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## Karayuki-san of Manila: 1890-1920

MOTOE TERAMI-WADA

There are a number of studies by Filipino, American and Japanese scholars, on the Japanese community in the Philippines. Each study has contributed to the portrayal of the socioeconomic nature of this ethnic minority. From these studies, we learn that the early members of the Manila Japanese community were unskilled and semi-skilled laborers, like construction and plantation workers, carpenters, fishermen, and vendors of various items such as *apa* (thin waffle), candy and oriental medicines. Later on, the community engaged in small-scale entrepreneurship, dealing with the export-import business, mining, agricultural concerns, large-scale fishing, brewery, manufacture of shoes and cotton garments, retail outlets (bazaars) and refreshment parlors.

The existence, however, of Japanese prostitutes and brothel establishments, has been noticeably overlooked. It is therefore the intention of this article to look into the establishment, development and impact, especially economic, of this business on the early Japanese community.

### JAPANESE INFLUX INTO THE PHILIPPINES

Although Philippine-Japanese intercourse in modern history commenced with the reopening of Japan to the outside world at the end of the 1860s, the number of Japanese who came to the Philippines at that time was very small. Japan established a Consulate in Manila in 1888, in an effort to develop trade relations

This article is a paper originally read at the Sixth National Conference on Local-National History held in Quezon City in December 1984. After the conference, new materials were utilized to add more detailed accounts and insights.

with the Nanyō (South Seas) countries. A report of the first Consul stated that there were only around thirty Japanese in the Philippines then. One was on an official visit, two were Consulate employees, four were businessmen, twelve were acrobats, and fifteen were sailors.<sup>1</sup>

The number of Japanese residents in the country dwindled further, reflecting the political instability of the Islands. As of 31 December 1889, only two Japanese were officially recorded, both of whom were Consulate personnel. In 1891, or two years later, there were five, four in Manila and one in Bulacan.<sup>2</sup> No Japanese official document regarding the number of Japanese residents here exists for the following years because the Consulate was closed between November 1893 and October 1896.

One can obtain information about Japanese nationals in the Philippines during that period, however, from Spanish documents. These sources indicate that about thirty-four Japanese were living in Manila in 1894, the bulk of them being *obreros electricistas*. A Japanese account (unofficial) discloses that some thirty obreros electricistas were sent to Manila in November 1893. At least fifteen of them received alien registration papers from the Spanish colonial government, and they all put down 16 Calle Uli Uli, San Miguel as their residence. Besides these electricistas, at least two carpenters and five *comerciantes* stayed at the same address. The rest, an ironsmith, three cooks, two plumbers, and six others, resided in Binondo, Ermita, or their vicinities. In 1896, when the anti-Spanish Revolution broke out, there were at least twenty-eight Japanese residents, fifteen of whom stayed in Binondo. Seventeen of them worked in three bazaars, namely the Kaigai Bōeki Kaisha, Ōi Bokkishin, and Iijima Shōten. Two were diplomatic agents, and two others were servants.<sup>3</sup>

1. This is contained in a report, dated January 1889, by Umekichi Yatabe, the first Japanese Consul to Manila. It is found in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs [hereafter JMFA], 7.1.5.4., vol. 1, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Tokyo.

2. Ibid. In a Spanish document, the five names are seen: Kenkichi Ynouye, Yuzuro Kojima, Kagawa Moritarō (also appearing as Jose Nakagawa Moritarō), Sano Tsuneki and Tom Murizon (Morrison?). See *Radicacion de Extranjeros 1891-1897*, Philippine National Archives, Manila.

3. The Spanish documents are those in the *Radicacion de Extranjeros* bundle. These documents were also the sources for the information on the jobs held by the early Japanese. The Japanese account is Sugino Sotaro's *Firipin Gunbō Tanken Jikkyō* [The Condition of the Philippines as Observed during a Survey Trip] (Tokyo: Chigaku Kyokai, 1895), p. 123. The names of the shops are provided by JMFA, 5.2.1.9., vol. 1.

In 1897, official Japanese records state that there were then two male officials, seven males on business, four males without their purpose declared, and two females, for a total of fifteen Japanese residents in Manila. In addition, there was one female listed as living in Iloilo. The report of a Japanese military agent to his superiors elaborates on the occupations of these people. There were two carpenters, two entertainers, several in the bazaar business, some copra plantation laborers, and one worker at the Kalokan Railway Station.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the resistance of the Filipino Revolutionary Army, the Philippines was forcibly taken over by the United States, which started to implement a colonial administration, including pacification. This was the time that the Japanese flow into the Philippines increased in volume. In 1900, the number of Japanese in the Islands was 167. Then there were 1,215 in 1903, and 2,435 in 1905.<sup>5</sup>

This sudden surge of Japanese into the Philippines was due not only to the return of peace and order, but also mainly because many jobs requiring both skilled and unskilled workers became available. Cheap labor was needed for the following: for constructing railways, roads such as Kennon Road, and military barracks like Fort McKinley; for farming vast tracts of undeveloped land; and for mining, such as coal mining on Batan Island in the Bicol region.<sup>6</sup>

Let us now look at the break down by sex of the Japanese population in 1903. The Japanese Consulate recorded that of the

However, as of December 1896, the Japanese Consulate recorded only seven Japanese, all males. They were two officials and five businessmen. See JMFA, 7.1.5.4, vol. 2. On the Japanese residents of Manila in 1896, see Moteo Terami-Wada, "Japanese Residents and the Philippine Revolution," *Dialogue* (October 1974): 51-65.

4. JMFA, 7.1.5.4., vol. 3. See also Takuya Ozaki, *Chōmin Sakamoto Shirō* (Tokyo: Chōmin Kai, 1932), p. 332.

5. JMFA, 7.1.5.4., vols. 3-4. See also the "Annual Report of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1905," *Report of the Philippine Commission*, vol. 13 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905), p. 98, which states that there were 1,702 Japanese in 1903, 2,744 in 1904 and 1,235 in 1905. Many of these were transients who left the Philippines within a year's time. On the other hand, the *Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission of 1905, Part 4* (Washington, D.C., 1906), p. 27 cites the numbers of Japanese admitted to the Philippines in 1904 and 1905 as 2,672 and 1,204 respectively. The decrease between 1904 and 1905 was attributed to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War.

6. See under "Hitō no Imin Zassan" [Collection on Immigration to the Philippines] in *Nihon Gaikō Bunsho* [Japanese Diplomatic Documents], vols. 36-45, ed. Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Tokyo: Nihon Kokusai Rengō Kyōkai, 1963).

total 1,215 Japanese in the country, 773 were males and 442, females. The Manila Japanese population was 991, of which 630 were males and 361, females. The US census of the same year reports an even higher ratio of females to males. According to the census, there were 859 Japanese all over the Islands, with 442 males and 417 females. In Manila, the census counted 565 Japanese (721 in another section of the published census), with males numbering 229 and females, 336.<sup>7</sup> This means that there were about a hundred more Japanese females than males in the city.

The discrepancy between the figures in the Japanese official report and those in the US census, particularly those pertaining to females, is probably due to the fact that there were quite a few Japanese who had entered the country illegally, and therefore did not report to the Japanese Consulate. This aspect will be discussed later. Meanwhile, let us compare the number of Japanese in Manila with the number of foreign residents:

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%Female</i>
Japanese	229	336	565	60
Chinese	20,699	384	21,083	2
Americans	3,686	814	4,300	19
Spaniards	1,545	520	2,065	25

The occupations mentioned earlier utilized primarily male laborers. Also, the Japanese male immigrants generally left behind their wives and children. How, then, can one explain the higher female-male ratio among the Japanese when compared with other foreigners?

The mystery over this rather large number of Japanese females is cleared up by the reports given by the Japanese Consul to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1903 and thereafter. These records cite different occupations, and furnish details regarding the occupations of the Japanese female segment. In 1908, for instance, the Japanese female population in Manila and suburbs totaled 222, of which there were 43 nursemaids (*ama*), 4

7. The Japanese Consulate records are in the JMFA, 7.1.5.4., vol. 4. The US census figures are in the United States Bureau of Census, *Census of the Philippine Islands under the Direction of the Philippine Commission in the Year 1903*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of Census, 1905), pp. 262-311.

masseuse, 1 hairdresser, 16 operating liquor stores, 110 working as barmaids or waitresses in the aforementioned establishments, and 48 assumed to be dependents of male workers. In 1909, there was a category named "others" with 114 females listed (no males), and in 1910, aside from "others" with 15 females (21 males), a "special" category was listed, under which 122 females (no males) were classified. Both "others" and "special" implied prostitution, as noted in a footnote of the report.<sup>8</sup>

This high number of Japanese prostitutes characterized the nature of the Japanese community at the time, as will be seen later.

### MURAOKA IHĒJI AND HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY

There are very few documents concerning prostitution due to the nature of the occupation. However, by piecing together whatever materials are available, including official reports and newspaper accounts, some insights into this economic activity can be obtained.

When discussing the widespread Japanese prostitution in Southeast Asia, including the Philippines, one cannot escape referring to the autobiography by a Japanese brothel operator. It is the only one so far which is written by an "insider." This "insider" is Muraoka Ihēji, whose narration ends in 1937. He is assumed to have died some time after 1943 in Legaspi. However, the autobiography was published only in 1960, the delay being due to the turmoil caused by the Second World War.<sup>9</sup> Since most of the prostitutes were uneducated, they did not put down in writing their own activities. And even if they had been literate, the shame over the nature of their work prevented them from recording their lives candidly. Thus the autobiography of a brothel owner can be considered as valuable historical material.

The book is nevertheless a very controversial work. One well-known researcher on Japanese prostitutes abroad, Yamazaki Tomoko, has strong doubts as to the credibility of Muraoka's writings. She says that Muraoka is not mentioned in travel accounts of the time, and neither is he remembered by the prosti-

8. JMFA, 7.1.5.4., vol. 7-9.

9. Ihēji Muraoka, *Muraoka Ihēji Den* (Tokyo: Nanpō Sha, 1960).

tutes interviewed who had returned from Singapore, Manila or Legaspi, the places where he had allegedly established his businesses. Secondly, Yamazaki maintains that Muraoka's descriptions of events are historically inaccurate. Yano Tōru, an authority on Japanese participation in Southern areas history, shares Yamazaki's opinions. He declares that he would not quote even a line from Muraoka's account as a historical source.

On the other hand, there is a scholarly work on human trafficking entitled *Jinshin Baibai* (Buying and Selling of Humans) by Mori Katsumi, who relied heavily on Muraoka's narrative. He considers it credible, since the names of Japanese prostitutes mentioned matched those who actually went overseas. Mori concludes that it is natural for Muraoka in an autobiography to exaggerate and idealize what he did, but this does not diminish the value of the book as a historical source.<sup>10</sup>

As far as this author is concerned, Muraoka's book still stands as reliable, particularly regarding his descriptions of Manila and Legaspi. Mori's words of caution, however, are taken into consideration.

Muraoka left Japan for Hong Kong in 1885. He had hoped to earn quick money and eventually go back home.<sup>11</sup> He served as a deckhand on a British ship, but disliking the hard work involved, he escaped while the ship was docked in Tientsin, China. From Tientsin, he moved to Shanghai, and allegedly went all over China as assistant to a Japanese military secret agent. Upon returning to Shanghai, he heard of more than 500 Japanese prostitutes confined somewhere in Amoy, and decided to set them free. He succeeded in saving fifty of them, and sold them in Singapore, Calcutta, Tonkin, Hong Kong and Hanoi. He himself moved to Singapore in 1890 and put up his own brothel.

In addition, Muraoka recruited Japanese men who had committed crimes and who, in order to flee from the clutches of Japanese law, had drifted from Japan to Singapore. These men had been

10. Refer to Yamazaki Tomoko, *Sandakan Hachiban Shōkan* [Sandacan Brothel House No. 8] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shōbo, 1975), p. 14; Yano Toru, *Nanshin no Keifu* [Genealogy of the Advance to the South] (Tokyo: Chuō Kōron Sha, 1975), p. 40; and Katsumi Mori, *Jinshin Baibai* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1959, pp. 146-147. Mori's data came from the research he conducted in the Amakusa Islands in Kyūshū, from where quite a few women left for abroad as prostitutes.

11. The following account of Muraoka's life is taken from his autobiography. See footnote 9.

involved in offenses such as gambling, breaking in, stealing, rape, fighting, pick-pocketing, nonpayment of restaurant bills, swindling, kidnapping, and embezzlement. Muraoka would give these men pep talks exhorting them to lead normal, noncriminal lives. One such speech follows:

All of you here have done harm to your own country. You have lost your Japanese national character and ruined yourself by leading dissipated lives. I feel pity for you, to think that you can no longer enter your ancestors' graveyards. However, there is still a way to involve you in enterprises for your country. . . . I can make you rich. With the money, you can pay back your country, and become decent citizens. In order to achieve this, you must work with me with all your efforts. I'll take care of you until you become independent, with your own enterprises. In order to do so, you must break the law once more, and commit a crime for the last time. Do you understand? If yes, let us beg forgiveness from our Emperor and pray to the gods, so that you will be reborn, become again members of the Japanese nation.

This "last crime" was the recruitment of women from Japan and bringing them to Singapore.

Muraoka gave the men tips on how to get girls. The procurers would have more success in the poor provinces, not the economically developed areas. They were to offer nonexistent jobs, although some girls knew what they were really getting into. High school graduates and daughters of rich merchants were not to be approached. Then the men were to seek out a high class sailor whose ship was docked either in Nagasaki or Kobe, when it was ready to sail. The sailor was to be bribed into helping smuggle the girls. Upon successfully landing in Singapore, the procurers would charge the girls exorbitant amounts of money for hotel expenses, transportation costs, entrance taxes, etc. Then they would tell the girls to become prostitutes, this being the quickest way to earn money to pay back their debts to the men.

Muraoka rationalized his operations thus. The girls managed to send money home monthly, and the parents were relieved to learn that their daughters were doing fine. The good news would reach the village head, who would waste no time in visiting the parents to claim income tax. And so the girls' activities contributed to the country's treasure chest. In addition, whenever a brothel opened in any corner of the South Seas, the establishment of bazaars immediately followed, to satisfy the girls' cravings for Japanese food

and other dry goods, as well as to cater to the girls' customers. Furthermore, when the girls had accumulated some money, they could then afford to buy items such as diamond rings and leather shoes, which they would never have dreamt of owning otherwise. Then clerks from Japan would arrive. Eventually, these clerks would establish their own bazaars. The increased economic activity would encourage Japanese companies to establish branches there. Within a year or so, the area would have potential developers. Not too long later, Japanese ships would begin to call in port. And gradually the place would be prosperous, from the point of view of Japanese business.

From Singapore, Muraoka went around to Borneo, New Guinea, Makassar, Jolo and Zamboanga, among other places. Aside from the brothel business, he engaged in barbershop and bazaar operations, recruitment of Japanese immigrants, export of lumber, commercial travel, and pearl gathering. When his businesses began to fail, he received an invitation from a friend in Manila to open up a brothel there. And so he arrived in Manila in October 1900 with fifteen women, among them his wife, and two men.

Muraoka's descriptions give us an idea of the state of the Japanese community in Manila at that time. The Manila Japanese then were involved in four kinds of occupations, namely store (bazaar) keeping, skilled labor (carpentry, furniture-making, fishing, etc.), office personnel of Japanese firms (such as the Mitsui Bussan), and prostitution. Brothel operations appeared to be the most prosperous. There were thirty-five such houses with some 200 women. According to Muraoka, there were two brothels on Gibis (Guipit Street), twenty-two on Bali Bali (?), ten on Baliki-Baliki (Balic-Balic) and one on Sorokan (Sulucan Street).

Muraoka started two establishments in Sampaloc. One was the Muraoka Store and the other was the Muraoka Restaurant. In 1908, he moved with ten women to Paracale, Camarines Norte to run a brothel. Later, he moved to Naga, and eventually settled in Legaspi, where he put up a hotel as well as a bazaar retailing apa, candy and other dry goods. When the Japanese Association in Bicol was organized in 1924 with less than twenty members, Muraoka was elected vice-president, (Mori Kinjirō was elected president). The autobiography ends in 1937.

Let us now check what Muraoka has written against other sources of data. In 1903, a Japanese Consulate report declared

that the number of Japanese women listed as barmaids was 280, a figure higher than those engaged in carpentry (230), the profession with the most number of male workers. For the same year, the US census counted 260 Japanese prostitutes, which was more than half of all such women found in Manila.<sup>12</sup> Thus, Muraoka's descriptions of the nature of the local Japanese society and the approximate number of Japanese prostitutes are reliable.

In a Japanese official document, mention is made of one Yamaguchi Takezō, who had swindled some people in Manila in 1901 and 1902. This man was considered a vagrant, having no stable means of livelihood. He was sent back to Japan by members of the local Japanese community to avoid his committing more fraud. However, in February 1903 he recruited five farmers from Kyūshū Island for nonexistent jobs in Manila. He accompanied them as far as Hong Kong, and then gave them three letters of introduction. One of the letters was addressed to Muraoka. This episode indicates that not only was Muraoka a Manila resident in 1903, but that he was involved, or at least acquainted, with people embroiled in illegal activities.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, Rosenstock's business directory of 1903 shows that there was a Chinese and Japanese goods dealer named Muraoka J. ("J" probably being a typographical error), whose address was given as 10 Manrique, Sampaloc. The same surname, address and occupation again appear in the 1905 directory, although the initial this time is "I" instead of "J." His name disappears from the directory by 1909, the year after he had moved to the Bicol region.<sup>14</sup>

His stay in Legaspi is attested to by the following: A travel account written by a Japanese in 1935 mentions the Muraoka Bazaar in Legaspi. In addition, Muraoka's description of the Japanese

12. See JFMA, 7.1.5.4., vol. 4; and US Bureau of Census, *Census of the Philippine Islands 1903*, vol. 2, p. 117. From the latter source we find out that there were also seventy-five white prostitutes from various European countries and the US, as well as 141 Filipinas.

13. Item 22, no. 1168 in Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Nihon Gaikō Bunsho*, vol. 24, pp. 413-14.

14. See C. W. Rosenstock, comp., *Rosenstock's Business Directory of the City of Manila, Philippine Islands, August 103* (Manila: Bulletin Publishing, 1903); Rosenstock Publishing, *Rosenstock's City Directory of Manila, Iloilo and Cebu* (Manila: Rosenstock Publishing, 1905); and C. W. Rosenstock, comp., *Directory of China and Manila, July 1 to December 31, 1909* (Manila: Rosenstock Publishing, 1909). The business directories contain an alphabetical list of foreign residents and a list of establishments and/or people according to industry and type of occupation.

Association in Bicol, the names of its members and other local Japanese residents match with those recalled by a Japanese old-timer interviewed. As of 1938, his name is seen among the Japanese residents in Bicol, treating sick people with E.D.M. eteric treatment, an obscure medical equipment and he called himself a medical doctor. His address was given as P.O. Box 46, Legaspi, Albay.<sup>15</sup>

### PROSTITUTION AND THE BROTHEL BUSINESS

It is difficult to trace when the Japanese women started to come to the Philippines. As of January 1898, the Japanese Consul in Manila flatly denied that there were Japanese prostitutes landing in the city. However, ten months later, just before the Philippines was sold to the US by the Spaniards, the existence of one brothel was reported. The coffee shop used as front of the brothel was on "Kari Karieta" (Calle Carriedo?), and had two women from Nagasaki who had arrived in Manila after having been to Singapore and Iloilo.<sup>16</sup>

Before the influx of the Japanese women, the foreign prostitutes were mainly from European countries like Russia and France. Thereafter, there was an increase in the number of Japanese prostitutes. In June 1899, four women who had arrived from Hong Kong on board a British ship were initially refused entry by the US authorities on the grounds that they obviously looked like prostitutes. Two were eventually allowed to land since they possessed proper documents like passports and guarantors. The remaining two were shipped back to Hong Kong.<sup>17</sup>

15. The travel account is Imamura Chūsuke, *Dokuritsu Hiripin o Kataru* [On Philippine Independence] (Tokyo: Hebon-sha, 1935), p. 418. This author interviewed Nishiyama Kenkichi in Maragundon, Cavite, on 6 May 1984. Nishiyama, ninety years old at the time of the interview, recalled that he used to attend the annual Japanese Society meetings, where he would see Muraoka. Jun'ichi Ohtamni, *Philippine Year Book* (Kobe, 1938) p. 646.

16. The Consul's denial is in JMFA, 4.2.2.99., while the coffee shop story is contained in JMFA, 4.2.2.27., vol. 1.

17. Ibid. Indeed, there were also European prostitutes not only in Manila but also in other parts of Southeast Asia. It seemed that there existed a pimp organization whose membership was composed primarily of European Jews who lured European women by talking of better jobs to be found in the Orient. See the *Manila Freedom* issues of 7 September 1899 and 18 January 1900, as well as the *Manila Times* issues of 17 August 1899 and 8 September 1899.

In the same year, some Japanese prostitutes were reported to be in Sampaloc. A US corporal was arrested because he had struck one Japanese woman and dragged another by the hair for their refusal to serve him beer, in a house of "ill fame." There were instances wherein the Japanese volunteers to Emilio Aguinaldo's revolutionary forces would hide from the US authorities in the brothel quarters. In fact, Hirayama, one such volunteer, chanced upon one of these women on his way back to Japan. The girl was also going back home, because the manager of the brothel that she had been working in had been arrested for allegedly assisting the Japanese "filibusters" [sic].<sup>18</sup>

In many cases, these women had been smuggled into the Islands. Muraoka says that in 1902, there were about 750 Japanese residing in Manila, ninety-five percent of whom had entered the Philippines without the proper passport and documents.<sup>19</sup> Although his estimate was rather liberal, the following reported incidents indicate that there were indeed cases of Japanese women being smuggled in.

In 1901, Binondo residents demanded that prompt medical care be given to a Japanese female detained at the local police station. It was suspected that she had been smuggled into the country for "immoral reasons." The girl could only blurt out one word, "Samparoku," after she was found by the police wandering around Binondo at midnight. Later, through an interpreter, she related that she had left her home in Shikoku Island for Taiwan, where she worked for several months. With a Chinese male as sponsor, she decided to come to Manila on board a Chinese junk.<sup>20</sup>

It is apparent that organized smuggling existed. In 1902, the owner of the Japanese ship *Daifuku Maru*, which was leaving Nagasaki for Manila, was held for interrogation when the ship picked up fifteen girls and a procurer off the Nagasaki port.<sup>21</sup>

Some of those who managed to reach Manila were discovered upon arrival. In one case, two men identified as Tsunehara and Masuda were deported when they tried in 1920 to bring in a Japanese female. This girl was alleged to have been sent to a Japanese

18. The incident involving the American corporal was reported in the *Manila Times*, 26 October 1899. Hirayama's experience was noted in Morisaki Kazue, *Karayuki-san* [Japanese Prostitutes Overseas] (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun, 1976), pp. 167-68.

19. Muraoka, *Muraoka Ihēji Den*, p. 136.

20. See the *Manila Times* issues for 25 and 27 July 1901.

21. *Manila Times*, 4 November 1902.

woman on Calle Sulucan, Sampaloc, for ₱500. In another case, a procurer was punished. Fujioka Shige, who said she was a masseuse, had arranged for the entry of a Japanese girl via Hong Kong, claiming that the girl was to work as a dressmaker. But the girl was brought to a place of "ill repute" after her admission into the Islands. Fujioka was sentenced in 1911 to serve a one-year term in Bilibid, aside from paying a fine of ₱500. If they were not imprisoned, the procurers were deported back to Japan upon arrest, as evidenced by headlines such as the following: "Yellow Slave Man Deportee" (1913); or "Deport Japanese for Slave Traffic" (1915).<sup>22</sup>

One Tamori Tsunetarō of Nagasaki earned a living by procuring women. When he checked in at a hot-spring resort in Nagasaki in 1917 with two young girls, ages 16 and 18, registered as his sisters, the local authorities became suspicious. Upon investigation, it turned out that he was indeed on his way to Manila to bring the girls to a brothel. One of the girl's sisters, who resided at 15 Gardenia Street, Sampaloc, had written to her parents, informing them of Tamori's coming. She also persuaded her family to allow her younger sister to go with him. Apparently, the parents were aware of the nature of their daughter's work, and they had agreed to Tamori's taking the other one. Hence, it was not a kidnapping as was claimed by the local Japanese authorities. These newly recruited girls were to leave for Shanghai from two different ports, namely Nagasaki and Moji, as leaving together would make their departure more obvious. From Shanghai, they were to be smuggled into Manila.<sup>23</sup>

Why such rampant smuggling? First of all, prostitution and brothel operations were illegal, as seen in the incidents when girls were shipped back immediately. Secondly, many women were kidnapped and did not even know that they were going abroad. Another reason was that the operators and procurers wanted to cut down on transportation expenses.

If they had not been smuggled into the Philippines, they utilized fake passports, usually obtained in Hong Kong. Or else one passport was used by several people, sometimes by as many as

22. The above were all reported in the *Manila Times*: deportation case, 1 August 1910; Fujioka case, 12 July 1911; and headlines, 19 September 1913 and 6 March 1915.

23. JMFA, 4.2.2:27., vol. 5.

thirty. One Hara Yuki, for example, who after leaving Nagasaki stayed in Shanghai for some time, tried to enter Manila from Hong Kong in 1917 with someone else's passport.<sup>24</sup> The practice of this anomaly makes the number of prostitutes recorded at the Japanese Consulate rather conservative.<sup>25</sup>

According to Japanese Consulate records, the Japanese girls were practically all over the Islands: in Aparri, Baguio, San Fernando, Olongapo, Cavite, Batangas, Bicol Region, Cebu, Iloilo, Marawi, Cotabato, Davao, Zamboanga and Jolo. A travel book noted that in Southern Mindanao, "five young Japanese ladies of doubtful character" were on Bangao Island, where a garrison stood. And in Dagupan, Northern Luzon, the Chief Surgeon of the US military reported a high incidence of venereal diseases among soldiers. When he investigated, he found out that the town was filled with "women of the lowest orders, both native and Japanese."<sup>26</sup> A letter to Governor-General Taft in 1902 reveals that every military post in the Philippine Islands, especially in Manila, had "houses of prostitution," which were sanctioned under the plea of "physical necessities." Furthermore, American physicians and surgeons were required to examine each female member of these establishments weekly.<sup>27</sup>

24. JMFA, 4.2.27., vol. 5 This was practised not only by the prostitutes but also by people like Kanegae Kiyotarō, who came to the Philippines in 1909. After working in several bazaars, he established his own, one of the largest on Escolta. Kanegae later became an important member of the Manila Japanese community. See his autobiography *Aruite Kita Michi: Hiripin Monogatari* [The Path I Took: Philippine Story] (Tokyo: Kokushi Sha, 1968), p. 24.

25. Muraoka states that as of 1906, the number of those Japanese, mostly prostitutes and their procurers, who could not register at the Japanese Consulate because they had entered the Philippines illegally amounted to some 400 women and 100 men. Kanegae claims that there were around 1,000 Japanese residents in Manila at the time of his arrival (1910), 90% of which had entered the country illegally. See Kanegae, *Aruite Kita Michi*, p. 44.

26. Consulate records are in JMFA, 7.1.5.4., vols. 8, 9. The travel book is A. Henry Savage Landor's *The Gems of the East: Sixteen Thousand Miles of Travel among Wild and Tame Tribes of Enchanting Islands* (N.Y. and London: Harper and Bros., 1904), p. 226. The Chief Surgeon's report is contained in George W. Davis, *Annual Report of Major General George W. Davis, United States Army, Commanding Division of the Philippines, from October 1, 1902 to July 26, 1903* (Manila, 1903), pp. 111-12.

27. H. W. McFadden to Taft, Haryana, Illinois, 26 February 1902 in Taft Papers, Reel 35, Series 3, quoted in Louis Dery, "MUJERES LIBRES – Prostitutes and Prostitution in Colonial Philippines, 1860-1917," paper read at the Sixth National Conference on Local-National History, University of the Philippines at Diliman, Quezon City, 11-14 December 1984, p. 38.

In Manila, the Japanese residents, including prostitutes, were concentrated in Sampaloc, as the following table shows:<sup>28</sup>

<i>District</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Binondo	21	14
Ermita	8	3
Intramuros	0	1
Malate	0	1
Quiapo	98	6
Sampaloc	102	197
San Miguel	35	10
San Nicolas	57	11
Sta. Cruz	25	89
Tondo	6	4
Vessels (ships?)	33	0
TOTAL	385	336

Why were there so many Japanese prostitutes in Sampaloc? Previously, the rest and recreation district for the US soldiers in Manila was Escolta. In order to save this prestigious business district from being imbued with the "dreadful atmosphere" and "beery odors" common to a place "full of saloons," Brigadier-General George W. Davis decided to move the center of "ill fame" to Sampaloc in 1901, at that time an isolated area. Naturally, the Japanese prostitutes likewise moved to and settled in Sampaloc.<sup>29</sup> Besides Muraoka's memoir, there is another book written by a Japanese expatriate, wherein it was recalled that as of 1909 there were about 30 brothels and 300 prostitutes, all in Sampaloc.<sup>30</sup>

Residents of the district who were children at the time recall that there were many Japanese women in kimonos sitting on the verandahs of the old Spanish-style houses. They also remember

28. US Bureau of Census, *Census of the Philippine Islands 1903*, pp. 270-311.

29. Description of the "dreadful atmosphere" was by Helen H. Taft in *Recollection of Full Years* (N.Y.: Rodd, Mead & Co., 1914), p. 123. Davis' order was contained in Francis B. Harrison, *Origins of the Philippine Republic: Extract from the Diaries and Records of Francis B. Harrison*, edited by Michael Onorate (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Data Papers No. 95, 1974), p. 110 and cited in Dery, "MUJERES LIBRES."

30. The figures are in Kanegae, *Aruite Kita Michi*, p. 186. Another document gives the number of Japanese prostitutes in Manila as 392. This is in G. Yamamuro, *Shakai Kakusei-ron*, pp. 252-55, cited in Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan* (N.Y.: Pantheon Books, 1982), p. 219.

being forbidden to go to the area by their parents. Nevertheless, they would disobey their elders and peep. What they saw were Caucasians, brought in by Filipino *kucheros* (drivers of horse-drawn vehicles), patronizing the girls.<sup>31</sup>

That such women abound in Sampaloc did not escape the attention of the rest of Manila. One of the popular songs (*kantahing bayan*) of the time depicted these women:

Ako'y hindi si Remedios  
 ako'y hindi si Chayong,  
 ang damit kong suot  
 iba na sa ngayon  
 damit na bagong galing sa Hapon.

Ako'y haponesa, taga ibang bayan,  
 at sa Balikbalik ay naninirahan,  
 uupo sa silya, laging nakadungaw  
 at amerikano ang siyang inaantay.

Halina, halina, tayo'y magblangketa  
 maglagay ng pula sa dalawang pisngi  
 saka magpupusod ng pusod na bakle  
 lalagyan ng ipit ang boong panahe.

(I'm not Remedios  
 I'm not Chayong,  
 the dress I wear  
 is different now,  
 a dress newly arrived from Japan.

I'm a Japanese woman, from another country,  
 and living in Balikbalik,  
 sitting on a chair, always looking out the window  
 and waiting for an American.

Come, come, let's powder,  
 put red on two cheeks  
 and then tie hair in a twisted bun  
 put a clip on the hair, which is like a ball of thread.)

This song was published in the *Renacimiento Filipino* in 1910, and was introduced in the following manner: "Narito ang isang ukol sa

31. Shared by Salud Santiago (born 1913), Buenaventura de la Cruz (born 1909) and Isaias Alma-Jose (born 1910), all interviewed in Sampaloc, Manila, 15 and 23 November 1980. The three grew up in that district.

pagdagsa rito ng mga haponesa ng mga kalapating mababang lipad na nagsisipamugad sa kahoy ng sampalok.” (Here is one about the Japanese women who arrived in great numbers who are doves which fly low and are nesting on the tamarind tree.)<sup>32</sup>

Japanese prostitutes were depicted in Tagalog literature; for instance, in two zarzuelas, Severino Reyes' *Ang Kalupi* and Precioso Palma's *Nang Paglipas ng Dilim*. Likewise, they were featured in the fiction of the prewar *Liwayway* magazine. The Japanese women's frequent appearance among and association with the local populace seems to have molded the Filipinos' image of a Japanese woman as an alluring, pleasure-giving female, usually geisha, who would die for love. This is perhaps reinforced by the Westerners' "Madame Butterfly" depiction of Japanese women.<sup>33</sup>

This author was not able to find out what the going rate was for a night of pleasure with a Japanese woman. Filipino prostitutes in the same district were said to be paid ₱2 a night, which at the time could buy a US-made watch or a pair of shoes. And as of 1919, the Japanese women in Davao were given ₱30 a night, while an abaca plantation worker received ₱1 a day. So these women grossed at least ₱1,000 a month. The Japanese prostitutes of Manila must have been earning similar amounts.<sup>34</sup>

#### THE KARAYUKI-SAN

Red light districts had long existed in major cities in Japan and were sanctioned by the Edo Shogunate (1603-1867). The girls were usually from impoverished farming areas. They were sold to brothel houses by their families, especially when crops failed and famine attacked their villages. When Japan opened its doors to the outside world, some of the girls found their way to cities within

32. Carlos Ronquillo, "Mga Kantahing Bayan," *Renacimiento Filipino*, 14 September 1910, p. 24. The existence of the poem was brought to my attention by Dr. Soledad Reyes of the Ateneo de Manila University.

33. I learned of these zarzuelas through Dr. Doreen Fernandez of the Ateneo de Manila University and Dr. Bienvenido Lumbea of the University of the Philippines at Diliman. For a study of the image of Japan/Japanese as portrayed in *Liwayway* fiction, see Motoe Terami, "Firipin Taishū Shōsetsu ni Miru Nihonjinzo no Hensen [Changing Image of Japan and the Japanese in Philippine Popular Literature]," *Seikaishizō no Kenkyū* 4 (June 1984): 3-31.

34. JMFA, 1.6.2.1-6. The rate of one night pleasure and what ₱2 could buy then is illustrated in Luning B. Ira and Isagani Medina, *Streets of Manila* (Manila: GCF, 1978), p. 155.

Japan, while others left for abroad, especially for China (mainly Shanghai), Vladivostok, Hong Kong, Singapore, Manila, Batavia, Australia, India, Arabia, Hawaii, San Francisco, and South America. In the late nineteenth century, anyone who left Japan to work abroad as seasonal laborers were called *karayuki*, or one who goes to China, *Kara* being the word for China during those days. Later on, the meaning of *karayuki* changed to designate those women who went abroad as prostitutes.<sup>35</sup>

Most of the women who left for China and Southeast Asia came from the northern part of Kyūshū, mainly from Kumamoto (the islands of Amakusa) and the Nagasaki Prefecture (like the Shimbara Peninsula). Within Japan, it is said that one of the biggest groups of girls to become geishas came from Kyūshū women.<sup>36</sup> For the women of Nagasaki, the place was the only port open to the outside world during Japan's period of isolation. Therefore, the girls there experienced less hindrance in leaving the country. They were among the poorest regions in Japan, with scarce arable land and overpopulation. At the same time, they were geographically closer to the Southeast Asian countries. All these factors were responsible for their producing women who left for abroad to become prostitutes.

In interviews of women from Amakusa who went back to Japan after having earned a sufficient amount of money, why they went abroad was disclosed. Eighty percent of them had been tricked into accepting nonexistent jobs and had illegally left the country. Most of the girls were attracted by the promises of better-paying jobs, such as nursemaids, househelpers, waitresses, and the like, offered by the procurers. The remaining twenty percent knew what they were getting into and voluntarily went.<sup>37</sup> In any case, the prime motive behind their leaving was the desire to alleviate their poverty.

There usually arises the question as to whether or not the *karayuki* were sent specifically to assist in military missions abroad. The following two cases are often cited to support an affirmative contention. Uchida Ryōhei, a Japanese volunteer who assisted Sun

35. Morizaki, *Karayuki-san*, pp. 17-18. The number of Japanese prostitutes in various Asian countries are cited in the appendix. The figures were based on Japanese Consulate records, and are therefore conservative.

36. Liza Carihfield Dalby, *Geisha* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 240.

37. Mori, *Jinshin Baibai*, pp. 89-94.

Yat-Sen's movement in overthrowing the Manchu Dynasty, was taken care of by a karayuki when he was in Singapore in 1900. And in Siberia, some karayuki were reported to have stolen a vital document from a Russian soldier engaged in telegraph operations.<sup>38</sup> However, the above cases do not necessarily prove that the Japanese government purposely dispatched the girls for military work. It is the opinion of this author that the karayuki helped those Japanese men because they were clients of the women in the hotel where they stayed (which in all likelihood was a brothel) because some of the former had love affairs with the latter, or simply because they were fellow Japanese in a foreign country.

### ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE BROTHEL OPERATIONS

Let us now look into the economic activities of the Japanese community in Manila. As has been mentioned earlier, most of the members were in one way or another involved in the brothel operations. The Japanese Consul's report to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1907 commented on this, expressing dismay. The report agitatedly noted that except for about four bazaars, a fishing company and a few laborers, most of the Japanese males had no regular jobs, and they earned a living through the brothel business. They swindled, gambled and drank, which often led to violent incidents. To top it all, the men organized themselves into gangs and fought. Stabbing incidents and arrests on gambling charges often appeared in the newspapers. There was one occasion when twenty-five Japanese were arrested in a gambling raid in Parian, and the Japanese owner of the gambling den had to pay a fine of \$100.<sup>39</sup>

38. Regarding Uchida's case, see Miyazaki Tōten, *Sanjū San-nen no Yome* [Dream of Thirty-three Years] (Tokyo: Hebon-sha, 1979), pp. 177, 190 and 192. See also Ishimitsu Mākiyo's autobiography *Kōya no Hana* [Flowers on the Vast Plain] (Tokyo: Ryusei Kaku, 1965).

We can cite a case concerning the Philippines. While Artemio Ricarte was in Hong Kong, he became acquainted with Usa Onkihiko, Japanese proprietor of a brothel there. Ricarte and Usa discussed the Filipinos' struggle against the Americans, and the latter promised to do some spying on American defenses in the Philippines. See JMFA 1.6.2.1-6. If this plan had been pushed through, the accumulation of intelligence would have been achieved through Japanese prostitutes in Manila. However, any participation by these girls would be due to orders from their pimps, and would have had no official government sanction.

39. The Consul's report is in JMFA 4.2.6.11. The gambling incident was reported in the *Manila Times*, 3 August 1903. Stabbing incidents involving Japanese are in the fol-

Besides women, the Japanese males smuggled in other commercial goods like human hair and tobacco, both luxury items with high import duties. These items were at one time hidden in a Japanese store located at 88 Calle Alix, Sampaloc, which was owned by a certain Okuno. There, twelve kilos of hair and fifteen one-pound boxes of tobacco were found. The influx of a Japanese "army of criminals" composed of "tough characters" who exuded the "quality of fearlessness" at one point greatly alarmed the customs authorities.<sup>40</sup>

Judging from above, it seems that the establishments or professions cited in Rosenstock's business directories of 1903 and 1905, as well as by the Japanese Consul, catered to the brothel business or their customers. These establishments included bazaars, export-import companies, boarding houses and refreshment parlors, while among the professions listed were watchmakers, dressmakers of Western clothes, kimono makers, hairdressers, medical doctors and masseuses.<sup>41</sup>

Muraoka's dry goods store, for instance, sold kimonos to the girls. At the same time, his restaurant served as a brothel front.<sup>42</sup> Judging from the smuggling incident related earlier, Okuno's store, though advertised as a boarding house, also could very well have been engaged in other illegal activities such as prostitution, aside from smuggling. There must have been other such fronts, although this is difficult to positively establish due to the nature of the business.

Capital-wise, it is not too much to say that the economy of the Japanese community evolved around the brothel business. In

lowing issues of the same newspaper: 2 March 1901, 17 November 1903 and 22 April 1904.

However, compared with other foreign residents in Manila like the Chinese, Americans and Spaniards, the crime rate of the Japanese is relatively low. For statistics, see the *Annual Report of the Municipal Board of the City of Manila for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1903* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1904), p. 125.

40. The Okuno incident was reported in the *Manila Times*, 19 October 1903. Rosenstock's business directories of 1905 and 1906 list a Kametaro O. residing at 88 Alix, Sampaloc, and who was managing a Japanese boarding house. O. as the family name must be that of Okuno. The customs authorities' alarm was expressed in the *Manila Times*, 22 October 1903.

41. Rosenstock's business directories; and JMFA 4.2.2.27., vol. 5. Kanegae specifically cites some establishments which depended on the brothel business. Among the bazaars were the Matsui, Fukuda, Noguch, Mahui, Sonoda, Ogawa Watch Shop, Aoyama Photo Studio, Fujimoto Barber Shop and some restaurants, refreshment parlors, massage parlors and hotels. See Kanegae *Aruite Kita Michi*, p. 42.

42. Muraoka, *Muraoka Ihēji Den*. p. 138.

1916, a year before the closure of the business, there were around 2,000 Japanese residents in and around Manila. More than 1,000 were carpenters, fishermen or laborers, and more than 100 were company employees. The remaining, some 500, were in the bazaar or trading business, whose transactions heavily depended on or were connected with the brothel operations. Their income coming from the red light district of Sampaloc was said to be some ₱30,000 monthly.<sup>43</sup>

Furthermore, the laborers, carpenters and fishermen who managed to accumulate some money joined in the *tanomoshikō*, or mutual financing association, most of whose money came from the prostitutes' earnings as well as from the brothel owners. Even some bazaars whose clientele consisted mostly of Filipinos and US citizens, not Japanese prostitutes, had to depend on the mutual financial aid system for their economic activities.

Even the branches of Japanese banks such as the Mitsui and Yokohama Specie Banks, or big trading companies like the Ito Chū, were directly or indirectly linked with the brothel business. The banks' savings depositors or money order clients and the buyers of import goods were predominantly the people from the brothel district.<sup>44</sup>

As soon as the brothel owners or prostitutes had accumulated enough capital, they opened up small bazaars or restaurants. Nishiyama Kenkichi, an old-time Japanese resident in Bicol, revealed that Muraoka was well known among the Bicol Japanese Society members as a pimp and brothel owner. Furthermore, he said that there were many others in Bicol as well as in Manila who became owners or proprietors of other types of stores, after operating brothel establishments.<sup>45</sup>

43. JMFA, 4.2.2.27., vol. 1. See also JMFA, 1.6.2., vol. 3.

44. JMFA, 4.2.2.27., vol. 1; and Kanegae, *Aruite Kita Michi*, p. 187. In the Malay Peninsula, there was another type of mutual aid financial system, wherein about forty percent of the money came from the karayuki as of 1919. See *Dai Nanyō Nenkan* [Great Yearbook of the South Seas] (Tokyo: Nanyō Rengō Kyōkai, 1942), p. 349.

45. Quite a few bazaars and restaurants which were opened at the end of the 1910s were ran not only by the brothel owners but also by the prostitutes themselves. For instance, the Sakura Restaurant, was opened up and run by ex-prostitutes. And the Hayakawa Bazaar in Baguio was said to be partly financed by brothel operations. Interview with Nishiyama; and interview with Ōsawa in his office in Manila, 6 November 1984. Nishiyama is not aware of Muraoka's autobiography. Information on the establishment of the Hayakawa Bazaar came from Muraoka, *Muraoka Ihēji Den*, pp. 141-42.

## CLOSURE OF THE BROTHEL BUSINESS

Was it a policy of the Japanese government to send these women abroad?

One of the public opinion leaders in Japan of that time, Fukuzawa Yukichi, encouraged the idea of women going abroad as prostitutes. He cited that the British authorities in Hong Kong requested Japanese prostitutes, as did the authorities in Vladivostok, Russia. Therefore, he stressed the necessity for prostitutes, especially in places under development. He further stated that since those women faced the same destiny whether they were in Japan or abroad, i.e., they would have been prostitutes either way, then it would be much better for them to earn more abroad, thus accumulating foreign currency for Japan. Fukuzawa declared: "Their going abroad should not be criticized; rather, since immigration is being encouraged, they should be given the freedom to do so."<sup>46</sup>

It is difficult to determine how much Fukuzawa's opinion influenced government policies. It is quite apparent, however, that while there was no official declaration of support, the immigration of these women was never discouraged either. This may be due to the fact that the amount of income from them flowing back to Japan was considerable. In 1903, for example, about 270 Japanese prostitutes in Manila were said to have donated \$5,046 for their government's preparation for the Russo-Japanese War. In addition, the villages from where these women came became better off economically because of the money sent home.<sup>47</sup>

While the government could not ignore this fact of the export of prostitution, it could not acknowledge it in official policies.

According to Muraoka's autobiography, Kyōzaburō Ohta, one of those who pioneered in the development of Davao by the Japanese, was able to build an abaca plantation there partly with a Japanese prostitute's money. The capital was procured from a Chinese in terms of 100 sacks of rice, as well as \$350 from Muraoka. Later, it became apparent that Ohta had "borrowed" the \$500 that a Japanese prostitute had entrusted to him to send back to Japan. (Ibid., p. 153). Ohta was also known to be a heavy gambler and drinker. (Interview with Nishiyama.)

46. "Jinmin no Iju to Shōfu no Dekasegi" [Migration of People and Emigration of Prostitutes] in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshu*, ed. and comp. Keiō Gijuku University (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1961), pp. 362-64.

47. Information on the donation came from Muraoka, *Muraoka Ihēji Den*, p. 146. As of 1900, one million yen had been sent back to Japan by overseas workers in Siberia. A little over sixty percent of this came from prostitutes. See Irie, *Meiji Nanshin Shikō*, p. 25. The effect of karayuki money on the villages back home in Japan was stated in *Fukuoka Nichinichi*, 9 September 1926, quoted in Yamazaki, *Sandakan Hachiban Shōkan*, p. 265. Also see Mori, *Jinshin Baibai*, p. 190 and 192.

The Japanese government, particularly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was promoting Japan's prestige by showing the Western powers that Japan was a civilized and westernized country. By the 1920s, Japan had established itself as an economic power, since after the First World War Japan derived much income for its exports. The currency coming from the *karayuki* assumed less significance. In fact, the League of Nations invited Japan in 1921 to join in signing a treaty banning the buying and selling of women and minors. Japan, realizing that it had to maintain a certain appearance as an "Imperial" country, agreed. However, due to a strong earthquake and a change of Cabinet, Japan never got around to signing the treaty.<sup>48</sup>

Meanwhile, many members of the Manila Japanese community likewise wanted to put an end to the widespread brothel activities of their countrymen. As manifested by the Japanese Consul's report on the state of the Japanese community in 1907, they saw as deplorable the fact that there was quite a number of brothel owners and women of "ill repute" who were of their nationality. They felt that such activities were damaging the honor and prestige of their home country. And housewives of those in the "legitimate businesses" were often also regarded as prostitutes by the Filipinos and Chinese whenever they ventured out of their residences. Thus, these women were even afraid of going to the market.<sup>49</sup>

But those Japanese not connected with the brothel business could not do much, for they feared retaliation from the gangsters involved in the "shameful" business. Even more important, the vital role played by the brothel business in the economy of the Japanese community prevented them from taking immediate and direct measures.

In Davao, where the Japanese population greatly increased as abaca plantations were developed, the local Japanese Association tried to drive out the brothel business. The first petition the Association sent to the Consulate in Manila was dated 15 July 1918. However, Frank W. Carpenter, head of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, was reluctant to heed their petition, giving three reasons: First, it would be extremely difficult, for with the large

48. Mori, *Jinshin Baibai*, p. 226.

49. How the local Japanese residents felt is mentioned in Kanegae, *Aruite Kita Michi*, 187.

Japanese population, there would be some who would try to stop the clean-up movement or even hide the women. Secondly, if no karayuki were available, Filipino women might take their place. And lastly, the brothel district was situated in a secluded area, and therefore would neither attract attention nor become an eyesore. So the Japanese Consul decided to ignore the fact that such a business existed in Davao. Furthermore, he was afraid of the possible financial panic in the Davao Japanese community if the brothel business would be driven away from the place.<sup>50</sup>

In the case of Manila, it was the US colonial government which sounded the death knell for Japanese brothel activities in the city. In the years 1910-17, 17 out of every 100 US soldiers in the Philippines were found suffering from venereal diseases.<sup>51</sup> The US needed its men to be in top shape, for the First World War was being fought against Germany, and the dailies' front pages were filled with war news from the European front. Hence the sudden spate of drives against prostitution.<sup>52</sup>

After several directives, at the end of August 1918, an anti-liquor order was issued to raise the morale of US soldiers. A month later, anti-vice rules were ordered by H. A. Greene of the Philippine Department. All officers and men of the US Army under his command were forbidden to enter or reside in houses of "ill fame." From then on, the "clean-ups" of the red light district

50. JMFA, 4.2 2.27., vol. 5.

51. Dery, "MUJERES LIBRES," p. 39.

52. Prostitution had already been declared illegal by the 1902 Philippine Commission Act No. 519 as well as by a 1908 Manila ordinance. Offenders were to be fined hundreds of pesos and/or imprisoned with or without hard labor. See *Public Laws Passed by the Philippine Commission during the period from September 1, 1902 to August 31, 1903 Comprising Act Nos. 450 to 862, Inclusive* (Manila: Philippine Commission and Bureau of Printing, 1904), p. 144; and *The Charters of the City of Manila and Revised Ordinances of the City of Manila* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1907) pp. 319-20.

Although illegal, prostitution still existed, rigidly controlled and inspected by the authorities. This situation naturally led to graft among some public servants, as evidenced by reported cases of Manila police charged with graft in connection with prostitution activities. See the *Philippines Free Press*, 25 November 1911 and the *Cablenews-American*, 26 November 1911 and 15 January 1912.

Some time before 1912, Governor-General Cameron Forbes banned the sale of liquor in Sampaloc, the red-light district. He also ordered that the Caucasian prostitutes be expelled from the area, since he felt that the latter's presence would result in the lowering of the prestige of the whites. Most of these women moved to the beach district of Parañaque. See Lewis E. Gleeck, Jr., *The Manila Americans (1901-1904)* (Manila: Carmelo and Bauermann, 1977), p. 89. And in February 1917, Congress passed the Immigration Act, which prohibited alien women engaged in prostitution from entering or remaining in United States territory. See the *Manila Times*, 29 October 1918.

went on Secretary of the Interior Rafael Palma gave orders to City Mayor Justo Lukban and Chief Enage of the Executive Bureau to conduct a campaign to close down all the dance halls and dubious cabarets which were menaces to the health and morals of the city. Mayor Lukban was in charge of Manila, while Chief Enage was responsible for Caloocan, Pasay, San Juan del Monte, San Pedro and Makati. The campaign had spread to include the civilian male population of Rizal province, since an alarming number of people with "unmentionable diseases" had been registered and reported during the past few months.<sup>53</sup>

Finally, in October 1918, Mayor Lukban took the drastic measure of closing down the red light district in Sampaloc. At around 5 a.m. of the 16th of that month, fifty policemen were on guard on Gardenia Street, and no one was allowed to enter the area. The Japanese women among the brothel inmates were to be deported, and some 230 Filipinas would be sent back to their provincial homes. However, the overzealous Lukban, who himself had caught his household laundress selling herself at the Luneta to a US sailor, sent 178 of the Filipinas to Davao. Public opinion rose against this act of Lukban, as it was seen as a violation of the Bill of Rights. Cases were brought to and filed at the Supreme Court, which found his action illegal.<sup>54</sup>

Meanwhile, the number of Japanese women who were arrested was 122, of whom 118 were to be deported. The remaining four were allowed to stay since they were married to non-Japanese. Those ordered deported were to be shipped out the following day, the transportation expenses to be borne by the US colonial government. However, the women as well as the brothel operators considered the deportation day to be too soon, since they had to dispose of their household goods, withdraw their savings, etc. Their plea for postponement of deportation was heard and granted, and the new date for going back to Japan was set for the 23rd of the same month, provided that they would not bring the

53. These were all announced in the *Manila Times* on the following dates: anti-vice laws, 20 September 1918; and clean-ups, 21 September 1918.

54. The Sampaloc red light district closure was reported in the *Weekly Times*, 20 October 1918. The anecdote about Lukban and his laundress is in Felix Roxas, *The World of Felix Roxas: Anecdotes and Reminiscences of a Manila Newspaper Columnist, 1926-1936*, translated by Angel Estrada and Vicente del Carmen (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1970), p. 91. The Supreme Court cases are in Villavicencio vs. Lukban, 25 March 1919, *Philippine Reports*, vol. 39, pp. 718-812.

case to court. Immediately, eighty-five women agreed to go back, while around thirty asked for an extension for reasons of disposal of property, illness, and pending appeals to court for their extended stay.<sup>55</sup>

The drastic action by the US authorities threw the Japanese community into a turmoil. It meant that the amount of money those women had borrowed from the mutual financial aid associations would not be returned, signifying a heavy loss for the other members. Also, the bazaars which had sold goods to these women on credit could not collect the unpaid balance. Some bazaar owners wanted to enter the district, off-limits to everyone since October 16, to repossess their merchandise. The women themselves also lost a large amount of money, as in their haste, they were forced to sell their belongings at prices far below the actual value.

For the purpose of securing a permit to enter the forbidden area, the bazaar owners visited the Japanese Consulate. In addition, the women, lawyers and others rushed to the office to consult on legal matters, obtain assistance in selling property, or see to travel arrangements. Thus, the Consulate was besieged by about 300 visitors in a two-week period. At one point, the city government had to dispatch policemen to protect the Consulate personnel from possible physical harm threatened by brothel operators. The consul asked the assistance of the Japanese organizations in persuading the prostitutes to return to Japan.

The deportation order seems to have been carried out rather strictly. On October 22, six days after the brothels were closed, the Insular Collector of Customs issued a warrant of arrest directing the Chief of the Customs Secret Police or any other officer of the Philippine Customs Service to arrest the Japanese women of "ill repute." As of the 28th of that month, fourteen cases were filed at the Manila Court of First Instance. The appellants, the Japanese women, petitioned for the writ of habeas corpus. They stipulated that they were being detained illegally and had been arbitrarily deprived of their liberty by the Manila Chief of Police and the Insular Customs Collector. Some of the girls alleged in their complaints that they had been residing in the Philippines for periods varying from five to fifteen years. The other claimed that

55. Details regarding the Japanese women's deportation and the consequent disruptions in the Manila Japanese community are narrated in JMFA, 4.2.2.27., vol. 5.

they wished to marry men in the Philippines. Some of the cases even reached the Supreme Court.<sup>56</sup> After the mass deportation of the Japanese women, there were no more Japanese brothel operations in Manila, although some thirteen such women could still be found in a military port of Cavite.<sup>57</sup>

By 1919, the membership of the Japanese community was composed mainly of carpenters, about 380, most of whom were building US military barracks. They were paid around ₱6 a day. Next in number were the fishermen, some 300, who supplied fresh fish by bulk to the various Manila markets. The other members of the Japanese community were either bazaar personnel or household helpers. At that time, the majority were in the Philippines to earn money, and they planned to eventually go back to Japan. Consulate personnel noted that almost all of them were single. The married ones who had their families with them generally returned to Japan when their children reached the mid-teens.<sup>58</sup>

Earlier, however, a few of the community members had already decided to establish roots in the Islands. The first problem was the education of their off-spring, who they felt were growing up not knowing how to speak their mother tongue properly. As a first step, the Manila Japanese School was opened in August 1917 with twenty-four children. It was located at 150 Alejandro Street, Sampaloc. About fifteen years later, a Japanese visitor to Manila remarked to his fellow nationals that upon seeing the rows of Japanese establishments on Escolta, he felt "as if we were at home."<sup>59</sup>

56. Information regarding the deportation order is from "Azuma v. Insular Collector of Customs and Chief of Police of the City of Manila, No. 14724 (1920)," *Philippine Reports*, vol. 40 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), pp. 842-47. The claim of intended marriage was revealed in the *Manila Times*, 29 October 1918.

57. Most of the Japanese women must have been deported by 1925. A Japanese boy of 19 who landed in Manila that year heard that there had been a Japanese red light district in Sampaloc, but this had been closed down by the time he had arrived. However, friends of his would point out to him ex-prostitutes, most of whom were by then married to Americans, Filipinos or fellow Japanese. The boy's impressions were revealed in the interview with Ōsawa.

58. JMFA, 1.6.2.1-6.

59. Regarding the establishment of the school, see JMFA, I.1.5.0.2-7-12 and Kojima Masaru, "Manira Nihunjin Shōgakko no Shakaiteki Seikaku" [Social Characteristics of the Manila Japanese Elementary School], *Ryūkokoku Daigaku Ranshū*, no. 424, 25 May 1984, pp. 169-206. The remark about the numerous Japanese establishments was reported in the *Tribune*, 4 July 1933, and quoted by Jaime de la Torre in "As If We were at Home!": Patterns of Japanese Economic Activities in the Philippines in the 1930's," *Solidarity* 8 (August 1973): 34-45.

This article does not wish to leave the impression that without the brothel business, the Manila Japanese community would not have grown. As seen in the beginning of this article, bazaar business existed as early as the 1890s. The bazaars, import-export companies and other "legitimate" establishments could have developed and flourished on their own, even without the brothel operations. But when viewing the history of the local Japanese community, many think only of the bazaar owner or clerk, the carpenter, fishermen, construction or plantation worker, or the apa vendor. It is a fact, however, that at one point in its history, the Japanese community in Manila was dominated, and its character colored, by the brothel activities.

## APPENDIX A

## Japanese Population and Occupation in Manila

Year	Occupation	Population	M	F	Source
1888	Total	34	34	0	JMFA, 7.1.5.4., Vol. 1
	official visit	1	1		
	businessmen	4	4		
	Consulate employees	2	2		
	acrobats	12	12		
	sailors	15	15		
1891	Total	5	5	0	JMFA, 7.1.5.4., Vol. 2.
	official visit	2	2		
	businessmen	2	2		
	others	1	1		
1894	Total	35	34	1	Radicacion de Extranjeros
	obrero electricista (2 engineers)	16	16		
	iron smith	1	1		
	plumber	2	2		
	cook	3	3		
	businessmen	5	5		
	official visit	1	1		
	carpenter	2	2		
	others	5	4	1	

1896	Total	28	26	2	Radicacion de Extranjeros
	officials	1	1		
	businessmen	15	15		
	household helpers	2	1	1	
	diplomats	2	2		
	others	8	7	1	
1900	Total	167	103	64	JMFA, 7.1.5.4., Vol. 4.
	officials	4	4		
	businessmen	25	25		
	others	138	74	64	
1910	Total	793 ( 3 )	517 ( 3 )	276	JMFA, 7.1.5.4., Vol. 9.
	officials	3	3	—	
	household workers of above	2	2	—	
	government-sent student	1	1	—	
	company employee	8	7	1	
	household workers of above	3	3	—	
	import-export businessmen	6	6	—	
	bazaar owners and employees	56	44	12	
	immigration recruit- ers	1	(1)	—	
	medical doctors	3	3	—	
	household helpers of above	3	2	1	
	Buddhist monks	3	2	1	
	US colonial govern- ment employee	1	1	—	
	carpenters	168	143	25	
	glass manufacturers	3	2	1	
	glass manufacturer employees	14	13	1	
	ironsmiths	24	17	7	
	fishermen	104	100	4	

Judo instructors	4	2	2
photographers	5	4	1
barbers	5	4	1
Western style			
dressmakers	4	2	2
Japanese style			
dressmakers	12	9	3
watchmakers	5	3(2)	2
jewelry makers	6	3	3
hotel & boarding			
house	6	4	2
Western cuisine			
restaurant	3	3	—
fishcake makers	3	2	1
restaurants	6	6	—
ice cream parlors	4	3	1
gardeners	3	3	—
kimono or kimono			
material dealer	3	1	2
kimono, &			
dry goods vendors	4	4	—
candy, sweets dealers	7	5	2
candy, sweets vendor	8	8	—
nursemaids	35	—	35
masseuse	19	9	10
hairdressers	2	—	2
tattooers	10	7	3
cooks	15	15	—
houseboys	45	45	—
poultry	1	—	—
dye & fullery	6	5	1
liquor store	15	—	15
special	122	—	122
others	34	21	13

( ) — occupation held by the same person.

\*Figures for 1910 are those found in the Japanese source. However, my own calculations on the total and the males are 792 and 516 respectively, figures in parentheses excluded already.

## APPENDIX B

Number of Japanese Prostitutes  
and Those in Related Occupations  
Abroad as of 1916

PLACE	NUMBER	
	Prostitutes	(Those in Related Occupations)
Bangkok	26	
Bombay	95	(plus 11 brothel owners)
Karachi	4	
Madras	3	
Harbin	794	
Hong Kong	275	(among them 125 concubines of Westerners, 24 geishas, and 16 barmaids)
Vladivostock	750	(among them 17 geishas, 46 barmaids, and 226 concubines of Chinese and others)
Philippines	282	(among them 59 concubines, disguised as masseuse, of whites)
Sydney	51	
Java	50	(plus 146 in related businesses and 21 concubines of whites)
Sumatra	95	(plus 98 in related businesses and 17 concubines of whites)
Borneo	97	(plus 87 in related businesses and 26 concubines of whites)
Celebes	26	(plus 75 in related businesses and 10 concubines of whites)
New Guinea	42	(plus 71 in related businesses and 3 concubines of whites)
Calcutta	60	
Chitagoon	7	
Burma	289	
TOTAL	2,946	+ 565 = 3,511

Source: JMFA, 4.2.2.27., Vol. 5.