so warm and understanding, so free and causal, that they wanted not only their love but their way of life, too. We wanted to escape our rigid, tradition-bound life in Japan. We are just like the millions who came here before us, leaving their homes in search of a better life in America.³¹⁹

The expressed yearning and aspiration for a better life was also found in Tsutsumi's study. Mieko expressed that it was "human-ness" that struck her when she first met young American GIs "who came to occupy our land," and in Japan this quality was lacking and it was "the quality that makes Americans fight Communism." This article in *The Reader's Digest* depicted an overall impression that these wives were no different from other immigrants who decided to leave their home country for a better life, believing "the American dream" and working hard for it. Mieko was at first disappointed when she learned that "the costliest products of this fabulously rich country are not for everyone every day" but believed in the "American dream." The interview article ends with Mieko's words, "When I see beautiful homes, lovely cars and elegant clothes, I can't help but think, perhaps someday I may have these things. America is a country where such dreams seem feasible. Where else in the world can they come true?"³²⁰

³¹⁹ McEvoy, 97-98. Yamaji reports that all eight husbands felt that they married their wives for love while six wives expressed love as one of the reasons for marriage. Yamaji also points out that "their concept of love varies from one individual to the other, but they seemed to be aware of love which is beyond physical attraction." Yamaji, 27.

In the article of *The Reader's Digest* (April 1955), Mieko stated that she never faced racial hostility in the United States, "You may be surprised when I tell you there is no hostility to me because of the war, or because I am an Oriental." It complemented the findings by social workers, as well as those by sociologists. Tsutsumi's study in San Francisco found that "it is not difficult for them (who married to Caucasian-Americans) to adjust to a Caucasian community setting, and they make an effort to relate positively to their Caucasian neighbors," and "it is to prevent these efforts from breaking down and as problems arise that the (Caucasian) community must be prepared to offer service." She pointed out that Japanese war brides "feel some attachment" to "their own community," by which she meant their Japanese community, but they chose to live outside of it "for one or more reasons" except in cases of marriages with Nisei men.

In 1957, James A. Michener's 1954 best-selling novel, *Sayonara*, was made into a Hollywood film with a happy ending which the original novel did not have. Michener's article, "Pursuit of Happiness by a GI and a Japanese" in *Life* (1955) reflected his changing view on these marriages as the subtitle "Marriage Surmounts Barriers of Language and Intolerance" indicates; he changed his negative attitudes toward those interracial marriages after he spent some time observing "the working" of one such marriage.³²¹ In personal life, Michener married his third wife, Mari Yoriko Sabusawa, a

³²⁰ McEvoy, 97, 99. Mieko stated, "An immigrant from Europe, a hundred years ago, might have felt the same discouragement if he came to America dreaming of owning a large farm and found himself, instead, in some poorly-paid job. But the smart immigrants did get ahead. They put together all their resources and ended up owning a farm or a comfortable little business. And the important thing was they were able to do this here, whereas they would not have been able to in the old country."

³²¹ James A. Michener, "Pursuit of Happiness by a GI and a Japanese," *Life*, Feb. 21, 1955, 70.

Nisei woman on October 23, 1955, in Chicago.³²² These stories were a story of pursuing an American dream, and a story of racial tolerance of the American society which backed up their dream, which are also seen in sociological and social work studies such as Tsutsumi's study.³²³ For most Americans who had little opportunity to know these women directly, the media played an influential role in shaping a better image of American-Japanese marriages as successful. It was a story of the American dream and a romance overcoming obstacles of racial prejudice and wartime hostility. Such a sentimental story depicted American-Japanese marriages as a model of successful interracial marriage. Along the way, writing about Japanese war brides came to be essentially about writing about American society and Americans, rather than about these Japanese women.

3. Behind the Changing Image of Japanese War Brides

The marriages between African American soldiers and Japanese women, which did not comfortably fit a success story of the American dream, were not studied by sociologists, and only a limited number of the interviews of such couples were collected by social work studies. They were black-Japanese marriages, in which neither white American man nor woman was involved. They were seen as less "American" and less

³²² From 1944 to 1946, Michener served as a naval historian in the South Pacific and traveled widely on the area.

³²³ Tsutsumi, "Kokusai hanayome no ayunda michi [The Path International Brides Took]," 80.

significant as stories to tell. The American media also paid little attention to these marriages. It is true that the number of these marriages was much smaller than that of white-Japanese marriages. According to a 1952 survey by Tokyo Consul General James B. Pilcher, the racial background of Japanese war brides' husbands was fifteen percent Nisei, twelve percent African American, and seventy-three percent white.³²⁴ According to the U.S. census of 1960, 148,000 interracial marriage couples were counted, and 21,700 Japanese women married white men (the second largest next to 26,000 black women married white men) and 1,700 Japanese women married black men (the third largest next to 25,000 white women and 2,200 American Indian women married black men).³²⁵ In fact, the number of white male-Japanese female marriages was larger than that of any interracial marriages in Los Angeles County.³²⁶ It seems that the census and

³²⁴ Kalischer, 17.

³²⁵ Maria P.P. Root, *Love's Revolution: Interracial Marriage* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 179, 180.

³²⁶ John H. Burma's 1952 and 1963 studies on Los Angeles County found that the number of American (male) –Japanese (female) marriages became larger than other interracial marriages in the county during the period. John H. Burma, "Research on the Measurement of Interracial Marriage," *The American Journal of Sociology* (1952): 587-88. John H. Burma (Grinnell College)'s 1952 study found that marriages of white to other races shows only a rate of 56 per 10,000 marriages, or a little over one-half of 1 percent of all marriages, in Los Angeles County, during 1948-1951. Burma's study shows that the largest number of intermarried white men had Japanese wives. The three most popular marriages were Filipino(male)-Anglo(female), Filipino-Mexican, and Negro-Anglo. Anglo-Japanese marriages were the fourth largest category of marriages. The study shows that even though anti-miscegenation law was nullified in 1948, there was, however, no rush to intermarry. However, the study was conducted before 1952. Soon, after 1952, under the McCarran-Walter Act, more Asian war brides started arriving in the United States. John H. Burma's following up study (1963) found that during 1948-59, in Los Angeles County, intermarriage rates tripled. White (male)-Japanese (female) marriages became the third largest interracial marriages and constituted of 12.6 percent of these marriages. John H. Burma, "Interethnic Marriage in Los Angeles, 1948-1959," *Social Forces* 42 (December 1963): 156-165; Leonald Bloom, Ruth Riemer, and Carol Creedon's *Marriages of Japanese-Americans in Los Angeles County: A Statistical Study* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press,

the study of Los Angeles County counted Nisei women and native Japanese women together.³²⁷ In addition, these black-Japanese couples were also less accessible to white or Japanese researchers.³²⁸

It can be surmised that these black-Japanese marriages faced more problems in their marriage adjustment than white-Japanese couples because of their husbands' second-class citizen status in the society. Some few studies who did interview these couples revealed the mainstream society's racial prejudice. For example, Tabe's study found that ten couples out of ninety couples she studied in Detroit expressed that they were disappointed with American democracy for the reason that Japanese wives were discriminated against and treated as "negro" because their husbands were African Americans.³²⁹ Tabe found that the wives of black GIs "carried a heavy load on their shoulders" different from the wives of white GIs, because they had not expected

1945) examined marriage licenses filed in Los Angeles County by Japanese-Americans during the period May-April 1937-1938 and May-April 1941-1942.

³²⁷ J. N. Tinker (1982) found that "for 1960 and 1961 the interracial marriage rate for newlywed Japanese Americans was 67.9 percent, with women having higher rates of intermarriage than men." Root, 179, 181. Root cites J.N. Tinker's "Intermarriage and Assimilation in a Rural Society: Japanese Americans in the U.S.," in *Intermarriage in the United States*, edited by G. A. Cretser and J.J. Leon (New York: Haworth Press, 1982), 61-74.

³²⁸ Japanese wives of black Americans were sometimes reluctant to join a Japanese social group because they felt prejudiced and awkward or embarrassed for being married to a black man. An article in *Ebony* also shows that they were in their own small community of the same black-Japanese couples because they were shunned by black, Japanese, and white communities. However, in some cases, a significant number of black-Japanese couples were found for interviews. For example, the 61 war brides Tabe interviewed in Detroit were married to white Americans and another 27 were married to black Americans.

³²⁹ Tabe, 102.

American racial prejudice against blacks.³³⁰ Writing about these couples would harm the image of American society by exposing racism in society against black ex-GIs who fought for American democracy during the war, rather than finding more about Japanese war brides who married them. “The Loneliest Brides in America” in *Ebony* (April 1952), as its title suggests, indeed found unhappy Japanese war brides in Indianapolis. Strauss’s study on white-Japanese marriages (1954) found that the class difference (when the woman came from a higher class) did not cause the women to make great material demands of their husbands because the American standard of living was “generally so much superior.”³³¹ However, this was not true for black-Japanese marriages.

Japanese media also reported negatively about black-Japanese marriages. Magazine articles often depicted the tragedies of Japanese wives of black GIs who were restricted by their jealous husbands from going out or socializing with other people, and those who were suffering from serious poverty, a life which seemed so far away from “American dream.” The media usually reported some stories of both successful marriages and failed marriages of Japanese war brides,³³² but with respect to black-Japanese marriages, it usually pointed out that these couples faced more problems.³³³

³³⁰ Ibid., 110, 111; Schnepf and Yui found that about one-third of the husbands expressed prejudice against Negroes, while only two of the wives did so. Schnepf and Yui, 49.

³³¹ Strauss, 103.

³³² For example, a magazine article, “Sanzennin no hanayome [Three Thousand Brides],” *Sunday Mainichi* (July 28, 1957, 8, 10), writes that about 95 percent of Japanese war brides were living happily in the United States according to the study by the JACL. The article points out that one of the reasons was that Americans did not have strong racial prejudice.

³³³ There were some exceptions. For example, the article, “Sanzennin no hanayome [Three Thousand Brides],” wrote that the majority of the Japanese wives who married black GIs had a happy marriage life in the United States. The article mentions that in some cases Japanese wives

Marriages with Nisei men, who were mostly from Hawaii, were not so much seen as war marriages per se, and were rather favorably accepted as “Japanese” marriages. Japanese actress, Mitsuko Miura, married a Nisei soldier, and it was celebrated in the Japanese media as a romance. However, she soon got a divorce and came back to Japan. Miura’s failed marriage, the 1953 child-murder in Chicago, a memoir of another bride who divorced and returned to Japan from Chicago, a military chaplain’s warning, and other gloomy stories reported in the Japanese media, all contributed to a pessimistic view of “not happy ending[s]” of Japanese women’s marriages to American GIs. Marrying a black GI did not automatically make the Japanese woman degraded or despised, but made her a subject to be sympathized with and felt sorry for. The society generally saw these women as being so desperate in straitened circumstances as to resort to marrying black GIs.

In terms of the women who married American GIs, the Japanese media generally associated them with prostitutes. Since no studies were conducted on these marriages in Japan, these marriages were only mentioned in books on prostitutes. Due to censorship of the times, the topic of sexual encounters between American GIs and Japanese women including rape, prostitution, and mixed-blood children was taboo in occupied Japan. Some research was conducted by Japanese but those were not published until the end of the Occupation. Minoru Nishida, a writer and an activist for protecting the lives of *kichi no ko* (children in camp town) published in *Kichi no onna* (women in camp town) in

were treated too nicely by her husband’s family because of their sense of racial inferiority and therefore not allowed to go out alone. In another cases, Japanese wives looked down her husband because of her sense of racial superiority and led to unhappy marriages.

1953. He interviewed 1,905 prostitutes in Tachikawa, Tokyo, during 1949-1952 and found that 86 of 158 women who were exclusively living with an American GI in 1949 had had some kind of unofficial “marriage certificate” issued through shrine or church wedding ceremonies, but only three of them had gotten officially married when he studied them again three months after the end of Occupation (April 28, 1952).³³⁴ Starting in 1950, Hiroshi Mizuno collected the memoirs of four women who were raped and had fallen into prostitution, and published them in 1953.³³⁵ Ben Goto studied more than 1,000 prostitutes, and sources gained from other Japanese and foreign individuals from 1948 through 1952, and published it in 1956.³³⁶ These fact-finding studies were, even though they were not the work of institutionally-affiliated scholars, among the few studies conducted in occupied Japan regarding the relationship between American GIs and Japanese women, and revealed the brutality and crimes of American GIs against Japanese women during the Occupation. In these books, Japanese wives of American GIs were generally referred to as former prostitutes, and their marriages were considered to be among the few exceptions not worth paying much attention to. These women would leave Japan soon anyway, and even if Japanese scholars wanted to conduct research on their life in the United States, it was difficult for Japanese scholars in Japan to get a visa issued only for the purpose of conducting their research there unless they were going to teach or study in an American institution.

³³⁴ Minoru Nishida, ed., *Kichi no onna [Women in Camptown]* (Tokyo: Kawaide-shobo, 1953), 85.

³³⁵ Hiroshi Mizuno, ed., *Nihon no teisho: gaikokuhei ni okasareta jyoseitachi no shuki [Chastity of Japan: Memoirs of Women who were Raped by Foreign Soldiers]* (Tokyo: Souju-sha, 1953).

³³⁶ Ben Goto, *Zoku nihon no teiso [Chastity of Japan, 2]* (Tokyo: Souju-sha, 1956).

In fact, it was almost impossible even for the Japanese government to locate these women in the United States, and they also did not make visible efforts to do so.³³⁷ According to a Japanese magazine article published in 1954, no trustworthy Japanese studies had been conducted on the reality of Japanese war brides living in the United States by the time. In the article, a Japanese administrative official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan indicated that it was almost impossible for the Japanese government to conduct any study on them even though the government officials wished for that opportunity. He stated that the Japanese census law could not be applied to these women to examine where they were living, what kind of life they were having in the United States, and so on, because these women had already entered into American families. The only thing Japanese officials could do was to persuade newly departing women to contact, if possible, a nearest Japanese Consulate for support and protection upon their arrival in the United States.³³⁸

Native Japanese social work professionals who conducted research in the United States were well-aware of Japanese society's prejudice toward these women, and the findings of their research refuted the Japanese negative assumptions of these women.

³³⁷ Japanese sociologists generally learned theories of intermarriages from the West and the United States. They translated the Western studies and not really produced empirical studies before the war. The prewar Japanese sociology of family was "ideological, subjective, and teleological." Even though the postwar Japanese sociologists recognized the methodological significance of the American sociology which was based on the statistics, social-psychology, and psychoanalysis, Takashi Koyama, *Kazoku kenkyu no kaiko to tenbo [Past and Future of Family Studies]*, edited by Minzoku bunka chosakai (Tokyo: Aoyama shoin, 1948), 1948, 75.

³³⁸ Kunio Fukumoto, "Umi o watatta 'senso hanayome' sono go---beishi ni arawareta kanojyo tachi no meian [The Postwar for 'War Brides' who Crossed the Ocean: Light and Shade of Their Life Observed in American Papers]," *Shukan Sankei*, July 18, 1954, 19.

Yamaji pointed out that both Japanese and Americans looked down on them and thought that their marriages would not succeed. Many Japanese believed that the war brides met their husbands in unfavorable places and conditions and therefore they were morally undesirable, had neither a good education nor good common sense, and were from low class. Thus, many Japanese concluded that such marriages would not succeed. Many Americans had romantic but tragic feelings about these women from *Sayonara* and *Madame Butterfly*, and as in these stories, concluded that their marriages would not have happy endings.³³⁹ Yamaji's study found that these women did not fall into any of these stereotypes for the following reasons: (1) they were from "respectable" backgrounds, (2) their husbands' average education was higher than that of the wives, (3) they met their husbands in "respectable" environments, (4) although there seemed to be a possibility of the wives' weak identity with their own culture because they (the wives) preferred not to have such training as flower arrangement and tea-ceremony, it seemed inevitable that they had internalized the values and standards as well as the role expectations of Japanese women.³⁴⁰ Tabe expressed the necessity of some kind of Japanese social agency's assistance to make their parents accept and understand their daughters' marriages, which would help them have mental peacefulness and lighten the Japanese wives' homesickness.³⁴¹

³³⁹ Yamaji, 2-3.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 47-48.

³⁴¹ Tabe, 122.

Scholars such as Tsutumi and Tabe, who were aware of American husbands' neglect, abuse, infidelity, and other problems reported in Japan, pointed out that in some cases their husbands were to be blamed for their marriage problems or their wives' ill-adjustment.³⁴² In the American media, however, a problem of these marriages usually was not depicted as being a result of attitudes or actions on the part of American husbands who were bringing Japanese wives back home, but rather on the part of Japanese wives---for these husbands were already "good" American men who were responsible enough not to desert their Japanese girlfriends in Japan. Sociological studies, such as Strauss' study (1954) which describes that some husbands from small towns moved into Chicago so that their wives could have Japanese companionship, does show efforts on the part of the husbands to help their Japanese wives adapt.³⁴³ On the contrary, Tabe's study reveals the husbands' infidelity, physical violence, neglect, and imprisonment, for example.³⁴⁴ At the same time, Tabe noticed that "a very large number of the wives did not recognize that international marriages would bring about unhappy marriages."³⁴⁵ This determination of the wives to make their marriages work, their tendency to feel ashamed of talking about family problems to others due to Japanese

³⁴² Tsutumi, "Kokusai hanayome no ayunda michi [The Path International Brides Took]," 79; Tabe, 111, 112. Yamaji also points out that their husbands retained their ability to understand simple Japanese and they felt that they could understand their wives. However, only one of the husbands she interviewed made an effort to improve his knowledge of the Japanese language and the rest of them depended upon their wives' efforts to understand them. Yamaji, 40.

³⁴³ Strauss, 100, 104, 105.

³⁴⁴ Tabe, 112, 118, 119.

³⁴⁵ Ibid, 102.

custom, and a self-imposed pressure not to fail and go back to Japan because they had married against their family's warnings, because they worried about the future of their children in Japan, and because they did not want to hear "we told you so" from their family or friends,³⁴⁶ all seem to have contributed to their efforts to hold onto their marriages and a relatively positive findings in the sociological studies.³⁴⁷

The improvement of the American view of Japanese war brides and their marriages in the mid-1950s can be seen as reflective of the transformed U.S.-Japan relations in the Cold War. Japan was transformed from an occupied ex-enemy country to the primary Asian ally of the United States. There were a number of key events which contributed to the changing view of Japanese war brides as a consequence of the changing U.S.-Japan relations: the 1952 and 1960 U.S.-Japan security treaties; a "Japan boom," the rise of fascination toward elements of Japan such as skillfully crafted traditional products, architecture, and "Japan's sensuous women"; and a Japanese beauty queen winning the title of 1957 Miss Universe. All these factors and events occurred around the late 1950s and contributed to a lifting of the image of Japanese wives even to the level of "an ideal wife," which was seen in the later invention of the popular saying, "Heaven is having a

³⁴⁶ For example, one of Yamaji's interviewees "felt that she should stay with her husband and children rather than be ridiculed by her own people for her failure as a wife and woman." Another "desired to go home alone because of her feelings of humiliation and disappointment due to her language difficulties but later overcame this strong desire to return home, with the assistance of the caseworker." *Ibid.*, 27, 31.

³⁴⁷ Yamaji found that although cultural differences were considered a factor in the failures of their marriages, actually the wives' cultural backgrounds often served as a strength allowing them to hold onto their marriages because the wives felt that they had to succeed as wives and fulfill their roles as women. Yamaji, at the same time, points out that these wives' desires to hold their marriages seemed to have given them much strain. *Ibid.*, 45-46.

Japanese wife, a Chinese cook, a British country home and an American salary. Hell, on the other hand, is having a Chinese salary, a British cook, a Japanese house and an American wife."

By the late 1950s, such a prevailing image of Japanese wives as ideal wives became prevalent. This was also reflected in changing research questions in social work studies. Beck, et.al. (1959), for example, states that even though "her upbringing seems to suit her to be a perfect homemaker, at least from the standpoint of many men," and "there is no doubt that traditional Japanese society cultivated qualities of attentiveness and nurturance, delicacy and grace without Western parallel," there was also no doubt that "modern Japanese women" were no longer willing to follow the older patterns. Thus, a gap between the wives' and the husbands' expectations of each other might have caused adjustment problems. In short, their study aimed to test the general assumption that Japanese wives were ideal wives and examine if these couples were as happy as they were believed to be. Yamaji also found that the husbands she interviewed "perceived their wives to have the qualities of being a good housekeeper, a mother, a nurse, and a maid, as well as wife."³⁴⁸ Tsutsumi found that Japanese wives experienced "an immediate urge to identify themselves as 'full-fledged' American wives" and adopted characteristics of dominant and aggressive women. However, she became "quite confused" with this type of role which was contrary to the Japanese way, and also despite their inadequate communication skills, they began to negotiate their relationships with

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 35, 36.

their husbands.³⁴⁹ These studies indicate that their marriages were successful not because of the wives' successful assimilation and Americanization but because of their "Japanese" behaviors, such as "femininity, submissive attitudes and devotion to husbands, their acceptance of the women's role, and ability to teach respect for elders."³⁵⁰

In Japan, major U.S. sociological and social work studies, which were translated and published, became the only available sources other than some magazine articles by which Japanese people could know how Japanese war brides were actually doing while living in the United States. The study by Strauss (1954) was translated in *Amerikana* (*Americana*), a monthly magazine published by the Cultural Exchange Bureau of the Embassy of the United States in Japan, in 1956.³⁵¹ Another study by Schnepf and Yui (1955) was translated in *Fujin koron* (*Women's Public Opinion*), a Japanese women's general opinion magazine, in 1961. Tsutsumi's interim report was also published in the same Japanese women's magazine as "*Kokusai hanayome no ayunda michi* (The Road Taken by International Brides)."³⁵² Tabe published her study in Japan in 1962.³⁵³ Beck, et.al.'s MSW thesis was not translated in Japan, but was reprinted under De Vos' name in Taiwan in 1973, in a volume of the *Asian Folklore and Social Life Monographs* journal,

³⁴⁹ Tsutsumi, "A Rosenberg Foundation Project of the International Institute of San Francisco: File for Those Who Work with the Japanese Wives of American Citizens and their Families." The International Institute of San Francisco, 1962.

³⁵⁰ Yamaji, 47.

³⁵¹ Each issue of this magazine constitutes of several translated U.S. scholarly articles. The magazine was published from October 1955 to January 1962.

³⁵² Tsutsumi, "Kokusai hanayome no ayunda michi [The Path International Brides Took]," 74-80.

³⁵³ Tabe, Toshiko. "Nihonjin no senso hanayome no mondai [Problem of Japanese War Brides]." *Hokusei ronshu* 1 (1962): 95-122.

by the Chinese Association for Folklore.³⁵⁴ This was an example of transnational influence of U.S. studies and how they were circulated beyond not only national boundaries but also scholarly disciplines. In addition to these studies, some Hollywood films such as *Sayonara* (1957) were released in Japan, and Michener's article in *Life* (1955) was translated in a Japanese magazine. However, these studies did not dramatically change the negative perception of these women by the Japanese society.³⁵⁵

Conclusion

The arrival of Japanese war brides in the United States contributed to spurring social science studies on interracial marriages in general.³⁵⁶ World War II resulted in bringing more attention to interracial marriages. In 1963, Larry D. Barnett, a sociologist, identified eleven major sociological studies published on interracial marriage in scholarly journals since 1945: two on Japanese war brides; two on "Negro-White" marriages; one on intermarriage of African Americans; and the rest six on interracial marriages with no focus on any specific racial group.³⁵⁷ Summarizing the findings of these eleven works,

³⁵⁴ George A. Devos, *Personality Patterns and Problems of Adjustment in American-Japanese Intercultural Marriages*, Asian Folklore and Social Life Monographs, vol. 49 (Taipei, the Orient Cultural Service, 1973). The series published articles written in English, German, French, Chinese, and Japanese in 1-53 volumes by the early 1970s.

³⁵⁵ Between 1950 and 1961, problems of Japanese war brides were frequently reported on in the Japanese media. Kawarasaki, 41, 42.

³⁵⁶ In prewar years, the studies on intermarriage mainly focused on inter-religious marriage and the few studies of interracial marriage primarily focused on black-white marriages (except the studies in Hawaii).

³⁵⁷ Larry D. Barnett, "Interracial Marriage in California," *Marriage and Family Living* 25:4

Barnett pointed out that the prevalence of marriage between American GIs and Japanese women was one of the two reasons why the topic of interracial marriage started to attract the scholars' attention after World War II:

Since the second World War, the topic of interracial marriage has attracted a good deal of attention. This is for at least two reasons. First, there were a number of important developments in the general area of race relations immediately prior to, during and after the war. ... The second reason is that a large number of American soldiers married Japanese women during the occupation of Japan which followed the war; in fact, the number of such marriages has been estimated to be over 20,000. These two combined factors created much interest in interracial marriage, and some of this interest was manifested in research.³⁵⁸

The first reason was, according to Barnett, the “development” of white-black relations such as the establishment of the 1941 first Fair Employment Practices Committee, increased race relation awareness raised by race riots during the war, and the 1954 Federal Supreme Court declaration of segregated public schools as unconstitutional. The findings of these eleven studies showed that interracial marriages were not predetermined to be doomed. Barnett summarized these findings by stating that "the degree of success attained by international marriage is unknown."³⁵⁹

From the early 1950s through the early 1960s, sociologists and social work professionals produced a series of studies on Japanese war brides and their marriages. More than twenty individuals were involved in these studies as researchers, and diverse

(November 1963): 424-427.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 424.

³⁵⁹ Larry D. Barnett, "Research on International and Interracial Marriage," *Marriage and Family Living* (November 1963): 107. Similarly, interracial dating in college also became a popular subject of sociological studies after the war because of the increase of exchange students from all over the world.

actors played a part in supporting these studies such as those in the Chicago sociology network, the International Institute, and local ethnic communities. In many cases, researchers of Japanese ancestry, who were predominantly female and spoke the Japanese language, were of critical importance in these studies as interviewers, translators, and cultural-interpreters. The findings of these studies indicated that American-Japanese marriages were workable and refuted the negative stereotypes of Japanese war brides. They found that these Japanese-American marriages could be as successful as other marriages, and in some cases more successful than other marriages, despite the problems caused by their cultural differences. Such a view was even fostered by the American media, and as a consequence, Japanese war brides, former enemy “Orientals” who were considered racially inassimilable, came to be seen as hard-working and successful “model minority” brides, and their presence became less problematic and visible as a group in the American society. In Japan, on the other hand, these women remained to be seen as prostitutes, and the Japanese media responded to these marriages in a mixed way---both positively and negatively. Even though some U.S. studies were translated in Japanese magazines, the impact of these studies on the Japanese society was limited.

Chapter 4

Social Workers and Japanese Wives: Politics through the Japanese War Brides Club at the International Institute of San Francisco

They apparently lack the ability to deal with the problem of themselves. ... They may have become enmeshed in complex and severe difficulties, but they are capable of being helped and can profit from social service attention. ... They are remarkably resilient.

-----Chizuko Tsutsumi, 1962³⁶⁰

Introduction

In April 1952, at the International Institute of San Francisco, a staff meeting was called for the social workers of the Institute because they were concerned about “the large number of Japanese war brides known to be coming to the United States.” The purpose of the meeting was to discuss: “what was known of the numbers in the San Francisco area at that time, what problems, if any, had come to light or were anticipated in relation to these girls, and what services the community was then prepared to offer, or might be able to offer in the future.” From the INS lists, they had learned that during the first three months of the year, 32 Japanese war brides, whose average age was 26 years old, had already arrived to live in the San Francisco area, and they thought that the needs of these women might be met by the Institute.³⁶¹

³⁶⁰ Tsutsumi, “A Rosenberg Foundation Project of the International Institute of San Francisco.” The report is undated, but the report was circulated in the American National Red Cross in October 1962.

³⁶¹ Memo by Peter L. Sandi, April 10, 1952, and, minute of a staff conference, August 14, 1952, “Japanese War Brides Club (Sept.1952-Aug.1953),” IHRC 168 International Institute of San Francisco Box 17, Immigration History Research Center (IHRC).

This chapter examines how social workers at the International Institute of San Francisco, who considered Japanese war brides to be a problem, worked with them through the Japanese War Brides Club and how these Japanese wives responded to the club and the social workers who supervised the club during the 1950s. It finds that even though the social workers wished to provide their services by backing up these women's leadership, rather than by offering their services from above, these women refused to take leadership in the club and turned their loose affiliation to the club and the social workers' supervision to their own advantage.

Unlike the brides schools offered by the American Red Cross in Japan, which lumped together Japanese wives of American servicemen of diverse backgrounds and gave them a uniform education, the professional social workers at the Institute needed to deal with their problems case by case, for each bride's troubles arose from the circumstances specific to them and their household. Different from the Red Cross brides schools, they were also capable of providing long-term, continuous, and patient assistance. Assistance was provided individually, but in order to do so more efficiently, the social workers needed to learn more generally about these women and their needs. Forming a Japanese war brides' club at the Institute seemed like a good idea as it offered these women an opportunity to meet other Japanese war brides, and it provided the social workers a chance to closely observe these women in order to provide preventive support and to foster their Americanization through English, citizenship, and cooking classes.

Upon arriving in the United States, each bride found herself in a unique circumstance, shaped by her husband's race, class, where she settled, and when they

arrived in the United States. If they settled in small towns, it was very difficult for them to find other Japanese people and much more difficult to come across other Japanese war brides in the communities where they settled. Therefore, if they were fortunate enough to find each other, it was comparatively easy for them to form a circle of friendship out of their loneliness. However, if they settled in a large city like San Francisco with a significant number of Japanese residents, being a war bride did not automatically unite them together. Rather, they felt competitive and sensitive to differences among themselves in their life in the United States. An examination of records of the Japanese war brides' club in San Francisco reveals the existence of such tensions among Japanese wives, while at the same time it seems apparent that their club also became a meeting place for these women of diverse backgrounds to share their identity as Japanese wives. Their club activities that demonstrated, taught, and preserved Japanese culture provided a chance for them to gain acceptance from the local Japanese community, Japanese society, their in-laws, and their local American community, without being considered to be "un-American" in doing so, thanks to the club's affiliation with the Institute.

Japanese wives took advantage of the club and its affiliation with the Institute and American social workers, by selectively participating in club activities and maintaining a flexible membership in the club. Choosing to be free from shouldering the responsibility of the club as leaders they negotiated their space with other Japanese war brides and with social workers. In the process, they shaped their new identity in the United States and negotiated their identities as individuals and as a group between Japan and the United States. However, social workers were not able to reach out to Japanese war brides or

fully grasp these women's problems and needs solely through their group work in the Japanese War Brides Club. For this reason, social workers and students in social work schools were encouraged to conduct studies on these women in the city in the late 1950s.

It is not easy to extract from the records of the International Institute what Japanese women thought and how they felt about the club and the social workers who supervised the club,³⁶² for historians need to read beneath the text and take into account the selectivity of voices. As Vicki L. Ruiz points out, institutional records (of a social welfare agency) reveal more about the women who wrote them than those they served, and at another level, one could interpret the cultural ideations of Americanization as indications of an attempt at "internal colonization."³⁶³ Examining the institutional records as valuable historical documents produced in a specific time and space, this chapter analyzes the politics of social workers and Japanese war brides through the establishment and development of the club in the 1950s.

³⁶² The records of the International Institute of San Francisco cover fragmented periods between 1952 and 1955 and between 1959 and 1961. The records include meeting minutes written in English, flyers of their meetings, letters, and photographs.

³⁶³ Ruiz, 306, 312. Ruiz, in studying Mexican women in the Southwest, expressed the difficulty of examining an immigrants' agency through institutional records, "Examining Mexican women's agency through institutional records is difficult; it involves getting beneath the text. Furthermore, one must take into account the selectivity of voices. In drafting settlement reports and publications, missionaries chose those voices that would publicize their 'victories' among the Spanish-speaking." Ruiz points out that oral interviews will give "a more balanced, less effusive perspective," for institutional records reveal "more about the women who wrote them than those they served." Despite that reality, institutional records are "neither dead ends nor gold mines, but points of departure." In her own studies and analysis of records from a Mexican women's agency, for example, she found that "Cultural coalescence encompasses both accommodation and resistance, and Mexican women acted, not reacted, to the settlement impulse," and "When standing at the cultural crossroads, Mexican women blended their options and created their own paths."

1. Forming the Japanese War Brides Club in San Francisco

The International Institute of San Francisco was “a nonsectarian agency” established in 1919 as one of the International Institutes that were founded in different cities of the United States.³⁶⁴ The San Francisco chapter was at first a settlement house that had formerly been a part of the YWCA in downtown San Francisco. The Institute had “a mission to protect and integrate foreign born and racial groups into [American] civilization,” and it “hoped that immigrants and their children would become Americanized, responsible citizens.”³⁶⁵ It offered casework (individual counseling), group work, and special interest services.³⁶⁶ It also organized international bazaars and dances and offered English language and domestic skills courses for foreign-born women. The Institute also became increasingly involved in the legal aspects of immigration, which put the International Institute officers in direct contact with local immigration officials.³⁶⁷ Japanese immigration to the area seems to have made a small but significant impact on the demographics of San Francisco – and on the target population of the International Institute. Census records show that in 1950, nearly 90% of the San Francisco population was white and only 0.7% of the population were Japanese, while the percentage of Japanese rose to 1.3% in 1960.

³⁶⁴ Yamaji, 7, 8; Tsutsumi, “General Interim Report.”

³⁶⁵ Erika Lee and Judy Yung, *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2010), 282-283.

³⁶⁶ Yamaji, 7, 8.

³⁶⁷ Lee and Yung, 282-283.

At a meeting held in April, 1952, the Institute staff members felt that supporting Japanese war brides was not necessary or urgent at the time and reserved making any plans concerning these women until a later date. By August, however, some of the problems of these Japanese war brides came to the Institute social workers' attention after four Japanese war brides came to the Institute for casework assistance and one bride came to the agency's newcomers party. These contacts were few, but enough to give an indication to the social workers that "the situation needs our consideration at this time and some decision regarding what we might initiate now that might serve some need." Another staff conference was held on August 14, 1952, and six social workers---two female and four male workers---including a Japanese American, Harry Kitano,³⁶⁸ decided that Jean Bolton, the Director of Group Work, would visit these women at their homes in order to gain some understanding of how their desires and needs might be met by some further activity of the Institute. They recognized that some of these Japanese women could speak little or no English, but they concluded that it would be best for a Caucasian woman to make this contact and they would consider later whether a second visit to some with an interpreter would be necessary and advisable. They considered the possibility of a meeting with their husbands with representatives of the JACL (Japanese American

³⁶⁸ Harry H.L. Kitano (1926-2002), a Nisei who had had the experience of living in the Topaz internment camp in Utah during 1942-1945, returned to San Francisco staying for a time in Minnesota. He received his B.A. in 1948, M.S.W. in 1951, and Ph.D. in Psychology and Education in 1958 from the University of California, Berkeley. Then, he moved to Los Angeles and spent his entire professorial career from 1958 until his retirement in 1995, at the University of California, Los Angeles. When he was in the staff meeting at the Institute, he had already earned his M.S.W. Through his life, he served on numerous boards and commissions of both governmental and community organizations.

Citizens League), but they decided to discuss that idea further after Bolton had visited these women.³⁶⁹

By September 4, Bolton had made phone calls and reached six of the fifty-one brides in their up-to-date list of Japanese war brides. Directed to other brides from those whom she could reach, Bolton talked with four more women who lived at Ft. Barry. Through the phone conversations, Bolton found that these women were eager to meet other brides and wanted to learn more English, but their responsibilities to their small children and lack of their own transportation made them hesitate to go out. She also learned about some of the problems that these women were facing through her conversation with one husband. He told her that some husbands were not so interested in their wives after they arrived in the United States and left their wives very isolated and helpless. Through the husband, Bolton also came to learn about Father Gartzloe at the Catholic Church on Octavia Street. Father Gartzloe, who was in charge of the Morning Star School in the Japanese section of town, spoke Japanese fluently, and had started a class in English for Japanese war brides. When Bolton talked with the Father, he showed “a good deal of concern” for these women because they had come with high expectations but most were living under relatively poor conditions and many had quite insecure situations with their husbands.³⁷⁰ In addition to the International Institute and the Red Cross, religious organizations were also offering preventive work for these women.³⁷¹

³⁶⁹ Minutes of a staff conference, August 14, 1952. “Japanese War Brides Club (Sept.1952-Aug.1953),” IHRC 168 International Institute of San Francisco Box 17. The workers who met in the meeting included Annie Clo Watson, Peter L. Sandi, Tom Brigham, Harry Kitano, Theodore Lude, and Jean Bolton.

³⁷⁰ “Report of calls and planning for Japanese War Brides project,” September 4, 1952.

Bolton found from her phone conversations that these women were very lonely with few contacts with other Japanese war brides and were having deep and extensive adjustment problems.³⁷² For these women, Bolton and other staff members made a plan to have a tea gathering on Monday afternoon, September 15, at the International Institute. The tea was held “in honor of” these women, new arrivals to the United States, so that it would give them an opportunity to come together informally and give the social workers “a chance to better evaluate whether such a gathering might prove to serve some of their desires and needs as newcomers in a strange culture.”³⁷³ They arranged transportation and childcare for these women, and five Japanese wives and four children came to the tea meeting. At the meeting, these women expressed the sentiment that they liked the idea of having a club. They hoped the group would not be too large but might have as many as ten. The staff members and the brides also talked a little about naturalization and the need to learn English. Other than that, Japanese wives complained about solicitors and salesmen at the door, showed their interest in learning American cooking, and expressed their concerns over the approaching Thanksgiving holiday and having to fix a turkey.

³⁷¹ Yamaji points out that there were a number of churches that served Japanese war brides and helped them with their problems (from private conversations with Tetsu Sugi, Director of Church Welfare Bureau of Los Angeles, 1958-1959). Among the eight couples Yamaji studied in Los Angeles in the late 1950s, three husbands were Catholic and five were Protestants. Only one wife became a Catholic, joining her husband’s faith. Five wives considered themselves nominal Buddhist-Shintoists, and two were unconcerned about their religious life. Although no husbands participated in any church activities, the children of the three husbands who had a Catholic background attended parochial schools or were under Catholic church influence. Yamaji, 22, 23, and 51 (footnote 9). It seems that if the husband-to-be was Catholic, the couple usually promised to raise their children in Catholicism in the context of their American lives.

³⁷² “Report of calls and planning for Japanese War Brides project,” September 4, 1952.

³⁷³ Minute of a staff conference, August 14, 1952.

One of the women spoke very little English, but at times another bride translated the discussion for her. The meeting was planned to be held from 2:30 pm to 3:00pm, but it was too short for the Japanese wives. Even after the tea meeting, they kept their conversation with each other in Japanese and they reluctantly departed for home at 4:30pm.³⁷⁴

Two weeks later, six Japanese wives gathered for their second meeting on September 30. In this meeting, they discussed the name for their club. One wife suggested “United Club.” They, however, felt uncertain of this and decided to postpone the task of naming their club. The club was therefore simply called the Japanese War Brides Club. The Japanese War Brides Club in San Francisco was one of the first Japanese war brides clubs formed in the United States.³⁷⁵ The Red Cross from San Rafael (along with the Institute workers) supported these meetings by making arrangements to pick up Japanese women in Marin County, but Japanese wives soon learned how to ride a bus to the Institute.³⁷⁶ In their third meeting, four pocket books on learning English

³⁷⁴ “First Meeting,” September 15, 1952.

³⁷⁵ A Japanese war brides’ club was started in New Jersey by October 1952. Many clubs were organized in 1953. For example, in Chicago, Japanese War Brides Club, which would be soon renamed as Cosmo Club, was formed in the spring of 1953. By the summer of 1953, a club of Japanese war brides, Tsubaki-kai [Camellia Club], was formed in Sacramento, California. In Portland, Oregon, the JWBC (Japanese War Brides Club) was formed and held their first meeting on January 16, 1954. In San Jose, California, a Japanese war brides club, Nadeshiko-kai [Dianthus Club], was organized in October 1954. “Meeting,” October 14, 1952; “Gunjin hanayome, kurabu sosetsu [Military Brides Found a Club],” *Chicago Shimpo* 10 September 1952; “Tsubaki-kai reikai [Camellia Club Regular Meeting],” *Hokubei Mainichi* 27 August 1953; “Potorando chiho de senji hanayome kurabu [Wartime Brides’ Club in Portland],” *Hokubei Mainichi* 1 February 1954; “Nadeshiko-kai [Dianthus Club],” *Hokubei Mainichi (North American Daily)* 23 October 1954.

³⁷⁶ “Meeting,” September 30, 1952.

through pictures, which were purchased for them by the Institute, were introduced, and the Japanese wives took them home to work with them between meetings. In their fourth meeting, eleven Japanese wives and eight children got together and learned how to make pumpkin pie.³⁷⁷

The club invited the couples in Japanese-American marriages to its meetings by irregularly announcing their club activities in a local Japanese language newspaper, *Hokubei mainichi*. However, not all Japanese wives had a chance to read the Japanese-ethnic newspaper, especially if they were married to non-Nisei GIs. Not all Japanese war brides who wanted to attend these meetings, which were held at the Institute in the afternoon twice a month, could do so for various reasons such as their children's illness and other family obligations. In the early stage of their settlement, the support from their husbands was crucial for many women to enable them to take a first step to locate these Japanese war brides clubs and attend the meetings. Some husbands were supportive, and it was often their husbands who found out about the club and encouraged their wives to attend the meetings. The Institute even received letters from a few American soldiers who were stationed in Korea or Japan in late 1953 and early 1954. Having heard about the club, they asked about the club and their assistance for their Japanese wives who would soon leave for San Francisco.

2. Supervision by Social Workers and Tensions in the Club

³⁷⁷ "4th meeting at I.I.," October 28, 1952.

Unlike the case with many other Japanese war brides clubs, social workers in San Francisco played a critical role in sustaining the newly formed Japanese War Brides Club. The club belonged to the Institute and was under the Institute social workers' care, observation, and close attention. This made the relationship between the social workers and the Japanese wives unique; they collaboratively took the leadership in managing the club.

In particular, the role Jean Bolton played for the club was more than the role she was expected to play as the mentor for the club. For example, Bolton attended its by-weekly meetings. Not only that, she also called and discussed with the chairman of the club before each meeting what would be on the meeting's agenda, and wrote meeting minutes after each gathering. In addition, she acted as a liaison between these women and outside world upon the request from these women. She contacted the editors of the local Japanese newspaper for the purpose of announcing the founding of the club and the club activities. She also responded to the inquiries about the club from other agencies and individuals, and sent money and letters when the club made a donation to some humanitarian cause. Furthermore, she exchanged some information about the club with other social workers who worked with Japanese war brides in other locations. For example, she sent her brief observation of the club to an activities director of the International Institute of Los Angeles in 1953, responding to the director's inquiry regarding Bolton's experience working with Japanese wives.³⁷⁸ In fact, supervising the

³⁷⁸ Letter from Jean Bolton, Director of Group Work, to Patricia Parmelee, Activities Director, November 30, 1953.

club was an important project to Bolton, and she once called the club “Japanese War Brides Club Project” in her meeting minutes.³⁷⁹

However, Bolton wanted Japanese women to assume more responsibility for the club and make it their own at least in a more visible way, rather than just attending “the club services provided by the Institute social workers for these women.” Choosing a representative of the club members seemed to work fine for the club at first. In October 1952, the month after the club was formed at the Institute, a Nisei war bride, who had been acting as a translator in the club, was chosen by a group consensus to be the chairperson and assumed the role of liaison between the rest of the group and Bolton.³⁸⁰ She was born in San Francisco and lived there until age 17, at which time she made a trip to Japan in 1941. She lost her citizenship while there, and was not able to return until she came back to the United States as a war bride in 1951. Bolton observed that the Nisei woman’s facility with English and her early training in the United States surely put her in a position of leadership in the group and thus prompted the assumption on her part as well as by consensus of the group that she should serve as the chairman. However, after she felt that she could no longer continue as the chairperson and resigned in the spring of 1953, the club did not have any chair person for a while, though others began assuming more responsibility in the club.³⁸¹

³⁷⁹ “Report of calls and planning for Japanese War Brides project,” September 4, 1952.

³⁸⁰ The club also had a treasure.

³⁸¹ Note from Jean Bolton, Social Worker, to the office in Federal Building, October 17, 1952; “Conference with Mrs. Garrett re: Group,” October 27, 1952; Letter from Jean Bolton, Director of Group Work, to Patricia Parmelee, Activities Director, November 30, 1953. Jean Bolton and the Institute tried to help her regain her U.S. citizenship in October, 1952.

The fuss over selecting a chair person of the club revealed the internal tensions among the club members that reflected the diversity of these women and their uncertainty or insecurity about where their standing was in American society in terms of social status. They were financially privileged in Japan for being wives of American GIs, regardless of their husbands' race or military rank, which gave them a more or less shared identity. However, once they arrived in the United States, they sometimes painfully found that they were not privileged anymore because of the occupations that their husbands pursued after they were discharged from military service. Some felt disadvantaged because of their husbands' race, or their own status as minorities, which often prevented the couples from finding jobs or apartments to rent. As they went about choosing a leader among themselves in the club, these Japanese wives needed to negotiate their identity, which was often associated with their husbands' social status based on their race and occupation.

In fact, these wives were apparently quite sensitive, and resisted any Japanese war bride who behaved as if she were superior to the others because of her husband. For example, in October 1952, a Japanese wife behaved and spoke as if she were better than the rest for the reason that she was married to a Nisei man and her brother-in-law was a "professional person." She said that if one of them was in the neighborhood they should stop in for something to eat, which to the other women implied that they were not able to feed themselves. It also seemed to them that she wanted to be the leader but wouldn't do any work. Many found her "very annoying" and felt insulted by her apparent condescension. The chairperson of the club at the time told Bolton that many did not

want to come to the club anymore because of this person.³⁸² Thus, Japanese wives were sensitive about any authoritative attitudes toward them, in particular from other Japanese war brides. This case demonstrates the tension between Japanese wives of Nisei men and those of white Americans, in which race and class differences were often intertwined. Similarly, in her study in Los Angeles, Yamaji found that Japanese war brides who had white husbands occasionally experienced open hostility from those who had married Nisei men and that “there seemed to be antagonism between the two groups, probably for status reasons.”³⁸³

When they arrived in the United States, the degree to which they were already acculturated to American society became another factor of the tensions among Japanese war brides. In November 1952, the club in San Francisco was divided between those who originally were in the club and those who had recently started coming. According to Bolton, the division seemed to fall somewhat between those who at least appeared to be more “sophisticated” or at least confident, and those who seemed or had apparent insecurities. They decided to have two separate meeting times to accommodate each group, Tuesday afternoons and Thursday evenings.³⁸⁴ However, it seemed that having two separate meetings only doubled the responsibility of Bolton to attend their club meetings, and the duplicate meetings were discontinued.

³⁸² “Telephone Conversation with Mrs. Garrett, re: group,” October 30, 1952.

³⁸³ Yamaji, 49.

³⁸⁴ November 20, 1952.

Another factor that seems to have created tensions in the group was a class difference. Beck, et.al.'s study (1959) found that some wives of the lower and upper-lower class families felt too insecure to approach the groups of Japanese war brides at the Institute. These women, however, formed their own small groups after attending the club once or twice; as their study observed, "for those who had gone only once or twice, it had proved a meeting ground and one group of eight to ten women met together on a social level independent of the Institute." Their study shows that even in the late 1950s, "there was an admitted difficulty expressed in a variety of ways about how class differences affect the attendance at the Japanese Bride Club at the International Institute." One husband expressed the feeling that a handful of Japanese women at the Institute controlled the group even though that "there were upwards to four to five thousand Japanese brides in the vicinity."³⁸⁵ In fact, the couples usually limited their social contacts to a very small number of people such as those from a similar background because of the wives' fear of making mistakes in the presence of their friends or acquaintances.³⁸⁶

Few references to racial discrimination against Japanese war brides who had married black soldiers were found in the records of the International Institute of San Francisco on the club, but there seemed to be discriminatory attitudes toward those who were married to black Americans not only in the mainstream society and Japanese immigrant communities, but also among Japanese wives who were married to white

³⁸⁵ Beck, et.al., 87, 88.

³⁸⁶ Yamaji, 33.

Americans. For example, when the so-called Japanese War Brides Club was re-established as Sakura (cherry blossom) Club at the International Institute of Detroit in 1955, a strong request came not only from Japanese war brides but also from Issei women living in Detroit, to divide the club they just renamed into two groups---a club for those who had married white soldiers and another for those who had married black soldiers. The Institute did not express any clear opinions on this problem, and a Japanese social worker in charge of the club recommended that they not divide the club.³⁸⁷ In some cases, those wives of black soldiers simply gave up socializing with other Japanese war brides. For example, a Japanese war brides' club in Chicago, called the Cosmo Club, had few members who married black soldiers.³⁸⁸ There were no references to how many Japanese-black couples were residing in San Francisco and how many of them joined the Japanese war brides club, but it seems that only a small number of Japanese wives who were married to black GIs were reachable by the club and the Institute workers. Tsutsumi, who interviewed 100 Japanese wives in San Francisco in 1960 and 1961, indicated that her interviews included "the very limited number of people of Japanese-Negro marriages."³⁸⁹

As a result of these tensions, choosing a chairperson after the Nisei woman resigned did not go as smoothly as Bolton hoped. Bolton met unexpected resistance from these Japanese women to not only choose a formal chairperson beyond a tentative

³⁸⁷ Tabe, 114.

³⁸⁸ Interviewed by author, Silver Spring, MD, 2008.

³⁸⁹ Tsutsumi, "General Interim Report."

representative, but also take leadership for their club. Jean Bolton recalls, “the attempt to have any kind of formal organization completely fell apart.” Once each woman nominated for chairperson had declined, finally, under a great deal of pressure, one woman was elected chairman in 1953. However, she was very unhappy about it and did not return to the club thereafter. Bolton felt that “these women preferred to keep the situation completely flexible to meet any situation” and there might have been “some personality factors” involved in such decisions of Japanese wives, which would not be the same in another group. She also felt that “it seemed to be too early in their development and experience here to attempt to follow the usual practices of groups or clubs.” Most of them did not have any club experiences in Japan, or, in Bolton’s words, “an experience similar to the most common among even children here.” Japanese wives told Bolton that there were some clubs in Japan, but when one belonged to a club it became expensive because it was necessary to take presents and pay fees. Bolton expressed her disappointment in her letter to a social worker in Los Angeles, “For your group there may be more sophisticated people (Japanese wives), able and anxious to handle things in a more structural way.”³⁹⁰

Even though these Japanese women told Bolton and other social workers that they had not as a matter of custom experienced an independent role in decisions in Japan,³⁹¹ as an excuse for their inactive participation in the club, their marriages to American GIs and coming to the United States suggest that they were in fact capable to make their own

³⁹⁰ “Meeting,” September 30, 1952; Letter from Jean Bolton, Director of Group Work, to Patricia Parmelee, Activities Director, November 30, 1953.

³⁹¹ Tsutsumi, “General Interim Report.”

decisions and deal with consequences of their decisions.³⁹² In fact, 84 percent of the 100 Japanese wives Tsutsumi interviewed had experienced negative reactions and criticisms in Japan with regard to their association with Americans.³⁹³ Japanese wives in the club might have seemed less experienced in making their own decisions or taking a leadership in a club, compared to American women, but it did not fully explain why in other cities Japanese wives managed their clubs by taking more affirmative, autonomous, and spontaneous leadership – yet the San Francisco club was lacking in such leadership by the Japanese wives themselves. In fact, their reluctance to become a chairperson may have come from living in a big city like San Francisco, where hundreds of Japanese war brides resided and experienced sensitivity to tensions and competitiveness among themselves. They may have wanted to avoid dealing with jealousies and gossips – and perhaps therefore did not even try to unite such a group.

³⁹² Tsutsumi points out that “arrived and having made decisions in regard to being here in the first place, they have experienced something of the decision-making process and its consequences.” The Japanese women Tsutsumi interviewed also had made a decision to work after the end of the war in Japan, though many of them were rather forced to become independent at a very early age and often had to support their families as well. Approximately 50 percent of them had lost one or both of their parents at a young age (33% lost fathers, 17% mothers) and 41% had more than 4 sisters and brothers. Nearly 34 percent of them worked in some capacity with the occupation force due to the lack of alternative job opportunities. Her study found that it was the oldest daughter who commonly married an American. These women were generally from middle-class families; 36 % of the fathers had small business enterprises which became bankrupt after the war, and 72% of the women graduated from high school and 62% finished under the old education system. Tsutsumi, “General Interim Report.”; Tsutsumi, “A Rosenberg Foundation Project of the International Institute of San Francisco.”

³⁹³ Many of the parents reluctantly gave their blessings for their marriage, but 10 percent of the women were not so fortunate. Some fathers even erased their daughters’ name from the family register. Tsutsumi, “General Interim Report”; Tsutsumi, “A Rosenberg Foundation Project of the International Institute of San Francisco.”

As a compromise, Japanese wives, who did not want to assume the responsibility as a chairperson, came to agree that two of the club members in turn would assume the responsibility for collecting and keeping accounts of the money for the club, instead of having a chairperson. For special events, different ones volunteered to take charge of things.³⁹⁴ In 1954, they decided to have a joint committee of three with equal status and responsibility to serve for periods of three months, “so that this arrangement [would] solve the problem of anyone feeling her responsibility too heavy and being vulnerable to any criticism from others.” In this way, in its early years, the club did not have any constitutions, by-laws, or officers, except a joint committee that took turns at a shift of three months. Even though this disappointed their supervisors like Bolton who tried to “modernize” these women and empower them to be capable to take initiatives in their club rather than submissively following others’ decisions, choosing to manage their club in their own way – by a joint committee of three members – was in fact their own independent decision and can be seen even as a more “democratic” way to manage a club.

3. Japanese Culture as a Common Ground

Their relatively active participation in their meetings, despite their reluctance and resistance to take a leadership role, indicates that not a small number of Japanese wives found the club beneficial and enjoyable. In fact, they were able to turn the social

³⁹⁴ Letter from Jean Bolton, Director of Group Work, to Patricia Parmelee, Activities Director, November 30, 1953.

workers' supervision and active involvement in the club to their own advantage. For example, Bolton's presence in their meetings surely encouraged Japanese wives to speak English. Her presence, however, does not necessarily mean that Japanese wives could not escape from Bolton's careful observation or supervision during their meetings. In fact, they could simply switch the language they spoke from English to Japanese whenever they felt they needed to do so. Bolton could not understand what they were talking about in their native language, and simply wrote her impression, such as "As far as I could understand the conversation or sense what was going on, ..." or "After much discussion in Japanese the group decided"³⁹⁵ However, Japanese was "largely confined to talking about personal matters," and Mary M. Williams, a social worker, expressed her disappointment in her evaluation of the group, that they spoke Japanese in planning their meetings after a Japanese social worker was hired to work with these wives in 1959.³⁹⁶

Since Bolton was the director of group work at the Institute, she was familiar with the resources of the Institute; thus, it was easier for the club to receive financial support from the Institute and volunteer support from other social workers of the Institute. As an example, a part of the expense of the club, such as the tea and cookies prepared for their first several meetings, was contributed by the Institute whose financial support came from community chest fund.³⁹⁷ The club was also helped by social workers at various

³⁹⁵ "November 11, 1952"; "Summary, September, 1954-August, 1955."

³⁹⁶ Mary M. Williams, "Evaluation of Marumikai," September 1960.

³⁹⁷ "Meeting, September 30, 1952."

occasions. For example, Mrs. Hall, a worker, volunteered the use of her home for the Thanksgiving dinner with Japanese wives on November 20, 1952, and the dinner was paid for by the Institute.³⁹⁸

In a sense, it seems that the presence of Bolton, who was neither war bride nor Japanese, worked as a buffer to the tensions among the members of the club, as well as a coordinator who brought together Japanese women from different social, educational, and geographical backgrounds. Whenever they had any serious dissatisfaction with a person or the club, they complained to Bolton. It seems that her presence helped prevent the club from being dissolved or broken. It also seems that the earlier chairperson of the club did not express any particular dissatisfaction about working with Bolton. Bolton provided a motherly figure to these women, which met these women's needs, as Yamaji, who studied Japanese war brides in Los Angeles, points out, "In direct services, it is important to provide a mother figure for the wives because such a mother figure seems to help them feel a little more secure and to reduce their guilt feelings of disloyalty to their own families. This kind of service is very important, especially during the first two years of their stay in the United States. However, it is also important that this service be available on a continuous basis to meet their particular needs as they arise."³⁹⁹ Yamaji found that they usually felt guilty for their disloyalty and disobedience to their parents and their feelings of guilt seemed to increase the seriousness of their personal and social problems more than the language barrier. Yamaji believed, "A popular solution for the

³⁹⁸ "October 17, 1952"; "November 20, 1952."

³⁹⁹ Yamaji, 50.

couples was to find a mother figure for the wives upon whom they could rely. This very quality in the wives, who identified with an acceptable devoted woman at times of crises, encouraged them to hold their marriages.”⁴⁰⁰

Japanese wives also enjoyed learning practical skills and knowledge they could use in daily life, which would help them become better wives and mothers in American families, such as improvement of their English, access to family medical care, availability of community medical resources, and ideas about shopping for food and clothes, entertaining, table setting, cooking, parties, eating out, anniversaries and showers, baby care and child behavior, house care, cosmetics, and dress. For example, during 1953-1954, they learned American culture and customs through Halloween, Christmas, and Easter parties, baking apple pie and cookies, picnic, and giving home hair permanents. In the club, they also learned American citizenship, naturalization, United Crusade, the U.S. government, and democracy through films and guest speakers. They also visited a co-op nursery school for their children, and enjoyed dancing lessons and games in their club meetings.⁴⁰¹ All these activities helped them get accustomed to the American way of life, become productive citizens as good wives, mothers, homemakers, and neighbors.

Japanese women not only took advantage of the club’s affiliation to the Institute, but also contributed to the diversity of the Institute. Along with other immigrant groups,

⁴⁰⁰ Yamaji points out that “in order to reduce such feelings, the wives used various defense mechanisms such as projection, transference, retreat, and masochistic behaviors,” which were “largely adopted from Japanese culture.” 45.

⁴⁰¹ “Japanese War Brides Club (Sept.1952-Aug.1953)”; “Japanese War Brides Club (Sep.1953-Aug.1954)”; Japanese War Brides Club (Sept.1954-Aug.1955)”; “Japanese War Brides Club (Sep.1959-Aug.1960)”; “Japanese War Brides Club (Sept.1960-Aug.1961),” IHRC 168 International Institute of San Francisco Box 17.

they participated in the Institute's cultural events by showcasing Japanese culture. For example, in the fall of 1953, at one of the "drop in nights" for the International Institute membership, they demonstrated how to wear kimono and do traditional flower arrangement, followed by Japanese tea and cookies.⁴⁰² Such occasions also gave them opportunities to meet other newcomers from other countries, learn new cultures, and gain a more cosmopolitan view.

The Japanese wives' club helped these women, as a group, continue their ties with Japan in several ways. For example, they invited Japanese guests to their meetings to learn about current affairs in Japan. They also collected used clothing "to send to people who might need it in Japan" in 1954, and again in 1960 for the relief of tidal wave victims in Hokkaido after a tidal wave that was caused by the Chilean earthquake. In 1955, they also donated some money to the Hiroshima Maiden Project, which raised funds to bring twenty-five young Japanese women who had been disfigured in the bombing to the United States for corrective plastic surgery.

As representatives of Japan and as a bridge between Japan and the United States through their club activities, the women put aside their internal tensions and improved their relationships with each other and with their in-laws. For example, at the International Institute of Detroit, Japanese cultural events held by the Sakura Club, were opened to all family members, including their in-laws. This helped the husbands' parents improve their perception of their daughters-in-law while they cooked together, ate Japanese dishes, and got to know other Japanese people. These events in Detroit even

⁴⁰² Letter from Jean Bolton, Director of Group Work, to Patricia Parmelee, Activities Director, November 30, 1953.

improved the relationships between those with white husbands and those with black husbands through working together. As they began helping each other, the prejudice toward those with black husbands almost disappeared.⁴⁰³

Encouraging these women to maintain their ethnic culture was an effective strategy for social workers, fostering their adjustment by helping ease their homesickness and heighten their self-esteem. They found that they could contribute to the cultural pluralism of American society and came to be seen as conservators of Japanese culture in their new, multicultural society. Yamaji pointed out that Japanese war brides were seen negatively in Japan partially because of their loose attachment to and lack of appreciation for the Japanese culture. “It seems possible that many Japanese people reduced the war-bride social status based on this lack of cultural identification (their weak identity with their own culture because they preferred not to have such training as flower arrangement and tea-ceremony) which they might have seen as a symbol of loyalty to the nation.”⁴⁰⁴ Thus, presenting themselves as representatives of Japanese culture in America no doubt eased these women’s anxieties about being seen disloyal by Japanese people. By providing such opportunities to them, the social workers had been already assuming the role Yamaji recommended that social workers take in her study of Japanese wives in Los Angeles (1961): “An important indirect service to war-brides would be the reorientation of the Japanese public which had raised criticism of war-brides and increased anxiety in them. It seems very important for war-brides to know whether or not their own people

⁴⁰³ Tabe, 116.

⁴⁰⁴ Yamaji, 48.

accept them as human beings” because their “home life and attitudes were often to a greater degree influenced by what the Japanese thought of war-brides rather than communication difficulties alone.”⁴⁰⁵

In San Francisco, Japanese wives also helped with a local church's summer program for children and appeared on a television program for a community chest in 1954 and 1955. Going out to the local community as volunteers, and not as recipients of social service from the local community, was a sign of their successful adjustment to the society. These opportunities gave them a sense of usefulness as a productive member in their new community. For these women, many of whom were housewives with limited contacts with the local community except through their husbands, working with American social workers of the Institute was a chance and first step to go into their local community without their husbands. Thus, Japanese wives benefited from working with the social workers and the Institute. They learned the American way of life, retained Japanese culture to share as a bridge between Japan and the United States, and connected themselves to the outside world and the local community, which fostered their adjustment.

The support from the Institute was valuable for many Japanese war brides, in particular, in their early settlement during a period when Japanese Americans were still struggling to resettle in the city after their wartime evacuation. In California, anti-Japanese and Asian sentiments were strong, and an anti-miscegenation statute against the marriage between a Mongolian race and a Caucasian race existed until 1948. California's

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 49.

Alien Land Law forbidding foreign-born immigrants to own land existed until it was invalidated in 1952. After the war, the Issei and the Nisei who returned to San Francisco struggled to adjust to and re-build their life in the city that had rapidly changed during the war. Their postwar communities were less centralized or united than those in the prewar period.

Alexander Yamamoto explains how the internment affected and disorganized Japanese American communities in the San Francisco Bay Area during and immediately after the war:

It is clear that the processes discussed, urbanization, labor shortages, and government involvement, were major factors in the shift from rigid competitive race relations to a fluid competitive race relations and was superimposed upon the rapid development of Black communities in the San Francisco Bay Area and the disorganization of Japanese American communities and their dispersal throughout the Bay Area. Although the disorganization of the Japanese American communities was evident in the period between 1924 and 1941, the internment hastened the process.⁴⁰⁶

This quite unique condition of the Japanese community in the immediate postwar years affected how the Japanese war brides club was formed and developed in San Francisco. In Chicago, where its Japanese community was relatively new and the majority of the Japanese residents were newcomers to the city after the war, a Japanese war brides club was formed in 1953 under the support, guardianship, and supervision of the Chicago Japanese Resettlers' Committee, which consisted of the Issei and Nisei leaders of the local Japanese community. In that city, there was no International Institute. In San Francisco, on the other hand, it was the International Institute that provided American-

⁴⁰⁶ Alexander Yamamoto, "Socioeconomic Change among Japanese Americans in the San Francisco Bay Area" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1986), 418.

Japanese couples major support. Beck, et.al.'s study (1959) shows that when asked if any agency had been of help, the husbands they interviewed indicated the International Institute and the American Red Cross, and when asked about making friends in America, the husbands responded that the International Institute had been helpful. However, it seems that the couples did not refer to or indicate any assistance from a Japanese agency.⁴⁰⁷

On the contrary, the Japanese war brides felt or experienced rejection “in one form or another” by the local Japanese community. According to Tsutsumi, “They gradually are forced to seek and establish ties within the (Japanese) community by themselves. They go through times of real isolation during this period.” Despite the isolation they felt from the local Japanese community, these women enjoyed the privilege of living in San Francisco, where a substantial number of Japanese people resided; they had relatively easy access to Japanese foods, books, movies, magazines, clothes, and utensils.⁴⁰⁸ In Beck, et.al.'s study, three wives and five husbands mentioned that racial and cultural factors in San Francisco entered into their decision to live there.⁴⁰⁹ Being Japanese could be even an asset in the city because they could find a job easily as a waitress in many Japanese restaurants. However, other than at Japanese restaurants, employment

⁴⁰⁷ Beck, et.al., 86, 88.

⁴⁰⁸ Tsutsumi, “General Interim Report.”

⁴⁰⁹ Beck, et.al., 87.

opportunities were not plentiful because of their lack of technical skills, citizenship, and proficiency in English.⁴¹⁰

In 1955, the club changed its name from the Japanese War Brides Club to the Japanese-American Family Club. In 1954, 71 Japanese wives belonged to the club; 47 of them had attended one to three meetings and 28 had attended four or more meetings “with remarkable regularity at one period of time or another.”⁴¹¹ Husbands and children were also encouraged to attend dinner parties and other club activities. In 1953, a few husbands regularly came to the meetings with their Japanese wives, and the social workers even came to consider that more should be done with the husbands such as providing some group activities.⁴¹² In the mid-1950s, there was also a networking effort by an American husband living in New York to form a nationwide group of American-Japanese couples called “*Fujiyama* Society (Mount Fuji Society).”

Few references to any conflict between the club members and the American social workers were found in the Institute records. It may have been partially because Bolton tried to balance the use of physical space and interactions by Japanese wives and the social workers. For example, on December 2, 1952, Bolton asked Mrs. Cordes, who had taken care of Japanese wives’ children during their meetings, if she would like to join their meeting. When she arrived, some Japanese wives were speaking Japanese. Mrs. Cordes announced that when she came here she made it a rule for herself to speak only

⁴¹⁰ Tsutsumi, “A Rosenberg Foundation Project of the International Institute of San Francisco.”

⁴¹¹ Letter from (no name) to Mr. Shoichi Ban, May 28, 1954.

⁴¹² Letter from Jean Bolton, Director of Group Work, to Patricia Parmelee, Activities Director, November 30, 1953.

English and not have other German friends. To Bolton, this seemed like a criticism of these women. She felt that, whether the Japanese women felt it or not, it was unwise of Mrs. Cordes to make such a comment. Bolton thought, “We might try to get along without her (Mrs. Cordes’) help for a while because with fewer children being brought to meetings and Mrs. Cordes assuming more interest and possibly interference with the mothers.”⁴¹³ Bolton and other workers were indeed careful about their attitudes toward Japanese wives since their very first contact with these women. In 1952, Bolton wrote, “It was recognized that cultural conditioning of these girls and the characteristics of their particular situation at present prompts great sensitivity and caution on our part as we proceed in this undertaking. We must guard against burdening them with obligation by ‘offering services’.”⁴¹⁴

It is difficult to know how Japanese wives felt about the social workers who were involved in their club activities. Tsutsumi, who had experienced difficulty gaining these women’s cooperation for her interview project, explains the relationship between these women and white social workers; sometimes if Japanese wives were asked by a white worker to perform a group task such as preparing a bulletin, although they shrunk from it, they often accepted only in order to please the worker.⁴¹⁵ In their individual casework,

⁴¹³ “Meeting of Japanese War Brides,” December 2, 1952.

⁴¹⁴ “Staff Conference,” August 14, 1952. Bolton also writes, “Because they may well represent widely different economic and educational backgrounds which would make it difficult for some to related to others, we must use care that we grant them freedom in this situation to limit themselves in these relationships” and “a feeling was shared that we must remain quite sensitive to these girls and flexible to proceed with whatever kind of gathering might be indicated or no gathering.”

⁴¹⁵ Tsutsumi, “A Rosenberg Foundation Project of the International Institute of San Francisco.”

Japanese wives generally identified a caseworker as “mother or elder sister,” or at least as a person in authority. Tsutsumi suggests that for them, the idea of seeking aid was a very new idea, and they were usually unaware of social services such as counseling, and once they learned of them, there was still hesitancy.⁴¹⁶ Tsutsumi observed that they, in their individual counseling, felt very frustrated and ashamed if what they said was not understood in the way they wanted it to be. They were often dominated by the feeling that the American social workers did not understand them, and “this preconception toward the worker makes them so successful in withholding their feelings that they indeed make themselves inscrutable to the worker who tries to help them.” She found that they were likely to agree to what was asked of them, to respond to leading questions in the way they thought the worker would like them answered, and to reply in the affirmative when asked if they understand, even though they did not. She also observed in particular that they would not contradict or disagree with a male worker or counselor, and that therefore there was no reason to suggest that only a woman social worker or counselor could be effective in helping a Japanese wife in her adjustment problems.⁴¹⁷ In fact, in Chicago, it was a male Japanese immigrant leader, Kenji Nakane, that Japanese war brides usually turned to when they had a problem which they could not handle by themselves.

4. Developments and Limitations of the Club

⁴¹⁶ Tsutsumi, “General Interim Report.”

⁴¹⁷ Tsutsumi, “A Rosenberg Foundation Project of the International Institute of San Francisco.”

Bolton and other social workers of the Institute encouraged the studies of Japanese war brides in San Francisco, knowing that their group work service through the club was not enough to grasp the whole picture of Japanese war brides living in the San Francisco area. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they supported a MSW project by a group of graduate students in the late 1950s. Deborah Beck, et.al.'s study (1959) states that their study was "particularly inspired by the encouragement of members of the International Institute (of San Francisco) staff, Marjorie Montelius, Jean Bolton, Mary Williams," and "the Agency wanted to know more about the group as a whole---what they perceived as problems and what they sought to do about them."⁴¹⁸ The research based on an open-ended questionnaire and a Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) found that several women had depression, isolation and profound feelings of inadequacy. In addition, a number of the couples had problems of communication and rapport, and some of the husbands were impulsive and a few sometimes physically abusive to the women.⁴¹⁹ The study also found that the majority of these couples either did not seek assistance or were unresponsive to offered assistance. If needed, they preferred to have help from an individual rather than a group.⁴²⁰ It indicates the limitations of the war brides' club as a

⁴¹⁸ Beck, et.al., iii.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 241-256. However, the study also points out that their discussion of the data obtained in their study in some ways emphasizes the problem areas rather than that of positive affiliation and mutuality in these marriages, and that among the couples interviewed there were those who seemed to be relatively well adjusted and well suited in a productive and happy relationship suggesting that the marriages provided some mutual satisfactions to the partners.

⁴²⁰ Beck, et.al., 85.

group project of the Institute to reach out to those who really needed professional help, and the difficulties involved in social workers' locating and providing assistance to these individuals who were reluctant to ask for help.

The Institute decided to conduct a study by themselves and hired a Japanese worker, Chizuko Tsutsumi, and received a Rosenberg Foundation grant for the project in 1959.⁴²¹ However, not all club members were cooperative at first, and some expressed their resentment when they learned that the Institute had received the grant to help only unhappy cases of American-Japanese marriages and that a Japanese social worker was in charge of the research project. Some expressed the opinion that the Japanese social worker should not have made public that Japanese wives were in any trouble. However, according to observations by Mary M. Williams, the supervisor of the project, the real reason of their anger seemed to be that the Japanese female social worker was "a threat to them as an unmarried, educated professional who appeared by her presence to be judging these woman who had broken Japanese tradition." Williams analyzed their situation by writing that these women were "vulnerable and they are easily threatened; they are suspicious of authority and do not understand it when it is not authoritative and they are inexperienced in democratic processes." A group of Japanese wives even threatened to

⁴²¹ The two-year project was conducted with a grant of \$13,000 by the Rosenberg Foundation with three major concerns, (1) factors influencing and leading to the intercultural marriage, (2) personal adjustments of the wives to the American way of life, and (3) interaction between the Japanese women with other members of their family and with members of the greater community.

strike and stop coming to the meetings, expressing their intention to continue coming to the meetings only if the social worker did not come.⁴²²

In order to suppress their resentment and secure the cooperation from these women for the research project, the workers set up the Advisory Committee. The Institute records briefly state that the committee was set up “in order to help in working on the problems of serving” these Japanese women in the club.⁴²³ However, another source reveals that the advisory committee was formed more specifically to aid and to obtain support for the interview project. The Committee consisted of representatives from the Japanese community of San Francisco and from social service agencies of San Francisco.⁴²⁴ With their help, Tsutsumi interviewed approximately 100 wives.

By this time, after a period of steady growth, the club reached its highest point in late 1959 and early 1960.⁴²⁵ It was estimated that about 3,000 Japanese war brides were living in the San Francisco Bay Area.⁴²⁶ In 1960, their club changed its name to Marumikai at the suggestion of Mary M. Williams that the group consider what it would like its name to be. The change was “made eagerly by the members in terms of selecting a name more meaningful to them and symbolizing their status as wives,” according to Williams. The Chinese characters of the new name literarily meant harmony and beauty, and

⁴²² Williams, “Evaluation of Marumikai.”

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Tsutsumi, “General Interim Report.”

⁴²⁵ Williams, “Evaluation of Marumikai.”

⁴²⁶ Tsutsumi, “General Interim Report.” Tsutsumi also interviewed some husbands when possible.

Williams interpreted the name as “harmony or perfect circle after the symbol of the wedding ring.”⁴²⁷ The name symbolized the way of these Japanese women’s lives, flexibility, and adaptability, with elegance. However, not all of the club members were united under a common identity as Japanese wives of Americans, and newcomers often found that the earlier arrived Japanese wives were not helpful at all. Tsutsumi finds that this was a common complaint among the newly arrived women: that “they had the expectation that they could easily find friendship and support among the early arrivals, and they were very disappointed to find that the ‘old-timers’ among the Japanese wives in many cases no longer think of themselves as Japanese but Americans and act accordingly.” She points out that by the late 1950s, some had already become naturalized citizens and others were preparing for citizenship, and that they were “usually highly regarded as good citizens and wonderful wives and mothers.”⁴²⁸ For another example, when some Japanese wives demanded that Tsutsumi leave the club in 1959, some older members indicated to Mary M. Williams that they did not agree that Tsutsumi should leave and they did not like the fuss in the club. They thought that “a minority has

⁴²⁷ Williams, “Evaluation of Marumikai.”

⁴²⁸ About 65 percent of Tsutsumi’s interviewees were mothers of an average of two children, and the majority of the women stayed at home as housewives. Tsutsumi, “A Rosenberg Foundation Project of the International Institute of San Francisco.” Tsutsumi’s report shows that the old members who were educated under the pre-1945 educational system were proud of the standard of their education as higher than that of the new system, and they believed that they had a philosophical foundation through their pre-war education. Tsutsumi, “A Rosenberg Foundation Project of the International Institute of San Francisco.”

railroaded itself in and some members fear and/or dislike members of this minority particularly one who is authoritative and another who uses vulgar language.”⁴²⁹

The divisions among the club members seemed to become larger through the late 1950s, along with the increasing number and diversity of the members. Indeed, their reluctant and hesitant attitudes about taking on leadership continued and were even expressed more vocally through their gossiping. Pointing out that these women were not accustomed to taking initiative and expected others to arrange programs for them, Tsutsumi observed that they were in general interested in attending a meeting in which either an outside speaker was featured or a program with a clear-cut purpose such as cooking demonstration or an English class was presented to them, but if they did not like the structure presented to them, they began complaining about wasting time, and if they arranged programs by themselves, they often complained about the heavy burden of doing so.⁴³⁰ Tsutsumi analyzes that part of the complaint stemmed from a desire not to exhibit oneself before others or become a target for others’ comments, for they were acutely sensitive to each other’s class, educational background, husband’s status, and even the quality of another’s handwriting and speech in Japanese, from which they could tell one’s station and education. Tsutsumi also points out that “another hindrance to planning on their own is that most of the wives are unable to suggest new program topics

⁴²⁹ Williams, “Evaluation of Marumikai.”

⁴³⁰ Tsutsumi, “A Rosenberg Foundation Project of the International Institute of San Francisco.” However, this was not true for a Japanese war brides’ club in Chicago. In Chicago, Japanese wives actively assumed a leading role as president as well as other official positions in their club after it was established in 1953. However, the Chicago case might also represent a unique case; in Chicago, the club was affiliated to the local Japanese community, and most of the succeeding club presidents were Japanese wives of Nisei men.

because of their inability to think beyond their immediate and habitual existence,” and “they have a tendency to turn the group into a gossip club.”⁴³¹

In 1960, Mary M. Williams also evaluated the workers’ efforts with the club rather negatively because of the club’s “gossip” and “internal conflicts” tendency at the time, and expressed her concerns: “It may be we are thrusting them backwards in their attempts at adjustment to American ways and as successful as the group has been at times, we could be doing a greater service to meet the situation in a more structured, less social, fashion.”⁴³² Indeed, in her final report, Tsutsumi suggests that the social workers needed cultural understanding, as well as “unusual” patience. She writes, “They may have become enmeshed in complex and severe difficulties, but they are capable of being helped and can profit from social service attention. They respond to help especially when there is sensitivity to cultural difference and warmth in relationship on the part of the helper. They are remarkably resilient.”⁴³³

In fact, the Institute’s group work was not efficient enough to reach out to the Japanese wives who really needed their assistance. The gap between the living conditions of successful or well-adjusted Japanese wives and those of less privileged ones seemed to get bigger through the 1960s, while these women were perceived as successfully “melted into” society and this issue came to be given less attention by the society. As described in the Introduction, since the 1970s, scholars in social work and

⁴³¹ Tsutsumi points out that gossiping was a prevailing custom especially among married Japanese women at the time. Tsutsumi, “General Interim Report.”

⁴³² Williams, “Evaluation of Marumikai.”

⁴³³ Tsutsumi, “A Rosenberg Foundation Project of the International Institute of San Francisco.”

sociology started their research again on these women with mixed findings, which reflected the widened gap among Japanese war brides: social work scholars, who often discussed Japanese war brides along with other newly arrived Asian war brides as a group and sociologists who paid more attention to socioeconomic status of these women found that Japanese women's marriages were unstable and needed social support to help them deal with their socioeconomic problems, while other sociologists found that their marriages were successful. Organizing the National Committee Concerned with Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen in 1976, and publishing a handbook for social workers assisting interracial couples to resolve their problems in 1981, a group of scholars, church leaders, and activists led by Bok-Lim Kim appealed to the society widely and asserted explicitly that Asian/Pacific American women were not a model minority and that in fact, Asian wives of U.S. servicemen needed attention and support.⁴³⁴

Conclusion

In San Francisco, the Japanese War Brides Club was formed and supervised by American social workers at the International Institute of San Francisco. As early as the spring of 1952, the incoming waves of Japanese wives to the city attracted a great deal of attention from the social workers, and by the summer of the same year, they recognized the need for institutional support to assist with their adjustment. In addition to dealing

⁴³⁴ Bok-Lim Kim, et.al., *Women in Shadows: A Handbook for Service Providers Working with Asian Wives of U.S. Military Personnel* (La Jolla; CA, National Committee Concerned with Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen, 1981).

with these women's problems individually in casework counseling, the workers tried to support their adjustment through forming a club of these women at the Institute so that these women could find each other and the workers could learn more about how they could assist these women better. The director of group project, Jean Bolton, supervised the club and managed the club by taking the joint leadership with Japanese wives. Not having any experience of working with Japanese wives of Americans before, the workers had to learn how to work with these women through their club activities.

Under the close attention and care of the social workers, the club helped Japanese wives develop their friendship circle and learn the American way of living. Japanese wives took advantage of their ties with the Institute, availing themselves of its resources and professional and volunteer support, and having American social workers serve as liaisons between them and the outside world, as well as mediators for the club members. In fact, the presence of these social workers as motherly figures prevented the club from dissolving as a result of internal conflicts. It also helped reduce their sense of guilt for their disobedience and disloyalty to their parents during the time of their initial adjustment in their new country. The continuous long-term support by the social workers was especially beneficial to these women in San Francisco, since the local Japanese community was fragmented and needed to be re-built immediately after the war.

Japanese women in general preferred getting involved in the club flexibly and selectively, and they enjoyed a relatively loose membership in the club. The club provided Japanese wives with various opportunities to learn the American way of life, gain a cosmopolitan view by socializing with other immigrant groups, and reduce their

sense of guilt by finding a motherly figure in the social workers and by identifying themselves with traditional Japanese culture. Even though the differences of these women's experiences became bigger after they arrived in the United States, the club became a focal place for them. However, the club resulted in helping well-adjusted wives become more successful, which contributed to the image of these women as model minority brides, but it put a damper on the experience of less fortunate Japanese war brides as well as those newly arrived other Asian war brides who needed intensive social support during their initial settlement in the United States as much as Japanese war brides had needed that kind of help in the early 1950s.

Chapter 5

Life Stories of Japanese War Brides in Japan and the United States from Their Own Perspective, 1930s-1950s

I got married. It was a kind of fate. I used to dream of coming to Los Angeles. ... My mother used to tell me about the grand parties. Joan Crawford, Bette Davis, Gary Cooper, Joseph Cotton, all these great stars were there. These fairy tale stories from my mother really helped me during the hard times in the war. War times were hell.

-----Nobu McCarthy, 2001⁴³⁵

Introduction

As individuals, Japanese war brides were women who daringly chose to marry U.S. servicemen and immigrated to the United States at a time when not only American society but also Japanese society saw those marriages as a taboo. In this chapter, I will trace how they made those crucial decisions under certain historical conditions through oral history interviews, which will show that their decision of marriage to U.S. servicemen was not necessarily a desperate or irrational but rather a progressive and logical one. I will also show how they faced their difficulties after arriving in the United States and how some of these women chose to represent themselves for their own advantages in the 1950s.

Japanese war brides made decisions to marry Americans and come to the United States for a better future, just like other immigrants. Their marriage decision was strongly influenced by their early life experience during the wars and the U.S. occupation. With few kin and supporting networks in the United States, they faced

⁴³⁵ Roger Garcia, "A Japanese in Hollywood: Interview with Nobu McCarthy," *Out of the Shadows: Asians in American Cinema*, edited by Roger Garcia (New York: Asian CineVision, Inc., 2001), 113.

cultural and financial difficulties and had to overcome each challenge by making use of their limited resources. In pursuit of self-liberation and fulfillment, they exercised agency in choosing how to represent themselves in the mainstream society, choosing to be naturalized as U.S. citizens, raising mixed heritage children, and building their careers. In the process, they have culturally bridged the two nations their native country, Japan and their adopted country, the United States.

1. Historical Background of Japanese War Brides' Marriage Decision

Most Japanese war brides were born in the 1920s-1930s. They lived their childhood and adolescence in a long series of military expansion and wars from the time of Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931. In 1933, accused of colonizing Manchuria, Japan withdrew from the United Nations. The war between Japan and China broke out in 1937. In 1940, Japan formed an alliance with Germany and Italy in World War II. Finally, the Pacific War with the United States broke out with Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. By the time the Pacific War ended in August 1945, Japan had undergone long and dark war years.

During the wars, Japanese women, who had more opportunities to work outside the home for the war effort and to support their family, went through many difficulties physically and psychologically.⁴³⁶ In 1936, the word "*syokugyo fujin* [working women]"

⁴³⁶ By 1930, more than 50 percent of women (15,090,000 out of 32,050,000) were working: on farms (about 60 percent of the working women), in factories (1,430,000 women), and as professionals (560,000 women). A wave of the United States' "Great Depression" hit Japan as "Showa Great Depression" in 1930 and more women had to work instead of male family

became popular and the 1930s is often called "the era of working women" in Japanese history. Most of the working women worked in order to contribute to the family income.⁴³⁷ During the Pacific War, men who were older than seventeen years old were drafted and one of every two households had a male family member who joined the army by draft. The men who were not drafted for war were drafted for munitions factories. This caused a shortage of labor. As a result, the demand for female labor and student labor increased.

Consequently, the war devastated the educational system. In 1938, students of twelve years and older were ordered to work for three to five days during summer break and the working days were expanded to thirty days in 1941.⁴³⁸ In 1941, all single women between 14-25 years old were obliged to work for less than 30 days a year with no payment.⁴³⁹ In 1944, the government promulgated *Jyoshi Teishintai Kinro Rei* [The Order of Women Labor] and *Gakuto Kinro Rei* [The Order of Students Labor].⁴⁴⁰ By

members who lost jobs because of the depression. *Ichiokunin no syowa-shi: sandai no onna-tachi 2* [*Showa History of A Hundred Million People: Women of Three Generations*] 2 (Tokyo: Mainichi shimbun-sha, 1981), 60; Etsuko Yamashita, *Nihon jyosei kaiho shiso no kigen* [*Origin of Japanese Women's Liberalism*], (Tokyo: Kaimei-sha, 1988), 163-164.

⁴³⁷ In 1936, 77 percent of the working women in Tokyo area answered "they worked to support for their family income" for the reason why they worked. *Ichiokunin no syowa-shi: sandai no onna-tachi*, 2, 64.

⁴³⁸ Nobuhiro Miyoshi, *Nihon kyoiku shi* [*Japanese Education History*](Tokyo: Fukumura, 1993), 207, 208.

⁴³⁹ Noriyo Hayakawa, *Senjika no onna tachi: nihon, doitsu, igirisu* [*Women under War: Japan, Germany, and Great Britain*] (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1993), 38.

⁴⁴⁰ When the Pacific War was over, 5250,000 women had a job and there was 472,573 female students' labor. *Ichiokunin no syowa-shi: sandai no onna-tachi 2*, 188.

these orders, single women between 12-40 years old⁴⁴¹ and the students of junior high school, high school and college, were drafted for working at munitions factories for one year. Japanese schoolgirls worked as factory laborers, train conductors, truck drivers, telephone operators, farmers and worked on the war front as nurses.⁴⁴² By the end of the war, nearly 3,400,000 female and male students had been taken out of school to support the war.⁴⁴³ Grace Takakuwa was one of those who missed their education because of the war:

I was born in 1927. I lived in Suginami-ku, Tokyo. My father inherited a family business. I had four sisters and one brother. Two of my sisters died early. I went *Otsuma Kou-Jyo* [Otsuma Women's High School] during the war. We did not study but we worked as a part of war effort. Even after the war, as the school was burnt down by bombs, we did not really have an opportunity to study.⁴⁴⁴

Mitsuko Fukuta had her high school graduation ceremony at a weapons factory, avoiding American raids in March 1945. For those occasions, she wore her school uniform that she had not worn since she was drafted for student labor and wore her shoes that had become musty. She "could never forget how miserable I [she] felt at the graduation even

⁴⁴¹ Married women were exempted from any draft under "kokumin yusei hou [Nation's Eugenic Act]" of 1941, with the slogan "umeyo fuyaseyo [Increase Japanese Population]. Kiyoko Otsuka, "Sensen jyugo no jyosei [Women of War Front and Behind Bullets]," *Nihon jyosei no rekishi: Senchu sengo no jyosei [Japanese Women's History: Women during and after Wars]* (Tokyo: Akatsuki kyouiku tosho, 1983), 91.

⁴⁴² In Okinawa, nearly 500 high school female students joined the Japanese Army as nurses in April 1945 and almost all were killed or killed themselves in the battles in June 1945. Kiyoko Otsuka, 90.

⁴⁴³ Michio Yorita and Yoshikazu Yamanaka, eds., *Nihon kyoiku shi [Japanese Education History]* (Tokyo: Mineruva-shobo, 1993), 118,119.

⁴⁴⁴ Grace Takakuwa, interviewed by author.

though 30 years had passed since then."⁴⁴⁵ Many students lost their menstrual periods because of hard labor and lack of nourishment.

Under the state of emergency, women were prohibited from enjoying any luxuries. Women's fashion was severely restricted, from hairstyles to their daily clothing. Having hair permed was considered to be "imitating Western ways"⁴⁴⁶ and even the police ordered women to exercise self-control and not get permanent waves in 1938.⁴⁴⁷ Having hair permed was officially banned in 1939 and 1942. In July 7, 1940, the so-called "7·7 Ban" was enacted to restrict selling and buying luxury items such as certain kinds of kimono, accessories, and jewels. In October that year, all dance halls were closed. In December 1941, when the Pacific War broke out, American movies were banned. In February 1942, a clothing ticket system was introduced to restrict the buying of clothes. In January 1943, playing jazz was banned. After the national clothing for men was officially regulated in 1940, the national clothes for women were privately designed and introduced in women's magazines between 1941 and 1943.⁴⁴⁸ M.G. who was 21 years old when the war was over, remembers her wartime childhood as follows:

I was born on February 2nd in 1924. I grew up in Osaka. Since I was seven years old, Japan had been in wars. I could not enjoy any luxuries such as wearing a colorful kimono. Although my mother made a kimono for me, there were few

⁴⁴⁵ Shizuka Yamamuro, ed., *Jyuroku-sai no heiki-kojo [Sixteen-Years Olds' Weapon Factories]* (Tokyo: Taihei, 1975), 175.

⁴⁴⁶ Hisahe Sawachi, "Gunkoku no onna-tachi [Women of Military Country]," *Ichiokunin no syowa-shi: nihon senryo* 3, 227.

⁴⁴⁷ Women did not obey the order. In 1939, there were 850 beauty shops in Tokyo area. *Ichiokunin no syowa-shi: sandai no onna-tachi* 2, 41.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 230.

opportunities to go out wearing the beautiful kimono. People only wore *kokubofuku* [standardized cloth during the war], you know, plain cloth of black or dark orange.⁴⁴⁹

In many groups of *kyoshi-teishintai*, women were prohibited from having hair permed or wearing short sleeves, skirts, and lipstick and were ordered to wear *hachimaki* [headband] of "*kyoshi-teisintai*" when they worked at factories.⁴⁵⁰ A Japanese woman wrote a poem that expressed her anger toward the era. She was nineteen years old when the war ended:

When I was the most beautiful in my life
So many people died
In factories, on sea, and on unnamed islands
I lost the opportunity of *oshare* [dressing, wearing make-up, etc.]

When I was the most beautiful in my life
No suitors gave me any gentle gift
Only knowing how to make a military salute,
Men left us, only their beautiful glances left behind⁴⁵¹

Yasu Matsumoto, who was 22-years old in 1945, recalls her adolescence:

⁴⁴⁹ M.G., interviewed by author.

⁴⁵⁰ Women, however, enjoyed *oshare* in their small possible ways. Yoshiko Kojima remembers how she tried to enjoy her youth, while working all day as *kyoshi-teishintai* at a factory in Kanagawa in 1944, "Of course, we wore *monpe* and standardized clothes. But, we all enjoyed *oshare* as young women, such as by remaking a half-court from *hakama* [Japanese pleated skirtlike garment]. I had my hair permed and wore makeup." Another woman remembers that she wore siccarol [medicated baby powder] on her face and felt happy when young men mechanics told her "you look beautiful today." She also felt good as if she had been wearing nice clothes when she put a white sleeve on her working clothes as it was a trendy fashion style. Inoue, 79, 124-125. Setsuko Inoue, *Kyoshi-teishintai no kiroku [Record of Kyoshi-teishintai]* (Tokyo: Shinhyoron, 1998), 79, 124-125, 175.

⁴⁵¹ A poem written by Noriko Ibaragi in 1957, *Nihon jyosei no rekishi: Senchu sengo no jyosei*, 26. Quoted from *Ibaragi Noriko shisyu [Collection of Poetry by Noriko Ibaragi]* (Tokyo: Shicho-sha, 1969). A well-known Japanese composer, Yasuji Kiyose, set the poem to music in 1966 and it has been sung in Japan. The poem was also set to music and sung by an American folk singer, Pete Seeger, as "When I Was Most Beautiful" in 1967.

We were called the "flower behind bullets." Our adolescence was in the war and our loved ones were at the warfront. We made our hearts beat only by exchanging letters to the warfront, which we even did not know when they were delivered.⁴⁵²

Kirii Askew remembers how she had to bear a shortage of not only luxuries but also food and other necessities of life:

During the war and just after the war, we, junior high school students, went to help cutting crops in neighborhood fields because there were not enough men to work at that time. When we worked in fields, we could get rice, *miso* soup, and *oshinko* [Japanese pickles of radish]. I was very happy that I could eat white rice then. There was not enough food at that time. I ate *inago* [grasshopper], stalk of sweet potato, and we put everything we can eat in *okayu* [rice gruel] and ate them. I won't forget the hunger as long as I live. ... We also got lice all over the body. We did not have soaps or shampoos. We killed lice by soaking our kimonos in boiled water in a big pan. We washed our head with ash. It is surprising but ash really worked well and made our hair shine.⁴⁵³

It was not unusual to die of hunger. Grace Takakuwa lost her sister and brother to starvation:

During the war, one of my sisters and my little brother were sent to our relatives in countryside to escape city bombings. But, they [my sister and brother] died of hunger there. My mother cried saying that we should not have sent them there.⁴⁵⁴

From March of 1944 to August of 1945, major cities except Kyoto all over Japan were bombed. Kirii Askew still remembers how frightened she was: "I can never forget how scared I was when I fell down into a shelter while Tokyo was bombed by the B-29s."⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵² Yasu Matsumoto. *Onna-tachi no taiheiyo-senso 1: higaisha and kagaisha [Women's Pacific War 1: Victims and Assailants]* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun-sha, 1991), 192.

⁴⁵³ Kirii Askew, interviewed by author.

⁴⁵⁴ Grace Takakuwa, interviewed by author.

⁴⁵⁵ Kirii Askew, interviewed by author. By the bombings between March and May, 1945, 50.8

Grace Takakuwa also remembers the Tokyo Raid Attack⁴⁵⁶ of the midnight of March 10, 1945:

Fortunately, my house survived the bombings, the Tokyo Raid Attack. After the bombings, I saw dead bodies all over the streets. I stepped over the bodies and I tried to find one of my friends, wondering if she survived the bombings.⁴⁵⁷

Many soldiers were killed in the Pacific War. Grace Sadako Kubo lost her boyfriend:

Just on the day before the war was over, my boyfriend died as *tokkotai* [suicide bomber]. We were young but we were serious. He was the only one I've ever truly loved in my life. I loved him so much that I lost all my energy to love someone after I lost him.⁴⁵⁸

Any anti-war or anti-Japanese government thoughts were suppressed and there was no freedom of speech or thoughts. Kirii Askew remembers:

I was born in 1931, in Tochigi. We had a family of eight, parents, sisters and brothers, and a half-brother. My family farmed. During the war, we, especially women, could not speak anything freely. The Military was overbearing.⁴⁵⁹

Japanese young women's adolescence during the war can be summed up in the word "*nainaizukushi* [a series of not having]." Tatsuko Sekiguchi, who was drafted for student labors, recalled her adolescence:

percent of resident area of Tokyo were burnt down and 92,778 were killed according to Tokyo-kushu o kiroku suru kai [the Study Group for Recording Tokyo Attack].

⁴⁵⁶ In Tokyo, nearly 83,793 were killed by about 334 fighters (B-29)s' "Tokyo Raid Attack" at one night of March 10, 1945.

⁴⁵⁷ Grace Takakuwa, interviewed by author.

⁴⁵⁸ Grace Sadako Kubo, interviewed by author.

⁴⁵⁹ Kirii Askew, interviewed by author.

Some pages of our adolescence days were burnt out inside the tall concrete walls of the factory. ... What we wanted was neither nice clothes, cosmetics, nor boyfriend. What we wanted was, far from what was considered as joy for adolescents---freedom to go out of the factory, freedom to write a letter without being inspected, to eat enough food, to have enough sleep, to see our parents, and so on.⁴⁶⁰

Japanese young women worked for the war, saw off their brothers and fathers to the war front, supported the family members left behind, suffered from the bombs, and received the news of the death of their loved ones, believing Japan would be victorious.

During the Pacific War, the Japanese government had tried to agitate the Japanese public to fight the Americans and British and portrayed them as evil enemies while Germans and Italians were allies. Under the fascist Japanese government, newspapers used Chinese characters "selfish" and "dog" for the pronunciation *meriken* [American] and "dark" and "stupid" for *anguro* [Anglo] and magazines wrote "kill *kichiku beihei* [ogre-like subhuman American and British soldiers]." The words "*beiki hissatsu* [kill American devil]" were displayed at elementary schools and male teachers often beat and kicked male students saying, "Don't forget this pain and anger, because this is *kichiku beihei!*"⁴⁶¹ Those who showed any sympathy toward Americans and British were accused of being "*hikokumin* [not loyal Japanese]."

Despite the efforts of the Japanese government to spread the anti-American and British propaganda "*kichiku beiei*," the propaganda was not necessarily well accepted by Japanese public. For example, Takeshi Mori, a well-known Japanese writer, was

⁴⁶⁰ Yamamuro, 161.

⁴⁶¹ Tashichiro Wada, *Bokura kuronuri shokokumin: senjika no kyoshi to kodomo [We Small Nationals: Teachers and Children under War]* (Tokyo: Taihei, 1974), 89, 90.

seventeen years old when the war was over. He hated Japanese soldiers more than

Americans whom he had never seen:

I used to think, "I will kill at least one of those haughty Japanese soldiers before I was killed by Americans if we are going to fight with Americans in the mainland of Japan and I was given a weapon for the fight" ... I did not feel so hateful toward Americans who were flying in the sky [to drop the bombs]. Rather, I could not stand those Japanese soldiers who were roaring at us.⁴⁶²

M.G. remembers that American teachers were replaced by Japanese teachers at her nursing school but she never had a negative image of Americans:

When I was seventeen years old, Pacific War broke out. I graduated from a women's junior high school and went to Tokyo to study at the nursing school of St. Luke Hospital for four years. I wanted to be a nurse and my mother encouraged me to study there. The hospital used to be operated in the spirit of Christianity and English was the common language in our classes. Usually, American doctors and nurses taught the students at the school. But, it was during the war, and Japanese nurses who had learned from those Americans taught us. I've never had a bad feeling toward Americans because of the Christian spirit of the school. After I graduated from the school, I taught at the junior high school I graduated from. Then, the war was over.⁴⁶³

Also, 278 of about 12,000 American dolls that were sent from American children as friendship-doll ambassadors to 10,759 Japanese elementary schools and kindergartens in 1927 were hidden and protected by teachers despite the strong public agitation to destroy the dolls during the war.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶² Takeshi Mori, "Sengo yakeppachi no hakkutsu [Post-War Desperate Discoveries]," *Shiso no kagaku*, Jul. 1990, 10-11.

⁴⁶³ M.G., interviewed by author.

⁴⁶⁴ Chiba Prefecture History Educators Conference, ed., *Gakko ga heisya ni natta toki: chiba kara mita senso 1931-1945 [When Schools Became Army Barracks: War Seen from Chiba Prefecture 1931-1945]* (Tokyo: Aoki, 1996). 137, 138.

Many Japanese people felt anger toward Americans and British, especially toward Americans whom they fought, not because of the "*kichiku beihei*" propaganda but because of the fact that their family members and friends lost their lives in the war against Americans.

In August 1945, the United States dropped two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and Japan surrendered. The long war was over. On August 15, 1945, Emperor Showa told the Japanese people of the surrender, "Bear the unbearable and suffer the insufferable..." in a national radio broadcast. Tsuneo Enari, a photographer, remembers that he was too young to understand what the surrender meant and that his mother was the only one who was crying among his family after listening to the emperor's broadcast. Later, he learned that not only children but also adults did not cry so much, because how they could get something to eat for the evening was a more urgent matter of life and death for many Japanese people.⁴⁶⁵ According to the 1947 report by the Japanese government, 1,555,308 soldiers and 299,485 civilians lost their lives in the Pacific War.⁴⁶⁶ The wartime was long and the Japanese people who had survived the fifteen years of war were all exhausted,⁴⁶⁷ starving,⁴⁶⁸ and many of them were even homeless.⁴⁶⁹ They longed to return to normal life.

⁴⁶⁵ Tsuneo Enari, "'Amerika' o ikiru [Living in 'America']", *Shiso no kagaku*, Jul. 1990, 20.

⁴⁶⁶ Akira Shimizu, *Senso to eiga: senjichu to senryoka no nihon eiga-shi [War and Movies: Japanese Movies History during the War and under the Occupation]* (Tokyo: Shakai-shiso-sha, 1994), 151.

⁴⁶⁷ Because of the bombs dropped between April 1942 and August 1945, 350,000 civilians were killed and 9,200,000 were injured. *Ichiokunin no syowa-shi: nihon senryo 2* (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbun-sha, 1980), 22.

Japanese war brides decided to marry American GIs under the strong influence of democracy the U.S. occupation brought to Japan.⁴⁷⁰ Women were the first to adopt the new idea, and at the same time, they came to have a positive image of the United States. Between 1945 and 1952, Japan was occupied by Allied military forces, which carried out democratic reforms that included a new Constitution of Japan, under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers.⁴⁷¹ Major policies of the U.S. occupation were the demilitarization, democratization, and rehabilitation of Japan. One of the major five objectives of the reforms was "the liberation of Japanese women by women's suffrage." On August 28, 1945, the U.S. Army of Occupation landed in Japan. On August 30, 1945, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ/SCAP) was placed in first Yokohama and soon moved to Tokyo. Even after 1952, many American GIs were stationed in Japan because of the U.S.-Japan Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement (MSA), signed in 1954.

⁴⁶⁸ By 1947, there were 123,504 orphans who were under eighteen years old and 7,080 of them were living on streets, in Japan. *Ichiokunin no syowa-shi* 3, 384-85.

⁴⁶⁹ Japanese government reported that 2,460,000 houses were destructed by bombs. According to the data of November 1, 1945, about fifteen percent (93,000 households) of Tokyo residents (600,000 households) were houseless. *Ibid.*, 98-99.

⁴⁷⁰ Between 1946 and 1950, nearly 40,000 British, Indian, Australian, and New Zealander's army also stationed in Chugoku and Shikoku area of Japan.

⁴⁷¹ Along with the Taika Reform of 645 and the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the U.S. occupation is "one of the three main periods in which Japanese self-consciously adopted institutional reforms from abroad" in Japanese history. Mark Sandler, *The Confusion Era: Art and Culture of Japan during the Allied Occupation, 1945-1952* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1997), 11. Quoted from Peter Frost, "Occupation," *The Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983).

Under the strong influence of U.S. occupation, some Japanese women married American GIs. There were six major factors why they did so.

First, many Japanese men were killed in the war and many of those who survived were physically or mentally disabled. According to the Census of 1947, there were 5,773,000 Japanese men of 20-29 years-old and 6,780,000 women of the same age group. Besides, many Japanese women lost their husbands in the war and there were 283,000 war widows in 1945.⁴⁷² As a result of this unbalanced sex ratio, women had difficulty in finding a husband and the problem was at the peak between 1947-1950, a few years after the war,⁴⁷³ reflected by the saying, "For one broom, there were a truck-full of brides." They were the women of the generation who were the most deprived of "the opportunity of marriage" in Japanese history.

More than 500,000 young American GIs landed in Japan and were stationed all over the country during most of the occupation period.⁴⁷⁴ Immediately after the war, the Japanese people feared murder and rape by "barbaric" American GIs,⁴⁷⁵ because the Japanese people were quite conscious of their own army's misbehavior and atrocities in the lands they occupied.⁴⁷⁶ In the two weeks before the entry of American GIs, the radio

⁴⁷² Otsuka, 91.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 31.

⁴⁷⁴ Eiji Takemae, *Senryo to sengo kaikaku [Occupation and Post-War Reform]* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1988), 11.

⁴⁷⁵ Mori, 12.

⁴⁷⁶ Theodore Cohen, *Remaking Japan: The American Occupation As New Deal* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 119.

repeatedly warned women to go to their families in the countryside.⁴⁷⁷ They expected the worst scenario. But the rumor turned out not to be true. Grace Takakuwa remembers:

I had never seen Americans until the war was over. During the war, when I worked for a company, one officer put a skeleton outside our office to show us that he was an American who could do a savage thing like this. When American soldiers came in the city by jeeps, I was frightened. But, the feeling did not last long. Soon, friendly American soldiers gave candies to children and I thought, "I want a candy too!"⁴⁷⁸

In July 1946, General MacArthur made it clear that fraternization was not banned, except small regulations, stating "any order banning social contact with the Japanese would be useless, unenforceable and 'violative of the inherent self-respect of the American soldier."⁴⁷⁹ American GIs' unexpected courtesy surprised the Japanese people:

When American soldiers stood up in a crowded trolley or bus to offer their seats to Japanese women, the Japanese passengers were stunned. In Japan men did not publicly defer to women. On one occasion it took several minutes of "you first" motions to persuade a Japanese cleaning woman to pass through a Headquarters corridor door before an American officer.⁴⁸⁰

Finding many American GIs deferential, kind and gentle, Japanese women--especially young single women--gradually began to have favorable impressions of American GIs and change their attitudes toward them. Mieko was surprised to see that American GIs seemed so different from Japanese men:

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ Grace Takakuwa, interviewed by author.

⁴⁷⁹ Burton Crane, "GI Fraternization Allowed in Japan," *The New York Times* 12 Jul. 1946: 9.

⁴⁸⁰ Cohen, 120.

When I first met these young fighting men who came to occupy our land, one quality struck me---you might call it human-ness, a conviction that human beings are important. In Japan it's the lack of this quality that made the kamikaze suicide bombers possible.⁴⁸¹

Mieko remembers, "Many Japanese girls who married Americans tell me that for the first time they were made to feel they were human beings and were loved." Mieko also thinks, "American men do not try to hide their affection as Japanese men do, for fear it might make them seem less manly." As Mieko explains, American GIs in uniform became the symbol of the wealthy and powerful America in the eyes of the defeated and conquered:

The truth is we Japanese girls didn't know much about America, and since all the American men we met were in uniform, we didn't know much about them either. I do know that they dazzled us. They were so big, so fearless, so careless, so superior in all the things that troubled us. Surely every woman knows what that means.⁴⁸²

On the other hand, Japanese men looked weak politically, financially, physically and spiritually, which was the third factor. Under the U.S. occupation, Japanese men lost their status as leaders, protectors and providers. By May of 1948, nearly 210,000 Japanese elite men in ex-army, congress, business, publication, and education who were categorized as militarist, super-nationalist, and fascist were purged by the GHQ/SCAP, which was officially called "the Removal and Exclusion of Undesirable Personnel from Public Office."⁴⁸³ Then, in 1950, nearly 13,070 Japanese men who were categorized as

⁴⁸¹ McEvoy, 97.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

⁴⁸³ Hiroshi Masuda, "Kosyoku tsuiho no syogeki [Impact of Purge]," in *Senryo to kaikaku [Occupation and Reform]*, edited by Masanori Nakamura (Tokyo: Sanyo-sha, 1995), 79, 80.

communists who agitated Japanese public to oppose the U.S. occupation policy were purged by the GHQ/SCAP's "red purge."⁴⁸⁴ Japanese men, as well as women, were also physically weak because of lack of nourishment when the war was over. The average weight of fifteen-year old Japanese decreased from 45.4 kg. in 1942 to 42.8 kg. (94.37 lb.) in 1944.⁴⁸⁵

Kirii Askew felt sympathy toward Japanese men for fighting and losing the war:

As for Japanese men, I feel sorry for them. They were forced to fight the war. When they returned from the war, it seemed to me that they became coward and sissy. Japanese men looked to me that they had lost any confidence. After the war, therefore, Japanese women became strong, on the other hand.⁴⁸⁶

Grace Takakuwa also remembers how difficult it was to find a good Japanese man:

During the war, I used to sigh with my friend saying that there were no good man left around us. The war was long and many men had gone to fight the war. At that time, the relationship between girl and boy was not like today. We even did not kiss in those days. When I walked to Ginza with a male student, we were stopped by a police officer. He stared at us and said, "What are you doing?" and let the boy go but kept me with him at the police station. He said something about my body with dirty words and touched my thigh. He looked enjoying to sexually abuse me. I could not stand anymore. I asked to him, "What's your name?" and the nametag was on his uniform. He asked me why and I said, "One of my friends' father is the General of Police Department and I'm afraid that I have to tell him allabout what you did to me." His attitude changed suddenly. He apologized and begged me not to tell the general what he did to me.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁴ Akimasa Miyake, *Redo paji toha nanika---Ninon senryo no kage [What is Red Purge?: A Shadow of the Occupation]* (Tokyo: Otsuki-shoten, 1994), 12.

⁴⁸⁵ Kenzo Kitagawa, *Kokumin sodoin no jidai [Era of All the Japanese Nation's Mobilization]* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1989), 59.

⁴⁸⁶ Kirii Askew, interviewed by author.

⁴⁸⁷ Grace Takakuwa, interviewed by author.

Mieko felt sympathy toward Japanese men for their expected traditional role in a family:

In America I have learned to sympathize with Japanese men because they cannot be what they would like---there is too much tradition in Japan. Take filial piety, for instance. A young man who lives in his parents' home with his wife, as many do, might want to take his wife to the movies. But first he must ask his parents if *they* would like to go. If they are understanding, they will suggest, "Take Hanako. She has not been out of the house in ages." But if they happen to feel grouchy, the young man may end up taking his parents and leaving his wife at home.⁴⁸⁸

Fourthly, many women had to work to support their family after the war and women had more opportunities to meet American GIs through their jobs around the military bases. There was little food or jobs because the whole economic system of Japan was almost destroyed in the war. Between November 1945 and May 1946, the bodies of 1,291 Japanese who had died of starvation and malnutrition were found on streets in the Tokyo area. 267 bodies were found in May 1946, and the number was increasing.⁴⁸⁹ All the political, economic, and social systems being completely destroyed in the Pacific War, Japanese people of all social classes equally had to live the bottom life immediately after the war. There were few places for women to work except as a school teacher. The only other jobs left for women were the jobs around the U.S. military bases.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁸ McEvoy, 97.

⁴⁸⁹ "Starvation Deaths Rising Near Tokyo, Army Says," *The New York Times* 3 Jun. 1946: L.

⁴⁹⁰ Prostitution was one of those jobs available for women to work to live or support their family. Prostitutes were, however, strictly screened out from marrying American GIs under the U.S. occupation. Japanese police, under the orders of Military Police (MP), checked the background of all Japanese women whom American GIs applied for the marriage with. It seems, therefore, appropriate to think that Japanese war brides who came to the United States between 1947 and 1952 were most likely not prostitutes, at least not professional prostitutes, despite the fact that Japanese war brides have been often looked down upon as prostitutes by Japanese and American society. A few of the Japanese war brides might have been an "*onrui* [only]." From 1949 through 1951, the women called "only" came to be recognized around U.S. occupation bases. A woman

Consequently, many Japanese war brides met their husbands through their work. The top five jobs that the 109 Japanese war brides whom Ueki, Nitta, and Suzuki contacted had when they married were: housemaid, waitress, typist, office worker, and dressmaker. Ten women were unemployed and nearly 40 women did not disclose their jobs.⁴⁹¹ M.G. was a nurse at a military hospital for the U.S. occupation in Tokyo when she met her husband:

I first met my husband in 1947. He was a lawyer, a Judge Advocate General (JAG) for the Air Force and came to Japan for a supplemental lawyer for Tojo Trial. He came to the St. Luke Hospital as patient. He caught a cold. He was not my patient. There was an old civilian man who was paid less attention by other nurses because he was not a general or young but I was nice to him. I was just carrying out my duty as nurse but the old man felt thankful to me so much. Looking forward to seeing me every morning, he used to shout my name "M!" at around the time when I was expected to work in his room. So, soon, everybody came to know my name. The first time we met, my husband said to me, "So, you

who lived with an American GI was called "only." Those women did not think themselves as prostitutes and differentiated themselves from street girls called "pan-pan." In general, her GI financially took care of her and the couple formed an imitated family. Many of those women worked for bases as housemaids, waitresses, BOQs who took care of generals, registrars, typists, and nurses, when they met their partners or after they started to live together. Minoru Nishida, who contacted about 2,000 Japanese women who worked around a U.S. occupation base in Tachikawa, Tokyo throughout five years between 1947 and 1952, roughly estimates about 85 percent of the women who worked for bases were "only" of American GIs. One of those women talked about her feelings as "only," "He loves me and he is a kinder consultant for advice than other Japanese people around me. I'm doing the best for him as much as I can because he's taken care of me. I've never thought about marrying him, but I don't want him to say 'Japanese women were unkind' when he returns to the United States. I'm hoping that I will end this kind of underground life soon." Nishida reported that only 3 out of the 158 "only" whom he had interviewed in 1949 ended up marrying officially by military permission in 1952 when the U.S. occupation was over. Although 86 of the 158 women had married in Shinto or Christian ceremonies and obtained a certificate of their marriage, these certificates turned out to be invalid and nothing but scraps of paper. In other words, about 98 percent of American GIs who had their "only" girlfriend returned to the United States after the occupation, leaving their "only" alone in Japan. Only a small population of "only" married GIs around 1952. Nishida, 78-88, 121, 125. It seems, however, that many war brides actually ended up living with their husbands out of wedlock while they were waiting for the military approval of their marriage, which usually took one to three years, according to Enari's interviews.

⁴⁹¹ Ueki, Takeshi, et.al., *Umio watatta onnatachi (Brides who Crossed the Ocean)*, 8-39, 83.

are the 'M'!" He looked kind and very handsome. He asked me to go out with him.⁴⁹²

Grace Takakuwa first met her husband when she was working at Tokyo Central Post Office in the early 1950s:

I first met my husband at work. He was Nisei (second generation of Japanese Americans), and he was the chief of the section where I was working at Tokyo Central Post Office. At first, he came to Japan as translator and worked for Secret Service Division (SSD) at the GHQ, and then he started to work at the post office where the GHQ read and checked all mails. I worked there because I did not like my former jobs as office worker for companies, and my Japanese fiancé who went to Waseda University but worked for the post office as a part-time employee introduced me to the job.⁴⁹³

Kirii Askew first met her husband when she was working as typist for the personnel section of the Post Exchange (PX) in Tokyo:

I met my husband when I was working at the PX in 1955. I was twenty-three years old and he was nineteen. He used to come there with another soldier, who is his friend, to bring some business papers twice a week. When he first saw me, he said to his friend, "I'm gonna marry that girl." He said it was love at first sight. I did not know what he felt about me. His friend asked him, "You just met her and how can you know you are going to marry to her?" He replied, "I know, I will get to know her." Then, he asked me to go to see a movie.⁴⁹⁴

The fifth factor was that the U.S. occupation reinforced new ideas of marriage, introduced in the 1930s with the spread of Western popular culture.⁴⁹⁵ After World War

⁴⁹² M.G., interviewed by author.

⁴⁹³ Grace Takakuwa, interviewed by author.

⁴⁹⁴ Kirii Askew, interviewed by author.

⁴⁹⁵ The family system was first institutionalized in the Meiji Civil Code of 1934. Under the law, a legal marriage required the permission of the head of household, and of parents for a man under 30 and a woman under 25. Historically, in Japan, the main object of marriage was the perpetuation of the *ie* [family] line, not love, but the provision of an heir. In other words, the object is to "supply the ancestors with those who will faithfully serve them, a son and heir being

II, the Japanese laws concerning family and marriage were changed completely by the introduction of democracy and other Western ideals into the legal and educational systems under the U.S. Occupation. In 1948, the idea of love marriage, equal rights of husband and wife, individual's rights, and equality of both sexes based on the new Japanese Constitution of 1946 were embodied as the amended Civil Code. By the Civil Code, the *ie* system was abolished and marriage based on mutual consent was legally assured. The law consequently increased the number of love marriages. However, in the early 1950s, love marriages were only one-third of the total marriages. According to a poll of 1950 by the Japanese Ministry of Labor, 44 percent of women answered "I will follow my parents' words" and 36 percent of women answered "I will follow my own heart" to the question "What would you do if your parents did not like the person whom you like to marry?"⁴⁹⁶ As for international marriage, after the war, in 1950, a new Nationality Act was passed and it allowed any Japanese man or woman who married an alien person to retain their Japanese citizenship if they wish.⁴⁹⁷

the greatest blessing sought." Marriages were usually arranged by heads of houses, often through a go-between and a daughter usually had no choice but follow her parents' will. The principals were expected to agree with the choice of their elders, and it was "not considered quite proper for a son, and particularly for a daughter, to express too strong an opinion on the selection of the parents." Around 1930, falling in love was considered as a sign of mental and moral weakness and love as effeminate and unmanly. By the late 1930s, however, under the influence of Western films, plays, literacy, papers, magazines and books, ideas about Western romantic love as a noble emotion began to spread and affect attitudes. One ideal image projected was that of the "*ryosai kenbo* [good wife and wise mother]" on European model. The idea of seeking happiness in marriage was a new one, and it was consistent with another new idea, that of the husband and wife setting up their own home. However, in actual practice, marriage based on love was still a taboo and a scandal. Joy Hendry, *Marriage in Changing Japan: Community and Society* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1981), 9-26.

⁴⁹⁶ Takeshita, 104.

⁴⁹⁷ In 1873, the first regulation of international marriage was enacted. With the permission by the

Consequently, more women came to choose their marriage partner by themselves.

Grace Takakuwa chose an American husband over her Japanese fiancé:

My fiancé graduated from the university and got a job at Nihon Kagaku. He asked me to wait for him for one year while he was sent to factories all over Japan in training as a future executive officer. Before he came back, I got married to my husband. I was such a *charan poran* [irresponsible] person!⁴⁹⁸

Kirii Askew refused her husband's proposal three times and seven years had passed since she first met him when she finally accepted his fourth proposal:

(When he first proposed to me) I refused, saying, "No way! Who on earth would marry someone you know for only three months?"... He left Japan and three years passed. He proposed again but I refused again, as I was so scared to come here (the United States). Another four years passed, and, he found out my new phone number by asking his friend to make an inquiry about me in a Tokyo evening newspaper and proposed me again! I told him, "Okay, why don't we write to each other every day to get to know each other for six months?" We wrote everyday, small things such as where I went or what I ate. After the six months, he proposed to me in his letter and I accepted. I forgot what exactly he wrote to me in his proposal but he was such a good writer and flattered me so much. I was truly moved by those words. I was thirty-two years old and he was twenty-eight years old then. Seven years passed since we had first met. I had had Japanese boyfriends before I married him but I was too cautious to decide to marry any of them. My caution delayed my marriage but one good thing about late marriage was that my mind was well ready for marriage.⁴⁹⁹

Japanese government, any Japanese could marry an alien person. However, by the marriage, Japanese women automatically lost their Japanese citizenship and, on the other hand, alien wives of Japanese men automatically became Japanese citizens. The regulation was continued in the Nationality Act of 1899. Even after 1950, a child between a Japanese man and an alien woman was granted Japanese citizenship but a child between a Japanese woman and an alien man was not granted Japanese citizenship. This regulation was abolished in 1984. The Association of Japanese Wives of Foreigners, ed., *Sugao no kokusai kekkon [International Marriage with No-Make-Up]* (Tokyo: Japan Times, 1986), 224-229.

⁴⁹⁸ Grace Takakuwa, interviewed by author.

⁴⁹⁹ Kirii Askew, interviewed by author.

The sixth factor was that the U.S. occupation introduced American life style as a modern model life style, which liberated Japanese women at the same time. Theodore Cohen discussed the great cultural impact the U.S. occupation had on the Japanese people:

For the Japanese, the impact of the cultural confrontation was even sharper. An intensely insular people, for the first time in some 1,200 years they suddenly had to cope with a massive, if only temporary, foreign influx. Everything the Americans did was food for thought, from democracy to hair styles. Imprisoned, as it were, in their constricted society and narrow islands, the Japanese yearned for foreign manners and things, if only to feel liberated.⁵⁰⁰

The Allied military forces promulgated a new election law and women were given the right to vote for the first time in 1945 and 39 congress women were elected in 1946. A new Constitution of Japan, which was guided by GHQ, was promulgated in 1946 and went into effect in 1947. Fuyuko Kamisaka, a Japanese writer, remembers that her teachers at a women's high school changed their attitudes drastically in the fall of 1945. A teacher told the students "you do not have to wear *monpe* [pants for labor] any more and you are allowed to come to school in Western clothes of any color from tomorrow." She was very surprised when a student sitting next to her came to school wearing a red skirt the next day, "I was so shocked because I myself could not feel like taking off *monpe* so soon!"⁵⁰¹

By 1950, the United States was "a dream country" for many Japanese people. As soon as in September 1945, a 32-page English conversation booklet, *Nichibei kaiwa*

⁵⁰⁰ Cohen, 135.

⁵⁰¹ Fuyuko Kamisaka, "Sengoshi he no mochifu [Motif for Post-War History]," *Shiso no kagaku*, Jul. 1990, 43.

techo [Pocketbook of Japanese-English Conversation] became the best-selling book and 4,000,000 of the copies were sold. In February 1946, an English conversation radio program, "*Kamu kamu eburibodi* [Come Come Everybody]," started and became the most popular radio program by Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK).⁵⁰² In the same February 1946, the Central Motion Picture Exchange (CMPE) was established and introduced democracy through Hollywood movies.⁵⁰³ In 1948, GHQ allowed Japanese students and cultural ambassadors such as artists and actors to visit the United States. In 1949, 121 Japanese actually visited the United States, and since then, more Japanese had yearned to visit the United States. The yearning for American culture produced a new word in vogue, "*Ameshon* [American fashion]" and "*Ameshon* culture."⁵⁰⁴ In March 1950, the Exposition of the United States was held in Kobe. Two million Japanese visitors were counted solely on the day March 29, and the big event was extended for eleven days more.⁵⁰⁵ Between 1949 and 1951, an American cartoon "Blondie" was translated and carried in one of the most popular Japanese newspapers *Asahi-shinbun*. The cartoon introduced American life style, especially family life as a model of new values, which were democratic and modern.⁵⁰⁶ Dating was "enthusiastically" adopted.⁵⁰⁷ Around

⁵⁰² Takemae, 3-5; Tetsuro Kato, *Sengo ishiki no henbo [Change of Post-War Consciousness]* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1989), 8.

⁵⁰³ The first introduced movies were "Madame Curie" and "His Battler's Sister."

⁵⁰⁴ *Ichiokunin no syowa-shi: nihon senryo* 3, 196, 200. According to Cohen, the Japanese cultural traditionalists were unhappy, and, in as early as 1948, Tsuru Shigeto, later president of Hitotsubashi University spoke to Cohen in bitterly pessimistic terms about the survival of traditional Japanese culture. Cohen, 136.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ichiokunin no syowa-shi: nihon senryo* 2, 252.

⁵⁰⁶ Kosei Ono, "Ibunka to shiteno amerika [America as a Different Culture], *Shiso no kagaku*, Jul.

1951-1952, the most modern life-style to which many young people aspired was to wear American style clothes, listen to Jazz records, and dance at a town hall. Kamisaka also remembers that she went to a dance party and was surprised to see Japanese men and women dancing so closely around 1949 when she got a job at Toyota, an automobile company.⁵⁰⁸ M.G. remembers that she went dancing with her Japanese colleagues in the early 1950s:

I used to go out for fun with the people of the Ministry of Health. We went out for dinner and dancing. But, I did not have any boyfriend. It was not the time that we could choose our own marriage partner. Besides, I did not want to marry yet.

M.G. was very impressed to see the idea of individualism and equality:

After the war, I came up to Tokyo again to work as nurse at the St. Luke Hospital. I remember Tokyo was nothing but burnt field. The hospital, which was the only hospital that survived bombings, was under the control of GHQ and operated as the military hospital for them. So, I used to take care of American soldiers and civilians. We took care of General MacArthur's son when he was hospitalized because he broke his legs in skiing. He was only thirteen years old. We nurses took care of him specially because he was the son of the General. But, one day, his mother, who was a military nurse, came to us and said, "Please treat my son just as a thirteen-year-old boy and no more than that." She was a woman with such a spirit.

Once getting used to such an idea of equality and the courtesy of American GIs, she could not tolerate traditional Japanese customs anymore:

I have never had any bad feelings toward Americans. At the hospital, I came to get used to the "lady first" treatment. After I worked there for two years, I came to work for the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare. One day, I got

1990, 56-57.

⁵⁰⁷ Cohen, 136.

⁵⁰⁸ Kamisaka, 44.

on an elevator without waiting for other men at the building of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. People stared at me but I did not know why at that time. I did not expect that the people who worked at the forefront of the nation's foreign affairs kept having such a Japanese manner and custom.⁵⁰⁹

Kirii Askew loved listening to English radio programs:

After I graduated from a junior college, when the war was over, I worked as typist of English in Tokyo. I thought I would not have difficulty in finding a job in the future if I learn the typing of English now and went a private tutor to learn it. I liked English very much. I loved to listen to English radio programs. As typist, I worked for the personnel section of the PX of the U.S. occupation troops. Before I came here (the United States), I worked for the American Boy Scouts.⁵¹⁰

Many women came to dream of living in the United States. Grace Sadako Kubo decided to marry her husband, knowing, "Marrying him is a stepping stone to go to the United States."⁵¹¹ M.G. decided to marry her husband, who had been her friend for eight years, in order to stay in the United States after she finished one-year study at John Hopkins University, as a representative of Japan's Ministry of Health, with a Fulbright scholarship:

He was back to the Pentagon in Washington, DC, by 1955. In the spring of 1956, when I was studying at John's Hopkins in Baltimore, I wrote a post card to him asking if he would take me to see cherry blossoms of Washington, DC. Surprisingly, he came to pick me up on the next Saturday. Then, he asked me to stay in the United States but I was expected to leave there in August when I finish the one-year exchange program that I signed I would go back to Japan by the date. He said that he would be a sponsor for me and asked me to stay in the United States. Marrying him was the only legal way that I could stay in the United States.⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁹ M.G., interviewed by author.

⁵¹⁰ Kirii Askew, interviewed by author.

⁵¹¹ Grace Sadako Kubo, interviewed by author.

⁵¹² M.G., interviewed by author.

Many Japanese women found the American democracy very new, liberal and exciting, especially after the long hard war times. In the eyes of Japanese women, American GIs in uniform were the symbol of the democracy and the symbol of the power and wealth of the United States. The words of actress Nobu McCarthy, who married an American GI and came to the United States in 1956, expressed the feelings well:

I got married. It was a kind of fate. I used to dream of coming to Los Angeles. My parents came to Los Angeles before the war. My father was a protégé to Prince Tokugawa. MGM would throw a party for him. My mother used to tell me about the grand parties. Joan Crawford, Bette Davis, Gary Cooper, Joseph Cotton, all these great stars were there. These fairy tale stories from my mother really helped me during the hard times in the war. War times were hell.⁵¹³

Through American GIs, many young Japanese women saw "America," which looked in their eyes tremendously charming and reassuring.

Some Japanese women married for other reasons. Grace Takakuwa decided to marry her Nisei husband because of her sympathy toward his children and for his mother's sake:

I got married to him in 1955. I married him not because I loved him but because I felt sorry for his three little children whose mother, his ex-wife, died of a disease. She was a Nisei too. I love the children and they loved me too. Their grandmother liked me a lot and she was the one who pleaded with me to marry her son. So, I got married to him.⁵¹⁴

In this way, for this variety of reasons, Japanese women decided to marry American GIs.

⁵¹³ Garcia, 113.

⁵¹⁴ Grace Takakuwa, interviewed by author.

Why did American GIs marry Japanese women? Besides love, first of all, American GIs could not find many American women in Japan. It is roughly estimated that there were 3,760 American men but only 453 American women in 1946. The ratio was 8:1. However, according to Theodore Cohen, "many of the American women were beyond the romantically attractive age" and "the only female companionship available was Japanese."⁵¹⁵ Secondly, American GIs who fought in the war were exhausted and longed for family life just like their fellows at home. Thirdly, American GIs found Japanese women different from American women and many appreciated the perceived difference. They saw Japanese women as "petite, graceful, and gentle."⁵¹⁶

It was never an easy decision for Japanese women to marry Americans. Most of the women who wanted to marry American GIs faced strong disagreement from their parents. Some gave up their marriage but some were not discouraged by their parents' disagreement. Miwako Cleave refused to have an arranged marriage and ran away from her family when she was nineteen-years old. When she decided to marry an American GI, her father told her that she was forsaking family honor and "we cannot stop you, but if you leave this house, never come back" and her mother cried. She told them that she didn't care and "I'll take care of myself one way or another." Her cousins tossed rocks at her and her uncle removed her name from the family tree. Miwako said, "To them, I was dead."⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁵ Cohen, 123.

⁵¹⁶ Frank F. Chuman, *The Bamboo People: The Laws and Japanese-Americans* (Del Mar, CA: Publisher's Inc., 1976), 299.

⁵¹⁷ Duane Noriyuki, "Still Searching for Acceptance," *Los Angeles Times* 1 May 2000: E3+.

Some war brides faced no strong disagreement from their family. In many cases, it was mothers who supported their daughters' decision. Kirii Askew remembers:

My parents did not really oppose my marriage. But I think I was not a dutiful daughter as I left my parents behind... My mother told me, "It is not important where you are as long as you are happy." She died soon after I left Japan.⁵¹⁸

M.G. also did not face strong disagreement:

My mother did not oppose our marriage and my father always followed her opinion on the matters of children and education. She said that she was not worrying about me because I had enough skills to be independent and survive in any part of the world. So, I wrote a resignation letter to the Ministry of Health. In Maryland as well as Virginia, a state statute banned any marriage between a non-white person and white person in those days. So, we went to Washington, DC and got married there in September 1956. I was twenty-eight years old.⁵¹⁹

In the eyes of the Japanese people who felt themselves to be completely impotent after the war, Japanese women who were with American GIs looked like prostitutes and traitors. There were mixed feelings about the dark image of their defeat, prejudice toward interracial marriage, their envy of American culture and those Japanese women who made their own choices in dating and marrying. Japanese war brides were women who chose the relationship that they felt was more human and liberated and followed their heart for a better life.

2. Japanese War Brides' Early Life in the United States

⁵¹⁸ Kirii Askew, interviewed by author.

⁵¹⁹ M.G., interviewed by author.

Arriving in the United States, Japanese war brides faced many difficulties because of cultural differences. A well-known Japanese actress, Mitsuko Miura, divorced her Nisei husband in 1950 and a Japanese war bride who was divorced and suffered from neurosis killed her child and tried in vain to kill herself too in Chicago in 1953. These two incidents were reported as big news in Japanese newspapers and helped to reinforce Japanese people's negative preconception that most of the marriages between American GIs and Japanese women would not be successful.

Most of the Japanese war brides had to cross the Pacific Ocean alone, separated from their husbands because of immigration regulations. Many of them were sad to leave Japan and scared of the new life in the United States. Kirii Askew remembered how her passage was:

I took a ship of half-cargo half-passenger, the Tosaharu-maru. I was scared of air planes and decided to take a ship. Besides, I wanted to leave Japan slowly and not so quickly. I came to the United States and after three days, we married. It was a taboo to come to the United States and to marry Americans. It was difficult to obtain a passport for the purpose. It was because the marriage was between Japanese and American, different nationalities. I wanted to bring a wedding dress with me from Japan, but I gave it up because I was afraid that the inspector might notice that I was going to the United States to marry an American. The executive officer helped me to go to the United States and signed a document to show that I was going to the United States to observe the Boy Scouts in the United States. I was working at the Boy Scouts in Japan. He said to me, "You do not have to worry because you will have no trouble in finding a job in the United States."

Kirii Askew continued:

The passage took thirteen days from Yokohama to Los Angeles. We dropped by at Hokkaido. I suffered from seasickness everyday and I went to see doctor every morning. I was very scared before I came to the United States even though I had worked with Americans in Japan for years. I came here alone. I was very worried and frightened.⁵²⁰

⁵²⁰ Kirii Askew, interviewed by author.

Not all Japanese war brides' first impression of the United States when they finally arrived was necessarily a positive one. Some war brides were disappointed when they arrived in the United States. One war bride was shocked to see Americans doing manual labor:

When we docked in Seattle we watched a road crew working. I overheard one war bride mutter that she didn't know that American men worked with pick and shovel! It was new to her.⁵²¹

In some cases, what they had learned about being a good wife of U.S. citizen at brides' schools turned out to be useless when they arrived in the United States. Some husbands just did not show up despite their promise to wait for their Japanese wives.⁵²² Masako Colonel saw one of those women when she arrived at San Francisco in 1959:

Kyoko, whom I came to know on the ship, was one of them. She married her husband in Japan and had a child. But he did not show up. She settled down in Georgia where her husband was from by help of the Red Cross. She lived near by his parents' house but he had never come back for her.⁵²³

Kirii Askew was lucky to find her fiancé waiting for her, but disappointed by his attire:

When my ship finally reached the United States, I was so looking forward to seeing him that I dressed well for the special occasion of our reunion. He came to pick me up at the port. When I saw him wearing T-shirt, short-pants, and sandals, accompanied by his friend who had dressed in the same way, I was very disappointed. In Japan, I had only seen Japanese men wearing nice clothes such

⁵²¹ Mieko, 99.

⁵²² Misako Nollie, interviewed by Enari. Enari, *Hanayome no amerika [America of the Brides]*, 52.

⁵²³ Masako Coronel, interviewed by Enari, 241.

as a suit on that kind of occasion. Three days later, we got married. It was in August 1962. Since then, I have lived in California.⁵²⁴

Many Japanese war brides were shocked by the reality of life in America. Japanese war brides went through many cultural conflicts. Especially, economic difficulty, language difference, and racism were the three major difficulties that they had to deal with, when they first started their new life in the United States.

First of all, most of the Japanese war brides soon found out that their husbands were not as wealthy in the United States as they appeared to be in Japan. After World War II, the United States had the greatest housing shortages in American history as a result of the "baby boom," and the couples consisting of American ex-GIs and Japanese women also had difficulty in finding homes. The 1950s were the most affluent years in American history and the middle-class grew dramatically. American families enjoyed buying material comforts and pleasures.⁵²⁵ However, as soon as they arrived in the United States, Japanese war brides realized that they could not afford those material comforts that they had enjoyed in Japan or learned how to use at brides' schools. They were better off in Japan because of their husbands' good salary paid by the unbalanced money exchange rate of dollars and yen, but in the United States, the salary was not necessarily enough for a family even if the husband stayed in the military. As a result, many Japanese war brides had to work outside home to support their family. Grace Takakuwa remembered:

⁵²⁴ Kirii Askew, interviewed by author.

⁵²⁵ Elliott West, *Growing Up in Twentieth Century America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 73-177.

I came to the United States with him in 1955, the year I married my husband. Our ship arrived at San Francisco and there he was discharged from his duty. Then we drove to Los Angeles. He worked as the manager of a vegetable market. I soon gave birth to a child and I had to raise four children. In Japan, we had a good life with his military privileges. We even had a housemaid in Japan. But, here, our life was not easy and I worked as waitress at a Japanese restaurant for a few years. We left his mother in Japan and he kept sending money to her. We did not have a house and rented a room.⁵²⁶

Many of their husbands were discharged from the military and they had to find a new job or build a new career from nothing. Kazue Elliot, who first settled in California in 1959, supported her husband who retired from the army and entered the University of California:

The pension of the army for eight years was so small. We saw the bottom of life. I added water to soy source and ate the least expensive noodle to ease my starving stomach. I helped my husband, working for a hospital because I had a nurse license in Japan. I thought at that time, "America is not a rich country at all. I have to work for a living." He graduated from a graduate school of the university five years later.⁵²⁷

Many Japanese war brides had to start with menial jobs for minimum wage, with little support from their relatives or group networks and hampered by their limited language ability.⁵²⁸ Yoko Harmon, who came to San Francisco in 1960, talked about her experience:

During the first three years, I gave a birth to my second daughter Catherine and my first son David. The salary of GI was not enough and I had to make a living

⁵²⁶ Grace Takakuwa, interviewed by author.

⁵²⁷ Kazue Elliot, interviewed by Enari. Enari, *Hanayome no amerika [America of the Brides]*, 96-97.

⁵²⁸ Many war brides could not turn to their relatives' support from Japan because they were disowned from their family or they came to the United States despite their relatives' disapproval.

day by day. I worked in strawberry fields owned by Japanese American Issei, sewed clothes, and even worked as house cleaner, that was the last job I wanted to do.⁵²⁹

Another war bride, Yukiko Cary, who married an African American GI and moved to Houston, Texas, in 1956, was shocked to know that they could not buy a house because the marriage between African American and non-African American was illegal in Texas.⁵³⁰ When they moved to Kansas by army order, they lived in a dirty garret until her husband felt sorry for her and bought a trailer house.⁵³¹ Especially during the first several years, no small number of Japanese war brides had to start from scratch and work very hard to make a decent living for themselves and their families.

Secondly, Japanese war brides suffered because of their limited English ability. Many of them could not speak English at all when they arrived in the United States because English as enemy language was not taught in Japan during the Pacific War. Their poor English limited their communication with their husbands, limited their job opportunities, and made their independence from their husbands difficult because of the limited job opportunities and lack of legal knowledge of divorce, support networks, their rights, and how to use their rights.

Soon, many Japanese war brides tried to educate themselves by learning English as a necessity for their career, their children, and their own protection. They worked hard to

⁵²⁹ Yoko Harmon, interview by Enari. Enari, *Hanayome no amerika [America of the Brides]*, 192.

⁵³⁰ This housing information of Texas was not accurate but based on Yukiko Cary's memory whom Katsuichi Honda, a journalist, interviewed.

⁵³¹ Katsuichi Honda, *Amerika Gassiyukoku [The United States of America]* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun-sha, 1981), 193.

learn how to speak English. Mieko saw that "some Japanese women educated themselves, taking advantage of the free English lessons in public schools."⁵³² Grace Sadako Kubo studied not only English but also U.S. history and government to get U.S. citizenship because "I think it will be better for my career and business."⁵³³ Kirii Askew did the same thing for her children:

Soon, I gave birth to my daughter, Cathy, and sons, Joy and John. I got U.S. citizenship about three years later. The exam was difficult and I had to take writing exam and listening exam, except oral exam. They asked me the name of the U.S. president. It was J.F. Kennedy who was the president at that time and it was around the time of the Cuban missile crisis.⁵³⁴

Kirii Askew also learned how to drive for her children:

I got a driver's license for the sake of my children when I was thirty-eight years old. Until then, I usually took a bus. Until my first child turned three, I did not take her outside our house. I raised her in my house and backyard.⁵³⁵

Another war bride who first lived with her mother-in-law in California in 1956 had a different experience. She could not cook or speak English at all. But her mother-in-law was helpful and brought her to a public library and taught her English words one by one, showing her a picture book for kindergarten children.⁵³⁶ Not knowing English isolated Japanese war brides but some of them built a network because of the language problem:

⁵³² McEvoy, 97.

⁵³³ Grace Sadako Kubo, interviewed by author.

⁵³⁴ Kirii Askew, interviewed by author.

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

⁵³⁶ N.C., interviewed by Enari, 77.

Many war brides huddle together for protection, mostly because they do not know English and nobody tells them they can get English lessons free in the public schools, and Americanization courses, too.⁵³⁷

Thirdly, Japanese war brides suffered from racism toward themselves, their husbands, and their children in the 1950s. In the 1950s, many states still had anti-miscegenation laws and segregation laws based on the principle of "separate but equal" treatment. In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in public schools was illegal for the first time in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. In 1957, however, racial tension was still high, and when nine African American students enrolled in a high school in Little Rock, Arkansas, crowds shouted racial insults, beat African American reporters, and surged up to the steps of the schools. President Dwight Eisenhower had to send the federal army to protect the students. It was under these social conditions that Japanese war brides faced racism. The racism they faced reflected the racial hierarchy of American society of those days. The facts that Japan was an enemy nation during the Pacific War and that some war brides themselves unconsciously internalized the racism, made the racism they felt more complicated.

Some of the Japanese war brides who married white American GIs faced the racism toward them and their mixed-heritage children. Sumie Cheeks, who gave birth to her second son in Cleveland, Ohio in 1954 or 1955, remembers her father-in-law saying, "His skin is lighter than I expected," when he first saw the new-born baby. Her father-in-law was a British American and Sumie felt looked down upon because she was Japanese.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁷ McEvoy, 97.

⁵³⁸ Sumie Cheeks, interviewed by Enari. Enari, *Hanayome no amerika [America of the Brides]*, 250

Other Japanese war brides faced hostility because they were both Asian and ex-enemy nationals. Shizu Williams, who first settled in a public apartment in Virginia in 1956, was soon kicked out of the apartment by a British American woman who lost her son in the Pacific War saying, "I cannot live in the same apartment with a Jap."⁵³⁹

Japanese war brides who married Nisei GIs were often first welcomed and soon came to be criticized as non-traditional Japanese wives and daughter-in-laws by Issei. On the other hand, most of the Japanese war brides did not know much about the internment experience of Japanese Americans during Pacific War. As a result, there were misunderstandings between the two groups and prejudice toward each other. Some war brides had negative experiences with Issei. A war bride who married a Nisei GI who was from Hawaii remembers that an elder Issei woman said to her, "Oh, you are war bride," in an uncomfortable way, on a bus.⁵⁴⁰ Other Japanese war brides of Nisei GIs felt encouraged by Japanese American communities. A Japanese war bride who came to Hawaii with her Nisei husband told:

(Everyone) was nice to me. An elder (Issei) man who lived next to us was very good to me. He used to say, "Young lady, *ganbarinasai* [hang in there]. Young lady, so you came from Japan, *ganbarinasai*, *ganbarinasai*."⁵⁴¹

72.

⁵³⁹ Shizu Williams, interviewed by Enari. Enari, *Hanayome no amerika [America of the Brides]*, 123.

⁵⁴⁰ S, interviewed by Nitta. The year of the episode was unclear. Ueki, *Umio wattatta onna tachi [Brides who Crossed the Ocean]*, 154.

⁵⁴¹ K, interviewed by Nitta. The year of the episode was unclear. *Ibid.*, 155.

Japanese war brides who married African Americans found out that they occupied a unique position, between white Americans and African Americans. Kanoko Agnue, who married an African American GI and came to a town in the United States in 1952, was stared at by all people and felt very uncomfortable when she walked with her husband. It was not unusual to see African Americans in the downtown but the African American and Japanese couple looked unfamiliar and strange to other people. She felt too uneasy because of other people's gaze and took a taxi, but her husband was so self-conscious that he said, "I will walk," to avoid being seen riding in a taxi with her. Kanoko also tried not to go out with her African American girlfriend because the friend worried about being seen as Kanoko's servant when they went out together.⁵⁴² Kanoko did not take a citizenship exam because she feared humiliation from officers because the state where she lived did not allow interracial marriage.⁵⁴³ She had painful memories of racial discrimination against her, her husband, and her children. At the same time, by 1969, Kanoko did not hesitate to show her negative view of African Americans in general, "I think that an average black person was retarded for about 100 years. Even as adult, they have a brain only for the second-year elementary-school children."⁵⁴⁴ The words reflect her own painful experiences including her son being shot by an African American classmate the year before. However, it is very difficult to generalize Japanese war brides' view of African Americans. Another war bride who married an African American GI

⁵⁴² Honda, 180, 181.

⁵⁴³ Ibid., 185.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., 209.

and lived in the same town with Kanoko had a different view through her experience by

1969:

There are many bad people among blacks. But, the most important thing to consider is what the person actually does for you in need. None of my Japanese friends helped me when I was totally at a loss. But, black housewives helped me from the bottom of their heart. I've never met anyone like them who was so reliable.⁵⁴⁵

Many Japanese war brides of African American GIs faced racial discrimination and prejudice from other African Americans, white Americans, Japanese Americans, and even other Japanese war brides who married white GIs. When they first faced the prejudice, they were surprised, disillusioned and angry, but they quickly had to learn how to deal emotionally and practically with the reality for themselves and their families.

Many Japanese war brides also suffered from homesickness or loneliness, missing Japanese people, food, and language. Grace Takakuwa chose to work outside the home to get over her homesickness:

I became seriously homesick before I started to work outside the home. I did not have any close friend in the new country at first. I had no one to whom I could turn. I also missed Japanese food so much. I did not like to go out because I could not understand English, though people usually talked to me friendly. I guess they were just saying, "How cute your children are," or something like that, but I could not answer them. I cried every night looking up at the moon. I had a nervous breakdown and I could not wake up from my bed for days. While I was sick, my husband took care of the children and did all the housework by himself. After I started to work outside, my homesickness was eased a little. I worked as a waitress, actually because I wanted to save some money to return to Japan to live there.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., 207.

⁵⁴⁶ Grace Takakuwa, interviewed by author.

For some Japanese war brides, working outside the home helped them to get over their homesickness and adjust to American society through contacting new people outside family and raising self-esteem as a useful member of American society. Working outside opened a door to the broader society for Japanese war brides. It also made it possible for them to gain their freedom.

Some war brides who settled down in suburbs or non-West Coast states felt more isolated and lonely.⁵⁴⁷ In California where there were more people of Japanese descent, Japanese war brides more easily adjusted to the new country. Ritsuko Bright, who first settled in a small town of Oklahoma in 1958, had different views of America when she was in Oklahoma and when she moved to California:

The town was so small and other residents were surprised to see "a Japanese walking in Western clothes." When I was waiting for my husband at home, I was too much scared to hear the front door knocked to move. Everyday, I asked my husband to let me go back to Japan. ... After moving to California, I came to know that many Japanese were living there and thought, "America is such a wonderful place."⁵⁴⁸

Some war brides struggled with other problems such as their husbands' alcoholism, domestic violence, divorce, and child-rearing, just like other American married couples.

Struggling with these difficulties compounded by cultural differences, Japanese war brides tried to find or create a space to express themselves. Some organized themselves. Shizuko Moore, who came to California in 1951, also enjoyed her life there:

⁵⁴⁷ By 1955, three out of four new houses in metropolitan areas were being built in suburbs in these outlying areas and between 1945 and 1954, an estimated 9 million people shifted to these suburbs. West, 178-179.

⁵⁴⁸ Ritsuko Bright, interviewed by Enari. Enari, *Hanayome no amerika [America of the Brides]*, 148.

I hardly saw any Japanese person around the military base when I first settled there. Within three years, many Japanese war brides settled around the base. We formed a group of war brides and we played poker, went to a picnic on Sundays, and held Japanese food parties.⁵⁴⁹

Others started to express themselves through Japanese traditional arts. In 1958, Yoshiko Allen contributed her *tanka* [Japanese poem of thirty-one syllables] to a Japanese language newspaper, *Hokubei hochi*, which was one of the earliest Japanese war brides' voices to be published in the art form.⁵⁵⁰

Some other war brides began to learn how to represent themselves in American society to be accepted better by the society. By 1955, Mieko Malloy learned how to socialize with Americans in a daily small talk:

I found out soon that the question ["How do you like it here?"] is very much like "How are you?" You simply answer, "Fine, just grand!" I learned not to tell them [Americans] about the first night I spent in the United States, in a third-rate hotel, and how I broke down and cried, lonely and frightened. ... But I learned not to say these things.

She learned not to tell what she really felt or thought and instead told them what they wanted to hear:

I simply say, "Fine, you have been very kind to me." Americans are glad to hear a happy answer instead of a grim one, which may be truer, from a newcomer. This is a peculiar thing about Americans. They insist that everyone must be happy and having a good time. And if not, then they turn away so they won't notice.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁹ Shizuko Moore, interviewed by Enari. Enari, *Hanayome no amerika [America of the Brides]*, 44.

⁵⁵⁰ Yoshiko Allen [Aren], "Zadankai amerika hanayome no uta: shiatoru no nihonjin jyosei to Ito Kazuo [A Discussion Meeting American Brides' Poems: Japanese Women in Seattle and Ito Kazuo]," a supplement of Kauo Ito's *Meiji Kaigai Nippoin-jin [Japanese Abroad of Meiji Era]* (Tokyo, PMC, 1984), 3.

⁵⁵¹ McEvoy, 96.

Striving to avoid any unnecessary conflicts, war brides learned to be careful what not to say from their mistakes and for their protection. Mieko's words represent many war brides' experience:

I had to learn what shocked them, and try never to do it again. I had to learn each little thing one by one through experience. It was like being a child all over again.⁵⁵²

At the same time, some Japanese war brides started to build their own careers for their dream or for their personal freedom, in the 1950s. Individually, these Japanese war brides played a role as a result or took the initiative in reproducing or reinforcing a stereotype of Japanese women as geisha girls and docile "lotus blossoms" in the post-war American society. For example, Nobu McCarthy, who married U.S. Army Sgt. David McCarthy and came to the United States in 1956, was one of the most well-known Japanese American actresses. She was spotted by a Japanese American agent in Little Tokyo, Los Angeles and got a role in the Jerry Lewis comedy "The Geisha Boy" in 1958. In her busiest period in Hollywood, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, she had a role in "The Hunters," "Wake Me When It's Over," "Walk Like a Dragon" and "Love With the Proper Stranger." Until the 1970s, she mainly played stereotypical roles as geisha girls and "lotus blossoms." She was not proud of "The Geisha Boy" for its racist comedic scenes of Japan and Japanese but she was proud that she acted in English.⁵⁵³ She

⁵⁵² Ibid.

⁵⁵³ Garcia, 113-114.

identifies herself with war brides, "('War brides' are) the women just like me. *Shin-Issei* [the first generation of post-war Japanese immigrants]. We could not speak English, and, we could not belong to any groups."⁵⁵⁴ In pursuing her dream as an actress in Hollywood with her limited resources, she consequently played a role in forming stereotypical images of Japanese or Asian women as a result of her popularity in the 1950s and 1960s.

Not as well-known as Nobu McCarthy, other career-oriented Japanese war brides tried to make the best of their limited resources and the stereotypical image of Japanese women, more or less. Sadako Matoba was one of them.⁵⁵⁵ She was born in 1928 in Yamagata as a daughter of a wealthy businessman. Never getting over the loss of her boyfriend in Pacific War, she came to pursue her own fulfillment and happiness after the war. She wore a long skirt, had her long hair permed, and went to dance with boys. She was frank, fearless, and loved to socialize with people. Immediately after coming to the United States as the wife of an American GI in 1959, at the age of 30, she started her career as businesswoman by introducing Japanese traditional arts to the United States. Even before arriving in the United States, she planned to start her business and brought craft materials for hundreds of Japanese dolls and a tea ceremony set with her. When she and her husband settled in New Jersey, she went up to New York to see the president of Macy's department store without any appointment or acquaintance. In her limited English, she asked him to buy her dolls and sell them at the store, showing her hand-made dolls as sample. He and his secretary were very surprised. The president finally

⁵⁵⁴ Nobu McCarthy, interviewed by Akiko Matsumoto, May 5, 2001. Unpublished interview transcript.

⁵⁵⁵ Sadako Matoba is Grace Sadako Kubo's maiden name.

asked her, "Can you make 25 dolls like these within two weeks? Then, I would buy your dolls." Sadako was very pleased with his offer, but she considered the offer very carefully and said to him, "Yes, I can. But, I need preparation money to make the dolls because I have to import necessary materials from Japan." The president paid her \$500.00 by check on the spot as her outfit allowance. She made 25 dolls two weeks later as she had promised him.

After that, Sadako worked with the Macy's department store through the early 1960s. She traveled around the United States with her dolls as a part of the store's commercial performance. The dolls were called "Kabuki dolls" by the Macy's president. The president's expectation that she and her dolls would attract American public attention was right. From 1959 to the early 1960s, Sadako was featured in major local newspapers from New York to Ohio many times and she still has kept more than 10 of those articles.

Sadako was first featured on newspapers such as *Newark Evening News*, *New York Daily*, and *Maplewood News* in October 1959. In the pictures, she smiles in *kimono* surrounded by her Kabuki dolls. In November 1959, Sadako was featured in a TV commercial for Bambergs department store, a branch of Macy's department store. In the commercial, she served tea to the business executive of the Bambergs department. She remembers, "he was not happy to see me that day because I had my hair cut, he expected me to have the Japanese hair style with long hair."⁵⁵⁶ In *Newark Sunday News* that she was also featured in the same year, she poses like a doll, in an Asian-style "Jersey Garden." An Ohio newspaper described her as "A young Japanese beauty will bring

⁵⁵⁶ Grace Sadako Kubo, interviewed by author.

mastery of an ancient craft to Dayton next week. The dolls...depict their station in life--- housewife, Geisha girl, maid or royalty," with a picture of her in *kimono* making a doll.⁵⁵⁷ These pictures show that Sadako orientalized herself as exotic and also "lotus-blossom" traditional Japanese woman in *kimono* for business purposes, being fully aware of what the American public was pleased or expected to see in her performance as a Japanese doll maker. Soon she became a successful businesswoman by choosing to represent herself in this way to the public.

However, Sadako chose to express herself differently in private life. First of all, she chose to become a U.S. citizen. She studied English and passed the exam for naturalization in 1962, for a better career opportunity. She was the first Japanese to become a naturalized citizen in Newark, New Jersey. From then on, she called herself Grace and not Sadako anymore. In the same year, when her husband was ordered to be stationed in Okinawa, Japan, she refused to go with him and asked him for a divorce because she did not want to go back to Japan. She cut her long hair and enjoyed her short hair. She also enjoyed driving a white Cadillac, wearing a white Chinese dress with a white scarf around her neck. She remembers that many men, both American and Japanese, followed her to her apartment whenever she showed up with her Cadillac in town. She enjoyed her single life as a modern, urban, and successful Japanese American businesswoman.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

In this way, she took advantage of the stereotypes of Japanese women to become a successful businesswoman. With her kabuki-dolls, she reproduced the stereotypes of Japanese women and sold them to the public, as a pragmatic choice and a survival strategy for her personal freedom and economic success. In the process, she herself transformed her identity from Japanese woman to Japanese American woman.⁵⁵⁹ Nobu McCarthy and Sadako Matoba's experiences show an aspect of Japanese war brides' agency in choosing how they represent themselves in the new country for different reasons. Despite the passive image of Japanese war brides in American media, they played a significant and initiative role both in transforming and sometimes reproducing the stereotypes of Japanese women in post-war American society, especially the 1950s and the early 1960s.

Conclusion

Most of the Japanese war brides were ordinary women who had grown up and lost their adolescence in the long wartime. Under the fascist Japanese government, they were deprived of opportunities to enjoy any kind of freedom. Suffering from the lack of food and the B-29 bombings, they longed for a better life. They chose to marry American GIs and immigrated to the United States often despite strong disagreement from their family. In the United States, with few kin or support networks, much less the Japanese government's protection, they had to turn to their personal talents and resources as their

⁵⁵⁹ When I asked Sadako, "Do you think you are a war bride?," she answered, "I am a Japanese American."

only assets, except their husbands. By doing so, they began making the United States their new home.

As young women, they were fearless and hopeful enough to make the journey alone believing their husbands' promises to wait for them at a port in a foreign country. Despite the adjustment difficulties they faced as newly arrived immigrants, they have never easily given up. Many of them shared the same feeling with Mieko Malloy, who did not lose hope for better future and believed in the "American dream":

An immigrant from Europe, a hundred years ago, might have felt the same discouragement if he came to America dreaming of owning a large farm and found himself, instead, in some poorly-paid job. But the smart immigrants did get ahead. They put together all their resources and ended up owning a farm or a comfortable little business. And the important thing was they *were* able to do this here, whereas they would not have been able to in the old country. When I see beautiful homes, lovely cars and elegant clothes, I can't help but think, perhaps someday I may have these things. America is a country where such dreams seem feasible. Where else in the world can they come true?⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁶⁰ McEvoy, 99.

Chapter 6

Longing for Japan: Transnational Organizing, Shaping Identity between Two Countries, and Remembering

In Japan, there may be a small group of people who look at us with the eyes of prejudice. But I'm telling all of you, the Empress was worried, and thought about us and our hardships as if these were her own affairs. We must not only thank her gentle mind but also do our best (not merely for ourselves but also) for her. Please keep up your spirit and do not bring disgrace on the name of "Japanese woman."

-----Kazuko Umezu Stout, 1994⁵⁶¹

Introduction

In her opening speech of the first world convention of Japanese war brides held in Honolulu, Hawaii, in 1994, Kazuko Umezu Stout said that it was because of Empress Michiko that she had decided to organize Japanese war brides in the late 1980s. Kazuko was a housewife living with her husband in Tacoma, Washington, and was a war bride who had been born into a family in a small village in Yamagata, Japan, and came to the United States in the 1950s as the wife of an American serviceman. In May 1984, Kazuko and another Japanese war bride participated in the 25th Convention of Nikkei and Japanese Abroad held in Tokyo. They were the first war brides who had ever participated in the prestigious convention, which was a forum to discuss life outside Japan, open to all Japanese people who had relocated overseas on a permanent basis and their descendants. Kazuko and another war bride were invited to tea at the Crown Prince's Palace and allowed to talk to the Crown Prince Akihito and Princess Michiko. At the tea, Kazuko remembers Princess Michiko spoke to her gently: "I could only

⁵⁶¹ File 16, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

imagine what difficulties (hardships) you have gone through in a country of different language and custom. Please tell all the others that ‘I think of the great pains you have taken and I thank you.’” Kazuko responded to her, “Yes, I will make sure to send your words to the others.”⁵⁶²

In 1961, Yoshiko Gloria Yamajii said that the main thing she would recommend that social workers do for Japanese war brides was to “remove the stigma which has followed the war brides wherever they went,” rather than to provide other services such as English or other Americanization classes.⁵⁶³ However, no matter how successfully social workers helped them attain a better self-image through individual or group work, it was almost impossible for them to change the Japanese general perception of these women as low-status and “failures” in their marriages, and completely remove the stigma that had been attached to them. It was a few decades later that Japanese war brides decided to take action to change the social perception by themselves, not relying on others such as social workers, scholars, or the American media.

In the United States, Japanese war brides gradually became seen less as a problem and almost disappeared as a group, once they settled into American society. Here they

⁵⁶² Ibid.

⁵⁶³ Yamaji suggested, “When the war-brides have not had much conflict with their own parents or in-laws, they tend to make faster adjustments, in spite of their communication difficulties, because they felt more secure and accepted. Acceptance by both families seemed to be the key for better and happier marriages.” She also found that one wife, whose parents had never expressed opposition to her marriage, felt more anxiety than the other wives. Yamaji, 27, 51. Yamaji’s findings indicate that Japanese war brides, whether or not their parents opposed their marriages, suffered from some sort of guilt feeling towards not being able to take care of their parents in Japan as dutiful daughters.

became more engaged in the task of assuming their responsibilities as wives and mothers of American families and raising their children to be fine Americans. Their marriages were never celebrated as much as those of European war brides in the American media, but at least their marriages were more accepted than in Japan. Even though there was some prejudice remaining in the Japanese community in the United States, this largely came from the Japanese society's negative image of these women. Gaining a good image in American society or telling a story of a successful Japanese war bride would help diversify the Japanese image of Japanese war brides when it was reported in Japan, but as long as there were some Japanese war brides who had tragic experiences or failed marriages, individual happy stories would be overshadowed by the often dramatized media representations of unfortunate Japanese war brides. Gaining acceptance from Japan remained the biggest concern and task for Japanese war brides to tackle before they died. Reaching their sixties and seventies in the 1980s, they – at least a few hundred of them – were not content to fade out quietly, with the stigma was still attached to them.

This chapter explores how Japanese war brides shaped their collective identity as hard-working Japanese immigrant women by defining “war brides” from their own perspective after the 1980s. They did this by transnationally organizing themselves as Japanese war brides who had married into different countries such as Australia and Canada, but who longed for acceptance from their home country, Japan.⁵⁶⁴ They stood

⁵⁶⁴ In order to understand what they thought and felt, this chapter examines their newsletters, which include their letters, essays, and memoirs. These newsletters were donated by the following seven groups to the Japanese National Diet (Congress) Library: Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society] from 1991 to 2001, Tanpopo-no-kai [Dandelion Club] from 1990 to 1999, Kisaragi-kai [February Club] from 1977 to 2000, Peninsula Japanese Women's Club from 1979 to 1994, TWS (Transpacific Women's Society) from 1992 to

up for the mission in a most effective way – acting collectively and asserting their loyalty to Japan – to gain acceptance from Japanese society, not for the choices they made to marry American GIs and leave Japan, but for having been “good” Japanese in the United States and for their cultural contribution to U.S.-Japan relations as grassroots ambassadors. Being U.S. citizens and not being able to claim their legal ties or rights as Japanese subjects anymore, they emphasized their Japanese-ness based on having been brought up in Japan as Japanese. They identified themselves as the first generation of postwar Japanese immigrants who were hard-working, loyal to both their mother country and adopted country, and who had transplanted Japanese culture into a foreign land. They also internalized the self-image that they were dutiful daughters of Japan who loyally retained and lived with the ideal of “Japanese womanhood” and “Japanese spirit” at their heart, and did so as truthfully and, in some cases, even more truthfully than Japanese women in Japan. By doing so, they sought to remove and be released from the stigma attached to them for the past several decades and from their sense of guilt for their “disloyalty” and “disobedience” to their parents and their home country. Furthermore, they organized a transnational connection and claimed acceptance from Japan not only for Japanese war brides who had married American GIs but also all Japanese war brides who had married occupation soldiers and scattered across the continents, in the United States, Australia, Canada, Britain, New Zealand, and Japan.

1. Organizing Japanese War Brides

1995, JAPC (Japanese American Pioneers Club) from 1995 to 1996, and JISSA (Japan International Senior Society of Australia Inc.) from 1993 to 1994.

Kazuko Umezu Stout organized the first nationwide group, and later the first transnational group, of Japanese war brides in the late 1980s. Her outspokenness emphasized the inspiration she had gained by meeting Princess Michiko, who had expressed her deep sympathy and understanding of the hardships of Kazuko and other Japanese war brides, and was a tangible expression of Kazuko's loyalty and faithfulness to her duties and her promise to the Princess to deliver her words of comfort to other Japanese war brides. It also gave unquestionable validity to her leadership and her organization of the transnational "Japanese" group as the group's founding story.

In 1986, two years after she met Princess Michiko, Kazuko remembered her conversation with the Princess while she was lying in a hospital bed after she a car accident. Kazuko met Princess Michiko when she went to the 25th Convention of Nikkei and Japanese Abroad as a representative of the JACL (Japanese American Citizens League) of Olympia, Washington. She went to the convention with another war bride who belonged to the same *senryu* (seventeen-syllable poem) group. After she remembered her conversation with the Princess, in which Kazuko promised to spread the Princess's words to other war brides, she became determined to hold a nationwide convention to call Japanese war brides together from all over the United States. Kazuko took the lead in organizing the convention by making the most use of her network through the local club she belonged to. The "*Tanpopo-no-kai* (Dandelion Club)," which was located in Tacoma, Washington, was one of the largest Japanese war brides' clubs in

the United States at the time.⁵⁶⁵ As a representative of the club, Kazuko visited other nearby local clubs such as *Kisaragi-kai* (the February Club) in Seattle, attended their monthly meetings, and asked them to attend the convention as well as raise contributions for the convention.⁵⁶⁶

While Kazuko and others discussed and prepared for the convention, they had a dispute over using the term “*senso hanayome* (war bride)” in the name of the convention. Even though the term had come to be used less frequently in Japan by the 1980s, Japanese brides felt that the older generation still used the term with a negative connotation, as former *panapn* (prostitutes around U.S. military bases during and immediately after the occupation) or low-class and less virtuous women. Their marriages were also seen as unsuccessful and their life in the United States was believed to be miserable in general. Many war brides suffered from such stigmatization and felt ashamed to have any association with the term. It was difficult for them to identify themselves and speak up as “war brides” without hesitation when such a negative image still prevailed in their home country. They found the term derogatory and felt offended when they were identified with it. After a careful discussion of the pros and cons over

⁵⁶⁵ During the 1970s, in Tacoma/ Ft. Lewis, a group of Asian wives including Korean, Japanese, and Filipino women, called Asian Friends met at Asian American Alliance on a monthly basis. A staff person, April West, was working on an information handbook for Washington State which would include information on immigration, legal rights, social service agencies, employment, etc., and the handbook would be translated into Vietnamese and Korean. The Asian/Pacific Women’s Caucus was also selling buttons and Asian-featured dolls to help finance the publication of the handbook. Newsletter (Fall 1978), the National Committee Concerned with Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen; It is unclear if and how much Kazuko or other Japanese war brides were involved in these activities in Tacoma during the 1970s, or read or heard about these activities.

⁵⁶⁶ Newsletter, *Kisaragi-kai*, 1988.

using the term, Kazuko and others adopted the opinion that “there is no point holding a convention if we don’t describe it as being for ‘war brides.’”

However, once the news about the upcoming convention was spread, Kazuko met opposition from other war brides. It was the title of the convention, “*senso hanayome tobei yonju-shu-nen kinen taikai* (40th Anniversary Convention of Japanese War Brides’ Arrival to the United States),” that offended them. For example, Kazuko received a letter from a Japanese woman. It was posted in a nearby city. The writer was upset and against holding such a convention:

I’ve read a newspaper article about your reporting the progress of *senso hanayome* to the Japanese society. Such a convention is invalid. I and my friends are all troubled. I suspect that only less than one tenth of us (among 3,000 women) support the convention. This is because: (1) young people in Japan do not know the term, (2) my aunt only knows that I am living in the United States, (3) the answer is certain if a young person asks an elderly person about the meaning of the term, (4) we are all troubled by your self-satisfaction, (5) why now do we have to have our achievements recognized by the Japanese society? Why is it important to change the impression? Japanese people now have a good impression of us, and what you are doing will only harm this impression.

The letter continued, “The things we would like to request you to do are”:

(1) not to report on the convention in any newspapers in Japan, (2) not to report on the convention in any English-language newspapers in the United States, either, (3) to keep the expression of your self-satisfaction within Japanese-language newspapers in the United States. You are a smart woman. Please understand the feelings of the remaining thousands of us who do not approve of (the convention). I sincerely hope that you will grant our wishes.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁷ Newsletter, October, 1995, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

In fact, as Kazuko later recalled, more opposition had come from war brides themselves than from Japanese society.⁵⁶⁸ However, Kazuko did not stop or change her plans, thinking that she could not die without changing Japanese society's negative image of war brides.

Despite such opposition, nearly 320 women gathered at the convention held in Olympia, Washington, in 1988. They came from Washington, Oregon, California, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Canada. As a result of Kazuko's efforts, the convention was supported by six Japanese groups: *Tampopo-no-kai* (Tacoma, WA), the American Japanese Association (AJA) (Tacoma, WA), *Kisaragi-kai* (Seattle, WA), the Peninsula Japanese Women's Club (Bremerton, WA), the Transpacific Women's Society (TWS) (Portland, OR), and *Zenbei-nikkei-kokusaikekkon-no-kai* (Nikkei International Marriage Club in America) (LA, CA). This convention marked the first nationwide convention by, of, and for Japanese war brides, and it was reported in newspapers and broadcast on a national TV channel in Japan. Kazuko recalls that a reporter called Hiramoto wrote in *Hokubei mainichi* (a Japanese ethnic newspaper in the West Coast) that the convention attracted such attention from the media because it was the first convention that proudly held up the term, *senso hanayome*, and brought those women together who had thought

⁵⁶⁸ In the fall of 1995, in responding to a journal editor's questions, why she was using the term, *senso hanayome*, and what her definition of the term was, Kazuko expressed that more protest came from war brides themselves than from Japanese society to Kazuko's efforts to refute negative stereotypes. Kazuko learned that many brides were afraid of being treated as "*senso hanayome*," and told Kazuko, "Don't touch an old scar," "Don't use the term," "It won't be good to my family in Japan, if I join such a group," and "I am not a war bride." However, Kazuko wanted Japanese brides who were residing all over the United States to realize that "even a cat and dog does treat and heal its own wound." "Why do you hide what you think is right?" Newsletter, October 1995, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokuikai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

that they would not like to be called “*senso hanayome*.” In this sense, putting the term at the front of the convention turned out to be successful in attracting great attention from the Japanese ethnic media, though it might have discouraged some women who felt offended by the term from attending the convention.

At the convention, she gave out questionnaires and found out that the majority of the participants wanted a nationwide club of Japanese war brides. To discuss organizing such a club, Kazuko held another convention on October 21, 1989. The participants of this 1989 convention, 97 women, approved the idea of organizing such a group, and they founded *Nikkei kokusai kekkonn shinboku-kai* or Nikkei International Marriage Society (hereafter called NIMS in this dissertation). They chose the name because many had voted for the name in the 1988 questionnaires and also because Kazuko wanted to consider the feelings of those who felt uneasy about the term, “*senso hanayome*.” This group became the first nationwide group of Japanese war brides. Kazuko became the president of NIMS.

The main objectives of the group were to promote friendship among Japanese war brides and to help them to live better as they grew older. In the first NIMS convention called the “Japanese International Marriage Convention” held on October 19, 1991, the representatives of NIMS discussed a wide range of topics, in a round-table talk, such as their “old age,” promoting Japan-U.S. friendship, the responsibility of those in international marriages, and their history. Besides such conventions, which they held every few years, NIMS held mini-conventions annually in Washington to discuss issues

such as aging and enjoying Japanese songs and dances.⁵⁶⁹ Kazuko also published a newsletter three times a year, and later four times a year.⁵⁷⁰ The annual membership fee was five dollars⁵⁷¹ Thus NIMS created new opportunities for Japanese war brides to socialize and communicate with each other.

Kazuko had made an effort to reach out to the war brides who did not know about NIMS, especially in the early years of the organization. Kazuko wanted to get to know more war brides living in various parts of the United States, other than the West Coast. In early 1992, Kazuko had a vision of holding a social gathering of the representatives of international marriage groups from each region within the next five years. She wanted this to occur in the central part of the nation such as Chicago, Kansas, or Missouri, because she had heard that there were at least seven such groups in the Midwest. She asked other members to find the addresses of other Japanese groups of international marriages. Unfortunately, she was not able to realize such a meeting in the Midwest, but she did make a visit to the Japanese American Pioneers Club, whose members resided around the capital area, such as Virginia and Washington, DC.

⁵⁶⁹ Husbands, children, friends, and others who were interested in NIMS were also welcomed in these conventions. Their mini-conventions regularly attracted about 100 participants. For example, 114 got together at a mini-convention held in 1998 (they paid 18 dollars for their lunch). NIMS also co-organized some events with other local groups such as the trips to Japan with the members of Tanpopo-no-kai.

⁵⁷⁰ Their Japanese-language newsletters carried essays, letters, art work, such as poems (*haiku* and *tanka*) and illustrations, published articles written by NIMS members, information about missing persons, notes about deceased members or members' deceased husbands, copies of useful Japanese-language newspaper articles on health care, a bilingual list of major diseases and symptoms, local English-language newspaper clippings about its members, and sometimes, cooking recipes such as Roast turkey and Tofu cheese cake.

⁵⁷¹ The annual fee was raised to ten dollars in January 1995, along with the raise of postage fees.

Kazuko also expanded her network to outside the United States. She read an autobiography of a war bride living in Australia, *Osutoraria no kaze ni fukarete (Exposed to Australian Breeze)*, in 1991 and started writing to the author, Teruko Burea,⁵⁷² as soon as she found Teruko's address through the publisher of the book. When NIMS held its first convention in 1991, thanks to Kazuko and Teruko's friendship, at least twenty-three war brides attended the convention from Australia, along with one from Britain. In total, 113 war brides participated in the convention. In December 1992, Kazuko traveled to Australia to visit a group of Japanese war brides and show her support for their coming 40th anniversary convention of Japanese war brides' arrival in Australia.⁵⁷³ As a result of her energetic networking efforts, the number of NIMS members continued to increase from 224 (by October 1992) to 250 (by June 1993), and included members from more than 30 U.S. states, Canada, Australia, and Britain.

In 1994, NIMS organized the first world convention of Japanese war brides, "*kokusai kekkon sekai koryu taikai* ("International Marriage World Exchange Convention," in literally translation)," in Honolulu, Hawaii. As many as 356 Japanese war brides, their families, and their friends came from 17 U.S. states, Australia, Canada, Britain, and Japan. The convention also attracted many journalists as well as several scholars. By this time, Kazuko had become a resourceful and experienced organizer and leader, having arranged two nationwide conventions in 1988 and 1991 and annual mini-conventions for the past six years. In the conventions, they celebrated their shared

⁵⁷² Her name is written only in Japanese in NIMS newsletters.

⁵⁷³ Newsletter, March, 1993, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokuikai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

experiences as *senso hanayome* who were married to occupation soldiers, irrespective of their husbands' race, class, and nationality. Being "*senso hanayome*" became a tool to bind these women together, and they proudly called themselves "*senso hanayome*". In her opening speech at the convention, Kazuko read a poem entitled "*senso hanayome-san* (War Bride-san) written by two NIMS members from Australia, Aiko *Hauzu* and Yoko *Nokusu*. The poem tells of the authors' shared experiences as war brides. The first two segments of the poem read:

Left their home country and crossed the ocean,
And took root firmly in a foreign soil,
We, Japanese
The name is *senso hanayome-san* ·····

Passed the mountains of loneliness
And the valleys of hardships,
Having seen more than forty years come round
Are the girls from those days⁵⁷⁴

The poem evoked an emotional link that helped them identify with each other, going beyond their differences such as their present nationality, the nationality of their husbands, or how they lived in a foreign country. It remembered their shared experiences as Japanese immigrants who had grown up to be young women in Japan, crossed the Pacific ocean, and worked hard on foreign soil, rather than emphasizing their marriage to foreigners, even though that was also a key experience they shared in common. Kazuko printed the poem in her newsletter and wrote, "What's wrong with the term '*senso hanayome*'? Let them see us with prejudiced eyes if they want to do so. We are

⁵⁷⁴ File 16, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

praiseworthy immigrants who have left a history of *yamato damashii* (Japanese spirit) in a foreign country. Let's have pride in ourselves."⁵⁷⁵ Thus, by 1994, not only Kazuko but also others like the authors of the poem came to embrace the term rather than avoiding using it. They consciously used and emphasized the term in their writings and public speeches, while carefully avoiding use of it in naming their group and conventions.

Holding a world convention in Hawaii further expanded their network and the rapport with those identified "war brides" because it helped encourage the participation of Japanese war brides who were married to Nisei men, because the majority of Japanese war brides living in Hawaii were wives of Nisei soldiers. In general, Japanese women who married Nisei GIs were not seen as war brides in the Japanese immigrant community, and those women did not identify themselves as war brides, either. However, many Japanese wives living in Hawaii attended the convention, and showed their support for NIMS. In addition, one of those war brides living in Hawaii wrote a lyric about Japanese war brides, as a postwar version of *Hore hore bushi*. The original song was about Japanese immigrants in Hawaii, but this new lyric represented not only war brides who immigrated to Hawaii but also those who immigrated to other parts of the world. For example, a member of NIMS living in Atlanta, Georgia, wrote in a NIMS newsletter that she read the lyric in tears, for it was exactly the song of her life, and she could not put into words how deeply she was touched by it.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷⁵ Newsletter, June 9, 1994; Newsletter, July, 1991, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

⁵⁷⁶ File 16, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

During the 1990s, NIMS was at its highest point. The number of its members, for example, increased from 375 (1994) to 450 (1996). Thanks to the overarching name which did not use the term “war bride,” the club came to attract more diverse members who were married to Americans who were not in the Armed Forces or who married and had emigrated after the 1960s. After the world convention in Hawaii, at the request of its members, NIMS continued to hold its world conventions in Fukushima, Japan, in 1997, in Torrance, California, in 1999, and in Beppu (Oita), Japan, in 2002. Their membership extended to six countries, including New Zealand. Each country, except for New Zealand, had a local chapter, and Kazuko sent a copy of her newsletters to the representative of each chapter. Then, they photocopied and mailed them to the NIMS members living in each country.⁵⁷⁷ By 1995, she was making approximately five hundred copies of the newsletters, which each contained more than twenty pages.

Kazuko’s vigorous organizing in the late 1980s reflected the aging of Japanese war brides. Kazuko was fifty-seven-years old and her children had already become independent when she held the 1988 convention. It was after she spent one month in the hospital that she became determined to hold a conference. As the “war brides” aged and their husbands passed away (at the 1988 convention, 86 of their husbands were in good health and 19 had already passed away), they needed friends to help each other. Kazuko expressed this by saying, “friends who live nearby are more helpful in an emergency than family members who live far away,” which was modified from the Japanese proverb, “strangers who live nearby are more helpful in an emergency than family members who

⁵⁷⁷ Newsletter, September, 1994, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

live far away.” Kazuko’s organizing helped many to make friends, exchange useful information, and therefore ease their anxieties over their aging in the United States.

In the 1980s, there were small local groups of Japanese war brides all around the United States, but they were not very aware of other groups. Several factors backed up Kazuko’s organizing and encouraged Japanese war brides to proudly claim their Japanese-ness and ties with Japan. These factors included the rise of Japan as a prospering advanced country, better U.S.-Japan relations, an influx of Asian immigrants after 1965, the disappearance of anti-miscegenation laws, better recognition for minorities and women by the emergence of women’s and social history and ethnic studies, and an increase in the number of mixed marriages in Japan, the United States, and the Japanese American community. In the 1970s, NIMS could not have been organized or would not have survived. One bride wrote in a NIMS newsletter that she was surprised and even felt scared when she saw other Japanese war brides speaking in Japanese on a city bus without any hesitation at the 1994 world convention in Hawaii. She thought that if this happened in Atlanta, Georgia, where she lived, people would shout “Speak English!” or glare at them, and only a short time ago they might have been jailed by the police on some kind of criminal charge.⁵⁷⁸ It was not surprising that NIMS was born in the 1980s on the West Coast where many Asians lived and where Asian-American movements began in the 1970s. Most of all, nothing motivated Kazuko more than her meeting with Princess Michiko, as Kazuko remembered and vocally expressed,

⁵⁷⁸ Document 16, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

“My life has changed since I met the Empress (Princess Michiko became Empress in 1989).”⁵⁷⁹

2. Self-Image as *yamato nadeshiko* (the Flower of Japanese Womanhood)

Despite the immediate postwar Japanese stereotype of these women as former prostitutes or degraded women, the self-image many Japanese war brides formed and expressed collectively after the late 1980s was “*yamato nadeshiko* (the flower of Japanese womanhood).” Regardless of whether they were residing in the United States or Australia, they often used the term in their letters and in the art they contributed to NIMS newsletters. They shaped their own self-image against the negative and prejudiced image attached to them by the Japanese media and society. Their definition of the term was expressed in a poem written by Kazuko and another war bride (Haruko *Monizu*). The poem was entitled, “*Amerika no yamato nadeshiko sanku*” (Poem in Praise of *yamato nadeshiko* in America), and the Japanese term for ‘war bride’ was not used in the title or the poem, but instead they translated “*yamato nadeshiko*” as ‘war bride’ in their English title of the same poem, “Soul of Sweet Williams Like War Brides.” Thus, for them, “war bride” and *yamato nadeshiko* were synonyms and interchangeable. By 1999, when the poem was written, NIMS had a number of new members who were not “war brides,” and therefore they started using *yamato nadeshiko* and “brides of international

⁵⁷⁹ Newsletter, December 1997, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

marriages,” more often, instead of “war brides,” on occasions when they wanted to unite NIMS members, such as at their world conventions. The poem was written for and read at the world convention held in California, in 1999. The first three parts of the poem read:

Stubborn but honest, strong-minded, and hard-working,
And also elegant, such a group of women is *yamato nadeshiko*
Holding unforgettable Japanese spirit in their heart,
Bringing in Japanese culture in (a foreign) country
Playing a role for friendship
We are brides, of international marriages!

A group of pretty maidens crossed the ocean
Having taken root in a foreign soil,
Became strong and stood on their own feet in the society
Even after many years
Elegantly in bloom, *yamato nadeshiko*

Called as brides even though we have become white-headed,
Facing up proudly as always
Nadeshiko, under the blue sky in the far way
Colorful flowers are blooming
We are, brides of international marriage!

Kazuko also printed it in her newsletter. The poem proudly celebrates their achievements as cultural ambassadors after decades of hardship and effort in a foreign country. The poem expresses that the source of their power was *yamato damashii* (Japanese spirit), which they used as much as *yamato nadeshiko*. They used the term to inspire, cheer, and encourage themselves through the challenges of getting over their hardships and to raise their morale. The poem also expresses the idea that they retained and never lost the virtue of Japanese woman. Their self-image was never that of “degraded women” or “victims,” and they looked back on themselves as embodying and living up to a certain

image of Japanese woman which was considered as an ideal in the years they grew up in Japan.⁵⁸⁰

Their collective activities through NIMS strengthened their identity as Japanese. When asked many questions by reporters and TV crews at their 1991 convention, such as “Which do you like better, Japan or the United States?” “Since you became an American, you don’t want to live in Japan permanently, do you?” and “Do you still remember the Japanese language?”, Tsukiko *Koba* got irritated and answered, “What are you talking about? The blood running in my body is Japanese no matter how many decades I have lived in the United States. How can I forget Japanese, my heart is *enka* (Japanese soulful music).” Then, she sang a part of “*Midaregami*,” a song by a star singer and actress, Hibari Misora. Her singing was broadcast on TV in an evening news program. Many war brides felt nostalgic about Japan because many had made only a few visits to Japan since their emigration. The questionnaires Kazuko collected at the 1988 convention showed that there were three brides who had never visited Japan, and the majority of the brides had visited Japan only twice in the past forty years.⁵⁸¹ They sang a song, “*Furusato* (hometown),” at the end of their conventions.

⁵⁸⁰ They never collectively labeled themselves as former prostitutes, victims of the war or the occupation, or victims of crimes, such as rape by American GIs. There were some members who confessed that they had had an experience of prostituting out of poverty after they had repatriated from China after the war. One war bride who confessed that also wrote that she was raped in China when the war was over. Kazuko simply explained that war brides had worked hard to support their family members in Japan, and she shed tears when she heard or came to know about other war brides’ difficult experiences in the past.

⁵⁸¹ Kazuko collected questionnaires from the participants of 1988, 1992, and 1999 conventions, and 1993 mini-convention.

In their homesickness, they had an emotional attachment to the Emperor and the Empress. In her opening speech at the 1994 world convention, Kazuko expressed how special it was for them to know that the Empress (who was a princess when Kazuko first met her) cared about them and urged other brides to behave well in their adopted countries:

In Japan, there may be a small group of people who look at us with the eyes of prejudice. But, I'm telling all of you, the Empress was worried and thought about us and our hardships as if these were her own affairs. We must not only thank her for her gentleness but also do our best (not merely for ourselves but also) for her. Please keep up your spirit so you do not bring disgrace on the name of "Japanese woman."⁵⁸²

Since their contribution to Japan as cultural ambassadors had been attained through the experience of contributing to their adopted countries, they were also proud of having become settled in their adopted countries and being good citizens there. Thus, being a good American or Australian citizen did not necessarily contradict being a good Japanese. For example, Kazuko expressed her patriotism with regard to the United States in her newsletter in 1992, saying that she would like to support the United States and the buy-American movement, which was seen as "Japan bashing" in Japan, as much as possible because she intended to make the United States her final home. A bride residing in Nebraska wrote that she regretted little about coming to the United States and felt lucky to live in the United States despite her experiences of divorce, separation by death, and three marriages.⁵⁸³ At the same time, they were proud of being a product of the best

⁵⁸² File 16, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

⁵⁸³ One woman expressed in a 1997 newsletter that she still wondered if it was a good decision

of both countries in terms of the higher women's status and freedom they enjoyed in their adopted countries.⁵⁸⁴ Even though they were Japanese at heart, many were content to live and die in the United States, realizing that the Japan they remembered and dreamed of returning to did not exist anymore, and they felt at home in the United States with their husbands and children. One said that she was *urashima hanako*, a female version of a fairy tale character who returns to his home from an underwater palace without knowing that several decades had already passed while he enjoyed the underwater world for a few days.

Some also felt that they were neither Japanese nor American, and did not completely belong to either country. Kazuko *Kinbreru*, who resided in Georgia, had worked every day for the past thirty years, and had never had a chance to return to Japan. After her husband died, she retired from her job. She wrote, in a letter she contributed to a NIMS newsletter, "My husband died last March, and I want to go back to how I was in the past. My roots are in Japan," and "Now, I want to speak, read, and write in the Japanese language." She grew up in Shanghai, China, and did not know much about Japan. Despite that, she had an even stronger sense of pride about being Japanese

for her to marry her husband and leave Japan.

⁵⁸⁴ Japanese female participants in a 1997 round-table talk with Japanese war brides expressed that there were some differences they noticed between these women and Japanese women of the same generation (themselves): Japanese war brides laughed loudly, spoke frankly without any reservation, were dynamic, energetic, self-reliant, and independent. One Japanese female participant in the round-table talk even expressed that Japanese women who had stayed in Japan had to endure a (patriarchal) family-system, with patience, and she had envied those women who had absorbed American culture and democracy, and had kind-hearted husbands. The Japanese war brides agreed with this observation and seemed to like the way they had become different from Japanese women. These images were also coincident with their husbands' view of their wives, which were expressed in another round table by their husbands at the same convention.

because she was repeatedly told to act proudly as Japanese when she was in Shanghai where many different nationals were residing. However, once she visited Japan for one month, she realized, “I cannot live in Japan.” At the same time, she wondered, “Am I an American?” When she returned to Georgia, she started working in a grocery store as a cashier and heard from a colleague that an elderly white female customer wanted to hire her as a maid. Kazuko, who considered herself American, was shocked to realize that she was being regarded in a way that suggested racial discrimination. She wondered where she should go: “Can’t I be either Japanese or American?”

The longing of these women for Japan seemed to become stronger as they grew older, and some women chose to return to Japan to live there permanently after their husbands passed away. More women wanted to do so, but they hesitated or were unable to go back to Japan because of their children, or because they worried about the response from their Japanese families, health issues, legal issues, or financial issues. Michi *Rou*, living in Adelaide in Australia, felt that she would die in Australia, but her spirit would go back to Japan. She told her sons that even if she died, her spirit would always be watching them. “Mammy would be back in Japan forever, but whenever you need me, I would come back to Australia.” Some wanted their ashes to be thrown into the Pacific Ocean which reaches both the U.S. and Japanese shores. However, if circumstances would allow, many wished to grow old surrounded by Japanese culture and other Japanese people, either in Japan or the United States.

They also turned to the Japanese government for assistance in their old age and also to explore their dream of permanent residence in Japan. As an example, some war

brides formed a group in California in September 1991 to deal with their aging problems. Tsukiko *Koba*, a leader of the group and a member of NIMS, was concerned about the possibilities for Japanese wives with U.S. citizenship to live in Japan, and she raised these issues with the president of the House of Councilors and the speaker of the House of Representatives at the 1990 Convention of Nikkei and Japanese Abroad. At a party held by the governor of Tokyo during that 1990 convention, she also addressed the necessity of support for the women in their old age from the Japanese government, companies, and companies which had business in the United States. She planned to expand her group and collect signatures to request that the Diet (the Japanese Congress) allow these women to be included in the national health insurance system. Hearing that the Japanese government would contribute 200,000,000 yen (15 million dollars) for Japanese nursing home(s) in the United States, she also wanted such a nursing home to be opened for aging war brides as well. She appeared on a cable TV program on the anniversary of the end of the Pacific War, and spoke about the aging problem of Japanese war brides. Thus, they started asking for the same privileges and protection as other Japanese immigrants had received from the Japanese government.

The women were proud of themselves as the first generation of postwar Japanese immigrants who had introduced Japanese culture to foreign countries, when anti-Japanese sentiments were still high in their husbands' countries and the prewar Japanese immigrants were losing their Japanese cultural heritage over generations. Their pride in bringing a good image of Japanese or Japanese women to the United States was strengthened when they considered the indecent and embarrassing dress and behavior of

young Japanese students studying in the United States, and young Japanese women who were trying to meet and marry Americans by exchanging photographs through dating and marriage agencies. Kazuko was one of those who felt antipathy toward these Japanese, but soon came to realize that the Issei and the Japanese people in the late 1940s and 1950s might have felt the same way toward her and other Japanese women marrying American GIs, wearing eye-catching Western clothes, red lipstick, and high-heeled shoes. She thought that she and the others should leave them alone---these new postwar “picture brides” and young Japanese students. Along the way, Kazuko and others also came to recognize how they had benefitted from the Isseis’ efforts and achievements in building up a positive reputation of Japanese in the United States as hard-working immigrants. Thus, they started locating and understanding their collective experiences in the changes and continuity of Japanese experience in the United States, as a group of Japanese immigrants.

3. Preserving Their History

While expanding their friendship networks through NIMS activities, Kazuko and the other members consciously worked towards one of their major goals of recording the history of Japanese women of international marriages. Kazuko writes, “If we don’t record our history which has been ignored, who will do so for us? We have to leave a record so that our children can understand (their mothers’ experiences) even after we have died. We should leave (proof of) our existence, women who were internationally

married, in Japanese and U.S. history.”⁵⁸⁵ One of Kazuko’s deep concerns was that Japanese war brides would remain forgotten and fade out without removing the stigma attached to them by Japanese society.⁵⁸⁶

Kazuko herself represented a happily married and successful Japanese war bride and actively appeared in public places and contributed articles in newspapers as the president of NIMS.⁵⁸⁷ Kazuko was an ordinary housewife with a husband, children, and grandchildren, and a naturalized U.S. citizen. She was also a loyal Japanese who maintained her ties with her Japanese family members, and was a vocal and energetic leader of Japanese war brides. Kazuko wanted to show that there were many successful women like her after the forty years of their efforts in a foreign country. In fact, she believed and expressed in a Japanese ethnic newspaper, *Hokubei mainichi*, that 80 % of war brides were successful in the United States. Similarly, she expressed the belief that 80% of war brides living in Australia were happy, too. Kazuko organized two nationwide and several world conventions, recognizing that holding such big

⁵⁸⁵ “Event to make a history,” Newsletter, March 1992, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

⁵⁸⁶ File 16, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

⁵⁸⁷ Kazuko contributed numerous articles in a Japanese ethnic newspaper, *Hokubei mainichi*. Around September 1993, she even authored serialized articles entitled “*Konnichiha sengoha-san* [Hello, Postwar Immigrants-san].” She usually wrote about NIMS, its events, war brides, international marriage, her personal memories, and opinions regarding other issues. She was also written about in Japanese newspapers as well as Japanese ethnic newspapers when she held a convention. These articles usually quoted a part of her opening speeches or carried accounts of interviews with her. She also made several appearances on Japanese TV documentary programs. As the president of NIMS, she was often asked to give interviews and was frequently videotaped by journalists and reporters.

conventions, in itself, would make history.⁵⁸⁸ Indeed, such conventions attracted much Japanese and Japanese ethnic media attention and were reported widely.⁵⁸⁹ Their cultural contribution came to be recognized; for example, Kikkoman, a Japanese soy sauce company, said that it was these women who had widely introduced soy sauce to the United States, and it financially supported NIMS world convention held in Japan in 1997 upon Kazuko's request.

In order to gain official affirmation regarding the status of Japanese war brides as Japanese immigrants, Kazuko tried to take every opportunity to attend the annual Convention of Nikkei and Japanese Abroad held in Tokyo, Japan, as a representative of war brides.⁵⁹⁰ When NIMS and *Tanpopo-no-kai* co-organized a trip to Japan in 1991, the trip schedule was set along with the convention dates, and Kazuko and other participants, a group of 130, participated in the convention. In these conventions, Kazuko had chances to meet imperial family members, Diet (Congress) members, and city and government officials. Participants were also invited to a reception by the Chief Cabinet Secretary at the Imperial Palace. In addition, the association which held the conventions, the Association of Nikkei and Japanese Abroad, had strong networks and resources with

⁵⁸⁸ Newsletter, November 1991, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokuikai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

⁵⁸⁹ For example, the 1988 convention was broadcasted by NHK, the Japanese national public broadcasting organization. When NIMS held its first world convention in 1994, many TV reporters came to the convention. Some brides took the opportunity to express their discomfort to those TV crews. For example, they protested to TBS staff(s), regarding a documentary program on war bride(s) which was broadcast by TBS on August 15, 1993. They were angry because the program depicted the woman (or women) as prostitutes. NIMS also videotaped their conventions and made it available to its members for purchase.

⁵⁹⁰ These opportunities gave her a chance to go back to Japan at least every two years.

governmental support. Kazuko took advantage of the association's networks and publicized NIMS 1994 world convention in the association's monthly journal, *Kaigai nikkeijin* (Nikkei and Japanese Abroad), in March 1993, calling for information on Japanese women who were in international marriages all over the world. When NIMS held its second world convention in Japan in 1997, Kazuko arranged for the participants, a group of 242 from four countries, to attend the Convention of Nikkei and Japanese Abroad.⁵⁹¹ It was a proud *satogaeri* (pilgrimage return to their home country after their marriages) of Japanese war brides to Japan. As a consequence, their presence in the Convention of Nikkei and Japanese Abroad as a group attracted much media attention in Japan.

Furthermore, by continuing to make themselves visible in the annual conventions of Nikkei and Japanese Abroad, representatives of Japanese war brides could have an opportunity to meet some imperial family members and ask to deliver their message to the Emperor and the Empress. For example, in the 1997 convention, the vice president of NIMS, Kinko Kirkwood, asked a couple related to the imperial family to present their newsletters to the Empress. Then, the imperial princess wrote to the Empress, and the Empress read the NIMS newsletters. Kazuko received a phone call acknowledging notification of receiving the newsletters and later received a thank you letter from a

⁵⁹¹ The attending fee was 8,000 yen (about 81 dollars), but they eagerly took the once-a-lifetime opportunity to meet those whom even Japanese people living in Japan would have few chances to meet, such as imperial family members and government officers, and to tour the Imperial Palace. NIMS conventions provided many war brides who felt too old to go traveling alone a wonderful opportunity to travel across and outside the country with their friends. Especially, a trip to Japan, for the occasion of attending their world conventions held in Fukushima and Beppu, was a chance for those who had had few chances to visit Japan, to go back to Japan proudly as members of NIMS.

secretary of the Empress. Kazuko was overjoyed to get the letter and reported the news excitedly to other members through her newsletter.⁵⁹² Kazuko was also invited to the 10th anniversary ceremony of the Emperor's enthronement in December, 1999. She expressed what an honor it was for a person who was born Japanese. At the end of the ceremony in the imperial palace, she was overwhelmed in tears when she shouted *banzai* (Long Live the Emperor) along with others. She expressed in her newsletters how her generation had a special feeling toward "the Emperor and Empress" in a way the younger generation would not be able to understand. Such a favorable recognition of NIMS and Kazuko not only from the Empress but also the Emperor, who was their father figure, symbolized the acceptance from them and therefore from Japan, toward their marriages and leaving Japan while others built war-torn Japan into a prospering, advanced country.

These women's sense of longing for and acceptance from Japan was seen in Kazuko's search for a Japanese library to preserve their records, such as NIMS newsletters. Thinking of their experiences as a Japanese experience, Kazuko contacted some libraries in vain.⁵⁹³ Finally, she asked the Association of Nikkei and Japanese Abroad to find a library for them at the association's annual convention in May, 1993, and in June, she received a letter from the National Diet Library saying that they would accept their newsletters. That library was the central and biggest library in Japan, and was Kazuko's first choice. She was very happy to realize one of her goals since NIMS'

⁵⁹² Newsletter, December 1997, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokuikai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

⁵⁹³ Newsletter, March 1993; Newsletter, June 1993, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokuikai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

first convention in 1991.⁵⁹⁴ She contacted other local groups and encouraged them to send their newsletters as well. In the fall of 1993, *Tanpopo-no-kai*, *Kisaragi-kai*, and Peninsula decided to send their newsletters upon the request of Kazuko.⁵⁹⁵ By March 1994, introduced by Kazuko, an Australia club also sent their newsletter, “Gazette,” which they had started publishing in February 1993, to the library. These newsletters were open to the public in the library. Some concern and hesitation were expressed among local groups who worried that their Japanese language skills shown in their newsletters were embarrassing, and for example, *Tanpopo-no-kai* decided that they would donate their newsletters only after they had checked and corrected the mistakes of the (Japanese) text in the newsletters. Kazuko hoped that Japanese people would overlook their language level and understand that it had been easy for them to forget their written Japanese after the long years of living in an English-speaking country. She encouraged other brides, “if we are afraid of making a mistake and do not write in the language at all, our history will be erased.”⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁴ Since the very beginning of the process of organizing war brides, Kazuko made a photo album whenever she held a big event, hoping that she could someday preserve her NIMS’ photo albums and newsletters in a Japanese library. At the 1991 convention, Kazuko and other representatives of NIMS discussed in a round-table talk ideas about how to leave their history documented. In the same year, Kazuko began her search for a library which would accept their newsletters and those by other international marriage groups. Newsletter, March 1993, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

⁵⁹⁵ Newsletter, no.21, August 1993, Tanpopo no kai; Newsletter, September 1993, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society]; and, Newsletter, January, 1994, Peninsula Japanese Women’s Club.

⁵⁹⁶ Newsletter, September 1993, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

The visibility of these women with a positive image in the Japanese media led many Japanese families to recall their sisters, old friends, relatives, fathers, and in-laws that they had lost contact with a long time ago for various reasons. Before that, they had few ways to locate Japanese war brides who were already naturalized to a foreign nationality. With the hope of finding them in NIMS member's list or through their networks via their NIMS newsletters, some started looking for their "lost" ones and wrote letters and sent photographs to Kazuko after the first NIMS convention was reported in the media in 1991. Kazuko printed their letters and photographs in her newsletters and called for information, but in many cases, Kazuko had to disappoint those who wrote letters to her requesting help.⁵⁹⁷

Before their first nationwide convention in 1988, there were few publications and negative media reports on Japanese war brides.⁵⁹⁸ However, these women now received

⁵⁹⁷ Finding the person through search did not always end happily. For example, a middle-aged Japanese man tried to find his father, and NIMS successfully located the father. But the father told them (NIMS) that he wanted to forget about his son he had left in Japan. Kazuko received inquiries from interracial children and wondered if an information center and a system to answer questions posed by interracial children could be established somewhere. "Whose crime?" Newsletter, March 1992, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

⁵⁹⁸ For example, in a Japanese magazine article published in 1974, the life of Japanese war brides in the United States was reported by explaining in general that they had married American servicemen of lower military rank, and suffered the lack of their independence because of language differences and inability to drive a car. Their divorce rate was high, and some brides were in mental hospitals or fell into prostitution. The article cited a military chaplain's words: "98% of Japanese war brides failed in their marriage. The article describes these women as *rumin* [wanderers] and even *kimin* [the deserted] by Japan and American society. Osamu Katayama, "Darasu no senso hanayome [War Brides in Dallas]," *Asahi journal*, vol.16, no.32, August 16, 1974, 16; In 1975, NHK broadcast a documentary about a bride living in Texas, "Tekisasa mihamaya: senso-hanayome no sanjunen [Mihama-ya in Texas: War Bride's Thirty-Years]." The documentary showed a divorced Japanese war bride who was living on her own foot by running a Japanese restaurant.

more attention in scholarly books and articles, photo-essay books, novels, TV programs, and, newspaper and magazine articles.⁵⁹⁹ The first transnational, comparative, and interdisciplinary study of Japanese war brides in the United States, Australia, and Canada, was conducted by Japanese scholars in the late 1990s under a research grant by the Japanese Ministry of Education. Kazuko was a part of the three-year project, and she encouraged NIMS members to cooperate in the project. In the 2000s, Kazuko and other war brides also co-published Japanese language books and contributed their autobiographies.

In 1995, one woman said that she still felt that the prejudice in the Nikkei society (in the United States) toward Japanese war brides had not changed, even though (Japanese) scholars had positively spoken about these women. In another letter,

⁵⁹⁹ Soon after the convention, two novels were written about Japanese war brides. One is Sawako Ariyoshi's *Hishoku [Not because of Color]* (1989) on the difficult life of a Japanese war bride married to a black American in New York. Another is Haruhiko Yoshimeki's *Sekiryō-koya [Solitude Point]* (1993). This award-winning novel was made into a film, *Soritudo pointo: tokino yuragi [Solitude Point: Swaying Time]*, and later re-named as *Yukie*. The movie is about the love of a married couple in Louisiana. In the film, the wife, who diagnosed Alzheimer, started losing her memories of her children, her husband, and English, and her mind went back to her childhood in Japan. Her sons and husband could only partially understand her because she sometimes only spoke Japanese, but the husband took care of and lived with her. The film was shown at a NIMS convention, and was also released in Japan. In 1993, a TV program focused on Japanese war bride(s) in "*Senso-hanayome to yobarete [Called as War Bride]*." The 1994 nation-wide convention held in Hawaii attracted unprecedented media attention. For example, Fuji-television broadcasted the convention in "*Bokyo no onna tachi [Women Longing for Home]*." Another TV company, TBS also filmed the convention, and magazine and newspaper journalists came to the convention. In the same year of 1994, another documentary was broadcasted by Fuji-TV, "*Haha no shozo: Amerika jin tsuyoshi no sengo [A Mother's Postwar: Tsuyoshi, an American's Postwar]*." In the United States, Velina Hasu Houston wrote a play, "Tea," which is about Japanese war brides in Kansas. In 1995, a series of TV documentary about Houston and her Japanese mother, "*Setsuko to Berina [Setsuko and Velina]*," was broadcasted. A film, *Doubles*, was produced in 1995 on the children of these women as well as those who were deserted by their mothers. Japanese war brides also started writing their autobiographies. Some husbands also wrote about their Japanese wives, such as *Tsuchino* (2000).

contributed to NIMS newsletters, another woman said that she felt internal discrimination from the Nikkei society. However, some Japanese communities also started including their stories in their local history. For example, *Japanese Texan* had a chapter on these women living in Texas. As another example, the University of Kansas published a study guide, “Quiet Passage,” to teach the history of Japanese war brides. A children’s picture book, *Yoshiko and the Foreigner*, was also published based on these women’s marriages.⁶⁰⁰

As a group, the entry of Japanese war brides’ experiences in the Japanese American National Museum (JANM) in Los Angeles symbolized a change of perception among the Nikkei society. For example, after NIMS held its world convention in Torrance, California, in 1999, and some Japanese scholars visited the museum during the convention, Kazuko received a notice from the JAMS that the museum would add their history and achievements. The JANM held a panel discussion titled “Japanese International Brides: Heritage, Identity, Community, and Legacy” by two war brides, a playwright who had a Japanese mother and an ex-GI black father, and three American scholars in August 26, 2000.⁶⁰¹ These changes reflected not only the impact of NIMS but also the changing Japanese immigrant community which was one of the most multi-ethnic and multi-racial Asian groups in the United States. They were happy to leave details of their existence in an American library or museum as well so that they could

⁶⁰⁰ Mimi Otey Little, *Yoshiko and the Foreigner* (Frances Foster Books: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, NY, 1996).

⁶⁰¹ They included two war brides (Kazuko Umezu Stout and Tsuchino Forrester), a play writer (Velina Hasu Houston), and three professors (Regina F. Lark, Michael Thornton, and Teresa Williams Leon).

pass on their achievements to their descendants who might not understand the Japanese language.

NIMS also presented a positive image of Japanese war brides to American society. For an example, NIMS donated 1,000 dollars to purchase seven cherry trees to a newly built Japanese nursing home, Nikkei Manor, in Seattle, in November 1997. Kazuko said that the donation was to intended to provide something related to Japan-U.S. friendship and leave a mark of the existence of postwar immigrants like herself because those hundred thousand Japanese women had loved the United States as their second home.⁶⁰²

In Australia, the first 40th anniversary convention of Japanese war brides was held in Melbourne, on April 30, 1993. It is estimated that there were approximately 600 Japanese war brides in the country and eighty of them and twenty-seven husbands participated in the convention.⁶⁰³ They had a group called *Yaezakura no kai* since the late 1970s or early 1880s. In 1990, another group called *Kasasagi kai* was formed in Adelaide. In December 1998, the Japanese Consulate invited Japanese war brides to a reception to honor the Japanese spouses of Australian military in Japan for their unrecognized efforts and virtue, and the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Masahiko

⁶⁰² Nikkei Manor was the second Japanese nursing home built in Seattle, after Seattle Keiro Home. For the trees, NIMS called for a \$1.50 or 2-dollar donation from each member, and NIMS collected 1,886 dollars from 310 members. In addition to the 1,000 dollars for the trees, the rest of the money, 886 dollars, was also donated to the nursing home. Kazuko initially thought about donating cherry blossom trees to Washington, DC, Ellis Island in New York, or somewhere in Oklahoma as a memorial for the victims of a bombing incident. She put the question to the vote. Even though two third of the members did not answer the vote, Kazuko did not give up the idea. The members' low interest is understandable, for not all NIMS members were married to Americans or attached to the United States enough to donate money.

⁶⁰³ Newsletter, September 1993, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokuikai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

Takamura's written message was given to each of the 70 war brides who participated in the reception.⁶⁰⁴ In Canada, three years after Kazuko organized the first nationwide convention of Japanese war brides in the United States in 1988, the first Canadian nationwide convention of war brides of all nationalities was held in Regina, Saskatchewan, in April 1991. At the convention, 579 war brides, including those of the First World War gathered from all over Canada (from all provinces except Newfoundland), the United States, and Britain. Many of the participants were British war brides. The Saskatchewan convention of war brides had been held annually for the past fourteen years, but this one was the first nationwide convention of war brides in Canada.⁶⁰⁵

Considering the number of Japanese war brides living in the United States, it can be said that NIMS attracted only a few of these women. When Kazuko was asked by a Japanese reporter after her 1988 convention why her organization had only two hundred members despite the fact there were a hundred thousand Japanese war brides, she did not know how to answer. In 1991, she wrote the answer to the question in her newsletter. She said that it was because the United States is too large: not many war brides read Japanese ethnic newspapers because they were only published in large cities, thus she had to turn to word of mouth because it would take a large sum of money to reach out to Japanese women who were scattered all over the United States. Kazuko described their

⁶⁰⁴ Newsletter, March 1999, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

⁶⁰⁵ Newsletter, July 1991, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

word of mouth publicity as successful because it had attracted Japanese wives from eighteen U.S. states by November 1991.⁶⁰⁶ In addition to the publicity limitations Kazuko had experienced, other reasons might have prevented many from knowing about NIMS or becoming the members of the group.⁶⁰⁷ The racial background of their husbands or their current marriage and class status seemed to be among those reasons. The success of NIMS, which resulted in reinforcing the image of “model minority brides,” might have hindered recognition of the existence of the Japanese war brides who needed more immediate assistance from society.

Conclusion

In the late 1980s, Japanese war brides who resided in the United States started organizing themselves, first nationwide, and then transnationally, with other Japanese war brides living in other countries. By that time, these women were more resourceful and confident, having more time for themselves after their children had become independent, and being encouraged by the rise of Japan as a prospering leading nation and the improved U.S.-Japan relationship. As a group, they vigorously built and expanded their networks, organized several world conventions, and made themselves

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.; Newsletter, November 1991, Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai [Nikkei International Marriage Society].

⁶⁰⁷ Many women simply did not know about the organization. Almost all Japanese war brides I met did not know about Kazuko or the organization. When I asked them if they would like to join the organization or attend such a conference, they said “No.”

visible and heard by taking advantage of every resource and opportunity available to them.

Their collective presence strengthened their confidence and pride as Japanese people and war brides, while they expressed their patriotic or appreciative feelings toward their adopted countries and their emotional ties with those countries as their home. Kazuko's presence as an energetic, big-hearted, and forward-looking leader who liked challenges attracted many Japanese war brides to her organization and her leadership. In addition, Kazuko, who had organized and worked in her mission to pass on the words of the Empress to other Japanese war brides, and who since then had built a tie with the imperial couple on behalf of all Japanese war brides, became a bridge between Japanese war brides and the imperial couple, who were a symbol of Japan. They followed Kazuko's strong leadership comfortably, and she has continued to assume the responsibility as the president of NIMS since its founding. They were aware of their uniqueness as an immigrant group whose history would be only one-generational because many of their children were full-fledged U.S. or Australian citizens. They also knew that they could not rely on their children to take over their efforts to record their collective history after they died because many had limited Japanese-language skills.

NIMS successfully sought acceptance from the Emperor and Empress, which evoked their sense of loyalty to Japan and their pride as Japanese. By defining the term "war bride" from their own perspective as hard-working Japanese immigrant women who contributed to and sustained a good image of the Japanese in their adopted countries, they

started accepting and taking pride in being “war brides.”⁶⁰⁸ In particular, they were proud of having been a bridge between Japan and their adopted country in the postwar years. They carefully used the terms “war bride” and “wives of international marriage” interchangeably as tools to unite themselves and attract more attention from Japanese society. They were also consciously engaged in history-making efforts in Japan, the United States, and Australia, as a group, through a variety of activities such as finding a library which would accept their newsletters, donating cherry trees to a Nikkei nursing home, and organizing world conventions. Being inspired by them, scholars, film makers, writers, and many individuals worked with them to carry the voice of these women and record their life histories in Japan and their adopted countries.

These women effectively communicated the message to Japanese society that not all Japanese war brides were unhappy or miserable. Their improved image also reflected the increase of Japanese international, interracial, and interethnic marriages in Japan as well as in the United States. However, ironically, the visibility of NIMS might have overshadowed the existence of less privileged Japanese war brides. Their success stories might have discouraged others from speaking about their ongoing problems such as aging in poverty and loneliness, making them feel like failures and ashamed to ask for help.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁸ Their collective activities through NIMS strengthened their identity as Japanese and helped raise their self-esteem. One bride expressed the sentiment that the Japanese people tended to find some comfort in group activities and it was especially true for Japanese women. They recognized the importance of keeping their native language and chat in the language as a healthy source of pleasure or entertainment for them.

⁶⁰⁹ Japanese communities in the United States generally have heard or known more about unhappy cases of Japanese war brides. For example, a Japanese immigrant female leader (not a war bride herself) read a Japanese book which compiles several memoirs of Japanese war brides

Conclusion

According to the 2000 U.S. Census, interracial marriages have increased by more than 800 percent since the 1960s. Nearly 1.5 million interracial marriages were counted by the Census. A significant portion of these interracial marriages are between Asians and whites. In May 1996, a *New York Times* article reported that 31 percent of interracial marriages had an Asian spouse. In 1990, 31.2 percent of all Asian Pacific American (APA) husbands and 40.4 percent of APA wives were intermarried. Amongst Japanese Americans, the rate of interracial marriage is even higher. Nearly 52 percent of Japanese American women were intermarried. Japanese American women were intermarried more than any other APA men or women. Filipino American women followed by nearly ten percent short (40.2 percent).⁶¹⁰

Intermarriage rates are on the rise in Japan as well. In 2000, about one out of 22 marriages were international marriages between Japanese and non-Japanese. One in ten

and expressed (in her email and also at a meeting of a local Japanese group) in 2009, “I’ve started reading *Senso hanayome goju nen o kataru* [*War Brides Speak about Fifty Years after the War*]. My impression is...it reminds me of the proverb, ‘History is written by victors.’ These women contributed their memoirs because they had been fortunate and successful. ... In my forty-years in the United States, I have seen Japanese women whose marriages were not successful and who were dying in poverty, which is pitiful and causes me pain. We hope, and we want to treat kindly those who may appear to be “losers.” We need to consciously keep reminding ourselves that we have only ourselves to turn to for help.” Group email (22 July 2009).

⁶¹⁰ Eric Lai and Dennis Arguelles, ed., *The New Face of Asian Pacific America: Numbers, Diversity and Change in the 21st Century* (San Francisco: AsianWeek, 2003), 17.

marriages in the Tokyo area were between a Japanese spouse and a foreigner and in Osaka the figure was one in twelve.⁶¹¹

These statistics are nothing short of astounding. As this dissertation has illustrated, interracial and international marriages between Japanese women and U.S. servicemen during the late 1940s and 1950s attracted significant attention in both Japan and the United States. These marriages were, in particular for the American state, an unexpected consequence of the U.S. occupation of Japan, and a “problem” to be solved. These marriages were not only interracial; they were also unions between racially “inassimilable,” ex-enemy women and U.S. servicemen. Americans were afraid that these women would flood into the United States as wives and mothers of U.S. citizens. U.S. servicemen continued to stay in Japan even after the occupation because of the Korean War and the 1952 U.S.-Japan security treaty. U.S. military officers and social service providers wondered how many more U.S. servicemen would marry Japanese women. Could these Japanese women assimilate into American society? How would Americans accept or not accept these women as their daughters-in-law, sisters-in-law, and neighbors? And, what would their half-Japanese and half-American children look like and how would they be treated in American society? In U.S. legal discourses, popular culture, social science, and social welfare networks, these marriages became a national concern.

⁶¹¹ J. Sean Curtin, “International Marriages in Japan: Part Four- Basic Data on International Marriage in 2002,” <http://www.glocom.org/special_topics/social_trends/20021112_trends_s16/index.html> (1 August 2010).

In this dissertation, I have tried to explain how these Japanese women were treated as a “problem” by American and Japanese societies. I demonstrated that various institutions and individuals in both the United States and Japan approached the “problem” through legal discussions, military regulations, brides’ schools, social science studies, media, and activities of social workers. In the process of integrating these women to American society as good wives and mothers and as good citizens, the norms and practices concerning race, family, and citizenship were contested and negotiated. It led to changes in laws and popular and scholarly understandings of not only “Japanese war brides” but also interracial marriages in general. As a result, the image of these women shifted from a “problem” to a showcase of ideal, “model minority” brides. Even though such changes had little impact on Japanese negative stereotypes of Japanese war brides, these women organized transnationally after the late 1980s and collectively worked toward encouraging a better image of “war brides” and acceptance from Japan. They represented themselves as loyal and successful Japanese immigrants who had retained the virtue of Japanese womanhood and culturally bridged Japan and the United States as grass-roots ambassadors.

The changes in the image of these Japanese women in the late 1940s and 1950s were pushed forward by improving U.S.-Japan relations and by changing American postwar domestic and foreign politics strongly influenced by the rise of international conflicts in the Cold War. Japan ultimately became a very important ally for the United States as the hub of capitalism and democracy in East Asia and equally importantly as the

chief U.S. military station from which to watch over the potential aggression of Communist China and U.S.S.R. in the East Asian and Pacific theater.

These Japanese women, both individually and collectively, played a significant part in changing American and Japanese perceptions of Japanese war brides and interracial marriage since they had made their decisions to marry U.S. servicemen and cross the Pacific Ocean to the United States as young women. In 1954, *The Saturday Evening Post*'s reporter William Warden asked, "In the last half dozen years, some 15,000 GI's have brought Japanese brides to this country. How have those mixed marriages worked out?"⁶¹² In 2000, nearly 50 years later, Kazuko Umezu Stout, the president of NIMS, answered the question:

Now, I would like to answer Mr. Warden's question. We, Japanese war brides, are doing just fine. We work hard, are strong, and as some husbands would say, we are even a little stubborn. One day when I was talking to a husband of a Japanese war bride, he said, "I thought I'd married a cute and quiet Japanese kitten, but I have come to find out that she is a tiger."⁶¹³

Kazuko proudly assessed their experience: "We have adapted to the different cultures around us, namely that of different languages and customs, and we have managed well."

⁶¹² Worden, 38.

⁶¹³ Kazuko Umezu Stout, "210 Japanese War Brides at Torrance Marriot for their 3rd Convention: Participants Applaud Themselves for Their Contribution to Societies," *Cultural News: Window to Japanese Cultural Activities in Southern California* Jan./Feb. 2000: 4.

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[I conducted these and other oral history interviews with Japanese “war brides,” had informal individual and group conversations with them, and participated in their gatherings in Los Angeles, CA, Minneapolis, MN, Houston, TX, Atlanta, GA, and Silver Spring, MD, during 2001-2008.]

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Appendix A

An example of a class schedule (Camp Kokura, October 1-31, 1956)⁶¹⁴

Camp Kokura's Bride School, October 1- October 31, 1956

Field Director: American Red Cross, Mr. Clarence Hunnicutt
Chairman Volunteer Services: American Red Cross, Mrs. Donald T. McGullough
Chairman Brides School: Mrs. W.F. Rawley
Secretary: Mrs. Joseph Friend
Treasure & Publicity: Mrs. J.T. Sullivan
Refreshments: Mrs. Roy Butz-Chairman and Mrs. James Wright
Counselors: Mrs. Joseph Friend, Mrs. Roy Burbank, Mrs. James McDonald,
Mrs. Frank Bragg, Mrs. George Brisby
Interpreters: Mrs. Cyril Graham and Setsuko Yokoi

Monday, October 1

9:00-9:30: *Aisatsu* [Introduction] Time
9:30-10:30: **I. Culture, Custom and Manners in the U.S.** (Mrs. E.D. Mulvanity)
10:30-11:00: Coffee Time

Wednesday, October 3

9:15-9:45: **II. Religion in the U.S.** (Mrs. Charles Whaley, Missionary)
10:00-10:30: **II. Religion in the U.S.** (Chaplain in the U.S., Catholic, Chaplain)
10:30-11:00: Coffee Time

Friday, October 5

9:15-10:30: **III. History and Geography of the U.S.** (Mr. Bailey Young, TI&E Director)
10:30-11:00: Coffee Time

Monday, October 8

9:15-10:30: **IV. Good Grooming, Personal Hygiene** (Mrs. Vern Perry, Mrs. Harry Reafling)
10:30-11:00: Coffee Time

Wednesday, October 10

9:15-10:30: **IV. Fashions** (Mrs. Vern Perry, Mrs. Harry Reafling)
10:30-11:00: Coffee Time

Friday, October 12

⁶¹⁴ American Red Cross, *Camp Kokura Brides School, October 1956*.

9:15-10:30: **IV. Fashion show** (Mrs. Vern Perry, Mrs. Harry Reafling)
10:30-11:00: Coffee Time

Monday, October 15

9:15-9:45: **V. Social Life of the American Woman** (Mrs. C.C. Nieland)
10:00-10:30: **V. Life in an American Home** (Mrs. D.L. Lang)
10:30-11:00: Coffee Time

Wednesday, October 17

9:15-10:30: **VI: Child Care & Feeding Home Nursing** (Lt. Patricia Sutter)
10:30-11:00: Coffee Time

Friday, October 19

9:15-9:45: **VII. Travel to the U.S.** (Lt. Comdr. J.T. Sullivan, Commanding Officer, MSTS Moji Port)
10:00-10:30: **VII. Travel in the U.S.** (Mrs. M.J. Gill)
10:30-11:00: Coffee Time

Monday, October 22

9:15-10:30: **VIII. Passports & Visas, Civil Rights** (Mrs. Abryil, Legal Officer)
10:30-11:00: Coffee Time

Wednesday, October 24

9:15-10:30: **IX. Nutrition & Food Buying, Budgeting** (Homemaking Dept. Mrs. Claude Tabor, Chairman, Mrs. Benjamin Huggins, Mrs. Bailey Young, Mrs. Donald McCullough, Mrs. Russell Aungst)
10:30-11:00: Coffee Time

Friday, October 26

9:15-10:30: **IX. Nutrition & Food Buying, Budgeting** (Homemaking Dept. Mrs. Claude Tabor, Chairman)
10:30-11:00: Coffee Time

Monday, October 29

9:15-10:30: **IX. Cooking & Home Hygiene** (Homemaking Dept.)
10:30-11:00: Coffee Time

Wednesday, October 31

9:15-10:30: **IX. Cooking & Home Hygiene** (Homemaking Dept.)
10:30-11:00: Coffee Time

Appendix B

List of studies on Japanese war brides, their American husbands, and their marriages in the 1950s and early 1960s

Articles (by chronological order)

- Strauss, Anselm L. "Strain and Harmony in American-Japanese War-Bride Marriages." *Marriage and Family Living* 16 (May 1954): 99-106.
- Schnepp, Gerald J., and Agnes Masako Yui. "Cultural and Marital Adjustment of Japanese War Brides." *The American Journal of Sociology* 61:1 (July 1955): 48-50.
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- Kimura, Yukiko. "Religious Affiliation of War Brides in Hawaii and Their Marital Adjustment." *Social Process* 26 (1963): 88-95.
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- Peyton, Boyd Lester. "Identification in Husbands of Japanese War Brides." Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1956.
- Beck, Deborah, William Doerr, Janie Ellis, Mildred Gould, Helen M. Marcy, Marilyn Marr, Joan Robbins, Henry W. Schoenlein, Jr., Holbrook Teter, Joan Oppenheimer Teter, and Kaliope Tsolakidou. "Personality Patterns and Problems of Adjustment in American-Japanese Intercultural Marriages." Master's thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1959.

Yamaji, Yoshiko Gloria. "The Impact of Communication Difficulties in Family Relations Observed in Eight Japanese War-Bride Marriages." Master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1961.

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Tsutsumi, Chizuko. "General Interim Report---Study of Japanese-American Intercultural Families." The International Institute of San Francisco. 1961.

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Translated Articles

Schnepp, Gerald J., and Agnes Masako Yui, "Zaibei nihonjin senso hanayome no kekkon seikatsu ni okeru tekio [Marital Adjustment of Japanese War Brides in America]," *Amerikana*, January 1956, 83-87. (Translated from "Cultural and Marital Adjustment of Japanese War Brides," *The American Journal of Sociology* 61:1 (July 1955): 48-50).

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