

A War Scare and Japanese Immigrants in the State of Montana in 1907:¹ News Coverage of a Possible Japan-U.S. War

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[要約]

1905年、日露戦争で日本が勝利したことにより日本に対する警戒感がアメリカで湧くことになる。さらに1906年サンフランシスコ日本児童隔離問題での日米間の摩擦があり、日本とアメリカ間では日米開戦をも口にするような緊張が高まった。1907年カリフォルニア州では日本人移民排斥の激しい声が上がっていた。本研究では、鉄道事業に携わる日本人移民が多く暮らしていた山間部州モンタナ州の日米開戦論議を調査した。West Coast 3州と比較をするためである。地元新聞 *The Billings Gazette* (1907年)の日本人関連記事をすべて調査して、本論では地元モンタナ州ジャーナリズムの対日本人観、対日本観を明らかにした。それによると *The Billings Gazette* の中で日本人関連記事は132個書かれており、そのうち14個が日米戦争に関する報道、意見であった。*The Billings Gazette* 紙は日本人批判には慎重で、West Coast の先鋭化した排日主義意見を押しさえるような論調が見られた。しかしながら日本に関する事実報道を行ないながら、「日本を信頼するが検証は行なうべきだ」との態度表明が新聞紙上から読み取れることが分かった。

1. Introduction

It is well known that the State of Montana provided a lot of opportunities for American and foreign workers to gain employment mainly in railway construction work and section hand business,² and that railway companies in Montana actively hired Japanese immigrants as they thought they could use those immigrants from the Far East as cheap labor. The number of Japanese immigrants working and living in Montana in 1900 was 2,441, which was the fourth largest of Japanese immigrant population in an American state after Oregon, in the third position with an immigrant population of 2,501.³ Although the number of the Japanese in Montana decreased as Japanese workers were attracted by other lucrative jobs in other states, 1,585 Japanese men were still working in Montana in 1910. That is why we must not neglect the Japanese immigrants in Montana when it comes to researching Japanese immigrants as a whole in the United States of America. It is also presumed that the local press must have felt that they had to inform the local white residents of the status quo of Japan and the Japanese people,⁴ for there were relatively few news articles on Japanese immigrants in Montana.⁵

This paper deals with newspaper articles published in *the Billings Gazette* about nervous tension of a war scare between Japan and America in 1907. The reason for taking up those articles in a local newspaper in 1907 is that there were Americans at that time worried about Japan winning the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 and the Japanese resentment about the fact that Japanese elementary students were barred from the American public schools by the Board of Education in San Francisco in 1906. Steiner (1917, 87) writes in his book, "It is, however, the attitude of suspicion rather than dislike that seems to characterize the American public in general today. Japanese aggressiveness and military preparedness, the frank statements in a portion of the Japanese press that they are not only willing to fight us but regard us as an easy opponent to crush." Steiner points out that winning of the Russo-Japanese War was apparently one of the reasons that American public were suspicious of Japan around 1907.

Resultant sentiments of Americans and the Japanese were complex; some of the American politicians warned fellow Americans that they would have to be prepared for a possible Japanese attack to the West Coast or some Japanese

diplomats tried to convey Japanese resentments triggered by the Board of Education's decision in San Francisco.

Therefore it is worthwhile that we should study how American and Japanese sentiments were introduced to the mass media when the two countries were experiencing this tense. Those conflicts were seen before the time when the Gentlemen's Agreement was reached and put in effect by Japan-U.S. governments in 1908. As well, it is also rewarding for us to explore opinions of a rural town like Billings, Montana, because there are very few research papers available about Japanese immigrants who lived in a remote area of the U.S. The author of this paper wrote about the clout of a war scare in the state of Washington in 1907,⁶ therefore we can make a fair judgment about the impact of a war scare written in newspapers by comparing the responses of the American urban and rural cities, Seattle and Billings respectively, during this time of tension.



The headquarters of *the Billings Gazette*, Billings, Montana. Taken by the author on September 7, 2014.

2. A Japan-U.S. war scare: from California to Montana

We cannot find any articles of a war scare printed in American newspapers before the Russo-Japanese War 1904-1905, during which the American attitude toward Japan gradually changed from favorable to adversary. From 1900 to 1905, no mention was made of the menace of Japan as a foreign power (McWilliams, 1944, 17). Although there was a sporadic outcry for excluding Orientals from the mainland of the U.S. in 1900, that does not mean that there arose a serious war scare between Japan and America.

Daniels (1974, 221) writes in his paper, “During the summer of 1900 all three major political parties—Republicans, Democrats, and Populists—took stands against ‘Asiatic’ immigrants, and at the end of the year the national convention of the American Federation of Labor asked Congress to exclude not only Chinese, but all ‘Mongolians.’” It was not until 1907 that Captain Richard P. Hobson, a Spanish War hero, declared a war scare, saying Japan was about to swamp the United States and to conquer American territory:

“If the war would come tomorrow, Japan could whip us in the Pacific with ease. . . . President Roosevelt is trying to avert the threatened rupture, because he knows we are helpless and that Japan can take the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands tomorrow if she decides to do. Japan now has an army of soldiers in the Hawaiian Islands. They made the invasion quietly as coolies, and now we know that they are soldiers organized into companies, regiments, and brigades.” (Tupper, *Japan in American Public Opinion*, 33)

This was the first alert for a Japanese invasion discussed by an American in a public forum, and what Hobson meant in his remark above is that he had worries about Japanese navy movements and wanted to convey his assertion to the public for the American preparation in the U.S.-Japan accidental collision.⁷ Tupper (1937, 39) further argues that the anti-Japanese feelings were prevalent especially in California and that was why war talk never stopped appearing in the state, although the number of agitators was relatively small: “Although comparatively few in number, their war talk alarmed many, and a feeling of resentment was aroused against the Japanese

despite counter-efforts. This resentment came not only from the fact that Californian situation remained essentially unchanged, but from the fact that even larger Japanese and American interests were beginning to clash in Hawaii, the Philippines, Korea, and China.”

We can say that a war scare started in California and then it was propagated through modern mass media even to the remote state of Montana, where Japanese laborers were needed to replace Chinese and American workmen, especially in railroad construction field, for Japanese male immigrants did not complain about the low wages they received, or the ten-hour workday.

It is noteworthy that *the Billings Gazette* showed the anxieties about Japanese military activities in China and the Japanese government’s announcements wired from the Far East to this mountain state,⁸ although there were almost no plain anti-Japanese movements printed in the local newspaper in Montana. Therefore it can be said that *the Billings Gazette* did not follow an antagonistic assertion of excluding the Japanese from the American soil, but this press company would have had a stance of guarding against Japan and the Japanese people in general because of the victory of the Russo-Japanese War. We can confirm war scare articles in *the Billings Gazette*, whether they had slight apprehensions about Japanese navy maneuvers or serious comments made by the Japanese Foreign Minister. Eighteen articles of a war-scare-type appeared out of 132 Japanese-related stories in *the Billings Gazette* in 1907 as follows:⁹

War scare articles	Matters relevant to war	Opinions on the Japanese	Japanese-related general news (total)
7	7	4	132

Let us calculate here how often Japanese-related articles attracted Montana readers in 1907. We might say that roughly one Japanese-related article appeared roughly in every three days in 1907, for Billings residents were able to see one hundred thirty-two Japanese-related articles of *the Billings Gazette* in 1907. Considering that there were about 2,000 Japanese immigrants in Billings among the whole population of 12,225 Billings residents,¹⁰ Japan and the Japanese people might have been a special interest to the local residents of Billings; whether this Far East nation was a foe or an enemy to the Billings local residents. Since the number

of war-related news was 18 in 1907, it can be said that the local people could have read this kind of news or opinions every twentieth day.

3. Forcing back a war scare in Montana

The whole picture of a war scare in the state of Montana was this; there must have been pros and cons about the war with Japan, but the process of forming a trend of jingoistic thinking is not found in Montana. This means a war scare reports in Montana generally took a negative stand against pro-war agitators in America. In other words war scare articles in Montana were playing a role of calming down pugnacious Americans especially in California where there appeared warlike news articles one after another in the state. Referring to the Russo-Japanese War and an increasingly menacing power in the Pacific as the Japanese were called, Dennis Ogawa (1971. 16) argues that as Japanese power grew, the unrest and fears of those on the West Coast of the United States, who might be affected by this Yellow Peril, grew.¹¹

However there must have been a “pushing back force” in Montana toward warlike demagogues publicized in California. *The Billings Gazette* is believed to have been a part of this force. The Roosevelt administration also seems to have been anti-aggressiveness and the U.S. government tried to soothe antagonism against the Japanese springing up in the country. To assure the American people of the Roosevelt administration’s policy, Secretary Root gave out the statement that the San Francisco school difficulty would not result in any war with Japan.¹² This official notice eased the fears of the public (Tupper, 1937, 33-34). Among pro- and anti-Japanese claims in Montana, Montanans took a neutral stance on Japanese problems:

It is not to be doubted that Japan is inclined to be conceited and overbearing, but it is difficult to believe that those two qualities have assumed proportions large enough to impel the Mikado to issue an ultimatum to the United States at this time. Therefore the timid ones who see war clouds lowering over the Pacific in consequence of the incident occasioned by the dispute in California

concerning the admittance of Japanese to the public schools of that state are prematurely frightened. (*The Billings Gazette's* proper article, February 5, 1907)

Although *The Gazette* article above shows its criticism of the Japanese characters, which is thought to be too vague to verify, the press does not accept the possibility of war with Japan due to “shut out of Japanese students” from San Francisco elementary schools in 1906.¹³ The newspaper calls American people who were unnecessarily scared of war with Japan to be timid, and it suggests that Japanese characters do not always have anything to do with ultimate confrontation with America. It is clear that Montanans wished to say they were calm with Japan and the Japanese people. The press further reports the real Japanese desire that should be paid attention to; “it [Japan] stands ready to enter into a new treaty a prominent feature of which is said to be something in the nature of an exclusion clause shows a sincere desire on the part of the empire to remain on friendly terms with America (*The Billings Gazette*, February 5, 1907).” What this passage means is that *The Billings Gazette* seems to try to erase a groundless rumor created in California that Japan would attack the West Coast of the U.S. with her newly-gained naval power,¹⁴ quoting a Japanese politician’s view and an agreement reached by the president of the U.S. and the Japanese Admiral. Opinions of Japanese politicians or someone within the Japanese government seem to be something that newspaper readers should be careful of, but *the Gazette* did not hesitate to incorporate ideas and perceptions of the Japanese in order to get a balance of pro-war agitators and anti-war supporters in the U.S. This endeavor was rarely found in California’s mass media:

Count Katosomo of Tokio, while stopping over between trains today on his way to San Francisco, whence he will sail for Yokohama by the first steamer, made the following statement: “If one will reason for a few minutes, he can readily see that the last thing Japan wants just now is a war with the United States. Japan has not recovered from the effects of the Russian war. We have not money enough to carry on a prolonged struggle in the first place and secondly, but more important, we have all the territory that we can handle

(From Colorado Springs, *The Billings Gazette*, July 12, 1907)

Admiral Yamamoto, one of Japan's naval experts, today met for the first time President Roosevelt, the man who more than any other man was responsible for the conclusion of peace between Russia and the Japanese after the prolonged war, during which Admiral Yamamoto was Japan's minister of marine. In a private conversation, the representatives of the two countries discussed the cloud which has been hovering over the long lasting friendship between Japan and America and they expressed the opinion that it was merely a passing shadow (From New York, *The Billings Gazette*, July 13, 1907).

This type of news article is one of the typical features *The Billings Gazette* showed us on its pages, namely it appeared that many of the articles were sent from Washington D.C., New York, Tokyo, or such West Coast cities such as Seattle, Vancouver or San Francisco.¹⁵ What this feature of *the Gazette* means is that the press wished to stand neutral compared with news stories brought from other mass media, for there might have been less news stories to be written and publicized in Billings. In any case *The Billings Gazette* seems to have collected as much impartial information as possible on Japanese immigrants and to have taken some time in order not to reach a hastily drawn conclusion of its own. Seeing this kind of news stories quoted above, we are more likely to guess that the issue of Japanese immigration was not easy to solve in the U.S. because it involved more economic, political, and emotional aspects of the 1900s era.

News stories wired from Tokyo and those written by a dispatcher of the *Gazette* were not unusual in the *Gazette's* pages. For instance we see the U.S. government attitude in *the Billings Gazette* through coverage of a wire service. Secretary Taft visited Tokyo in 1907 to sound out Japan's real intention in the international context, and he expressed his firm conviction in *the Gazette's* page. *The Billings Gazette* writes the American War Secretary statement by quoting the Associated Press coverage: "he [Secretary Taft] declared that war between Japan and the United States would be a crime against modern civilization and as wicked as it would be insane (*The Billings Gazette*, October 2, 1907)." This is one of the reliable news sources that could have been an eraser of war cloud hanging over some Americans, because it was an articulate revelation of non-war stance the

American War Secretary expressed as a member of the Roosevelt administration. Taft used such definite expressions as “crime,” “wicked” “insane” in order to refer to a possible war between Japan and America. Those news stories cited above were the results of the *Gazette*’s position: it wanted to whisk a war scare hovering over some Americans away. We should also remember headlines of *the Gazette* for this type of appeal; “Japan Is Friendly (Oct. 27),” “War Scare Vanishes (Feb. 22),” “Japan Desires No War with Us (Aug. 6),” “No Danger of War (Feb. 5).” It is easy for us to understand from those headlines mentioned above that Billings journalism did not like to follow warlike agitators in California.

4. Optimistic but still cautious

Journalism in Billings appears to have put itself on a balanced position in terms of the war-cloud fear. It is true that *the Billings Gazette* tried to oppose pugnacious assertions expressed in the U.S., but *the Gazette* did not necessarily renounce the chance to let Montanans know news that ordinary readers in Billings would have missed in everyday lives; that was a possible threat of navy power in the Pacific Ocean. Americans naturally knew the fact that Japan defeated Russia, a white colonial power, in the Tsushima Straits in 1905, which made Japan seem more threatening to the average American (Daniels, 1988, 119). Ichihashi (1932, 284) also leads us to think about the time when the Russo-Japanese War was finished in 1905, quoting P. J. Treat’s opinion, “And in the United States, there appeared the beginnings of a Japanese immigration problem as well as the voicing of suspicions regarding the foreign policies of Japan.” Ichihashi goes on to say that Japan became a world enigma as a result of her victory over Russia. Therefore Japan was an enigmatic entity that American journalism could not ignore in terms of power balance of the Pacific. President Roosevelt also expressed his doubt about Japan’s credibility and he began to take a wary attitude toward Japan: “He [Roosevelt] began to question whether Japan needed further encouragement to hold her own in international affairs, and he became concerned with the balance of power in the Far East, which he wished to maintain (Tupper, 1937, 9).”

The Billings Gazette wrote about its anxiety regarding Japanese militaristic

activities in the Far East. This was the same journalistic policy as other newspapers except that of California, because many people in the U.S. began to see the economic advance of Japan as well as her increased merchant marine and her larger navy, elements of friction if not omens of war as Tupper (1937, 84) argues. Therefore *the Billings Gazette's* attitude toward Japanese military strength was not so different from other regions or cities of the U.S. However when we think about how small a town Billings was as to the population, *the Billings Gazette* was in a sense unique for a small newspaper publication to report news stories of Japan and the Japanese navy.¹⁶ There did not seem to be strong ties with Japan, economically nor politically, but *the Gazette* kept on covering Japanese-related news. This indicates that the newspaper tried to place much trust in Japan and Japanese immigrants living in the U.S., but that it really wanted to verify a true relationship between America and Japan. Experiencing the Chinese exclusion law enacted in 1882 and a fact that Japan defeated Russia and became one of the navy powers in the Pacific in 1905, *the Billings Gazette*, as an American news media, could not have had an absolute trust in the Japanese, for Japanese immigrants were late comers like Chinese immigrants to the U.S. Therefore Billings people were informed of the Japanese navy and its activities through news reports as follows:

Huge Battleship for Japan

Glasgow, Aug. 23. – The Japanese government has placed an order for an 18,000 ton battleship with the Fairfield Shipbuilding company. A feature of her construction will be the extreme width of beam. The exact measurements have not been given out, but it is understood that the beam will be wider than any of the modern battleships afloat. (*The Billings Gazette*, Aug. 24, 1907)

Launch Jap Cruiser Material Made in Japan

Tokio, Nov. 20 – The armored cruiser Ibuki will be launched at Kure tomorrow morning in the presence of Prince Fushini. The Ibuki is the first Japanese war vessel built entirely of materials produced at home. It has been constructed within six months after the Kiel was laid. (*The Billings Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1907)

We can see a clear message from news stories indicating that America was not an adversary to Japan in 1907, may as well be prepared for an unexpected military clash in the Pacific Ocean with Japan. The news above clearly conveys that Americans should know the fact that Japan became the navy power in the Pacific when she got enough money to order a big battleship and the ability to build the armored cruiser *Ibuki* without any help from other countries.

Although President Roosevelt was a mediator or a neutral intermediary right after the Russo –Japanese War,¹⁷ he was also beginning to wonder if U.S. stance toward Japan should be the same as before. Americans were astounded to learn that, after the capture of Port Arthur, Japan was increasing her demands on Russia for the transfer of rights in Manchuria (Tupper, 1937, 8). Professor Stanley K. Hornbeck, Thomas Millard, and other writers on the Far Eastern situation were strongly opposed to Japan's policies and also feared a coming conflict (Tupper, 1937, 85). Therefore what *the Gazette* covered in its pages went along with the American government's stance. Two news stories above make it clear that Japanese navy went to the point where Japanese naval buildup brought about the U.S. cautious attitude toward Japan, and the U.S. assumed a fighting posture against Japan.

5. Conclusion

Since we have read so far *the Gazette's* articles related to the status quo of the Japanese military in 1907, we understand that the newspaper tried to adjust a delicate balance between pacifism and bellicosity. *The Billings Gazette* showed us its claims regarding Japan in two different ways: the newspaper expressed optimism about a war scare of Japan and America, namely it tried to exclude a heated jingoism found in California, and at the same time the press called for a cautious attitude toward Japanese military activities in its pages. This journalistic policy represented that the press wished to keep a guarding stance even though the press believed the Japanese to be friends of the U.S., or we might say it was a “sounding-out” attitude toward a rising new power in the Far East. Although *the Billing Gazette* claimed that Americans should be ready for an unforeseen military clash with Japan,¹⁸ it was

basically neutral and calm with Japanese international activities in 1907.

We also see how *the Billings Gazette* was active in incorporating news reports written in or sent from Tokyo. Journalism indicative of the U.S. *the Gazette* tried to show its readers as much information as it thought they needed, whether warlike stories or quiet arguments. In another words *the Gazette* wanted to let Billings residents know the situation of a small but militarily-advancing Asian country.

Tokio: Japs Would Greet Fleet: Praise United States (Welcome for American warships in Mikado's land)

“Japan will heartily welcome the American fleet of battleships to the Pacific and to the ports of this country, if it be decided to extend the trip in this direction. The fact that the fleet is sailing toward the Pacific creates no excitement here, and as I [Foreign Minister Viscount Hayashi] have said before to the Associated Press, Japan views in the friendliest manner any action America may, within the scope of its wisdom, see fit to take in the disposition of its naval force, because the Japanese people have absolute confidence in the friendly attitude of the statesmen and great mass of the American people.” (*The Billings Gazette*, July 12, 1907)

Tokio: Japs Are Friendly, Cordial Feeling

The official silence, so long consistently maintained by Japan on the relations of the United States and Japan in connection with the persistent reports of the friction, was broken today by an Associated Press interview with Minister of Foreign Affairs Hayashi. He prefaced his statement by expressing the hope that a sincere pronouncement by the foreign minister of Japan and its publication through the Associated Press would prevent further misrepresentation and finally result in discrediting those who are constantly circulating false and harmful reports. . . . Minister Hayashi then said that the relations between Japan and America were as smooth and cordial as ever and the cause of civilization as well as community of interest demanded their lasting peace and friendship. . . . “At present the situation in Japan is calmer than ever. It is impossible to find a single newspaper out of a vast number of journals of all shades of opinion with unfriendly sentiment toward

America. . . .”

(*The Billings Gazette*, November 7, 1907)

From what Foreign Minister Viscount Hayashi told reporters we know there must have been a bone of contention between Japan and America. Because of a pressing jingoism of the U.S. and Japan the Japanese foreign minister had to make his comments on this touchy issue to soothe the increasing pressure. It is considered that the minister strived to put out the fire of war, which was growing bigger and bigger after the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. That was where *the Billing Gazette* found its role of publicizing information.

Therefore it can be said that *the Gazette* was not so biased in favor of a particular trend of opinions compared with Californian newspapers,¹⁹ and that the Montana press tried to be neutral in maintaining its editorial policy that the press would cover occurrences and events happening even in the Far East. We now have a clue as to what the Montana journalism in 1900s was reporting with their editing policy, or whether or not the press stuck to their own editing policy they themselves established as a newspaper company.

Notes

¹ I would like to thank the library Director, Mr. Brent Roberts and the library staff of Montana State University Billings for letting me use microfilms of *The Billings Gazette* that the MSU library keeps and for providing me with target photocopies of those microfilms that I chose.

² Kazuo Ito (1973) elaborates on how Japanese workers got the job in the railroad business and what were reactions of the American workers in his book. See the details of them in *Hokubei Hyakunenzakura*, pp.359-430.

³ See Harry H. L. Kitano's report (1969), *Japanese Americans*, p.162. California had 10,151 Japanese people, and Washington had 5,617 in 1900. If we sum up the whole numbers of Japanese workers in the U.S. in 1900, we see the total number of 24,326 in Kitano's book. The number includes such states as New York, Connecticut, or Idaho.

⁴ We can see many articles and opinions sent or wired from other American cities, such as New York, Washington D.C., Seattle, San Francisco, or Tokio. Therefore *the Billings Gazette* can be said to form its covering policy by getting other news reports.

⁵ It is true that the newspaper company wrote about such a trivial incident in Billings as a Japanese fist-fighting (May 17, 1907) or a theft committed by a Japanese (June 7, 1907). We also see opinion sections introducing Japanese saying, which are Dr. Miyakawa's advice (March 8, 1907) to the fellow Japanese and a Japanese student's assertion (June 21, 1907) about how Japanese immigrants should live, work and study in the U.S. Those articles mentioned above were very few, compared with other straight news concerning Japan and the Japanese military reports.

⁶ About a war scare in the state of Washington, see Tanaka, Kenji, "Japanese Immigrants Tossed in Americans' and Japanese Worries from 1907 to 1909: War-Oriented Articles of Seattle Journalism." *The Setsudai Review of Humanities and Social Sciences* No. 17 (2009), 79-96.

⁷ Ogawa (1971, 16-17) also writes about jingoism sprouting up in California: "The first evidence of this stereotype of the Japanese-American as being part of a Yellow Peril appeared on December 20, 1906. . . . In 1907 the *Examiner* insisted that the Japanese were 'the most secretive people in the world' and that they were 'rushing forward with feverish haste, stupendous preparation for war to be with America.'"

⁸ About how *The Billings Gazette* in Montana dealt with Japanese men in their news stories, see Tanaka, Kenji, "Japanese Immigrants in Montana: How Were They Portrayed in 1907 Issues of *The Billings Gazette*?" *The Setsudai Review of Humanities and Social Sciences* No. 18 (2010), 133-151.

⁹ The author took a close look at microfilms of *the Billings Gazette* in 1907, which are kept in the library of Montana State University Billings.

¹⁰ *The Billings Gazette* reported the whole number of residents of Billings, Montana. It was 12,225 people in 1907. (*The Billings Gazette*, July 2, 1907)

¹¹ Ogawa continues his argument after this: "The first evidence of this stereotype of the Japanese-American as being part of a Yellow Peril appeared on December 20, 1906. The *San Francisco Examiner* began warning people that Japanese laborers were spies; its headline page read: 'Japan Sounds Our Coast, Brown Men Have Maps and Could Land Easily.' In 1907 the *Examiner* insisted that the Japanese were 'the most secretive people in the world' and that they were 'rushing forward with feverish haste, stupendous preparation for war. . . the war. . . to be with America.'" Ogawa, *From Jap to Japanese*, 16-17.

¹² Secretary Root is the Secretary of State, Elihu Root. School difficulty means a planned segregation of Japanese school pupils in San Francisco in 1906.

¹³ The author of this paper found out that another article articulates Montana's opposition to a war scare generated in California. The headline goes like this: "War Scare Vanishes (*The Billings Gazette's* proper article, February 22, 1907)."

¹⁴ As early as in 1900, a California editor wrote: "Nothing can keep our Pacific coast essentially a white man's country except our continual determination to keep it so. . . . The frontier of the white man's world must be established some day, somewhere. Unless this generation establishes it at the Pacific coast no future generation will ever have the chance to establish it so far west, or to maintain it anywhere, except by war and permanent lines of garrisoned fortresses." Steiner, *The Japanese Invasion*, 1937, 78.

¹⁵ In Seattle, Vancouver, or San Francisco, anti-Japanese agitation was ongoing.

¹⁶ About Billings' population in 1907, see Note 8 above.

¹⁷ About Roosevelt's attitude toward Japan during Russo-Japanese war, see Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crises*, 91-92.

¹⁸ "Whenever there is any danger of war in that or any other direction, during the life of the present administration the public may rest assured that the indifference will be missing. Things will be moving in a way to indicate that something unusual is going on and that time for action has arrived." (*The Billings Gazette*, Feb. 5, 1907)

¹⁹ It was from 1907 that the California legislature, every session, tried to pass at least one piece of anti-Japanese legislation for the next forty years (Daniels, *Asian America*, 222).

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(Summary)

This paper explores whether or not Montana journalism took an anti-Japanese attitude in its newspaper articles in 1907, because there were a harsh criticism and wariness in California against Japan and the Japanese immigrants after Japan's victory of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 and a segregation problem of Japanese students in San Francisco in 1906. It is believed that war scare hanging over Californians could have affected Montanans.

What this paper found in studying articles of *the Billings Gazette* in 1907 is that Montana journalism was not recklessly stirring up the anti-Japanese feeling among Montana readers, but tried to incorporate news stories written and sent from Japan along with the heated anti-Japanese type of news found in Californian and Washington. The Montana newspaper seems to have tried to soothe Californians' outcry for exclusion of the Japanese immigrants.