BORDER CROSSINGS:
JAPANESE WAR BRIDES
AND THEIR SELFHOOD

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BORDER CROSSINGS
JAPANESE WAR PRISONERS
AND THEIR SELFISH
SELFISH
This thesis is my own work.
Canberra, 27 August 1999

Keiko Tamura

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the changing nature of the selfhood of Japanese war brides as seen through their personal narratives. The war brides married Australian servicemen, mainly in occupied Japan, and migrated to Australia in the 1950s. I interleave the women's accounts with historical data in order to present a comprehensive picture of their lives, in both Japan and Australia and conclude by examining the recent movement by Japanese war brides, in some countries, to form their own associations.

By applying Lebra's theory of Japanese selfhood to the interactive and inner selves, I analyse the changes that have taken place in the women's sense of self and their own perception of the changes. I demonstrate that the way the women narrate their life stories is constrained by their Japanese cultural style and conclude that while their interactive self was changed through their experience of migration, their inner self, by contrast, remained relatively unaffected, although not unchanged.

The thesis also examines how the desire to share common memories motivated the war brides in Australia, and the United States, to form associations in recent years. By gathering among themselves, and speaking publicly about their experiences in post-war Japan and in their husbands' countries, the women have attempted to correct the stigmatised images of war brides, and sought a more positive public evaluation of their migratory experiences as a result of their cross-cultural marriages.
The purpose of the study was to examine the effects of a new interactive educational program on student performance. The program was designed to improve cognitive development and reduce behavioral problems in children with learning disabilities. The study was conducted in a controlled environment to ensure that the results were not influenced by external variables. The findings suggest that the program was effective in improving student performance and reducing behavioral problems. Further research is needed to determine the long-term effects of the program.
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Purpose of this thesis

Japanese war brides in Australia are unique among the post-World War II immigrants because they were the first group of Asians who were admitted to the country, after their marriage to their Australian husbands. From the Japanese point of view, they are unique as well, for they were a part of the first group of women who married inter-racially en-masse during and after the occupation period, and migrated to their husbands’ countries. Previously, inter-racial marriages had occurred in Japan but not on a large scale as war brides did. The destinations of the war brides from Japan included not only Australia, but also the United States and Canada, and among those the United States received the largest number.

To casual observers, Japanese war brides appear to have totally assimilated into Australia. After marrying Australians, they have been in the country for over forty years; they do not form a community, they do not practice cultural ceremonies together, and they do not assemble for religious purposes. Many of them did not manage to maintain continuous contact with their homeland after they left Japan in the 1950s. After obtaining Australian citizenship at the earliest occasion, they did not publicly articulate their identity either in English or Japanese for a long time.

In spite of a certain level of interest among the general public and academics in the past, what has been lacking was a focus on the war brides’ voices and attention to their interpretation of their own experiences. This thesis is an attempt to remedy the situation by focusing on the women’s perspectives through examining their life histories. I am going to explore the experiences of the women which extends over fifty years in both Japan and Australia and provide the historical and cultural backgrounds to their trajectory which crosses cultures and passes through time. In addition, I will present cultural interpretations of the actions and decisions that Japanese war brides have made, and on their reactions and reflections on the consequences.

A theoretical issue which I will examine in this thesis is on selfhood and its changes through time and cross-cultural experiences. If a person’s selfhood is developed in one culture, what happens to that selfhood when a person moves from that culture to another? How does a culturally formed selfhood handle the transition to adapt to a new culture? Considering these questions, I will draw on the anthropological theories of selfhood. Since the issue of the selfhood in a cross-cultural context is a relatively new field of

\[1\] For historical accounts on interracial marriages in Japan, see Leupp (1994; 1998).
investigation, the examination and analysis I will present in the thesis will hopefully shed some light on better understanding of migratory experiences, as they are becoming more and more common among the peoples on a global scale.

My research data come from three main sources. Firstly, the main body of the information I will present comes from numerous interviews I have conducted with war brides. I have chosen four women's life stories out of twelve recorded interviews and rendered them in the following chapters. Secondly, I have examined historical sources in order to analyse social situations in occupied Japan and Australian society in the 1950s. Lastly, fieldwork data collected through participant observation has been extensively used for discussion and analysis of the war brides recent movements when they started to form groups and organise conventions.

**Who are war brides?**

The term war bride most likely originated in World War I when British servicemen stationed in France married French women. Australian servicemen who were stationed in Europe also brought back "war brides" from Britain and France around the same time. In the first two years after the end of the war, 14,000 brides, children and fiancees had travelled to Australia (Conner, 1994: 2). However, the largest migration of women as war brides happened during and after World War II. The biggest intake was in the United States where thousands of women arrived as war brides from allied countries, such as Britain, Australia and New Zealand, as well as from ex-enemy countries, such as Germany, Italy and Japan. The migration of Japanese women as war brides was not limited just to the United States. War brides who moved to Australia from Japan are the focus of this thesis.

Shukert and Scibetta define a war bride as follows in their book on war brides in the United States:

> A war bride or groom is any foreign national who married an American member of the armed forces or an American civilian who was in a foreign country as a result of U.S. mobilization for World War II or as a result of the subsequent military occupation (1988: 2).

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2 Conner states that roughly 3% of Australian soldiers in the first world war returned with a war bride.
3 Of British war brides who migrated to the United States (see Reynolds, 1995; Virden, 1992; Wood, 1991). Of Australian war brides who moved to the United States (see Potts and Strauss, 1987; Potts and Potts, 1985). Of British war brides who migrated to Canada (see Wicks, 1992).
4 Some Canadian women also migrated to Australia as war brides and Don Charwood writes his experience of meeting a Canadian woman during his stationing in Canada during the World War II and marrying her (1990).
In my thesis, the definition is modified in order to fit the situation I am dealing with. The word, groom, is to be omitted because there was no record of marriage between Australian female military personnel in the occupation forces and Japanese men. Furthermore, Allied Forces' movement to Japan happened after the war in order to carry out the occupation and, in the Australian case, it continued until the end of the Korean War while the American military presence continues up to the present. Thus, I will re-define the term "war bride" for the purpose of this thesis as follows:

A war bride is a Japanese woman who married a member of the foreign armed forces or a foreign civilian who was in Japan as a result of the military occupation after the World War II and the subsequent military presence in Japan up till 1960.

The term "war bride" was translated literally as "sensō hanayome" in Japanese. However, the connotation of this Japanese term is not the same as the English term and this aspect will be discussed later in this thesis. Since marriages between Japanese women and foreign soldiers only happened after the Pacific War, the Japanese term "sensō hanayome" is specifically used for those women who left Japan for their husbands' countries after World War II. It is estimated that about 50,000 women migrated to the United States and 650 to Australia. Although the number is not clear, Japanese women also moved to Canada as well as to New Zealand as war brides. One woman whom I interviewed, married a soldier who was in the Australian Army but moved to Britain from Japan with her husband.

Another issue is how to distinguish the war brides from other women who married internationally. As for the Australian cases, it is fairly clear because the Australian military presence in Japan ceased in 1956. Thus, generally speaking, war brides in Australia are the women who married Australians before that year. On the other hand, as the American Forces have continued their presence in Japan till today, there are some problems in distinguishing war brides from other internationally married women who married American military and civilian personnel. However, the women themselves seem to regard those who married American servicemen in the late 1940s and the 1950s as their contemporaries.

5 Takeshi Chida, historian who studied BCOF and BCFK extensively, advocates a new concept of "British Commonwealth Forces" which were stationed in Japan by incorporating both BCOF and BCFK
7 Article about the Bride School for Canada and personal communication of Mr. Lewis Mayor regarding New Zealand.
8 Prof. Takeshi Ueki of Kyōritsu Women's College who has been conducting his reasearch with Japanese war brides advocates the period to be between 1947 and 1960 (personal communication). Enari, who published a book on the Japanese war brides in America also included those who married their husbands.
American studies on Japanese war brides

Newly arrived Japanese war brides in the United States in the 1950s caught the attention of social scientists as their research subjects because they were the first group of inter-racially married women to arrive in the United States with their American husbands. Around that time, marriages between American servicemen and Japanese women were generally regarded as "peculiarly precarious," because of the difference in the racial, cultural and language background (Kimura, 1963: 88). It was assumed that those marriages internalised strains and disharmony for the couples and those factors would soon cause marriage instability. In order to test such a hypothesis, various researchers undertook studies from the 1950s to the 1970s.

Both Yamamoto's (1950) and Kimura's (1955; 1957; 1962) studies in Hawaii examined war brides' relationship with their in-laws in America, in order to measure how well the women were accepted in the community. Their research showed that, contrary to the general expectation, inter-racial marriages of Japanese wives and Caucasian husbands demonstrated more amicable relationships between the brides and the in-laws than the marriages between Japanese women and Japanese-American men. Both Yamamoto and Kimura concluded that sharing the same Japanese cultural background tends to restrict relationships to the culturally prescribed forms from the in-laws' point of view. As the expectations of the in-laws remain much more traditional than the brides', such a difference causes friction. In contrast, brides from a different cultural background put more effort into adjusting to their husbands' culture and, in response, the in-laws were more accommodating than the Japanese-American in-laws. Although their research findings are rather unexpected and interesting, we need to be aware that the researchers interpret a lack of friction between in-laws and the brides as indicators of stable relationships. It was quite probable that both groups of women had similar problems, but they were expressing them in different ways. Here, we need to take into account the fact that the studies were carried out when the women were at the initial stage of adjusting to the new environment. They were working hard to be accepted by their in-laws who spoke a different language and had a different way of life. Furthermore, they did not have enough language fluency to complain on specific matters. Those women who married Japanese-American men were at the similar stage of adjustment, but they were able to make themselves understood with their dissatisfaction among their in-laws.

In this section, I focus on the academic research on Japanese war brides. I will discuss other genre, such as literature, films, TV programs and the media reports on the women in later chapters.
Some other studies which were carried out in the 1950s mainly focused on the marriage stability of inter-racial marriages. Strauss tested his original assumption that the Oriental-Caucasian marriage was stressful and disharmonious, but concluded some inter-racial marriages showed greater compatibility than racially endogamous marriages (1954). Schnepp and Yui came to a similar conclusion in their study (1955). Furthermore, in spite of the impression of hasty marriages, their study revealed that courtship which eventually led to marriages between Japanese women and American servicemen lasted on average for two years. A few decades later, Connor carried out more or less a follow-up study to those done by Strauss and Schnepp and Yui in the 1950s and reached a similar conclusion (1976). Namely, the war brides' marriages were not unstable and the couples were relatively well adjusted.

In all those studies mentioned above, the method of measuring marriage stability proved problematic. The researchers employed questionnaires and interviews to evaluate marriage stability. The deciding factor for their evaluation was whether there was evident signs of conflict and friction in the marriage or not. In the absence of conflict, the marriage was generally seen as stable. In addition, the women's effort to adapt to their husbands' culture was interpreted as a sign of being well adjusted. Although the adjustment done by husbands and in-laws was taken into account for a certain degree, in reality, the degree of marriage stability was measured by the wives' effort to adjust herself to the new situations and her uncomplaining attitudes. As Schnepp and Yui wrote, the high degree of acceptance of American culture and the extent to which Japanese cultural practice was discarded were interpreted as being well-adjusted.

All the wives adopted American family ritual, and such occasions as birthdays, anniversaries, Thanksgiving, and Christmas were celebrated in the American manner. Moreover, they did not express any desire to bring into their households such customs as the dolls' festivals or Japanese-style New Year's Day (1955: 49).

Although I do not doubt that some women most likely expressed such a sentiment to the researchers, those comments should be interpreted in relation to their intention to adjust rather than an indication of marriage stability. My research will present how they look back to that period of adaptation after more than forty years, and reveal the difficulties they experienced.

Since responsibility for marriage stability had been unevenly allocated to the Japanese wives and their willingness and capacity to adjust to new situations, marriage instability inevitably surfaced when the circumstances exceeded the women's capacity for further adjustment. When the husbands were not financially and emotionally reliable, their wives
could not maintain a stable marriage by themselves any longer. Bok-Lim Kim, who worked as a social worker, claimed that the marriages between Japanese women and American servicemen were very fragile and that many women suffered fear, pain, neglect and abuse from their husbands (1972). Both Spickard (1989: 130) and Suenaga (1996: 22) pointed out that Kim's study could present only a narrow picture of the war brides' situation due to the limited sample provided by her social work clients. However, those cases showed that there were circumstances which went beyond the women's willingness and capability to sustain a marriage.

A psychological study of Japanese women and their American husbands, which was carried out by George De Vos in 1959, provides us with a valuable description of the state of the women at that period (1973). His interview data shows the women's psychological state in the late 1950s. They expressed feelings of inadequacy and described themselves as subservient, less educated, miserable and with little freedom or leisure time. A sense of isolation was also clearly evident (1973: 248). It is clear, as Spickard had pointed out, that De Vos' conclusion that the women suffered from "severe emotional problems" needs to be reassessed in the light of the test method he employed (the Thematic Apperception Test) and the cultural bias the researcher had on the way marriage and marital relationship should be (1973: 252). Yet, De Vos' data also provides objective information on how the women felt soon after their arrival. Such data is useful for my research because it allows me to compare that information with what the women narrate when they look back on their situation some forty years later.

In a study of female Japanese-American domestic workers, Everlyn Nakano Glenn interviewed twelve Japanese war brides, as well as first and second generation Japanese American women (1986). Although the study focuses on a narrow social group of women who work as domestics, Glenn, for the first time, presented a brief ethnography of war brides by covering their background in Japan and their present situation in the United States. Her research showed that the war brides did not manage to overcome the disadvantages they had when they arrived in America. Lack of social and educational background in America, combined with low levels of English fluency, severely restricted the options the women could pursue. Furthermore, the marriage instability the women suffered (seven out of twelve in the study samples had experienced divorce) further aggravated their insecurity. In her analysis, Glenn points out "a sense of powerlessness" the women hold about their social and conjugal situation in spite of their efforts in constructing friendship networks and creating autonomy through their employment. Consequently, Glenn reports that many "war brides internalized responsibility for the problems they encountered--marital breakups, low-status jobs, difficulty in dealing with authorities--so their self-esteem suffered" (1986: 240).
Descriptions of Japanese war brides' experiences were included in Shukert and Scibetta's book, *War Brides of World War II* (1988) and in Spickard's book, *Mix Blood* (1989). Shukert and Scibetta provide descriptive accounts of how women in various countries married their American husbands and moved to the United States as war brides. Although the book is rich in personal accounts and provides a diverse picture of the women from different countries in different circumstances, it unfortunately lacks in historical or sociological analysis. Contrastingly, Spickard's sociological study included Japanese war brides and the author incorporated the previous research and interview accounts in the context of studying intermarriages. Yet, there were limits to the scope of his study as well. Since Spickard's main research interest was intermarriage, the women's experience was examined only in the context of their family lives: husbands, in-laws and children. Thus, their other social involvements such as their work and their activities in the wider community were not examined and their self-perception was not touched on in his study.

**Australian studies on Japanese war brides**

Attention to Japanese war brides in Australia came much later than in America. No research similar to the 1950s American studies on inter-racial marriages was carried out in Australia. The experiences of the first Japanese war bride in Australia were recorded in Carter's book *Alien Blossom: A Japanese-Australian Love Story* (1965) where the romance between Cherry Parker and her Australian husband, Gordon Parker was the main focus. Carter's book included some vivid descriptions of social situations in post-war occupied Japan and some historical accounts regarding the Australian government's stand on the entry ban of Japanese brides. However, it did not go beyond the limited interest of its general readership.

In the 1980s, two sociological studies were carried out with Japanese residents in Australian cities. Curson and Curson's study (1982) was based in Sydney and Suzuki's study (1983) was in Brisbane. A decade later, Mizukami carried out a similar sociological survey in Brisbane on its Japanese population (1992). Although all three studies included Japanese war brides in their surveys, the researchers treated them as merely the older group of internationally married Japanese female residents. Consequently, other than their age, they were categorised in the same group with younger Japanese women who had married internationally. Therefore, it is difficult to distinguish any specific characteristics of the Japanese war brides in the research results. A notable exception was Sissons' contribution in a bicentennial publication on migrants in Australia, *The Australian People*, where he specifically mentioned about the war brides (1988).
While Reiko Atsumi's study (1992) deals with the general population of Japanese residents in Australia by using the 1986 National Census data, some information on the war brides can be extracted. In Atsumi's analysis of the census, the number of Japanese-born women who were between the ages of 55 to 64 totalled 494 and outnumbered the men of the same age group by more than three to one. Furthermore, there were 567 women who had been living in Australia for 30 to 39 years. It is most likely that most of the war brides were located in these categories. One distinctive characteristic of this group was the high proportion of naturalisation. 535 of them (94.4%) had taken up Australian citizenship and this percentage was the highest among all the age groups of the women (1992: 19).

In addition to those academic studies, two books on Japanese war brides in Australia were published in the last decade for Japanese general readers. Masako Endo's book (1989) focuses on the love romance between Cherry and Gordon Parker and hails them as a hero and a heroine who successfully challenged the White Australia policy single-handedly. Although such a conclusion can be appealing to Japanese readers, the claim was not fully substantiated in the book. Another work is an autobiography of Teruko Blair who arrived in Australia in the early 1950s as a Japanese war bride and is currently a resident in Canberra (1991). As the first autobiography written by a war bride, her book describes actual experiences and feelings and provides valuable information for my research.

Recent research on war brides
As Japanese war brides' experiences started to attract more academic attention in the late 1980s and the 1990s, some researchers stressed the need to carry out specific studies. They urged that the women's experiences be studied as a whole and not limited to the context of intermarriage and cultural adaptability. Teresa K. Williams, whose Japanese mother settled in Japan with her American father, was one of them. She presents a comprehensive review of the previous studies on the women and criticises the persistent stereotypical views about them leading "tragic and difficult" lives. She urges a "more critical, honest, sensitive, balanced and representative documentation of their experiences" be explored (1991: 148). In Japan, Köhei Kawashima similarly reviewed the studies done in the United States and pointed out the scope for further studies in the field of women's history (1991). Even as recently as 1997, a similar call has been made by Fumiharu Nitta. Nitta, as a member of a Japanese research team, has examined the historical background to the marriages and urges the necessity to conduct a comprehensive study (1997). The team is currently collecting data and their research results are not public.
The life history method was employed effectively in some studies on war brides, giving insight into the women's experience and their own perceptions. In spite of their limited scale, both Masui's study in the United States (1991) and Nagata's study in Australia (1989a) incorporate the women's life histories. Similarly, both Suenaga's and Okuda's M.A. theses presented war brides' life histories from a Women's Studies point of view (Okuda, 1995; Suenaga, 1989). Those studies signposted a potential research direction, but unfortunately this remained at the level of recording the women's voices, and none of them were comprehensive enough to cover the diversity of war brides' experiences.

Takeshi Chida, then the principal historian in Kure City History Office, carried out substantial research on the British Commonwealth Occupation Forces (BCOF) and examined the anti-fraternisation policy which BCOF enforced to limit the interaction between military personnel in the occupation forces and Japanese citizens (Chida, 1993; Chida, 1995). In his research, Chida covered the historical background to the war brides' marriages to Australian servicemen and provided extensive information on the anti-fraternisation policy. However, the focus of his research was on the policy, not on the women and, in his study, it is difficult to extract the women's actual experiences of living through the occupation period under the anti-fraternisation policy.

Since there had been clearly a lack of comprehensive studies in spite of the repeated calls in the past, Shizuko Suenaga's recent sociological study of Japanese war brides is a welcome contribution towards understanding their experiences in the United States (1995; 1996). After completing her MA thesis, Suenaga expanded her research to cover a wider range of the war brides' experiences. Although her intention to provide both wider and deeper data is certainly realised, the research suffers from some problems and I will point out three main difficulties. The first problem is the research methodology, and Suenaga duly acknowledges that it has shortcomings. In order to obtain quantitative data, a survey was carried out by sending out questionnaires. Then, 25 women were interviewed among those who had sent in the questionnaires in order to obtain qualitative data. Due to the geographical distance and financial restrictions, Suenaga had to interview the women by telephone without recording facilities. Although various measures were taken by the researcher to rectify these problems, a question on the quality and accuracy of the interview data remains, especially because the issues which were covered were very private matters, such as marital relationship, motivation for marriage and the women's assessment of their marriages.

The second problem with Suenaga's work lies in her own cultural bias which became evident in the data interpretation. She tends to polarise Japanese culture and American culture and focuses mainly on the differences rather than the similarities. Suenaga seems
to have internalised the fixed perception on the two cultures as becomes evident in her analysis; while Japanese society is conservative and restrictive for women, American society is liberal and free. Such an assumption can be found in many places in the thesis, for example in the description of the Japanese household system (ie) (1996: 92-7). The author consistently failed to distinguish the expected cultural norm from the real.

The last problem is Suenaga did not connect the past decisions and the present consequences in her analysis of marriage motivations (1995). Suenaga in her detailed examination of the women's motives for marrying American soldiers discloses various rationale why the women ventured into the unknown geographical and cultural sphere. However, Suenaga did not pay sufficient attention to the time lag between the past actions and the later reasoning. She did not connect those decisions which were made in the past with the women's evaluation of those decisions at the present. When the women recalled why they got married to American soldiers, they did that from the point of view of the 1990s. Thus, what they say about themselves of forty or fifty years ago closely relates to how they have lived in those intervening years and changes in social and material values that have taken place.

Methodology

Anthropological research almost always involves fieldwork. The traditional style of fieldwork for an anthropologist is to leave a familiar environment in order to live with the people who are going to be studied and become a participant observer. In these days, fieldwork can happen in an urban setting, such as in an ethnic community in Sydney as well as in a remote setting, such as an outstation in Arnhemland. The research work I undertook was different again. Since the war brides did not form a community, I did not go out to live with them. I travelled to various places for interviews and meetings. Thus, my fieldwork never had any distinct starting and finishing points. I have kept in contact with most of the informants and continued to collect information throughout the research period.

I employed four major methods to collect data. They were historical and library research, participant observation, media research and interviews. These different methods were applied in parallel or concurrently. Archival and library research were complete in both Australia and Japan. At the same time, I have monitored Japanese and Australian media

10 I examined historical documents at the national institutions in Canberra, such as the National Archives and the Australian War Memorial in order to reconstruct Australian attitudes towards the Japanese war brides, including its immigration policy. Archival research in Japan was mainly done in Kure, Hiroshima Prefecture. Although the preservation of historical material on the occupation period was fairly unsatisfactory, I was very fortunate to have access to the newspaper index compiled by the Kure City History Office for the local newspapers at the Kure Central Library. By reading many of the
in the past and present to find out how the war brides were depicted. Participant observation, particularly through attending women's activities, was also a very important part of my study. Three big war bride conventions were organised during my research period and I was able to travel with the women to attend those conventions. In addition, I utilised various informal occasions, such as bingo games at a local club or meetings over lunch, to observe how they interact among themselves.

Although those research methods provided me with valuable information, the main data for my thesis came from the interviews I carried out. There were twelve recorded interviews with the women. In addition to the women, two daughters and two husbands were also interviewed. In order to complement the information I gathered from historical documents, male and female Japanese ex-workers for the occupation forces camps were interviewed as well as a retired Australian officer who were stationed in Kure. I also interviewed a Japanese social worker who helped racially mixed children, left behind in Kure by their Australian fathers.

At the beginning of my research, I was worried whether I could gain access to enough war brides for interviews because many of those who worked with war brides in the past mentioned problems (see Enari, 1984; Endō, 1989). However, I did not have any major difficulties in locating the women and obtaining permission for interviews. I had known some of them personally before I began the research and relied on their personal introductions for widening the number of interviewees. Some women introduced me to many of their friends. In one occasion, a war bride travelled with me for seven hours on a coach to introduce me to another war bride. Another war bride gathered her friends at her house so that I could organise a group interview with them. All, except one who changed her mind after giving me initial consent, agreed to be interviewed when I approached them.

I was able to record extensive interviews not only because of the personal introductions, but also because of the timing of this research. In the early 1990s, the women were in their mid to late-sixties and many of them were widows. If they wanted to, they could afford to talk for hours with a researcher without worrying about working for wages or looking after their families. Furthermore, my research coincided with the time when the women started to organise themselves to hold domestic and international conventions. It

newspaper articles of the period, I was able to grasp the situation and atmosphere of the area under occupation.

11 I decided at an early stage of my research that I would not interview war brides' children and husbands extensively because of the possibility of compromising the women's privacy by checking the information I received from the women. However, a small number of interviews I conducted with family members gave me some different perspectives on various situations.
was a very interesting time for them as well as for me because we could talk about not only the past but also the present development. Furthermore, those conventions provided me with valuable chances to mix with a large number of war brides and carry out participant observation.

The twelve women who were interviewed live over a wide areas: six live in Australian Capital Territory, one in Victoria, three in South Australia, one in Japan and the last one lives in London. All the interviews except the last one, which was done in Hawaii, were recorded in the areas of their residence.

My main aim at each interview was to collect substantial amount of narratives so that I could reconstruct their life histories in their own words. The number of hours of recording varied from four hours to fourteen. All interviews, with one exception of half a session, were done in Japanese.\(^{12}\) I kept the list of questions for each interview, but I usually let the women talk without interruption when their narratives jumped from one topic to another, or from the present to the past. In this sense, their life histories were not narrated as chronological monologues. Rather, they were told more as a dialogue between the women and myself, prompted by my questions.

With the women who lived in Canberra, I usually booked two hours as a block for one interview session at their house and went back to them until I covered all points. The difference in length of interview time was due to the extent each woman was willing to provide detail of her life history. Generally, the longer the interview was, the more descriptive and detailed it was. However, some shorter interviews were as precise and comprehensive as the longer ones. After recording stopped, we usually spoke informally over meals or cups of tea, and sometimes, I needed to restart the recorder because the conversation turned back to the interview session again. One war bride was so totally convinced that her interview should not last more than an hour, that she set a Japanese video for me to watch for the rest of the session. It turned out that we could not complete the interview within the first two hours, so I went back to interview her for two more sessions.

I found two hours were as long as I could maintain concentration as an interviewer. As women narrated various topics, I often needed to steer their subjects towards the issues I was interested in. I realised this manoeuvre required skill and tact with intense

\(^{12}\) A war bride who lived in London without much contact with Japanese found it easier to speak in English than in Japanese at the beginning of the interview, but she gradually shifted to Japanese as the time went on. So the latter half of the interview was done in Japanese. Another war bride switched to English when she spoke about her philosophy of life. In such cases, I respected their preference in use of languages and did not interfere with their narrative rhythms.
concentration. As a result, I was exhausted after two hours. When I travelled away from home for interviews, I usually stayed with the women and could not apply the session system. In such cases, I usually had longer interview sessions and often informal interviews continued in the form of conversations well into the night.

I tried to interview women with the intention of recording the diversity of experiences. As the previous studies on Japanese war brides demonstrated, much of the research has been either too general and dependent on statistical analyses or too descriptive with a very small number of samples. Therefore, I have attempted to cover women from different backgrounds and experiences, such as age, education, marriage relationships, number of children, place of residence and contact with other Japanese residents. At the same time, I had to limit the number of interviews I could conduct. All the transcription work, which was time consuming, was done by myself and it was clearly beyond my means to increase the number of interviews without causing a backlog of transcription work.

As readers will see in the following chapters, some war brides opened their hearts, perhaps for the first time, and narrated their past experience. I was often surprised how frankly they talked on difficult and emotional subjects from their private lives. On some occasions, memories of the past overwhelmed them and they became distressed. However, such a emotional surge did not seem to deter them from narrating their stories to me. I was aware that some women avoided some issues and consciously omitted them from their narratives. For example, one woman did not mention her first husband and a child from this marriage in the interview. This information came to my attention later because another woman who knew her commented casually about it to me. In such a case, I neither went back to the interviewee to check the information or doubted the validity of the rest of the interview data. Each of us has some part of ourselves which we do not want to expose to others and that privacy needs to be respected. Furthermore, when one narrates a life history, one tries to tell a story with cohesiveness. Often those points which missed or omitted could disturb the chosen cohesiveness of the story. Since I was interested in how the women narrated their life stories rather than investigating what actually happened, I believed it was not necessary to go back to them in order to clarify the missing section.

The women’s narratives did not happen in a vacuum with a tape recorder. They were talking to me and I was asking them questions. Since narrating life histories is such an intimate and private act, I could not and did not remain just as an impassive anthropological researcher. I am conscious that, in long interviews on intimate subjects, the relationship between interviewer and interviewee can be critical. Both have subjective responses. It is inevitable that some of the women felt warmer and more relaxed in my
presence than some other women did. It is also inevitable that I unconsciously communicated my admiration or misgivings about some incidents described by particular women and this then influenced subsequent responses. Another interviewer could have elicited slightly different responses. By having several interviews with the women, observing them in other contexts and using any available written reminiscences, I have tried to moderate the accidental constraints on interviews.

Some women had known me before the research commenced and I did not need to tell them much. With others, I usually introduced myself to the women by telling them about my research intention and my background before commencing the interview sessions. During the interviews, if the women wanted to compare their experience, I offered mine briefly. The following is generally what the women know about my personal background.

I arrived in Australia from Japan in 1980 as an exchange student. The initial scholarship was for one year's duration, but I stayed on to continue postgraduate studies at the Australian National University. I met an Englishman at the university and we married in 1983. My first son was born in 1985 and the second in 1989. Our family moved away from Australia for three years because of my husband's job and we lived in Japan for a year and in Berlin for two years. We came back to Canberra in 1990, intending to settle down in Australia permanently.

The women were generally interested in finding out who I was married to, Japanese or non-Japanese, and whether I had any children. Also they wanted to know whether I was going to settle down in Australia or not. In addition to the similar marital background to theirs, they often commented that I was about the same age as their children. From my point of view, I compared them with my mother and her friends in Japan, who belong to the same generation but with a very different experience in the last forty years.

As an anthropologist, I was aware that sharing a similar background with the informants could be both advantageous and tricky. In terms of the language fluency and general cultural knowledge of Japan and Australia, I certainly had an advantage. However, I also acknowledge that there is a possibility of bias on my side: I might be tempted to justify my own situation in Australia with a non-Japanese husband and racially mixed children by defending the women's actions. I tried my best to be conscious of any of these possibilities. I tried to balance the empathy I feel towards the women with the critical thinking which I acquired from anthropological training. As Myerhoff writes, the portraits I will present in the thesis are therefore, full-length portraits with "light and darkness with more shading than sharp lines" (1979: 28).
Difference in age and subsequently the different historical experiences between them and myself helped me observe and examine them from a certain distance. Their experiences in the last forty to fifty years have been so different from my contemporaries' experiences. I recall an occasion when a war bride talked about her past experience soon after I had arrived in Australia in the early 1980s. She told my Japanese friend and me that it had taken more than twenty days by boat to travel to Australia. She could not buy soy sauce in Australia so she had to mix water with Vegemite and use it as a substitute. Upon hearing those stories, I remember that my friend and I looked at each other with amazement. Even twenty years ago, direct overnight flights were already in service between Japan and Australia and Japanese food had started to become more readily available in the country.

Fortunately, I have developed warm friendships with some of the informants. This helped me to obtain frank appraisals of their lives and to gather follow-up information. Some of them disclosed their private thoughts and intimate incidents because they developed trust in me even though they were fully aware that the interviews were carried out for research purposes. But, the friendships also carry obligations towards the women. I might feel obliged to refrain from disclosing some significant information in order not to cause any subsequent embarrassment for the women. In return for the trust and friendship, I am bound by a certain level of constraint. However, as a researcher, I have attempted to present the information I have acquired as ethically as possible.

As the aim of this thesis is to understand war brides' self-perception of their experiences in Japan and Australia, I sincerely hope the cultural empathy I share with war brides has provided me with insights rather than blinded me with bias.

**Organisation of this thesis**

In Chapter 2, theoretical issues on selfhood are discussed in order to clarify the approach I am taking. Chapter 3 presents the socio-historical background to the circumstances Japanese women and Australian servicemen met in occupied Japan. Four life histories of Japanese war brides commence in Chapter 4 and their narratives cover the period up to their departure from Japan. Australian perceptions on Japanese war brides around the time the women arrived in Australia are examined in Chapter 5. The women's narratives on their experiences after their arrival in Australia are presented in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 deals with the current movement of the war brides as they start to get to gather and hold meetings and conventions locally and internationally. Chapter 8 is the last section of the women's life stories where their later years and their reflections are narrated before the concluding chapter.
Chapter 2
Selfhood in Japanese Context

In this chapter, I will firstly examine how scholars who have been working with the research topic of selfhood in cross-cultural contexts have tackled and struggled with the rather abstract and fluid notion of self. Then, I will critique the notion of a polarisation of Western and non-Western selves before moving to an examination of the research which has been carried out in Japan in order to clarify the characteristics of Japanese self. Discussion of the role individuality plays in the Japanese self will be presented there. Lastly, I will explore the dimensions of the selfhood and how each dimension interacts within the self. The majority of the past research on selfhood has been carried out within a particular culture and does not deal with the cross-cultural experience of the research subjects themselves. However, before entering a new field, it is important to examine previous research results and clarify how they will shed light on my own research.

Levy's exhortation (1994: 193) to "examine the person as an active centre of history and context" (original emphasis) proves to be a useful concept to deal with the war brides' situation. In the field of psychological anthropology, anthropologists have started to realise that people have an inner world, selfhood, which is largely formed by and within a particular culture. Strauss and Quinn write that "... culture is both public and private, both in the world and in people's minds" (1994: 295). LeVine and White also comment as follows:

There are concepts of the person and the self in all cultures. Self-awareness and a sense of one's continuity over time are universal in human experience, and all human adults distinguish between actions of the self as opposed to those of another (quoted in Poole, 1994: 846).

Mauss, Mead and Hallowell
The anthropological study of selfhood is greatly indebted to Marcel Mauss' 1938 essay, entitled, "A Category of the Human Mind: The Notion of Person, the Notion of Self". In this essay, starting with ethnographic examples from North American Indian and Australian Aboriginal societies, and moving onto the Roman, Greek and more contemporary Western societies within the Christian tradition, Mauss proposes an evolutionary scheme of selfhood in which people have progressed from just playing social roles to the possession of autonomy and inner conscience. According to his scheme, an individual with independence and autonomy is unique to the contemporary West because of the Western historical tradition. Although his view was later criticised
as evolutionary, Mauss' exploration of the concept of the self and the person in an anthropological context stimulated further interest among later researchers.\footnote{In the book, \textit{The Category of the Person}, published in 1985, several researchers examined the concept of "person" in different cultural context using Mauss's essay as their starting point (Carrithers, Collins, and Lukes, 1985).}

Another strong influence in the study of selfhood comes from George Herbert Mead with his view of selfhood as being socially constructed, a view which continues to provide an effective research perspective. His view is that "self is only possible in society, for only in society can it become cultivated to the presence of others" (Whittaker, 1992: 200). Mead's interpretation of the formation of the self as "relational" to the society has influenced those anthropologists who work in Japan, such as Robert Smith (1983) and David Plath (1980) in their understanding of the Japanese self and I will discuss this later in this chapter.

Mead further identifies "I" and "me" in relation to society. Whittaker summarises Mead's notion as follows:

\begin{quote}

  The "I" is the inner, secreted and actively decision-making self, and the "me" is the self that carries all the objectified implication that society fosters - person, identity role and personality carry on an inner dialogue. Furthermore, according to Mead, the "I" and the "me" carry on an inner dialogue (Whittaker, 1992: 200).

\end{quote}

This dialogue between a personal "I" and a social "me" leads us to another influential concept which is discussed by Mead, reflexivity. These theoretical concepts of Mead's provide valuable clues when we try to understand how a person tries to adjust to the new social environment through interacting with members of the new society. Mead describes reflexivity as follows:

\begin{quote}

  It is by means of reflexiveness - the turning-back of the experience of the individual upon himself - that the whole social process is thus brought into the experience of the individuals involved in it; it is by such means, which enable the individual to take the attitude of the other toward himself, that the individual is able consciously to adjust himself to that process, and to modify the resultant of that process in any given social act in terms of his adjustment to it. Reflexiveness, then, is the essential condition, within the social process, for the development of mind (1950: 134).

\end{quote}

As Babcock points out, owing to the reflexive capacity, the individual is able to understand and adjust to the social process, to modify his/her future behaviour, and to modify the social process itself (1980: 2). Myerhoff and Ruby write that reflexivity is
the "capacity of any system of signification to turn back upon itself, to make itself its own object by referring to itself ....". According to them, the concept of reflexivity relates closely with selfhood where a person can become "at once both subject and object" (1982: 2).

Mead relates the concept of reflexivity with the two developmental stages of the self by using examples of play and games for children, and argues that in order to participate in a game as a member, one needs to develop reflexivity. In play, according to Mead, one simply assumes a role of another person just as a child does, but in a game, one needs to have more generalised comprehension of the organisation and its rules in order to participate in it successfully and to assume various roles depending on the situation (1950: 151-6). Thus, fully developed self in society has understanding of not only the particular individual attitudes, but also "the social attitudes ... of the group as a whole to which he belongs" (1950: 158). Mead further points out that such a comprehension can be obtained through the use of language (1950: 160).

A. Irving Hallowell renewed the interest in selfhood within American anthropology in the 1950s and 1960s. With a 1955 paper "The Self and Its Behavioral Environment," Hallowell laid the foundation of the phenomenological approach in anthropology of culture and personality. According to Spiro, Hallowell contends that it is important to view personality from the perspective of the actor himself, as well as to analyse it from the perspective of the outside observer (1976: 353). In addition, as Fogelson points out later, Hallowell regards self-awareness, with the implicit corollary assumption of subject/object distinction, as a generic prerequisite for and universal feature of all human culture (1982: 82). Hallowell writes as follows:

One of the distinguishing features of human adjustment ... rests upon the fact that the human adult, in the course of ontogenetic development, has learned to discriminate himself as an object in a world of objects other than himself (1955: 75 quoted in Spiro, 1993: 110).

The self-awareness Hallowell refers to here is, in my view, similar to the reflexivity which Mead advocates in his study of self. Continuous refinement of the theoretical concepts of selfhood has eventually helped contemporary research in understanding the relationship between the self and society. However, people had to wait for almost forty years before anthropologists regained enthusiasm for research into the self.

**Resurgence of interest in selfhood research**

As Whittaker (1992) documents, the emergence of anthropological research on the self since the late 1970s has been eye-catching. He firstly measures the extent of the interest
by listing eight conferences on selfhood between 1979 and 1985, each of which resulted in widely read books on the cross-cultural study on selfhood. Furthermore, in order to demonstrate that the popularity of and interest in selfhood is widely prevalent in the social sciences, Whittaker counts the number of items entered under "self" in *The Social Science Index*. The number of entries more than tripled from 137 to 473 between the two periods of 1974-75 and 1990-91. In addition, in contemporary popular culture, keen interest in the self can be observed in publications on the topics on self-help, self-awareness and self-knowledge, whose main themes are "be yourself," and "find out who you are."

With this increase in the research and literature on the self, several review articles have been published in order to provide overviews of the field within anthropology (Csordas, 1994; Fogelson, 1982; Harris, 1989; Johnson, 1993: 331-345; Kondo, 1990: 33-43; Poole, 1994; Whittaker, 1992). Since those articles have already provided extensive reviews of the field, I do not wish to repeat a similar literature review here. However, one thing on which all these authors agree is the confusion and the conflation of meaning of terms in this field. Words such as "individual", "person", "self" and "identity", have been used extensively to discuss the notions which anthropologists have been studying and arguing about. Nevertheless, the way those terms are used and the meaning of each term has often varied from researcher to researcher. This makes it very difficult to compare research results because it takes considerable time and energy to determine how each author uses those terms and what s/he means by them. The present situation indicates, as Poole states, that ethnographic explorations of person, self and individuality are still at an early and theoretically confused stage of "mapping a complex terrain" (1994: 841).

However, some anthropologists have attempted to clarify this confusion by proposing definitions of these terms. At the same time, it is necessary for me to clarify how I define my use of terms in my research. Here, Harris' definition provides a good starting point. Her article is regarded as one of the most influential pieces addressing the issue of confusion in terminology (1989). Harris writes that to conceptualise the self is "to conceptualise the human being as a locus of experience, including experience of that human's own someoneness" (1989: 601). In this concise definition, she clearly focuses on, firstly, the subjective sense of experience in the self. Then, she articulates another important aspect of the self: capacity to objectify oneself. I follow Harris' definition and I will be examining the self not only as the locus of experience, but also as having the ability to objectify itself.
Western and non-Western concepts of self

The concept of self in Western societies was formed under the influence of the Western philosophical tradition and Christianity. Different scholars have summarised this concept in a variety of ways, but here I am presenting Geertz's frequently quoted description. His use of the term "person," with its focus on subjective experience, is almost interchangeable with the concept of self with which I have been dealing in this chapter. He describes the Western concept of the person as follows:

... a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgement and action organized into a distinctive whole and set contrastively both against other such wholes and against its social and natural background (1983: 59).

Geertz labels this notion as "however incorrigible it may seem to us, [it is] a rather peculiar idea within the context of the world's cultures" (1983: 59). Contrastingly, in general, the non-Western self is regarded as, opposite to the Western self and is thought to be less autonomous and more group-oriented.

Such a concept of the Western self has been critiqued in recent years by some anthropologists (see Murray, 1993; Ouroussoff, 1993; Spiro, 1993). Their criticism is against the simplistic bipolar categorisation of the concept of self into the Western self and the non-Western self: the Western self as differentiated, individuated and autonomous, and the non-Western self as relational, non-individuated and interdependent. Here, Douglas Hollan’s concepts of distinguishing the cultural model and the experiential self are useful in understanding how such bipolarisation has come about in previous academic discussion because I want to point out that the academic debates on the Western and non-Western concepts of self have been carried out largely without distinguishing between those two different categories.

Hollan writes that it is important to distinguish between the two levels of self in research: the cultural model of the self and the experiential self. By experiential self, what Hollan means is how selfhood actually is experienced by the subject (1992: 284). On the other hand, cultural models of the self are "presupposed, taken-for-granted, commonsensical, and widely shared assumptions which a group of people hold about the world and its objects" (1992: 285).² He emphasises that cultural models (of the self or anything else) tend to be more simplified, implicit, partial, situational, ad hoc or inconsistent in nature.

²Cognitive anthropologists, such as Claudia Strauss, use the term "cultural models" as culturally formed cognitive schemas (1992: 3). According to Strauss, cognitive schemas are learned, internalized patterns of thought-feeling that mediate both the interpretation of on-going experience and the reconstruction of memories.
than the actual situation. Hollan, then, warns against a ready assumption of isomorphicity between the cultural model of the self anthropologists construct and the experiential self. He claims that the cultural models in general are merely "ideas, premises by which people guide their lives, and only to the extent a people lives by them do they have force" (Shweder and Bourne, 1984: 193 quoted in Hollan, 1992: 286). Furthermore, in regard to the self, often the cultural model of self and the experiential self are not identical, but sometimes even contradictory (1992: 286).

Alexandra Oroussoff has questioned the concept of independent rationality which is supposed to be the main characteristic of the Western self through her field research in a British factory (1993). She examines the legitimacy of the cultural model by studying the actual behaviour and narratives of informants. Through an analysis of the decision making process in the factory, she concludes that, in spite of the notion of rationality and independence of will being accepted by many Western intellectuals as the characteristic of the Western person, people behave more as "social persons" and are easily influenced by various biases.

Similarly, Melford E. Spiro differentiates between the Western folk model of self, and the actual Western self which is based on empirical findings, and claims that the previously accepted concept of self is a folk model. Spiro argues that the folk model and the actual self do not correspond with each other well, and that the actual Western self is more interdependent and less autonomous than many have inferred from the cultural model (1993: 144). His argument is that to assume an isomorphic relationship between the cultural conceptions of self, and the self-conceptions of social actors leads inevitably to bipolar types of self and self-conceptions: a Western and a non-Western. Such a conclusion is, according to Spiro, unwarranted not only because of its dubious premises, but also because of the procedures on which it is based (1993: 143).

In comparing personhood in Western and Melanesian societies, LiPuma also points out that polarisation of self between individuality in the West and divisionality (relationality) in the Melanesian culture is troublesome. He argues that both individual and dividual aspects of self exist in all cultures, although the way those two modalities appear and are hidden varies greatly in different cultures (1998).

In the context of postmodernism, and citing especially Ewing's work (1990) on selfhood, Murray notes that the recent theoretical notion of self has emerged as pluralist, fragmented, emergent, dialogic, relational, inconsistent and culturally determined, and that all these elements have been regarded as innovative findings in recent research (1993: 3-4). However, he claims the Western "tradition" of thinking has also contained multiple
selves, but they have been overlooked. Here, he points out that David Hume, a Scottish philosopher in the 18th century, advocated the above mentioned, supposedly post-modern, notion of self more than two hundred years ago. By examining historical shifts in philosophical thought, Murray argues the "tradition" of Western thoughts on the self which seemed to have been accepted as "singular" was in fact more complex.

Thus, attempts to categorise selfhood into the Western self and the non-Western self through investigating characteristics of each category have been found to be mainly dealing with the cultural model of the concept of self rather than the experiential self. At the experiential level, it is most likely both the Western and non-Western selves possess not only individualistic elements but also relational elements. Yet, this does not automatically lead to the conclusion that all selves in different cultures are exactly the same at the experiential level. As LiPuma has already pointed out, how those two contrasting aspects interact in a specific social circumstance varies in different cultures. Here, research on the Japanese self has attracted intense attention from anthropologists and offers rich ethnographic data.

**Anthropological interest in Japanese self**

Whittaker correctly points out in his review that selfhood in Japan has attracted many analyses among the studies of self in different cultures, and lists numerous studies on the Japanese self (1992). Specific studies of the Japanese self became more noticeable in the 1980s and continued onto the 1990s. Publication of *Japanese Sense of Self* (1992b) edited by Rosenberger was a landmark in the field.3

Whittaker poses a question in the above-mentioned article, namely whether the numerous studies of self in particular regions, such as Japan, Southeast Asia and Oceania are due to the possibility that self may be more "viable" in some cultural scenes than others (1992: 206). In the Japanese case, I am going to present four possible reasons which have encouraged much research there. Firstly, the increased necessity for the Western world to deal with Japan and the Japanese people has encouraged studies on Japan and its culture. The first urgent necessity occurred when Japan fought against the Allies in World War II. Ruth Benedict's work, which was later published as a book, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, was commissioned by the United States government to find out how to deal with the Japanese.

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3As Rosengerger's review of the literature demonstrates, the field of research on the Japanese self is unique in anthropology because both native Japanese and non-native anthropologists have carried out their research in the field on closely related topics and published in a common language to engage in academic discourse. Since examinations of selfhood in a culture involves not only objective behavioural observations, but also inquiring into an actor's subjective experience, discussions among the native and non-native anthropologists have brought about interesting results.
Secondly, interest in the economic success of Japan after the war triggered curiosity about how Japanese people had so dramatically developed their economy and generated a great interest in how they think and behave. Thirdly, Japanese society is regarded as both East and West, but neither East nor West by some researchers, and consequently, thought to represent an interesting case. Kasulis states that the comparison between the Japanese notion of self and that of other cultures was fruitful because Japan "stands between the intellectual traditions of East and West" (1994: 83). However, to categorise Japan as somewhere in the middle clearly reveals Kasulis' static and fixed view of East and West. In the contemporary global societies, no culture can be claimed as a totally Eastern or Western, discounting any influence of the other culture.

The last reason is that a surge in popularity of Japanology studies in Japan in the 1970s and the 1980s, the so-called Nihonjin-ron, have motivated non-Japanese researchers to investigate if the often self-congratulatory tones of those studies is justified. As Sugimoto and Mouer (1989) and Befu (1987) have already noted, impressionistic statements which claim the uniqueness of the Japanese people are repeatedly observed in the field of Nihonjin-ron studies. Some researchers are motivated to test whether the Japanese way of thinking is as unique as claimed.

**Ruth Benedict's The Chrysanthemum and the Sword**

The start of anthropological study on the Japanese self can be traced back to Ruth Benedict's study of Japanese culture and personality in *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* which was published in 1946 in the United States and translated into Japanese in 1948. As an anthropological analysis of a nation and its people, this book is one of the rare examples of an ethnography which has been widely read by both the native people concerned and non-native people.

One of the central issues in the book which has been debated since its publication is whether Japan is a "shame culture" opposed to the West's "guilt culture." According to Benedict, a shame culture relies on external sanctions by being ridiculed or by imagining one's being made ridiculous, to maintain good behaviour of its members. In contrast, a

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4In the late 1990s, with the Japanese economy in recession after the Bubble economy burst in the 1980s, such a research motive seems to be outdated and out of context.

5For a comprehensive review and critique on the Nihonjin-ron literature, see Tamotsu Aoki (1990).

6Since its publication, the Japanese version sold over a million copies and the original English version sold over three hundred and fifty thousand copies. See Tamotsu Aoki, (1990: 2) and Geertz (1988: 116).

7John Embree's book, *Suye Mura*, was published in 1939 as the first anthropological study on Japanese peasants, but it was not as widely read as *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* among the general public in both countries.
guilt culture inculcates absolute standards of morality and relies on one's developing a conscience (1954: 222-3). While the debate still continues in different forms, Benedict is the first anthropologist to point out the importance of the personal relationships between an actor and others in Japanese culture. She points out that the Japanese sense that other people are sitting in judgement on them (1954: 221). Therefore, the sense of shame can only materialise when one becomes aware of an audience or, at least, of one's imagination of an audience.

Japanese Self and Individuality

Robert Smith, after reviewing the research on personal relationships among Japanese, points out the importance of relationships for the Japanese self. He describes the Japanese self as the "interactionist self," using two linguistic examples to support his argument. By citing examples in the phenomenon of keigo, "honorific language" or "polite language," he argues that Japanese language is poor in vocabulary that is neutral with respect to status differences, thus, it is impossible to speak or write without employing keigo (1983: 74-77). Therefore, Smith argues that Japanese people are conscious of the relative status difference between the self and the other when they engage in language. Smith's second point concerns the absence of anything remotely resembling the personal pronoun in Japanese discourse. He asserts that "There are no fixed points, either "self" or "other," and ... it is of the utmost significance that designation of the other invariably precedes designation of the self in any interaction" (1983: 77). Smith argues that the linguistic phenomena reflect the conception of self held by speakers of the language and concludes that "the identification of self and other is always indeterminate in the sense that there is no fixed center from which, in effect, the individual asserts a non contingent existence" (1983: 81).

While Smith sees the characteristics of Japanese self in its unfixed nature in relation to varied personal relationships, he also points out the existence of individuality. He writes, "It seems to me that Japanese possess a clear sense of self although it differs from our own, and that they regularly behave as though persons are indeed individuals. Western

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8 Benedict's polarisation of Japan and the West as the shame culture and the guilt culture has been refuted by DeVos (1960; quoted in Lebra, 1976: 12) and Doi (1971; quoted in Lebra, 1976).

9 Kondo (1990: 26-29) in a similar way, emphasises the relational self by pointing out the different usages of Japanese language personal pronoun "I" in different contexts. According to her, English "I" is "anaphoric potential", citing Crapanzano's words. That is, the "I" who is registered once in discourse is the referent for all subsequent invocations of the "I" (1990: 32). On the other hand, the Japanese "I" changes when the actor is in different social relationships. For example, a male person can use different personal pronouns of "I" in different context. Use of "Boku" suggests a middle-class "good boy" and sometimes childish resonance and "ore" has a tough, informal, macho aura. "Watashi" suggests the same actor is in a formal situation. Thus, she points out that not only "me" in Mead's sense changes in different social relationships, but "I" can change in a different social context.
observers are often blinded by our inability to perceive the locus of self in Japan, and by our unwillingness to accept the low priority given to its expression" (1983: 89).

Certainly, articulation of self is not generally given high priority in Japan. Yet, not being articulated does not always imply the absence of selfhood as we can see in the following example. Dr. Satoru Saito, a Japanese psychiatrist, presents an example (Oiwake, 1997: 53). One of his female patients, who was trying to overcome depression after recovering from alcoholism, finally spoke up reluctantly after three months of treatment that she was not feeling comfortable in the group counselling situation. Saito responded positively to her and approved of her expressing discomfort. The doctor's response was a surprise to the patient because she had firmly believed that nobody should express discomfort and distress. She believed that she should not tell anybody about such feelings. The reason she did not say anything was not because she did not feel uncomfortable. She simply did not feel that it was acceptable to express that feeling although she was quite well aware of feeling uncomfortable.

Anthropologists who have been working on the Japanese self generally agree that Japanese possess a clear sense of individuality in spite of the strong emphasis on conformity in the society. Furthermore, they agree that Japanese individuality is expressed in a different way from individuality which is manifested in Western society as they point out that Japanese translation for individualism, *kojinshugi*, has a negative connotation of "selfishness" (Dore, 1958; Hendry, 1992; Mathews, 1996a; Moeran, 1984; Plath, 1975; Tanaka, 1990; Yamazaki, 1994). What all of them are claiming is that individuality clearly exists among the Japanese, but it is expressed in relation to others. R. P. Dore who studied urban residents in the Tokyo downtown area coined a term "individuation" in order to describe characteristics of behaviour which are more moderate than the Western individualism (1958: 387). Masakazu Yamazaki calls the Japanese version a "gentle individualism" (1994) Both Dore and Yamazaki point out that Japanese express their individuality in relation to the others. According to Yamazaki, in contrast to the Western influenced individualism which constantly turns other people into a means of self-realisation and therefore struggles with others, Japanese traditional individualism is a "gentle" individualism that "fears others even while placing them in close proximity and aims to realize the self within the context of other people's evaluation" (1994: 52)

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10 Researchers who are based outside Japan are not the only ones who recognise the different manifestation of individuality between Japan and West. Both Hayao Kawai, psychologist, and Haruki Murakami, novelist, agree that the notion of individual is different in Japan from the Western notion in their discussion (1996).
Both Brian Moeran (1984) and Keiko Tanaka (1990) have examined characteristics of individuality in Japanese context through linguistic analysis. In their studies, both researchers studied how a Japanese word "kosei," the Japanese term which is usually translated as individuality, is used semantically. Moeran collects the various usages of the term in the aesthetic appreciation of pottery. Tanaka examines advertisements in Japanese women's magazines to find out how the term is used. Their conclusions were similar: the Japanese term for individuality was used not as the full expression of an individual person, but it was expression describing a self that was always aware of the existence of and judgement by others.11

Smith also points out that the capability of controlling individuality is an important indicator when Japanese people measure maturity. Smith's point is that Japanese measure maturity through how well one can control one's own individuality in the context of a social situation. Thus, not asserting one's individuality when harmony among people was of most importance, is regarded as a sign of maturity, not as a sign of submissiveness or passivity. Smith cites frequently used Japanese words, such as gaman (to endure), shimbo (to bear), and akirame (to accept), as indicators which express the values Japanese attach to those attributes (1983: 98). Smith points out that Japanese regard the suppression of individuality in certain circumstances can be achieved only through discipline, which is a demonstration of one's maturity (1983: 103).

David Plath is another anthropologist who studies selfhood by examining how people attain maturity in Japan. In contrast to Smith, Plath's main point is that the Japanese measure their own maturity in relation to how well they can express their individuality without clashing with others'. Thus, Smith focuses on the virtue of controlling individuality while Plath highlights the skill of articulating it. In his book, Long Engagement, he sensitively captures how middle aged men and women struggle to achieve a balance between the obligatory feeling to satisfy others' expectation by behaving in socially appropriate ways, and their own individual desire to do what they really want to do (1980).12 Maturity for those Japanese informants seems to be achieved when harmony and compromise between these two often conflicting feelings are realised.

11 Although their conclusions are convincing, there are some shortcomings in their research. Firstly, Moeran's analysis is focused on the contrast between Japan and the West with an assumption that the concept of individuality was introduced to Japan in the process of Westernisation. By assuming individualism is a Western concept, Moeran fails to see the indigenous style of individuality which could have existed in the society before the Western concept was introduced. As for Tanaka's study, advertisements are generally created to appeal to a large number of prospective consumers and to merchandise goods to the masses. Consequently, individuality which does not appeal to a large group cannot be expressed in the advertisement.

12 "Others" in this context is very similar to Mead's "generalized other" (Mead, 1950: 154).
through the tact and skill they have attained in their life courses.\textsuperscript{13} Plath writes that they describe this acquired tact with a Japanese word, \textit{atsukamashisa}, and elaborates its concept as follows:

Adult Japanese, when I ask them how they have changed since their youth years, often respond with the word \textit{atsukamashisa}, which can be glossed as "boldness" or "nerve." It does not imply bravado: rather that one has established one's ability to judge people and situations, and knows how to deal with them so as to obtain results. One continues to care about what others are thinking, and about the Oughts of morality; but one no longer feels driven by them (1980: 6).

Thus, with specific ethnographical data from Japan, Plath argues firstly, that Japanese adults are very aware of prescribed codes of cultural rules in relation to how they relate with the other. Secondly, they are continuously acquiring sufficient interpretations of those rules so that they can tell how much they are able to control their own intentions or "push" them. If their own will does not fit into the understood rules of the culture, they are able to judge whether to repress it or not. In some cases, they are able to realise their desire fully or partially, with the tact is called \textit{atsukamashisa}.

The postmodernist approach which is similar to Ewing's is taken by anthropologists, such as Kondo, Rosenberger, and Bachnik who argue that the Japanese self is constantly shifting and changing (Bachnik and Quinn, 1994; Kondo, 1990; Kondo, 1992; Rosenberger, 1992c). Rosenberger writes that "people continually create themselves and are created in terms of the multiple pictures that people weave with others and their environment as they move through life" (1992a: 14). Their main focus is to examine how selfhood shifts in the context of varied personal relationships in Japanese culture. Furthermore, they attempt to identify the factors (in Bachnik's term, "indexation") which cause the shifting of selves and to figure out how to measure the movements of constantly shifting selves in society.\textsuperscript{14} Their stance is that multiple and shifting selves are the characteristics of the Japanese self and it is not fixed to anything.

Thus, the anthropologists who have examined the Japanese self seem to agree on its distinct interactiveness which shifts constantly in relation to the changes in personal relationships. At the same time, they claim that the Japanese do retain a sense of

\textsuperscript{13}See Poole's discussion on enculturation (1994) for more general discussion of the process.

\textsuperscript{14}Now that the traditional idea of the Western self as bounded is no longer accepted without question, the concept of self as multiple is adopted more widely outside of Japanese anthropology by those whose research interest cover selfhood and identity. Ewing studied the selfhood of Pakistani women and argued for multiple self-representation among them (1990: 251).
individuality although it is expressed in a different way from that of Western people. How, then, can these seemingly conflicting elements of the self with its changeability and individuality exist within a single person? Here, Lebra's theory on the structure of Japanese selfhood provides a useful key to understanding the dynamism of those contrasting elements of the Japanese self and how the people negotiate between the two.

Structure of Japanese selfhood

Lebra advocates the structure of three dimensions in the Japanese self: "the interactional self," "the inner self," and "the boundless self" from the lower to the higher dimensions accordingly (1992: 105). These three dimensions interact with each other and the higher levels of self can counterbalance the interactional self which is deemed to change in relation to social situations and reenergise it (1994: 108). Before beginning the discussion, I will outline Lebra's notions of these dimensions.

Firstly, the interactional self has a close relationship with self-other interaction and the more socially outward self. Since this dimension of self focuses its attention on the relationship with others, it is capable of shifting itself, mirroring the changing circumstances and relationships. Lebra also points out that "the interactional self is what occupies Japanese most of the time, and yet they are aware of its basically precarious, vulnerable, relative, unfixed nature" (1992: 111).

Secondly, the inner self, as the term indicates, is the inwardly-oriented self associated with reflexivity and it counteracts the outward-looking interactional self. The inner self is a "more stable self, something like ‘I,’ more immune from social relativity." Furthermore, it "provides a fixed core for self-identity and subjectivity and forms a potential basis of autonomy from the ever-insatiable demands from the social world" (1992: 112; 1994: 108). Furthermore, the inner self has a function of 'anchoring' the interactional self away from the demands of the social world and allowing for a self which can resist, rather than simply mirror the outside world (Bachnik, 1992: 154).

According to Lebra, the Japanese inner self is generally referred to by the term "kokoro" and is symbolically localised in the chest, in contrast to the outer self, which is focused on the face and mouth (1992: 112). The Japanese term, kokoro, is generally translated as heart in English. In the previous study on the Japanese self, Lebra indicated that Japanese

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15 Matthew (1996b) also proposes three levels in Japanese self which is similar to Lebra's.
16 Anthropologists who work in Japan are not the only ones who discuss the inner self. Hoffman in her study of Iranian immigrants in the United States also mentions the outward self and the inner self (1989: 43). Furthermore, the distinction of the outer and inner self within Western selfhood as well as we can see in Charles Taylor's work where he traces that distinction through the history of Western philosophy (1989).
individuality is located in the inner self through inward looking and introspective thought, instead of being expressed outwardly (1976). In this sense, *kokoro* is where Japanese individuality is located. In the study on individuality which was previously mentioned, Moeran explores the cultural specificity of *kokoro* and asserts that it has a "double role" in the Japanese language. Namely, it can incorporate non-Japanese values although it is firmly rooted in Japanese culture (1984: 260-3). Thus, for a Japanese, Japanese cultural elements as well as non-Japanese elements can be incorporated there.

Lastly, Lebra’s notion of the boundless self is embedded in the Buddhist version of transcendentalism and incorporates a more spiritual side of the self "where the boundary disappears between subject and object, self and other or the inner and outer self, so that both the social and inner self are upgraded into an empty self" (1994: 108). Although the notion of the boundless self is culturally interesting, I will focus on the first two dimensions in the following discussion because my interest is the Japanese sense of individuality which can be traced in the interaction between the inner self and the interactional self.

The negotiation between expressing individuality and adjusting oneself to socially appropriate behaviour can be carried out by a dialogue between the interactional self and the inner self within a Japanese person. Such a monologue is very similar to the notion of reflexivity which Mead advocated. For Mead, reflexivity is exercised between the self and society, but Lebra points out that a similar reflexivity can exist between a more socially embedded interactional self and the more stable inner selves within a person.

In order to elaborate the discussion further, I will present ethnographic examples from anthropological writing on Japanese selves by Dorinne Kondo and Nancy Rosenberger, to show how the two dimensions of self exist and interact with each other. At the initial stage of her fieldwork in downtown Tokyo, Kondo found herself being inundated by requests she could hardly turn down because of the various obligations she felt for people in the neighbourhood. Then, Kondo was struck by a comment made by her landlady. The landlady said in Japanese, "Nihonjin wa ne, jibun o taisetsu ni shinai no, ne" which Kondo translates and explains as follows: "The Japanese don’t treat themselves as important, do they? That is, they spend time doing things for the sake of maintaining good relationships, regardless of their ‘inner’ feeling" (1990: 22). Here, the landlady accurately stated what Lebra described as the precarious and unfixed nature of the interactional self which wanted to present acceptable behaviour in order to belong to the group. In contrast, the inner self took up a more asocial position and remained as a basis of autonomy. The landlady could see both selves and made the comment when she realised Kondo had suppressed her inner self for the sake of the interactional self.
Rosenberger presents a similar conflict within a woman between the desire which originates in the inner self and the interactional self (1992c: 80). A middle-aged woman told Rosenberger that she would love to join a trip to a hot spring with her own circle of friends with whom she felt totally relaxed. However, she felt she should be at home looking after one of her teenage sons who was taking an examination. She insisted, despite Rosenberger's reassurance of the son's welfare, that she should not go because "If he flunked, and I had gone on that trip, everyone would blame me. They always look at the woman of the house if things go wrong. Though they never praise her when things go well!" (1992c: 80). Rosenberger describes her informant's behaviour in terms of producing "harmonious tones" to her surroundings. When the surroundings shift, the tone she would produce changes. Furthermore, the more mature a person is, the better control the person has over the tone in relation to the surroundings. Although this is a beautiful allegory which describes the movement of the interactional self, Rosenberger's analysis does not take the subjective experience of the woman into consideration; whether she is truly happy and satisfied with the harmony she and her surroundings are producing. She might be capable of playing the tune in harmony, which is pleasant to others' ears, but is she happy with the tune she is expected to produce? Doesn't she want to "play her own fiddle" sometimes? By paying attention to the inter-relation of the two dimensions of self, it becomes possible for us to study not just the socially-oriented self which adjusts itself into a harmony, but the inner self where her individuality lies.17

Anthropologists who argue for the multiplicity of selves are well aware of the existence of the inner self within themselves because they note conflicts and discords between the inner and the interactional selves as their own personal experience in the fieldwork situation. Kondo's experience occurred at the early stage of her research when she had first arrived in Tokyo to commence her fieldwork (1992). Her host family expected Kondo, a third generation Japanese American, to behave like a young Japanese girl who would require guidance and protection. As an anthropologist who was keen to be accepted in the community, she willingly put effort into conforming to their expectations. However, she started to realise that there existed a strong conflict within her between her original identity as an American graduate student who treasures her independence, and her newly acquired persona as a naive young Japanese girl. At the end, professional necessity gave a motivation and justification to regain her American self and distance herself from her newly acquired Japanese self (1990: 14-7).

17 Interactions between those two dimensions are discussed in the context of other cultures as well. Levy, in his introductory essay for the special issue of Ethos with self and emotion themes, wrote in 1983 that "there seems to be some kind of tension between the private aspects of self, on the one hand, and a public self or person on the other" (1983: 131).
Yet, these anthropologists seem to interpret the relationship between those two selves differently when they discuss their informants' rather than their own experiences. They tend to incorporate the inner self merely as a phase of a multiple self by emphasising "its [the inner self's] cultural constitution and social embeddedness" (Rosenberger, 1992a: 15) and fail to explain how the multiple and different selves interact with each other within a person. On this point, Lebra points out that the inner self has moral superiority over the interactional self and has a function of anchoring the interactional self.

**Conclusion**

Even though terminological confusion and conflation remains rampant, anthropologists who carry out research in the field of selfhood largely agree that the self is formed in society and maintains its reflexivity with society. There is also growing agreement that any simple binary scheme which polarises Western and non-Western selves is no longer viable: people in all cultures possess both individual and relational aspects of self. Yet, how these two aspects come together within the person varies in different cultures. While the Japanese self is characterised by the importance it places on personal relationships and by its shifting nature, it does not lack individuality although the trait is expressed in different way to Western individualism.

As is evident, almost all of the previous anthropological research on selfhood has focused on the self in a particular cultural setting. However, as I have signalled in this chapter, the different dimensions of selfhood and the relationship between the inner self and the interactional self provide a useful means to understand Japanese war brides' cross-cultural experiences and their interpretations of them.
Chapter 3
Encounters in Occupied Japan

Australian men and Japanese women who would ultimately marry in the post-war period grew up in communities and nations where people simply could not have imagined the circumstances that would lead to those marriages. Japanese society in the 1930s was becoming more militaristic and the people were growing more confident since the Japanese had no experience of defeat in wars against outside powers. At the same time, Japan was in the process of expanding its colonial power in Asia. As a national partner in an alliance with Germany and Italy, the Japanese people started to feel a strong hostility towards Britain and the United States. Intermarriage with Westerners was very rare, although there were some cases where Japanese women married elite Westerners who had worked in Japan.

Australians who grew up in the 1930s lived in a country that was over ninety percent British by birth or descent, an amazing homogeneity for a settler nation. The White Australian Policy was strictly enforced and fear of invasions by Asian hordes was high. The Japanese were popularly seen as quaint, copyists, and toy-makers but also numerous and aggressive. Australians certainly thought they might one day have to fight the Japanese, but it was beyond ordinary Australians' imagination that they might be part of an occupying force in Japan. That would mean that the Australian servicemen would land in a defeated Japan, and enter intimate relationships with Japanese people.

Overview of the Australian presence in Japan
After Japan surrendered in August 1945, the country was occupied by Allied Forces until the Peace Treaty was signed in 1951. The first forces to arrive in Japan in September were more than 430,000 American GI's. They were scattered in each prefecture in Japan in order to control the population of 70 million (Suenaga, 1995: 133). Australia's role in the occupation was to be played in the western part of Japan as a member of the British Commonwealth Occupation Forces (BCOF), which consisted of troops from four nations: Britain, Australia, New Zealand and India. The BCOF servicemen started to arrived in Japan in February 1946, and they totalled 37,021 at the end of the year. Of these, 10,918 were Australians (Kureshishi-hensan-iinkai, 1995). The Commander-in Chief of BCOF was an Australian officer, Lieutenant General John Northcott. Australia's responsibility was for Hiroshima Prefecture and most of the Australian

1See John Dower's War without Mercy (1986) for the propaganda which were based on racial hatred.
contingent was stationed around Kure, about forty kilometres east of the city of Hiroshima which was devastated by the atomic bomb.2

In spite of the involvement of BCOF in the occupation, the period has been generally regarded as the "MacArthur Era" in Japan because of the ultimate power General MacArthur had as the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP). During this period, the occupation forces initiated massive changes and reforms in almost all aspects of life in Japan, such as writing a new constitution, changing the electoral system and the system of land ownership. MacArthur originally insisted that the Commonwealth forces should operate under his command. However, after the Northcott-MacArthur agreement in December 1945 BCOF secured its own responsibility for Hiroshima prefecture. Later, BCOF expanded its area of responsibility to include the island of Shikoku as well as the five western prefectures of Honshu, an area of 7,500 square kilometres (Grey, 1990: 197-8).

The main duties of BCOF were to disarm the Japanese forces and demilitarise depots and various establishments in the occupied areas. The first Australian contingent which arrived in Kure consisted of war-weary soldiers who were transferred from Morotai. After their repatriation, there arrived younger fresh volunteers, many of whom had not been old enough to fight during the war. For most of them, joining BCOF provided them with the chance to go overseas - something they had missed during the war. Others in the contingent had found it difficult to settle down to civilian life after the war. Although there were some exceptions, it is fair to say the majority of the soldiers in the Australian contingent were young and restless and looking for some type of adventure. Soon after their arrival, however, the BCOF soldiers found out that there was virtually no resistance from Japanese forces or the general Japanese population to the occupation forces. Thus, the occupying soldiers' main task was to demilitarise naval facilities in Kure port and supervise the democratisation process in the occupied area.

The number of Australian servicemen in Japan peaked in February 1947 at 12,000, including both Army and Air Force personnel. The number gradually declined as the social situation in Japan stabilised. In March 1950, when the Australian Cabinet decided to withdraw BCOF entirely, there were only about 2,300 servicemen remaining in Japan (Simmonson, 1992: 22). However, the start of the Korean War in June 1950 reversed the previous decision to withdraw, resulting in a continuation of the Australian presence in Japan. Subsequently, the number of Australian troops was increased to take part in the

2A detailed description and analysis of the BCOF organisation and structure can be found in the Second section of Kure Shishi Vol. 8. This section was published by the author, Takeshi Chida, in 1997 as a book (Chida, 1997). Also see Grey (1990; 1997) and Bates (1993).
Map. 1
British Commonwealth Occupation Force area, Japan, 1946-48

Source: J. Grey (1990: 199)
British Commonwealth Forces, Korea (BCFK), which itself was a part of the United Nation Forces. The troops destined for Korea were in Japan on a different basis and for a different purpose, and consequently their relationship with Japanese civilians were different from those of the first occupying troops. After the cease fire agreement in 1953, it was inevitable that the Australians would eventually leave Japan. Scaling down of the camp followed. In November 1956, the last group of servicemen of BCFK left Kure and the ten-year Australian military presence in Japan came to an end.

**Kure**

Until the end of the war, Kure had been one of the four major Japanese Naval bases. Kure boasted one of the most advanced ship building yards where the legendary battleship, *Yamato*, was built. Kure also had aircraft building factories since the Japanese Navy included an air force capability. The Naval cadet school to train future Naval officers was established on Eta-jima, an island off Kure. It was said that 100,000 workers were employed in the naval facilities and 50,000 in aircraft facilities at their height. Thus, the working population of Kure was an interesting mixture of career military servicemen, sailors, engineers, technicians and factory workers, all of whom were fiercely proud of the Japanese Navy tradition. However, a series of air raids by the U.S. forces in July 1945 resulted in extensive destruction to the township and port facilities, including the ship building yards and aircraft factories. Furthermore, the breaking up of the Imperial Navy after the defeat brought about a sharp population decline in Kure. Just before the beginning of the BCOF occupation, the town population had declined from 400,000 to 150,000. When the Australian soldiers arrived by boat in February 1946, their first sight was of the port, littered with sunken naval vessels. People in Kure were still coming to terms with defeat and trying to survive day-to-day in the burnt-out town where the major source of employment had completely disappeared.

**Initial contacts with American occupation forces**

Before the arrival of the BCOF servicemen, the Kure area was initially occupied by the Americans who had arrived in October 1945. Although the period of occupation by the American troops in the Kure area was short, they left strong impressions with the local residents as the first foreign troops stationed in the area.

Before the Americans' arrival, several instructions were issued by Naval Headquarters to the population in Kure in order to calm local anxiety and to ensure order for the incoming forces. These instructions clearly indicated that the Japanese administrators did not know

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3 The key naval bases were called *chinjufu* and the other three bases were Yokosuka, Sasebo and Maizuru.

4 *Yamato*, the largest battle ship ever built, was completed in December 1941. After taking part in the battles of Midway, the Phillipine Sea and Leyte, it was sent to Okinawa and sunk in April 1945.
Fig. 3.1: Devastated landscape of Kure City in 1945.

Fig. 3.2: A Kure street on the day the US Troops landed (7 October, 1945).
what to expect of the Allied soldiers. Just to be on the safe side, the residents were discouraged from initiating any contact with members of the occupation forces. Some of the instructions read as follows (translation mine):

In order to avoid misunderstandings with the arrival of many foreigners who have different customs, habits and language, the following instructions are listed.

- It is important for each individual as a Japanese national to handle the situation with dignity and with pride.
- Communicating with a smattering of English might cause problems, so it is better not to say anything.
- Women should wear monpe trousers and should not expose their skin, bare feet or breasts.\(^5\)
- Women and children should not stare at, laugh at, or wave handkerchiefs at the occupation soldiers.
- Do not go outside alone. Try to avoid walking outside at night.
- In emergencies, ask for help by running outside or shouting loudly. Try to remember the intruder's ID numbers and any characteristics, and report to the authorities as soon as possible.

With these instructions, cards were distributed to each household. People were to show them to the soldiers when they did not know what to do. The card which was written in both Japanese and English and the Japanese instruction said that "Attached card is to show to a foreigner when he trespasses into your house and demands something." The English section reads as follows:

"To the Men of the Allied Troops.
The order of the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces states that all negotiations regarding buildings, houses, automobiles, etc. should be done through the Central Liaison Office and not directly by private individuals" (Kureshishi-hensan-iinkai, 1995: 308-9).

\(^5\)Monpe trousers were made of cotton and worn as working gear in the fields. Women were probably instructed to wear trousers in order to protect their chastity."
Fig. 3.3: Kure children playing in front of a shack built on the burned-out city in 1946.

Source: Kureshishi hensanshitsu (1996: 34)
Americans soldiers also initially anticipated that they would have to face fierce resistance from the Japanese population. However, soon after their arrival, they realised that the Japanese had no intention of carrying on the fighting. Similarly, Kure residents were relieved to learn that the occupation soldiers were not "demons and beasts" as they had been told during the war. On the contrary, many of them expressed their friendliness towards the civilian population by giving away chewing gum and chocolate to local children.

While the instructions to avoid direct contact with the Americans were being issued to the general population, the Japanese authorities were swiftly arranging prostitutes for occupation soldiers. According to local newspaper reports, the central government in Tokyo directed the Hiroshima Prefectural Office to organise brothels for the occupation soldiers on 17 August, only two days after the declaration of defeat. It was difficult to recruit the women at the beginning because they were too scared to sign up for the job, but the first group of prostitutes was sent by boat to an American battleship moored near Kure at the end of September. After four or five hours, the women happily came back with chocolates and cigarettes given to them by the sailors. Soon, the women started to engage in direct deals with the Americans. Temporary buildings were built on the shore to provide shelter for these women to conduct their thriving business.6

More organised operations were started in the same month soon after the Americans actually landed. The Hiroshima Prefectural Police requested the local hospitality association to form a branch of the Recreation and Amusement Association (R.A.A.) so that recreational facilities could be established in the vicinity.7 This actually meant the provision of exclusive brothels for occupation soldiers. By providing professional prostitutes for the occupation soldiers, the government officials were trying to protect 'proper and innocent women' from foreign servicemen.8

Since it was difficult to recruit enough women initially, the remuneration was increased by the police to the level that Japanese soldiers had been entitled to. In addition, the women were going to be provided with 4 go (720 cc) of white rice, oil, beef, and sugar daily. The advertisement resulted in successful recruitment, and 500 women had started to work in five "amenity" facilities in the Kure area by October 1945. The scale of the

7The RAA was the national association which covered the entertainment industry, such as dance halls, restaurants and brothels. Half of the funding to run those facilities came from the Japanese government (Sasaki, 1991: 18). See Downer (1999: 124-132) for the origin and organisation of the R.A.A. at the national level.
8Prostitutes were praised half-heartedly in the bureaucracy because they protected ordinary women from the lust of the soldiers by providing "a dike with their flesh" [nikutai no bōhatei].
trade was further expanded and soon 725 women were working in those facilities. One brothel was so popular with American soldiers' patronage, that it operated day and night. However, in December 1945, the R.A.A. facilities were placed out of bounds for Allied soldiers and were forced to close down. When BCOF servicemen arrived in Kure in February 1946, there were no official brothels for the Australian soldiers. Yet, many brothels were operating illegally under the name of 'special lodgings.' The number of the prostitutes soon reached three thousand (Kurseshishi-hensan-iinkai, 1995: 663-6).

By the time BCOF arrived in Kure in February 1946, the residents of Kure had already experienced four months of American occupation. Because of their friendliness towards the general population, the American had generally created a good impression with the town people. One indication of their friendly attitude was that the American soldiers organised baseball matches with Japanese residents (Kurseshishi-hensan-iinkai, 1995: 682-4). Contrastingly, BCOF's attitudes towards the Japanese was characteristically more rigid.

**BCOF's attitudes towards Japanese people**

The war Australia fought against Japan was filled with savage and horrific experiences. The jungle warfare in New Guinea and surrounding islands was extremely difficult for the Australians not just because of geography and climate, but because of the prevalence of diseases among the soldiers. Furthermore, intense hatred towards the enemy was clearly present as we can see in General George Vasey's direction to all his commanders in 1942. It said:

> The Japanese ... are vermin and like vermin they must be destroyed. ... we must not expect the Japanese to surrender. He does not. He must be killed whether it is shooting, bayoneting him, throttling, knocking out his brains with a tin hat or by any means our ingenuity can devise.\(^9\)

In addition, the Australian public were well informed of the atrocities inflicted by the Japanese on the Australian POW's in Rabaul, Singapore and the Thai-Burma Railway. Fresh testimonies were coming out steadily well into 1950's during the series of war crime trials. Thus, notions of the Japanese as violent and cruel people was well planted in the soldiers' mind before their arrival.

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\(^9\) As a naval base, Kure always had a big population of single men. Thus, there was already a thriving brothel trade in the area. It was most likely that the women who responded to the advertisement had previously been working as prostitutes.

\(^10\) David Horner, *General Vasey's War*, (1992: 196), quoted in Nelson (1998: 10). George Alan Vasey (1895-1945) served with the AIF at Gallipoli and on the Western Front during WWI. After the outbreak of WWII he served in Libya and Crete. When Japan entered the war he returned to Australian and from September 1942 served in New Guinea and became an expert in jungle-fighting tactics and led the forces in the Owen Stanley Ranges and the Ramu Valley. He died in an airplane crash off Cairns in 1945.
Chapter 3

Prior to the landing in Kure in February 1946, a brochure with the title, "Your Japan," was distributed among the Australian soldiers. The brochure warned the soldiers not to have high expectations in Japan, and encouraged them to detach themselves emotionally from the local population. It started as follows:

Tomorrow you arrive at Kure---what is left of Japan's greatest naval base. ... Do not expect bands, flag-waving or throngs of cheering people. ... This is a poor country. These are a poor people. Don't expect too much.\textsuperscript{11}

Similarly, a pamphlet, "BCOF Bound," which was distributed among the families of BCOF servicemen before heading for Japan in 1947, elaborated the roles of BCOF from a similar point of view. It said that the aims of the Force were:

Firstly, to represent worthily and to maintain and enhance British Commonwealth prestige and influence in the eyes of the Japanese and of our Allies, and to show to, and impress on, the Japanese, the democratic way and purpose in life. Secondly, the provision of an armed force to carry out Allied policy so that Japan can never again become a menace to world peace. Thirdly, the disarmament and disposal of the equipment of the former Japanese armed forces.\textsuperscript{12}

BCOF authorities believed that it was important to keep a formal distance from the Japanese in order to carry out their aims as an occupation force. In addition, the hostility felt against Japan during the war remained strong among the Australians and this enforced the idea that the Japanese people should be treated with detachment. The Australians had felt more intense anger against the Japanese than against other troops that they had encountered in battle. Furthermore, in the immediate post war period, this anger was sustained by reports of investigations of war crimes and by the testimony of victims before the war crime courts.

Anti-fraternisation policy

Before their arrival in Japan, each BCOF soldier was given instruction on the anti-fraternisation policy through the guidebook, "Know Japan" (Green, 1987). Soon after the occupation troops arrived, the Australian Army seems to have predicted that problems would arise from interaction between the Japanese public and Australian soldiers. Lieutenant General Northcott, Commander-in-Chief of BCOF, issued further instructions against fraternisation to the soldiers in March 1946, only a month after their arrival in

\textsuperscript{11} "Your Japan" 20 February, 1946 (AWM52 8/2/33).
\textsuperscript{12} "BCOF Bound" p.14, (AWM114/130/2/58).
Fig. 3.4: The cover of a magazine, *Illustrated*, which showed two Japanese women bowing to a BCOF (Scottish) soldier.
In these instructions, each member of BCOF was reminded that 'in dealing with the Japanese he is dealing with a conquered enemy who has, by making war against us, caused deep suffering and loss in many thousands of homes throughout the British Empire.' A soldier was instructed that he 'must be formal and correct' towards the Japanese and he 'must not enter their homes or take part in their family life' and his 'unofficial dealing with the Japanese must be kept to a minimum.' Northcott's instructions were included on the page 5 of the guide book for all the servicemen to read.

Although the Army did not state it clearly, it was most likely that one of their main worries was the possibility of servicemen fraternising with Japanese women. Consequently, measures were swiftly taken to avoid the possibility of marriages between Australian servicemen and Japanese women. Specific instructions said that no member of BCOF could marry without the written authority of the Commander-in-Chief. If a marriage ceremony was carried out without permission, it stated that 'all ranks are warned that:

(a) Disciplinary action will be considered.
(b) An Asiatic woman, notwithstanding her marriage to an Australian serviceman will, as a general rule, be debarred admission to Australia.
(c) Dependents' and marriage allowances may in certain cases be withheld.

Thus, it was made quite clear that marriages were prohibited without permission and that applications for permits would almost certainly be refused. If a soldier ignored the rule and married without permission, he could neither go back to Australia with his wife nor support her in Japan.

The swiftness in issuing those policies may have been related to previous experiences of fraternisation by Australian troops. After World War I, Australian soldiers brought back approximately 14,000 brides, children and fiancées mainly from Britain. In the Pacific War, General MacArthur retreated to Australia to command the Allied Forces after the fall of the Philippines. During four years of American presence, many Australian women socialised with American soldiers. Fraternisation between Australian women and American soldiers was not restricted and, as a result, some 15,000 women decided to marry Americans and many eventually moved to the United States as war brides (Potts and Strauss, 1987: 5). There were also some marriages between the Royal Australian

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13 Australian Archives, (A5954/1).
14 Australian War Memorial 130/31 [52a].
Air Force crew and women in Canada and England during the war.\(^\text{16}\) Around the time BCOF arrived in Kure, the newspaper, _BCON_ (British Commonwealth Occupation News), published in the occupied areas for BCOF members, frequently reported the departure of Australian war brides to the United States. Thus, the assumption that fraternisation between the soldiers and local women would eventually lead to marriages for some couples was a reasonable assumption.

**American policy on fraternisation**

The BCOF anti-fraternisation policy needs to be seen against American policy. The contrast between the fraternisation policies of those two nations became particularly distinct in the Kure-Hiroshima area because troops of both nations were stationed in the area at one time. While BCOF headquarters were in Kure, the American continued to use some facilities in the area. Thus, Kure residents interacted with both Australian and American soldiers and observed two different official fraternisation policies towards them.

In March 1946, the commander of the U.S. Eighth Army, General Eichelberger, issued an order defining "public display of affection" between American soldiers and Japanese females as disorderly, and therefore prohibited such conduct. However, this directive was never enforced because of the obvious difficulty of policing it among the troops (Simmonson, 1991: 122). Contrastingly, the anti-fraternisation policy was maintained among the BCOF servicemen and enforcement of the policy was continued well into the 1950s. Simmonson has argued that the difference in the policies existed because BCOF established theirs according to the British tradition of anti-fraternisation with non-British populations in the Empire. On the other hand, according to him, the Americans did not have any strong military precedent for discriminating against civilian population in occupied nations (1991). However, the Americans had a similar restrictive fraternisation policy in Germany because of the fact that they were fighting against Germans before the formal surrender of Germany. As the American policy gradually changed as the occupation progressed, by the time the American troops arrived in Japan in 1945, the American authorities had already adopted a more lenient fraternisation policy than in their initial stages in Europe.

According to Shukert and Scibetta, some roadside signs in Germany said "Be on your Guard. DON'T FRATERNIZE WITH GERMANS", and warned American soldiers who were marching through a country still at war (1988: 123). The tone of the anti-

\(^{16}\) See D. E. Charlwood's book, _Journeys into the Night_ (1990). Charlwood, a RAAF pilot, met a Canadian girl, Nell, while he was trained in Canada. Later they were married and came back to Australia together.
fraternisation orders which were given to American soldiers was very similar to the later Northcott instructions. Order Number 1067 in April 1945 said:

Germany will not be occupied for the purpose of liberation but as a defeated enemy nation. In the conduct of your occupation and administration you should be firm and aloof. You will strongly discourage fraternisation with the German officials and population (Shukert and Scibetta, 1988: 123).

In spite of their original intentions, the American authorities faced problems in enforcing and policing anti-fraternisation. Contact between American soldiers and the local German population was unavoidable because the Allied Forces required local labour for administration and control. The authorities soon became well aware of the level of fraternisation between American soldiers and the local population, especially the female population. Eventually, restrictions on fraternization were lifted. In August 1945, fraternization was allowed in Austria, and in October 1945 the same happened in Germany. In spite of lifting the ban officially, the authorities still tried to discourage fraternisation. Derogatory cartoons were circulated to discourage the friendly interaction between the soldiers and the local women. Some campaigns tried to give the impression to the soldiers that all Germans were ex-Nazis and that all the women had V.D. (Shukert and Scibetta, 1988: 135).

After their experience as an occupying force in Europe, the American authorities in Japan did not issue an official anti-fraternisation order. General MacArthur decided to engage in a more realistic attitude from the early stages and stated that such a ban would not only be useless but unenforceable, and prove "violative of the inherent self-respect of the American soldier" (Shukert and Scibetta, 1988: 189). In September 1949, the General announced that the relationship between occupation troops and Japanese nationals should be the same as that which existed between U.S. troops and civilians in America (Simmonson, 1992: 48). Yet, they were far from officially endorsing fraternisation with the Japanese.

Although a formal anti-fraternisation policy was never issued by American authorities, permission to marry was not easily granted to American soldiers and Japanese women. Furthermore, up until mid-1947, marriages between Japanese women and American GIs

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17 MacArthur had first hand experience of fraternisation with local women. While he was serving in the Philippines in the 1930s, he had a Eurasian girl friend who eventually joined him in Washington, D.C. Their relationship soon broke up.

18 Mary Kimoto Tomita, a Japanese-American woman who worked for the Occupation Forces, wrote vivid and interesting accounts about the fraternisation between American GIs and Japanese women in Dear Miye (1995).
were very difficult due to the immigration restrictions against Asians entering the United States. Then a series of laws were passed in order to make it easier for American soldiers to bring back their Japanese wives, although those laws usually limited the number of entrants and the periods which they could enter the United States. Finally in 1952, the Congress passed the McCarran-Walter Act to allow Asian spouses of American servicemen to join their husbands in the United States indefinitely (Shukert and Scibetta, 1988: 216). There is no exact figure of how many Japanese women migrated to the United States as war brides. Estimated figures range from about 36,000 to 100,000.

Enforcement of the anti-fraternisation policy by BCOF

The actual policing of the anti-fraternisation policy in occupied areas was supposed to be done by patrolling "out of bounds" area, such as illegal brothels and other entertainment areas, by provosts (military police). However, in reality, policing was not carried out thoroughly by the BCOF authorities mainly because strict enforcement was simply impossible. As long as it was done discreetly, visiting brothels was tolerated and sexual encounters were readily available for the other ranks. Ian Wood, who arrived in Kure as part of the first contingent of troops in 1946, wrote that, within a week of their arrival in Kure, he and his troops had attended a lecture given by a medical officer on V.D., and were warned about the disease in "semi-official" brothels in Fukuyama. To his embarrassment as he had been brought up as a strict Baptist, he found his first job in BCOF was to enforce the 11 pm curfew by going into a brothel and telling the clients that they had thirty minutes to catch the last truck home. In contrast, as officers could not openly visit those places, they had to make special arrangements. Allan Clifton, who worked as an interpreter in the early stages of the BCOF occupation, wrote that he helped to arrange for three officers to make a discreet visit to prostitutes at a private house (1951: 23-4).

The result of all of this fraternisation was the spread of V.D. among the BCOF soldiers. Murray Elliott, who went to Japan in February 1946 as a medical officer with part of the first contingent of the BCOF troops, wrote that he gave warnings to the soldiers about the danger of V.D. before the troops left Morotai for Japan. The soldiers were shown 35 mm colour slides of the clinical condition as a part of the "scare tactics" (1995: 16). In spite of the pre-warning, 286 cases of V.D. had occurred as early as March 1946. Concerted efforts by the military authorities proved unsuccessful and the incidence of

19 See also Suenaga (1996: 43-51) for detailed discussion on changes in the immigration regulations in the United States for Japanese war brides.

20 The figure of approximately 36,000 was given according to Suenaga's calculation using Bok-Lim C. Kim's study (1972). The figure of 100,000 was claimed by Shukert and Scibetta (1988).
V.D. increased rapidly among the Australian soldiers. By the end of that December the number of cases had increased to 4,500, which was well above the 32 per cent of the force which the Australian contingent represented (Bates, 1993: 103-4). Thus, the authorities had to make arrangements to prevent further spread of the disease in order to avoid embarrassing publicity in Australia.21

The authorities tried to discourage the soldiers from having casual sexual encounters by introducing various sanctions against those who caught the disease. While offending officers were to be punished by repatriation, punishment for other ranks was often limited to 15 days confinement and no beer ration (Bates, 1993: 104). Some other sanctions included public humiliation of the patients or reduction in their pay. Elliott, however, revealed that those penalties were not followed through. According to him, most officers and padres with urethral discharges, a symptom of gonorrhoea, were not officially documented as having venereal disease, but were labelled as suffering from "non-specific urethritis." As the soldiers called gonorrhoea "the Jack", the hospital accommodation which had to be built to receive V.D. patients was quickly known as "the house that Jack built" (Elliott, 1995: 21).22 Jennie Woods, who went to Japan in 1947 as a wife of a sergeant in the Engineering Regiment, recorded that those men whose blood tests were positive were sent to a V.D. ward in the camp for confinement. She sympathised with the wives of those husbands whose test proved their infidelity (1994: 38).

BCOF and Japanese authorities also tried to control the spread of V.D. by screening Japanese women. Medical checks were carried out regularly among prostitutes. When women wanted to be employed at the camp, they were obliged to take not only T.B. but also V.D. tests.23 Furthermore, any Japanese women seen in the company of Australian soldiers were often regarded as prostitutes and were taken to the police by provosts for a V.D. check. The procedure resulted in humiliating experiences for many innocent women in the area. Woods wrote about a case in which her house girls were forced to have V.D. examinations because they were mistakenly seen as soliciting an Australian soldier when they asked him for directions (1994: 217). Also wrote that Cherry Parker, who arrived in Australia as the first Japanese war bride, had a similar experience of forced V.D. examination and overnight confinement at a police cell after she was picked up by the provost when she was walking with Gordon Parker (1965: 54-55). However, in reality, it was not possible to enforce this policy completely and the provosts would

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21 For further examination of rates of spread of V.D. among BCOF soldiers, see Simmonson (1992).

22 According to Hank Nelson, this expression was used in other theatres of war as well (personal communication).

23 Woods wrote that her house girls had to have such tests (1994: 67). The Australian War Memorial photograph database contains a photograph of five women who were found to have V.D. during a periodic medical examination of female employees (AWM Photographic Database negative number: 132118).
generally turn a blind eye unless cases were serious because they themselves often had Japanese girlfriends.

**Contact between BCOF servicemen and the local Japanese population**

In spite of the anti-fraternisation policy, contact between BCOF servicemen and the local Japanese population was obviously close and frequent. Moreover, those encounters were not limited to the casual sexual encounters which had triggered the explosion of venereal disease among the soldiers. In reality, contact was varied in nature and some of the encounters were genuinely friendly ones for both parties.

1. In the Camp

Kure residents shared their lives with Australian servicemen for almost ten years. During that period, from the Japanese point of view, the BCOF and BCFK camps were important sources of employment. At the same time, BCOF was dependent on Japanese labour in various areas of the organisation in order to run the occupation effectively. Soon after the start of the occupation, a total of about 8,000 Japanese workers were employed by BCOF. As the district of occupation was widened, the number of employers increased rapidly. In June 1946, about 22,000 workers were employed daily in the area of BCOF occupation. The number increased further and reached 42,000 in October of that year. Out of these numbers, approximately, half of them were employed in the Kure area at its peak (Kureshishi-hensan-iinkai, 1995: 669-70).

Initially, the Kure people who had been fiercely proud of the Imperial Naval tradition were reluctant to search for jobs in the BCOF camp because many of them regarded working for the ex-enemy for wages as a disgrace. Fear of the unknown probably played a part in their hesitation, too. However, after the air raids and disbandment of the Navy, there were virtually no jobs in the traditional sectors and people were desperate for food and shelter. Here, the jobs in the camp were a strong incentive for Kure people. The wages in the camp were paid at the standard of public servant jobs plus 10% in the early stage of the occupation, and employees were provided with meals while they were on duty. Those who wanted to find jobs firstly went to the BCOF Labour Office in downtown Kure for interviews before being assigned to positions. Recruitment was also often by word of mouth and by introduction from other workers. Mrs. Teruko Blair said that she decided to work in the officer’s mess in the camp as a waitress because she could

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24 The importance of BCOF occupation was acknowledged in recently published History of Kure City in which about 440 pages were allocated to BCOF occupation and the BCFK station and the relationships with Kure residents. The section was later published as a book by the principal historian, Takeshi Chida (1997).

25 The wages for the Japanese workers who were working for BCOF were paid by the Japanese government.
have three meals at work and save her ration tickets for the rest of the family. Another ex-employee, Mr. Yasuhiro Satoh, also stated that higher wages and the provision of accommodation and lunch for the male employees in the camp made him decide to look for employment there in 1946. He said that he was initially reluctant to work for BCOF because his father had been killed in the Philippines during the war. However, the necessity to support his family gave him no choice but to take the job. He continued to work in the camp in various capacities until 1956 and looked back on those years with fond memories.

For many women, the camp offered various job opportunities: waitress, house girl, canteen worker, office worker, typist, and interpreter. The main type of employment for women was as house girls, whose duties were to clean living quarters for servicemen and families and to look after their day-to-day needs. Labour intensity was high in the camp. In the early stages of the occupation, one house girl was assigned to every two non-commissioned officers who would not have had such an entitlement back home. Jennie Woods wrote that she and her husband were entitled to have two house girls. When she had a baby, the number was increased to three house girls and a cook.

Mrs. Tomoe (Tommy) Shimizu initially started work as a house girl in the camp at the beginning of 1946. Being widowed during the war, she supported her children by teaching at primary school during the day and working as a midwife at night until the end of the war. She lost her teaching job when male teachers were repatriated. After starting her first job in the camp as a house girl, she soon learned to type and was promoted to typist. She worked in the Transport Company library till the end of 1956. After the Australians left, she worked as a successful insurance agent and is presently enjoying her retirement. She remembered her interaction with the Australian servicemen fondly and they used to call her Tommy. An Australian officer who noticed the scarcity of land in the Kure area had advised her to buy a piece of land as a future investment. She took it in and bought a block of land to build her own house. She was grateful for the advice she was given. At the same time, she jokingly blames the Australian for her smoking habit. She started smoking after she was given surplus cigarettes when she was working at the quartermaster's office.

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26 Mrs. Blair was interviewed by the author. She also wrote a similar account in her autobiography, Osutoraria ni idakarete [Embraced by Australia] (1991: 17).
27 Mr. Satoh was interviewed in Kure by the author on 10 January 1994.
28 Due to restrictions on English education during the war, not many Japanese were fluent in English. However, there was a considerable number of Japanese migrants who returned from the United States before the war to live in the area. Those Japanese American returnees obtained interpreting positions in the BCOF. Mary Kimoto Tomita's account of such a Japanese-American who worked for the American occupation forces as support staff reveals the feeling she had towards Americans and Japanese (1995).
29 Mrs. Shimizu was interviewed by the author on 17 January, 1994 in Kure.
Fig. 3.5: Japanese civilian workers in Kure, mainly women, are loaded onto the back of an open Army truck by BCOF soldiers in 1946.

Source: Australian War Memorial Photographic Database P1205/51/04
In addition to the better wages and the provision of meals, the availability of surplus goods in the camp also attracted Japanese workers. They were occasionally given unwanted goods by their bosses as gifts or were asked to exchange them on the black market on behalf of BCOF members. Mrs. Sadako Matsuda, a war widow with children, worked as a house girl in the non-commissioned officers' quarters. She recalled that she received an old uniform shirt as a gift from an Australian soldier and she altered it to make her own coat.\(^{30}\) Woods and John also wrote that BCOF staff used to give unwanted clothes and medicines to the Japanese (John, 1987: 22-3; Woods, 1994: 37).\(^{31}\) Woods was amazed that unwanted woollen jumpers and cardigans that she had given to the house girls were unravelled and knitted into different styles within two weeks (1994: 176). However, the authorities' official position was to prohibit Japanese workers from receiving any goods from the servicemen, for fear of those goods being sold in the black market. Occasional random checks were carried out at the camp gate to see if any Japanese workers were trying to smuggle out BCOF supplies. John wrote that one of his most capable Japanese female staff was caught in such a check and he had no choice but to dismiss her (1987: 27).

Within the camp, interactions between Japanese employees and Australian servicemen were frequent and both parties retained warm memories of each other.\(^{32}\) However, the house girls were the ones the servicemen and their family remembered most vividly due to their close and daily contacts. Most of the house girls were young single women. It was clear from various sources that many of those interactions between the Japanese women and the Australian servicemen eventually developed into sexual relationships.\(^{33}\) As a result of battle causalities there was a shortage of marriageable Japanese men. Consciously or unconsciously, many young Japanese women would have been aware that if they wanted to talk, dance, flirt, on a date or have a sexual relationship with an

\(^{30}\) Mrs. Matsuda was interviewed by the author on 17 January 1994 in Kure.
\(^{31}\) John wrote that he helped a Japanese couple to obtain penicillin for their sick daughter.
\(^{32}\) This was an overwhelming sentiment among a group of Japanese men who were ex-BCOF employees when they gathered in January 1994 in Kure for me and discussed their experiences in the camp.
\(^{33}\) Woods records many incidents of affairs between those two parties. John (1987), Green (1987) and Elliott (1995) also wrote about the sexual relationships in the camp. It seems that a stigma still exists for women who worked in the camp. When I inquired if I could interview a few female ex-employees of BCOF at the Kure City History Office, I was told it would be almost impossible to find interviewees because the women did not want to be known as ex-camp employees. Although it was not clearly stated, the women were generally assumed to have had sexual relationships with Australian servicemen while they worked in the camp. However, in the end, I was able to interview three women, including Mrs. Shimizu and Mrs. Matsuda, and found out about their experiences of working in the camp for the Australians. I am grateful to the Kure City History Office for its help.
Encounters in Occupied Japan

Fig. 3.6: A Japanese house girl helps an Australian woman in the kitchen in 1948.
uncommitted young man, then it would have to be with a soldier from the occupying forces.34

However, some of the house girls were much older women who were married or widowed and their relationships with the soldiers were quite different from those of the younger ones. Some soldiers affectionately remembered the motherly concern and care that older women showed to those young soldiers. Larry Lacy, who was in the Signals Unit in BCOF wrote as follows: "Many a young man, believing he had left parental control, found his house girl a surrogate nagging mother. Language may have been a problem, but her tone was the same as the one used at home for misbehaviour" (1995: 4). Another soldier, Steve Macaulay, wrote a similar account: "My servant was less a servant than a mother figure. She scolded our untidiness, our layabout habits, our drinking" (1994: 83). Relationships between the soldiers and the domestic staff developed beyond the interaction between the victor and the defeated or employer and employee. Clearly there were exchanges of a wide range of feelings between these two parties.

2. Black market activities

Black market activities caused headaches for the BCOF authorities, but offered the chance to both Australians and Japanese to interact with each other during negotiations over various goods. By the time BCOF arrived in Kure, there were already open black markets operating in various locations in the town, where all kinds of goods were traded illegally outside the official distribution of rations. The Australian soldiers soon started to participate in these activities mainly as suppliers of goods. The scarcity of all types of goods in Japan at that time provided a strong inducement for the soldiers to sell their supplies on the black market for cash. Unfavourable official exchange rates of their military currencies within the camp provided further incentives for them to exchange their goods illegally. Wood wrote that he and his friends spent Saturday nights mainly in "wagging" (selling in black market) their stuff for Sundays and he could sell a packet of chewing gum which cost him 33 cen (100 cen for 1 yen) for 5 yen (1994: 31). Other types of goods which were popular among the Japanese were condensed milk, soap, and cigarettes. Some soldiers asked their families in Australia to send them knitting wool so that they could sell it in Japan.

34 According to the Japanese national census in 1947, the number of men between 20 and 29 years old was 5.77 million, while the number of women of the same age group was 6.78 million. Thus, there was a difference of one million (Enari, 1990: 31). Losses in the Japanese merchant and military ships had been particularly high as 2,346 merchant ships and 66 major warships were sunk during the war (Costello, 1981: 675). Mrs. Teruko Blair remembers that people used to describe the situation in an expression, "A truck-full of women for one young man" (personal communication).
The Australian soldiers used mediators to sell their goods in the black market. Those mediators were either Japanese personnel who worked in the camp, or dealers in the black market. Mrs. Fumika Clifford recounts that many war widows worked as intermediaries from their homes. She said the Australian soldiers often sympathised with the difficulty these women were experiencing and tried to help them by using them to trade their goods.\footnote{Mrs. Clifford was interviewed by the author.} In the more competitive and serious atmosphere of the markets, both the Japanese and the Australians tried to outstrip each other for better deals. Wood remembered that he shook a tin of thin condensed milk in order to sell it as a thickened one. Similarly, Japanese traders remembered that they often cheated soldiers when prices of the goods needed to be converted into pounds and shilling. They claimed that they could take advantage of some Australian soldiers in payments because they were much quicker in converting the currencies in their heads.\footnote{Interviews conducted by the author with the ex-employees of BCOF at Kure in January 1994} However, as Wood recounted as follows, each side was convinced that they were outdoing the other:

The bazaar offered great attractions with Japanese silks and dolls, etc; and we all spent the money we had made on stuff to send home. ... We make our dough off the Japanese, and they certainly make a bit off us. The Japanese would laugh because they thought they were taking us down, and we'd laugh because we thought we were taking them down. We were both happy (1994: 35).

3. Private encounters

Other than in the camp and at the black markets, Australian servicemen had various occasions to meet Japanese residents in Kure and surrounding areas. Some of them met and became friendly with the local residents while they were patrolling or while they were off duty. Although the anti-fraternisation policy prohibited the soldiers from entering private houses, they soon found themselves sitting in the local residents' living rooms for goodwill visits. Wood recounted his many visits to Japanese families outside the Kure area. On those occasions, visiting was carried out without any pretentiousness on the part of the victors. Their intention of the visit was far from the aim "to demonstrate democracy and play a model for Japanese people" as the official occupation policy stated. The Australian soldiers were curious and interested in different peoples and their living style and there were genuinely friendly interactions. In his book, Wood described his first encounter with a Japanese family only three weeks after his arrival. He wrote:

We ate our cut lunch (Army #1) in the street and wended our way to Dr Hirotani's place to wog our stuff. We were met by the family, and after giving a few presents, the doctor asked us inside. Needing no second
bidding, we quickly dragged off our boots and walked in over the matted floor into the room where the fire was (1994: 47).

There, Wood and his friends were offered Japanese oranges and dried catfish by the family and had trouble consuming both of them. They politely declined a further offer of food so that they would not offend their host. Their behaviour was not much different from the way they would have behaved in an Australian home. After receiving some gifts from the doctor, the young soldiers promised to come back again (1994: 47-8). Similar types of friendly encounters by other soldiers were also recorded in Lacy's book (1995: 82 and 128). In those records, it is clear that the soldiers did not seem to care whether their conduct was against the anti-fraternisation policy or not. They mixed with the Japanese people in order to get to know them better.

Contrastingly, some officers seemed to retain more rigid attitudes towards fraternisation. At least, that was what they emphasised in their memoirs. Philip Green wrote that "with very few exceptions the troops' behaviour WAS 'formal and correct'. BCOF was a Force of which every Australian can be justly proud." He further quoted war correspondent and popular author, Frank Clune's sentence: "Our Occupation Forces have succeeded in showing the Japanese, by example, what decent military behaviour means" (1987: 30).

The anti-fraternisation policy was supposed to be applied not only to members of the service, but to their family members as well. Jennie Woods wrote that she was initially well aware of the policy and hesitant to develop personal relationships with Japanese people other than her house girls. At first, she did not know of the existence of the Japanese YWCA because of the anti-fraternisation policy. Gradually, she started to involve herself in YWCA activities in Kure. After a rather hesitant start, she began to teach English to Japanese women at the YWCA and was invited to those women's family homes. She wrote:

Non-Fraternisation was still the edict, but still very amusing (if contradictory), to have an owner-driver pull up beside one, and have him say as he intimated for me to get into the jeep, "You know, you and my wife are such a pair of persistent offenders in this fraternisation affair, you deserve to be sent home. However, keep on with the good work." The husband of the lady who had

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37 There is a clear difference in the tone of the writing of officer's and NCO's. There are some novels written by Australian authors who situated their stories in occupied Japan. See Hal Porter's Handful of Pennies (1958), Mr. Butterfly (1968) and T.A.G. Hungerford's Sowers of the Wind (1954).
Fig. 3.7: A tough-looking Australian sergeant and two Japanese women enjoying a boat excursion in the Kure area.

Source: Australian War Memorial Photographic Database P01813.047
first invited me to join the 'Y', by attending a luncheon at her home, 

Another place where Australians and Japanese had a chance to mix openly was church. 
After the war, with the introduction of Western values, Christianity became popular and 
church attendance by the Japanese had increased. While American Forces redefined their 
fraternisation policy in 1949 and decided to relax the policy further, the Australian 
government maintained its strict anti-fraternisation policy. At that time, Australian 
church ministers who worked in Japan were worried that the attendance of the Japanese 
at their church might be prohibited by the policy. The Chaplain General urged the 
government to allow the continuation of Japanese attendance at BCOF churches and 
argued that this should be permitted in accordance with the policy which stated one of the 
objectives of BCOF was "to illustrate to and impress on the Japanese people as far as 
may be possible the Democratic way and purpose in life."38 The response which was 
classified as top secret was relayed back and approved the continuing attendance of 
Japanese people in spite of the fact that in earlier correspondence the possibility of 
marrige between Japanese women and Australian soldiers had been suggested.39

**Australian servicemen's perception of Japanese women**

From an early stage in the occupation, it was clear that BCOF soldiers saw Japanese 
women differently from Japanese men. In the pamphlet 'BCOF Bound' which was 
distributed to the servicemen before their arrival in Japan, it said that 'The women appear 
to be somewhat different. It has been said that Japan is inhabited by two races, the men 
and the women. The women, firstly, work for their families, and exchange that on 
marrige for working for their husband and their children'40 The Japanese men were 
assumed to be responsible for the wartime aggression by Japan, but the women were 
removed from this responsibility and were seen in the context of a domestic existence.

Such a perception of the two sexes in Japan seemed to have been prevalent among the 
Australian soldiers who were actually stationed in Japan. An intelligence report in March 
1947 said, "... most troops admit of only two categories of JAPANESE--pretty girls and 
'bastards'. Prolonged observation would suggest that this conception is indeed fairly 
widely spread, especially amongst lower ranks."41 The girls were given a general name 
among the soldiers: "moose." This word came from the Japanese word *musume* for

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38 Signal to Commander-in-Chief BCOF from Chief of Staff (AA A816 52/301/295)  
39 "Inward Signal Message" T.O.O. 16194 (AA A816 52/301/295)  
40 'BCOF Bound', p.10.  
unmarried girls. Clifton commented that 'as the girls were the quarry in a great game hunt, the term was singularly apt' (1951: 28).

However, their encounters were not limited to professional prostitutes and amicable sexual relationship with mutual consent. There were numerous reported and unreported cases of rape of local women by Australian soldiers and this side of the occupation was recorded in Clifton's book published in Australia in 1951 (1951: 167). In spite of this record, however, a controversy occurred in 1993 regarding the question of whether rape was actually committed against Japanese women by Australian soldiers in Kure during the occupation. Some ex-soldiers of BCOF wrote to a national paper claiming there was no rape and that women were readily available for sexual encounters. The implication in those letters was that women were so readily available that the soldiers did not need to rape them. One ex-soldier wrote that "A Japanese girl's request 'will you teach me English?' was rapidly consummated with teaching and bedding."

Requests for marriages

It was inevitable that some associations between Australian soldiers and Japanese women would lead to more serious relationships. Eventually, in spite of the anti-fraternisation policy and the effective marriage ban, some soldiers started to explore the possibility of marriage. Applications for permission to marry started to appear soon after the start of the occupation in spite of the announcement of the marriage ban. The first application which was officially submitted to BCOF authorities was by Corporal H. J. Cooke in October 1947 (Kureshishi-hensan-iinkai, 1995: 726). Clifton, however, wrote that he had previously helped to arrange an "official" marriage according to the Japanese law between an Australian medical sergeant and a Japanese woman in 1946 (1951: 90-3).

In 1948, a soldier named John Henderson was sent back to Australia after he told his senior officer that he had secretly married a Japanese woman. Back in Australia, he appealed to the Return Soldiers League to assist him to bring his wife and child back to Australia. His appeal was reported in the media, but his application for recognition of the
marriage was rejected. The then Labor Government Minister of Immigration, Arthur Calwell, publicly expressed his objection to and disgust about fraternisation which led to Henderson’s marriage application. He stated that ‘while relatives remain of the men who suffered at the hands of the Japanese, it would be the grossest act of public indecency to permit a Japanese of either sex to pollute Australian or Australian-controlled shores.’

In spite of strong opposition from some sections of the government and public, more applications started to appear. Among those, Gordon Parker’s plea to bring his wife and two children to Australia was well publicised by the media. I am going to examine this media perception in Australia in detail in Chapter 5. Around the same period, pleas for admission of non-European spouses of Australians, such as Annie O’Keefe and Lorenzo Gamboa, were also given extensive media coverage and admission was eventually granted to them by the government (Sullivan, 1993). The government felt pressure to change its policy as the Peace Treaty was negotiated and trade relations with Japan seemed certain to develop. Whatever they thought about Japanese men “polluting” Australian soil, Australians certainly wanted to export wool to Japan.

In March 1952, a month before the Peace Treaty officially became effective, Japanese women who were married to Australian soldiers were permitted to enter Australia by Harold Holt, who had replaced Calwell as Minister of Immigration due to the election of the new Menzies Government. Originally, Holt expected the number of women who would seek entry to Australia to be around a dozen. However, the government soon found out a much larger number of soldiers started to place their applications. Especially after Cherry Parker’s arrival in Australia as the first Japanese war bride in June 1952 had been well received in the media, the number of application increased dramatically. By the time the Australian presence in Japan ended in November 1956, about 650 women had migrated to Australia as wives and fiancées of Australian soldiers.

**Bringing the brides home**

The actual process of granting official permission for Australian servicemen to marry Japanese women has not been well documented. However, according to the oral accounts I have collected, cautious and often discouraging attitudes towards marriage was rejected.

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45 AWM 114 [475/2/1] and Chida (Chida, 1993: 569).
46 Argus, 10 March 1948.
47 Argus, 31 March 1952.
48 There is no detailed record of how many Japanese women married Australians and migrated to Australia. However, according to Kure City Office records, there were 650 Australian-Japanese couples. (Chida, 1993: 565). Some more marriages occurred in Tokyo where BCOF had a small base. Out of those couples, not all of them moved to Australia. Some stayed in Japan and some others went to Britain. Thus, the number 650 seems to be the most accurate estimate for the number of Japanese war brides who moved to Australia.
Fig. 3.8: Sergeants and their Japanese girl friends at a dance party in the sergeants mess near Kure in October 1952. This was the first time the members could invite their Japanese wives and friends to the mess.
Fig. 3.9: Sergeant G. C. McCaughey and his Japanese bride Fumiko Isumizawa cutting the wedding cake at their wedding reception.
applications were evident in the authorities. Numerous forms needed to be submitted to the military authorities in order to obtain permission to marry and bring a Japanese wife back to Australia. In addition to this documentation, the wives had to have thorough medical check ups.

Robert Wollard, who was a senior officer in the Signals Unit between 1953 and 1954 gave me a first hand account of somebody who actually organised the process. After an application for marriage was lodged by a soldier, it was customary for an officer to make some informal inquiry usually to the sergeant major about the applicant’s personality and seriousness of his intention. Subsequently, he explained to the applicant the implications of bringing a Japanese wife to Australia when hostility toward Japan was still strong among the general public. At the same time, a character check up was done on the woman and her family by the Japanese police. The neighbours of the family were visited by the police and interviewed in order to confirm that the woman was socially respectable and not an opportunist who wanted to marry an Australian just to get out of the country. Also, it was checked whether any of the family members were engaging in communist activities.

When the background research proved the woman to be acceptable, she was interviewed by a senior officer at the camp. Originally, the Brigadier carried out this task, but soon, the number of women who needed to be interviewed grew too great for one person. Wollard, as an conscientious officer, interviewed each woman with an interpreter in his office not just once but three or four times in order to find out whether she was "genuine." Usually, their mothers were also present and their presence occasionally caused problems when the daughter started to argue with her mother in order to defend her intention to marry an Australian during the interview.

In those interviews, officers explained cultural differences between Australia and Japan and tried to convey realistic pictures of life in Australia. Wollard realised some women had rather too "glamorous" views of Australia with "flash cars and flush toilets." Mrs. Teruko Blair confirmed this and said a woman who was to be interviewed after her believed all the houses in Australia had the grand staircases similar to those in the

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49 Mr. Wollard was interviewed by the author on 15 September, 1997 in Canberra. Hardly any records were kept on the process of granting marriage permission. According to Mr. Wollard, it was the Army’s intention not to keep records on the process so that these records would not incriminate the women in the future.

50 This information was given to me by Mrs. Ritsuko Foster, and Mr. Wollard confirmed it. Mrs. Foster was very proud of the fact that she was granted permission to marry after the strict character check-up by the Japanese police.

51 Mrs. Fumika Clifford, who married an Australian soldier, Johnny Clifford in October 1952, remembered that she had to stand in a long line with their daughter to be interviewed at the camp.
Hollywood film, "Gone with the Wind." Wollard, however, remembered most of the women as fairly practical and merely "looking for a better life after a hard life in Japan during the war." The women were interested in finding out more information on the Australian way of life and asked him questions regarding food, cooking, schooling and fashion. When those interviews concluded successfully, permission to marry was granted by the Army.

Once the marriage became possible, the relationship between an Australian serviceman and a Japanese woman was formally recognised. Now, they could attend official functions in the Camp as a couple. In October 1952, a dance party was held at the Headquarters Australian Army Components Sergeants Mess. This was the first time that the servicemen were officially permitted to invite their Japanese wives and girlfriends to a function. Similar parties were organised for Christmas and New Year Eve of that year. The Japanese wives, children and girlfriends attended the parties in their best dresses with their proud partners. Mrs. Yoshiko Partridge who attended the New Year Eve party recalled that everyone had a great time that night.

In order to prepare the Japanese women for their new life, the Australian Army established a bride school within the camp in Kure in January 1953. A similar type of service had already been organised in the Kure area by the Canadian Army in July 1952 for the Japanese brides who were preparing to leave for Canada. Also the Red Cross organised training courses for Japanese wives of American servicemen and two thousand brides took such courses between 1951 to 1954 (Spickard, 1989: 139-40). In Kure, the lectures were given through interpreters by Australian staff who worked in the YWCA. Miss Nell Stronach, one of the teachers, said that the women were taught "shopping conditions, western hygiene, the wearing of western clothes and cooking" in the classes. Some women whom I interviewed during my research attended those classes. Mrs. Clifford learned to cook chops and Irish stew and Mrs. Blair remember attending a fashion show to learn about the current women's fashion in Australia.

52 Mrs. Blair was interviewed by the author.
53 Photographic record of the first party are in the Australian War Memorial Photograph Database (Negative numbers: 148091, 148093, 148094, 148095, 148096).
54 Photographic record of Christmas party are in the Australian War Memorial Photograph Database (Negative numbers: 148263, 148264, 148265, 148266, 148267, 148269, 148270, 148273, 148274). Photographic records of the New Year Eve Party are in the same database (Negative numbers: 148273m 148274, 148275).
55 Letter from Mrs. Yoshiko Partridge to the author, April 1998.
56 Sydney Morning Herald, 6 January, 1953.
58 A newspaper article which included Nell Stronach's interview was provided for me by Mrs. Yachiyo Ryan of Canberra in December, 1995. The article was probably written in 1953 and published in an Australian newspaper.
Fig. 3.10: A group of Japanese brides gathered in 1952 to listen to an Australian sergeant’s talk about Australia, in order to prepare for their new lives in Australia.
The departure of the Japanese war brides to Australia started in June 1952 when the first bride, Cherry Parker, left Japan. Larger numbers of the women started to migrate to Australia in the next year and there were several "bride ships" organised for those war brides whose husbands or fiances were still in the military services. A few boats in the early 1953 carried more than thirty women as well as their children from Japan to Australia. The departures and arrivals of those boats were often reported in the press in both countries and the public was aware of the movement of those women between the two countries. In Chapter 5, I will analyse the media perception of the women's arrival in Australia.

Women who were left behind
By the time that Australian military presence ended in November 1956, about 650 women had migrated to Australia. At the same time, many women who had relationships with the Australian servicemen were left behind in Japan. Most of them had been hoping to join their husbands and boyfriends in Australia, but never heard the good news from Australia. Some decided not to leave Japan mainly because of their responsibility to their own families. In the end, they had to re-establish their own lives on their own in Japan. It is impossible to estimate the number of those women, but the number of children whose fathers were identified as Australians was known. According to a survey carried out by the International Social Service of Japan in 1959, there were 52 children whose fathers were Australian servicemen, living in the Kure area. Most of those children had to face enormous difficulties in the society where they grew up. Their mothers often had serious economic problems in caring the children by themselves, and some left the children with their grandparents to be brought up. Furthermore, the fact that they were mixed-blood and that their fathers had left them cast a strong social stigma on those children.59

Conclusion
From the foregoing, it has become clear that the interactions between Japanese people and Australian servicemen were frequent and close even though an anti-fraternisation policy was enforced officially by BCOF for many years. I have demonstrated that some intimate and serious relationships between Japanese women and Australian soldiers

59Ms. Yone Itoh, social worker who worked for the International Social Service in the 1950s and 1960s in Kure, was interviewed by the author in 1994 and 1995 in Tokyo. She put her effort into establishing welfare and scholarship funds for the mix-blood children who had financial problems. With substantial assistance from the Ferguson Fund which was established in 1964 in Australia, the service assisted many children to continue their education and establish their careers.
emerged not as exceptions but as a natural progression of the interaction between those two parties. However, the feelings between them were not readily welcomed by the authorities and they had to cross several hurdles before the women were admitted to Australia as brides of Australian servicemen. In next chapter, the first section of the four life histories of the Japanese war brides will be presented. The women narrate what it was like to live through the period of the war and occupation and how they made up their minds to marry Australian occupation soldiers. Their narratives also reveal how their families reacted to this unconventional decision.
Chapter 4
Marrying Australian Soldiers

I have selected life histories of four Japanese war brides and am going to present them in this chapter and two later chapters (Chapter 6 and Chapter 8). The names of the women are: Kiku Brown, Kazuko Roberts, Tomiko Cooper and Toshiko Hudson. I chose those four life histories because of the variety they offer: ages, backgrounds, localities, husbands' backgrounds, types of marriage, and numbers of children.

Each life history starts with a section where I note how I met the woman and give some background to the interview. Then, each life history is divided into three stages chronologically and discussed in detail over three chapters, tracing the women's movement from Japan to Australia and from past to present. In this chapter, I discuss the women's lives in Japan until the time when they were ready to leave for Australia. In chapter 6, the women's lives in Australia are presented, focusing mainly on the initial stage when they were adjusting to the Australian way of life. In Chapter 8, their lives in later years will be presented. In this last narrative chapter, women are going to talk about their lives after their children have become independent. Two women talk about their widowhood.

By tracing four Japanese war brides' trajectories from Japan to Australia in the past fifty years or so, I hope readers can understand the kind of specific situation each woman found herself in and what options each woman did and did not have. Furthermore, I hope to convey how they now reflect on the decisions that they have made.

After presenting the life histories, I will discuss them. Here, occasionally, I would like to draw on other life stories which I have collected. As we all aware, none of us have exactly the same life experience and each of our stories is unique. However, it is possible to generalise about the war brides' experiences to a certain degree due to the commonality in time, place and transitions.

I have reproduced their life histories by using "I" in the style of self-narratives instead of describing them as "she" and inserting quotations. In order to present life histories that are comprehensible to readers, I believe the style I have chosen is the most effective. These are intimate personal narratives and the first person singular is most able to convey

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To protect their privacy, most of the women have asked that their real names be suppressed. I have therefore used pseudonyms for all the names in the three life history chapters. Two women, here not represented under their real names, had written autobiographical articles for publication in Japanese. Where I have quoted from those articles, I have changed the names which had appeared to be consistent with the names used in this thesis.
this. The interviews I carried out lasted many hours and it is impossible to produce them verbatim in this thesis. Furthermore, almost all the interviews were carried out in Japanese and their words needed to be translated into English. During the interviews, topics often did not follow chronologically but jumped about from past to present and back again. All the normal repetitions, hesitations, personal tricks of speech, and non-grammatical but perfectly understandable abbreviations of conversation occurred. While readers should be aware that the narratives in these chapters are the ones reproduced in English by me, I have tried to adapt the style of Japanese speech of each woman used to tell their stories as much as possible, and I have not inserted my interpretation on what they said in their narratives.

I am also aware that the timing of the interviews influences what the women said. Kazuko Roberts was widowed less than a year before the first interview and Tomiko Cooper knew that her husband was suffering from terminal cancer. Kiku Brown was wondering whether she should get back with her ex-husband when I interviewed her. Those circumstance certainly affected what they said and how they perceived their situations. These were obvious and significant personal influences: no doubt other specific influences were also at work.

In the discussion, I will focus on the women's motivation for marriage and examine if the previously suggested rationales fit the women's narratives. I will also explore aspects of selfhood in relation to their unconventional decisions to marry occupation soldiers.

Kiku Brown

Encounter and interviews
Mrs. Kiku Brown is the eldest of the four war brides, approaching eighty years old. She is an energetic woman with a voice full of life and she looks and sounds much younger than her age. I met Kiku for the first time in 1993 in Melbourne when the first Japanese War Bride convention was held in Australia. She was attending the convention with her friends from Adelaide. When some of the interstate participants went for an excursion the day after the convention, she sat across the aisle from me in the coach. In the coach, she was dozing off probably because she had stayed up late the night before, catching up with her friends. She looked nothing but an ordinary old lady who tended to nod off frequently in moving vehicles. After the excursion, I was invited for dinner at the house where Kiku was staying, so we went there together in the same car. To my surprise, she started to tell me about her experiences during the war as soon as we got into the car.
Soon after I returned to Canberra, Kiku sent me her hand written essay in Japanese with an English title "Life Story of an Aging War Bride," which told of her life with her Australian husband. I kept in touch with her by mail and met her again in Hawaii in 1994 when the first international war bride convention was held. I travelled to Adelaide in February 1995 to interview her and other war brides in the area. I stayed at her house where I met her eldest daughter and carried out interviews. The life history which is rendered here is the result of those interviews. She organised a meeting with another war bride in Mt. Gambier for me and travelled eight hours with me by coach. In Mt. Gambier, we stayed at a motel one of her daughters was managing, so I had a chance to see another daughter and her family as well. I met Kiku again in Japan in 1997 at the second international convention.

Kiku's story

I was born in 1919 in Kagawa Prefecture on Shikoku Island as the eldest child of eight. I had two brothers and five sisters. My father was a land owner in a farming village. The family also ran an indigo dye production business, indigo dye being a well known local product. My mother's family was from the samurai line. She was better educated than my father and was respected as a women's leader in the community. She was the head of Kokubō Fujinkai [National Defence Women Association] before and during the war. We had a big problem at home. My father indulged in drink and women and wasted the family's wealth for his own pleasure. My mother had to endure all the financial problems and cope with a series of young women my father had relationships with. As the eldest in the family, I felt responsible for the family and wanted to do something. However, at the same time, I did not like watching my father act selfishly and my mother suffer. I felt sorry for my mother and disgusted with my father.

As soon as I finished my schooling, I left Kagawa for Osaka to look for a job. I was about 15 years old. It was more like a revolt against my father. I just did not want to be in the same house with him. My parents did not oppose my decision to move out. Maybe, my mother understood how I felt in the family. Initially, I stayed with my relatives in Osaka. Luckily, I could find a job in the local news section at the Mainichi Newspaper as a junior office assistant. My job was to serve tea to the staff and do odd jobs for them, but I also had the chance to mix with journalists. I started to have an interest in writing and wrote a few essays. I also met several reporters from Mainichi's Tokyo office and began to dream of moving to Tokyo.

In 1938, I did shift to Tokyo. I was 19 years old then. I applied for a job at the Mainichi office there and luckily I could find the same type of job that I used to do in Osaka. At the office, there were opportunities to learn other types of jobs and I started to work more
closely in reporting. In addition, there was a chance to learn film production. I worked as a sound engineer for news reels adding the sound of artillery to the film. I also edited a short film, "Jack and the Bean Stalk" and felt very proud to see my name in the credits.

When I was in Tokyo, I met a university student. Although it was difficult to date openly around that time, we became very close. Japan was approaching war and the general atmosphere in society was getting more and more tense. People frowned upon anybody who was having a good time. Eventually, we got engaged secretly because we could not expect his family to be happy with our marriage. He came from an academic family. His grandfather was a president of a university in Kyoto. On the other hand, I came from a farming family in the countryside. It was clear that the difference between those two families was too great. We started to live together and contemplated emigrating so that we could marry in spite of his family's opposition. Then the war started and my fiance was conscripted into the Navy. I decided to volunteer for the Navy as a civilian worker and received training as a typist. Luckily, both of us were posted to the same place, Manokwari in Dutch New Guinea in 1942. Japan was winning the war then and we went to New Guinea with the advancing forces. In Manokwari, we could spend some time together. People knew that we were planning to get married and were quite generous in permitting us to see each other after work. That was my happiest time.

By 1944, Japan started to lose the war and Manokwari was bombed heavily. In one air raid, we were evacuated to a bomb shelter. My colleague who was sitting next to me offered to swap places and the next moment, a bomb hit the shelter. The colleague who was sitting in the position where I had been till a moment before was killed instantly. How lucky I felt! We had to evacuate and I had to return to Japan by boat. During the trip, the boat was followed by a submarine which tried to torpedo us. The boat had to weave to left and right in order to evade the torpedos. I was totally terrified. I thought the end had come for us. Luckily, we survived the ordeal. When we stopped in Manila, I saw a woman's body floating in the harbour. Initially, I thought she was clutching onto something, then I realised that her lower half was missing, probably eaten by a shark. We finally reached Tokyo unharmed. I really felt I had strong luck then.

Back in Tokyo, I stayed with my fiance's mother towards the end of the war. She had been living alone since her younger son was also sent to China and we had a reconciliation. We experienced air raids and were burned out. Eventually, we heard that my fiance was sent to Ambon from Manokwari and later he was killed there. I was working for a department store after the war as a typist, but the GHQ found my name on the list of typists in the Philippines and I was taken to the Sugamo Prison to be interrogated. Although they did not find anything suspicious about me, this incident
really scared me. My fiance's mother wanted to move to Kyoto to be with her own family. There was nothing to keep me in Tokyo, so I decided to come back to Kagawa.

In Kagawa, I started to work in a local branch of Mainichi as an editor, checking articles to see if any of them violated censorship, and that was how I met Mick. He came to check ammunition stored in Wadajima and visited the Mainichi branch. At that time, I was asked to look after him and his colleagues because the newspaper staff thought I could speak English. Mick had learned some Japanese and could speak the language a little. His Japanese sounded rather charming to me. After the first visit, he came to the office whenever he visited Wadajima. Soon he said he could not visit the island any more and had to move to Okayama. I went and visited him once or twice a month in Okayama. He would usually write me a letter in katakana and tell me where to meet. We usually met at a station and spent time at an inn. Eventually, we decided to rent a house in Okayama and I moved in. In the mean time, I resigned from the Mainichi. When he was transferred to Kure, I followed him. We rented a house there and Kimiko, my daughter was born in Kirikushi near Kure. Mick became a father when he was only twenty-one. He did not know I was seven years older than he! He never asked my age!

I really enjoyed the time I was dating with Mick. During the war, we had a hard time. With my fiance in Tokyo, I could not date openly. After the war, food was scarce and life was tough. I sometimes felt self-conscious dating a foreigner, but there were many couples like us. We wanted to be with those occupation soldiers because there were not enough young men for us then. Also the soldiers were open and happy and enjoying themselves. In contrast, Japanese men seemed to be dragging dark shadows with them. Occupation soldiers also had money. No wonder many women felt attracted to those men. If some people talked behind our back, I thought they could talk as much as they wanted, but their talk did not hurt us. Mick did not tell me much about Australia, but when he said Australia was not so far from Bali, I remembered my fiance who was killed in Ambon. I remember feeling closer to him by associating with somebody from Australia.

I did not tell my parents about Mick till I had a baby. I used to tell them that I was visiting my female friend in Okayama. How could I tell them that I was living with a foreign soldier? I am sure they were concerned, but they also knew I was not the type of girl who would stay at home. If a quiet girl started to do a similar thing, they would of course be worried, but I had already left home before. So maybe they were more or less resigned.
Our baby was born in December 1948 and we named her Kimiko. We named her after our own names. Kiku’s "ki" and Mick’s "mi" and "ko" for a girl. Kirikushi was a good place to live because there were no MPs there. Also the pay Mick brought back from the army was good and we could rent a big house for one pound a month. You asked me why I wanted to have children when I knew I could not go to Australia with Mick. I had heard of so many cases where an Australian soldier left Japan for Australia and his girlfriend and child did not hear from him again. I heard of that more than enough. But when I look back, I wanted to have children for something I could live for. I was already getting old and there was no prospect of marrying a Japanese man and having children with him. I did not have any other man who I could think of marrying. Of course, there was no possibility of an arranged marriage for me. So I thought children would prop me up even though we would face difficulties. The fact the children were mixed-race did not worry me much. There were many mixed-race children around, especially in Kure and Tokyo. I did not worry how those children would be treated in Japan because there were so many of them.

If Mick left us, I thought I could work and support myself and my children. I used to work for a newspaper company and had supported myself in Osaka and Tokyo. So I was confident that I could work. I did not worry how I could manage with young children. When the worst comes to worst, I knew I could resort to my family. In reality, they were so nice to us. They really treasured my children.

When I became pregnant with the second child, we seriously thought of having an abortion. Mick urged me to have abortion. By the time we went to see a doctor, the pregnancy was too advanced for a routine abortion. I guess the doctor could have performed the operation if we had insisted, but he persuaded us against the idea. He was a religious Buddhist and said "I can perform the abortion if you would die from the childbirth. But you are a healthy woman. You never know what will happen in the future. Let the baby be born." He was born in August 1949. At the end, this baby, Andrew, became a very successful businessman and looks after me very well. So you really don’t know, do you?

Mick was sent to Korea when the Korean War started. I went back to my mother’s place in Kagawa with my children. My family welcomed us warmly. After two months, Mick came back and wrote to me to join him in Kirikushi again. Although I was happy then, I was constantly worried about him abandoning us. I heard so often that so and so was left behind by a soldier and ended up crying. I did not think I wanted to be with him because I was attracted to his personality or to Australia. It was more a show of the feeling of people in the defeated nation to those of the victorious nation. I just did not want to
worry about where the next food and clothes would be coming from. Mick as a young soldier wanted to enjoy himself and occasionally had casual affairs with other women. Sometimes he made it clear that he did not want to be tied down with a family.

Finally, the transfer order arrived for Mick and he had to go back to Australia. Although Japanese wives were not allowed into Australia then, there was some prospect that permission would be given in the near future. Mick told me to wait until permission was given and he promised to apply to bring me and the children to Australia.

In December, 1951, Mick left Japan for Australia. The night before he made love to me and promised to bring me and my children to Australia. But I was not sure whether he really meant it. All soldiers said the same thing, and I knew they did not always keep their word. I had no choice but to go back to my mother’s place to look for work. On the day of departure, I went to see him off at the pier in Kure. I wrote the address of my mother’s in Kagawa on a piece of paper and gave it to him. The children and I were going to stay there in the mean time. But, I was not sure if he would keep the paper with him. If he decided to throw it away in the sea, then that would be the end of our ties. I was so sad to see him go that I cried out loud when I saw him off.

We went back to Kagawa to be with my family. They welcomed us warmly and treasured my children. I thought I should go away to look for a job in order to support myself and children. I went to Osaka by myself to look for a job, but I came back before long because I missed my children too much. One day, after a month and half, Mick’s letter arrived. It said that he had started the process of bringing us to Australia. I was so happy to know that he had not abandoned us. I could not help showing the letter to whoever visited us and telling them that he did not leave us behind after all. I told myself that as a Japanese, I should make myself into a respectable housewife when I settled in Australia. Also I decided to be helpful to my parents-in-law even if various difficulties were presented to me. Mick regularly sent us 40,000 yen a month and that was more than enough for us to be comfortable.

At that time, the main thing I knew about Australia was that there were many sheep there. I had heard of the White Australia policy, but I did not really know what it meant until I settled in Australia. At that time, I did not think Japanese would be discriminated against in Australia. I was happy to leave the hardships of the war and post-war time behind and go to a country where there would no hardship. When I look back I was thinking of going to a dream land where I would not need to worry about finding food. I did not learn English before our departure. I could only think of bringing my two children and
myself to Australia to be with Mick. I was planning to study English once we arrived there, but once I got there it was just not possible for me to do that any more.

Kazuko Roberts

Encounter and interviews
I first heard about Kazuko Roberts from a war bride in Canberra, who knew about Mrs. Roberts' visit to Australia through another Japanese war bride. Kazuko was visiting Adelaide with her sister towards the end of 1992 in order to sort out the estate after her husband had died in Japan without leaving a will. As Kazuko Roberts had gone back to Japan after thirty years in Australia I believed her life story would give diversity to my data. After I contacted her by phone, I promised to visit her in Japan when I went there.

On a very cold day in January 1993, I travelled to Mihara (not the real name) to interview Kazuko. She lived in a small town off a rural railway station which had only hourly services from Mihara. Kazuko Roberts was approaching seventy years old. In spite of her small frame, her strong voice was full of life and she looked much younger, in her well groomed clothes and make-up.

Her house was on the edge of the town. The modern Western style house was built in 1983 by Kazuko and her husband so that they could live with Kazuko's mother and stepfather. There was a spacious living-dining room which was open to the kitchen. During the first interview, Kazuko's sister was sitting in. She was fairly quiet during the interview - she was there to listen. I assumed Kazuko had asked her to be present because she might have been reluctant to meet a stranger (myself) by herself in her house. The first interview lasted for the afternoon, and we were able to go through the questions I had prepared, but I left her house feeling rather dissatisfied because I could sense that Kazuko was not telling me the whole story.

About 15 months later, in May 1994, I had a chance to visit Japan and asked Kazuko for another interview. To my pleasant surprise, the second interview was completely different. When I arrived at her house, her sister was not there and Kazuko was willing to talk about several things which she did not mention at all before or had worded differently. For example, in the first interview, she told me her father died when she was young and that was why her family had moved to Osaka. However, in the second interview, she revealed that her mother had divorced him and left Mihara for Osaka. She also elaborated on the loneliness and isolation she felt in Australia in detail in the second interview.
The life story Kazuko narrated might convey a sad, even desperate, tone to readers. Here, it is necessary to take into account the fact that her husband died suddenly only seven months before the first interview. Although Jack was suffering from a lung disease for a long time, his death was totally unexpected for her and her family. I had the impression that Kazuko was still grieving and had not come to terms with his death at the time of the first interview. She might have been in a state of depression. At the time of the second interview, I sensed that she was not yet completely recovered from the loss. In the latter interview, she repeatedly said that she did not know what to do. She did not feel she was in control, and this comes out very strongly in her story.

After the second interview, we have kept touch. In the mean time, her sister and brother-in-law had decided to move to another town to live with their son and Kazuko finally decided to join them. When Kazuko wrote to me about the move, I got the impression that she was not completely happy with the decision, but did not have much alternative. I informed her of the second international convention of war brides which was to be held in Japan in May 1997 and suggested to her that she meet her friends from Adelaide at the convention. However, she did not respond to my letter for a long time and chose in the end not to attend. She never gave me a reason.

I do not know whether she eventually recovered from the loss of her husband.

**Kazuko's story**

I was born in Mihara in 1926. I was the second child of three: I had an elder brother and a younger sister. When I was seven or eight my parents were divorced and my mother moved to Osaka with me and my sister. My brother was left with the father because he was already in school.

After finishing high school in Osaka I went to a typing school for a year to become a Japanese language typist. I got a job at an insurance company as a typist, but my mother was worried that a heavy Japanese typewriter was too much for me to operate because of my small frame.² So with her suggestion, I changed to a job in a bank after a year.

The war had already started and the bombing of Osaka became likely. My brother was in Manchuria as a civilian worker at that time and he urged us to join him there. He said that there was plenty to eat in Manchuria and that we would not need to worry about food and other goods. So we decided to join him in Manchuria in 1944. We moved all our

²Before Japanese word processors became available in the 1980s, official documents such as insurance certificates were typed by Japanese typewriters. The typewriter contained many Chinese characters in lead type in sets of frames and it needed some strength to press those characters on a piece of paper.
furniture to my mother's sister's house and packed and sent our luggage forward to Shimonoseki. We went only as far as Umeda Station with our suitcases when we heard that the ferry services between Shimonoseki and Korea had stopped operating because of the bombing. We had already moved out of our house in Osaka and did not have anywhere to go back to. So we had no choice but to go back to Mihara where my mother's natal family was.

I was planning to work in Manchuria as I had done in Osaka. I did not realise for a long time, but my mother had arranged to obtain certificates of my qualifications and reference letters from my work for that purpose. She kept them for a long time and I only saw them recently after she died.

We hastily moved into a house which was vacant because the owner was in Manchuria. After the end of the war, the owner came back and we shared the house with him for a while. Eventually, people suggested that my mother and this man marry because he was single and my mother was divorced. So he became my step-father.

When I was a young girl, I really wanted to be a fashion designer. I was always interested in fashion. I used to like strong colours, such as red, white or black. Even during the war, I dared to wear a white coat or red clothes. When I was wearing red, somebody cursed me and accused me of being a traitor to my country! All I was allowed to wear was a mompe and a quilted head-cover made out of my mother's old kimono fabric. People were undisturbed as long as young girls wore something unfashionable. I was seventeen to nineteen years old then and felt miserable in those clothes, but it could not be helped because it was the war. We could not do anything else. The times did not let us do anything else. I hoped the situation would improve in Manchuria, but we could never get there because of the problem with the ferry service.

After the war, I decided to become a hairdresser and went to a training school in Shikoku. I was convinced hairdressing was a profession in which I could make my own living without fail. With several clients a day, you can earn enough to feed yourself. After getting some training at the school, I became an apprentice at a hairdressing salon in Kure, where wives of occupation servicemen came in. That was the time when I met Jack.

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3There were ferry services between Shimonoseki, a port in Western Japan, and Pusan in Korea.
4Umeda is a major railway terminal in Osaka.
5Mompe was traditionally working gear for peasant women in the fields. It consisted of a kimono style top and trousers. Women and children had to have quilted head-covers to protect themselves from bombs during the air-raids.
Jack's real name was John Roberts, but everybody called him Jack. I was introduced to him through a friend who was also a hairdresser. He was three years younger than me. When I met him, I thought his eyes were very beautiful and his hair was almost blond with some waves. He was about six foot tall, not too tall for an Australian, and a keen sportsman. He played Australian Rules football, cricket, basketball, and softball. He was asked if he wanted to be a professional football player before he went back to Australia, but he declined because he liked his pigeons better. He was also good at running and diving. I have to say his sporting ability was one of the things which attracted my attention to him. But I do not think he was particularly more kind or considerate than Japanese male friends I had. But he was certainly keener on me than other male friends.

I had a fun time with him. We went to dance halls and cinemas in Kure for dates. We used to visit those places together because we could not walk hand in hand in the broad daylight and I had to work during the day. I did not think of marrying him at all then. I just enjoyed myself with him and other friends visiting those places. My favourite colour when I met Jack was light blue. I used to wear everything in that colour. Soon, Jack became very serious and wanted to see me very frequently. By then, I had already secured a place for my own hairdressing salon and was preparing for its opening. The shop space was very tiny with a small room at the back and rooms upstairs where I could live. The place was only big enough to fit three mirrors, but I was confident I could support myself with that business. I had not finished my apprenticeship yet, so I was going to employ a qualified hairdresser till I was ready. Then, Jack started to come to see me frequently at the salon. He often passed by the salon and looked in to see me. Since hairdressing was women's business, it was a real nuisance to have this male foreigner hanging around at work. It was clear his presence would affect the business, but he just could not understand it.

Then, something unexpected happened. Jack visited my mother by himself in Mihara to ask for permission to marry me. He came by train with my home address in his hand without exactly knowing where to go. We used to correspond with each other when I was in Shikoku at the hairdressing school through translators. That was why he had my family's home address. My mother did not know anything about Jack because I had not told her about him at all. I was out with my sister when Jack came, so I was shocked to find him with my mother. Then, I had to explain about Jack to her. My mother was of course surprised as well, but she eventually gave her consent. She said, "I did not know that you had been dating him. But if both of you like each other and if Jack can make Kazuko happy, I give my consent. But there is one condition. Kazuko should eventually come back to Mihara to live in the future." She promised to keep the land where the house stood in my name, so that I would have a place to come back to.
I would not have married him if I knew as much as I know now. I would not have gone to Australia, but stayed in Japan and run the hairdressing salon. But I was young then and I kind of liked him. When he came to see my mother by himself, I was moved. So I agreed to marry him. I ended up selling the salon and used the money for our honeymoon because Jack was not earning much then. It would cost a lot more to furnish the space for a salon, and I was originally expecting my Japanese friend to help me with the costs. But by marrying Jack, all the plans had to change. My mother knew I wanted to run a hairdressing salon, but did not object to the change of plan. I guess she thought a girl should marry rather than run a business. In addition, so many things were happening around that period after our move from Osaka. So there were too many things to consider for her. The times were different. People should not judge by today's standards. Everything was different.

We got married in Kobe at the British Consulate and found a house in Kure. Jack did not think about organising a wedding ceremony for us. He did not have much money either. However, my hairdressing teacher said that we should at least have a photo as a memento for the rest of life. So she arranged a photo session for us. She dressed me in a kimono and Jack was in his uniform. I am glad we took this photo. You said he looked very proud in this picture. Jack was simply a nice young boy. Americans used to behave as if they were blase about Japanese people when they walked on the street, but Australians were not like that with us. They were more pure in their relationships.

Jack started to keep racing pigeons in Kure. He ordered cages to be built for them. He never gambled, and his hobby was pigeon racing. So while we lived in Kure, he kept them and raced them.

Of course, I knew that eventually I would have to leave Japan when I married Jack. I was not totally comfortable with that idea, but it was just after the war and there were so many unsettling situations in Japan around that time. I wanted to run away, to tell you the truth. I knew that I would miss my mother for sure, but if I can describe the feeling I had then, it was misery. Everything was desolate and dirty. I think I was too young to think about the implication of marrying a foreigner. So I did not think seriously enough. I could make such a decision only because I was young. I would not recommend to another Japanese woman that she marry a foreigner. I would urge her to marry a Japanese.

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6Jack started to keep racing pigeons there. He became a keen racer and a Japanese newspaper reported his hobby in an article (Name of the newspaper and the date unknown) (AWM114 1301/31).
Jack did not tell me much about Australia before we left. I found out that he was the youngest of twelve children only when we were ready to leave Japan. He must have told me in Japan because I remember buying presents for all his brothers and sisters before we left. You should never marry the youngest child in the family. He can be so selfish. He did not tell me anything about Wine Town either. Well, I did not ask about his hometown because I could not speak English well enough to ask those questions. Jack was in the Signals Unit and working at the Kure Post Office. He could say several phrases in Japanese but not much more then. So I mainly heard about Australia from other Japanese not from Jack. I did not know there was a bride school in Kure for Japanese wives. I did not make friends easily, so I did not know many women who were getting married to Australian servicemen around that time. I tend to think about things by myself and decide on my own. Also I do not talk about my personal problems with others. How can other people understand my problems?

Before I left Japan, I went to an English school in Kure to learn English for about six months. But what I learned there was not very helpful when I arrived in Australia. I did not prepare anything special before I left Japan other than buying some souvenirs for family members and some Japanese dolls which I liked. However, I made sure to order some dresses made at the tailor’s and took them to Australia. They were so good that Australians were very surprised to see them. For almost ten years, they remained fashionable enough in Australia.

Tomiko Cooper

Encounter and interviews
I met Tomiko for the first time at a BCOF national meeting which was held in Canberra in 1992. I met her again in 1993 when I attended the Melbourne war brides convention. On both occasions, Tomiko left me with the impression that she was a cheerful and chatty lady. She was over sixty years old then, but with her mushroom cut hairstyle, she looked much younger. At the convention, Tomiko was the one of the first group of women to join the circle of dancers when Japanese folk dancing was held at the end. I had a chance to ask her some questions the next day during the excursion. She was quite open and told me about her experiences soon after her arrival in Australia. Those stories were repeated in detail during the later interviews with me.

I contacted Tomiko for an interview in 1993 after the Melbourne convention and I visited her at a rented government house. Many pot plants filled most of the space on the front porch. Inside, the house was cluttered and modestly furnished. The first session was going to be held on the day her husband, Paul, was booked in at the hospital for a medical
test. I had just introduced myself and the project when she received a phone call from her daughter, Helen, who had accompanied her father. The test showed that Paul had cancer. Although Tomiko had suspected it, it was shocking news for her. Noting her distress, I left her house soon after.

The plan of interviewing Tomiko was almost abandoned because of her husband's illness. However, in 1994, the second approach was made when I learned that Paul was receiving treatment but otherwise leading almost a normal life. Tomiko agreed to be interviewed and thus the series of interview sessions started in August, 1994. The interviews with Tomiko Cooper turned out to be extensive. The total length of the taped interviews reached almost eighteen hours over six sessions. Besides those interviews, I spent many hours with her talking about her experiences and other general matters relating to her family.

One reason for the detailed and extensive interviews was Tomiko's willingness to reflect on her experiences. Her reflection did not bring about just detailed memories of the past, but also brought about hesitation and regrets of having told her story to me. At the beginning of the fifth session, after spending more than ten hours on the taped interviews, Tomiko started the session with a comment of repentance. She said, "I could not sleep a few nights ago when I remembered all the experiences that I had told you about. I told everything to you as if I was hypnotised." She believed some of her experiences should have been kept to herself. She did not say that we should stop the interview or I should not use the information I obtained from her. It was as if she regretted that she had let a flood gate open to release the memories she had retained just for herself.

During that period, Paul kept a very active social life which was divided between hospital visits and his friends at the local club. He often made comments to us, such as "Those women never stop talking!" Although he could have sensed Tomiko and I were talking about fairly private matter which involved him, he never seemed to be interested in what Tomiko was actually saying. Often, Tomiko did not stop talking even when he was within hearing distance. I never found out whether he did not understand Japanese at all or he did not have any interest in what his wife was talking about. Towards the end of our sessions, I asked Tomiko if I could interview Paul, but her response was negative. Without her consent, I could not approach Paul directly. Also the fact he was suffering from terminal cancer made me hesitate to press my request. In the end, I did not have a chance to ask his side of story. Paul's health deteriorated gradually and he died in June 1996. More than a year after his death, I asked Tomiko why she did not let me interview Paul. Her answer was that she had felt sorry for him because he could not tell me a "nice
caring story about our relationship." However, it was quite clear to me that she felt sorry for herself as well as for her husband.

**Tomiko's story**

I was born in 1927 in a mountain village in Hiroshima as the first child of five brothers and sisters. My father was from a Buddhist priest family and trained to be a priest. My mother went to Hiroshima to study after finishing secondary education and was a well educated woman for that period. When I was young, my father wasted his family estate for his pleasure and we had to move away from the village to Kure in order to look for work. So we all grew up in Kure as a poor family with many kids.

After I finished school at fourteen, I got a job as a junior office assistant in the Kure City Office. The job was very easy. Soon, it became obvious to me that I could not get much further than the assistant's job because of my academic background, so I attended a typing school at night. Once you became a typist, you were a professional. I used to like reading books at the library, too. After a while, my uncle who lived in Kure asked me to work in his office, so I left the City Office job.

Kure was bombed heavily in July 1945 and our house was burnt down in the air raids. Since we did not have anywhere to stay in Kure, we were evacuated to my mother's family village in Hiroshima. Soon the war ended with Japan's defeat. I worked at a local railway station until I saw an advertisement for a typist's position at the main regional office of the railway authority in Hiroshima. The station master recommended me for that position and I was accepted. My father had returned from his military service by then and was in Kure, looking for a job. Originally, I moved in with my father and worked at the Hiroshima office. After a while, I was promoted to be a secretary for the Regional Office Chief, ushering visitors and serving tea for them. I enjoyed that job a lot. I also started to become interested in English because there was a Japanese American working in the same office. I used to practice the English alphabet in the office when I was not busy.

I met Paul around that time in 1947. The way I met him was rather embarrassing to talk about because it was not romantic at all. I met him by chance at the black marketeer's house. My friend's mother was widowed and ran a black marketing business. Many Australian soldiers felt pity for this widow and used to visit her house to sell their goods. When I went there to see my friend, Paul happened to be there with an interpreter to sell his stuff. So our encounter was just by chance. He did not leave any strong impression on me other than as a thin man with black hair. I remembered his distinctive hair line on his forehead clearly, but not much more. I felt quite sure that he was not my type at all.
Soon after I met Paul, I moved into my uncle's house in Yoshiura, near Kure because my father returned to Hiroshima due to his ill health. Since there was a big camp for occupation forces in Yoshiura, we used to see so many American and BCOF soldiers on the street. Children used to say, "Hello! Hello!" to them because the soldiers were walking around with a lot of chocolate and chewing gum in their pockets. At my uncle's house, there were five girls, including my four cousins.

After the initial meeting, Paul became interested in me and started to visit me at my uncle's house. He used to come in the late evenings on his motorbike. He sat in the living room with us girls and enjoyed spending time with us. He could speak a bit of Japanese, and I found it interesting to learn some English phrases in order to use them in our conversation. Once I learned a new phrase and said "what do you reckon?" to him. He just looked at me and burst into laughter. When I asked him why he was laughing, he just said, "nothing." I guess he was surprised to hear a phrase which sounded too colloquial for a Japanese girl.

My uncle did not object to Paul's visits at first. He just told us to keep the house clean before his visits because he believed "White people are clean animals". However, problems started eventually. Paul used to leave the motorbike outside with its engine running. My uncle had to turn it off by taking wires off because the neighbours complained that it was too noisy. Since he was a successful businessman and a community leader, he had to be careful not to cause any nuisance in the neighbourhood. Paul did not understand how we felt about his behaviour. He kept visiting us even if we told him not to. He occasionally came very late at night and signalled his arrival by throwing a small stone at a window of my room. I felt so embarrassed and scared.

I started to feel uncomfortable staying at my uncle's house because of all the problems Paul was causing there. My father knew I was seeing Paul and said to me, "If you want to see that man, do it where nobody has to see." So I felt I had no choice but to move out of my uncle's. Around that time, Paul was transferred from Kure to Hiro. He asked me if I would like to move to Hiro to be close to him. But I had to say I was not in love with him at all then. I just did not know what to do. But you asked me why I moved in with him in Hiro. I did not tell you at the beginning of the interview, but something very important and precious happened and that tipped the scales in his favour.

One day, he brought a pearl ring with him and wanted to put it on my left ring finger. Although I was happy to receive the present, I did not want him to see my finger. When I was still very young, maybe around four year old, I injured my left hand in a car...
accident. Due to this injury, my left ring finger's growth was stunted and it remained much shorter than my other fingers. At first, Paul was puzzled about my resistance. When he realised why I did not want to show my finger, he held my hand gently and said, "Don't worry. Don't worry. You should not worry about it at all. You don't need to hide it." I did not want to tell anybody about this incident. I wanted to keep it to myself, but that was how I made up my mind about Paul. After that incident, he tried to encourage me to show my hand in public. I used to hide my finger with a handkerchief, or used my right hand to hold my handbag. When he noticed that, he used to say, "Left hand," so that I would use my left hand in public. I still do not know why he wanted to put the ring on my left ring finger. Did he want it to be an engagement ring or a marriage ring? I don't have the ring any more. As usual, he must have bought a cheap ring, so it got broken soon after.

The way Paul treated me really moved me. From when I was young, the handicap was a big worry for me. My mother pitied me because of this handicap. When I could not sew as fast as other girls she used to say to me, "Don't worry. If you can marry into a good family, you will not need to sew. You can hire somebody to sew kimonos for your family." Yet, we remained poor and there was not much prospect of marrying into a wealthy family. Paul's words had melted away all the worries I had for so long and had comforted me. That was why I decided to move in with him.

By the time I moved to Hiro to join him, I was not working. Previously, I had asked for a transfer to the Kure regional railway office from the main office in Hiroshima because it was much easier to commute. My colleagues at work knew that I had an Australian boyfriend. Kure was a small place and wherever we went, somebody was watching us. So we used to go to Hiroshima on a date by catching a train. However, the station staff and conductors knew me and saw me with Paul. I was fed up with their comments, so I quit the railway authority and found a job in a bus company. But it was the same there. Bus drivers saw me with Paul on the street and talked about my relationship with him. One driver even told me to "go straight and to get away from an unrespectable life"! Because I had an Australian boyfriend, people put me into the same category with bar girls.

We rented a room in Hiro, but we did not spend much time together. Australian soldiers could not live outside the camp around that time and they had to be back in their compound by midnight. So they could only visit their girlfriends after dinner. As for Paul, he often found himself busy socialising with his mates and only visited me on weekends. I just had to wait and wait. His visits were so far between, the neighbours did not know that I had an Australian boyfriend for quite a long time. I spent more time...
with the wife of our landlord, so the neighbours thought I had married into her household. I knew he drank a lot, but I tried not to worry too much about it because people said that the soldiers could spend money on drinking only while they were in Japan. Once they went back to Australia, they could not afford to drink so much.

I believe most of the women who had Australian boyfriends led much easier lives than mine because the men contributed financially by bringing in various goods for black market trading. It did not happen to me. Paul did not give me any money or goods expect some chocolates and shoe polish, which I kept for my family back home rather than sell them in the market. I knew that marriages between Australian soldiers and Japanese women were banned and the women would not be allowed into Australia. However, I was hoping the entry ban would be lifted when the peace treaty was signed and women would be able to go to Australia just as those who married American soldiers did. Occasionally, I heard from my friends, not from Paul, that the entry ban would be lifted if the government changed.

In December 1949, we held a party at our place in Hiro with a small group of friends to let them know that Paul and I had decided to be together. It was not a wedding ceremony or reception, but we decided to do that mainly because our kind landlord and his wife suggested that we should do something. We invited my uncle and aunt and Paul’s friends and their Japanese girlfriends. The landlord’s wife prepared food for the occasion. At that time, we took some photos together, myself dressed in kimono. Even after this party, Paul still did not visit me regularly. I just had to wait and wait for his visits.

The Korean War started in 1950. Paul had to go away for a lot for training and eventually he was sent to Iwakuni as a guard for an Ordinance Depot. I went to and fro between Hiro and Iwakuni while he was there. That was when I became pregnant. I had not used any birth control since I met him, but I did not become pregnant. I wondered why and went to see a doctor who treated me for some kind of infection in my ovaries. I found myself pregnant after this treatment.

It was quite clear to me that I would not regret my pregnancy. I wanted to give birth to my own baby. You want to know why I wanted to have a baby. Well, I was convinced that I could never marry properly in Japan. If I could not marry a Japanese man, and if my family could not afford to prepare me to be a bride, I would have been left without a husband or a child. At that time, at least, I had Paul. That was why I selfishly wanted to have my own child. I knew that the baby might have to grow up without a father. The mixed descent of the child did not worry me too much because mixed blood children were quite common at that time.
I did not tell my father about the pregnancy but told my mother and I said, "Whatever you say, I will never abort this baby." My mother and neighbours opposed my decision and told me repeatedly to reconsider. However, I just did not change my mind. Then finally, my mother said, "All right. If you are so determined, we just need to give you whatever help we can provide." I consulted Paul about the baby, but he only said, "You are the one who is going to have a baby. I cannot tell you what to do."

Paul was sent to Korea and was injured badly on the 1st of January, 1951. I heard that he was found on the ground in enemy territory after being shot in the chest. Since we were not legally married, I was not notified until his friend told me about his injury. Eventually, he was transferred back to a hospital in Kure. I was heavily pregnant by the time I learned about his injury, but I caught train and bus in order to see him at the hospital. I could not enter the hospital officially, so a friend arranged the visit and notified the guard for me. I was shocked to see Paul so thin and pale. His paleness stood out in the dark and only his eyes were glowing. I felt desperate but what could I do? I used to wake up in the middle of the night worrying about him, but I could not go to see him.

Then, something very sad happened to me. Paul left for Tokyo without telling me. One day his friend rushed to my house to tell me that Paul was leaving for Tokyo by train that night. I went to Kure station to see him, but all the carriages were full of foreign soldiers and I did not know where to look. I did not think anybody could tell me where he was, so I stood on the platform watching. After the train left, one of his friends came to me and said, "He is gone. Sorry." The only thing I could do was to cry. I still do not know why he did not tell me of his departure. After he left, I did not hear from him for a long time.

My daughter, Helen, was born on 1 April, 1951 in Hiro. After I wrote to Paul about the birth, he came to see the baby. The only thing he brought with him was a big celluloid toy. He did not bring nappies or money with him. Then he went back to Tokyo again and did not contact us for a long time. We were so poor, there was hardly any furniture in the house in Hiro. Since I had never asked for money from Paul, I could not ask for any after the birth of Helen. We could not follow him to Tokyo either. Remembering that period brings back the embarrassment and pain I suffered. Initially, my mother came to Hiro to help us, but my father finally came to take us back to my family. He said, "We can't send back the baby, so we should manage together even if we cannot afford to eat rice, just barley."
My family had moved to a remote mountain village to work at a dam construction site. Although we did not have much money, Helen and I were happy there. My family was very warm to us and we felt well protected by them. I did not know what the villagers thought about me and Helen because we did not go out much, but we did not feel any stigma or hostility. Yet, I felt I should get a job and earn some money for myself and Helen. I asked my mother if she could look after Helen while I moved to a city to work. My mother did not think that was a good idea. She said to me if I showed Paul I could do without him he would not feel responsible for our welfare any more. She advised me not to lose a big thing by attaining a small thing. I took her advice and decided to stay in the village.

Paul sent a tin of baby milk occasionally for Helen. There was never a letter attached to the parcel, but just a tin. A tin used to arrive just when my breast milk started to dry up, then the breast milk started to flow again. He sent Helen a birthday cake with "happy birthday" written on it for her first birthday. So he had not forgotten us completely. I felt there was still some ties between us and hoped he would come and take us to live with him some day.

Paul came to see us in the village once just before Helen's second birthday. The villagers commented that he must still care for us since he came all the way to our remote village in order to see us. While he was staying with us, he spent most of his time shooting. However, he did not catch much and we had to kill our precious Angora rabbit and chicken in order to feed him some meat. We could use the rabbit's hair for spinning, but we killed it. What a waste!

While Paul was staying with us, one day I asked him to sit down with me. I begged him with my limited English, "Can you listen to me for a moment even if you forget what I am going to say straight after?" Then I checked if he understood my English. He said "Yes". I said to him, "How long do we need to stay here? I am very worried when I think about our future. When I said we wanted to join you in Tokyo, you said no. Then, I would like to propose that you marry me. Can I marry you? I have no money, no work. My parents are really worried." When Paul heard what I said, he started to cry and said "I am sorry. It won't be too long, but can you stay here a little longer?" When I said, "This is the only time that I will ask you this. Thank you for listening to me," he cried. After this incident, Paul came back to Miyajima near Kure from Tokyo. I don't know whether he had applied to be transferred back or not. I asked him if we could join him there, but his answer was no. He gave his work commitment as the reason. Then soon after, various things changed and he arranged for us to marry.
Once the marriage procedure started, I had to travel to Kure quite often to arrange the necessary documents. One formality was an interview with the Brigadier. Helen and I had to queue up because there were so many Japanese women who wanted to marry Australian soldiers. Paul used to send me telegrams which said I should come for a kekkonshiki [wedding] in Kure. But after arriving in Kure, I found that each occasion was for some type of formality at the Kure City Office or the camp not the wedding. However, one day in November, another telegram arrived and it said I should come to Kure for another "wedding" and bring a hat and a ring. So I bought those items in town before I met him at church on one evening. Then I was told it was going to be our real church wedding! I had no idea. I thought it was going to be another formality in an office somewhere. The only people who attended our wedding were ourselves and two witnesses and I was not dressed as a bride. I just had a hat on and brought a ring with me. In contrast, the couple who had a wedding before us had many attendants and the bride, whom I knew from school was dressed in a beautiful white gown. We did not even have a photo taken of us together. I felt so sorry for myself. Paul left for Australia a day or two after the wedding and Helen and I were to join him there.

Toshiko Hudson

Encounter and interviews

Mrs. Toshiko Hudson is an elegant lady with gentle manners and a quiet Tokyo upper-middle class accent. Her grey hair is permed nicely and she always wears well tailored clothes which fit nicely on her tall slim figure. She is more reserved than most of the other Japanese war brides whom I met. As she herself admitted, she is a listener rather than a talker. However, she holds her own opinions and expresses them when she has a chance among the women.

I met Toshiko for the first time at a shop when she was working as a shop assistant. She served me because I was Japanese and assisted me nicely when choosing a handbag. I went back to the shop a few times afterwards and each time I remembered seeing her in the shop. Her elegance did not stand out as much then, but her reserve left a stronger impression. I wondered if she could actually persuade customers to buy goods if she was so quiet. Although I thought Toshiko belonged to the same generation as other war brides, I could not ask any personal questions of her at the shop, especially since she did not ask me any.

A few years later, I met her again at a Japanese function. In the mean time, Toshiko met another war bride, Mrs. Jones, and she brought Toshiko along to the dinner. There I found out that she had arrived in Australia in the 1950s and had moved to Canberra from
Melbourne a few years before. She said she had not had any chance to meet other Japanese in Canberra in the past years and Mrs. Jones was the first Japanese friend she had.

I had the opportunity to get to know her better when she joined a group of war brides who were to attend the first international convention of Japanese war brides in Hawaii in 1994. We gathered a few times before the trip and, in Hawaii, we often spent a lot of time together as a part of the delegation. Through those interactions, I felt confident enough to ask if I could interview her. To my request, she gave a typical response, which I heard so many times from other war brides. She said, "I do not have any interesting things to tell you. My life has been so non-eventful. But if I can be of some help to your research, I am happy to be interviewed."

The first two interviews were held at Toshiko's house in a Canberra suburb and the last one at my house. She lived in a newly built townhouse where she had moved a few years before. There was nothing to indicate a Japanese woman lived in that house until I stood outside the front door and saw a small *kokeshi* doll (a Japanese wooden doll) inside the window by the door. I interviewed her at the kitchen table where everything was put away neatly and the bench top clear and tidy. By sitting there, I could not tell that a Japanese lived in the house. There was no Japanese decorations, and no smell of soy sauce.

In the first interview, I learned that her husband, David, had worked in Japan as a BCOF interpreter for two years before he moved to the Australian Embassy in Tokyo. I was very interested in talking to him, firstly because so many women were already widowed and it was difficult to find surviving husbands. Secondly, I had not had a chance to meet a war bride's husband who could speak the language and possessed some cultural knowledge. Furthermore, I learned that his father, who was a ship captain had had a keen interest in Japan and had himself learned the language before the war. I wanted to hear about David's experience of working as a go-between for the Occupation Forces and the Japanese people. I was also keen to find out whether the marital relationship could be different when the husband had substantial knowledge and understanding of the wife's culture. David declined my first request, but agreed to be interviewed at my second try. The interview took place at the Hudsons' on one evening. Contrary to the impression given by his initial rejection, he could remember various incidents and names very clearly and seemed to enjoy talking about his time in Japan. In this interview, I did obtain his point of view on the children's education, which is going to be touched on later in Toshiko's story. In this sense, Toshiko Hudson's interview turned out to be rich and
unique because I had access to not only the war bride's point of view, but also to her husband's perspective.

**Toshiko's story**

I was born in Tokyo in 1933. My father was a university graduate and worked for a large printing company in Tokyo. My mother was much younger than him. I did not realise my parents never legally married until I saw the family register just before my own marriage. My father's first wife did not agree to a divorce so he could never marry my mother. I have a younger sister who I keep close contact with. I always stay with her and her husband when I go back to Tokyo.

When I was in primary school, the war started. Since Tokyo was threatened by air raids, my sister and I moved away from Tokyo as a part of the school evacuation program to live in the countryside with my classmates and teachers. I have fond memories of my time with my friends away from my parents although my sister used to cry a lot. I thought it was more like a perpetual excursion from school.

When the war ended we all came back to Tokyo and I started high school near my house. When I was a student, I was occasionally asked for a date. I went out with a few university students, but I never developed any serious relationships with them. The most we did was holding hands. When I finished high school, I did not want to go to another school. Some of my friends got their jobs at department stores in central Tokyo and they wore fashionable dresses to work. I wanted to do the same, so I got a job in the accounting section of a department store in Tokyo.

Soon after I started to work there, a friend of mine in the same section asked me if I would like to come along on her date. She said she had met a young foreigner who could speak Japanese very well. I could not believe any foreigners could speak Japanese fluently so I went along with her to meet this man. That was David. At the date, he started to pay attention only to me while he ignored my friend. Of course, she got upset, but I thought he was nice. Later she said to me, "I can bring you along again to see him, but do not forget that I am generous to you." So I went along with her to see him again. Then, David said to me, "I want to see only you, not the other girl." After that, we met a few times by ourselves.

David was working for the Australian Embassy in Tokyo then. After being in the army and working as an interpreter for two years in BCOF, he moved to Tokyo to be with the embassy. So he was a civilian wearing suits not a soldier in uniform then. But people did not differentiate between civilians and soldiers when they saw a Japanese girl with a
foreigner. Any girl who had anything to do with a foreigner was regarded as a "naughty girl."

Somebody must have seen us together and reported to my supervisor at the department store. Possibly, the girl who took me to see him, I don't know. I was summoned to the section head and asked if the rumour was true, which I denied. The management staff said they felt responsible for my welfare because there were so many unmarried girls working there. In spite of my denial, the supervisor visited my parents one day to ask them if they knew that I was dating a foreigner.

It was like a bomb shell. My mother started to cry and begged me to stop seeing David. Australian soldiers were generally regarded as a wild and unsophisticated bunch. I once saw an Australian soldier pinching goods from a shop. My mother thought all the Australians were rough because they were descendants of convicts. Her worry was those Australian soldiers with peculiar hats would come to the house and demand to see me. She said what would the neighbours say to that. My father was so furious that he chased me around the house with a pair of scissors in his hand. He said he would cut off my hair so that I could not go out any more. He had been very strict and protective towards me. I had to come home before curfew and could not stay out till late.

Soon after this incident, I quit the job. So I ended up working in the department store for less than a year. I did not want to work at a place where everybody was watching everybody else. Then, I moved out of my parents' house into a place with David. When David and I started live together, we did not have any approval from my parents. I virtually ran away with David. I was about seventeen then.

I cannot say I was passionately in love with David. At the beginning, I was just curious to meet somebody different. When David became more serious, I was scared. I knew David was a strong minded person, so I was afraid what he would do if I snubbed him. He could become very furious. I can say the feeling I had toward him then was 50% love and 50% apprehension.

Soon I became pregnant. When my father found out that I was expecting a baby, he said that I should not have one and suggested I have an abortion. He even opposed recognising my relationship with David by recording our marriage in the family register. He said the record of his daughter's marriage to a foreigner would leave a blemish on the family register and that he did not want to see his grandchild with mixed blood. His response really angered David. He had a very strong Catholic upbringing, so my father's mention of abortion made him furious. He kicked my father out of our house. As you
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can tell, my father and David did not get along well at all, but my mother eventually accepted David, maybe because my mother was similar to me and does not worry about things.

Our marriage caused another problem. David went to see the Ambassador at the embassy to inform him and get approval for our marriage. The ambassador was furious when he realised that David was getting married to a Japanese girl and not to an Australian girl. When David was faced with his disapproval, he quit his job there. Quit! Just like that. Eventually, we got married at the British Embassy. I was about six months pregnant then.

My first son, Ben, was born in 1951 when I was eighteen years old. We had a problem registering him as an Australian at the Tokyo Embassy. Initially, they did not accept David's application for Ben to be an Australian, maybe because the mother was a Japanese. However, after writing many letters to various authorities, we were able to register him as an Australian. David in the mean time had found a well paid job at the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency.

I became sick when Ben was still very young. The illness turned out to be TB and I had to stay in hospital for several months for treatment. My parents looked after Ben while I was in hospital and David visited him at their place occasionally. My mother and my sister really adored Ben while my father was reluctant to have him at the beginning. He did not want to have a "mixed blood" baby around because he would be an embarrassment in the neighbourhood. Eventually my father gave in and even carried Ben on his back to take him for a walk when he cried at night. I heard that my father made sure Ben wore a hat to hide his light coloured hair. I really appreciated my parents' help at that time.

I was lucky to have a chance to visit Australia in 1953 for two months before we decided to leave Japan. David's job at the UN gave him home leave and we all flew to Australia for our holiday. I did not know much about Australia then. I used to think all Australians were descendants of convicts. I met David's family in Sydney for the first time.Previously, his mother sent me a set of nappies when Ben was born. I did not know what they were until David told me. When I wanted to write a thank-you letter, I was told David's father could understand Japanese so I could write in Japanese. David had shown me his family photos before we went there, but they did not impress me at all. His mother was wearing a hat with feathers and his five younger sisters looked plump and their dresses were not fashionable at all. They looked so old fashioned.
David's father was a captain of a merchant ship and had maintained a keen interest in Japan from pre-war days. He taught himself Japanese from books and could read the language. David mentioned the fact that he was chosen to become a Japanese interpreter not only because he was good at languages, but also because he was familiar with Japanese from when he was young.

The real Australia did not impress me either. I saw the beach near Sydney and went to department stores, but the beach was boring and stores did not sell anything interesting! All shops were closed at five o'clock and there was nowhere to go in the evenings. I realised Australia was a real backwater compared with Tokyo. We already had a television set in Tokyo then, while I did not see any in Australia. While we were in Australia, we visited David's friend who had married a Japanese woman and lived on a sheep station near Goulburn, NSW. Some Japanese women had arrived in Australia as war brides already. The house this friend lived in was far away from any other houses and it was in the middle of nowhere. The wife looked happy and told me that she helped sheep give birth to lambs by pulling their legs. However, I certainly did not want to live somewhere like her and told that to David. To my relief, he said that he also did not want to live like that either.

When we went back to Tokyo, a reporter came to interview me to find out about my impression of Australia. I was told I was the first Japanese woman returning from Australia after a visit. The women who had gone to Australia as wives of Australians had not had a chance to return yet. I said in the interview that Australian people were very friendly and cordial without any hostility to Japanese.

When we lived in Tokyo, I did not want to walk together with David at all. David did not want me to go alone, but I just did not want people turning their heads to see me. I did not want to stand out. If we needed to go out together I walked separately or caught a taxi from our house. After Ben was born, I did not mind going out with him at all. I did not worry whether Ben caught people's attention or not. It was just with David I felt very self-conscious.

Ben grew a bit bigger and started to speak Japanese. That was when David started to wonder whether Japan would be the best place for Ben to grow up. I think he could see mixed-blood children in Japan being stigmatised without a promising future. The conclusion he reached was to move back to Australia.

Before making the final decision to go back to Australia, David did not ask for my opinion. At the time, I did not question his decision. I thought a wife should follow her
husband without questioning him. I never thought of objecting to his decision. When my mother realised that we were planning to leave, she just said "You are leaving, aren't you?" I only answered "Yes, we are." We did not talk about it any more. However, when I look back, it must have been such a cruel thing we did to her by taking her grandson and her daughter away to a far-away country. It must have been like tearing an arm from a body. David and I discussed this recently and we realised we were so selfish. We were too young to be considerate. I believe that the cause of my mother's death from cancer not so long after our departure must have had a lot to do with the stress she suffered at our separation.

Now, forty years later, David told me recently that he would have stayed in Japan if I wanted to stay! He never asked me if I wanted to do that then. He said he never thought of asking me, and I myself never thought of asking him to reconsider his decision. Anyway, by 1955, we were preparing to leave Japan to live in Australia. I was 22 and Ben was about 4 years old.

Discussion

The war brides' narratives in this chapter cover the period from the mid 1930s to the early 1950s. During that period, many drastic changes took place in Japan. Japan was virtually at war with China from 1937 with the aspiration of expanding its colonial power. The Pacific war started in 1941 and by the time Japan was defeated in 1945, 2.6 million houses were burnt in the air raids and 13 million people were homeless. In addition, the huge influx of Japanese refugees and repatriated soldiers from overseas worsened the food and housing shortages creating a desperate situation. The defeat also signalled the arrival of occupation soldiers and changes in the government with radical social reform policies, such as a new constitution and land reform. The civil law reform democratised the family structure where the power of the patriarchal head of household's had been strong. Land reform also brought about a drastic change in the pre-war class system - the power and position of the traditional landowners was diminished when they had to sell their holdings to peasant farmers. By the time the Korean War started, the worst phase of social instability had almost come to an end as the Japanese economy benefited from increased demands for various goods due to the military activities in the Korean Peninsula. Japan's post-war economic development started around this time and the life style of the general public gradually started to improve.

The women's narratives vividly recount what was happening among the people during the period. As the women's ages were different, their experiences varied greatly; Kiku Brown, the eldest among the interviewees, was 26 years old in 1945, while Toshiko
Chapter 4

Hudson, the youngest, was 12. At the same time, distinct common themes appeared among them as well. In pre-war Japanese society when the military tension was increased, the women recall the feelings of oppression and restriction. Dating was frowned upon and wearing bright coloured clothes was regarded as unpatriotic. At the same time, military activities and colonialism provided some opportunities for them to move out of the familiar environment. The war also brought dislocation and disruption to the women's lives. Many of them had to evacuate to new places before or after the air raids which resulted in their education being disrupted. Young school children were separated from their families and evacuated to the countryside. High schools stopped teaching English as it was regarded as the enemy language. Many of the women had to spend more hours in factories and fields than in the classrooms. The dislocation also interrupted family life and often family members had to live separately after evacuation.

The end of the war brought peace to the nation, but people's lives continued to be disrupted for several more years. In occupied Japan, the women were exposed to many unexpected changes and their narratives describe their experiences in detail. The need to work to support themselves often made it necessary to move away from their families which eventually resulted in more chances to mix with different types of people outside their family circles, including with occupation soldiers from Australia. In spite of the difference in language and features, the foreign soldiers were attractive to many women. Often, the difference itself became its own attraction. For young women of "marriageable age," finding suitable partners among the Japanese men was difficult due to the reduced male population during the war. Some war brides, such as Kiku Brown and Kazuko Roberts, dated and married Australian men younger than themselves. Furthermore, the Australian soldiers were taller, better fed and had more money than war weary Japanese men. They were also keen suitors who eagerly pursued the women. The women frankly admit that they enjoyed their dates. At the same time, they expressed complex feelings: their enjoyed of the keen attention they were receiving was accompanied by bewilderment and a tinge of fear.

Many women encountered the soldiers at work or through casual dating, and some of the encounters developed into more serious relationships, which eventually progressed into cohabitation and marriage and children, although the order of the latter two were sometimes reversed. In their narratives, the women did not emphasise their own love as the prime motivation for moving into serious relationships although the women undoubtedly had affection for their men. Almost all of the women indicated that their men were much keener than themselves and, in many ways, they implied that they had been forced into the situation when faced with the eagerness of their Australian boyfriends. The reason for taking up such a detached style of narrative may be partly
because the women feel embarrassed to express their emotion openly. But it could be how they actually remembered the situation. Both men and women were young and passionate with a touch of recklessness. Thus, the women were not in control all the time and had to react to the situations as they developed.

Even though the women emphasised the men's eagerness as the reason for progressing into more serious relationships, they had no choice but to face their parents themselves when their parents expressed strong opposition. The parents' opposition was based on various factors. Some parents were thinking about themselves, when they spoke about being embarrassed in the neighbourhood by their daughters' association with ex-enemies. Some other reasons were based on considering for their daughters' welfare; the parents worried about racial and cultural differences, and dreaded the inevitable prospect of their daughters' departure. The women could not expect somebody else to sort out the situation on their behalf and they had to make their own decision to pursue their relationships with the Australian men.

The most frequently asked question about the women at this stage of their lives was why they married the occupation soldiers in the face of adversity. Suenaga asked this question of a group of Japanese war brides in America in a sociological survey, and 36 out of 65 wrote love as the main motivation for marriage (1995: 139). However, as Suenaga soon realised through interviewing them, their motivations were much more complex than their initial explanations. Similarly, some other sociologists who have studied Japanese war brides in the United States have presented their interpretations. Their assumption was that there must have been some rational factors which would compensate for the obvious disadvantages the international marriages would bring with them. Both Spickard and Glenn argued for the better economic conditions, which was thought to be achievable through marrying occupation soldiers, was the most influential factor motivating the women. In addition, gender inequality in Japan was also pointed out as another factor driving the women to marriage with foreign soldiers: they would secure more egalitarian marriage relationship (Glenn, 1986; Spickard, 1989). Suenaga agreed with Glenn and Spickard, and argued further that there must have been some rational factors which compensated for the obvious disadvantages the intermarriage would bring about. She wrote that "the war brides chose to marry Americans because they could anticipate the marriage, or the action, would yield something valuable and profitable to them. The marriage was ... still a good deal even in exchange with the negative outcomes, such as social stigma as 'deviant' women, family disapproval, departure from one's homeland forever, and so forth" and listed four "rewards" or rationales: economic, conformity, pragmatic and feminist (1995: 139). The economic and feminist rationales are the same as those Glenn and Spickard had previously pointed out. Suenaga's conformity rationale
was that the women had accepted and acted on the idea of finding husbands before they exceeded a marriageable age. Lastly, the pragmatic reward for the women was to obtain American husbands who were more masculine and charming than Japanese men. Suenaga concluded that the women computed the positive and negative variables during the decision making stage and proceeded to an international marriage when they concluded the positive was greater than the negative (1995: 157).

The women's narratives I have presented in this chapter shows that the previous academic attempts to turn the war brides' marriage motivations to a certain number of rational judgements does not provide a satisfactory explanation. I am not claiming that the motivations which were pointed out previously were totally wrong. Each of the rationales explains a part of the reason why the women married occupation soldiers. Yet, this does not mean that the right combination of those rationales would explain their motives fully. While it might be possible to argue the inadequancy of the explanation was derived from the fact that the women who married American servicemen were different from those who married Australian servicemen, I think the evidence of the narratives shows this is wrong.

Firstly, the prospect of gaining a better economic situation by marrying occupation soldiers did not come out strongly in the women's narratives. Although older war brides, such as Kiku Brown, talked about the desperation and hunger soon after the war, the women were certainly far from destitute. Each of them had a job and a few of them were preparing to establish their own businesses. As they said, they were putting an effort into supporting themselves so they would not be dependent on their parents. The Australian soldiers were not regarded by them as rich princes who could rescue them from poverty and hunger; some of them actually contributed their own money for their joint household expenses with Australian soldiers.

Secondly, their narratives demonstrated that the women were quite realistic and were not simply dreaming about an egalitarian marital relationship, as suggested by Glenn, Spickard and Suenaga. They might have appreciated their boyfriends holding the door open for them when they went to parties, but they were also aware such a courtesy would not automatically bring about joint decision-making, or make them equal partners in their marriages. Most of them knew that their husbands were naive young men without much comprehension of responsibility. Some of them drank hard and their commitment to the women was sometimes shaky. The women were well aware of those negative aspects and did not hold any rosy illusion that they would be happy equal partners in their marriages.
The question still remains therefore: why did the women marry the Australian soldiers? Certainly, they did not marry because their mental computation showed that the positives outweighed the negatives as Suenaga has suggested. They married, firstly, because they felt affection for the men however subtly that emotion was expressed in their narratives. Furthermore, they were adventurous and curious when faced with the new prospects and had independent minds which were not swayed easily by others’ opinions. As we saw in their narratives, all four women had problems in their family and suffered from dislocation brought about by the war. They experienced economic difficulties which motivated them to seek employment in the area where the Occupation Forces were. However, they were not exceptionally different from most of other Japanese women for whom the war had also brought about dramatic changes. However, they were probably a little more curious about new types of people when they encountered them and more adventurous in unfamiliar circumstances than the average. Their inclination for independence also came out strongly in their attempted pursuit of careers in order to support themselves. In such situations, the women’s curiosity and adventurous minds seemed to have overcome fear of the unknown. In spite of the limitation of their experiences due to their youth, in the process of making decisions, they were not totally blinded by rosy prospects or by ignorance. They were fully aware of the implications of their decisions and actions to themselves and to their families and thus they were conscious of the disapproval of their communities. These tendencies also stood out strongly among the life histories which have not been included here.

Kiku Brown and Tomiko Cooper particularly demonstrated independence and strength. They decided to have children when their relationships were unstable and their prospects for migrating to Australia were uncertain. They said that they did not give birth to their children as a desperate measures to secure their partners’ commitment to their relationships. They also considered the possible outcome should they be left behind with racially mixed children by their husbands. Yet, according to their narratives, to gain somebody who could be a part of them was such a strong desire, that they defied the opposition and gave birth to their babies. Here, we are observing examples where the individuals acted against cultural and social norms with awareness of the negativities that would be the consequence of their actions, even though their comprehension might have had some limitations due to their youth and inexperience in society. In addition, they also hoped in their heart that they would eventually depart for Australia to join their husbands and the expected constraints and discrimination would be left behind.

I argue that the women decided to marry because they were following the inner self, instead of their interactional self which sways towards conformity. Achieving a balance between those counteracting selves is not easy and the spontaneity of the inner self has
often been praised in artistic and emotional expressions within the context of "romantic love." Those young women decided to follow their inner selves which emphasises individuality. Possibly, a sense of revolt against old traditions in the family and society played some part as well. In addition, we need to be reminded that Japanese society was going through drastic changes around that time and people were overwhelmed with the confusion of traditional and new social values which conflicted each other. As young women in their twenties, they defied the obvious adverse consequences that they could foresee and followed their inner selves with a hope that they would eventually escape from Japan to a new country.

In spite of the past attempts by some researchers to find rationales to explain the women's motives for marriage, their interpretations do not fully match the women's actual narratives. I argue that the women followed their "heart." However, the women's narratives will continue in Chapter 6 where they talk about their experiences soon after their arrival in Australia, and in Chapter 8 where they describe their later years. In these chapters, the women will continue to reflect on the life-changing decision that they had made to marry their husbands and come to Australia. By providing depth in time, I will further pursue the issues on changing selfhood in a cross-cultural context. Before following the women's lives in Australia, the Australian social background and the perception of Japan in the 1950s will be examined in the next chapter.
Chapter 5
Reception of Japanese War Brides in Australia

In this chapter, I will discuss the reception in Australia of about 650 Japanese women who arrived between 1952 and 1957 as war brides. Firstly, I will give a brief overview of Japanese migration to Australia up till the women’s arrival in the 1950s. Secondly, the Australian social atmosphere of the period for the newly arrived migrants will be examined. Then, the main focus of this chapter will be to analyse the media reception of the Japanese brides. Through examining how the news media reported the arrival of the Japanese women, I will attempt to understand how the media reflected the general public’s attitudes towards their entry into Australia.

Japanese immigrants in Australia
Japanese migrated to Australia from the late nineteenth century mainly as contract labourers in the pearl and sugar cane industries in northern Australia. Wool buyers also arrived before the turn of the century and the first wool was exported by the Japanese buyers in 1890 (Sono, 1998: 35-6). At the beginning of this century, there were about 3,500 Japanese in Australia (Nagata, 1996: 15). After the Immigration Restriction Act was introduced in 1901, the number gradually decreased until the start of the Pacific War. The number of Japanese female migrants was never significant throughout the history of migration to Australia. In the early stages of Japanese migration, almost all of them were prostitutes. In 1897, the Commissioner of Police for Queensland reported that there were 116 Japanese women in the colony and that all but one, the consul’s wife, were engaged in prostitution (Sissons, 1977a: 325). Since the Immigration Restriction Act prohibited Japanese men from bringing their wives and fiancées to Australia, the number of Japanese women was always very limited.1

At the start of World War II in 1941, over 1,100 Japanese who were in Australia were held in the internment camps as enemy aliens.2 Out of those, just over fifty were repatriated to Japan in 1942 as part of the prisoner exchange between Japan and Australia. The rest of them had to spend the war years in Australia with other Japanese internees who were sent from overseas, mainly from the Dutch East Indies. Later in the war, a number of Japanese POWs were also interned in various camps in Australia. After the war ended in the Japanese defeat, the decision was made by the Australian government that all the Japanese nationals, resident or not, local or not, were to be

1On the history of Japanese migration to Australia, see (Hunt, 1986; Nagata, 1996; Sissons, 1972; Sissons, 1977a; Sissons, 1977b; Sissons, 1988).
repatriated. Exemption was given to just 150 people including children, who were either Australian-born Japanese or married to Australian or British born spouses (Nagata, 1996: 207). Even the old pearl divers who had been living in Australia for over forty years were deported against their wish to Japan where they could no longer find any close relatives. Consequently, when the Japanese women arrived in the 1950s, the Japanese population in Australia was negligible and the Japanese community non-existent.

From the first war bride’s entry in 1952, the women were exempted from the notorious dictation test, but they were only granted five year temporary visas: thus the government could deport them if it was thought necessary. They had to wait until 1956 for the government to change the requirements for citizenship applications so that they could obtain equal eligibility for citizenship as other immigrants (Jordens, 1995: 22). Most of the women became naturalised as soon as they were eligible, even though naturalisation meant the loss of their Japanese citizenship. There are several reasons for their swift action. Some women and their husbands were worried that the law could be reversed and their eligibility taken away. A lot of women believed that a wife should take up the nationality of her husband and children as a matter of course. Some women actually worried that in the event of another war between Australia and Japan, Japanese citizens would be interned or deported just as in World War II. Some women whose husbands remained in the military services felt that by retaining their Japanese nationality, they would hinder their husbands’ career and promotion.

From the government’s point of view, the assimilation process was completed when the women took up Australian citizenship. While the women were "dinkum Aussies" on paper, many women still had problems with the language and in adapting to the Australian way of life. However, those problems were buried in their busy family lives and the women turned to their husbands or more often to their children when they encountered language and other problems.

Assimilation policy for immigrants
The war brides’ arrival in the 1950s coincided with the entry of new immigrants to Australia mainly from United Kingdom and other European countries. However, up till the end of the war, Australia was dominantly Anglo-Celtic. According to the 1947 statistics, 89.7 per cent of the country’s population was categorised as Anglo-Celtic, while Asians comprised only 0.8 per cent. The mass migration scheme, which was announced by Arthur Calwell, Minister for Immigration in the Chifley Labor Government, was launched in 1945 in order to bring people to Australia with an unofficial slogan, "Populate or perish!" Between 1947 and 1952, there were 721,800 permanent arrivals,
out of which 359,800 were British and 362,000 were non-British.\footnote{3 W.D. Borrie's figure quoted in Lack and Templeton (1995: 44).} It was the non-British element, unprecedented in scale, that was transforming post-war Australia. By 1983, the total number of post-World War II immigrants had reached three million. However, it was most ironic that Calwell who was the enthusiastic advocate of immigration, remained the most fierce and persistent opponent of the admission of the Japanese wives, a point I will take up later in this chapter.

Australia welcomed those new immigrants and expected them to be assimilated into the existing Australian society as soon as possible. Australia's official attitude towards immigrants can be seen in the following statement made opposing the United Nations statement on minority rights. Here, Australia had "insisted that voluntary immigrant groups were intended to be assimilated into the community rather than be encouraged in an awareness of their different origin."\footnote{4 Australian Consulate General, Geneva, "Report on Minorities Article, 6 May 1953," quoted in Ann-Mari Jordens (1995: 9-10).} In 1950, the government launched a nation-wide assimilation program through the Good Neighbour Movement with support from churches and voluntary bodies (Lack and Templeton, 1995: 13). The volunteers who worked for the Good Neighbour Council provided practical advice to the migrants for their settlement as well as teaching them English and Australian-style cooking. By January 1954, over ten thousand people were directly engaged in various committees all over Australia (Jordens, 1995: 84-85).

A strong expectation of the government and the general public towards new immigrants was that they should and would adjust themselves to Australia and its predominantly British way of life. Harold Holt, Immigration Minister, stated at the 1952 Citizenship Convention that the government's intention in the immigration policy was to retain the British character as follows:

The British ... are a mixture of races. Australia, in accepting a balanced intake of other European people as well as British, can still build a truly British nation on this side of the world. I feel that if the central tradition of a nation is strong this tradition will impose itself on groups of immigrants, even if they are comparatively large (Lack and Templeton, 1995: 14).

Looking back in 1970, Gough Whitlam criticised the previous immigration policy:

Australians have assumed that the benefit of migration is all on one side. We tend to assume that mere permission to settle among us is a boon of
such transcendental quality that simple gratitude and silent compliance are
the sole duties of those upon whom this benefit is conferred.\(^5\)

Where did the Japanese war brides fit in? How were they perceived in Australia around
the time of their arrival and settlement? In order to answer these questions, I will examine
how the Australian media depicted the women upon their arrival. I will discuss how
their gender and nationality were perceived in the context of Australian society in the
1950s and how this influenced media reporting.

**Favourable Australian reception**

The first Japanese war bride, Mrs. Cherry Parker (nee Nobuko Sakuramoto) arrived in
Melbourne accompanied by her husband Gordon and their two daughters in June 1952.\(^6\)
At the airport, a swarm of journalists and photographers awaited their arrival. The police
were also in attendance for fear of hostile anti-Japanese protests. However, by the time
the newly arrived family was met by their in-laws and Cherry and Gordon were
interviewed by curious journalists, people realised that there was no threat to their safety.
In the end, a police car escorted the Parkers to their home only to speed them on their
way.\(^7\) The reports which subsequently appeared in the print media and on a newsreel
generally expressed the warm welcome the Australian people offered the Japanese bride.
A similar tone was common among the media reports of Japanese war brides who arrived
in the following years. The readers' reactions were generally welcoming as well. More
than forty years on, some people still remember hearing and reading the news of the
women's arrival and the curiosity and favourable feeling they felt towards them.\(^8\)

The warm welcome and the favourable media reaction to the first war bride and others
who subsequently arrived in Australia in the following months was a pleasant surprise,
especially for the couples still waiting for admission in Japan and for their families in
Australia. In many ways, Australian soldiers and their Japanese wives and fiancées were
themselves uncertain about what their reception would be. Following the favourable
press coverage given to Cherry Parker, Army Headquarters in Kure received another 150
applications. In addition, there were two Navy applications, and fifteen from servicemen
and ex-servicemen living in Australia that were received by the Embassy in Tokyo
(Sherriff, 1990: 43).

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\(^6\)Her first name, Cherry, came from her Japanese maiden name, Sakuramoto. "Sakura" means a cherry
tree in Japanese and Gordon nicknamed her Cherry. She eventually adopted that name as her official first
name.

\(^7\)About Gordon and Cherry Parker's experiences, see Carter (1965) and Endo (1989).

\(^8\)Personal communication with Mrs. Pat Ryan in 1993 and Hank Nelson.
The media reporting seems to have reflected public opinion which was shifting to favour the women's admission. The Gallop Poll in March 1953 showed that over 68 per cent of people favoured the admission and this was an increase of 8 per cent from the previous year's survey. On the other hand, the number who opposed decreased from 33 per cent to 25 per cent.9

Why were the Japanese war brides given such a warm welcome in the media?10 First of all, the simplest explanation could be that journalists presented these relationships in terms of romantic love - Cherry and Gordon Parker particularly presented this image. Cherry was depicted as a woman with a tragic background from a devastated land. Her mother had died when she was young and her father did not care for his daughter. Although her father was still alive then, in the Australian media she was reported to be an orphan who had lost all close relations in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. Gordon volunteered for BCOF service when he was eighteen and went to Japan in 1946. He was from a good family in Melbourne; his father was Mayor of Ringwood in Victoria and his mother was an prominent leader in Red Cross activities in the area. Gordon became a medical assistant in the camp clinic in Kure where Cherry was sent to work as a seventeen year old house girl. According to their account, they fell in love straight away and started to contemplate marriage soon after.

Since no servicemen were allowed to marry Japanese, Gordon decided to leave the Army and, as a civilian, attempted to bring Cherry back to Australia. However, the entry ban on Japanese women prevented him from doing that for three and a half years. Gordon had to travel back and forth between the two countries until admission was granted. In the meantime, Cherry had two children in Japan despite the uncertainty of the future and the disapproval of her countrymen. Gordon remained faithful to her and, with his family's support, he worked tirelessly to influence the government in order to bring Cherry and the children to Australia. In the media, Cherry was described as having 'personal beauty', who was 'exquisite to look at, with skin like a flower-petal, perfect teeth, beautiful limbs and body.'11 Gordon was a handsome young man from a respectable family. It was certainly a love story which captured Australia's imagination. The Parkers' experience presented a case in which faithful love could conquer all barriers: racial, cultural,

10 The warm welcome was not just restricted on the media coverage. Mrs. Y. Lucas, who arrived as a war bride and was interviewed by me on February 1995, remembered that she was hugged by a middle aged woman from the Good Neighbour Council when the boat arrived in Sydney. She felt a happy relief since she had been worrying about arriving in the country with the White Australia policy.
11 Woman, 25 August, 1952, p.14. I would like to thank Ingrid Slotte and her husband, Michael, for finding this article on the floor of an old house and for keeping it for me.
linguistic and of international relations. Other couples were seen more or less in the same light.

However, closer examination of the media coverage reveals a more complex picture surrounding the women's admission and arrival. The women might have cleared the hurdle of the entry ban previously imposed by the Australian government, but general sentiment towards Japan was not yet forgiving in the early 1950s. The war brides were not totally free from the fact that they came from the country which Australia had fought in the Pacific War. War crimes trials had just finished in 1951, and witnesses in the trials had revealed to a horrified public in Australia many atrocities Japanese servicemen had committed against prisoners of war in various places, especially during the construction of the Thai-Burma Railway. For people in Australia, memories of the war between their country and Japan were still very fresh.

In some newspapers, opposing opinions were aired. Although it was not as strongly worded as his statement in 1948, Arthur Calwell who was then the Opposition deputy leader expressed his indignation about the decision to admit Japanese wives. He called the decision "shameful and disgraceful" and said that "the Menzies Government had forgotten the feelings of mothers, wives and sisters of the men butchered by the Japanese."12 However, his indignation was not taken seriously, but comically depicted and belittled in a newspaper cartoon. (see Fig. 5.1) In this cartoon, an Australian soldier with a slouch hat has just arrived back in Australia, carrying a smiling Japanese geisha in his arms while Calwell is jumping up and down in anger. The caption read that "Don't be frightened, dear. It's only Mr Calwell."13 As this caption indicated, Calwell was no longer a government minister and his public opposition did not generate substantial opposition to the admission.

Calwell's words, however, were not completely off the mark in expressing the feeling of some people. The few letters to the editor which opposed the admission were all from women. A Mrs. Riley wrote that "Surely those who suffered atrocities at Japanese hands will raise their voices in protest over this pandering to our recent enemies."14 Furthermore, three ex-army nursing sisters wrote around the time of the Parkers' arrival that "Australians on the whole have short memories, but we do not forget our Army Nursing friends who died at the hands of the Japanese and the thousands of Australian men who were ill treated and died in Japan."15

12 *The Argus*, 1 April, 1952.
14 *The Argus*, 4 April, 1952.
Fig. 5.1: A cartoon which depicts Calwell’s opposition to the entry of Japanese brides.

Source: The Melbourne Herald 2 April, 1952
In spite of those letters of opposition, the overall tone of newspaper reporting strongly supported the government's decision and this was expressed clearly in editorials. The *Sydney Morning Herald* stated Holt's decision to admit Japanese wives was "consistent with his humane and sensible administration of the immigration law." The *Argus*, which had been actively involved in Gordon Parker's plea to bring back his wife and two daughters also evaluated the government's decision as positive. In the following sections of this chapter, I will examine the reasons behind the positive response in the Australian media.

**Women as victims**

In the media reports, the women were depicted as victims rather than aggressors in the war. In August 1951, when Cherry Parker's plight was reported in Australia, the photograph the newspaper used showed Cherry with two daughters with a headline, "Ex-Digger's Jap baby asks: 'Where's Daddy?'" (see Fig. 5.2) And here again was an example of her being described as an orphan who had lost all of her family in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. Thus, in her case she fitted perfectly into the category of innocent victim of war who had to struggle to survive its destruction. The article also pointed out that not only had she no family support, but she also faced hardship because of her marriage to an Australian. It said that Cherry was insulted by Japanese men who spat at her and, furthermore, the family's safety had been threatened by a break-in at their house. The report implied that the absence of her Australian husband was the cause of the problems for the family in Japan, and emphasised the urgent need for the family to be reunited in Australia.

Even if a woman was not seen as a direct victim of the war, she was generally regarded as innocent of war's aggression. Those notions helped the women to insulate themselves from any hostility towards Japan. In an article in The *Sydney Morning Herald* soon after the decision to allow the women to enter was made by the government, Stephen Kelen wrote about the women in Japan under the title "'New Australians' - From Japan."

After describing the hostile reception from the family and neighbours towards the women who "married" the Australian soldiers, Kelen wrote as follows:

> It would not be fair to treat these women harshly because of their Japanese origin. After all, it is never women who wage wars -- they only suffer, and pay for men's folly no matter to what race or country they belong.

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17 *The Argus*, 5 April, 1952.
18 *The Argus*, 8 August 1951.
19 *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 April 1952.
Ex-Digger's Jap baby asks: 'Where's Daddy?'

Former R.C.O.F. Digger Gordon Parker, 24, yesterday got another pathetic letter in addition to the scores his Japanese wife has already written him.

With it came this picture of his wife, Cherry, and their two children, Margaret, 3, and Kathleen, 6 months.

In the letter his wife wrote: "The children will not know you when they see you. Margaret asks every day, 'Where is Daddy?'"

Parker, whose father is Mayor of Ringwood, is seeking permission to bring his 13-year-old Japanese wife and his children to Australia.

In a "desperate and urgent" appeal to Mr. Holt, Immigration Minister, he said his wife was a marked woman in Japan.

Yesterday he explained that his wife had been too frightened to go on living in her house in Kure after intruders broke in one night.

She had fled to a friend's house, where she was now staying. She had been subjected to open insults from Japanese men.

One of their ways of insulting her, he said, was to spit at her as she walked past.

He said: "She comes from Hiroshima. She cannot trace any living relatives. Apart from our two babies, she is all alone.

"When I married her I knew there would be a lot of ill-feeling. I hope we can overcome it. But I am not complaining."

He explained that he had been supporting his wife, but he added: "It is difficult to arrange that at times."

Fig. 5.2:
A newspaper article in the Argus on 8 August, 1951.
Such a notion was generally accepted among most people in Australia. Before Gordon Parker told his workmates who had been prisoners of war that he was bringing a Japanese wife back to Australia, he was not sure whether his colleagues would approve of his decision and accept her. Many years later, he remembered their reaction: "They said, 'We couldn't care less, Gordon, you can marry who you like as long as you don't bring any Jap joker around here. They could not stand the male Japanese, but they didn't care about the women. They didn't belt us, or starve us, or shoot us. It wasn't the women.' 20

This notion certainly contradicts the war-time notion, both in Australia and Japan, that women were supposed to and did play important roles in the war effort. Since it was compulsory for Japanese high school girls to provide labour service during the war, many of the women who arrived in Australia had experience of working in factories making ammunition or working in offices to support the war. This very point was put to Dame Enid Lyons in an article in the magazine *The Australian Woman's Day* and this indicates that not everybody could think in a similar way to Gordon's colleague. She was asked a question by a female reader: considering the women were "making weapons to kill our loved ones and take our country from us, is it fair that Australians should be expected to accept the Japanese wives?" The answer she presented reflected a view that Japan had been an undemocratic country in which women were oppressed and did not have any autonomy. Thus, women should not be blamed for what Japanese soldiers did. She wrote as follows:

> Not every Japanese was responsible for Japanese war crimes .... As to their individual part in the war, the Japanese people had even less personal responsibility than we in Australia had for ours. We all to some degree worked under direction, but at least we were able to have some part in the selection of the government who gave the direction. In Japan a despotic government was supreme. I do not think it fair, therefore, to hold against a Japanese woman the fact that she was an ammunition worker during the war (Sherriff, 1990: 40-41).

Thus, the women were removed from the national entity of Japan and its history of conducting war against Australia and cleared of any guilt. The war brides' gender insulated them from the strong hostility towards Japan and its people, which was still prevalent among the Australians and this factor seemed to acquit them of any responsibility for wartime aggression against Australia, and hostile public media accusations at the time of their arrival were avoided.

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Fig. 5.3: A photograph which accompanied a newspaper report on the Parkers' arrival in Townsville.
Willingness for assimilation

The women's willingness to assimilate into Australian society was frequently emphasised in the media around the time of their arrival. In some cases, it was reported that the process of assimilation had already commenced. Often this image became explicit in the photographs which accompanied the newspaper articles.

The first photograph of Cherry Parker and her children carried by the Australian press was a typical example. The photograph was a standard family studio photograph taken in Japan around that period and it conformed to the western image of a family. Mrs. Parker was dressed in western clothes, the daughters were in dresses with lace frills, just like Australian girls would have been dressed for a studio photograph. The older daughter's hair was tied with two ribbons. The only figure missing from this family photograph was the father who would normally sit on the other side of the children and the article heading emphasised his absence: "Ex-Digger's Jap baby asks: 'Where's Daddy?'"

Contrastingly, the first report of the Parkers' arrival was accompanied by the complete Australian family photograph. (see Fig. 5.3) A reporter was waiting at Townsville, the first port of call for their boat, to file a report. Cherry was in the same dress as the very first photograph which appeared in the Australian press, but this time, Gordon was next to her. The smiling Gordon and Cherry Parker held a child each in their arms and the children were dressed in immaculate Western dresses with sandals for the older daughter and leather shoes for the younger daughter. Here was a happy family - husband, wife and two children - on their arrival on Australian soil. The idealised nuclear family provided a satisfying conclusion to the story of love triumphing over obstacles.

The arrival scene at Essendon Airport was reported in a similar way. (see Fig. 5.4) The main photograph which appeared on the front page of The Argus showed Cherry being kissed by her mother-in-law on her cheek and embraced by her father-in-law with Gordon and the children looking on. There was little to indicate that the woman who arrived came from an alien culture except her Asian features. The woman who had just arrived in Australia could have been anybody. Moreover, there was an Australian family waiting for this bride and the children. The message was clear: although this alien bride had come from an alien land, she would assimilate into Australian society and learn its ways with the guidance of her husband and in-laws. The headline which accompanied the photographs emphasised the point: "This is my home," says Cherry."

21 The Argus, 5 July 1952.
22 The Argus 11 July 1952.
"This is my home" says Cherry

Fig. 5.4: A newspaper article which reports the Parkers’ arrival in Melbourne on 10 July, 1952

Source: The Argus, 11 July 1952
Around the time of her entry, various reports labelled Cherry Parker, as "a Japanese bride," but they explained again and again that she was not totally alien to Australian ways. It was stressed that she was already fairly familiar with an Australian way of life. Her English language competency was never questioned. In an article about the Parkers which appeared in a women's magazine soon after their arrival, it was pointed out that she had attended Anglican church regularly and that the marriage ceremony Gordon and Cherry had in Japan, before entry permission was given, was held in the chapel of an Anglican church. A photo which accompanied the article showed Cherry pouring tea in Gordon's tea cup. (see Fig. 5.5) The caption emphasised her quick adaptation to Australian ways and read, "The Parkers have a cup of tea Australian style -- without the traditional Japanese tea ceremony." These reports helped to minimise the cultural difference by presenting readers with an image of a fairly Westernised woman.

In subsequent arrivals of war brides, similar coverage in the media with Westernised images of the women appeared. When a liner, the New Australia, arrived with thirty-nine Japanese brides, photographs which appeared in The Brisbane Telegraph showed the women assembled on the deck of the ship with their children. The women, with permed hair, wearing Western dresses, were all smiling. Later, when some of them arrived at Spencer Street Station in Melbourne, a reporter was waiting with a photographer. The well dressed women were photographed and some women even had flowers on their shoulders. There was no reminder from the photographs that those women had just arrived from the Asian country where the devastation of war had been forcing people to struggle to survive.

The pictures of their children also emphasised that the families had already started the process of assimilation into Australian society before their departure from Japan. All the children in the photographs were dressed in Western clothes and their names without exception were English. This clearly indicated that the women were already planning to live in Australia even though their children had been born in Japan. It was as if the women had tried to compensate for the Asian features of the children, by making everything so Australian. One war bride told me in an interview that she decided not to bring even her baby's Japanese-style singlets because she did not want her in-laws to think her son was in any way different from an Australian baby.

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23 Woman, 25 August 1952.
24 The Brisbane Telegraph 6 April 1953.
25 The Sun, 10 April 1953.
26 An interview account of Mrs. Teruko Blair.
The Parkers have a cup of tea Australian-style—without the traditional Japanese tea ceremony.

Source: Woman, 25 August 1952

Fig. 5.5: A photograph which accompanied an article in a women’s magazine soon after Cherry Parker’s arrival in Australia.
Furthermore, there were also strong personal expectations of assimilation from the women's husbands and in-laws. The husbands themselves came from British backgrounds, and wanted their wives to adopt the way of life they and their own family were familiar with as soon as possible. Gordon Parker said in an interview soon after their arrival that he spoke in English with his wife and he wanted his daughters to forget Japanese. He explained the reason in later years when he and Cherry gave evidence at a Senate committee. He said that "... I wanted to make sure that when they went to school they spoke only English. I thought this was essential. ... I think other kiddies resent children speaking another language." It is easy to criticise such a view as narrow minded from the 1990s' multicultural perspective. However, in the 1950s Australian society where assimilation was regarded as being of the utmost importance, newly arrived immigrants were reminded that learning to behave in the same way as the majority was essential.

The images of assimilation were not simply adopted by the brides for the newspaper reporters. The process started in Japan before they arrived in Australia. After defeat in World War II and with the arrival of the advance party of the Occupation Forces, the Japanese, especially many of the younger population, were keen to conform to American styles and try anything Western in fashion, food, music and custom. Furthermore, by associating with Australian servicemen inside and outside of the Camp, the women had various chances to experience Western (mostly American) culture during their courting days. When some women started to live with the soldiers in Japan, quite a lot of them were expected to adjust to their husbands' way of living even then. Many Australian soldiers stated that they did not like Japanese food. That meant that the women needed to learn to produce semi-Western dishes for their husbands. One war bride mentioned that her experience of working at an Officers Mess helped her to understand what kind of cooking the Australians liked.

A more formalised structure of assimilation was also organised for them in Japan before their departure. As I have already discussed in Chapter 3, some women had a chance to attend the bride school in Kure before leaving for Australia. In this school, they learned cooking, home craft, social customs, geography and English in order to adapt quickly to the Australian way of life. According to one report, "... they have been making strenuous efforts to prepare themselves for assimilation. Most of them in their 'Goshu -clubs' have studied English diligently through the years so that they will be able to speak

28 Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence (Reference: Japan) 1971-72, p.695.
30 An interview account of Mrs. Teruko Blair.
to their husbands' people, when the great day of arrival in their adopted country comes.31

What they learned in the classes was not limited to information about Australia. One
informant said that she also learned what was acceptable and not acceptable in Australian
society. In an interview, I was told that one mother started to change her daughter's
nappy in the class and an Australian instructor said that was frowned upon. Another
woman who started to breast feed a baby in front of other women was also told not to do
that in Australia.32 In Japan, around that period, it was perfectly acceptable for a woman
to breast feed a baby in public, even on a train. The women must have felt that they
needed to learn a lot to adjust to Australian society.

Husbands' roles
Most of the Australian newspaper reports emphasised that the husbands were not just
ordinary Australian males, but those who served their country. An editorial in The Argus
written at the time permission was given for the women's admission to Australia
commented:

It is significant that many ex-servicemen, including some who have known
by experience what it is like to be a prisoner of the Japanese, have asserted
that a man should have freedom in the choice of his wife. No one is better
qualified to speak on this matter than men who fought against the Japanese.
They fought in defence of our freedom and our basic rights; and surely no
freedom is more basic than that of choosing one's own wife. Moreover, if a
man is fit to fight for Australia, he is fit to make this important choice.33

Thus, the editor stated that those men deserved some concessions from the government
and the Australian public in order to bring their wives home. Furthermore, the paper
said, people should not worry about the entry of those women. Since their husbands
were good enough to fight for their country, they could surely look after their wives in
the new environment. In other words, neither their masculinity nor their loyalty to the
nation was in question. Thus, the women were in "good hands."

Even the Return Services League, which has often been one of the most outspoken
organisation to air anti-Japanese feeling in the post-war period, supported the decision to
admit Japanese wives. In the December 1952 edition of the League's magazine, Mufti,
the organisation's view was expressed:

31 The Sydney Morning Herald 12 April 1952 Goshu is a Japanese name for Australia. Thus, Goshu-
club meant the Australia Club.
32 An interview account recorded by the author.
33 The Argus, 5 April 1952.
those who married Japanese girls - or who aim to do so - are not callow boys. They are mature men, as appreciative as anybody of the difficulties to be faced when they return to Australia to merge with their wives into the Australian pattern.34

It is possible that the League did not oppose the women's entry because some of their husbands may have been members, and the remainder were potential members.

When the women started to arrive with their husbands on the boats, many family photographs appeared in the newspapers just as the Parkers' did. Among these other photographs was a husband standing next to his wife wearing his army uniform with a digger hat because he was still in the military.35(see Fig. 5.6) Such photographs presented a clear image that those women were accompanied by their husbands and they were under their protection.

This image was reinforced when they were interviewed by reporters. Almost all the statements to reporters were made by their husbands on behalf of their wives. The women avoided answering journalists' questions probably because of a lack of fluency in English, but some were reported as being "too shy" to answer questions.36 And that was accepted as an attribute in a wife who had recently arrived from Japan.

In answering the questions, their husbands emphasised that the women were happy to be in Australia and were impressed with the Australian people's kindness. They also indicated that their wives would be keen to learn and adjust to Australian ways. No report expressed any doubt or uneasiness that the women had experienced at the time of arrival. But during my interviews with the women in 1992 to 1995, they stated that this uneasiness and worry about the new life was the overwhelming emotion that they felt at the time of arrival. However, this was completely overlooked or suppressed. What appeared in the reports was that the women were happy to have arrived and looking forward to adopting a new way of life in Australia and they were very willing to work to achieve it.

Admittedly, it was not untrue that the women were happy to be in Australia. Some women arrived in Australia to be with their husbands after years of uncertainty about whether they could ever see them again. Also the women were truly very keen to adjust to their new life in Australia. They felt that they were the ones who needed to adjust, not

34 Quoted in Sherriffe, (1990: 45).
35 See photos on The Sydney Morning Herald, 10 July 1953 and The Sun, 20 April 1954.
36 The Sydney Morning Herald, 7 January 1953.
Fig. 5.6: A photograph which accompanied a report on the return of Australian servicemen with their Japanese wives and children. (The Sun, 20 April 1954)
the other way around. That was what they were expected to do when they married into Japanese households. Brides were the ones to learn to adapt to their husbands' families' customs. However, their willingness to adjust was over-emphasised and there was a lack of sensitivity among the reporters and also the husbands about the uncertainty the women felt towards their new venture.

**Absence of fear of the Yellow Peril**

Another interesting point in the media reports around the time of the women's arrival was absence of any mention of threats to the racial homogeneity of the Australian population or the possibility of chain migration from Japan. This did not mean that inter-racial marriage was approved in Australia at that time, or that more migrants from Japan would be welcomed. The original expectation was that only about a dozen women would want to come to Australia. The number was regarded as too small to threaten the maintenance of predominant European descent for Australians.37

The public consensus on maintaining the European homogeneity in Australia was apparent in seemingly humane letters written to oppose Calwell's intervention to ban the Japanese women's entry in 1948. It was then that Calwell stated his fierce opposition to the entry of Japanese women to Australia in 1948 by using the word, "pollution."38 Immediately, some readers wrote letters to the editor in order to oppose Calwell's view, expressing more liberal views on freedom of choice in marriage. They also tried to point out that the influence of the Japanese women on predominantly European Australia would be minimal and Australia should be able to maintain the homogeneity of the population. One reader asked, "Is Australian virility such poor stuff that a mere handful of Asiatics and semi-Asiatics can pollute it?"39 Another reader wrote "... we find it difficult to believe that 25 or 50 Japanese girls, if allowed into this country, will be so fruitful as seriously to imperil Australia's racial purity or national safety. We do not suggest that Canberra should allow a flood of Asiatics into Australia; merely that an accidental few can do no harm."40

Some years later when the admission of the women was granted, Dame Enid Lyons expressed similar sentiment in her column in the Australian women's magazine which I have discussed earlier in this chapter. The reader's other question was: "Do you think these women will benefit our country by producing half-caste children which they are now prepared to bear our men?" Lyon answered, "The number of Australian soldiers

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38 *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 March 1952.
40 *The West Australian*, 12 March 1948.
contracting such marriages are very few, and the number of half-castes resulting will be so small as to be negligible in the general population" (Sherriff, 1990: 40-41). These statements seem to reflect the general sentiment of Australian people in that period. Namely, the value of maintaining a white-dominated Australia was not an agenda to be reconsidered although Australia was willing to accept a small number of Asians as long as they would not alter the dominant perception that Australians then had of themselves as a white people.

In spite of the fact that the threat of mass migration from Asia to Australia had always been an underlying fear, those women were not considered to be the forerunners of Japanese migration to Australia after the war. As trade relations started to normalise in the 1950s, more movement of people between Japan and Australia was expected. Yet, a newspaper which expressed a warm welcome to war brides described the arrival of Japanese fishing boats as a new Japanese "invasion" in its editorials. Thus, the arrival of Japanese men in search of resources and in competition for jobs was associated with an economic invasion of Australia.

By contrast, it was taken for granted that the Japanese women who were married to Australian men had left their families in Japan for good and would assimilate into their husbands' country. In addition, some reports emphasised that their family ties were severed because some women married in defiance of family opposition. In another article, a Japanese bride stated that she was glad to leave Japan because 'she did not like the insular outlook of its people.' There was no expectation or anticipation that the rest of the women's family in Japan would plan to join the brides in Australia in the future. Thus, the women's migration from Japan was seen as singular migration, unlikely to cause any flood of migration of Japanese to Australia.

**Conclusion**

Previous to the war brides' admission, Lorenzo Gamboa, originally a Filipino and naturalised American, requested admission to Australia in order to be re-united with his Australian wife and Australian-born children. The Australian press supported him and mounted a vigorous campaign for his entry. Sullivan argues that this support was a reflection of the basic tolerance of the Australian people (1993: 111). The media reception given to Japanese war brides reflected some of the tolerance and enlightenment the Australians had towards new migrants. However, the favourable media reception to the women's arrival could not be described solely as a generous and humanitarian gesture.

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41 *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 March 1953.
43 *The Brisbane Telegraph*, 6 April 1953
of the Australian people. The reporting was also designed to say to Australians what they most wanted to hear: that foreigners desired to live in Australia because of the superior quality of life available; that Australians were hospitable to strangers; and that Australians were magnanimous by allowing these daughters of a defeated enemy into the country. In this chapter, I have argued that the particular reception by the media was a result of the specific social situation of Australia in the 1950s.

The media portrayed the women as victims of the war rather than participants, and as those who had already started the process of assimilation into the dominant Anglo-Celtic Australian society. I have argued that these factors contributed to the fact that the Australian public made generous gestures to the women. However, when we examine the historical background of that period and analyse how they were perceived, it is only possible for us to claim that their entry was well tailored from Australia's point of view.

Carton has analysed media representations of Vietnamese female refugees in his paper, "Symbolic Crossings." He argued that the initial "otherness" of Vietnamese immigrants which appeared in the media was gradually curtailed in later representations through the depiction of the women's domesticity and subordination during the assimilation process into Australian society (1994). In contrast, as I have discussed in this chapter, "otherness" was not emphasised in the media representations of the Japanese war brides at the time of their arrival. Instead emphasis was given to images of women who were willing to depart from their home country and its past in search of new lives in their husbands' country. The favourable media reception at the time of their arrival in Australia helped to create general perceptions that the women could be admitted because their husbands could ensure their complete assimilation into Australian society.

The next chapter will present the life histories of the women from the time of their arrival in Australia through their assimilation stage. They did not have any choice but to adapt to Australian culture and learn what it was to be a "good" Australian wife and mother.
In this chapter, we continue to follow the lives of the four women. Their narratives start with their reflections on the period of their departure from Japan for Australia in the early 1950s, and moves on to the initial stage of exposure and adaptation to Australian society and culture. When the war brides were walking across the gangplank in Kure to board the boats which would take them across to Australia, they were determined to establish their new lives in their husbands' country. However, it was beyond anybody's anticipation, including their own, how difficult it was to become Australians. The women's narratives in this chapter cover this in detail.

For the women, this period was as dramatic as the previous period when they experienced the war, the Allied occupation and encountered their husbands. After deciding to marry those soldiers, they left their families in Japan and moved to Australia where they were dispersed throughout the country as soon as they arrived. The only people they knew in Australia were their husbands.

Kiku Brown's story

In March 1953, I left Japan with Kimiko and Andrew from Kure for Australia on a boat called the Changte. Kimiko was four years old and Andrew was two. I packed our clothes and the souvenirs into two tea chests and brought them with us. When I was leaving, I did not feel like crying at all because I was so happy to join Mick in Australia. Actually, I just could not hide my joy. In contrast, my mother was very sad to see us go. She shed so many tears that I thought her kimono sleeves were soaking wet.

It took us almost a month to reach Australia. The boat stopped in Hong Kong for three or four days and we all went ashore. Although store vendors were trying to sell their goods to us by shouting, "Ten yen! Ten yen!" in Japanese, I could sense strong anti-Japanese feelings among the people there. There were five or six Japanese women on board the boat with us. Originally, we were going to travel on the previous boat, the New Australia, but I was told that there were going to be many single Australian soldiers on board the New Australia and those of us who were travelling without husbands were advised to travel on the Changte. On this boat were about three other Japanese women who were accompanied by their husbands.

On the boat, I managed to get to know the other women and we exchanged our addresses in Australia. What we mainly talked about was where we were going to live in Australia.
We managed to keep in touch for a while after our arrival, but I don’t know how they are doing now. The food on the boat was Western style and I got bored with it quickly. All I could think of was the urge to have pickled cucumber with *ochazuke* (a bowl of rice with green tea poured over it).\(^1\) I never thought that such a day-to-day dish would be a rarity in Australia. I used to say that if I could eat pickled Chinese cabbage, I would be happy to die until a friend of mine served it for me in Sydney many years later.

After stopping in Brisbane, the boat finally entered Sydney Harbour at night. I remember that Sydney Harbour Bridge was lit up at night and it was very beautiful. I was excited, but at the same time, I was worried about the new life in Australia because I could not understand the language at all. Mick and his brother were there to meet us and I was so happy to see Mick after almost a year. I dressed myself in a green suit with a green hat for they were Mick’s favourite. On our way to Mick’s parents’ house in Ashfield, he taught me the first English sentence. He told me to say “I laiki [like] Australia.” This sentence was the first one and the last one that Mick ever taught me. He used to say that it was much easier for him to say things in Japanese than teaching me to speak English. In the car, he told me to say the sentence aloud to his mother when I met her. So when his mother came out to meet me and kissed me on the cheek, I repeated this sentence. I remember she was pleasantly surprised and said, “I thought she did not speak a word of English, but she does.”

Mick is the ninth son in the family before a daughter was born finally after him. I saw a photo of young Mick when he was dressed more like a girl. After the arrival of the girl, I guess he was not paid much attention. I found out that two of his elder brothers were killed in New Guinea during the war, fighting against the Japanese. His mother, however, did not mention a thing about them to me. His brothers were also nice to me, but I had problems with some of their wives. One sister-in-law particularly was quite hostile to me and ignored me completely for quite a long time. She worked as a nurse in New Guinea during the war and did not like Japanese at all. I remember she said, “It smells Japanese here” when she came into the kitchen when I was helping my mother-in-law. When Mick suggested to her that she talk to me, she said that she would not because I did not understand English at all. Another sister-in-law refused to come into our house when I was present. She used to wait in the car while her husband was visiting us. Both of those women softened eventually and became nicer to me some years later. Of course, I did not bear a grudge against them when they wanted to be friendly, but it is not easy to forget how they had treated me initially.

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\(^1\) Pickled cucumber with *ochazuke* is a dish many Japanese prefer to have after eating rich food.
Since I arrived as a fiancé, Mick and I had our wedding ceremony at his mother's house on the fifth day after our arrival. I dressed myself in a kimono for the occasion. We already had two children, so I felt as if I was remarrying somebody with my own children.

A week after the wedding, we left for Darwin where Mick was working at the Army base. I felt we were going on a honeymoon trip together. We flew to Darwin and saw a wide spread of the land with trees and jungles. It had been a bit chilly in Sydney, but in Darwin, it was very warm. Later, Mick used to complain that he had to pay for our travel from Sydney to Darwin when other war brides' travel expenses were covered by the government. After I arrived in Darwin, I was told that I was the first Japanese resident since the war. The destruction caused by Japanese bombing around the port was still evident. Although people were generally nice to me in the camp, I could sense a cold reception towards me as a Japanese. When I went shopping, occasionally shopkeepers served other people first and kept me waiting even though they came into the shop later than me. At that time, since I was unfamiliar with the country, I was not sure whether the shopkeeper saw me or not. But I could sense that something was going on.

One day, a man stopped me in the town and asked me if I was from Japan. When I answered yes to his question he introduced himself. He was a Japanese Australian and kept his Japanese family name, Hasegawa, during the war in spite of the hostility towards the Japanese. He asked me why I came to Australia. I did not know why he asked the question then, but later I realised he actually wanted to ask me why I had chosen to come to Australia where discrimination against the Japanese was still very strong. I never saw him again.

Several months after our arrival, a colleague of my husband's brought two Japanese men to our house. A Japanese fishing boat came to Darwin and its crew wanted to visit me when they heard there was a Japanese living in Darwin. I was so overwhelmed to see Japanese faces and hear Japanese that I started to cry. They invited Mick and me to their boat and served us *sujiyaki*. Mick was happy to drink sake and I was so happy to see slices of pickled radish on a plate.

Mick started to drink soon after we settled in Darwin. He did not come home till one or two in the morning and I used to wait for his return. One difficult custom I had to get used to in the camp was to attend parties in the evenings with my husband. That was the hardest thing I had to do. I used to hate leaving my children on their own at night without anybody to watch them. We had to put them in bed and lock the bedroom door before we left. I heard many couples did the same. I was so worried about my children and felt...
awful thinking of them crying in the dark. Yet, I had no choice. Mick kept drinking and
drinking and did not come home unless I attended those parties with him. I did not enjoy
being at parties because I could not speak English and I did not drink or smoke. Mick
used to move to his friends' table to drink and I was left alone by myself all through the
evenings.

I had a funny experience around that time. One night, Mick brought his friend home after
a drinking session. In Japan, when a husband brings his guests home, his wife should
entertain them well. Therefore, I served them food and other things in order to entertain
them. Then, Mick started to bring his friends back to our house more frequently and I
had to do a lot of work for them late at night. Finally, I asked him why his friends started
to visit us more often. Mick was surprised to hear me ask this question, and said he did
that because I enjoyed looking after them. I was doing all that work just to please Mick,
not for myself!

Kimiko started preschool in Darwin soon after we arrived and started to learn English
very quickly. Although I was planning to study English after I arrived in Australia, I did
not have a chance to do that at all. I became pregnant with my third child in Darwin and
was busy looking after two small children. Mick used to tell me to learn English, but
what could I do? He did not teach me any and did not find a teacher for me. I did not
have money for lessons and time to study. So in our household, Mick and I were
speaking in Japanese and I used to talk to my children in Japanese with some English
words. The children answered in English. I did not how it worked, but my children
could understand what I was saying. When I said to them, "Bring a broom" in Japanese,
they did bring a broom. When the children were a bit older, they sometimes complained
that they could not understand what I was saying. According to them, I used to get upset
when I heard their complaints and told them to go to a Japanese school to learn Japanese.
I do not remember saying that, but that was what Kimiko said to me. The funny thing is
that Kimiko is now attending a Japanese language course at night. Finally, she is in a
Japanese school.

Initially I wanted to go to church in Australia because I had attended church for six
months in Japan before I came. At that time, I needed to have a reference from a minister
to obtain a permit to come to this country. The minister had suggested to me that I should
be baptised once I settled in Australia. I attended church services in Australia but I did
not know what they were saying. So I stopped going. The problems with the language
happened when I went shopping as well. I could not hear the price of goods so I used to
pay in notes and receive change in coins. We ended up with a big pile of coins at home.
Payment of £16 every fortnight was made to me by the Army as an allotment. The money Mick had sent us in Japan was more than sufficient there, but in Australia it was hard to make ends meet with that amount. The amount was directly paid from the Army to me and I did not know how much Mick actually earned. I never thought of asking him, or of asking him to increase the amount of allotment. I somehow believed that I needed to manage within the amount I received. Actually, the payment from the Army did not increase at all although the number of the children increased steadily. So child endowment from the government was the only other sources of income for me. Although the amount from the government increased according to the number of children, it was not easy to manage.

After eighteen months in Darwin, Mick was transferred to Welendrra in northern New South Wales. We moved a lot because of Mick' work. In fact, we moved eleven times in twenty years! I guess he must have asked for transfers. Basically, I did not mind moving because I liked to see new places and the Army moved our furniture for us. Yet, packing and unpacking were a lot of work. When we arrived in a new place, Mick went to the camp to drink with his mates straight away and I was left to do the unpacking on my own. I wished Mick would help me, but I almost gave up on him. At the same time, I was worried he might leave us if I made too much fuss. I would not have known what to do on my own with small children in a country where I did not know the language. With the transfers, the children needed to change their schools often and that was hard for them. I do not know how many schools Kimiko went to. I believe she went to several different primary schools and high schools.

After leaving Darwin, we went to Sydney to stay with Mick's mother until a house was ready for us in Welendrra. She was not very welcoming at the beginning and did not seem to be pleased to see a new grandson, Trevor. Although she herself had ten children, she never approved of me having many children. She often spoke as if it was my own fault for having so many children, and not her son's. After spending about a week with her, we moved to Welendrra on an overnight train from Sydney. There I met a Japanese woman, Tomoko who had also married an Australian soldier and we became firm friends for many years to come.

We spent two years in Welendrra. It was a quiet place with pasture all around the camp and I had my fourth and fifth children, Catherine and John, there. After that period, we moved to Cooee West near Gillgdedi. When I was in Cooee West, I wrote an essay and sent it in for an essay contest run by a Japanese women's monthly magazine, Shufu no
I won the contest and the essay was published in Japan under the title, "The rough road a war bride had to take."

Kiku did not have a copy of the essay with her when I interviewed her in Adelaide. However, she told me the title and approximate year of publication, and this enabled me to locate it in the Shufu no tomo Archive in Tokyo. The essay was published in 1958 and Kiku's account during the interviews accurately matched the essay which was written forty years ago. The following section is mainly based on an excerpt from the essay. (Personal and place names have been altered in order to protect the informant's privacy.)

After we settled in the Welendrra Camp, Mick started to stay away from home till late on many evenings. He always had some excuses, such as attending meetings, playing card games, or listening to his friends' woes. One day, two weeks before Christmas, he did not come home for lunch or dinner and at midnight he was still not at home. I was distressed and started to cry. When I looked outside through the window, I could see a house with bright lights on and I was just gazing at it with my teary eyes. The house belonged to a woman whose husband was away in Japan on duty. Then a man left the house being seen off by a woman and he got into a car. Then the car arrived at our house with Mick. Shocked to realise what was happening, I asked him if I could do anything to change the situation. Then he said, "You don't know anything about Australia and you do not understand English." I was really hurt by his words and said, "You knew that already when you married me, but you do not even try to teach me anything. You are a bad husband." The next day, I went to the woman's house with his clothes and demanded that she clean them for me and return them to me. Mick was surprised with my strong reaction that he apologised and asked for forgiveness. Thereafter, I tried to do my best to keep his attention from anything other than home and myself. You might think it was ridiculous, but I used to go to pick him up when he was late. I was desperate to keep him.

After two years in Welendrra, we moved to Cooee West, another country town near Gillgedi. I had five children by then. In spite of my efforts, Mick did not seem happy and started gambling. I tried my best to cheer him up, but one weekend he did not return home. I knew he had some worries. I heard that he had a fight with somebody who said that all the Japanese women who came to Australia were ex-prostitutes. I also heard that those servicemen who had married Japanese women would experience difficulties

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2 Shufu no tomo started as a monthly magazine for housewives in 1927 and became the top selling magazine in three years. Before the war, monthly sale of Shufu no tomo reached 1.6 million. The magazine has continued its publication up to the present.
getting promotion in the job. I thought our marriage was near to breaking up and wanted to go back to Japan. When I asked my children if they wanted to go back to Japan with me, Kimiko said, "I would go for a visit, but not to stay there for good." Since I did not know what to do, I finally decided to go to see Tomoko who was still in Welendrra. I took the two younger children with me. However, soon after we arrived there, I received a telegram which read that Mick had left for Darwin and I should get back as soon as possible for the children. When I arrived back in Cooee West, the children were very happy to see me and started to tell me what happened while I was away. Then Trevor complained that Mick did not play with him much because there was a lady visiting the house. Another one said that she left with her father in a car. When I heard it I had to go out of the house because I could not control myself in front of my children.

Kiku told me in detail what the children said about the woman when I interviewed her. Kiku burst into tears in front of the children, when Remi said, "The lady spent her time on Mummy's bed and she had a nightie with her in a bag,". Realising the distress those words caused her mother, she quickly stopped her brothers reporting further to her.

In spite of those heartbreaking experiences, I decided to remain in Australia and bring up our children as Australians. I just hoped that Mick would eventually realise his responsibilities as a father. After spending two months in Darwin, Mick came back and behaved as if nothing had happened between us. I did not object to that because I also wanted to have a fresh start.

(End of excerpts from the Shufu no tomo magazine article)

I was happy to win the essay contest. Not only the essay was published, but I was also awarded some prizes. The editor wrote to me to say that they would send me some Japanese goods instead of money because it was not easy to transfer money to Australia. I remember receiving Japanese foods in Cooee West. It was such a treat for me. However, some time later, I found out that my mother had read the essay in Japan. She was so distressed to learn that I had a hard time in Australia with my husband, that she could not sleep at night with worry for almost two months! I regretted that I had written that essay and felt sorry for my mother. After that I never wrote an essay nor a letter with anything bad or worrying to my family in Japan.

The next camp we moved was Moorebank near Sydney in 1960 and I had my seventh and last child there. There, I met a Scottish woman called Jenny, who had married an Englishman. She persuaded me to go out and mix with people. Until then, I did not have
much chance to meet people because I had so many children to look after. My English
did not improve much and I could exchange greetings in English, but not much more.
Jenny said, "Kiku, you should not stay only at your house. You can rely on Kimiko to
look after the younger ones. You need to spend an hour or two outside your home."
While we were playing darts together at the canteen, she taught me English. That was
how I learned English. So, it took me almost ten years before I could have conversations
in English.

Kimiko told me that she used to accompany her mother as an interpreter from a young
age and had responsibility for looking after her brothers and sister while her parents
were out. When I asked her how she felt doing those tasks for her mother, she answered,
"It was not so difficult, but it surely made me grow up faster."

In 1963, we moved to the Broadmeadows Camp in Melbourne. It was getting more and
more difficult to manage a household with seven children with the limited amount of
income. One day, our neighbour suggested that I should go out to work and she offered
to mind the youngest child during the day. A Japanese friend who was working in a
factory suggested that I apply there because they needed people who were clever with
their hands. So I started to work in the wiring section between seven and four every day.
I really enjoyed working there. I never realised how much fun it was to work because I
could get out of the house and mix with people. My supervisor was very happy to have
me because I could finish five items while others were struggling to finish three. I set
breakfast on the table before I left in the morning and prepared dinner for the family after
coming home in the afternoon. I was too busy to remember how I brought my children
up. To tell the truth, I do not remember about Catherine when she was young at all. Why
don't you ask her how I brought her and the other children up when you see her? Kimiko
told me I used to place rows of bread slices on the table to butter them and make many
sandwiches, but I do not remember that either.

While we lived in Melbourne I joined the Soka Gakkai. I had so many problems with
Mick, but I could not ask for help from my parents who were so far away. I felt other
Japanese women avoided me when I was in Melbourne. Maybe because I had too many
children, we started to have a reputation that our children were unruly. But with five
sons, how could we keep them under control all the time? Also they might have worried
that I would visit them with all my children if they invited me. One day, Hiroko, another
war bride in Melbourne, asked me if I was interested in attending a Soka Gakkai meeting.

3Soka Gakkai which was founded in 1930 is the largest new religion in Japan. It is an independent lay
organisation of the Buddhist sect Nichiren Shōshū. Its chief temple is Taiseki-ji, in Shizuoka Prefecture.
The number of followers counts 17 million in Japan (1985) and 1.26 million overseas (1989).
She did not know much about the religion, but was curious because the religion came from Japan. At the meeting, I decided to join the sect straight away because I could understand what they were teaching and was impressed by it. Even though I had to leave Melbourne soon after I joined, I have been a member of the sect ever since.

After Melbourne, we moved to Adelaide in 1965. When we arrived at Adelaide railway station, I remember a waitress' astonished look when Mick, I and our seven children were having breakfast at a station restaurant. Kimiko graduated from high school there and started a job at a bank. She actually wanted to become a teacher, but gave that up in order to help me financially. I did not want to move any more because of the children's education and work.

Although neither Mick nor myself were attentive toward our children's education, most of them did very well at school. I did not have any spare time to worry about their schooling. Actually, I did not know our second son, Trevor, won a Commonwealth scholarship with the top score until a Japanese friend whose husband worked for a newspaper congratulated me. In spite of winning the scholarship, he did not want to go to university. I was worried that he was missing a great chance, but Mick was not interested in his son's decision, so I consulted Andrew, our eldest son. Andrew said that it was up to Trevor whether he wanted to go to university or not. If he did not want to go, Andrew said, nobody could force him to go. I was not convinced, but maybe that is the way people think in Australia.

Kazuko Roberts's story

I do not remember when I left Japan for Australia. My sister tells me that it was around 1953 or 1954. I tend not to remember what happened in the past. I guess the name of the boat was Changte and the port we left was Kure, but I am not sure. There were some other Japanese women on board as well, but I do not remember their names either. Actually, I met two of them in Adelaide last year when I was there, but I cannot remember their names. I was travelling alone because Jack was already back in Australia. Jack met me in Melbourne and we travelled together to Wine Town where he was originally from.

It was such a surprise to see Wine Town. The town looked very shabby. I felt so shocked that my knees felt weak. I thought the dream about my new life had shuttered when I saw the town. Of course, I did not say such a thing to anybody there, but I felt sad and lonely when I arrived. As I said before, I brought many newly made clothes.

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4Wine Town is a pseudo name of a town on Murray River. The town is known as a centre of fruit growing area. Its population in 1954 was about 10,000.
from Japan and they remained fashionable for almost ten years in a place like Wine Town. After that, I always brought back most fashionable clothes from Japan when I went back. Women in Wine Town seemed to have only summer dresses, cardigans and coats. They wear summer dresses when it was hot and, in winter they just put on cardigans and a coat on top of summer dresses! So I was proud of my clothes there. I never felt that I was in any way "not up to it" in fashion while I was there.

On the day we arrived in Wine Town, Jack's mother left for a honeymoon with her new husband. She was seventy years old then. Maybe she thought that was the best arrangement for all of us, but I greeted her and by that evening she had gone away! Jack was working in an Army camp in Melbourne, but we had arranged to stay with his mother initially. As the youngest of twelve children, his mother still adored him more like a baby and wanted to keep him close by. Jack used to send money to his mother while he was in the overseas service and his mother bought a house with that money. So Jack assumed that his mother's house would eventually be ours. The arrangement was made and I would be living with my mother-in-law in Wine Town until Jack could get a transfer from Melbourne to Wine Town.

However, it was not as easy as we had expected to get a transfer and he worked in Melbourne for three years. He used to leave his work on Friday afternoons for Wine Town, spent his weekends with us and leave Wine Town on Sunday afternoons. During the week, I was with my mother-in-law. She decided to call me Kate because she could not pronounce my name, Kazuko, well. She did all the cooking in the house and I quickly learnt what Australians ate. You asked me if I learned to cook Australian food, but the Australian cooking around that time was so simple and monotonous, I did not have to learn much at all. There was certainly plenty of meat, but the meat was simply either stewed or roasted. There was not much variety in the vegetables, especially in Wine Town. Fruit was the exception. We had a lot of nice fruit. Since my mother-in-law did all the cooking, I did not have any Japanese food at home for a long time, maybe almost seven years, although I used to bring back some Japanese food when I visited Melbourne. Later a Chinese restaurant opened in the town and Jack and I often went there. Yet, looking back, although we used to think it was delicious then, the food they served was not great at all. They used too much cabbage in dishes, such as spring rolls.

Since I was on my own during the week, I wanted to find a job. I wanted to work as a hair dresser and my mother-in-law made an inquiry on my behalf. What we found out was that a hair dressing certificate in Japan was not recognised in Australia. If I wanted to work as a hairdresser, it was necessary for me to start again as an apprentice. I did not

5The distance between Wine Town and Melbourne is about 500km.
want to do that because I had already obtained my professional qualification in Japan. Furthermore, I kept thinking I would go back to Japan to run a hair dressing salon in the near future. I had promised my mother that I would come back to Japan sometime. So I did not want to waste my time in getting an Australian qualification. Then, a neighbour told us a dry cleaners needed somebody who could do garment mending. So, that was what I did. I worked there for several years and did some other jobs as well. I used to leave for work in the morning and come back in the evening for the dinner Jack’s mother prepared.

Looking back, I should have started as an apprentice and got a licence. If I had done that then, my English would have improved much quicker and my life might have been different. Although I attended an English conversation school in Kure before I left Japan, what I had learnt in Japan was not helpful at all. I had to learn English from my ears in Wine Town because I was the only Japanese there. Since I did not want my hair dressing skill to deteriorate, I used to cut and perm hair for my private clients on weekends. Jack drove me to those who wanted their hair done and picked me up. I liked brushing up my skill so I enjoyed doing that. Then, a complaint was lodged by a beauty salon that I was providing services without a licence and I had to pay a fine of two hundred dollars. After that I only worked for those who could shut their mouths.

Jack came back on weekends, but he was always busy with his sports and his mates. He played sports on Saturdays, cricket in summer and Australian rules football in winter. I used to go to watch his games and attended parties in the evenings. Jack started his pigeon racing again in Australia. A hut for the birds was built and he started to keep many pigeons. I used to look after them during the weekdays for him. On weekends, if he was not playing sports he spent many hours in the hut checking and admiring the pigeons. I really enjoyed myself when we were together having fun, but when I was by myself, I was overwhelmed with loneliness.

I wished I could have lived in Melbourne in those first years with Jack. If I had, my life might have been different. In Melbourne, I could have met other Japanese people and make friends with them. However, I was young and did not know anything, so I just did what I was told to do. I never encountered any type of discrimination in Wine Town while I lived there. It was a small country town and everybody was very nice to me. However, loneliness was always there with me as if it was a shadow. Maybe, I was not the type of person who would make friends easily. I tended to make up my mind and do things on my own. I did not have any close friends in Wine Town during the thirty years I was there.
After three years working in Melbourne, Jack left the Army and came back to Wine Town. He found a job as a fruit classer in the town and we lived with his mother. All those years, I was hoping to have a baby. In Japan, we say that if a bride does not become pregnant in the first three years, she has to wait till the seventh year. So I waited for seven years, but I never became pregnant. Actually, around the seventh year, my doctor said I was pregnant and I was overjoyed, but it turned out be a misdiagnosis. What a disappointment it was! We found out the cause of infertility was not me but Jack, probably because he has suffered malaria during the war in New Guinea. I was perfectly normal. One of his elder brothers was infertile as well. He was married when they found that out. His wife divorced him because of that. She wanted to have a baby. So she left him and remarried in Melbourne. I heard she has a few children from the second marriage. People in this country can act like that. They do things without sentiment.

The only thing I had to look forward to in Wine Town was to visit my Japanese friends on holiday in Sydney and Adelaide. So on every holiday, such as Easter, we used to visit them. We were young then, so we left at dawn and drove throughout the day without stopping till we arrived in Sydney in the evening. We did not mind doing that at all. We packed our lunch and thermos in the car and kept going until we were there. It was nice to see my Japanese friends and enjoy Japanese food, but I did not talk about my loneliness or problems to them. I did not want to show them my misery. I wanted to keep my composure.

All the first several years, I worked hard to save money and invested the money to buy a piece of land in Wine Town. However, I did not tell my mother-in-law about it. I thought I could always sell the land for money before going back to Japan to open a hair dressing salon. I could never make up my mind to settle down in Australia. I was always thinking of going back to Japan. Then, one day, Jack's mother found out that we owned the land for ourselves and suggested that we should build a house and move in. We could not say no to that suggestion and built our own house there. I thought we did not have any other choice. By then, Jack was not getting along with his mother and they used to quarrel a lot although I never spoke against my mother-in-law. So I thought we had better move out of the house.

Seven years after I arrived in Australia, we moved into our new house. Jack immediately built a pigeon hut by the house. Around that time, I finally came to terms with the fact that I had no choice but to settle down in Australia. The land I counted on as the starting capital for my plans in Japan had turned into the house. Jack was preoccupied with his pigeons. Furthermore, he started to get sick very often. Since he was such a sportsman,

6 The distance from Wine Town to Sydney is just over 1000km and to Adelaide is about 400km.
it was hard to believe how sickly he could be. It might have been because his mother was already forty-five when she delivered him. It is said a baby who is born close to the woman’s menopause can be sickly. He might be healthy for three or four years, then he could get seriously sick. He had internal problems and then suffered from skin cancer which appeared here and there. Eventually, he started to have problems with his lungs as well. When he was not well, he did not have anybody but me to look after him. In the early years of my marriage, I remember contemplating divorce and going back to Japan, but I could not leave Jack considering his situation.

I devoted myself in my work. That was the only thing I had for myself. I saved money and bought blocks of land. Eventually, we built town houses on those blocks and rented them out. I worked hard to build up our assets, but I have to say that the land was not too expensive in those days.

I wrote to my family in Japan from Wine Town very frequently. I wrote so often that even my sister who did not like writing letters felt obliged to send replies to me. In the letters, I never wrote about my loneliness or problems. I did not want them to worry about me. At the same time, I did not want to whine about my situation because I came to Australia despite strong opposition from people around me. I did not want them to say, "I told you so." Probably, I am strong headed and do not want to show my weakness to others. I did not ask my family to send me things from Japan. My sister was brought up in the country and she did not think of sending goods and books overseas. On the other hand, I used to send Christmas cake to my family in Japan every year. I washed the fruits myself. Sometimes, Jack helped me to wash the fruit because the amount was so much. Every year, I baked four cakes, and kept one to ourselves, gave one to Jack's mother, and sent the other two to my mother for herself and for my sister. Also, I knitted jumpers for my nephews and sent them to Japan. Although they thanked me, I never saw them wear them, so I stopped doing that.

I made several trips back to Japan while I was in Australia. I guess I could do that because we did not have any children. If I had had children, I could not have done such a thing for myself. My first trip was in 1958 and after that I came back to visit my family several times. Jack came with me to Japan a few times. I accumulated my holidays and stayed for almost three months. I guess Japanese people cannot stay overseas for so long because of their working conditions, but we could. We travelled by boat and the cruise

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7 Generally speaking, fruit cake is not a commonly served sweet in Japan and most Japanese people find the taste too rich and strong. Kazuko told me about her seasonal Christmas baking of fruit cake, in her sister's presence, but the sister did not make any comment how those cakes were appreciated among the family. I could sense the family in Japan did not really appreciate the cakes which were sent from Australia.
was very pleasant. I had chances to dine with the captain of the boat. In Japan, we enjoyed travelling. The Australian currency was strong around that time. One dollar was almost 400 yen, and everything in Japan was very cheap. I used to take my sister for trips such as to Mt. Fuji in our relative's car. Those trips were the most precious memories that I have of those holidays in Japan.

After giving up the idea of having our own children, we sometimes contemplated the possibility of adopting children. The church urged us strongly to adopt. However, my mother in Japan was totally against adoption. She said, "Children should be given to a couple naturally. Do not go against nature." My mother seemed to have said that even natural children abandon their parents, so adopted ones would do so. Well, I left my real mother behind in Japan, so I could understand what she wanted to say. Also around that time, a few adopted children committed suicide in the area when they found out that their parents were not real parents. I did not have enough courage to adopt children. When the pressure from the church for adoption became too strong, I used my trips back to Japan as an excuse to get away from the town.

In the early seventies, Jack started to suffer from skin cancer. He needed complicated treatment because the cancer cells started to appear in various parts of his body. He played a lot of sports, such as cricket and Australian Rules football in the sun in his youth and that must have damaged his skin. We needed to travel long distances to the hospitals in bigger cities, such as Melbourne and Adelaide, for treatment. Finally, the cancer appeared on one of his ears and part of the ear had to be removed. Furthermore, the skin cancer close to the brain was dangerous, so we decided to move to Adelaide where he could receive better treatment.

In the meantime, Jack retired from his job as a fruit classer around 1981. Australia was in recession then and it was difficult for even younger people to find jobs. There was not much prospect of Jack finding another job. So I decided to leave Australia to come back to Japan. I thought if we were going to live on a pension, it did not matter where we were, either in Japan or Australia.

I had never forgotten the promise I had made to my mother that I would eventually come back to Japan. My sister took care of my mother for thirty years, so I thought it was going to be my turn. I never thought of going back to Japan on my own. Jack was going to come with me. He liked Japan and did not mind going back there again. Jack did not oppose my idea of moving to Japan, probably because he also remembered the promise he had made to my mother. In addition, I wanted take Jack away from Australia. He was

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8The current exchange rate in 1999 is about 74 yen to a dollar.
not enjoying good health. The skin cancer kept appearing in various parts of his body and I was convinced the Australian sun was the cause of the illness. His skin was continually damaged by ultraviolet light as long as we lived in Australia. Furthermore, it was getting obvious that his lungs had started to get worse. He used to have a fever with an unidentified cause and had to take aspirin tablets in order to bring down the temperature. Doctors could not specify the cause, but I was convinced that his hobby of keeping racing pigeons was the cause. I heard it was a disease pigeon keepers often suffered from and actually we knew a person who died from it. Jack spent hours on end in the cage with the birds. There were always dust and feathers in the hut and he breathed them for many years. I was quite confident that was the cause of his lung problems, but he did not pay attention to my concern at all. I thought by taking him to Japan, I could separate him from his pigeons. Furthermore, it was getting obvious that the Australian sun was causing a lot of damage to his skin. I thought things would be better in Japan for Jack's health.

In 1983, we came back to Mihara to live with my mother and step-father. We sold our flats in Wine Town and brought the money with us to build a new house for all of us.

Tomiko Cooper's story

I left Kure with three year old Helen in March 1953. We travelled by boat, the New Australia. There were thirty-nine war brides on board, the largest number of the women leaving for Australia up till then. Many women had their children with them as I did, and some were accompanied by their husbands. As well as war brides, on board were a large number of Australian soldiers who were going home to Australia after serving in Korea.

I remember it was a very windy and cold day in Kure, but my parents and relatives came to see us off at the harbour. They were going to wait till the boat left the port, but a Japanese woman had a miscarriage after getting on board and caused a delay in our departure. I had to signal to my people to go home because we did not know when the boat would leave. By the time I woke up the next morning, the boat was already sailing on the ocean. Although my family were all very sad to see us leave I had to say that I was more excited and happy to go to Australia than sad to leave Japan. I could hardly contain my excitement.

Most of the other Japanese women on the boat were dressed nicely, but I did not have many clothes to change into. I had packed all our belongings in a box before we left Japan. The trip was nice and peaceful for me because Helen slept most of time with sea

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9There is a disease, psittacosis, which is a pneumonia caused by a virus carried by birds. Although Kazuko did not mention the name of this particular disease, John's symptom seemed to be similar to it.
sickness. But once, I could not find her and searched frantically everywhere on the deck. When I finally found her, she was standing among the Australian soldiers, happy to be the centre of attention. Everything was a new experience to me on the boat because previously I had not had much chance to practice a Western living style. Somebody got into trouble with the crew when she washed her body outside the bathtub just as in a Japanese-style bath and flooded the bathroom floor. Luckily, an Australian-Japanese couple, Mr. and Mrs. Davidson, were very kind to me and helped me in many ways. They assisted me to read menus in English at the dining table, and ordering dishes for courses. Once I told the waiter that I wanted to have all three dishes listed for the same course. The Davidsons fixed that up for me without making me feel embarrassed. I had read a book on Western table manners before I left, but I had to copy other members table manners during meals.

On the boat, many of us from Japan stayed together and talked about our plans in Australia. Somebody made an address list of all the women and I kept it for a long time, but I do not know where it is now. When people realised that my residencial address in Sydney was going to be at Camperdown, some Australians were clearly not impressed. I guess the area had a rather bad reputation at that time although the street we lived in was in a nicer area of the suburb. We used to say among ourselves, "This must be the best time for us. Once we arrive in Australia, we will be all separated and won't be able to see each other for a long time."

We arrived in Sydney after thirteen days on the boat. There were hundreds of people at the harbour to meet the boat because many soldiers were coming home from Korea. Many of those big young men were crying when the boat was going into the Harbour. It was a very emotional scene. I managed to find Paul and his father among the crowd and waved my hand frantically to signal them until they saw us. When I left Japan I was too excited to go to Australia to be sad. However, when we arrived in Sydney, I suddenly felt very anxious to be in a country where I did not speak the language. I clearly remember that all I wanted to do then was to turn around and go back to Japan. I felt that Helen could and should stay in Australia, but I wanted to go back to Japan.

10 According to a record in the Australian War Memorial (AWM 114 [130/2/54]), the breakfast menu of the New Australia on 3 April, 1953 shows that, rolled oats, breakfast cereal, fish kedgeree, bacon, eggs, fried lambs' liver, were served with bread and tea and coffee. For lunch, puree of split peas, savoury fish cakes with anchovy sauce, boiled round of beef and dumplings, veal saute with potatoes were served as a hot meal and, roast mutton, preserved beef, and salad were on the cold meal menu. Deserts were baked rice custard and almond Bavarois. The dinner menu was cream of celery, grilled fish, braised sweetbreads, roast leg and shoulder of pork, ducking a l'Orange, dressed savoy cabbage, and roast and boiled potatoes, and then plum pudding and trifle anglaise for desert.
Becoming Australians 139

Helen and I settled in Paul's father's house in Camperdown. Paul's younger brother, who was living with him, left the house to go to his sister's soon after our arrival. Maybe, he was horrified with the food I served him. It had been almost six months since Paul and I were together in Japan, but he was transferred to Canberra by the Army soon after we arrived. According to Paul, we could not move to Canberra with him since there was an acute housing shortage in Canberra. He also said that if a Japanese wife could get housing immediately after arrival, some Australian people might not be pleased. So we had no choice but to live in Sydney and see Paul on every other weekend.

Before we left Japan, Paul's brother's wife wrote a kind letter to me. That was the only letter I received from Paul's family, so she was the only one who received a present from me from Japan. I gave her a set of three necklaces and a bracelet as a present. Although they were not very expensive items, she liked them very much. She took pity on me, saying, "You are just like a lone sheep in a large pasture on its own" and helped me settle in soon after arrival. She travelled an hour to my father-in-law's house by train every morning for about ten days to help me. The interval became once a week after that, but she still came to see me. At the beginning, she showed me where the shops were and how to do shopping, and introduced me to people in the neighbourhood. She had three close friends who lived nearby, so we visited them in the afternoons. Actually, those friends admired the necklaces I gave her so much that she decided to share them and gave one necklace to each of her close friends. Her husband was working for the State Railway and she and her husband used to live in a tent house by the railway. I remember walking along the railway line with her to pick up the coal that fell from freight trains for stove fuel. I told her then that I would write a book about my experiences in Australia some day and would definitely include the coal picking experience. She was very much interested in the idea and asked me occasionally afterwards if I had started my book.

Paul's father was a retired chef who had worked in the Army. When I was not sure how to cook certain things, I used to ask him, "Papa-san, what should I do?" He told me to use a spoon to pour hot water into a jug when I was making jelly so that the jug would not break. I learned to prick holes on sausages when I cooked them. He used to dip toast in the fatty dripping of the sausage and eat it! Although the house was in the middle of Sydney, facilities were very basic. I was shocked to find out that there was no running water in the kitchen. We had to bring basins of water from the washroom into the kitchen for cooking and washing up. No wonder the Australians do not rinse dishes after washing them in soapy water. Gas was operated by coins and Paul used to put many coins in when he was home from Canberra. One day, a man from the gas company came to the house to collect the money when I was by myself. Previously, my father-in-law told me not to let anybody in the house when I was alone, so I refused his entry and sent
him away. Eventually, he came back with our neighbour who explained who he was so I let him come into the house. This episode amused my father-in-law greatly and he proudly told other people that I had flatly refused to let the gas man come in, and he chuckled to himself.

People in the neighbourhood were nice to us. Helen started to speak English soon after we arrived. She became friendly with a Scottish lady nearby and picked up her accent. I remember shop keepers found it amusing to hear the half-Japanese half-Australian girl speak in a Scottish accent. They all knew my father-in-law, and my mother-in-law who had died sometime before. They used to say nice things about her but not about him. Eventually I found out that his bad reputation was to do with his drinking problems.

A few months after we arrived in Australia, my father-in-law got so drunk that I could not stay in the same house with him. It was a cold day in June, and I decided to go to Canberra with Helen that evening. I packed a few nappies and my underwear in a suitcase and left the house with Helen. Although I did not know how often the trains services ran between Sydney and Canberra, we went to Central Station and bought tickets to Canberra. Luckily, the train was departing for Canberra very soon. Then I had a problem. Helen fell asleep and I could not carry the sleeping child and a suitcase at the same time to the platform. I stopped and wondered what to do. Then a man saw us and asked "What are you doing? Where is your husband?" I told him that I was travelling with my daughter to Canberra where my husband worked. He carried Helen for me while I carried my suitcase. He found a porter who carried our luggage to the train and found a compartment with a female passenger. The man then said to me, "There must be a reason to travel at this time of the day with a little child. Does your husband know that you are coming?" When I said that he did not know anything yet, he offered to contact him to let him know of our arrival. He bought some milk and biscuits for us and asked me if I had some money with me. Although I declined his offer to loan me money, he insisted and left ten pounds with me with his address so that I could return the money later. He was such a kind man.

We arrived in Canberra the next morning and Paul was at the station to meet us. When he saw us, he said, "Why did you come to Canberra? There is no place for you to stay. Why don't you stay in Sydney?" So I said to him, "I have been staying away from you all the time. I was staying away in Japan and again staying away in Sydney. You told me to stay somewhere and I stayed there. But I am your wife now and I will stay where you stay." Paul did not know what to say, so he went to see a church minister and found accommodation for Helen and I to stay for the night. I had realised that I just needed to do something to open up a new direction for my life. That was why I ran to Canberra on
that winter night. When we were in Japan, I could not insist on living with him for a long
time because we were not married. But I was married to Paul then; I could insist on that
as a wife.

Paul brought us back to Sydney but promised me he would find a place to stay in
Canberra. After a month or so, we moved to a rented room in a house in East Canberra.
It was around August 1953. Unfortunately, I got sick later that year. When Paul's
brother and his wife visited us in Canberra, they found me thin and pale. My sister-in-
law insisted that something was wrong with me and took Helen and me back to Sydney
to care for me. The cause was an infection in ovaries and I was hospitalised. During my
time away, Helen was looked after very well by my sister-in-law and her husband.

In May 1954, we moved into a house in Campbell. I was expecting to deliver Jane in a
month's time then. I remember that the garden looked very sad with frosts, but I was
happy to plan what I wanted to grow in the vegetable garden in the coming spring.

Paul went and bought furniture for our new house by monthly instalments, but the
repayments were my responsibility. I used to receive 17 pounds every fortnight as the
allotment from the Army. I did not know how much Paul was earning and we never
discussed that. The amount was fixed and I did not and could not ask for more from my
husband. It is still like that now. He pays his groceries and cost related to our house, and
I pay for my own groceries. So although he was the one who chose the furniture then, I
was the one who had to pay it off from our household money. The amount I received
from the Army was not enough and I had to use my own savings from Japan. Paul never
assisted me financially with the children's education or their medical costs other than the
allotted amount. I had to somehow manage by myself. So naturally we could not afford
to feed ourselves with anything fancy. We used to have a lot of minced meat and
sausages. Paul never complained because he knew that the amount I was receiving was
not much. The only thing he ever bought for me was a pair of shoes many years ago.
One day, we all went out to dig potatoes which were left over after harvesting. At that
time, he saw my shoes and realised there was a hole in them. So he bought me a new
pair. But that was the only thing he ever bought for me for all these years.

Although we desperately needed more money, I hesitated to take up a job when I was
asked to work as a typist in the Japanese department in the university around 1957 or
1958. I did not go out to look for a job, but the professor wrote asking me to work for
the department probably because they heard about me. There were only a few Japanese
living in Canberra around that time. Since my educational background was minimum, I
did not have enough confidence to work in the university. However, Paul was very keen
for me to take up that offer. Australian men think that women who stay at home are just wasting their time. Paul took me to see a minister and both of them persuaded me to give it a try. That was how I started work.

As Jane was still small, I worked only one day a week at the beginning. After a few years, I was asked to assist the academic staff as a language tutor in classes. Gradually the number of hours I worked increased and from 1963 till 1968 I worked as a full-time tutor in the department. I could not give lectures on the Japanese language and the academic staff told the students not to ask me questions. However, I asked my uncle in Japan to send me books on Japanese language grammar and studied them. It was exhausting to work full time and I used to get sick probably from exhaustion during the term breaks. Yet, I enjoyed teaching at university very much.

I obtained my driver's licence while I was working at the university. Paul used to drive me to work and pick me up afterwards. Yet, sometimes, I had to wait for a long time in the cold weather because he was late. In the meantime, Paul was going to be transferred to Sydney and was planning to sell the car before he left. I did not want him to sell the car because I was paying it off. If we sold the car then, it was obvious that we would lose some money. I went to the car registration office and told them that I was intending to transfer the ownership of the car from my husband to myself, but I was told I could not do so because I did not have a driver's licence. So I decided to get a licence by taking driving lessons. I did not tell my husband about my driving lessons because he always looked down on women drivers. I arranged for a driving instructor to come to meet me at the university after work and drop me off at home after lessons.

When I finally passed the driving test, I went to the registration office to change the car registration and saw the officer who previously told me that I had to have a driver's licence to own the car. When I told him that I got the licence, he looked rather surprised and said, "You did get the licence." Soon after I got the licence, I drove to Sydney to see Paul with my two daughters. The road between Canberra and Sydney was then still a winding and narrow country road. When we arrived in Redfern, I rang Paul to announce our arrival. He was shocked to know that I had driven all the way by myself and told us to wait until he would come to meet us.

Life in Campbell in the 1950s was quite basic. Both cooking and heating stoves were heated by wood. Chopping pine off-cuts was the husbands' job in most of the families, but since Paul was not reliable I eventually started to chop wood with an axe. When I remember the way we lived, I cannot help shedding some tears. Paul always went out for a drink after work and came home for late supper, which he ate on his own. Although he
liked alcohol so much, he never had a drop at home. But on Sundays, he used to take
over all the household chores: looking after the children, cooking baked dinners for us
and taking us all for a movie in the evening. So I remember thinking that Sunday must be
a rest day for a mother in this country. Later, on Sundays, all of us sat in front of the TV
and watched football games together. The children did not make any noise in front of TV
when they were with their father. He was a stern and silent father for my daughters.
Although both Helen and Jane went through a phase of teenage revolt against me, they
never ever talked back to their father. They were like that all through until he died.

Since I started to work when Jane was small and was always busy, the children virtually
brought themselves up. Helen was a very reliable daughter and she dressed Jane and
took her to school. She used to help me with housework as well while I worked. Helen
used to be a very obedient child with me when she was young. When I went back to
Japan with my daughters in 1963, my brother asked me whether Helen was clever or
dumb. He did not know because she always followed my instructions without any
objection. Then, she started to talk back to me after she joined a debating team in high
school. Apparently, a teacher told the students that they should assert what they thought.
She became the leader in a debating team and she was too good for me to argue with. I
could not say a word to her. I was upset and could not help crying with indignation in
the backyard after being beaten by my own daughter in arguments.

My children used to observe the way of life of other Australian families and reported
back to me. Since I did not know how things were run in Australia, I learned quite a lot
from them. When they became teenagers, they did not want to listen to me any more.
When Helen wanted to buy a new pair of shoes, she asked for money from me but went
and bought a pair for herself. If I disapproved the style, she said, "This is not Japan.
This is Australia."

By the early 1960s, other Japanese women whom I knew had started to go back to Japan
for visits. One day, I finally shed some tears and said to Paul "My friends are all going
back to Japan, but I will never be able to afford to go." I was not blaming him, but just
sad that I had not been back to Japan. Then, a few days later, we found three tickets to
Japan on the table. Paul had bought a house in Sydney when he left the Army a few
years before, but sold it to buy our tickets. He said, "Other women are going to travel in
the cheapest class at the bottom of the boat, but your cabin is a much better one." During
our six months stay in Japan in 1963, Helen's Japanese improved tremendously and we
still talk to each other in a mixture of English and Japanese.
I worked at the university till 1968 then I resigned. I turned forty and had paid off all our debts from monthly instalment purchases, so I wanted to have a break. I also wanted to spend some more time with my children. I also felt I had saved enough for my daughters' education and their weddings. Since my wedding was such a miserable one, I was determined that my daughters would have proper weddings. To my disappointment, however, both Helen and Jane decided to get jobs rather than to study further. They said that in Australia people could go back to study if they really wanted to, so they would rather work.

After finishing work at the university, I enjoyed staying at home and attended an English course. Although I obtained a certificate for finishing the course, my English never improved dramatically. I did not have much problems finding jobs teaching Japanese privately even after I left the university. The Department of Foreign Affairs used to refer people who were going to be sent to Japan to me for private lessons. I went to Osaka while Helen was working in the Australian pavilion at the Expo because she became homesick. She met an Englishman there and married him a few years later in China. Sadly their marriage ended in divorce and her ex-husband and her daughter live in England now.

After a few years break from work, I started to work for the University library in 1973 and stayed there for seventeen years till 1990. All through those years, my status remained as a temporary staff member, but I really enjoyed my work. I was in the Japanese collection section in charge of all the periodicals. It was a busy job, but I was responsible for my own work, so it was worth putting a lot of effort into it. When I left the library in 1990, I did not have any superannuation, but had saved a certain amount of money.
Becoming Australians

Toshiko Hudson's story

In 1955, we left Japan for Australia on the boat, the Changte. I do not remember the date of our departure, but Ben was about three years old then and that means I was twenty-two. David was travelling with us. The United Nations where David used to work paid all the moving cost, so we brought almost everything from Japan, including a refrigerator, since we knew many electric appliances were not yet available in Australia around that time. Other Japanese women got on the boat from Kure. I was hoping to make friends with them, but they did not think that way at all. Since I was accompanied by my husband and was from Tokyo with a Tokyo accent, the women did not regard me as one of them. They used to call me "stuck-up." I was not "stuck-up." I could not stay up late chatting with them because I had a son and a husband with me. So I did not manage to get to know any of the women well while we were travelling. However, after we arrived in Sydney, a few of them contacted me because they themselves did not know any Japanese close by.

It took us almost a month to travel to Australia because the boat stopped in Hong Kong and other places. The trip was pleasant for us, but I could see it was a big challenge for some women. One day, at a dining table, a woman was crying and we were asked to assist her by a bewildered waiter because he knew David was fluent in Japanese. We found out that she was crying because she did not know how to use a knife and fork. She said she wanted to use chopsticks instead of western cutlery. I felt sorry for her. I was accustomed to western table manners because my husband had used a knife and fork in Japan, but I would have preferred to use chopsticks.

After we arrived in Sydney, we lived with David’s parents for three years in a beach suburb outside Sydney. Their house was on top of a hill and we had already bought a block of land next to theirs while we were in Japan. My father-in-law was still at sea as a captain on a merchant ship, so I spent most of the time with my mother-in-law. Since David wanted to start something new, he decided to open a radio shop which sold communication equipment. You asked me why he did not want to use his language skill in Australia. In Japan, he spoke Japanese so fluently that he was taken as a native Japanese speaker. However, the times were different. He was not an academic type who would pursue Japanese related research in universities. Nobody wanted to learn Japanese in Australia in the 1950s. Furthermore, David wanted to start anew and did not even look into the possibility of using his Japanese language skill.

There was a big change waiting for us in Australia. As soon as we arrived in Australia, David stopped using Japanese. Up till then, we were all speaking in Japanese at home. I

11 "stuck-up" is the exact English expression Mrs. Drover used during the interview.
did not know much English and our son, Ben, had started to talk in Japanese. Since
David's decision to come back to Australia was to bring up Ben as an Australian, not as a
Japanese, he decided to speak in English only. As for me, I had to mix Japanese and
English when I talked to David for quite a long time, because I could not express myself
well in English. But when I did that, David always answered me in English. I managed
to take an English correspondence course in Sydney, but I doubt if my English improved
through this course. I learned English through my ears. These days, people say that it is
a pity that none of our children know Japanese, but times were different. David did not
want them to be any different from other Australian boys. As for myself, I struggled in
English. I talked to my children in broken English rather than in Japanese because
I thought it was the best thing for them and for myself to learn English. I had some
Japanese picture books for the children, but I never read them to them nor talked about
Japan to them. When I look back, I guess I could have done those things, but I never did.
I cut off Japan and my Japanese background from myself and my children. I thought that
was the best for them.

While we were staying with David's parents, our second son, Michael, was born in 1957.
The third son, Robert, was born in 1959 and the last one, Anthony, in 1966 after some
years gap from the rest. I did not find it easy to live with my mother-in-law with small
children although we ended up staying with them for three years. For part of this period,
David was away. He sold his radio shop after a year and joined the Air Force. He was
working in a base during the week and coming home on weekends. I felt my mother-in-
law did not like children although she herself had six. Ben was still small and curious
and wanted to touch everything in sight. Yet, my mother-in-law used to tell him off by
saying, "Don't touch my furniture!" She never picked up the children. When Michael
was a baby and started to cry, I had to take him downstairs immediately so that his crying
would not bother her. He was put in a pram and left to cry so long that I still feel guilty
even now. He is the most quiet and inarticulate one among the four. I cannot help
wondering whether the way I treated him when he was a baby might have caused that
slowness in speech. As a mother, I am afraid that I did not give him enough intellectual
stimulation and that caused some delay in its development.

I learned to cook some Australian dishes by watching my mother-in-law, but it was not
difficult at all. Australian cooking was simple and people usually ate chops, roast or
savoury mince. Actually, I had already learnt about western cooking in Japan by reading
American cookbooks because David did not like Japanese food. Of course, I missed
Japanese food, but it was not easy to cook it because the ingredients were difficult to buy

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12 Brian confirmed this in his interview. He asserted that his children acquired a stronger sense of being
Australian by speaking only English without knowing Japanese.
in our area. I was the only Asian in the neighbourhood and there was not even a Chinese shop nearby. David said to me that I could cook whatever I wanted for myself at home and I took his word for that. One day, I cooked some Japanese food, probably seaweed cooked in soy sauce and sugar for myself when I was on my own. When my mother-in-law came home, she did not say anything to me, but started to open all the windows of the house as soon as she came in. So I realised that cooking Japanese food was not such a wise thing to do in her house. From then on, I only cooked Japanese food when she went away for several hours so that I could finish cooking, eating, washing up and getting rid of the smell before she came home. When I look back, it was a very difficult time for me. David later apologised to me by saying that he did not consider those factors at all at that time. I have to admit that I really hated her meanness and thought she was a mean piece of work occasionally, but she also had to live with a daughter-in-law who hardly spoke the language. So I guess she also had a hard time as well and I cannot blame her totally. I do not think I can live with my son and daughter-in-law.

Since David wanted my boys to be Australian, he was the one who decided how to bring them up. I had no idea what was the Australian way was and had to accept what he said or did as the right way in Australia. There were several things which I did not like, but could not oppose him and his family. One of them was the eating arrangement for meals. David wanted the children to be fed separately before the adults were. So I needed to cook twice, one meal for children and another for adults. Not only that, we did not get together to eat as a family. The children were fed before the adults and put into bed by the time the grown-ups were ready to eat. I never liked that arrangement because my family in Japan always had meals together and talked about what happened on that day at the table. I wanted to be closer to my boys by sharing meals, however messy and noisy they could be. However, David wanted the other way because that was the way he was brought up. I believed that all Australians ate meals in that way. I still feel this arrangement caused some distance between us and the children, especially between David and the boys. They are not that close from my point of view. It took a long time before I realised that not all Australian parents ate their meals separately. I found that out from our neighbour in Melbourne when we moved there in the 1960s. I felt rather cheated to have believed what David said was the Australian way.

I also did not like my husband disciplining the boys by hitting them. He used to say that the boys were too small to comprehend reasoning and that it was better to remind them through the pain in their bodies. I thought that this was a very barbaric thing to do to small children, but again I was resigned because I believed that this was the Australian way to rear children. I could not oppose to David because I knew he was trying so hard to bring them up as Australians. I did not want to undermine his efforts.
Many a time, I wished I was born as an Australian. Then I would not have to find out how Australians would act and think. I would just know, wouldn't I? As an outsider, I did not have a clue, and that was why I had to depend on David even though I sometimes did not agree with him. The reason I would not recommend international marriages for other women was because of this factor. I often though that I could do a certain thing with my children if we were in Japan, but I had to do another thing because I was in Australia. I did not like that at all.

As I said before I was the only Japanese in the community when we moved in with David's family. After three years, we built our house on the next block to their house, on top of the hill. People were nice to me. People knew me as the daughter-in-law of the Hudsons. Nobody had ever called me a "bloody Jap" or anything like that. On the other hand, my boys had a hard time at school as the only Asian faces in the dominantly Anglo community. They often came back with bloody noses from fights, but they never said anything to me about the cause of those fights. Probably it was because they knew that I would be saddened by that. David used to tell them to fight back. He wanted them not to be beaten, but fight back. If we had lived in the Western suburbs of Sydney or if David had been in the Army, the situation might have been different. There would have been more Japanese around. On the other hand, there were hardly any servicemen who married Japanese women in the Air Force. So when he was later posted to Malaysia and Darwin, I was always the only Japanese in the military community. By the way, I met two Japanese women who were married to Army servicemen when were were posted in Malaya. After I started to get to know them, I realised that they gossiped and talked behind each other's back. So I never really wanted to be close to them. I do not like talking about other people.

I kept close contacts with my parents in Japan, but I never wrote to them about any hardship I experienced. I did not want them to worry about me. Furthermore, I knew they could not do much to help me any way. Soon after we arrived in Australia, they used to send me Japanese books and magazines, but eventually, I asked them to stop sending them. I thought I should not read only Japanese books because I was destined to live in Australia not in Japan. I should read English books and magazines instead of Japanese ones. I started to read magazines, such as the *Australian Women's Weekly* with a dictionary. These days, I can read them without dictionaries, but reading has never become my way of relaxation. I knit when I am relaxing.

Before I left Japan for Australia, my parents said to me, "You can come back if you want to. We will send some money for you to return." I used to feel that I could come back to
Japan if I did not like Australia. So I did not think that I would never see Japan and my parents again. I decided to come to Australia to see if I would like it here. However, I felt the distance to Japan widened slightly when I had my second son. By the time I had my third son and the fourth son, I realised I had reached the point of no return. It finally came to me that I would never leave Australia to return to Japan. The "run-away money" which I brought with me from Japan all disappeared in various expenses for the family. My boys were growing up as Australians and did not speak a word of Japanese. Even if I took them back to Japan, we would be dependent on my father for our living. I did not like that idea at all. He once told me that women who had associated with foreigners would wear that stigma for life. So I did not think I could remarry properly in Japan. In contrast, David did not realise that I had reached the point of no return. So when my father sent me the money to visit Japan in 1968 and I took that offer, he was worried that I might not come back to Australia. I could not imagine leaving Australia without my children. That was completely out of the question.

David joined the Air Force around 1957. He was keen on radio equipment then and wanted to work in communications as a technician. With his military background and experience in Japan, he could have joined the Air Force at a much higher rank, but he chose to join as a new recruit. He said he would prefer to work in the radio section rather than serving as an officer. His father was quite upset about David's decision to start from the bottom. Eventually, in 1965, he was recommended for a commission from his senior officers and went through the selection process without any problems. Actually, he was told that his marks were one of the top ones among the candidates. Then, we did not hear the result for a long time. Most of his fellow candidates were accepted for a commission, and eventually his application was refused without any specific reason. If we had not found out anything else, he might have given up the commission by thinking that he was not good enough. However, he heard his senior officer's casual comment that he was regarded as a security risk because he was married to me.

I had obtained Australian citizenship as soon as I was eligible for naturalisation. I did that not because I felt loyal to the country, but David told me that only Australian citizens would be entitled to receive child endowment. Anyway, I was an Australian when the problem with David's commission occurred. When we heard of the possible reason for the rejection, both of us felt very upset. We thought we needed to do something to remedy the situation, otherwise our children would face a similar problem due to the fact their mother was previously a Japanese and an enemy alien.

David started to write to his senior officers about his grievances. I drafted a letter in Japanese and David translated it for me to send to the Department of Immigration and our
local parliamentarian, W. C. Wentworth. Actually, David virtually wrote the letter for me. In addition, David's father wrote to Mr. Wentworth separately, asking for assistance on this matter. In those letters, we emphasised that a naturalised Australian citizen should have the same treatment as an Australian who was born here. We had to write a few more letters after H. V. Casey, Commonwealth Director of Immigration, replied that an officer's commission was not a matter for them, but for the RAAF. However, the following is what I wrote to Hubert Opperman, Minister of Immigration in 1965:

Dear Sir,

I am a naturalised Australian. I was naturalised about eight years ago. According to the certificate, I am entitled "to all political rights, powers and privileges, and become subject to all obligations, duties and liabilities to which an Australian citizen or a British subject is entitled or subject and have to all intents and purposes the status of an Australian citizen and British subject". However, I have just found out that this is not quite true in practice.

My husband, a serving member of the RAAF, has just been refused a commission, solely, I believe, because of my Japanese origin. Not only is this a deep personal insult but it also has some terrible implications. It implies that I am not a loyal Australian. It implies that my three sons may receive similar discriminatory treatment when their turn comes to serve their country and it denies the content of my naturalisation certificate.

In view of the current campaign to encourage new Australians to become naturalised, I ask that you investigate this discriminatory treatment and obtain an apology for me from the officials concerned.

Yours faithfully,

T. Hudson

After we wrote all those letters, we finally received a letter from the Minister of Air that David was to be offered a commission in the RAAF at the end of that year.

A few years later, my eldest son, Ben, took an entrance examination at Point Cook in order to become an Air Force officer. We were not sure whether he would be accepted because of my origin and my husband was rather pessimistic about his prospects. There had not been any Australian-Japanese cadets in that institution before. Sure enough, he was asked at the interview what he thought about his mother's origin and he answered, "I never think about it." Luckily, he was accepted as the first Australian-Japanese.
Apparently, he was given a nickname, Tōjō, at the beginning, but he graduated with the honour of being "the most improved student" at the end. If he had remained intimidated by being given a nickname such as that, he would not have made such an achievement. He certainly beat the derogatory label.

Since my first trip back to Japan in 1968, I have been lucky to visit Japan every two years thanks to my father. He sent me 400,000 yen, which was quite a sum around that time, to cover the cost of travel between Australia and Japan every other year. In Japan, he gave me pocket money to buy things for myself and family. As I did not need to ask for any money for those visits, David could not refuse to let me go. I did not bring my children back with me for those visits because they did not speak any Japanese and, of course, travelling with children would be much more expensive than by myself.

I stayed at home with the children until they all grew up. David was very old fashioned and wanted to remain the breadwinner. He did not want his wife to go out to work. Actually, after I had my third son, I almost started to work for a Japanese company which had an office in Sydney. They offered me a position as a secretary and I was keen to start. Then, David opposed that, and that was the end of that.

In 1977, when we were living in Melbourne, David retired from the Air Force. He did some part-time work teaching Japanese at school and teaching English on Radio Australia until he was offered a job in the public service. We moved to Canberra in 1989 by ourselves. By then, all four boys had left home.

**Discussion**

The narratives in this chapter have started at the period of their departure from Japan in the early 1950s. This was a period of intense emotion for the women; it was filled not only with sadness of leaving their families behind but also with the excitement generated by moving to new lives in Australia. Most of the women remembered their experiences in amazing detail even after forty years. Their first real encounter with Western culture took place on board the boats which transported the women from Japan to Australia. There, they experienced the food, table manners and baths of the West for the first time in their lives.

As most of the women had anticipated they would be able to enjoy a more affluent lifestyle in Australia than in Japan, some ordered fashionable clothes in Japan to take with them. One war bride who moved to London with her husband had written to her mother-in-law to get some advice about what style of cocktail dresses she should bring from Japan. To her disappointment, the reply was that she should bring many cardigans but no
cocktail dresses. She told me that she took a cocktail dress with her anyway, but she never had a chance to wear it. She was in a sense lucky to have some warning about the reality before departure. For some, realisation that the lifestyle in rural or working class Australia was much more basic than in urban Japan was unexpected. Added to their woes was the fact that their husbands' salaries were not worth as much as they were in Japan.

In spite of these initial set-backs, the war brides were determined to become good wives and mothers in an Australian context. Unfortunately, their obvious lack of cultural knowledge resulted in diminished personal control. First of all, where to live and who to live with after their arrival was decided for them. As Australia was experiencing an acute housing shortage after the war, most of the women did not have any other options but to live with their in-laws soon after their arrival. Yet, this period was extended considerably for some as we saw in Kazuko Roberts' and Toshiko Hudson's cases. The women did not have any chance to express their wish about living arrangements and they now look back on this period as a difficult time.

The diminished control was not limited to their own affairs. The women realised that their authority over their children was considerably reduced because of their lack of language and knowledge of the culture. They were expected to raise their children as Australian in spite of their Japanese backgrounds. As the family language was English, the women had to speak to their children in the newly learned language. As they did not have much idea how Australian children should be disciplined, they had no choice but to accept what others, including their husbands and sometimes children themselves, said was the Australian way. Since a Japanese cultural background was not appreciated in 1950s Australia, in fact was seen as an impediment, the women intentionally did not teach their children either the language or anything from their own background.

Sometimes, the Australian idea of a good wife who would accompany her husband to parties conflicted with their idea of a good mother who would not leave her children on their own at night. In such cases, generally, the women convinced themselves that it would be best to follow the Australian way in spite of acknowledging uncomfortable feeling for themselves.

The war brides' attempt to adjust to an Australian way of life was hindered by various factors. The biggest and most urgent problem was the language. As availability of migrant English courses around that time was limited, it was difficult to learn the language formally. In addition, their family responsibility restricted them from mixing with the wider community. In the end, they had to learn English informally through daily
interaction with family members and the result was that many of them did not manage to
develop sufficient competency in speaking, reading and writing. That inadequate
language skill would result in limiting their options in Australian society.

Another action the war brides carried out to assimilate in Australia was to obtain
Australian citizenship as soon as they were eligible. Although this automatically meant
renouncing their Japanese citizenships, the women did it for the sake of not hindering
their husbands' military career, accessing social benefits and as a symbol of commitment
to the Australian community. Yet, as Toshiko Hudson discovered later, naturalisation did
not then off-set the stigma of ex-enemy citizens easily in Australia.

The women tried to establish families with secure financial bases, but encountered more
problems. Many of them soon realised that the amount in an army allotment to a spouse
was not enough to look after their growing family. Some women believed that it was
their own responsibility to manage within the amount allocated to them and did not
negotiate with their husbands for any increase. Another source of income for them was
child endowment from the government. Although the amount increased according to the
number of children, it was never enough to cover the real costs of bringing up children.
It was difficult for the women to earn extra income through outside jobs for many years
because of their family responsibilities. They encountered further barriers when their
qualifications from Japan were not recognised in Australia. Insufficient language skill
increased their difficulties and most of the women did not have much choice but to find
their employment in unskilled non-professional jobs. Tomiko Cooper was lucky enough
to find jobs where she could use her Japanese language skill, but she remained as a
casual junior clerk until she retired. There are a few war brides who managed to obtain
professional qualifications and rose to supervisory status at a work place, but they are
exceptional rather than the norm.

The war brides found some consolation by gathering with other war brides. These
meetings were almost the only occasions that they were able to enjoy Japanese language
and food. They shared their experiences in the new country and supported each other to
overcome homesickness. However, as the women's narratives have revealed, the support
structure was often fragile due to rivalry and jealousy among the group members. In
addition, many were dispersed across the country and frequent moves due to their
husbands' transfers prevented them from securing stable membership of a Japanese wives
club.

The sense of isolation posed the biggest problem for most of the women. The physical
and emotional distance from their families in Japan was strongly felt. When some
women settled in remote communities in Australia, their sense of isolation was further heightened by the distance from other Japanese residents. They found themselves to be the only Japanese (and often only Asian) residents in the towns and did not have a chance to speak the Japanese language or eat Japanese food for months or years on end. Communication between Japan and Australia relied on the post and a letter could take weeks to arrive. Making telephone calls was not easy and was very expensive. Visits from their Japanese family members rarely happened and cost of visiting Japan was prohibitive for women with growing families. On average, it took between ten to fifteen years before the women managed to arrange their first visit home.

The sense of isolation was further heightened when the women found they could not talk about their loneliness and other problems to their families in Japan for fear of worrying them. Their loneliness was covered up and only the good things about their lives in Australia were written in their letters to Japan. It was not possible for Japanese families to detect any real problems when the women came back to Japan for visits because financial problems in Australia were disguised by the strength of the Australian currency. Even the small amount of pocket money in Australian currency that they brought back converted into a substantial amount in Japanese yen.

One of the distinctive characteristics of the war brides' life histories in this chapter is the absence of racial discrimination in their narratives. I had initially assumed that the women would talk about experiences of discrimination during the interviews. However, to my surprise, they rarely mentioned it. When they were asked specifically about it, most of them denied experiencing any form of discrimination. Furthermore, the situation was not any different when they lived in Army camps. Those women who lived in military camps testified that they did not experience hostility from service personnel and their families. At first, I suspected the women denied discrimination against them even though they suffered from it, because they did not trust me or because they did not want to say anything bad about Australia.

As it was discussed in the previous chapter, strong hostility toward Japan and Japanese people still existed among the general public in Australia in the 1950s. It was also testified by family members that there was a considerable level of hostile feeling towards Japanese war brides at that time. Gordon Parker said that he and Cherry received many hate letters and abusive phone calls after their arrival. A letter from an anonymous sender

13 Mrs. Teruko Blair remembers that one international call to Japan cost five pounds when her fortnightly allotment from the Army was twenty-five pounds (Personal communication).
14 Women's family members started to visit Australia in the late 1980s when overseas trips became more popular among general public in Japan. Among the twelve women I interviewed, none of their parents visited Australia before they passed away.
contained a newspaper photograph of their children with their arms and legs cut off with the message, "this is what your kids will look like when we get to them." A father-in-law of a war bride discreetly followed her when she went out shopping soon after her arrival, so that he could protect her if she was abused on the street. A son of a Japanese war bride wrote that his mother was punched to the ground by an Anglo-Australian woman on George Street in Sydney and told that "that was for the war." He also witnessed his mother being occasionally abused and spat on.

The discrepancy between those records and the women's narratives is puzzling. There are two possibilities to explain the situation. The first one is that the women in general did not suffer from discrimination and those who experienced racial abuse were exceptional and unlucky; they were at the wrong place at the wrong time. Another possibility is the past is remembered by the women in relation to how they are now. Whatever the reality was, when the women thought about their past they chose not to remember discrimination.

Firstly, let us assume that women actually did not experience any form of discrimination as they have stated. The fact they were introduced into and accepted by the community as a wife of or as a daughter-in-law of an Australian family must have had some effect. They moved into the community as new family members instead of as total strangers and were accepted readily. Furthermore, as I have already discussed in the previous chapter, their gender helped them to be seen as innocent bystanders when Japanese military aggression was discussed in Australia. Moreover, since most of them stayed at home to look after their families, they did not have to compete against other Australians in the labour market. Those aspects encouraged community members to be more tolerant of the war brides. As a result, they were protected from most of the hostile feeling towards Japan and its people in Australia.

Another possibility is that they did encounter some form of racism, but they interpreted their experiences differently and consequently have no memories of discrimination. Janis Wilton found a similar tendency in the course of her research on Chinese-Australian oral-history. Her informants did not talk about racial discrimination they themselves or their predecessors encountered (1991; 1994). According to Wilton, those Chinese-Australians

16 Miyuki Linsdale's interview in the 1989 Australian documentary film, "Green Tea and Cherry Ripe," directed by Solrun Hoas.
18 Kikuko Brown, on the contrary, remembered the hostile atmosphere towards Japanese in Darwin vividly. However, even in her case, she said she was not sure whether there was misunderstanding or discrimination when she was served last in shops.
compartamentalised their lives into the past and the present and believed that what happened in the past must not impinge on the present. Thus, they did not want to talk about discrimination even though they knew some of them had suffered from it in the past. A similar explanation can be applied for the war brides' denial of discrimination. Even though a war bride might have suffered from discrimination, she interpreted the experience as some "unpleasant" incident which might have been caused by "misunderstanding." That was probably why they stated that they did not experience any discrimination; they were not simply choosing to be silent about it. For them, registering the disturbing experiences as racism would have gone against their goal of becoming ordinary good Australians. Thus, they remembered the incidents differently. Contrastingly, a son who witnessed the same incident which involved his mother felt indignant and remembered it as a racist act.

After spending a certain number of years in Australia, most of the women realised that they had reached the point of no return. Although many of them left Japan determined that they would settle down in Australia, most of them did not completely close off the option of going back to Japan as a possibility, however small the chance might be. Yet, realisation that their children had grown up as Australian with no Japanese language and no emotional attachment towards Japan forced the women to accept the fact that there was no possibility of going back. If they did, they had to leave their children behind. Kazuko Roberts, on the other hand, never reached that point and went back to Japan after thirty years in Australia. She had sustained a commitment to Japan and to her mother while living in an isolated country town in Australia. Her freedom of action was of course increased because she did not have children.

Being a wife and mother played a crucial part in anchoring the women's sense of self at this stage of their lives. They tried to become Australians because they wanted to be good wives and mothers for their families. They tried to employ reflexivity in order to find out how they could be accepted in the new environment and participate in it as full members. However, they did not have any means to have access to the wider Australian society and its culture as their world was limited to their immediate families in Australia. Namely, society in the form of an extented social network was replaced by a limited circle of family. Lack of language skills and confinement at home due to their family responsibility did not allow them to have opportunities to experience the culture in the wider context. Customs or behavior of a particular family or a particular husband, however peculiar they might be, were often presented as the Australian way and interpreted accordingly by the women. In this sense, as Mead would say, the women were not allowed to "play a game" due to their lack of knowledge of the rules, so they only played a role which were assigned to them by particular members of the family.
When we consider the structure of selfhood, the war brides consciously tried to suppress the inner self as much as possible at this stage of their lives. At the same time, they tried to extend their interactional self in order to adapt to the new culture although this aspect of self was far from operating competently in the Australian context largely because of their isolation. Since most of them realised that their own practices and values were no longer useful in Australia, they lost a basis for authority and suffered from loss of confidence and self-esteem. Many of the women testified to how insecure they felt about their own judgements and their actions, including bringing up their own children.

Although the inner self was greatly suppressed, their reflexivity did not disappear completely. As we saw in the women's narratives, they were still referring to the inner self when they had to make moral judgement. Even though what is "right" in the context of disciplining or educating the children was decided according to local standards, the women still questioned the validity of such customs and were conscious of doubts when they had to follow others' directions. And their inner self and identity was one that put commitment to husband and family above all else.

The phase the war brides were in at this stage of their lives was a difficult one. However, they did not remain as suppressed selves. As we will see in the following two chapters, they managed to regain a sense of their inner selves and attempted to combine them with their interactional selves.
The women's sense of self and identity was not the same as that of the men of the same age. The women were more likely to be employed, to participate in a wide range of activities, and to have a greater sense of independence. The women's sense of self was also affected by their experiences in the family, where they were often expected to conform to the expectations of the family, particularly the expectations of the husband. The women's sense of self was also influenced by their experiences in the workforce, where they were often expected to conform to the expectations of the employer.
Chapter 7
Formation of the Japanese War Bride Association

The aim of this chapter is to examine perceptions of the war brides and their changes over the last forty years. Firstly, I will examine the use of a Japanese term for war brides, "sensō hanayome" and analyse the stigma which has been attached to it. Then, I will trace the war brides' reaction to the term from the past to the present. In the second part of this chapter, the new development among the women in forming an international network will be examined in relation to the shift in their self-perception. Lastly, I will explore the diversity of the views among the war brides about their own changing perceptions of their place in history.

Images of "sensō hanayome"
"Sensō hanayome" is a literal translation of the English words, "war bride." However, those two terms in the two languages have different connotations. The English term "war bride" might evoke old fashioned love stories between American soldiers and Australian girls during World War II, while the Japanese translation, "sensō hanayome" is a more tricky phrase for Japanese to use. It has almost a derogatory connotation and can be demeaning. In the Japanese media, the women are often described as "so-called sensō hanayome" [iwayuru sensō hanayome]. By inserting "so-called," the media tries to separate a particular woman from the stigma which has been attached to the term. But simultaneously, the media draws attention to the stain carried by the term and places the woman in the historical context of post-war Japan.

Although the English term, "war bride," existed from around the time of World War I, the Japanese equivalent term "sensō hanayome" seems to come into general use only in the late 1950s or early 1960s to describe women who married American or Australian soldiers. During my interviews with Japanese war brides in Australia, none of them said they were called by that name before they left Japan in the mid-1950s. At the time many

1Part of this chapter was published as an article, "Border Crossing: Changing Identities of Japanese War Brides" (1997).
2There were several American novels and films which depicted relationships between Japanese women and American men and some of them were popular in the 1950s in the United States as well as in Australia. A film titled "Japanese War Bride" was made in 1952 in America. James Michener's novel, Sayonara, was a bestseller and made into a film in 1957. Similarly, a 1956 film which was based on Vern Sneider's novel, The Teahouse of the August Moon, attracted an audience. See Johnson (1975) and Marchetti (1993) for critiques of these novels and films in the context of inter-racial relationships.
3One example of using this word was "ex-sensō hanayome" which was attached to Mrs. Perry who migrated to the United States as a war bride. When she gave a talk in Tokyo on her experience, she was described as an ex-senso hanayome in a publicity brochure.
women left Kure for Australia, they were called "kokusai hanayome" [international brides] in the print media.⁴

The unsympathetic attitudes of the general public in Japan toward the relationships between the occupation soldiers and the Japanese women has already been made apparent in Chapter 4 in which the women spoke about their experiences of dating and courting their husbands-to-be in post-war Japan. In that period, any level of personal relationship between Japanese women and occupation soldiers was not readily approved. The women were often scorned and abused as traitors and seen as loose women, but at the same time envied because of their access to an abundance of goods through their boy-friends. The women's willingness to mix with foreign soldiers was often suspected as being materially driven. And this motivation became a source of their condemnation, but also created a moralistic rationalisation for the women's conduct. Namely, it was accepted that the women had no choice but to associate with the soldiers to obtain food and shelter.

Formation of images in the Japanese media and literature

In the late 1950s to the 1960s, some years after the departure of the women from Japan to their husbands' countries, many articles started to appear in popular magazines about the women's lives in the United States.⁵ The tone of the articles was very similar. They described the difficulties the women experienced after their arrival in their husbands' country, such as racial discrimination and financial problems.⁶ The problems the women experienced did not come only from outside the home. Often their husbands' incompetence or infidelity caused hurt and shame. The articles often contrasted those problems with the women's relatively comfortable lives in Japan before their departure. While they were in Japan, thanks to the strong value of U.S. dollars or Australian currency, the women generally could afford to live an affluent life with their husbands' pay from the military. The wives could shop in PX stores where abundant goods were available at affordable costs to military families.⁷ Such a life style was often viewed with envy by the general Japanese population in a society where economic and social confusion was prevalent after the war. Thus, the women's problems were reported

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⁴See Chūgoku Shimbun 10 April, 1952 for an article on Cherry Parker.
⁶Japanese journalists were not the only ones who were sceptical of the women's adjustment in their husbands' countries. The discussion in Chapter 1 has demonstrated that several American academics carried out their studies with an assumption that the marriages would face problems due to their inter-racial relationship and difficulties in adjustment. However, none of the studies proved such an assumption right.
⁷PX stands for Post Exchange where American servicemen and their families could shop exclusively. The goods which were available in the PX were transported directly from the United States. In BCOF, the equivalent facility was usually called a canteen.
without much sympathy but rather with a view which seemed to justify their inevitable downfall.

In 1964, Sawako Ariyoshi, a best-selling novelist, wrote "Hishoku" [Not the Colour] with Japanese war brides as the main characters. In the novel, Ariyoshi traced a group of Japanese women from the time they met black American soldiers in Tokyo and their subsequent marriages. The story continued after their migration to the United States where the women faced financial problems and overt racial discrimination against their black husbands and themselves. Although their energy to survive was depicted positively, the women's lives in the story were very tough. Readers were most likely to remember the difficult conditions in the United States that the war brides had faced racial discrimination, as non-white people in American society.

In the 1970s, two female novelists received the Akutagawa Prize, which is a prestigious prize awarded to up-and-coming novelists, with the novels which had Japanese war brides as the main characters. The first novel, "Betty-san no niwa" [Betty's Garden] was written by Michiko Yamamoto in 1972. The novel was about a Japanese war bride in Darwin whom everybody called by her Australian name, Betty, and her alienation from society, the Australian natural environment and even her family. The second novel about war brides was "Mokkingu bādo no iru machi" [A Town Where Mocking Birds Live] by Reiko Mori. In this 1979 novel, the daily lives of three Japanese women in a country town in America, and their interaction among themselves and with other Americans were depicted. As the title suggested the Japanese women were described as people who were trying to imitate the customs of a culture which was foreign to them. Since the Akutagawa prize winners attracted a lot of media attention and their prize winning novels were widely read, war brides received attention around the time of each award. The common theme in both of these novels was the isolation and alienation of the women in foreign cultures. The writers' literary aim was to project the sense of alienation through the eyes of the war brides. While those two novels were regarded by the critics as successful works from a literary perspective, the emphasis in the novels further strengthened the image of the women as suffering from loneliness and psychological pain.

Tsuneo Enari's book, Hanayome no Amerika [Brides' America], which was first published in 1981, was different in nature from the previous works although it also dealt

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8Sawako Ariyoshi (1931-1984). Ariyoshi won the Akutagawa Prize in 1956 with her novel, "Jiuta" and produced many popular novels throughout her career.
10Reiko Mori (1928-)
with the lives of Japanese war brides in the United States (1984). The book, which won a prestigious photo-journalism award at the time of its publication, was written about real people.\textsuperscript{11} In contrast with the writers of the previous magazine articles and the novels, Enari actually travelled to the United States and lived there for a year to interview and photograph the women. He featured about 90 portraits of war brides with their families in the book, and the portraits were accompanied by short excerpts from interviews. Thus, Enari was the first person who actually presented war brides with their real faces and their own stories. Although a few of the brides did not agree to appear in the book with their real names and photos, Japanese readers were able to see, for the first time, the faces of the women who left Japan in the 1950s for America and read their stories. While the resilience the women had displayed in order to survive in a foreign country came through strongly in their interviews, readers were still left with the impression of them living through tough conditions in America. This was reinforced by some of the information presented by Enari. For example, he wrote that sixty per cent of the women had marriage break-ups after their migration. Complementing the sombre tone of the book were the portraits of the women and their families, where the majority of them appeared unsmiling. Enari's book certainly represented a step forward from the fictitious images which had appeared in the old magazines. Yet, the basic image of Japanese war brides having difficult lives was retained strongly among Japanese readers.

**Stigma of "sensō hanayome"**

The words, "sensō hanayome" internalised those complex Japanese perceptions of the war brides which I have discussed so far. In summary, it is possible to say that "sensō hanayome" was associated with the following:

Before departing from Japan:

The women had worked in entertainment areas, such as dance halls or bars frequented by soldiers.

They might have been prostitutes who had occupation soldiers as clients.

They had decided to marry the soldiers for material advantage.

They were selfish, and wanted to leave Japan and its poor and miserable situation for a dream-like image they had of the affluent United States or Australia.

\textsuperscript{11} The book was awarded the Kimura Ihei Award in 1981.
They had married their husbands despite opposition from their families and were often disowned by their parents.

**After arriving in their husbands' countries**

The women had faced racial discrimination.

They had trouble adjusting to their husbands' country.

They had economic problems because of their husbands' laziness or neglect and often needed to work in unskilled and low-paid jobs to support themselves and their children.

They were constantly longing for Japan.

They regretted they had decided to marry foreigners and leave Japan.

They could not go back to Japan because they could not afford to; their families in Japan did not want reconciliation; and negative attitudes towards mixed blood children was strong in Japan.

**Rejection of the category**

Many Japanese women who married foreign soldiers refuse to be called "sensō hanayome" and are offended by the term because of its stigma. The negative association of "sensō hanayome" became more fixed in Japan after the women actually left the country, but they occasionally encounter the prejudice when meeting visiting Japanese in their countries of residence. A war bride who worked in a General Electric factory in Illinois said that she felt very sad when visiting Japanese businessmen pretended they did not see her or hear her even though she said hello to them in Japanese on the factory floor. She suspected those businessmen regarded themselves as superior to the war brides and did not acknowledge such women as fellow Japanese (Fujimoto, 1985: 3). Mrs. Teruko Blair remembered the probing look of Japanese male customers at a Japanese restaurant where she worked as a waitress when she told them she had married an Australian serviceman after the war. I was surprised to find that the stigma still existed even in 1998 among some Japanese businessmen who work outside Japan. In an article which reported the hierarchy existing in overseas offices of Japanese companies, the term "sensō hanayome" suddenly reappeared. When a British staff member at a London branch of a Japanese bank suggested that more Japanese women should be employed as local staff, the Japanese branch head suddenly shouted in indignation, "No

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12 Mrs. Blair was interviewed by the author.
way can we let women like sensō hanayome manage our important work!" In this case, what was at stake for the branch head was not only the moral issue of the women's background, but also the assumption that any Japanese women who would seek employment overseas were like the war brides and were without any qualifications and capability.

As the women are aware of the stigma, they try hard to remove themselves from the sensō hanayome category even though they are happy to admit that they are married to Australians. Instead, they want to define themselves as internationally married women. I was told various reasons why they were not "sensō hanayome". Some said that they did not meet their husbands during the war, but after the war. Therefore, the word, "sensō" [war] should not be applied to them. A woman claimed that she was not a sensō hanayome because her husband was already a civilian when she met him. Although this claim was contested by other war brides, she asserted that her marriage was not to an occupation soldier, but to a civilian. An amusing reason given by one woman for not being a war bride was because she flew from Japan to Australia. For her, war brides were the ones who arrived by boat. Whatever the reasons the women gave, they denied that they could be accurately categorised as "sensō hanayome."

However, some war brides in America and Australia had started to form networks amongst themselves and were attempting to free themselves from the stigma which had been attached to them.

**Forming networks in the United States**

For almost four decades, war brides did not have a chance to hold a public gathering after their arrival in their husbands' countries. However, this changed in 1988, when 300 Japanese war brides gathered in Olympia, in Washington State, U.S.A., from all over the country to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of their arrival in America. Previously, their occasional gatherings were on a much smaller scale, and limited to a few brides who lived locally.

Mrs. Kazuko Umezu Stout, who had married an American soldier and moved to the United States in the 1950s, took up the leadership and invested a considerable amount of time and energy to bring the convention to reality. According to Mrs. Stout, she was

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14 This is a contrast to the more numerous British war brides who moved to the United States during and after the war. The British brides formed an organisation soon after they arrived in America. Furthermore, their parents in Britain also formed associations and started to organise visiting trips to America to see their daughters and their families (Shukert and Scibetta, 1988: 239-40). About British war brides and their experiences, see also (Reynolds, 1995; Virden, 1992).
motivated to hold a big gathering of war brides after she met then-Princess Michiko, current Empress, at a reception at the Overseas Japanese Convention in Tokyo in 1984. Hearing that Mrs. Stout had gone to America after her marriage to an American GI, the Princess said to her, "Please send my best wishes to other war brides. I really appreciate the hard and difficult tasks you and others have been carrying out in a country far away." Overwhelmed by those words, Mrs. Stout said that she wanted to communicate the sympathetic message to all the war brides in America and this desire motivated her to organise the first convention of war brides.

However, the first convention did not appear out of the blue. A group called "Tampopo no kai" [The Dandelion Group] was the parent group who organised the fortieth anniversary. The group was formed in 1986 by the women who lived in the Tacoma area in Washington, where a big U.S. military base was located. A large number of Japanese war brides still lived in the area after their husbands' retirement from the services. The group was named after the dandelion because of the resilient and adaptable characteristics of that plant. Though the dandelion flower seeds are blown in the wind without control, they put strong roots into the ground once they land on the soil. Many Japanese war brides identified themselves and their experiences with the metaphor the dandelion provided. The "Tampopo" group mainly consisted of war brides in the area, and the members gathered regularly for lunch and entertainment. In addition to members' welfare, the group was involved in community charity work.

After the convention concluded successfully, the women who attended the occasion decided to form an association in order to maintain the network, and elected Mrs. Stout as president. At that time, there was disagreement among the members regarding the name of the organisation. Originally, the committee proposed to include the term, "sensō hanayome," since it had already been used in the official title of the convention. However, eighty women out of a hundred who answered the questionnaires at the convention objected to the use of "sensō hanayome" as a part of the official name of the association. It was quite clear that many women loathed the term at that time.

15 Empress Michiko was the first woman to marry the crown prince without herself having royal family connection. It has been generally believed that, as an outsider, she had a very difficult time adjusting to the royal household and its customs. In this sense, I believe Mrs Stout could readily identify with the Empress' situation.

16 Such a metaphor is regarded as rather old fashioned among contemporary Japanese women who are internationally married. When there was a plan to organise a group among the internationally married Japanese women in Canberra, one war bride suggested the name of the group be "Yasinomi-kai" [Coconut group]. Coconuts also grow on the beach which they have drifted to. However, the younger generation politely declined the suggestion because the name implied too much helplessness.

17 The official title of the convention was "Sensō hanayome tobei 40-shūnen kinen taikai" [The 40th Anniversary of the Arrival of War Brides in the United States].
Subsequently, they used a more neutral phrase, and called themselves the *Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinboku-kai* [The Ethnic Japanese International Marriage Association].

In May 1991, the Association and the *Tampopo-no-kai* for the first time organised a trip for their members to attend the annual Overseas Japanese Convention in Tokyo. Over a hundred Japanese war brides went back to Japan in a group and attracted intense media attention. Articles about their experiences in Japan and America and their current situation appeared in major newspapers and magazines. This indicated the high level of interest Japanese had in those women. After almost forty years since their departure, the Japanese public had a chance to see them on TV and read about them in the papers.

**Forming a network in Australia**

It is possible to say that the nationwide network among the Japanese war brides in Australia was formed under the influence of their American counterpart, after the Japanese war brides in America made contact with war brides in Australia. This happened through a chain of events. An Australian documentary film, *"Green Tea and Cherry Ripe"*, directed by a Norwegian born film director, Solrun Hoaas, was released in 1989 and attracted considerable interest in Australia. The film tells the stories of six Japanese war brides in the Melbourne area. I will discuss further the film and the war brides' reactions to it later in this chapter. The film was eventually shown in a few minor Japanese cinemas in October 1990 with a Japanese title *"Yaezakura monogatari"* [The stories of double petalled cherries]. A Japanese newspaper article which introduced the film and the director was sent to Mrs. Stout by another war bride. She immediately tracked down the director's address and wrote a letter asking her if she could get in touch with the war brides in Australia. Early in the next year, Mrs. Chiaki Foster, who appeared in the film, answered the letter. Some women in Melbourne and Canberra also started to correspond with Mrs. Stout. Often excerpts of their letters were included in the association newsletters to inform other members of progress.

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18 *"Nikkei"* means ethnic Japanese and the term is widely used in the United States where Japanese Americans are regarded as a minority group.

19 The articles I could locate were in *the Asahi* (3 May, 8 May and 16 May, 1991) and in *Shūkan Shincho* (30 May, 1990: 49-52). In addition to the print media, according to Kazuko Stout, TV stations such as NHK, TV Asahi, and NTV, covered their visit in their news segments. (*"Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinboku-kai"* Newsletter, July 1991: 11)

20 *"Green Tea and Cherry Ripe"* produced by Karen Foley and Solrun Hoaas, directed by Solrun Hoaas. 56 minutes. Hoaas grew up in Japan because her father was working there as a missionary and she is fluent in Japanese. Cherry Ripe is the name of Australian chocolate bar.

21 See *Yomiuri* 8 October, 1990. The film was also shown in Kure on December, 1991 and an audience of about 200 gathered to see the film and meet Solrun Hoaas.
Fig. 7.1: The members of *Yaezakura no kai* gathered to meet Mrs. Kazuko Stout (front centre in white dress) in Melbourne in December, 1992.

Photo courtesy of Mrs. Teruko Blair
The network joining Australian and American women was further strengthened in December 1992 when Mrs. Stout made a short visit to Melbourne to meet the war brides with whom she had been corresponding. (see Fig. 7.1) The Australian women were members of a Japanese war brides' group, "Yaezakura-no-kai" [Double petalled cherry group], which was formed in Melbourne in the early 1980s. Its members got together regularly in Japanese restaurants to enjoy Japanese food and conversation.22 The committee members of the group hosted Mrs. Stout's visit and arranged a lunch with other members. The main purpose of her visit was to meet the Japanese war brides in Australia in person, and urge their participation in the first international convention in Hawaii in 1994. By then, inspired by the 1988 convention in the United States, the women in Australia had started to plan a convention in Melbourne to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of their arrival in Australia.

In May 1993, the first convention of Japanese war brides in Australia was held successfully in Melbourne. (see Fig. 7.2) Out of 138 women who were contacted, 88 Japanese war brides and 27 husbands from all over Australia gathered for the first time.23 The program of the day was in two parts: the first session was a series of speeches by invited guests, war brides and their husbands, and the second session was packed with singing and dancing by the participants. The atmosphere and the reaction of the participating women are evident in the women's narrative in the next chapter.

Establishing the international network

In May 1994, the Nikkei International Marriage Association held the first international convention of Japanese war brides in Hawaii, with about three hundred war brides attending. The participants came from various parts of the United States, and about seventy women, including myself, travelled from Australia to Hawaii. There was also one participant from both Britain and Canada. The choice of Hawaii as the venue for the first convention could be interpreted in different ways.

Hawaii is located conveniently between Australia and the West coast of the United States where the majority of American participants were living. The reputation of Hawaii as holiday islands also enticed many women to the convention. As a matter of fact, the organising committee members mainly cited those factors as deciding their choice of Hawaii.24 However, it is also possible to widen the implication of the location in relation

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22 According to Mrs. Miyuki Linsdale who was a founding member of the group, the name "Yaezakura" was chosen mainly because of its association with Japan. In addition, double petalled cherry blossoms come out later than ordinary single petalled cherry blossoms and this characteristics symbolised maturity for the women (personal communication).


24 Mrs. Chiaki Foster (personal communication).
Fig. 7.2: The participants of the Melbourne convention of Japanese war brides in May 1993.

Photo courtesy of Mrs. M. Linsdale
to the women's lives. Hawaii was one of the areas where Japanese migrants have settled and flourished since the nineteenth century. The Japanese American community on the islands has been prominent and one of the past Governors was of Japanese descent. More importantly, the Pacific War, which eventually led the women to their marriages to occupation soldiers, started at Pearl Harbour with the Japanese surprise attack.

The convention was held over two days at a big hotel in Honolulu. (see Fig. 7.3) The first day's procedures were carried out in Japanese and consisted of two sessions. The morning session started with a welcome speech by Mrs. Stout, then four guests from Japan, who paid their own fares and expenses to attend the convention, spoke about their work on Japanese war brides. Tsuneo Enari, who published *Hanayome no Amerika*, was one of those spoke to the women. The afternoon session commenced with speeches given by representatives of various women's groups in the United States and Australia. The women talked about their experience and their lives in their husbands' countries. Those speeches were not simple celebratory speeches for the occasion, but each contained a unique story and the women seemed to take the opportunity to make statements about their lives and experiences. The last speaker was Haruhiko Yoshimeki, who had written the novel "Sekiryō kōya" [Solitude Plain] that had won the Akutagawa Prize in 1993. The novel was about an aging Japanese war bride in a country town in the South of the U.S.A. and her mental deterioration with Alzheimer disease. The session ended with entertainment, such as singing and Japanese dancing performed by the women themselves. The second day's convention was conducted in English so that the women's husbands and children could attend. In this session, a few husbands presented the views of those who married Japanese women. This session also ended with dancing and singing performed by the war brides.

In May 1997, the second international convention was held at a hot spring resort in Aizu-Wakamatsu, an old castle town in northern Japan. Over two hundred women attended the convention. Thirty of them were from Australia, again including myself. The convention program included attendance at the annual Overseas Japanese convention in Tokyo. They were the largest overseas Japanese group at the Tokyo convention, and attracted a lot of attention. The two day program of the convention was similar to the Hawaii convention with speeches and entertainment. One woman from Arizona who was visiting Japan for the first time in forty years was one of the speakers. The big

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25 Yoshimeki's novel was made into a feature film in 1997. The film was titled "Yukie" and directed by a female director, Hisako Matsui, who had attended the Hawaii convention to produce a TV documentary on Japanese war brides. The program was aired on August, 1994 in the Tokyo area through the Fuji network with a title, "Bōkyō no onnatachi" [Women who long for home].
Fig. 7.3: Participants of the Hawaii convention in May 1994
difference from the previous convention was that the venue was the traditional hot spring resort in Japan with Japanese baths and Japanese food.

Public re-emergence of Japanese war brides

These women had waited for forty years before they started to get together publicly. There were several possible reasons. Some reasons for the delay were simply practical. When they were younger, family and work commitments simply left them with no time for such a venture. They also could not afford to spend money on themselves when there were more urgent needs in the family. Furthermore, there was a defiance among the women towards the image of "war brides." If they got together publicly, the outside world, especially the media, would put the label "war brides" on them and see them as a group of women who had a past which they wanted to hide - as we can see in the following example. When war brides in the United States travelled to Japan in a large group in 1991, many cameramen and reporters waited for their arrival at the airport in search of a good story. At that time, turning away from flash lights or declining to be interviewed on the spot was interpreted as a desire to hide a past. In an article in Asahi Newspaper, a reporter wrote, "... and some women avoided the media cameras. This seemed to imply the complexities surrounding international marriages which had developed immediately after defeat in the war and revealed the scars which were left in the women's hearts."26 As one participant wrote in the newsletter, the reasons for the reactions might have been simply too much light or tiredness, but the media's interpretation was different.27

At the same time, the women themselves were wary of mixing with other war brides whom they did not know very well. They tried to avoid any possibility that they would be put in the same light with women who used to work in the entertainment industry in Japan. They had pride that they themselves were "proper" and did not want to associate with them at all. There are still many war brides who feel this way and refuse to be called "sensō hanayome" because they believe that that term makes that association.

Why did those women want to get together? Here I mainly discuss the women's reactions at the international conventions because those gatherings provide clues to understanding why the women travelled across the world to meet other war brides. Informally, they called the occasions in Hawaii and Japan reunions, but the majority of them had not met each other before. Some went to the United States and others came to Australia from different parts of Japan at different times. Although the war brides who participated from Australia are generally comfortable financially, and they have time for

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themselves after their children have become independent and their husbands have died, they had to make a significant financial commitment to attend these conventions.

The women travelled hundreds of kilometres not just to see each other and tell their stories among themselves. Attending those conventions as one of the audience, I was able to extract three main points the war brides were trying to convey to themselves and to others. All three points were discussed at the convention and involve how they want the Japanese population to remember the war brides and their experiences. Furthermore, these three points cover their migrant experience and their own understanding of it. The first point relates to their moral standing regarding their past in Japan. They are claiming that they were not bar hostesses and prostitutes, but respectable women when they met their husbands. Even if there were a few who were in the entertainment and sex industry, they are saying those few should not be blamed because they did not have any other choice in the disturbed post-war conditions.

The second point is that the women want to gain positive recognition for their lives in their husbands' countries from the Japanese public, and such recognition is very important for them. They know for themselves that they experienced many hardships in adjusting to their husbands' countries. They had to learn the language and the culture, and often faced racial discrimination. However, what they wish Japanese to remember is not only the hardship, but the effort they put in to adjust and their ability to adapt. Many of them are proud that they have been playing respectable roles as women, wives, mothers and citizens in their husbands' countries. All those relate to their newly acquired identity in their husbands' countries. However, for them, this identity does not completely transform them into the Americans, or Australians. Their narratives seemed to indicate that they hope to be remembered for their ingenuity in adapting as Japanese women. They want their achievements to be Japanese achievements.

Lastly, the women hope to receive public recognition for the role they have played in developing relationships between their adopted country and Japan. Many of them believe that they have been playing a role as goodwill ambassadors between home and their husbands' countries, and they want their contributions to be acknowledged. The roles they played were far from official, and of course, they do not have any political power; but they believe they have been significant. Their work involved, for instance, assisting newly arrived Japanese businessmen and families, or simply cooking Japanese food for a neighbourhood party. Although these activities were fairly mundane, many of them claimed their work contributed to mutual cultural understanding between Japan and their husbands' countries. Some war brides stated that the popularity of Kikkoman soy sauce in the United States was brought about because the war brides used the sauce in their
cooking, and promoted it among Americans. Such a claim can not be substantiated, but it was accepted by the company and Kikkoman decided to donate about A$10,000 towards the operating costs of the Japan convention. Acknowledgment of their contribution to international understanding is very significant for the women, because recognition would validate their self-perception as a bridge between Japan and the United States or Japan and Australia.

**Discovering the common "language"**

Many women told me that attending the conventions had been a very meaningful experience for them and that they were very glad that they went. I sensed a similar reaction from the women in Melbourne in 1993 when I attended the Australian women's meeting to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of their arrival.

I believe the first convention in Hawaii was a turning point in the consciousness of the war brides and that the second convention in Japan further strengthened the women's sentiment. At these conventions, the women realised that it was worthwhile to get together even though they had never met before. Residing in different parts of the world and holding different citizenship did not seem to create any barrier. The women seemed to know that the experience they had had in the past forty years were common even though they were in different countries.

One woman said in Hawaii, "when you looked at all those women gathered for the convention, even though I had never met them before and they speak English with different accents, I felt they went through similar experiences and hardships. I felt warm because we all went through a similar thing. I did not have to guard myself." This common feeling was partly based on sharing the same history. The women belong to the same generation who experienced the Pacific War in their teens and lived through the turmoil in post-war society. Most of them went to work after the war in order to help support their families. When they began going out with foreign servicemen, most of them had to face opposition from their families and relatives. At the same time, they were aware of the views the general public had towards women who associated with soldiers. The decision to marry foreign soldiers meant that they had to leave Japan. Whatever expectations they had towards their husbands' countries, leaving a nation and families behind was difficult for them. In their respective new countries, there was a lot of adjustment and adaptation to make. Then the women brought up their children and educated them when they themselves needed to learn so much of the language and culture.
They emphasised that they did not have to explain themselves when they spoke even to a complete stranger at the convention. At other times in Japan, the women might have felt they needed to explain how and why they married the occupation soldiers. Also they would have felt the need to say that they were satisfied with their lives in their new countries. Not to have explained these issues would have meant they would have been categorised as "sensō hanayome." However, in Hawaii and in Japan, they felt they were standing on common ground.

The women identified their common feeling with others in the language they used at the convention. Their language reflected their belonging to a past Japan and a present America or Australia. When Mrs. Stout visited Melbourne to meet the war brides in Australia, she was struck by how relaxed she felt with those women although that was the first time they met. She wrote as follows: "Nobody looked down on us when we used the [old-fashioned] Japanese which we spoke when we left Japan in our twenties. Conversations mixed in both Japanese and English words were fine. I was very happy to immerse myself in the warm atmosphere. I was glad I had come to Australia."28 Another anecdote reveals the importance of those common characteristics of their language. In 1991 when the large group of Japanese war brides went to Tokyo, Mrs. Stout and her friends were out shopping. There, they overheard "familiar Japanese" in the crowd. They looked around and soon they found another group of war brides.29 They claimed that they could find each other even if they were blindfolded, because of their distinctive Japanese with English words being thrown in.

As the language they spoke was marked by their age and the period that they had left Japan and the length of time they have spent in English speaking countries, so their writing also revealed their age. Even though they have been living with the English language for over forty years, and horizontal writing of Japanese has been becoming increasingly common, the women kept the traditional style, and always wrote vertically in their letters and publications. In addition, their writing often retained the old phonetic orthography (kyū-kanazukai), which they learned at school before the new phonetic system was introduced in the post-war period. Observers, such as Solrun Hoaas who directed "Green Tea and Cherry Ripe," pointed out that their speech seemed to retain the atmosphere of the 1950s. She said that she felt nostalgic as if she had gone back to the Japan she used to know in the 1950s when she interviewed the women. She claimed that the tone and the speed of the Japanese the women used was frozen at the time when they left Japan.30

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29 "Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai" Newsletter, July 1991: 3.
30 Personal communication. February 1993.
Multiple voices of Japanese war brides

The dramatic shift in the consciousness of the women at the Hawaii Convention was apparent, and many speakers and participants ceased being afraid of the phrase "sensō hanayome." Instead of trying to disassociate themselves from the images of "sensō hanayome," they started to call themselves "sensō hanayome" and invested it with a new meaning. The women began to realise that the experiences they had had in the past forty or fifty years were precious and meaningful.

Teruko Blair said to me in an interview, "If we want to tell our stories, we must call ourselves 'war brides,' not just 'internationally married women.' Our unique experience in the past forty years in Japan and Australia has been the experience of war brides, not just of women who married foreigners." Yoshimeki, who attended the Hawaii convention, expressed a similar sentiment. In a newspaper article which appeared after the convention he wrote as follows:

The letter of invitation (which Mrs. Stout sent to Yoshimeki) included a term "sensō hanayome" which swayed my heart. This term is hardly heard any more. However, if the term "sensō hanayome" is to be replaced by "kokusai kekkon" (international marriage) not only the strength and grief people have been expressing in their lives and within a particular period of history, but also the unique elements of lives created through the interaction with others, will probably be eroded away.31

However, it was too early to claim that the shift of consciousness occurred among all the participants at the convention. Uniformity is unlikely on such a matter of fundamental self-definition. Three years later, this shifting dynamism within the group was reflected in the banner which decorated the stage of the Japan convention. The banner written in Japanese characters proclaimed this was "The Second World Convention of Internationally Married Women", but the English translation above read "The Second War Bride Convention." (see Fig. 7.4 and Fig. 7.5) The use of two different titles in two languages caught my attention because the two versions expressed the complex feelings the women had felt towards the term, "sensō hanayome." In fact, the English translation with the term "war bride" had been added to the banner on the strong wish of Mrs. Stout and without the organising committee's approval. Yet, at the convention or after the event, I did not hear any complaints among the participants about the use of the English term "war bride" in the banner.

31 Yomiuri (evening edition) in 1994 (dates unknown). The article was given to me by Mrs. F. Drover and was also included in the Nikkei kokusai kekkon shinbokukai Newsletter, September 1994: 9.
Fig. 7.4: Mrs. K. Stout giving an opening address at the second Japanese war bride convention in Aizu-Wakamatsu in May 1997.

Fig. 7.5: Participants of the Aizu-Wakamatsu convention enjoying Japanese dancing at the end of the convention.
The banner clearly spoke different messages in English and Japanese for different audiences. Some American daughters who accompanied their mothers to the convention expressed the surprise they felt when they saw the banner, because they had not realised that they were attending a war bride convention. They said that their mothers had told them the gathering was just a meeting for Japanese women. Most of the children who attended the convention with their mothers said that the occasion gave them a chance to reassess their mothers' experiences in the context of "war brides." Contrastingly, the official Japanese convention title addressed the general Japanese audience. The term, "kokusai kekkon" is a much more neutral term with a desired connotation of "cosmopolitan" and contrasts with "senso hanayome" with its stigma in Japanese. Since there had not yet been a consensus among the women how they defined themselves, it was much safer at that time to use "internationally married women," rather than "war brides." Furthermore, the women were well aware that the former was more easily accepted than the latter by the general public, including their Japanese family members and the Japanese reporters, who tended to remain conservative. The women themselves could read and understand both titles in English and Japanese and they did not mind expressing their self-perception in two different ways in two languages -- probably because that was the way most of them felt comfortable with.

In Australia, a similar effort to avoid using the word, "senso hanayome" was apparent in a letter sent to the women by the Japanese embassy. The Japanese embassy in Canberra was preparing a reception to acknowledge the contribution of war brides to Australia-Japan relation to coincide with the opening of the BCOF memorial in the grounds of the Australian War Memorial in December 1998. After consultation with myself and within the embassy, the staff decided not to use the term, "senso hanayome" in the letter and described the women as "those women who married BCOF servicemen." One war bride told me that she was aware of the embassy's conscious effort to avoid the term when she read the letter and that other women were also happy not to see the term, "senso hanayome" in the letter.

Here, it is worthwhile to point out that war brides in Australia are not all in agreement about their self-perception. There still exist strong differences among the women, firstly, whether or not they should assert that they are war brides and, secondly, what they should speak about in public. The following incident, in which I was personally involved, clearly showed the divisions among the women.

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32 Interview session in Aizu-Wakamatsu with sons and daughters of the war brides on May 1997. I thank Regina Lark of University of Southern California for arranging the session and allowing me to attend.
Formation of the Association

When the war brides in Australia decided to hold their first convention in Melbourne in 1993, I asked for permission to attend as an observer. I had just started my research and wanted to be there to listen to the speeches. In spite of the fact some women strongly supported my request, the main organiser insisted that only the war brides and their family members were allowed to go to the first session and I was politely told to join in the second session which was the entertainment segment. The first part of the program was planned to be closed to outsiders, such as journalists and researchers, including myself. Fortunately, I managed to attend the whole program as a helper at the registration desk, but the organiser's initial insistence on the closed session indicates how some war brides saw who was the appropriate audience for the war brides' narrative. As they were aware of the stigma which was generally attached to their background and experiences, they tried to exclude people who were not personally involved or who were "not there."

Similar sentiments are often expressed by holocaust victims or others who have gone through extraordinary experiences. Thus, instead of risking feeling hurt when others do not understand, or worse, misunderstand their experiences, some women tried to exclude the potentially unsuitable audience.

When war brides appear in public in various media, such as films, TV programs, interviews and articles, some other women assert their strong opinions about what was appropriate and inappropriate to talk about on record. Here, I present an example of responses to Hoaas' film, "Green Tea and Cherry Ripe." As previously discussed in this chapter, six war brides talked about their lives in Japan and Australia to the camera. One woman talked of her homesickness and financial problems after her arrival in Australia. Another narrated her experience of running an entertainment business before and after she came to Australia. The film was received warmly with favourable reviews and was selected to represent Australia at various international film festivals. However, some war brides had strong reservations about the film and claimed it would not be good for the reputation of war brides and it had caused embarrassment among them.

Such criticisms were usually only expressed privately among the women, so that those who had appeared in the film would not be offended, even though they were quite aware of the undercurrent of criticism. However, it was publicly asserted at the seminar, and I will quote it here. Three Japanese war brides, including Mrs. Bryce who organised the Melbourne convention and Mrs. Foster who appeared in the film, were invited to attend a showing of the film and discussion session at an academic conference in Albury in

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33 Hank Nelson said in 1998 that prisoners of war of the Japanese on the Burma-Thailand railway say that those who were not there will never know what it was like (personal communication).
February 1994. After the film screening, the women were invited to come on stage to answer questions. As the chairperson had been aware of the reservation Mrs. Bryce had towards the film, she was invited to express her opinion on the film first. Here, I quote her response as follows:

About that film, I have a reservation because that was only an example of six. One in hundred. Over six hundred Japanese war brides came to Australia. Only five or six out of six hundred. They work in the service industry. I would like to emphasis that the majority of Japanese war brides came to Australia, very plain life, protected by their Australian husbands and had very happy marriage. ... The Japanese war brides in Australia had very happy marriage. ... Each of us tried very hard to assimilate into this country and wanted to be accepted. And very proud what we have achieved here. ... We more or less opened the way for the Japanese businessmen and academic peoples. We made much easier for them to assimilate Australia.

As Mrs Bryce had been widowed at a relatively young age and worked to support herself and her daughter, her life itself had most likely not been always easy and under the protection of her husband. However, she clearly did not want to identify herself with the honest accounts of the women in the film. In contrast, she wanted to argue that those women who appeared on the film were unfortunate exceptions rather than the norm and -- as she stated -- most of the war brides had not encountered any problems -- but had had happy marriages and were well assimilated. Or that the problems were less significant than the achievements.

Significantly that same message of romantic marriages and happy assimilation had been presented to the Australian public forty years before when the war brides arrived in Australia. The public at that time was very happy to accept those images without question. For Mrs. Bryce and some other war brides, their achievements in the past forty years in Australia had been to live up to that initial expectation in Australia and to prove its fulfilment to families and others in Japan. Thus, for them, to speak publicly about the problems the women encountered would not only be undesirable because it exposed private matters in public but because it undermined the public image of model citizens that they had tried so hard to construct in the past forty years in Australia and in Japan.

34The session was organised as a part of the conference, "Creating a White Australia Dreamtime: The Cultural Heritage and Politics of the 1950's," which was held at Charles Sturt University between 7 and 11 February, 1994.

35Mrs Bryce made this statement on 8 February, 1994 at Charles Sturt University in Albury, NSW.
Furthermore, the monitoring of the public narratives of fellow Japanese war brides also indicated how strongly the women identified as a group. In spite of the fact that they had had varied experiences and women spoke as individuals rather than representatives, some war brides tried to control on behalf of the group the types of messages that were to be expressed in the public arena. They did that because it mattered to them what other war brides said. Thus, they simply could not ignore or dismiss other women's narratives as unique to themselves because, in their view, what others said reflected on all.
The document page seems to be discussing the narratives of Japanese war brides in Australia, highlighting the challenges they faced. The text mentions that the majority of Japanese war brides were young and lacked the necessary life experience to be accepted into Australian society. They were forced to adopt domestic roles and cultural differences were significant, with the war brides facing barriers in adapting to Australian life. The manuscript also suggests that the stereotypical images of Japanese women were prevalent and the war brides were saddled with these expectations.

The text seems to focus on the struggle and adaptation of these Japanese war brides as they sought to fit into Australian society. It emphasizes the difficulties they encountered in a new culture and the expectations placed upon them. The narrative may touch on the broader context of assimilation and integration, particularly in post-war Australia. The text suggests a narrative of resilience and adaptation, with the war brides working hard to establish themselves in their new environment.

The document appears to be a historical account or memoir that paints a picture of the experiences of Japanese war brides in Australia. The text is rich in detail, offering insights into the social, cultural, and personal challenges faced by these women. The overall tone is reflective, with an emphasis on the human aspect of war and its aftermath, specifically focusing on the experiences of Japanese war brides in Australia.
In this chapter, the four women continue the narratives of their lives. The stage of their later years generally started either with their own or their husbands' retirement from work. By then, they were in their late fifties or early sixties and the women's role as mother does not have much significance in their narratives. Also the role as wife diminished significantly as many became widows. Many women started to explore other activities which they could not get involved in previously. One significant activity is the war bride group whose development was covered in the previous chapter.

Another important issue which is going to be covered in this chapter is the reflections of the women on their past which was marked, even determined, by their marriages to their Australian husbands. In answering my interview questions, women offered their insights and evaluations with striking frankness.

Kiku Brown

Kiku Brown's story
In 1969, Mick retired as a Sergeant Major in the Army after 26 years and we finally settled down in Adelaide. Since we all liked the sea, we bought a house near the beach. I was working as a housemaid at a hotel between seven o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon. I worked hard at the hotel. Although my job was mainly to tidy up the bedrooms, I helped in the kitchen when I finished with the upstairs rooms and did waitressing in the dining room. I did not want people to think Japanese were lazy. I knew the Japanese had a reputation as hard working people and I wanted to live up to that reputation. Many of my colleagues at the hotel were Italian women and we all got along very well. Actually, we still keep in touch. The manager liked me a lot and he still calls out to me when he sees me on the street.

In 1969, my eldest child, Kimiko, got married. I was very happy on the wedding day and the following was what I wrote in Japanese on the back of her wedding photograph for myself:

"My dearest daughter,
I would never have got through all the difficulties without you. You have been my inner strength. You comforted me when we were sad. Joyed together when we were happy. You are everything to me. On this fine Easter Saturday in 1969, the clear blue sky is here to bless you. I say thank you and all your friends at your wedding. When I touched your
wedding dress my tear drops made a small mark on the dress. ... At the
chuch I could not understand all the words [the] minister spoke, but I
listened to them very intently. After the ceremony Kimiko and Terry
waved and headed for the hotel. I will be so lonely without you. I miss
you so much around the house. I kept telling myself that you were not far
away from me, so I should not be so lonely. Happiness is not something
you are born with but must build up by yourself. Do build up your
happiness with Terry.
From your Mother ”

Unfortunately, Kimiko later divorced her husband, but now she has a nice boyfriend
who is a school teacher.

In 1970, I finally made my first trip back to Japan. Almost a year before, I wrote to my
mother who was living with my brother at that time that I was going to come back and
both of us were really looking forward to the trip. Mick gave me the money for tickets
and I provided my own pocket money. Although I could not afford to bring much
money back to Japan, it was not a big problem because the exchange rate for the
Australian dollar was very good at around 450 yen. A hundred dollars could buy quite a
lot in Japan then. That was the very first time I went away without my children. I
remember that my youngest son cried at the airport, saying he wanted to go with me. It
was so nice to be back in Japan after seventeen years, although a lot of things had
changed during my absence. I found out that my mother had gone to the station to meet
me five hours before the train was due to arrive. Furthermore, she kept my wedding
photo by her bed. She must have been missing the child who had gone furthest away.

I stayed in Japan for three weeks. Although I was very happy to be back in Japan, I
missed my children terribly. I kept wondering if they were eating properly or doing
well. My mother sensed my feeling and pointed this out to me by saying, ”You had
better go back to Australia. Your heart has already flown back to Adelaide.” She used
to save up her pension money and occasional income from sewing in order to give it to
me when I went home. The amount was around 100,000 yen and I guess she gave me
almost all the amount she had saved.

I managed to make a second trip to Japan in 1974 with Kimiko, her two children and
Catherine. At that time, a local newspaper reporter came to interview us and an article

1These sentences were from Michi’s essay which was circulated among her family privately in around
1990.
2The 1998 exchange rate is about 86 yen to a dollar. In 1996, the Australian dollar went as low
as 60 yen to a dollar.
was published in the paper.\(^3\) He wrote as if that was the very first time that I had gone back, but actually it was the second time for me and the first time for my children. I said in the article, a lot of things had changed in Japan during my absence. The names of stations had changed and I had trouble finding my friends' houses. Furthermore, the economic development made Japan a much more affluent country than in the 1950s. My mother was very happy to see her granddaughters and great grandchildren. I remembered that she kept calling Kimiko's son and daughter Kimiko and Andrew. I guess they reminded her of Kimiko and Andrew when they had stayed with her in Tokushima before we left for Australia.

*In the article, the subheading said "Living a comfortable life as an Australian citizen." Although she talked about some hostility towards Japan in Darwin in the 1950s, it is not possible to detect the hard life Kiku had to endure from the article at all. It said that the family lived happily in a quiet academic city, Adelaide.*

Mick was working for an accounting firm after he retired from the Army. Since his life style had changed drastically, his health suffered and he lost a lot of weight, but he eventually got used to civilian life. He and I did not have any big problems around that time. I was still at the hotel working from seven to four. The children were growing up. In 1979, Mick and I had our holiday together in Europe. On the way there, we stopped in Japan for him to meet my family for the first time.

I left my job at the hotel before I turned sixty-one (in 1980). I started to experience back problems and I was worried I might become stooped just like my mother did. Since I had worked hard for years, I did not mind staying at home. There were still many things to do at home. Meals needed to be cooked and the house needed to be cleaned.

Then a very sad thing happened in February 1981. My youngest son committed suicide. I did not sense anything before he killed himself. When I looked back, I could remember he looked rather subdued around that time, but we could not foresee anything.\(^4\) After our youngest son's death, Mick suffered a lot and became depressed. I decided to visit the head temple of Soka Gakkai in Japan with other followers from Australia in order to pray for my son's spirit. That was the first time I visited the head temple even though I had joined the sect many years ago. I was impressed by the eagerness and sincerity many followers expressed during this visit.

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\(^3\)The newspaper article which was dated on 25 October, 1974 was supplied by Michi Law. The name of the paper is not known, but most likely a local newspaper in the Tokushima area.

\(^4\)Apparently, an inquest was held into his death, but nothing became clearer for Michi. She did not talk about this issue much.
I did not join the Soka Gakkai in order to meet other Japanese. In Adelaide, there are very few Japanese members in our sect and the majority of them are either Australians or people from all other countries. Although we chant in Japanese, all the discussion and teaching are in English. Other members wonder if I can follow the English discussions. I can understand what has been discussed more or less instinctively as I have trained for all those years in Australia. That is why I can happily sit in the discussion even though I usually do not speak up.

At home, everything was peaceful after my son's death. The other children were growing up and becoming more independent. I was at home and had more time to myself than before. I thought it was such happiness for a wife to wait for her husband's return and enjoy having meals and chats with him at home. After the earlier difficult years, I thought I could finally enjoy an ordinary happiness at home. Yet, this happiness did not last for long.

Mick retired from the company job in 1986 and started to work as manager at a local yacht club. I was worried about the job because he needed to work in the club, serving drink to customers. I was not sure whether he could stay away from alcoholic drinks when he had to serve them. In addition, they said many people who worked in that position previously experienced marriage problems and divorce. Yet, Mick was so pleased to find a job locally that I could not stop him. I had already planned to visit Japan again with other Soka Gakkai followers. About a week before our departure, Mick said he wanted to come along with me. However, I told him that it was impossible to arrange for another person to go on such short notice and left on my own. I should have brought him with me because I was going to be away for a few months instead of a few weeks as usual. By the time I came back to Adelaide I could sense something was going on.

When I was away, my second son, Trevor, and the two younger sons were living at home with Mick. Trevor had come back to Adelaide from Darwin after his divorce and he was keen to meet another lady. Apparently, he went out every night and told his father how much fun he had. I guessed such talk had awakened Mick's habit which had been dormant for a while. By the time I came back, Mick was drinking a lot and seeing another woman. I blamed myself that I had left him behind and tried to change his mind. I had to repeat all the things I used to do many years ago all over again, such as staying up late to wait for Mick to return. But, this time, he did not want to come back. He said that he did not want to be tied down by his family and wanted a life of his own. When I asked him what he would do if he got sick, his answer was that he would just go to
hospital. He even told me to go back to Japan and marry a Japanese man. A woman who was reaching seventy years? Remarry? Going back to Japan?

Finally, I made up my mind. One day when he was not around, I packed my belongings and left. I always thought perseverance was the most important virtue for a woman. My mother persevered through all the misdeeds of my father for all those years. I told myself I should do the same since my mother had done that, and tolerate my husband's misbehaviour. However, I realised I had already changed into an Australian woman. I could not take Mick's selfish acts any more and had to leave him. My children all supported my decision. In a way, they urged me to leave. Kimiko said she did not want to see me cry any more. Kimiko and Andrew said that they would look after me. Other children said, "Get rid of Daddy." Catherine rented a vacant house next to her for me and I moved in there. Soon after I moved out, the two younger sons decided to move in with me because they did not want to live with their father.

Although I made the decision to leave, I was devastated. I cried and cried and hated Mick fiercely. In many ways, I did not want to leave him. Although I had known that Mick was not a respectable man, I left Japan for him and persevered through all the hardships for forty years. It was not as easy to sever such a tie with him as the children had expected. My children did not mind leaving their partners when things did not work out. When Catherine had a divorce, she said that it was not difficult to leave the situation she was in and that it was easy to start again. However, I could not so easily think that way. I had made a commitment to Mick forty years ago and persevered though all the hardship. If the marriage ended up in divorce, all the hardship I endured would have resulted in nothing.

I was so upset that I tore up all the photos of Mick. I did that with even our wedding pictures, so I only have photos of me at the wedding now, not of him. Since I lost a lot of weight after the separation, my family in Japan was very surprised to see me so thin when I went back soon after the separation. When I was asked what was the matter, I could not tell them I had left him because of the problems with women and drinking. So I told them that I was distressed because Mick died. Of course, they expressed their sympathy, and they gave me condolence money which I was not expecting. I had completely forgotten that gifts of condolence money were customary in Japan when somebody close died. Although I was surprised, I could not change my story then. Then, my mother wrote to me later to tell me that she had arranged return gifts for the money I received. Again, I had completely forgotten that I needed to make return gifts.

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5 Condolence money at the funeral is called kōden in Japanese and it is customary to give some money as respect for the dead.
by using a certain proportion of the money. Since my mother organised all that and also paid for them, I felt really embarrassed. There was still some more regarding this. Recently, when I told Mick that I was planning a trip back to Japan in 1997, he said he wanted to accompany me. So I said to him he could not come. When he asked me why, I told him that he had already died and I had accepted condolence money for him. He looked rather surprised to hear that, but he did not complain.  

It took me almost two years before I could sort myself out after the separation. During that period, I wanted to get back with Mick, although nobody agreed with me. My children did not think their father was a person worth living with. I asked for opinions from Mick's friends, but they also told me to leave him. Poor Mick, he was not respected by anybody at all. Yet, at the same time, nobody, even Mick's brothers, was willing to talk to him to change his mind. They said it was a matter between him and me. If this was in Japan, someone in the family or a friend would play the role of mediator. However, in Australia, such a matter should be left between husband and wife. It is very different.

As I said, I used to hate him and curse him. However, after almost two years, I finally realised that the hatred would just hurt nobody but myself and would not do anything productive. The teaching of Soka Gakkai helped me a lot during that period. Whenever I read books and magazines published by Soka Gakkai, I jot down some sentences which I want to remember in my notebook. Something which could not be solved by myself can be solved after reading some of the teachings. Once I realised that hatred would not bring about a solution, I could think otherwise and started to enjoy myself again.

Around that time, I wrote an essay in Japanese about my life in order to let my children know why their mother had come to Australia and how she coped in this country. Since I could not write in English, I wrote it in Japanese and found somebody to translate it for me. I paid five hundred dollars for the translation. It was a big amount of money for me, but I wanted my children to read it. I know the essay was circulated among my children, but nobody said anything about it to me.

This essay was the one which I received in the mail soon after I met her in 1993. It was a long and well written essay. Her handwriting also indicated that Kiku was well educated and used to writing. When I was in Adelaide, I asked Kimiko if all the children read the essay and how they reacted to it. After assuring me that all of them

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6When I interviewed Michi, she was wondering whether she should let Les return to her or not after he begged to be forgiven. I understood they occasionally saw each other without the children's knowledge.
read it straight away, she gave me her reaction to the essay from the daughter's point of view. She said, "It was a sad story. I felt I finally knew what had been going on in the family. But I do not think I could have done anything differently to change the situation under those circumstances."

Presently, I live in a townhouse in Adelaide. My children keep regular contact with me and help me with various things. Actually, some think I still do not understand sufficient English. It is true that I cannot read much English and have problems understanding it, but I can get by. Recently, I have come to think that if people cannot make themselves understood to me in English, they should go and learn Japanese. The other day, Kimiko's boyfriend phoned me and asked me to recommend a good Japanese restaurant. So I told him the name of a restaurant. When Kimiko heard about the conversation, she was so surprised that her boyfriend could understand my English. It was not a problem for me at all. Why should it be?

Recently, I started to realise that the way I brought my children up was not the same as in an Australian family. I can see that when I look at my grandchildren. My sons' children who have Australian mothers and my daughters' children are different. My sons' children would come to me for kisses and hugs from an early age, but my daughters' children do not do that naturally. I guess I did not do that when my children were small. Yet, Catherine tells her daughter to kiss me when I leave and the girl protests by saying, "You never kiss your mother, Mum. Why should I do that?"

War bride conventions
I attended the war brides' convention in Melbourne in 1993 with about fifteen women from Adelaide. I was the first one who heard about the plan and let others know about it at a BCOF reunion. In Adelaide, the women had started to get together regularly because we had more time to spare to enjoy ourselves. We practiced a Japanese folk dance for the convention and performed it in Melbourne. That was the first time we ever did something like that in costumes, and it was a lot of fun.

I really enjoyed attending the Melbourne convention. We had all been internalising a feeling of being war brides, so we could share our feelings straight away. I cannot find such empathy with younger Japanese women even if they are married to Australians. I could relate to the women at the convention much more easily because I could assume all of us had married soldiers. Those who attended the convention really had a good time. Others who missed the occasion regretted that they were not there.
In 1994, I attended the Hawaii convention which was organised by the Nikkei International Marriage Association. I had a great time there as well. You asked me if I felt comfortable with those women who moved to America. Yes, I felt something in common with them although I had never met them before. We were about the same age and they too had all married soldiers. So naturally, I felt close to them. I did not hesitate to ask their names and start conversations. We usually started our conversations by saying, "We have all become old women, but we used to be so pretty when we were young, weren't we?" We talked about our time in Japan before we left, by asking where we used to live in Tokyo and other things. We mainly talked about the time we were in Japan. I did not feel any big difference between the women from America and us from Australia. Although they might pronounce some English words with different accents, it did not matter because we all spoke in Japanese.

**Term, "war bride"**

I do not mind being called a "war bride" at all. I believe that it is an accurate description of us because we all married soon after the war. I know some women who do not like this label. It was true that some women who associated with occupation soldiers were from brothels, and some of them might have reached this country as wives. Yet, I would say most of those women had to engage in prostitution in order to survive. People, especially those who had lost their husbands or brothers in the war, looked down on those women and thought how could they hold the hands of ex-enemies. I remember I used to look down on those women harshly at that time and regarded them as dirty. At the same time, I was annoyed to be categorised with them when I was dating Mick. However, when I look back, that was the spring time of our youth. That was the best time in our lives. People might have said that the women who were hanging onto the arms of occupation soldiers looked disgraceful, but we were enjoying our happiest days then. We all began to cry after we arrived in our husbands' countries. In our lives, sometimes we laugh and sometimes we cry. So, I don't think we can criticise those women who went out with the soldiers for money. They did not do that just for fun, because they needed money to survive. Often they had to support their families as well. Since there were virtually no jobs available then, they had to do that in order to feed themselves.
International marriage

I do not think international marriage is a good thing, so I would not recommend it to young Japanese women. I had so much hardship for myself for forty years. I would advise them to marry their own countrymen. Of course, marrying a countryman does not guarantee a happy marriage, but, at least, she has friends nearby when things do not go well. On the other hand, we did not have a supportive network among Japanese residents in Australia. When I had many problems with my husband, I could not tell my Japanese friends about them, because the news would spread through the community quickly. Well, I did tell somebody about my unhappiness when I was in Melbourne. People did not sympathise with me by saying, "Poor thing," but the story became more and more exaggerated within the community. At the end, I was blamed for my own unhappiness and was accused of being the one who caused all the problems. I heard people were saying, "The reason her husband ended up like that was because she did not behave properly." I was hurt badly when I realised what people were saying about me. I vowed not to tell any Japanese about my problems, except to Tomoko, my closest friend whom I trust.

When you have problems, it is a great help if you have somebody whom you can talk to. I learned in a TV documentary about a Japanese war bride who committed suicide in America. Maybe she did not have anybody to talk to. I thought about suicide sometimes, but I could not do that because of my children. I forgot where we were living then, but my husband once told me to go back to Japan. I could not when I worried about how the children would cope and who would look after them. I was determined to stay with him in order to feed my children. I think I endured all the hardships for my children's sake. I learned about the virtue of perseverance by watching my mother endure hardships. That was why I could persist.

I do not think young women can do the same thing these days. Our generation survived the war in spite of all the hardship. Difficulties did not fall just upon some individuals, but on everybody in society during that period. Since women of our generation had gone through that hard period, we could endure poverty and other problems after we arrived in Australia. I believe those women who went to America experienced similar problems. We all overcame hardship and sadness. If one was overwhelmed by those feelings, one might have committed suicide.

In spite of all the problems I have experienced, I am still grateful to Mick for bringing me to Australia. I cannot forget how happy I was to receive the letter from him, which said that he was going to bring the children and myself to Australia. At that time, I loved him dearly and he responded to that by bringing us to this country. How I am now
really depends on the decision he had made. I do not know how I would be if he had abandoned us then. That is why I keep wondering if I should forgive him and let him come back if he wants to. Yet, if I mention such a feeling to my children, they say, "Mum! Stop it!"

I met Kiku again in 1997 in Japan when the second war brides convention was held. She arrived in Japan with Catherine and her children a few weeks before the convention started and had a holiday with them. She looked well and happy and told me that Catherine bought her a nice cottage and she had moved in there. Mick remarried somebody a few years ago and she was not agonising whether she should let him come back or not any more. At the convention, an essay contest was organised for the war brides by an American airline company. Kiku sent in an essay with the title, "War and peace in my life," and won the first prize, a return ticket between America and Japan. The Association is still negotiating with the airline to convert the prize for a return ticket between Japan and Australia. In this essay, she quoted Fumiko Hayashi from her autobiographical novel, Horoki [Diary of a vagabond], and wrote that her concept of an ideal life for a woman was as follows:

"Happiness for a woman is to love a man and to be loved by him; to bear children for him; to care for him till he dies; then to be cared for by the children till her own death." 7

Kiku recently wrote to Mrs. Stout, president of the Nikkei Internationally Married Women's Association, about the first visit of Kimi's brother and sister to Australia. They said that they did not realise their sister had to endure so much hardship in Australia over the last forty years. They thought she had been happily living in Australia without any problems. For them, the image of an idyllic life which was written up in the newspaper article in 1974 persisted and they never thought that their sister might have lived in a different way.

7Fumiko Hayashi (1903-51) novelist. Horoki which was published in 1930 was a bestseller. Other works by Hayashi include Ukigumo [Floating could].
Kazuko Roberts

Kazuko Roberts's story

We went back to Japan in 1983 after selling the house in Adelaide. Australian dollars were still relatively strong around that time and the exchange rate for one Australian dollar was about 230 yen. Of course, it was much worse than the 1970s when one dollar was worth almost 400 yen. Yet, it was much better than now. We brought back the money from the sale of the house in Adelaide and built a new house where my mother's old house had stood. My sister and her family lived next door. I put a lot into designing the living area by following the floor plans of the flats we owned in Wine Town.

I had kept my long term dream of owning a hair dressing salon until we came back to Japan. If the salon was not possible, I wanted to open a coffee shop where customers could enjoy nice cups of coffee and freshly baked cake. I loved baking and used to do baking every week even though we did not have any children.

We moved in with my mother and step-father after the house was finished. My main day-to-day task was to look after them. Although I really wanted to achieve my dreams of opening a hair dressing salon or a coffee shop, the reality was different from what I had thought. I realised that I was too old to start a salon. As for a coffee shop, it was also not possible to make that happen either. The reality was that I was responsible for looking after two elderly people and I did not have much freedom to do anything else. So the dream I had treasured for a long time was not realised and disappeared. As other things in my life, things did not turn out the way I wanted. I was reminded that life could not be planned as we wanted.

We did not have many financial problems when we came back to Japan because we still had the money from the house sale. We were also receiving age pensions from Australia. However, the law was changed and the government decided to cut off the payment of age pensions to those who were away from Australia for more than a year. We did not have any other regular income. Jack did not stay in the Army long enough to be qualified for a pension. Thus, we had to rely on our savings to support ourselves. I started to work from home as an agent for a cosmetic company. I had my own clients and took orders for various products on commission. Jack taught English to high school students at home. Although he did not own any pigeons, he became friends with Japanese pigeon enthusiasts and accompanied them to races.

8 The exchange rate was about 60 yen to a dollar around May 1995 and 87 yen to a dollar in August 1998.
Jack did not complain much about being in Japan, but I guess he sometimes felt homesick. Soon after we came back and before our house was completed, I remember seeing him with very red eyes. I guess he must have missed Australia now and then. We spoke to each other in English, but the only other English speaking friends were an Englishman in Kobe and a few Australian friends who visited us from Australia. I am sure he must have understood how I had felt when I arrived in Wine Town all those years ago. I used to cook two types of meals at home: Japanese style for the elderly and Western style for Jack. Jack could eat fried rice, but never liked white rice. He used to put sugar and milk on rice. However, we somehow managed for all those years.

I do not think Jack and I stood out too much in the neighbourhood. People knew Jack because we used to come back to visit my mother. I do not feel I am different from other Japanese women of my age, who never moved away from Japan. Only some aspects of our lifestyle might be different from theirs. On the other hand, other people think I am different because people have said that to me on many occasions. I am aware of that as well, especially in the way we live. In Japan, *giri* and *ninjō* are generally appreciated in the way they live.\(^9\) On the other hand, in Australia, one appreciates one's self. They put individuality above everything else. Japanese do not do that. They think about themselves but at the same time, they take *giri* and *ninjō* towards the others into account as well. When I witness Japanese people behaving that way, I feel as if I am being strangled. On such an occasion, I think Australia offers more freedom. You can think more freely and express your feelings more openly there. In Japan, I sometimes feel as if somebody is always watching me and I get annoyed with their persistent gaze. At the same time, I still like Japanese things, such as food and Japanese dancing. They seem to suit me naturally. Since I could not enjoy those things in Australia, I always felt I was missing something important in my life in that country.

When we came back, we did not know how long we would stay. Of course, I did not want my mother and my step-father to pass away quickly, so we would stay as long as it was necessary. Our plan was that we would eventually go back to Australia when both of them died. That was why I did not sell some of our units in Australia. We wanted to keep them for ourselves.

If we had children, we could not move about like this. I believe Jack pursued his interest selfishly mainly because we did not have children. I do not believe he regretted that. On the other hand, I wish I had children. If I did, I would have been more serious about life. I would have settled down more. By the time people reach my age, they usually have children and grandchildren. If I did, I would naturally want to be close to them and

\(^9\)Lebra defines *giri* as "social obligation" (1984: 335) and *jinjō* as "human feeling" (1976: 46).
would not go back and forth between two countries like I did. Some of my friends said to me that I was lucky to be able to do all those things. What did they mean by "lucky"? I guess they meant that I looked after my elderly parents and fulfilled children's obligations towards their parents. Also, we moved back to Japan at the right time before the exchange rate became awfully bad. Yet, they do not understand my situation at all. If I had children, I would not have done that and could not have felt so lonely in my life.

Yet, at the same time, I was pleased that I could look after my parents. Since I had spent so many years overseas, there might have been some things I did for them which were unsatisfactory. However, I did my best for those seven years. I wanted my mother to live as long as possible. However, she passed away in 1990 after a very short illness. Then, my stepfather died a year after. Well, to look after my mother till she died was the only thing I managed to accomplish in my life to my satisfaction. That was the only thing that I had completed properly.

After my mother and stepfather passed away, Jack and I were planning to visit Australia. By then, Jack's lungs were not functioning properly. He had to breathe oxygen from a tank all the time and was mainly confined to home other than visits to the doctor's. I did not know how much he knew about the seriousness of his illness. He used to say, "If there is dust and feather in my lungs, why don't they clean them?" or "If my lungs are not working properly, why can't I get a lung transplant? They do that in America." In spite of his condition, we planned our trip back to Australia and figured out how we could fly with all the necessary equipment. Then, one day in May 1992, his condition suddenly deteriorated without any prior warning. My sister and I called an ambulance and took him to the hospital, but he was already losing consciousness before the ambulance reached the hospital. He died soon afterwards. The suddenness of his death shocked me greatly.

Jack's funeral was held in the Buddhist way and he was buried in a grave in Mihara. Although his family was Methodist, he was never a church goer. Until my mother died, I did not know anything about funerals, so I had to learn quite a lot in a very short time. In Buddhism, the dead are given new names by priests when they are sent off to the other world. We had no idea what kind of name Jack would get. My sister was very curious about how the priest would coin a name for an Australian man. At the end, the priest decided to call him "eigō-in" [a person's soul which belonged to England and Australia] and we were very happy with the name.

Since Jack's death was so unexpected, no will was left. That was why I visited Adelaide with my sister at the end of last year in order to sort out his estate. I enquired then
whether I would be entitled to receive a widow pension or any other type of pension from the Australian government, but unfortunately, I was not. I was told that if I came back to Australia, I would be eligible to receive the old age pension from the day of arrival, but not in Japan. I might go back there for a visit, but I do not have a plan to return there to live. I have already planned to be buried next to Jack in Japan when I die, so I cannot die in Australia. In Adelaide, I had a chance to meet other war brides again. Since they were always nice to Jack and me, I intended to invite all of them to a hotel and hold a reception to thank them. However, one friend said, "Don't waste your money on such a thing. You can come to my house and I will arrange a get-together with people you know." Many women came to see me and my sister at my friend's house and it was very nice. However, I wish I could organise an occasion in the way I wanted. Somehow, things I had planned never turn out the way I wanted.

Term "war bride"
I do not like the term "sensō hanayome" or "war bride". People of your generation do not understand because they did not witness the actual situation during the occupation period. When we were young, there were women who went out with the occupation soldiers as business. There were many of them and some of them married soldiers. I do not know what the Australians thought of Japanese war brides, but the Japanese did not cast friendly eyes towards them. So I do not want to be called a war bride. I would prefer to be called as an internationally married woman. I think that sounds much better.

International marriage
Once a young Japanese woman who was thinking of marrying an Australian asked me what I thought of international marriages. She wanted to get my opinion because I was married to an Australian. I told her that she should never marry a foreigner. Absolutely not. I told her that she should stay in Japan and marry a Japanese. When I arrived in Australia, I did not know much English. Even though my English improved over the years, I could not express my thoughts and feeling as fully as I wanted to. You might be able to communicate in words, but the national characteristics are different. That was why the husband and the wife (of an international marriage) cannot understand each other 100%.

I loved Jack, but there was always some difference between us at the day to day level. In addition, a sense of loneliness was always overwhelming for me. That was the most difficult aspect. I would describe my thirty years in Australia as sheer loneliness. Of course, I did enjoy various activities and felt happy then. However, the loneliness seemed to have lingered with me as if it was a shadow. Naturally, I know not all

10 Here, Kazuko Roberts refers to the term in both Japanese, "sensō hanayome" and English, "war bride".
marriages between Japanese men and Japanese women go well. Yet, at least, the wife is free from such loneliness. So I don't want to say that all international marriages are no good, but that you had better avoid the situation if you can.

I felt that way in the relationship with Jack, as well as other people. Some difference has to be there because the way we were brought up was different and the national characteristics are not the same. As I lived in a country town, nobody was cold towards me. Since I was the only Japanese resident there, people were kind to me. People might not believe that but it was true. I heard Japanese women who moved to America had a much more difficult time with American people. Well, I know that each human being is different, but I feel a couple from different backgrounds cannot understand each other fully. So a Japanese should marry a Japanese.

As for me, I withstood the difficulty for myself because I married Jack in spite of opposition from people around me. Of course, nobody back home had thought it was a good idea to marry an Australian then. Everyone was against the idea. However, I decided to marry him and challenged their opposition. That was what I chose to do. I wanted to prove myself by keeping to my words and I accepted the hardship that resulted from my own undertaking. That was why I never complained to people in Wine Town or to my family in Japan. I did not want to show my weakness especially because I had chosen to do all that.

I cannot say that I never thought of divorce. It was possible to leave him because we did not have any children. But Jack started to get sick often and nobody else would look after him if I left. After we came back to Japan, I have to admit that I occasionally thought Jack should return to Australia by himself. Once, when we had a quarrel, I even told him exactly that. I said to him, "Why don't you go back to Australia. You can afford to live by yourself because we still have some money there. I will stay here on my own." He remained silent when I said that to him. Looking back, I do not know how I could have said such a nasty thing to him. Moreover, I do not understand myself why I cannot forget him quickly after his death, when I did say such a thing to his face.

I informed Kazuko Roberts about the Hawaii and Japan conventions and suggested she should attend them on both occasions. Especially, the Japan convention was not difficult for her to attend and the women she knew in Adelaide would be attending it. I thought it would be a good chance for her to catch up with her old acquaintances. However, she did not show much interest. She did not say why she did not or could not, but since she had not actively sought Japanese women's company in Australia, it was not a surprise to learn of her lack of interest.
I kept in touch with Kazukonow and then after the interviews. Her sister and husband who lived next door decided to move to another city to live with their son and his family. Kazukodecided to join them and sold the house she and Jack had built.

**Tomiko Cooper**

**Tomiko Cooper's story**

In 1987, Tomiko contributed a short essay to a Japanese journal. The essay started with a brief introduction to her, which read as follows: "Mrs. Tomiko Cooper met an Australian, Mr. Cooper, in 1948 in Kure, Hiroshima Prefecture and married him in 1952. She arrived in Australia in the next year and has been living in Canberra until now." Amazingly, her life story which has been presented and discussed at length in the previous two chapters was summarised in two sentences. Towards the end of the essay, she described her current daily routine after her husband’s retirement. She wrote as follows:

My husband has been keen on hobbies with his mates, such as golf, bowling, drumming, and fixing cars, .... However, he recently had to slow down because of ill health. He never likes to sit still, so he decided to occupy the kitchen, and he does all the housework and shopping. I was personally convinced that one who does the housework must be in charge of household expenses. At the beginning, I wondered if he forgot to give me household expenses, but it does not seem so. Even between husband and wife, it is difficult to discuss money. Yet, I cannot complain loudly because I am keeping my own income from the job .... I appreciate his skill in mastering cooking rice, and making pickles just by watching me. At the same time, when an Australian carries out those tasks, I cannot help being surprised. I feel deep happiness when I look at a steaming pot of miso soup and cut shallots while he is out. I hope he will keep his good health and live long. (original in Japanese, translation mine)

**Tomiko's story continues blow, from the interviews with me.**

Yes, Paul did all the housework after his retirement till I finished my job at the university library in 1990. He cooked meals and served me. At meal time, he stood in the corner of the kitchen in the same posture as a guard until I finished eating. When I wanted to get something, he would roar, "What do you want?" and he brought it to me at the table. Since I was watched all the time while I ate, I felt rather intimidated. During that period, he brought a TV set into the kitchen and half of the kitchen table was covered with his stuff. The other half of the table was cleared for me to eat. He did all the shopping as
well. As I wrote in the essay, he stopped giving me any money for household expenses. I do not think he liked being a househusband much. He used to say, "Remember! When you finish your work, you are going to do all these things. I will not continue doing this. Absolutely not!"

When I retired in 1990, I realised that Paul had decided to keep our separate household accounts. He receives income from his superannuation and war pension. On the other hand, I worked as a casual staff for seventeen years at the library and do not have any superannuation. My only income comes from interest payments on my savings. I am not entitled to have my own pension because the amount Paul receives is considerable, so when we add the interest payments that I receive, the amount of pension won't be different. Paul kept urging me to spend all the savings, so that I would be able to receive a pension, but I am scared to spend all my savings especially when Paul will not give me any money from his income.

We keep completely separate accounts for the household. Paul pays for rent and electricity. He also shops for vegetables, fruits and meat, but not the food only I like to eat, such as rice and sweets. I have to go out and buy those for myself. I do not know how much he receives monthly. We did not talk about these matters right from the beginning. It was the same in Japan and after we arrived in Australia. He might be very cheerful and helpful for his friends, male or female, but he is not like that with me. When he buys something for the house, I cannot ask him where he bought it. He would say, "Here it is. Why do you want to know where I bought it. It does not matter to you." I do not ask him whom he went to see the football with because he would say, "Why do you want to know that?"

I guess people generally think our marriage has been a comparatively happy marriage without much incident. Although Japanese friends sometimes talk about their problems among themselves and hold so-called "self-pitying competitions," I do not go out and tell everyone all the trouble I had with my husband. However, I really think my case has been an exception. Most of the war brides have lived happily under the protection of their husbands. Have you heard of any unhappy women among the war brides? I know that the percentage of divorces among the marriages must be very low, and maybe only one or two couples ended up in divorce. I do not feel I have been cared for by my husband right from the beginning up to now.

Yet, at the same time, I don't think I had to endure hardship or have been miserable. The whole concept of "hardship" sounds so old fashioned and depressing.\footnote{A Japanese term, "kurō" was used here for the term "hardship."} It would be...
better to describe it as "difficult" experiences. Frankly speaking, I can only blame myself. I could have taken a different direction if I really wanted to. Many things change in one's life. Some changes occur naturally and some others happen because one takes initiatives. I could not do much when we were in Japan because Paul was transferred frequently. Furthermore, I was not married to him. We also had to move frequently soon after we arrived in Australia. However, after we moved to this house, I have been staying here as if I had sunken roots into the soil. I will stay here. I am happy here. So I am resigned to see our marriage as a fatal connection. We have been staying together without a divorce. Outsiders might think our family is a happy one, but you never know the reality until you move into the family, do you?

In 1994, Paul went to the hospital for a test and was diagnosed as having cancer. I did not go to the hospital with him, but Helen did. I was at home, talking to you when Helen rang and told me the result. Helen is the one who does those tasks, not me. For Paul, Helen is the equivalent of a wife, Jane is a daughter and I am more or less like a granddaughter.

After the diagnosis, Paul had a big blood transfusion in order to prepare himself for an operation. He recovered well after the surgery and started chemo-therapy. At the moment, he looks so well that people cannot believe he is seriously ill. He drives his car to the hospital for chemo-therapy and drives back after the treatment. He is keeping his busy daily schedule as much as possible. Many of his friends have passed away and their wives are on their own. So he visits their houses and provides handyman services for them. When those women thank me and praise how helpful and nice Paul is towards them, I just accept their praise with a smile. On the other hand, it is rather difficult to ask him to do things around our own house. He is too busy! He usually comes back in the afternoon and grooms himself before going to the club. He leaves home about three in the afternoon and comes home around eight in the evening for a light meal. At the club, I assume he talks with his friends. He used to drink quite a lot, but now he does not take a drop of alcohol. Yet, he can stay at the club for those hours without drinking beer. I prepare evening meals for him after he comes home. It is easy because he is an Australian. I grill some chops, and boil peas after I put a potato wrapped in paper towel in the microwave oven. For his desert, I serve tinned fruits with ice cream.

Since my retirement, I am enjoying my free time. Some people try to earn some pocket money by working as tour guides for Japanese tourists or doing some baby sitting, but I do not want to do that because I am retired. I joined a sports club with my Japanese friends. I try to go there a few times a week for a swim, but do not go there to see my friends. We swim in separate lanes and go home when each has enough exercise. It had
been my dream while I was working at the library to read books and magazines in my leisure. I wanted to go to the library with a lunch box just to read books, not to work. When I went back there people were happy to see me there. It was as if I went back to my home.

Before he had an operation in April this year, he said he wanted to make some arrangement about his estate. Helen's partner agreed with him and said, "That is a good idea. That needs to be done." At that time, I did not ask for any special consideration for me. Legally, my daughters and I should inherit one third of Paul's estate each. These days, a wife can claim a half of an estate when she gets a divorce, but I was entitled only to one third. We cannot blame anybody for Paul's illness and difficulty we face, but I could not help thinking my contribution should deserve more than that. I thought that I had drawn the short straw. But I told myself that I should not think about money at this stage. I should only hope Paul's operation was going to be successful.

A few days later, Paul went to see a solicitor with Helen. Before he left, he came to me and patted my back without a word as if he tried to reassure me. I wondered what it meant then. When Paul and Helen came back, they showed me the document which read that everything Paul owned would be given to Tomiko. When I saw that section I cried out loud in front of them because I was so happy. I have been telling you all sorts of things about my husband, but at the end he entrusts me with everything he owns. I feel my deeds for him were finally given value after so many years. Up till that time, I was never sure how he thought about me and was close to desperation. I never felt I was much appreciated. He always said that he would give me money if he had any, but he never did. The only thing he ever bought me was a pair of shoes when there was a hole in a shoe. So I worked and worked to make ends meet. His will was more like proof that he actually cared about me. Now, I hope he will live as long as possible.

You asked me if I envy those women who have been well protected by their Australian husbands. Many of them do not drive and rely on their husbands for transport. My mother used to say, "Flowers in your neighbour's garden always look pretty at a glance, but when you look closely you can also see bugs on them. Do not watch other people for comparison. You should only look at yourself." Even when I admired somebody's husband and found a better husband in him, there was always something which I could not stand. My husband has so many faults, but, at least, I have freedom. He was not around most of the day, so I was free to do what I wanted. I was thankful for that. Our problem in marriage was mainly financial. However, since I had a job, I could earn money to look after my daughters and myself. I thought I was lucky.
The biggest difficulty we had was money. I did not have anybody to ask for assistance then, other than myself. If we were in Japan, my family and relatives would have helped us in some way. I wrote to my father to tell him about our difficulty. He wrote back and said that he could not do much because we were so far away. At the same time, he urged me not to take an impulsive action such as suicide and suggested that there was always the option of coming back to Japan. My uncle was also very supportive through his letters and he urged me to soldier on. In contrast, my friends, who were willing to listen to me, were not in a position to give me any substantial help. They were outsiders after all. They might give me some advice, but they would never persuade Paul to change. I never borrowed money from my friends.

I do not want to go back to Japan to live. I do not even want to visit there much. My parents have both passed away. I miss my brothers and sisters, but I feel hesitant to stay with them. I do not want to worry about anybody when I open a refrigerator or when I want to eat a banana or an orange. I can even break wind without excusing myself here. I used to miss Japan about four or five years ago. Around that time, I wore geta on my feet and had chanchanko on around the house. I cooked rice, pickled Chinese cabbage and plums and wore Shiseido cosmetics. I thought I lived as if I were in Japan. I really felt that I could never go away from Japan then. You asked why I have detached myself from Japan. I do not want to keep going back to my brothers' places and make a nuisance of myself. Furthermore, when I think about the cost I feel scared. My friends who visited Japan recently all say that I would be shocked. The Australian dollar is so weak. What I can buy in Australia for one dollar is much more than what I can buy in Japan for 100 yen.

**Term, "war bride"**

I did not know that I was a war bride until I read a newspaper article in Japan regarding our departure for Australia. It said that war brides were going to leave for Australia. I guess it was soon after that people started to use the term because we used to be called "hello no ni-go" [foreigner's second wife=mistress] before we were married. I remember thinking then, "Well, I did not know I was a war bride."

I did not like that term for a long time. First of all, the Japanese did not like the word "war," so I did not like to be called by a term with that word in it. The term had the connotation that those women associated with foreigners because they did not have any money. Well, I did not have much money then, but I was certainly not one of them. So I wrote to my uncle that I did not want to be seen with prejudice and to be suspected of having a shady past. He answered my letter and said, "Nobody can stop people from talking about such a thing among themselves. Try to be the best war bride that you can
be. It may take some time, but people should eventually realise their prejudice is wrong." I do not think he meant I should aim at becoming solely a "good wife and good mother," but more or less a "model" war bride. After that time, I was never offended by the term. People seemed to have forgotten that term for a long time until some women in Canberra started to use it. I would prefer to be called a Japanese bride just as they used to call me when I arrived. It is funny to call a grandmother a bride these days!

**War Bride conventions**

When I attended the Melbourne convention, I did not have any objection to calling the gathering the "War Bride Convention to Celebrate the 40th Anniversary of Arrival." However, most of my friends did not like the term. I remember one friend got angry when she heard that term and insisted she would write a letter of complaint to the organisers. Then, I said to her, "Don't worry about it any more. We have come a long way and you have brought up your children as respectable citizens. Those who married in Japan were not always happy and some have divorced. We are happy now. As long as the family is close and healthy, we do not need to worry what people call us." My friend agreed with me then and calmed down.

I really enjoyed the convention in Melbourne. That was the most enjoyable time I ever had since I came to Australia. We experienced and endured all sorts of problems in the past and we could finally get together. I was happy. That was the best time. I met my ex-neighbours in Hiro and Campbell. There was also an ex-officer who used to be Paul's superior. He remembered that Paul was sent home by ship rather than by plane because he had an injury to his lung. I was so excited to see all those people.

When I looked at all those women at the convention, I realised the years had passed and we had all become old. I could remember how they had been around the time they got married. So, for a while, I looked around, forgetting how much older I was since then. I wanted to meet as many women as possible, so I walked around, saying hello to the women at each table. Towards the end of the convention, the compere proposed that we dance to a Japanese folk song and most of them were rather shy about standing up and dancing. On the other hand, I really wanted to dance so I put my hand up and walked to the stage. Then, almost everybody joined the circle. I guess I could be reckless sometimes.

**International marriage**

When I asked her what she thought about international marriage, there was a pregnant pause before she started to talk.
If a young Japanese woman came to me to ask for advice when she is contemplating an international marriage, I would say to her she should go ahead if she really wants to. You can only enjoy your youth when you are young. Falling in love can be like suffering from fever, and whether a marriage is a happy one depends on some delicate matters. The couple are the only ones who can work on it and make it successful.

However, it is usually taken for granted that a Japanese marries another Japanese. A woman might face some problems in her marriage if she marries a non-Japanese. In an international marriage, a husband (non-Japanese) needs to bear a lot of the burden because his wife does not understand the language well. I assume Paul thinks that I have been coping well even though my English is limited. I understand TV dramas, such as "Home and Away" very well, but current affairs are beyond my comprehension. I occasionally need to write notes to Paul when I take telephone messages for him. I am not sure, but he seems to understand what I mean. I assume husbands need to take more responsibility when they marry foreigners. Wives, on the other hand, are young and have already made up their minds to come to a different country, so they do not find it too difficult to adjust. Also their hopes are so big.

So I would say individuals should decide whether they should proceed or not. They are all grown-ups, over twenty years old. If there were opposition, they might become more stubborn. The best thing for us to do is to put various questions to the young woman in order to help her examine all the implications. If she still persists, we can only accept her decision.

Paul's condition deteriorated gradually and he was admitted to a hospice. Jane, the second daughter, left her job to spend more time with her father for a few months before he died. Tomiko and Jane visited the hospice every day to have lunch with Paul. Tomiko told me that was the first time she could spend a quiet time with her husband. He died in June 1996. Tomiko travelled to Japan in May 1997 to attend the second war bride convention with other war brides from Australia. The following narrative was from a short interview I did in February 1998.

A short time before Paul died I said to him, "Thank you. I appreciate that you brought me to Australia. Thank you." I do not know what would have happened if we had been left behind in Japan. I think he answered, "You are all right." It was difficult to hear what he said. That phrase, "you are all right," was as much as he used to express his appreciation. I believe he was really happy to hear that. He could never say to me, "I love you" so those words of his meant a lot to me. Both Helen and Jane witnessed this exchange.
I do not regret that I married Paul. That was my destiny. He was given to me. So I always thought, "This is my man." I never looked at other men, but was just resigned that I had bad luck! Some women are well looked after by their husbands and I was not. Yet, our marriage lasted till the end. I would say, "I'm never sorry." Yet, at the same time, my first marriage has now being completed. At the convention in Japan, we were asked to fill in questionnaires which were organised by Japanese researchers. One of the questions was "If you could marry again, which countryman would you want to marry?" I answered I wanted to marry a Japanese. I did not mean to say that I regretted marrying Paul, an Australian. Since I had already married an Australian, I would like to marry a Japanese if I was given another chance. Since I am a Japanese and have never married a Japanese man, if I was given another chance, I would like to try. I grew up in Japan, but so many material things were lacking in Japan when I was young. I do not know affluent Japan. So I would not mind experiencing living there one more time. Yet, I do not want to have a husband any more. I do not want to look after another man. I want to relax and enjoy myself.

Tomiko now enjoys attending various groups, such as Legacy, War Widows Club, and Seniors Club and involves herself in various activities. Before Paul died he used to attend similar functions by himself, but now Tomiko does. Recently, she danced the cancan with other Australian war widows on a French Night at a seniors club.

Toshiko Hudson

Toshiko Hudson's story
David and I moved to Canberra in the late 1980s when David was transferred to this city from Melbourne. After retiring from the Air Force, he was working for the Japanese language section of a radio station. He produced programs on learning English for Japanese listeners and presented the programs as an instructor. Then he was offered a contract position in public service and worked there for some years before being transferred to Canberra.

I did not know anybody in Canberra when we moved here. My sons had already left home and we were by ourselves. Soon after we settled in this town, I came across an exhibition and demonstration of doll making in a shopping mall. I always had an interest in this craft, but never had a chance to learn it. I found out beginners' classes were offered and started to attend those. From the time I was young, I liked doing craft and

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12 Fumika used English when she said, "This is my man."
13 "I'm never sorry" was also said in English.
was good at it. As it turned out, doll making was something I really enjoyed. At present, I attend regular classes, occasional seminars to learn special techniques, teach a class for Japanese women and sell my work for a commission in a shop run by a doll making group.

Sometime after we came to Canberra, I also started to work at shop downtown as a part-time shop assistant. One day, David and I met the manager of this shop at our friend’s party. She told me that she had to fly in a Japanese speaking sales assistant from Sydney when a Japanese Minister wanted to do some shopping at the shop during his visit to Canberra. So I told her that I was willing to help them whenever it was necessary. She became interested and suggested that I should come and see her at the shop on the next Thursday. David realised what was going on between myself and the manager and tried to stop it, but I did not worry about what he said. I went to the shop the next week and was offered a part-time position there.

David always thought he was the breadwinner and was never keen for me to work. Many years ago, I was offered a secretarial job in a Japanese firm when we lived in Sydney. My third son was old enough to be looked after by somebody else. Furthermore, I had never worked until then and I wanted to earn some money for myself. However, David strongly opposed the idea and I had to turn down the job. Later, when we came to Canberra, I wanted to work as a tour guide for Japanese tourists. So I went to see a tour bus operator to see if I could be hired. The operator’s response was promising, but David again opposed this by saying, "You are not going to work." I had to phone the operator to tell him I could not work for them.

At this time, however, I did not really care what David thought and ignored his negative reaction. Previously, I was more attentive towards his feeling because he used to take his spite out on our sons when he and I had arguments. So, I used to tell myself that if peace in the family could be maintained by suppressing myself, it would be worth it. That was why I gave in on the previous occasions. In Canberra, however, we were on our own and I did not need to worry about possible repercussions for the children. Well, David was never happy with the fact I was working and made it quite clear now and then. When the garden looked untidy or when I served him a bowl of ice cream with tinned fruit instead of home baked pie, he made comments, such as "Bloody working wife!" When I was young, I would have felt guilty when I heard such a comment. But I did not care. I think I was getting more bold and thick skinned.

I worked three days a week in the shop and really enjoyed the job, especially since I kept all of my earnings for myself. Occasionally, I felt my English was a handicap at work,
but I always tried my best. When customers thanked me for the help I gave, I felt very proud. I realised there were all sorts of different types of people through interacting with my colleagues and customers, and I learned a lot. There were occasional Japanese customers who lived in Canberra, including you, whom I talked to in Japanese. Yet, I never got to know them personally or was not introduced to other Japanese people through them. I do not know why I never did that, but in your case, I thought you were too young for me. Other Japanese women were either too boisterous or not so friendly. I stayed in that job for five and a half years. My commitment to doll making started to take up more time and I became too busy to keep the job. Also it was difficult to go away when you have a job, so I stopped working some time ago.

All those years when I lived in Australia, I did not have any close Japanese friends. While David was in the Air Force, we moved quite often. Furthermore, there were almost no Japanese wives in the Air Force compared with the Army. I became friends with Australian wives, but since all of us moved about at two or three year intervals, it was difficult to get to know any of them very well. After we moved to Canberra, I did not meet many Japanese and I often wondered if there was any substantial number of Japanese residents in this city. Then about two and half years ago, I got to know some Japanese women by chance.

David's Japanese ex-colleague in the radio production, Mrs. Taylor, was a good friend of Mrs. Haruyo Byrne in Canberra. Some women gathered in Melbourne before the first convention in Melbourne. On that occasion, Mrs. Taylor told Mrs. Byrne about me because she knew David and I had moved to Canberra. Mrs. Haruko Anderson, a participant from Melbourne, was there and heard my name. She claimed that she had known me in Japan and asked Mrs. Byrne to get in touch with me. So one day, I received a phone call from Mrs. Byrne who asked if she could give my address to Mrs. Anderson. I could not recall anybody with that name, but I agreed. Then, some days later, I received a thick letter from Haruko. She turned out to be somebody I knew quite well in Tokyo before we came to Australia. I knew she was dating an Australian soldier, but we did not keep contact. So I did not realise that she eventually married an Australian and came to Australia. No wonder I did not know anybody under the name of Mrs. Anderson.

This re-encounter with my old friend was a big but nice surprise. It gave me the chance to become good friends with Mrs. Byrne and other Japanese women in Canberra. I did not realise how much fun it was to mix with Japanese women because I had never had that experience. I have some good friends among the Australians, but I tend to be a listener rather than a talker when we meet, mainly because I cannot express myself as
fully as I want in English. On the other hand, I realise that I can talk all night in Japanese with my Japanese friends. David teases me that I am on the phone all the time, talking in Japanese. But I believe he is genuinely happy for me to have many Japanese friends and says that I am brighter than before.

I teach doll making for the Japanese diplomats' wives privately. It is fun to listen to their conversations in the classes. They often complain about their husbands among themselves although they hardly ask any questions about my experience in Australia. From my students, I started to borrow Japanese books, magazines and videos. I really like watching Japanese videos of TV dramas and music shows. When I watch those videos, David wants to join me, by saying, "Don't start without me." Since I read Japanese books and magazines these days, I hardly read English magazines any more. It is much easier to read Japanese than English.

Recently, I started to cook Japanese food for myself much more than before. I did not cook much Japanese food previously mainly because it was difficult to buy the ingredients. These days, however, it is much easier to buy them in Canberra and Sydney. David never cared for Japanese food and when my children were at home, I did not have enough time to cook Australian dishes for my family as well as Japanese dishes for myself. So I only cooked Australian. These days, however, I occasionally prepare Japanese food for myself when there is some leftovers only for one person. I use this as a good excuse to prepare some simple Japanese dishes for myself. However, I have to be careful when I cook fish because David hates the smell of fish. So I usually grill a salted salmon fillet early in the afternoon and open the windows to get rid of the smell. The fish is served cold, but with hot rice, it still tastes nice.

The second wife of my eldest son, Ben, is of Malaysian descent. She is much keener on and better at home making than other Australian daughters-in-law. She is eager to learn to cook Japanese food, which Ben enjoys very much. I am happy to teach her some cooking as well. Some of my grandchildren learn Japanese at school and send me cards with their Japanese writing. I am very happy to receive them. When they ask me something about Japan, I tend to tell them, "Ask your grandad." But I enjoy teaching them some Japanese words and showing them how to do origami and other Japanese crafts. Since my husband and I consciously put our effort into not exposing our own children to anything about Japan, it is nice to do these things with my grandchildren. It will be nice to be able to talk to them in Japanese some day. My sons do not understand Japanese at all. So when I hear my friends talk to their children in Japanese, I feel really envious.
Recently, I realised how other ordinary Australians generally bring up their children through our visits to our children's home. My grandchildren are brought up by their mothers in the Australian way and their discipline is not as strict as ours when our sons were small. At that time, I had been led to believe that the way we treated the children was the proper Australian way, practiced in most families. Now, I realise it was not. Although I had longed for more close contact between parents and children when I was bringing up the children, I often find the contact could be too much for us. After having a dinner at our son's home, David and I miss our orderly dinner table without the chaos caused by young children!

**Term, "war bride" and the war bride conventions**

I decided to attend the Hawaii convention in 1994 with other Japanese war brides mainly because I wanted to visit Hawaii for a holiday. David does not like travelling, but he is not keen for me to travel on my own either. He does not want me to have stopovers in Hong Kong or Singapore for my trips back to Japan. He wants me to travel direct by Qantas, but not on other airlines. So I thought it would be a good idea to join other women from Canberra to travel to Hawaii. In that way, David could not complain. When Mrs. Byrne told me about the convention program in Hawaii, I thought I would just skip the meeting and go off sightseeing with other friends.

In spite of the false motive on my side, I was moved when I attended the convention in Honolulu. It offered much more than I had expected and I was really happy that I went. I felt all those Japanese women had achieved a lot by surviving after they arrived in places where they had never previously been. I was so happy to meet all those women. Of course, I felt I was one of them as well. When the women met their husbands who were occupation soldiers, the men were generous with their money and looked much smarter in their uniforms than Japanese men. Since everybody watched American movies which showed how wonderful everything was there, many women dreamed of dating those soldiers. However, when the women arrived in their husbands' home towns, often they found themselves in remote country towns in the middle of nowhere. In addition, the town people were ignorant of the outside world, let alone about Japan. I sympathise with those women in their misfortune and feel pity towards them.

With other women in Australia, Toshiko attended the second convention for Japanese war brides, held in Japan in 1997 and plans to attend next one in Los Angeles in 1999.

The convention in Hawaii was for the war brides. I guess that I can be one of them although, strictly speaking, I was not one because my husband was a civilian when we met. I did not think about the term, "senso hanayome" for a long time until some women
around me started to debate whether one was a war bride or not. Mrs. Gregory used to refuse to be called a war bride while Mrs. Byrne insisted Mrs. Gregory was one. Furthermore, they wonder whether they should call themselves a group war brides. I guess debates such as these only started about two years ago. Until then, nobody used the term, "senso hanayome" at all. I was not called "senso hanayome" in Japan. In Australia, I was never asked if I was a war bride, although I remember seeing the term in the newspapers. I do not mind being called a "senso hanayome." Yet, calling ourselves by such a name seems to imply we belong to a different category of people.

**International marriage**

I was very young when I met and married David. So I did not have a chance to date seriously with Japanese young men. Now when I look back, I feel I was rushed into marriage too quickly and missed precious opportunities. When I go back to Japan and see my sister and her husband, I can sense there is a difference in the relationships between ours and theirs. I believe that there is something which can be understood only between the Japanese. I still often feel that I can communicate with my husband in words, but not in feeling. So I think a Japanese person should choose another Japanese for her/his marriage partner. Well, I know it was too late for me by the time I had realised that.

If somebody asks for an advice about international marriages, I would repeat the same thing: a Japanese should marry a Japanese. When I met an elderly Japanese couple who were attending the Hawaii convention, I felt envious of them. I thought a Japanese man seemed to make a better husband for a Japanese woman. I do not think language is such a big problem. However, the way of thinking is fundamentally different between Japanese and Australians. When I was young, I did not think this way at all. I told myself to accept the difference without questioning. That was why I brought up my children in the way David wanted. However, when I look back, I think I would not have brought them up in that way if I had married a Japanese. I still have a considerable regret in the way I reared them. At that time, I was not comfortable with some of the things I did for them, such as the children and grown-ups eating meals separately. Yet, I told myself I should follow the Australian way because my husband was trying to bring the boys up as Australians. Nevertheless, I could not ignore the unpleasantness of doing things I did not completely agree with towards my own children. I often wished I had been born in Australia, then I would have known what to do in various situations without wondering what to do. I do not want anybody to feel the way I used to feel. That is why I do not think international marriages are good things.
I asked David the same question about international marriage when I interviewed him. He answered, "I am in favour of it. I love it. We have been married for forty-four years. For me, it has been very enjoyable. We had problems. Everybody has problems, but not major problems. Toshi, whether Japanese or German or Australian, has been a perfect wife as far as I am concerned. I like her more now than the time we were married." Toshiko was present in the room when her husband stated the above. Since she and I both remembered what she said about international marriage, we looked at each other when the husband's view turned out to be so rosy. Then David continued, "... international marriage could be a problem and many of them have failed, but many have succeeded, too. It depends on the person I think. If both parties are committed to the marriage, then it would be a success."

I would like to go back to Japan in the future. When David dies, I would like to spend a few months each year in Japan with my sister. However, I do not think I can live there permanently. I belong to Australia. When the plane touches down in Sydney from Tokyo, I feel I have come back home. My Australian friends treat me as an Australian. Occasionally, when I do not know the current news in Japan or cannot read an elaborate Japanese calligraphy, they might say, "Don't ask Toshi because she is not a Japanese any longer." I do not mind that kind of comment because I myself sometimes say the same thing. I would introduce myself as an Australian even to a Japanese person because I have been in Australia for forty years, which is a much longer time than my twenty years in Japan.

Occasionally, when I see an aged Oriental lady in a shopping window I wonder who she could be. Then I get a shock when I realise it is my own reflection. I feel that way probably because I always see European people around me. So sometimes when I look at myself in the mirror I have to tell myself that I am an Oriental. I am a Japanese.

Discussion

The Japanese war brides' narratives in this chapter cover the most recent ten to twenty years of their lives. By the time they reached this stage, the role and identity as wives and mothers, which had been so important, do not surface as dominantly in their narratives as before. The children have become independent and are building their own lives with their own families. Many of the women have lost their husbands and are now widows. Most of them have managed to secure modest levels of financial security as well. The women finally can afford to find enjoyment for themselves. As they are aware that their lives will not alter dramatically, they are ready to sum up their lives for themselves. Also, they have the time to contemplate what has happened to them and discuss their experiences.
The four women's narratives demonstrate much closer associations with Japan than before. This tendency was found in all the other war brides' interviews as well. Visits to Japan were much easier for them to make since the women became free of family responsibility and their mobility increased. Even though the weakened Australian currency made Japan a very expensive country to visit, financial security and improved affordability of airfares made it easier to purchase tickets to Japan. Travelling itself is much easier and quicker than before with frequent direct air services between the two countries. Developments in telecommunications, such as telephone and fax, have cut the cost and time to contact their families. In Australia, images of Japan can be viewed more widely since Japanese language programs are available on SBS and cable TV. The women watch Japanese videos at home and Japanese language books and magazines are more readily available. As Japanese cooking has gained popularity, the ingredients for Japanese meals can be purchased much more easily than before. Other Japanese products, such as cosmetics, have also become available in Australia in recent years.

The changes have not been limited to the day-to-day level which affects the war brides directly, but have occurred in the national and international area for Australia and Japan. The Australia-Japan relationship has greatly improved over the decades, and the two countries are now important trading partners. As the economic relationship became significant, general interest in each other's country has grown greatly. In Australia in the 1980s to the 1990s, the number of students studying the Japanese language has dramatically increased. In addition, Australia has been advocating multiculturalism as a national policy from the 1980s. Those factors have made it easier for Japanese war brides to articulate their ethnic origins and speak their first language in public. Similarly, in Japan, people are urged to learn about foreign cultures with an open mind and the importance of internationalisation has been widely advocated. Consequently, international marriage is more tolerated than before and sometimes even regarded as a fashionable option among young women. In this context, the war brides have been regarded as the first group of women who married internationally after the war, and are seen as pioneers of internationalisation. Many war brides were happy to see the change in perception and readily accepted this new positive image.

Towards the end of each interview, three questions were asked in order to clarify the women's views on the following points: war bride conventions, the term "war bride" [senso hanayome] and international marriage. The first point which can be made after examining their narratives is that the way they interpret the term "war bride" and their involvement in the war bride conventions seem to be related. A summary table of the women's involvement in the war bride conventions is shown below.
Kazuko Roberts was the one who never attend any gatherings of war brides and was the one who strongly expressed her dislike of the term, "sensō hanayome". As she had firmly internalised the negative images of war brides prevalent in Japan, she refused to be associated with the term. Contrastingly, the other three women who had attended various war bride gatherings have accepted the term "sensō hanayome," even though they were aware of the stigma which had been attached to the term.

The different reactions to the term among the women most likely depend on how the women see their individual experience in relation to others. As Kazuko Roberts did not have much chance to interact with other war brides due to her geographical isolation firstly in Australia and later in Japan, she could only contrast her own individual experience against the stigmatised images of war brides. As a result, she refused to be categorised as one of them. In contrast, those who attended the conventions had occasions to share their life histories with other women. Through these exchanges, they discovered that they shared common experiences and they realised how unique their experiences as Japanese war brides have been. By sharing experiences and incorporating other women's life histories, those women manage to form a voice as "we," not just "I." The realisation encouraged them to re-interpret their individual life courses more positively. They managed to generate their own view of the war brides' experiences and they were sufficiently confident of this new self-perception to believe they could push aside the older stigma, attached to war brides. Therefore, they were willing to call themselves war brides.

It is not simple to determine whether the women changed their perception by attending the conventions, or those who were likely to change gathered at the conventions. However, the fact that Toshiko Hudson who initially had not had much interest in the war bride issues changed her view after attending the Hawaii convention demonstrates the influence of the collectivity. As we can see from this example, it is possible to say that the conventions did have an impact on how some of the women now interpret their experiences.
The interviews could not be completed without asking the war brides about their views on international marriage. They had made the very unconventional decision to marry Australian servicemen over forty years ago in the face of family members' strong opposition and general social disapproval. The decisions led them to extraordinary circumstances which have been followed closely in this thesis. Their decision to marry Australians determined who they are and where they are. At the same time, I wanted to avoid asking them an abrupt question, such as "Was your marriage a happy one?" I believed a question such as this would be too direct and would not provide them with any room for reflection. Their answers might become defensive in order to protect themselves as well as their husbands. That was why I adopted an impersonal and hypothetical question which had been put to Kazuko Roberts about advising a young Japanese woman in international marriage.

This question fortunately provided the war brides with a chance to objectify their experiences and to compose answers without making them too personal. At the same time, their answers were strikingly frank and non-evasive appraisals of the situations they had gone through. Out of four interviews included here, three of them expressed strong opposition and one only showed qualified support for the young woman's wish to marry internationally. Among twelve taped interviews I conducted, only one woman stated she would encourage the woman to marry a foreigner for love. All others expressed their opposition to or reservations about similar marriage to their own.

Their reasons for opposition can be summarised as follows. Firstly, they pointed out difficulties of adjusting to a new language and culture and expressed the frustration of not feeling competent in English even after forty odd years. A lack of support for the women during the difficult time of adjusting was the second reason. Distance from Japan and other war brides in Australia made it very hard to seek help from the personal network that the women had already built. At the end, almost all of them chose to present happy faces to their families while they struggled with isolation and loneliness. However, the most crucial reason for opposition was that they felt they were not understood by their husbands after all the years of marriages. Toshiko Hudson's words, "I can communicate with my husband in words, but not in feeling," were echoed in other women's narratives. They said that they did not want other women to go through similar problems as they had done without being able to achieve fulfilling relationships with husbands.

Interestingly, husbands did not share the similar negative view towards their marriages. Toshiko's husband's opinion was optimistic and totally the opposite to hers. A very similar view was expressed by another husband in other interview. During an exclusive
discussion session for husbands at the Hawaii convention, no husband mentioned any negative side to international marriages and all agreed to endorse them whole heartedly. The discrepancy in perception between wife and husband towards their own marriage could be one factor why wives felt that they were not being understood by their husbands. Since the women were the ones who needed to carry a much greater adjustment load after their migration, the husbands did not comprehend fully the difficulties their wives had faced.

It is important to note that the war brides attributed the problem not to personality differences between husband and wife, but to differences in their cultural backgrounds. Although they were fully aware that not all the Japanese marriages went smoothly, they felt the core of the problem was cultural difference, not personal difference. We should not trivialise the women’s interpretation because the fact that such a common sentiment was expressed by most of them was striking. Here, as previously discussed, the inner self was regarded as more culturally bound than the interactional self. What the women were pointing out was even after forty years of sharing their lives together, they did not feel they could share the inner selves which had been formed in two different cultures, Japan and Australia. Thus, although there was not any obvious cultural problems on the surface, they could not overcome the feeling of inadequacy at the deeper level.

The women’s subsequent narratives on international marriage also require more examination. Most of them opposed international marriages which they themselves had lived through over forty years, but they wanted to stay in the marriage till it was completed with one partner’s death. Furthermore, some women expressed gratefulness to their husbands for bringing them to Australia. The general view in the 1990s would be that a woman should not want to stay in a marriage unless the marriage is a satisfying one. In addition, as we have learned from their narratives, some husbands played a part in causing difficulties and heartache for their wives. So why did some of them want to thank the husbands who actually caused some of the problems?

The most obvious reason to stay in the marriage for the women was financial security for their later years as most of them never achieved financial independence. Another obvious factor underlying their gratefulness was the fact that they did not take for granted that their husbands had sent for them and their children to come to Australia forty years ago. As there were many Japanese women with children who were left behind in Japan by Australian servicemen, the entry permit to Australia was the manifestation of their husbands’ commitment to them. As the women could imagine the difficulty they would have faced in Japan, they appreciated the fact they were brought to Australia even if the years in that country had not been easy.
Besides those reasons, the war brides' answers to international marriage, I believe, were based on two more factors. Firstly, they had made absolute commitments to their marriages with their husbands and were still keen to pursue those undertakings till the end - even after forty years. To do otherwise would have been to devalue their own struggles through the previous years. Secondly, they wanted to thank their husbands, not just for the relationship between them, but for other more rewarding relationships which had arisen in the past forty years.

Examination of their narratives indicates that their motive for staying in the marriages were mostly to fulfil their commitment, and the desire to do so was very much their own. For many of them, completing the commitment itself had become the achievement and goal. That was probably why Kiku Brown felt so despondent when she finally decided to dissolve her marriage. She could not fulfil the commitment and when she quoted Fumiko Hayashi's words in her essay, she was confirming her admiration of the enduring commitment. Kazuko Roberts believed that she had never developed an emotional attachment to Australia due to her childlessness. Back in Japan, her broken dreams and the husband's unexpected death further left her with the feeling of unfulfilled commitment. The only consolation was that she looked after her mother till her death, to her satisfaction. Similarly, Tomiko Cooper can feel contented as a widow now since her marriage - her commitment - had been completed by the death of her husband. What stands out in these narratives is the dominance of obligation the women felt as daughters (to parents), as wives (to husbands), and as mothers (to children). Their notions of self, particularly of the self to be admired, was of a self in a family bond of commitment to serve others.

In their narratives, the notion of commitment has been merged with sense of perseverance and endurance which are regarded as a means to achieve maturity in selfhood in a Japanese context. Thus, for many years, they had been trying to achieve a Japanese style of maturity against an Australian cultural context. Yet, forty years in Australia undoubtedly influenced them in their way of thinking. On some occasions, they became acutely aware of this shift and articulated it clearly as Kiku Brown did, when she talked about her separation. For her, leaving a husband was Australian while enduring marital problems at any cost was Japanese. The fact she left him was an indication that she had changed into an Australian, and the intensity of her distress showed that this transfer was far from complete.

While the commitment the women had made was as much to marriage as to their husbands, a variety of personal relationships had been nurtured besides the husband-wife
relationship over the years. This leads to the second factor. Even though the marriages themselves had often been difficult and empathy with the husband had never developed as much as they had hoped, the women could count on other personal relationships they had built up over the past forty years. These included not only those with their own children, but also with other members of the Australian community, particularly with other Japanese war brides especially in more recent years.

The war brides' narratives revealed that in their later years their sense of self underwent some dramatic changes. As children left home and many of them were widowed, they had managed to move out of the limited circle of family members and find their own footing in the wider community. They built their own networks of people among both Australians and Japanese. They no longer had to depend solely on a particular person's opinions or habits in order to conceptualise "rules of the game" in Australia. In this sense, their interactional self has become much more significant even though it was still handicapped by weak language skills. Their inner self was less suppressed. As they matured with age, they cultivated more confidence in themselves. At the same time, Australian society was becoming more tolerant towards multiculturalism as reflected in government policies, and the place of Japan in the Australian psyche was changing as those with hostile memories towards Japan died and the younger generation took up Japanese technology with enthusiasm.

The women's activities were no longer confined to their familiar spheres in the family and the neighbourhood. At this stage of their lives, many of them started to travel to Japan more often to visit their family members. For those who were involved in the war bride association, the newly formed network gave them chances to travel within Australia and overseas to meet other war brides. In these gatherings, the women enjoyed mixing with those who had similar cross-cultural experiences over the past fifty years. Wherever their adopted countries were, they realised they had experienced similar transitions in their interactional and inner selves. They no longer regarded themselves merely as Japanese women who had been desperately trying to be Australian wives and mothers. They came to terms with the fact that they had not only retained Japaneseness but could express it as well. Instead of suppressing one or the other, they sought compatriots among war brides and created public and private occasions to share their experiences.
The district was under a state of siege due to threats from bandits, which made it difficult for the government to maintain order. The residents lived in constant fear, and many had to flee their homes.
Chapter 9
Conclusion

In her study on Japanese women, Lebra points out that Japanese women's narratives of their life histories contrast with those of American women. American women, when they talk about their life course, tend to emphasise that they have options to choose from and that they have complete freedom to select the most suitable one for themselves. Contrastingly, Japanese women cannot depict themselves without touching on people and circumstances that have surrounded them. Only when the social environment becomes clear to them and the listener's mind, are they able to describe themselves within it vividly (1982: 341; 1984: 294-5). Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame points out similar characteristics of the women's narratives when they are compared with their husbands' in her study on life histories of French migrants to Paris. While the men tend to present themselves as the subjects of their own lives, the women focus more strongly on the relationship that exists between themselves and the person close to them (1981: 256-7).1

Similarly, in this study of Japanese war brides, the examination of the women's narratives has revealed how their personal relationships with people around them in Japan and in Australia have developed, been maintained and shifted over the past fifty years. These changes in personal relationships are interconnected with the changes in their perceptions of selfhood over the period of their experiences in two cultures. One of the questions which was posed at the beginning of this thesis was how a sense of self is affected by a move to live in a radically different cultural setting. The conclusion I draw from this study is that the self, especially the interactional self, is relatively adaptable in such a radical change and plays a major role in adjustment. However, the inner self remains more closely bound to the original context in which it developed than the interactional self. Yet, even the inner self incorporates some form of transformation after many years of living in a different culture as we saw in the study.

The way the war brides narrated their life stories reflected Japanese women's characteristic way of engaging firstly with the description of their circumstances before identifying their own decisions and actions. Yet, such a style of narrative does not automatically indicate passivity. Instead, it could be interpreted as an expression of a culturally shaped style of individuality which Dore and Yamazaki have described previously. Here, an analogy can be drawn to illustrate how they employed such a style to express their individuality. The way a Japanese woman narrates her selfhood is similar to doing a jigsaw puzzle by finding the pieces that form the edges of the puzzle first

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1Elizabeth Tonkin also refers to Bertaux-Wiame's point when she examines the construction of "I" (1992: 135).
instead of beginning with the central pieces. When most of the pieces are located and positioned to outline an empty space in the middle, she finally fits herself in that space. The order of placing her own piece first or last does not matter as much as the completion of the picture.

After their migration to Australia, the war brides found themselves in an environment where they did not have any reference points to evaluate personal relationships. They realised that they had to fit into a new social and cultural framework as wives and mothers of Australians and learn through their interactions with their husbands, in-laws, children, neighbours and work colleagues how to be "ordinary" in Australia. However, interactions outside the family were limited for the first thirty years, which combined with insufficient language proficiency, made it difficult to absorb new social and cultural practices and to express themselves to other Australians. For many years, they did not have any language to talk about themselves even to their own children. In their later years, most of the war brides reached the stage where they could reflect on their lives and started to talk to some researchers. Many then expressed a sense of satisfaction after years of struggle and perseverance. However, not all the women had found satisfaction in their later years. The unexpected death of a husband left some wives feeling stranded. A woman's unstable relationship with her husband could lead to financial and psychological insecurity. However, during my research, I was fortunate enough to witness the transition of some women from a state of perseverance to that of satisfaction.

Inspite of the constant shifts and changes, there seems to exit a sense of self which forms a central core for most of the war brides. This core, I would argue, is their sense of pride in being a Japanese woman and this has remained as their base throughout all the years of change. Almost all the women whom I met, whether they were formally interviewed or not, emphasised to me the following two principles when they talked about their experiences in Australia. First, they said that they had never forgotten that they were Japanese and they tried not to do anything which might shame other Japanese people. Secondly, they emphasised that they did their best to fulfill their roles as women by being wives and mothers. Often the women used a term "Yamato nadeshiko." to describe themselves. Yamato means "pure Japanese" without any foreign influence. Nadeshiko is a type of plant which belong to the dianthus genus and pink flowers in early autumn. Although this term was traditionally used to describe delicate beauty of Japanese women, in contemporary Japan, this term, "Yamato nadeshiko" is generally regarded as old-fashioned and rarely used to praise the virtues of Japanese women. When the war brides employed the term to describe themselves, its attributes were not limited to physical beauty. The term also indicated that Japanese women were flexible but resilient in change, just as the flower might sway in a strong wind but never break. The war brides
identified themselves with this particular quality. For many of them, their efforts to assimilate and their achievement in becoming good Australian wives and mothers was a manifestation of Japanese women's characteristics of flexibility. At the same time, they continued to pursue their commitment to marriage and their children as a manifestation of their resilience. Thus, by being adaptable to change as well as doggedly pursuing their initial commitment, they had demonstrated their strength - their delicate strength - as Japanese women.

**Narrating life stories**

Life histories are similar to "Just so" stories children read. Those stories tell why elephants ended up having trunks and giraffes long necks. Similarly, the women's stories are their attempts to explain how and why they have become what they are. The narrators are in the present and look back on the past in order to make sense of all the things which have happened to them. Their narratives rarely touched upon broad political or social issues in Japan and Australia, but concentrated on their day-to-day relationships with people around them. Although their narratives might be seen as mundane and trivial, the ordinariness does not automatically indicate that the women were totally isolated from political and social matters. From their point of view, however, the political and social issues did not affect how they came to be what they are. What mattered was not the social values and policies of the nations, but the people around them both in Japan and Australia.

The women's accounts were strikingly honest about themselves. In their narratives, they did not take the victims' roles by blaming other people or socio-political circumstances. They did not justify themselves simply to present a positive facade. As readers can see from their narratives, their aim of telling their life histories was not to complete the stories with happy endings and moral lessons. They were brave enough to leave the stories unfinished with ambivalent endings. They are also aware that things could still change. This aspect was shown in their answers to my question: how they regarded international marriage. Most of them answered with remarkable honesty that they would not recommend the path they had taken to a younger generation. I do not interpret their remarks as a sign of failure or disillusion, but an honest evaluation of their experiences and a courageous admission. Even in their later years, as Tonkin writes, the women are aware that they "are really agents, till death, of past-into-future" (1992: 136) and that the future could play unexpected cards for good or bad even though the playing time is

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2It may be that a series of interviews with the Japanese war brides' children will provide a different picture of the women. They could appear to be the dominant influence in some households, asserting themselves very effectively. The fact that they see themselves as having been serving others' needs rather than their own may not be how others saw them.
obviously limited. In the meantime, they can afford to edit and revise their life histories until the last breath of their lives.

Ordinariness and extraordinariness of Japanese war brides

The contrast between the ordinary and extraordinary elements of Japanese war brides is striking. When we see the war brides' life course simply as a process of aging, it is nothing extraordinary. It can be described as follows:

Young women with an ordinary family background went out to work and fell in love with young men. The families expressed concern about their future, but they persisted and got married. The women left their families and moved to their husbands'. They mainly stayed at home to have children and to raise them. Most of them did not have a professional career and their husbands were not public figures. Now in their late sixties, many of them are widows. With modest levels of financial security, most of them live peaceful lives, enjoying interaction with their grandchildren and their female friends.

In fact, this is the way many of the war brides see themselves. When I approached war brides to ask for interviews, a typical response was: "Why do you want to interview me? I have nothing interesting to tell you. I have led such an ordinary life." One daughter said, "I have never seen my mother as a war bride. She is just a Mum to me." Recently war brides were invited to a reception at the Japanese embassy to acknowledge their contribution to the Australia-Japan relationship.3 After listening to the Japanese ambassador's speech in praise of the women's grass roots effort, one Australian husband commented to his Japanese wife, "Aren't you lucky to be complimented this much by just staying at home!"

However, such ordinariness transforms into extraordinariness when the trajectory of the women's personal lives is laid over the historical and cultural transitions in Japan and Australia during the last five decades. This transformation is as dramatic as the changes in colour-separated negatives: they are dull and uninteresting on their own, but will suddenly transform into a vivid picture when one is superimposed on top of the other.

3The reception was held at the Japanese Ambassador's Residence in Canberra on 13 December, 1998.
First of all, I will start my examination with each separated "negative" in order to make a thorough investigation. There are three dimensions we need to take into account; they are namely gender, space and time. Firstly, the war brides' experiences were, at most, women's experience in the context of families, and it is possible to interpret them appropriately only when we note this aspect. Their transition from daughters to young women with independent minds in Japan was followed by their becoming wives and mothers in Australia. Now, many of them are widows. At each stage of their lives, their actions and decision were carried out not just as individuals with their own will and intentions, but also as female members of families and societies.

Secondly, by crossing the Pacific Ocean from Japan to Australia, they also crossed cultures, races and nations. Their departure from Japan meant their removal from the Japanese way of life. After arriving in Australia, they wholeheartedly put their effort into adjusting to the new way of life. They also crossed the racial boundary from Asia to Australia where the white European population was dominant. While the women had comfortably belonged to the racial majority in Japan, they could not disappear into the crowd in Australia as the number of Asian migrants was small. Lastly, their migration resulted in their movement from one nation to the other. This was no ordinary crossing, since as it followed so closely the Pacific war, they faced hard to reconcile national histories. The war brides had to incorporate both sets of histories and searching for their own position within them. The shift from one nation to another, in space and allegiance, was obviously complicated by the fact that it was taking place in the immediate post-war period. Some Japanese saw them as joining the enemy while some Australians saw them as still being the enemy.

Lastly, the war brides' experiences have spanned almost half a century. During this period, Japan's economy has transformed from a war devastated state to one of the world's leading economic powers. In parallel with the economic development that has played the key role in this transformation, Japanese society has also rapidly opened up to the outside and presently "internationalisation" has become the vogue word throughout Japanese society. In the meantime, Australia has also transformed from white Australia, with a strong assimilation policy, to multicultural Australia advocating cultural tolerance and recently sought a "special relationship" with Japan, manifested in closer economic and political ties.4

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4Senator Button, speaking at the Australian National University, 3 October, 1990. Button emphasised Australia was pursuing closer political and economic ties with Japan (McCormack, 1991: 2).
Between a Japanese past and an Australian present

For a casual observer of the war brides' life histories, the women's trajectories appear to move from Japan to Australia and from past to present. Kawashima, who has observed lives of Japanese war brides in America, describes the women's experiences with a Japanese expression, *issen nisei*, which means "leading two lives for oneself," and argues that the women led two distinctively different lives firstly in Japan and subsequently in America (1991: 43). I do not agree with his interpretation. My point is that their own understanding of the movement is far from such a one way movement in space and time. While they seem to have moved from one to the other in person and in time, both sets of those contrasting elements of space and time are internalised within themselves. Furthermore, these set of elements are constantly pulling the war brides in opposite directions and the women are conscious of the conflicting forces upon them. How they are and how they see themselves take shape within this duality. Their identities, therefore, shift constantly between those two poles, depending on the circumstances in which these contrasting elements interact with each other.

An ethno-graphic example of Japanese-American identity is helpful here to shed light on the war brides' case. Sylvia Yanagisako, explaining Japanese American identity, writes:

... Japanese Americans have constructed a selective version not only of a traditional Japanese past but of a modern American present. In placing what they conceive as Japanese culture and American culture in symbolic oppositions, the Issei and even more so the Nisei have reinterpreted symbols, norms, and forms of action from each culture as the opposites of those from the other. In doing so, they have created a new system of meanings in which the elements of the "American" present are as much a product of this dialectic of reinterpretation as are the elements attached to the "Japanese" past (1985: 243).

Yanagisako further says:

Being Japanese American entails being able to alternate between these contrastive cultural orders and above all, to integrate opposed elements within oneself (1985: 249).

Yanagisako points out that the second generation Japanese Americans (Nisei) are more capable of alternating between the two elements symbolically and integrating them than the first generation (Issei). The the Japanese past is still "alive" among the first

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5See Benmayor and Skotnes for similar argument (1994: 8).
6Issei is the first generation and Nisei is the second generation Japanese American.
generation who grew up in Japan. The second generation Japanese Americans only know about it. The first generation, similar to the Japanese war brides, still live with the past and find it not as easy as the second generation to alternate, and to integrate the past with the present conceptually.

I had a chance to observe how vivid the past was for a war bride. Fumika Clifford was invited to attend a history seminar where discussion of BCOF occupation policy and anti-fraternisation took place. After the seminar, she told me that tears filled her eyes when the anti-fraternisation policy was mentioned by the speaker. She said that she could vividly remember how she and her husband had tried to avoid attention not only from BCOF authorities but also from Japanese bystanders almost fifty years ago in Kure under that policy and her memory was still sharp enough to make her emotional. Her understanding was distinctively different from my understanding of the policy as historical fact. As this example illustrates, the war brides have internalised the two sets of contrasting elements within themselves: Japan and Australia and past and present. These elements do not exist in integrated harmony because they are constantly pulling the women in opposite directions as well as supporting them in between, because the women belong to both. The women's position between the two sets of contrasting elements does not automatically imply that they are merely tossed back-and-forth passively. Neither are they torn apart under the tension. As became evident in the life histories, the women seem to have acquired the skills to negotiate the duality in different circumstances.

Reassembling of the war brides

The Japanese war brides started to get together publicly in the late 1980s and their gatherings have developed into international conventions in recent years. I have already presented my interpretation of why they started to get together, but, here, I will discuss this issue from a wider perspective to consider why they chose to gather as war brides, rather than choosing to join other groups with other identities.

Without any doubt, the closest associations of the women is with their family members. Despite the various difficulties in communication over the years, most of them have managed to keep contact with their family members in Japan. After their parents died, they have maintained strong attachment to their siblings and other members of their families. Similarly, the women's own families in Australia are no less important to them. The children's success or failure are often translated directly into their own success or failure. They say that Australia is their home now because their children live there. In

7The seminar was given by Takeshi Chida who was previously the principal historian at the Kure City History Office. The seminar was held at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra on 14 December, 1998.
this sense, their own families, especially the children and grandchildren, determine where they live and eventually where they will die.

The women also have affiliations with various social and community groups in Australia. Some hold membership of local Australian organisations such as war widows or senior citizens groups. Some others are involved in Japanese organisations which include religious groups where they can mix with other Japanese residents through various cultural activities.

However, the most deeply shared feelings in terms of space and time are felt between the war brides. Their Japanese family members share the cultural background and the experiences in the past, but they often do not have much comprehension of the women's lives in Australia. Likewise, their Australian families seem to lack sufficient understanding of the women's experiences in the last forty years or so. Even the husbands, with whom they have shared their lives for many years, seem to have a distinctly different outlook on the past as became evident in the life histories. However caring the children might be, close inter-generational continuity of cultural transmission did not develop between mothers and children mainly because of the language problems between the two generations. Although many of their children are conscious of the fact that they did not have the chance to appreciate their mothers' Japanese background and their past experiences, not much effort has been put into remedying the situation on both sides up till the present. An exception was Kiku Brown's private effort in commissioning the English translation of her essay for her children. Lastly, interactions with other Japanese residents in Australia can be carried out without any language problems. However, most of them are either ignorant of or prejudiced against the war brides' past experiences.

In such circumstances, it is understandable that the war brides have chosen other war brides with whom to meet and share their experiences. Even though most of them had never met each other before, and their original destinations were all different, they share the common experience of marriage and migration which was specific in time and space. They feel they understand each other's experiences and, more importantly, they know they can be accepted without any questions by those whom they meet. Although the number of those who actively participate in the association's activities are a minority of war brides, most of them, including those who do not participate in organised functions, have built up their own network with other war brides in the past and sometimes gather together privately.

8 See Myerhoff's study on elderly Jews in America and their relationships with their children for ethnographic description of a similar situation (1979).
Rina Benmayor presents an example which illustrates the war brides' desire to get together. Discussing the varied identities a person possesses, she cites an episode of an American TV drama series, "Northern Exposure," in which a "yuppy" Jewish doctor (J) who was visiting a fictional town in Alaska held the following conversation with a Native Alaskan boy (A):

J: What does belonging to your own tribe mean to you?
A: Well, I was raised by the tribe, but since I didn't have parents I was passed around a lot.
J: I never really thought about it, belonging to a tribe. I belong to the Jewish tribe, so to speak, but I'm also an American, you know? But what does that mean? I mean, is there an American tribe? More like a zillion special interest groups. In my own case, I'm a New Yorker, I'm a Republican, a Knicks fan. ... Maybe we've outgrown tribes, you know, the global village thing.
A: That's true. But you can't hang out with 5 billion people!
J: That's a good point.

The war brides, similar to the Jewish doctor, have internalised various belongingnesses to different groups in the past and present and across the divide: Japanese families, Australian families, Australian community and Japanese community. What the women have chosen to do is to "hang out" with other war brides who share the common feelings and experiences. Here, whether one went to Australia and another went to America did not seem to matter, because what is most important for them are their distinctive migration experience.

**War brides and "Reメンバーing"**

For a long time, the women did not want to be called "sensō hanayome" because of the stigma which was attached to the term. To their dismay and annoyance, in Japan, the term has been often directly associated with those women who provided sexual services to the occupation soldiers. Thereafter, their identity had been that of denial; namely, they were NOT war brides. Only recently, some of the women have started to assert a positive identity as "war brides."

During this process of coming out as war brides, the war brides had to combat the reputation which had been upon them in Japan. Consequently, some women have started to assert their own memories of the post-war period and to claim that their own memories should be incorporated without being trivialised. They say that they were not what others said. They know it because they were there. Here, we see those private memories have challenged the national memory in order to remedy their own position in it.
What the women are doing now is to narrate their personal histories on various occasions. Some write them to be read by other war brides as well as by the general public; some have been interviewed for TV programs and magazine articles; some have responded to request by researchers, including myself, to be interviewed.

In the process of narrating their life histories, various stories have started to emerge. It was revealed that some of them were actually working in dance halls as taxi-dancers. One woman in Australia said in a film that she had agreed to live with an Australian soldier in exchange for herself and her siblings being kept. Some women had worried that those stories might tarnish the images of war brides further by confirming the stigma. Yet, what happened was that the majority of the women took those various experiences in their stride and recognising the diversity of the migration experiences.

Through their narratives, the war brides have been trying to search for the meaning of their experiences in the wider context outside their domestic spheres. Myerhoff's study on a group of elderly Jews who originally migrated from Eastern Europe to America presents a similar case. She points out that the process of conscious self-construction as a group happened among the elderly Jews and such a conscious effort can provide a means to a fuller self-understanding for its members. Myerhoff claims that life histories can provide an effective and powerful means to "giving opportunities to allow people to become visible and to enhance reflexive consciousness" (1982: 100-1).

In their life histories, the war brides are searching for the meaning of their past experiences in the light of wider events and value changes, and some claim that what they did has influenced the present. When such a claim is confirmed publicly by those outside their group, they feel their efforts have been finally acknowledged. The reception at the Japanese embassy in 1998 to acknowledge their contribution towards Australia-Japan relationship was such an occasion. For those war brides who attended, it was the first public confirmation of their efforts. Thus, being friendly to Australian neighbours or looking after visiting Japanese businessmen did not remain private acts of goodwill, but were officially recognised as their contribution towards improving the Australia-Japan relationships.

Myerhoff advocates a concept of "Re-membering," which is different from ordinary recollection. According to her, Re-membering is the reaggregation of one's members, the figures who properly belong to one's life story, one's own prior selves, the significant others who are part of the story. In this sense, Re-membering is a "purposive, significant

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9Mrs. Miyuki Linsdale's account in Hoaas' film, "Green Tea and Cherry Ripe."
unification, .... A life is given a shape that extends back in the past and forward into the future. It becomes a tidy edited tale" (1982: 111). In my study, not all of the informants managed to produce tidy edited tales. Some stories were clearly displaying uncertainty in interpreting the past and forecasting the future. The difference between Myerhoff's and my studies was partly due to the war brides' relatively younger age than Myerhoff's informants. However, as we saw in the life histories of war brides, re-membering has been done with the purpose of making sense to themselves.
in America as the usual domestic chores. Myerhoff's study of Ashkenazic women who emigrated from Eastern Europe to America in the 19th century suggests that the process of conscious self-construction and identity formation is complex and that such a conscious effort can provide a means of self-affirmation for the immigrants. Myerhoff claims that her histories (1982: 100) are a way of giving opportunities to allowing people to tell their personal stories (1982: 100).

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