

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section
January 15, 1944

Community Analysis Notes No. 1

FROM A NISEI WHO SAID "NO".

(The following account, by the Community Analyst at Manzanar, reveals the life experience and viewpoints which lie behind one young man's "No" answer to Question 28 of the Army registration form. This question was one of those submitted to all male evacuee citizens in February, 1943. It was as follows: "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and foreswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?")

The following are my notes, which I attempted to take verbatim, of the exchange between a young Nisei and the Hearing Board authorized to pass upon questions of segregation:

Hearing Board Member: I see you have always lived in this country.

Nisei: Yes.

HBM: Are you a dual citizen?

Nisei: No, I am an American citizen only.

HBM: In February, during the army registration, you said "No" to Question 28 according to our record. Did you understand the question?

Nisei: I guess I did understand the question.

HBM: And do you want to change the answer or do you want the "No" to stand?

Nisei: I'll keep it "No".

HBM: What does that mean:

(The boy stands there. His lips are quivering but he does not speak.)

HBM: Do you want to talk about it? Something is bothering you.

Nisei: What is bothering me could not be answered by any one person in particular.

HBM: Don't you want to tell us? Perhaps there is something that we can do. If you say "No", you are giving away your American citizenship. Is that what you want to do? Feel free to talk. We're not here to argue with you but we want to help you.

Nisei: What I was thinking. I thought that since there is a war on between Japan and America, since the people of this country have to be geared up to fight against Japan, they are taught to hate us. So they don't accept us. First I wanted to help this country, but they evacuated us instead of giving us a chance. Then I wanted to be neutral, but now that you force a decision, I have to say this. We have a Japanese face. Even if I try to be American I won't be entirely accepted.

HBM: What is this about "the Japanese face" deal? Up to today we haven't heard this expression, and today we hear it all over this block. Have you been reading Mary Oyama's article in Liberty?

Nisei: I read Mary's article. It doesn't say much. It just tells about the conditions of leaving our homes, about the hardships we suffered and how well we took them. But that was just the beginning. A great deal has happened since then which she says nothing about.

HBM: What do you plan to do?

Nisei: I planned to stay in this country before the war. I planned to be a farmer.

HBM: What about your folks?

Nisei: They figure they'll stay here if I do or they'll go to Tule Lake if I do.

HBM: Is it that some of your friends are going to Tule Lake? Are you being influenced by the talk of friends?

Nisei: No, my best friend is going to stay here.

HBM: Then what is at the bottom of this?

Nisei: If I would say "Yes", I'd be expected to say that I'd give up my life for this country. I don't think I could say that because this country has not treated me as a citizen. I could go three-quarters of the way but not all the way after what has happened.

HBM: Would you be willing to be drafted?

Nisei: No, I couldn't do that.

HBM: That's all. I see that you have thought about it and that your mind is made up. (Nisei goes out.)

HBM: I feel sorry for that boy. Some of them I don't feel sorry for.

Later I contacted this young man and asked him for a fuller statement of his views. The following is what he told me:

I'm just a fellow who has always worked as a farmer. I've never met the real community yet. When I was at home, I thought about this hearing and how to explain my feelings. But you come before a board like this. I'm not used to it. I couldn't say it the way I meant it.

Back home, before evacuation, when fellows were drafted for the United States Army, that was good. The Japanese gave a party for them, a big sendoff. It was not a party for them all together but for each one individually. There were fifty people or more at the bus to see each one of them off. You see the white American boys there who were going too. In most cases no one would be there to see them off but the immediate family. We were glad to serve in the American Army then. We thought it was right because we lived here.

Before evacuation all our parents thought that since they were aliens they would probably have to go to a camp. That was only natural — they were enemy aliens. But they never thought that it would come to the place where their sons, who were born in American and were American citizens would be evacuated. We citizens had hopes of staying there because President Roosevelt and Attorney General Biddle said it was not a military necessity to evacuate American citizens of Japanese ancestry.

So we went ahead and planted our crops. If anyone didn't believe it and didn't plant, everyone said it was sabotage. So we lost a lot of money that we wouldn't have had to lose if we had not put the crop in and had been told in the first place that we were going to be evacuated. Then we came up to Manzanar. It was just the same whether you were alien or citizen. When they asked for people to go out on furlough, it was not only the citizen but the alien who could go out if he wanted to.

At first when we got here, when people thought we were dangerous, that should have been the time when we should have been guarded. But it was about a half a year afterwards that they thought those things up. Then they put up the fence and the towers. When we first came here, if you had business to do you could go to Lone Pine or Independence. But afterwards you couldn't go anywhere, even with a military guard.

By the way, what is this for, why do you want to know all this?

We've had so much trouble, we've been lied about so much that we hate to tell anything to anybody any more. Look at the papers. At first some people said: "Don't buy the Examiner, buy the Los Angeles Times, it is more fair to the Japanese. Now it has changed and is as bad as the other. They can say anything and we have no way of answering back. We hate to say anything or to do anything because everything we do is twisted. If someone lies about us it is put on the first page in big print. There are lies and misinformation and then action. Action against us always comes before investigation. If the American government is honest, if the American people are honest, why don't they investigate what is said before acting? By the time the truth is known something has been done to us. We never know what is coming next. We have no peace of mind. Every few months it is something else.

When we were put here we thought that we'd be here just a few weeks and then would be allowed to go out. When we found out that that wasn't so and that we were all going to be treated like enemy aliens, we thought that we would be allowed to stay here in peace as neutrals during the war. We didn't expect all this haggling with the government. We didn't expect that the people would be split and bothered by one request and proposition after another. We didn't expect fights over self-government, registration, volunteering, relocation, and now segregation. Haven't these people been tortured enough. Do you know how many are going to Tule Lake to put an end to this once and for all, to get a little peace of mind?

They talk about relocation now. Do you know that nine-tenths of the people would have relocated themselves without any trouble or much cost to the government if they'd been given a little time and a little help in the beginning? We were all talking about it and planning for it. We had men out all over looking over sites and trying to make arrangements. Our family was in with a bunch who were looking over sites. They were interested in one site in Colorado at first. But the government interfered.

The government set up a temporary office, staffed by white people, in Santa Monica. They were to take care of our property and affairs. They told us to write down what property we had, to list everything. They told us we'd come up here to Manzanar for two or three weeks and then we could go out if we had the means. This office had been issuing the passes to allow people to go to other states, because we had to have a pass to go anywhere after the curfew came in. By that time we had an option on a place in Utah. My dad -- before they shut off the passes -- went with a group of friends and looked over possible places to which to relocate. This site in Utah wasn't much of a place. It was just desert land. But we thought that if we went there we could make a living. So we didn't sell our equipment. We just left it stored. And we came up here. But then we couldn't get any pass to get out. Down in Santa Monica they had told us they had to check up on us, that we should come up here to Manzanar until they finished the record and that then we could go out. But out of all the people of our district who had been

told this only two families finally got out. One of these families went to Idaho and the other to Utah. And it was a long time before they managed it, it was after people had been out on the first sugar beet furlough. These two families had relatives out there. They had already sent all their farming equipment out there. They pestered the WCCA officials every day. That's the only reason they got out. We thought it was no use after a while.

We've got our equipment rented out to a dairyman. It's not new equipment. We probably couldn't sell it or get much for it. But we could use it if we did the farming.

Now the worst objection these people have to going out is to work under other people. They are not used to it. Before, even if they worked for someone, they were trusted; they worked on their own and were not bothered as long as they got results. But now when we go out we get the lowest jobs; because of the war and the newspapers we have a bad character. We don't want to take the chance. These people had small businesses of their own or worked for their own kind. What they learned in a lifetime they can't forget in a few months.

A year or two ago it would have been o.k. to get out on relocation, to get farm land and work for themselves. They would have jumped at the chance. But now it's too late for most. So many of us are young and inexperienced. Our parents are older now. And they have been kicked around and treated like persons without any minds. So I think most of them want to stay in a center for the rest of the war. It's too late.

Lots of the people feel that if they go out now, they want the government to give them capital with which to start. The ones who have been able to have gone; the ones who are left don't want to invest the little eggnest they may have left because when that is gone they don't know what they can do. And going to a place which they have never seen — it's too much of a chance.

People think it is right to ask this of the government because they think of the cost of maintaining these camps. If the sum needed to maintain a man in camp for a year were given to him in one lump sum he could go out and make it o.k.

The F.B.I. picked up all the people who were really dangerous. They ought to have known what they were doing. The humane thing would have been to leave the rest of these people alone. What the old folks really object to is that they spent their whole lives — 30 or 40 years — building up California to what it is today. They don't even care about the fact that they have been kicked around themselves. But when they have built things up to the point where their children can make a living without too much hardship and then it is all wiped out, it is more than they can take. We leased land. It couldn't be owned by aliens. I was too young to buy it. The white Americans benefited by

all the improvements we made. The land was worth \$25 an acre when we got it but now they ask \$600-650 an acre for it.

I don't know Japan. I'm not interested in Japan. That's another thing that worries me. I don't know what will become of me and people like me if we have to go to Japan. The only thing that might save us is that most of us have our old parents still alive. If we were third generation and were entirely cut off from Japan we might not be able to make it. But if they are still alive we can go with our old parents. In Japan they respect the old people and, therefore, for their sake they may treat us well. There isn't much for our family in Japan but at least there is something. My father was a younger son. When his father died and the family estate was divided, his share was small. Rather than take it he left it with his older brother and came away. That's why he came to America. But his share is still there and it's the one thing in the world he has left. Naturally he thinks of returning to Japan after the war now and thinks that his brother can help him. He doesn't tell me what to do but I know what he wants me to do about this answer. I can sense it from the way he talks.

My dad is 58 years old now. He has been here 30 years at least. He came to this country with nothing but a bed roll. He worked on the railroads and he worked in the sugar beet fields. If I told you the hardships he had you wouldn't believe me. I owe a lot to my father. Everything I am I owe to him. All through his life he was working for me. During these last years he was happy because he thought he was coming to the place where his son would have a good life. I am the only son. I have to carry on the family name. You white people have some feeling like this but with us it is greatly exaggerated.

I tell you this because it has something to do with my answer about that draft question. We are taught that if you go out to war you should go out with the idea that you are never coming back. That's the Japanese way of looking at it. Of course many in the Japanese armies come back after the war, just like in all armies, but the men go out prepared to die. If they live through it, that's their good luck. I listen to white American boys talk. They look at it differently. They all take the stand that they are coming back, no matter who dies. It's a different mental attitude.

In order to go out prepared and willing to die, expecting to die, you have to believe in what you are fighting for. If I am going to end the family line, if my father is going to lose his only son, it should be for some cause we respect. I believe in democracy as I was taught it in school. I would have been willing to go out forever before evacuation. It's now that I'm a coward or afraid to die. My father would have been willing to see me go out at one time. But my father can't feel the same after this evacuation and I can't either.

I suppose you know that if there is one thing the Japanese

respects, it is integrity. I have to tell the truth. If these questions were just man-to-man talk, it might be all right to say "yes". But if it is put down as a record, I want it to be just what I feel. If I feel one per cent different I don't want to say "yes". That's how hard it is for us to answer that question.

This integrity is the main thing to me. I want to know where I stand. In Japan if a man is peaceful and cooperates, if he does not bother his neighbors, they let him alone. Even if he is a little queer, they let him alone. But when a man disturbs the peace, and refuses to cooperate, when he interferes with his neighbors, they really get after him. The whole village rises against him and they have no place for him. That's what these people cannot understand. They were behaving themselves; they were cooperating with others. Yet the American people have turned against them. Even if they were a little different in some ways, there was no cause for it. The people don't understand it. These Japanese would have been the most peaceful group in the country and the most cooperative if they had been left alone instead of being badgered in this way.

I have thought about this. I worry a lot. My father does not worry much; I worry for both of us. I thought I would tell some of this to the board. But I have never met people like that before. I can't find the words. They are busy and have many cases. And so I did just what all the others do - I just gave the surface, not what's deep underneath. But because we don't talk about it much doesn't mean that we haven't been worrying about it; I'm sick right now. Right now while I've been talking to you I've had a cramp in the pit of my stomach.

There has been nothing but trouble and division for these people from the beginning as a result of evacuation. This segregation is only carrying it farther. In December we had serious trouble. It had nothing to do with the anniversary of Pearl Harbor or with sympathy for Japan as the papers said. It was about supplies for the people of this camp which were being stolen. When someone found it out they tried to push him around. His friends stuck by him and there was a real explosion. How did Tanaka and those fellows associated with the J.A.C.L. get mixed up in it? When a mob forms they'll go after anyone they've got a grudge against. You can't control them. They had plenty against Tanaka, Slocum, and that bunch. They say that they were the ones who led the people to those camps; who advised them to believe all the promises that were made. Some said they were paid by the government to do this. After they got the people here they were accused of being stooges for the government, of being informers. How true all this is I don't know; I'm just telling you what people believed. I do know that this bunch was the first to agree to evacuation and told the people to trust the government and come to places like this. When the people realized what evacuation meant to them, they turned against this bunch and all their bitterness and resentment came out on them.

This evacuation and the way we live here causes trouble in the

family too, and trouble between parents and children. Before, if a boy liked a girl he would try to see her once in a while. Even if a boy and girl were just about engaged he probably would not see her more than four times a week. Now if a boy gets interested in a girl he sees her all the time. He eats every meal with her. He hangs around the place where she works. The two don't think of anything else. The old people don't like this; they feel that conditions like these break down morals and proper behavior but they have no control over the situation. I'd like to marry; I get lonely. And I don't want to go around wolwing like some of these fellows either. But the future is too uncertain. I'm not going to do anything until I see where I'm going to be, and what the future is going to be like.

In religion our family is Buddhist. I don't make too much of this. I believe that when you get down to the central part every religion stands for much the same thing. But they say this about those who change from Buddhism to Christianity lately and I notice that it is true. The ones who do something wrong, who get into trouble, are the ones who change. They become Christians and then they say that the past is all wiped out and they don't have to worry about what they did in the past. There is one part of the Bible they depend on, the part that says, "Forgive the transgressors." They take this literally and hang on to it, but they don't pay much attention to the rest of the Bible.

I appreciate this talk with you. But my mind is made up. I know my father is planning to return to Japan. I know he expects me to say "No" so there will be no possibility that the family will be separated. There isn't much I can do for my father any more; I can't work for him the way I used to. But I can at least quiet his mind on this.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section
February 29, 1944

Community Analysis Notes No. 2

ENGAGEMENT AND MARRIAGE CUSTOMS IN A RELOCATION CENTER¹

Before Evacuation:

Prior to evacuation the engagement and marriage customs in Japanese communities on the Northwest Coast largely followed the traditional Japanese patterns. Marriages among Japanese were usually arranged by go-betweens (baishakunin). The go-between's function was to make all the necessary arrangements concerning the wedding. He also assumed responsibility for the happiness of the couple after the marriage. Sometimes these 'baishakunin' acted as go-betweens in name only, that is, an individual allowed his name to be used although the families or individuals concerned made all their arrangements themselves. Using the name of two individuals as 'baishakunin', however, satisfied the traditional patterns. There were usually two 'baishakunin' for a marriage, one representing the bride's family and the other representing the bridegroom's family.

Even before evacuation most Nisei were choosing their own mates, although for the sake of form the traditional customs were observed and 'baishakunin' chosen. There were, however, a small number of arranged marriages in which the bride and groom scarcely knew each other. These usually took place between quiet individuals or in families where the parental control was very strong and Japanese customs strictly observed. Conflict would occasionally arise in such families where a son or daughter would insist on their own choice. Parents were usually aware of their sons' or daughters' attachments although at times they were not. Sometimes the individuals themselves informed the parents of their choice, although frequently relatives or close friends did so. In such cases these individuals would then act as go-betweens for later arrangements.

At the time of the engagement announcement, a betrothal present known as 'yuino' was presented by the bridegroom to the bride. The amount of the 'yuino' was sometimes determined by the go-between, although in most cases it depended largely upon the economic status of the party involved; it ranged from \$100 to \$500. The bride customarily returned part of this amount (usually one-half) to the bridegroom's family several days after the receipt of the gift. It was not considered good form for the bride to keep the entire amount.

1

Prepared by the Community Analysis Research staff at Minidoka Project.

returned part of this amount (usually one-half) to the bridegroom's family several days after the receipt of the gift. It was not considered good form for the bride to keep the entire amount.

Quite often the young people themselves arranged for the engagement party to which close friends and relatives were invited. These parties were usually held in the home of the bride's family. Refreshments are served and speeches in English and Japanese given. The more elaborate engagement parties before evacuation were held at a Chinese style restaurant (usually owned by Japanese) where the 'yuino' was presented with ceremony. The bride's family paid for the expenses of this engagement party.

Following this engagement party the go-betweens arranged the details of the wedding which could follow immediately or as much as a year later. The marriage ceremony usually was held in a Christian or Buddhist church, although occasionally marriages were performed at the bride's home. Most Nisei brides wore the traditional western style veil and wedding gown. However, they usually changed into a Japanese kimono for the wedding reception. Ice cream, cake, sandwiches, and punch were occasionally served at the church. A reception was generally held either at the bride's home or in a big restaurant (usually Chinese style), where an elaborate dinner was provided. As many as 200 guests might be invited to such a dinner reception. The guests were expected to bring gifts to this reception and a 'receiver' was at the entrance and carefully recorded the name of the giver in order to have their names and addresses so that a letter of thanks could be sent. These gifts were usually presents of money, ranging from \$2.00 to \$10.00. Sometimes a couple would receive enough gift money to cover all the reception expenses.

Within the relocation centers:

With the exception of the physical differences, most of the engagement and marriage customs carried out within the relocation center are much like the patterns followed before evacuation. Marriages within the center are arranged in three ways: by go-betweens, by parents, and by the couple themselves.¹ While some of the Nisei get married in a very quiet fashion with only a few friends and relatives in the wedding party, there are just as many families who give 'Yuino Kin', and have an elaborate wedding and a large reception in the dining halls. The Issei believe that marriage is a sacred ritual and therefore should follow the

¹

In at least one of the relocation centers a matrimonial service bureau has been formed which offers 'go-between service, checking of family records, and marriage advice.

traditional pattern. The Nisei, even though they make their own choice of a mate, accede to their parents' wishes in following these traditional patterns. Thus, most marriages within the center are still arranged by the 'baishakunin', although this may be in name only. The couple usually go to a neighboring town to be married if they are Christian, but many of the marriages are performed in the center. Even though the marriage may take place in the nearby town, the bridal couple return to the center the same day to be present at a reception which generally is held that evening in the block dining hall. If the party is small, it may be held in an apartment. Liquor is sometimes served at these small parties but not very often at the larger receptions. Refreshments consist of several kinds of sandwiches, fried chicken, potato salad, jelly, makisushi, barasushi, tempura, cakes, etc. (Makisushi is rice flavored with vinegar; barasushi is rice mixed with vegetables, like carrots, gobo, eggs, etc.; and tempura is food fried in salad oil or other vegetable oil.) In addition to these formal receptions, Nisei girl friends of the bride usually have 'shower' parties before the wedding.

Relocation has brought about a few new problems with respect to marriage. Boys in the army or on indefinite or group leave may meet a girl outside and get married without the knowledge or consent of their parents. Girls on the outside usually get their parents' consent, although not always. Such marriages are usually criticized by the Issei. There are several reasons why such marriages are not approved. The older Japanese are very conscious of status and family position, and many Issei are afraid that their sons or daughters will marry into the despised Eta¹ group which would disgrace the entire family. The family genealogy of the prospective bride or groom is always carefully checked by the families for this reason and for signs of certain diseases which are regarded with horror. There are three maladies, tuberculosis, insanity, and leprosy, which are feared by the older Japanese and which are considered a disgrace. The Issei distrust the marriages which take place outside without these precautionary measures. They feel that the Nisei are too young to make a proper investigation of the family background. Marriages between boys from the relocation centers and girls outside about whose families nothing is known are extremely hard for Issei to accept. In some instances where this has happened, the parents in the center have created quite a fuss.

Evacuation and relocation have accelerated greatly the assimilation of Nisei with regard to marriage customs. The physical setup of the relocation center prohibits many of the old traditional customs, and consequently, some of them are gradually disappearing.

1

The Eta were the outcast group of Japan.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Community Analysis Notes No. 3
April 7, 1944

Traditional Japanese Therapeutics Practiced at Minidoka

While the Japanese from Seattle, Portland, and other Northwest Coast areas have become Americanized to a great degree in their acceptance of western medicine, some of the therapeutic treatments which used to be widely practiced in Japan (and still are where modern facilities have not yet been established) have been carried over to the United States. Several types of these treatments are found at Minidoka.

Hari Treatment: (Acupuncture or needle treatment.)

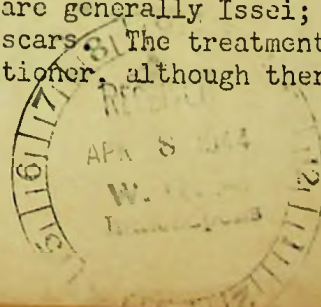
The hari treatment is a method of healing certain ailments by pricking the skin in various places with a needle. The size of the needle ranges from one to six inches in length, and the diameter is often smaller than that of a human hair. Gold or silver rustproof needles are used. It requires a highly skilled person to administer the hari treatment.

This therapeutic treatment is based on the stimulation of nerves and is used for ailments such as neuralgia, lumbago, arthritis, etc. In Japan, hari treatment is sometimes used in cases of heart attack when all other medical aid has failed. It is said that the heart is pierced with a long needle and that the patient occasionally revives. Similarly, relief is supposed to occur in cases of other sicknesses where more orthodox medical procedures have failed. At Minidoka the older Issei patronize the hari practitioner. The Nisei as a rule do not believe in this type of treatment.

Mogusa (Moxa) Treatment:

This treatment consists of burning punk (mogusa) made of a certain species of plant on vital parts of the body. A vital spot is associated with every ailment; thus, for eye ailments the vital spot is believed to be in the elbow region. The burning of the mogusa on these places is believed to stimulate the nerves. The treatment is very popular in Japan and is considered efficacious for practically all types of diseases. Among the more superstitious people it is believed that if mogusa is burned on a certain spot of the body and on a certain day of the year, the person thus treated will die. Mogusa burning is also sometimes used to discipline small children.

At Minidoka the users of this treatment are generally Issei; older Issei are frequently covered with mogusa scars. The treatment is often given at home without the aid of a practitioner, although there



OM-925

are expert mogusa administrators. Nisei may submit to this type of treatment when young and under the control of their parents but hardly ever practice it of their own accord.

Anma Treatment:

This treatment is used for muscular strain, poor circulation, and general fatigue and is based on the stimulation of the circulatory system by massage. In Japan, anma practitioners are usually blind men, (it is generally recognized that all blind people have an acute sense of touch) and this is one of the traditional livelihoods for the blind.

There are several anma practitioners at Minidoka, none of whom is blind. Anma patients are usually Issei, especially Issei women.

Recognition of Practices:

The practitioners of hari, mogusa, and anma therapeutic treatments do not operate officially in the center and there are no fees charged for their services. Instead, the patient presents the practitioners with a small token of appreciation which may either be money or goods.

Healing by invocation, found among the rural folk of Japan, has not been reported on for Minidoka, although at least one such healing priest is said to have operated at Jerome. The treatments described above do not seem to be of religious significance; at Minidoka, Christian, Buddhist and agnostic may resort to hari, mogusa and anma practitioners.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section
March 7, 1944

Community Analysis Notes No. 4

Social and Political Organization of the Block at Manzanar^{1/}

The social structure of the block at Manzanar is similar in some respects to that of a Japanese village or mura. The mura is the smallest political unit in Japan and is a collection of local groups or hamlets called buraku. The village or mura is governed by a headman (soncho) who can be compared to the chairman of the block leaders. The residents of a Manzanar block come together in civil cooperation for minor labor (i.e., to fix a playground, to decorate a recreation hall, etc.) much as do the people of a buraku in Japan. Also, as in the case of the buraku, the block keeps small funds for civic use to be spent as the people desire. At Manzanar, such funds are spent for offering or flowers at funerals, marriage gifts, recreational equipment, and for foodstuffs not available through normal channels. Whenever any question of the misuse of block funds comes up, the problem is always settled within the block concerned.

The night-checkers who were appointed by the administration to take barrack count and to inquire if any assistance were needed by the residents are called by the Japanese-speaking residents, omawari-san (person who goes around). Omawari-san in Japan are usually appointed to warn people against fire hazards and also act in the capacity of night-watchmen.

The volunteer fire brigade of the block resembles the mura type of fire brigade; it is made up of the youth of the block, and as in Japan, the bell is hung in a conspicuous place. In some blocks charts are posted in a public place telling the exact duties of each person in case of fire, just as is done in the mura. Usual duties include work on the bucket brigade, salvage crew, traffic crew, fire extinguisher crew, and service as bell ringer. At Manzanar the block fire wardens are usually appointed by the block leader.

Composition of block population was determined by the order of induction at Manzanar. Since in most cases people had evacuated with friends, (using falsified addresses in some instances to facilitate this) blocks were made up of friends and acquaintances instead of strangers. It was a common sight before evacuation to see those who were to be

^{1/} Taken from a report by a Japanese American who lived in a Japanese village for several years.

evacuated walking around Los Angeles looking for an empty house in the district from which they desired to be evacuated, in order to use that address. In certain cases, such as those of the people of Terminal Island and Bainbridge, the people were evacuated and inducted as a group, and live together in the same block at Manzanar.

Most of the elders in the Terminal Island group came from the prefecture of Wakayama where fishing had been their common occupation. Terminal Islanders speak the dialect used by the people of Wakayama which is said to be rougher and cruder than other dialects. The tone of speech is much louder and the Japanese say this is due to living near the seashore. It is common for the Japanese to say to a loud-talking person that he must have been born near the seashore, and that he thinks to be heard he must talk above the sound of the waves.

Where discord among the residents of a block occurs the solution is to move to another block.

From the official point of view, the block leader occupies the highest office in the block. Many of the residents, however, consider the block leader merely as a messenger boy or kozukai (messenger boy, servant), and they use this term to designate him. He is considered a good leader if he is able to acquire incidentals that are in great demand by the residents, such as soap, toilet paper, and mops before other blocks get them. Therefore, a leader who is shrewd and who possesses a loud voice is a great asset to the block. He may be very popular at some time, and very unpopular at others, depending on his opinion in regard to any certain issue of current interest.

In most cases these block leaders have little or no training in parliamentary proceedings and therefore very little is accomplished at most of the block meetings. As the average Nisei says, a great deal is discussed but very little is accomplished. The main source of power in a block is a group of men who have been quite prominent in their communities and respective businesses prior to the evacuation. These men are either called renro, in the old traditional way of speaking, or addressed as sodan yaku, "counselors".

In the blocks the duties of these men are to act as advisors in all matters with which they are familiar. Due to their wisdom and also because the Japanese have always respected their elders, their words carry a considerable weight. These men were very important in Japanese communities before evacuation. Usually they were those who were active in some large business organization or in some prefectural organization. Their biggest asset is their age; they are able to advise all types of persons without insulting them, whereas a young man would be reprimanded for so addressing an older person.

Although this type of man is valuable to the block, the people cannot always induce him to take an active part in community affairs.

One of the reasons for this is that since the start of the war many men who were active in the Japanese communities have been apprehended and detained by the government. In some instances no definite reasons are known to the residents as to why certain men were taken. The people are consequently unable to be sure of their status, and of how the authorities consider them. Many of the men who have not been interned but who have been as active in Japanese affairs as others who have been interned are fearful that they are borderline cases, or that they have been overlooked and will be apprehended if once their names should come to the attention of the authorities. These men tend to shun public office or anything that will make them conspicuous.

There are many men of this type once interned and now released who, because of their previous leadership, are again being called upon to act either as block leaders or as counselors. They have consented in some cases, but on the other hand, most of them are trying in every way within their power to stay out of politics or civic affairs, for many believe they were detained for similar activities. These men who were held by the authorities at one time were formerly the policy-makers of the Japanese community.

Because of the reluctance of former leaders to take control, other leaders have come to the fore. The chief cook is often looked upon as the man of influence in the block. Perhaps one of the reasons for this is that all meetings or political gatherings center around the mess hall. The chief cook is generally quite independent in the sense of doing what he pleases. Sometimes whether a man is able to get a good piece of meat or more to eat depends on his popularity with the cook. The cooks have been known to organize a union in order to safeguard their jobs, and it is understood that the cooks have priorities on Barracks 13 and 14, which are closest to the mess halls. This is not the policy of the housing department, but the wish of the cooks. It is well known that men of influence and economic importance in the center have received favors, such as fresh eggs, sugar, and butter from the chief cook. In one instance, at a time of shortage of eggs in the mess hall, one of the mess hall workers was seen washing her hair with a fresh egg, a custom of Japanese women to soften the water. Apple-polishing the mess hall cook is frequent. In some blocks a rather large block fund was distributed New Year's day among the kitchen workers, on the basis that they do such direct service for the residents. Even block managers are catering to the mess hall chiefs. In some instances, people's feelings toward the United States government fluctuates from day to day according to the quality of the food they are served.

The morale of the residents in the blocks has been strongly influenced by the food problem. The mess halls have been the center of dissatisfaction from the beginning. The idea of bringing a tray or a plate to be filled in the mess hall hurts the pride of the Japanese more than any other thing. The cafeteria system has never been popular with the Japanese as a whole; even in a city where they dine out, they prefer not to go to cafeterias. In Japan there are beggars who go from door to

door with plates in their hands, perhaps with an infant on their backs. This type of beggar is looked upon as the lowest of the beggars. Therefore some residents feel that the mess halls have a bad psychological effect. This is tied up with the dislike of the Japanese for being on relief; they had the lowest rate of relief of any nationality. It is safe to say that there were very few families on public relief before evacuation. Such cases, if any arose, were taken care of by the prefectural or local organizations.

In the final analysis of block politics, the wish of the majority rules. The opinion of the block is either strongly one way or strongly the other. In some meetings of the blocks the minority is never heard from regardless of the issue; this is due in part to ignorance of democratic procedure. If parliamentary procedure could be introduced, voting could be greatly facilitated. For example, when a vote was taken in regard to having beer on the center, it was by raised hands; consequently some, too shy to openly vote for beer, did not express their true wishes. If a secret ballot had been used, the result might have been different. Voting among Japanese women is in a very elementary and pioneering stage. They are in a way thrilled by their new voice in matters which were generally reserved for men only.

24013

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section
November 10, 1944

Community Analysis Notes No. 5

A NISEI REQUESTS EXPATRIATION

INTRODUCTION

The statement that follows is from a young man who has signed an expatriation form very recently. His action cannot be attributed to a "follow-the-leader" psychology, for he signed some time after the most recent flood of requests for repatriations and expatriations had subsided. Besides he is the "leader" rather than the "follower" type himself. It cannot be attributed to the Nisei draft, because, though he is somewhat cynical about the call to arms, he did not join in the protest against the draft. And he did not act when most of those who were moved by this consideration requested expatriation. Nor is he motivated by any false hopes regarding Japan's military position, for he has made it plain that he does not expect an easy time of it in Japan, and a few days ago he told me that the district where he expects to live in Japan is being bombed by the United States. He is fully aware that the war is being carried to Japan.

That his father is in Japan, is, of course, a powerful magnet. But more important, probably, is his feeling that a person of technical or professional training cannot find full scope for his activities in the United States because of race and caste lines. This conviction, which was nourished by pre-evacuation experiences, has crystallized during the evacuation period. I understand that this man is excellent in his field.

I know of so many cases of persons who have segregated or requested repatriation or expatriation for similar reasons that I raise the question of whether the United States is not likely to lose many of the best trained and talented among its people of Japanese ancestry as a result of the events of the last two and a half years. We may ask whether we are not going to be left, by and large, with the least able and most dependent of this particular segment of the nation's population.

Certainly this is what some of the evacuees think, whatever the facts are. One said to me the other day, "My cousin is in Tule Lake. I guess he had too much education to stay in this country." At any rate this statement is an example of a type of motivation which should be grounds for the most serious soul-searching and thought.

Community Analyst
Manzanar Relocation Center

THE STATEMENT

Well, Doc, I could see by the way you looked at me when I passed you in that truck the other day that you knew I had asked to be expatriated. I said to the other fellow, "Oho, I'll bet he's found out already." I might as well sit down, for I see that we'll have to have this out right now.

In the first place I don't think this is a hasty action. After all, I've been sitting in here for two years thinking. And it isn't just evacuation that is bothering me either. It goes way back farther than that.

I feel that I've made every attempt to identify myself with this country and its people. But every time I've tried I've got another boot in the rear.

Why, when I was a kid I went around with Caucasians almost entirely. I'll admit that most of them were pretty nice to me and treated me like anyone else. But even during the time when I was a kid there were incidents that were hard to take. Let me give you an example. I belonged to a Boy Scout troop. Nearly all the members were Caucasians. I and another fellow were the only Japanese. We lived near Vernon and there was a swimming pool there. One time the whole troop was going there for a swim. When we got there they let everybody else in the pool except this other Japanese and me. They said, "You can't swim here, we don't let Japanese in." Naturally we felt pretty raw but I tried to forget about it and say, "It's just a little thing. No use eating your heart out about it."

I got along well with Caucasians in public school. I got along pretty well in high school. But I noticed that after high school most of my Caucasian friends drifted away. The race wall was up and I couldn't make any headway against it. They talk about mingling with other people. You can't mingle with others if you can't live where they do, if you can't go where they do and if you can't work where they do.

The thing that really woke me up was the work angle. I took in a lot of that stuff about democracy and bettering yourself that they taught me in school. So after I finished high school I enrolled at the Frank Wiggins Trade School. I went in for training in electricity and radio technician. You know, I think the Frank Wiggins Trade School is one of the best in the country. Their plan is to have their men working part-time getting practical experience while they are going to school. They have very little trouble placing their men either for they have all sorts of connections.

So I was working along there, doing as well or better than most of the students. Only they got part-time jobs and I didn't get any. I didn't think anything of it for the first six months. After all, I figured that I didn't know much yet and that anyone so inexperienced shouldn't expect too much. But as time went on it just got funny. I knew the head of the place pretty well. He's some kind of a foreigner, a Brazilian, I believe.

He has no race prejudice and did his best to help me. Why, I have sat by his desk while he phoned around trying to find a place that would take me on! He'd call up his former students, fellows who owed a lot to him and with whom he had placed many white students, and they turned him down as soon as they heard I was Japanese. I was there two years and a half and I never got a job. I thought to myself, "What the hell am I doing here? What am I spending my money for if it doesn't get me any farther than this?"

Sure, I could have got a job as a gardener or a houseboy or in a vegetable stall. But I had my fill of that and I wanted work in the line I had trained myself for. And it isn't only the money and pride. You are held down in your associations and your social life if you can't get a job in your own line. I noticed that as my Caucasian friends of high school days got jobs and began to get somewhere, they drifted away from me. They were on the way somewhere and in their estimation I was just standing still or bound to go backward. The business man and the professional man does not go around with the gardener. You have to belong to the same circle to keep up associations.

So even before the war I was fed up with the way I was treated here. I realized that any white foreigner who came here had a better chance than I had. As soon as he learns the language and a few of the local ways he can't be told from anyone else and no one cares where he came from. But I have a Japanese face that I can't change and as long as I live I'll be discriminated against in this country. Look at the difference in the way they treated the Italians and Germans and what they did to us. You can't tell me that having a Japanese face didn't make a difference.

After all I figure that if it happened once it can happen again. Now they say, "It's all a mistake. We're sorry," and expect us to forget all about it and go off and fight in the army. But the thing that gets me is that it wasn't any little group or individual that did it, but the United States Government. If they had taken the aliens only it would have been one thing. But here I am, a citizen, and they pulled me in too. If your own government is against you and if citizenship doesn't count, what's the use of hanging around, I say.

I know that there are people who say that this country is going to become more democratic and that minority groups are going to be treated better in the future. I can't see much improvement during my life. The Negroes have been in this country for generations, and look how they are treated. And the Japanese will have it particularly tough, for there will be relatives of soldiers killed in the Pacific all over. I don't think that it will be the returning soldiers that will be as bad as the relatives of the ones lost in the Pacific. Maybe things are going to get better in this country for minority groups in a couple of hundred years. But I haven't got that long to wait. Right now I know I could go out and get a job without any trouble because they are in desperate need of trained men. But it will be a different story when soldiers come home and work is slack.

I don't expect an easy time in Japan. I know how tough things are

there. I lived there for two years when I was a little boy. You couldn't even bring candy to school. They figured that most couldn't afford it and it would only cause jealousy, and so no one was allowed to bring it. Nothing is plentiful or easy there. I expect a much harder time of it there, at least for the first two years, than I ever had here. But when I get turned down for a job it will be because there isn't a job, and not because I look different from someone else. At least there I'll look like everyone else.

My mother is dead but my father is in Japan. He was on the last boat that left for Japan before the war began. I have two sisters in this country, both married. One wants to go to Japan and one wants to stay here. I'm not sure of what they will do.

Before the war I tried to cancel my Japanese citizenship. I made that request to the Japanese Consul. But I guess the war broke out before the records were sent to Japan. Probably my request was burned. At any rate I'm pretty sure that I'm a dual citizen now. My father let me know in a Red Cross message from Japan. He said, "double status", and that's what he meant. Now, after evacuation, I feel that if I'm going to give up one citizenship, it is going to be the American.

It seems to me that the Nisei are mostly in a fog. They don't know what their citizenship is worth. They don't know what kind of chance they'll have after the war. They don't know what this evacuation is all about. They don't take a stand on anything.

I've been sitting on the fence long enough. I want to know where I stand and I want others to know too. I don't want to be an opportunist waiting to see how it all comes out and then jumping this way or that according to what seems to be to my advantage.

I don't think I'd ever forget evacuation. Maybe most of these other fellows can but I'm not built that way. I'm a funny guy. If someone beats me in a fair fight I'll get up and shake hands with him and no hard feelings. But if a gang rushes me and piles on me, even if there are five or six of them, I'll get every one of them, no matter how long it takes to track them down.

It's a funny thing to think about if you're on the receiving end, Doc. Here this government can draft me and send me anywhere to fight. And yet I am not free. I can't go a few miles to Lone Pine to buy myself something. I'm not afraid to die, and I'll fight for any country that treats me right, but I've gone through too much to fall for talk about democracy in this country any more.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section
December 11, 1944

Community Analysis Notes No. 6

BIOGRAPHY OF A NISEI CELERY FARMER FROM VENICE, CALIFORNIA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- I. Introduction
- II. Life Before Evacuation
 - Early Days of Issei Parents in America
 - A 16-year Old Nisei, the New Head of the House
 - Social and Economic Life of the Venice Community
 - Raising and Selling Celery
 - Mr. X's ranch
 - Production costs
 - Planting schedules
 - Care of soil and crops
 - Packing and Marketing Celery
 - Packing
 - The middlemen
 - Refrigeration
 - Illustrations
 - The markets
 - Anti-Japanese feeling in the produce industry now
- III. War and Evacuation
 - Declaration of War
 - Citizen Expectations of Security
 - Disposal of Crops and Equipment before Evacuation
 - Farewell, Venice
 - The Lowrey Bill
 - Its history
 - Digest of the Lowrey Bill
 - Mr. X's farm equipment
 - Effects of the Lowrey Bill
- IV. Tule Lake
 - Reasons for Venice People Going to Tule Lake
 - Mr. X's decision
- V. Today
 - Mr. X's Relocation Plans

INTRODUCTION

In part biographical, in part a mirror of the social and economic life of a California community, this account was prepared, after many interviews with a Nisei farmer, by an evacuee member of the Community Analysis staff at Manzanar Relocation Center.

It is the story of a young, Nisei farmer, referred to here as Mr. X, who lived, before evacuation, in the celery area of Venice, California, 16 miles from Los Angeles.

As part of his story, Mr. X told the interviewer of the early days of his Japanese-born parents in America and how he became head of the family and a farm operator when he was but 16 years old. He described the methods of producing and marketing celery and the kind of life he and his neighbors led in the Venice community.

He detailed the efforts he and his neighbors made when war was declared and evacuation rumored to find out what they could expect so that they could best plan with regard to their crops and equipment. The panic caused by evacuation and the heartbreak of leaving home for Manzanar (then an assembly center) are described together with an account of the pressures which led to the Lowrey Bill, a California law authorizing the seizure of the farm machinery stored by evacuees.

When the segregation program of the War Relocation Authority was instituted soon after the passage of the Lowrey Bill, the majority of the families from around Venice applied for repatriation or expatriation and went to Tule Lake. Mr. X told how he too was disillusioned and angry about the events of the preceding months and would have joined his former neighbors from Venice at Tule Lake had not his wife, a Kibei, restrained him. In conclusion, he told the interviewer of his plans to relocate and his efforts to get farm machinery to start another farm.

LIFE BEFORE EVACUATION

Early Days of Issei Parents in America

Mr. X's father came to America in 1907 while still a young man, unmarried, and full of adventure and hope for the future. He came not as an ordinary immigrant but as a trader with a purple passport. A graduate of a commercial high school, he intended to go into business in America.

Because he did not have any money when he landed, he worked as a cook at Suisun, north of San Francisco. Later he migrated to the sugar beet fields of Tulare, then to Colorado as a coal miner, and finally to New Mexico where he fell to the status of a bootblack in the Santa Fe Railroad Station. He felt keenly the disappointment of the results of his trip to this country after his high hopes of becoming a successful business man.

Later he went to a large ranch. Desperately in need of a job he said that he was not only a cook but a baker as well though he actually knew very little about cooking or baking. However, a Caucasian woman there who knew that he did not have a chef's magic control in the kitchen taught him all the secrets of cookery.

Notified that his mother had died, he hurried to Japan. While attending to necessary family affairs there, he was caught in the military conscription. After serving his term in the army, he married; in 1911 he, his wife, and his little daughter, born in Japan, came to America. He did not return to Japan until nearly 20 years later.

The little family moved to Southern California to begin farming. The next year, a second child, the first son (Mr. X of this story), was born in a shack on the east side of Los Angeles. The area, now a residential district, was then one of the best places for growing spinach.

Two years later, the mother died, leaving five children. The father did not remarry, for he thought that it would not be good for the children to have a stepmother. However, when the children were adults and old enough to care for themselves, he married a woman in Japan.

A 16-year Old Nisei, the New Head of the House

Because his father could not work as he used to, the oldest son, Mr. X, took over the family when he was 16 years old. His dreams at Venice High School of becoming a doctor faded when he took all the responsibilities of the family onto his young shoulders. Later he sent a younger brother through medical school.

Mr. X says that he could not claim to have become a seasoned farmer until he was 21 years old. From 1926 to 1942 he specialized in raising celery. Luck was with him, for in 1929, an exceptionally good year, he "hit the

jackpot." From then on, farming was easier.

Mr. X, now 32 years old, has an attractive wife and three children. He met his wife, a Kibei, on one of his three visits to Japan. Mr. X was one of the oldest Nisei farmers in the Venice district, though there were a few Kibei farmers near his age. Other Nisei seemed to prefer white collar jobs. Mr. X says:

The Californians should not be afraid that persons of Japanese ancestry are going to be tough competitors in the field of agriculture, because even before the war, the Nisei were leaving the farms for the city.*

The Issei, because of lack of education, did not go into business, but chose the farm, the back-breaking manual labor. The Nisei have seen the work their folks have gone through, and they do not wish to go through the same thing. The younger generation prefers the easier and cleaner jobs.

Social and Economic Life of the Venice Community

There just did not seem to be much time for leisure, for everybody was busy all the time. Mr. X belonged to the Young Men's Association and was at one time a cabinet member of this organization composed of persons of Japanese ancestry. He also was a member of the Judo Club.

Other community activities were the yearly prefecture picnics and also the picnics which the Caucasian employees of the Pacific Fruit and Produce Company held with the farmers of Japanese ancestry in Southern California. This was a bright and true way for better racial understanding.

When the celery crop was good, the people, swamped with salesmen, bought the best and most modern kitchen equipment, household furniture, tractors and other farm equipment, and nice automobiles. In 1941 when luck was with them, neighbors competed to buy new Pontiacs, Chryslers, Fords, and Buicks. Everyone tried to outdo the other fellow. When there were picnics, rows of shining new automobiles still with window license stickers were to be seen.

The shabby exterior of the homes contrasted with the interior. Because the houses were rented and the tenants never knew when the landlords would sell out, they did not spend money on the outside of the houses. Had the Issei

* Editor's note: This was also true to some extent of Issei. "Before evacuation, there was a marked tendency for Issei to become an urban people in the United States," p. 7, "Relocation at Rohwer Center, Part II. Issei Relocation Problems," Project Analysis Series No. 18, Community Analysis Section, September 2, 1944.

been able to buy land* the exteriors of the houses would naturally have been made more presentable.

During the depression, the cars and farm equipment reflected poorer times just as did the long faces of the people.

Raising and Selling Celery

Mr. X's ranch. At the time of evacuation, Mr. X had 20 acres of leased land, yielding on the average from three to four carloads of celery an acre or 60 to 70 carloads a year. One refrigerated car carried 340 crates, the half-crate type, field packed. Mr. X also had other crops. His 20 acres brought him \$16,000 to \$18,000 gross per year.

Production costs. Celery, one of the hardest vegetables to produce, requires good climatic conditions and land drainage. A new farmer must have enough capital to continue after the first two bad years. He needs from \$5,000 to \$6,000 for a boiler, greenhouses, and sand. Land is high; rent is from \$100 to \$125 an acre. Even with family help the cost of production is about \$600 an acre. With hired help (four steady workers are needed for a 10-acre ranch), the cost of production is approximately \$900 an acre.

There has been much talk about the cheap labor that the Japanese hired and the low standard of living that they maintained but let us look into this matter.

It is understood that the Japanese never took unfair advantage of the Mexican laborers. Wages paid during pre-evacuation days were 50¢ an hour; now they are probably 85¢ an hour. All Mexican laborers hired to work on California ranches were members of the Mexican Union. If the wages were low, they would strike. The Mexican consul would help them.

It has been charged that the Japanese too were always close to their consulate, but the Issei had to have some group to look after their rights

*Laws have been adopted by several Western states forbidding the ownership of real property interests by aliens ineligible for United States citizenship (as persons of Japanese birth are), beginning with California in 1913. These restrictive laws are popularly referred to as "Alien Land Laws."

since they could not become citizens of this country.*

Planting schedules. The Japanese around Venice had little competition because they were nearly the only celery raisers in the State at certain times of the year. They harvested their celery from January to July. Florida was the only competitor during the summer, but California celery was bigger and tastier.

Here is a sample schedule for celery planting:

Celery planted in September is harvested in late February or March.
Celery planted in October is harvested in March.
Celery planted in December is harvested in mid-April.
Celery planted in January is harvested in late April.
Celery planted in February is harvested in May.

First, the celery seeds are spread on flat surfaces of dirt in flat boxes and covered with white sand and gunny sacks to keep in the moisture. The temperature is kept at about 65 degrees to prevent the celery pods from bolting, that is, from forming seed pods while young. If this happens, there is less celery to eat. During the winter, when the temperature goes down to 10 degrees, the hothouses are heated with water or oil heaters.

In 10 days when the seeds have sprouted, the gunny sack is taken off. Thirty days later, each slender needle-like plant is transplanted to other flat boxes, each flat usually having 132 plants. After another 30 days, the sprouts are replanted by hand in the field.

Care of soil and crops. Now a word about preparing the soil. During the summer, cucumbers, cauliflowers, string beans, and other minor crops are raised to rotate the crops. When the summer crops are out, the land is plowed and mixed with unpulverized horse manure. Three months later, it is plowed again and flattened. Chicken manure is then spread and mixed with

*Editor's note:- A person of Japanese ancestry may not become a naturalized citizen of the United States unless (a) he serves honorably in the armed forces of the United States during the present war. (He may have been naturalized prior to Jan. 1, 1937, by virtue of having been a veteran of the First World War); (b) he was born of alien parents in Puerto Rico at a time and under such circumstances that he was not an American citizen by birth or collective naturalization; (c) he was formerly an American citizen who lost that citizenship as a result of services in the armed forces of an Allied country during the first or second World War; (d) in the case of a woman, she was formerly an American citizen who lost that citizenship (1) by reason of marriage to an alien prior to Sept. 22, 1922; (2) by reason of marriage to an alien ineligible to citizenship after Sept. 22, 1922; or (3) because her husband, if a United States citizen, was repatriated prior to Sept. 22, 1922, provided she acquired no other nationality by affirmative act other than her marriage.

the soil with a chisel harrow, a type of ground loosener. Neat rows are cut into the ground, and two weeks later, the plants are put in.

After the rainy season is over, the land is irrigated twice a week. Because federal inspectors carefully inspect vegetables at the markets, particularly celery and strawberries, the farmers too keep a sharp watch for insects and plant sickness. If three stalks of celery in a crate have been eaten by cut-worm, the federal inspectors condemn the crate. If the hearts of three celery stalks show sliminess due to black heart, the whole lot is condemned. Blight must be watched because in 24 hours, it kills plants that are three or four days old. Water rot is another plant disease the farmer must guard against. Sprays are used for protection against insects and disease, and after a rain, the spray is made stronger than usual.

Packing and Marketing Celery

Packing. Celery was packed in one of three types of containers:

Half-crate in which the celery is packed standing upright.

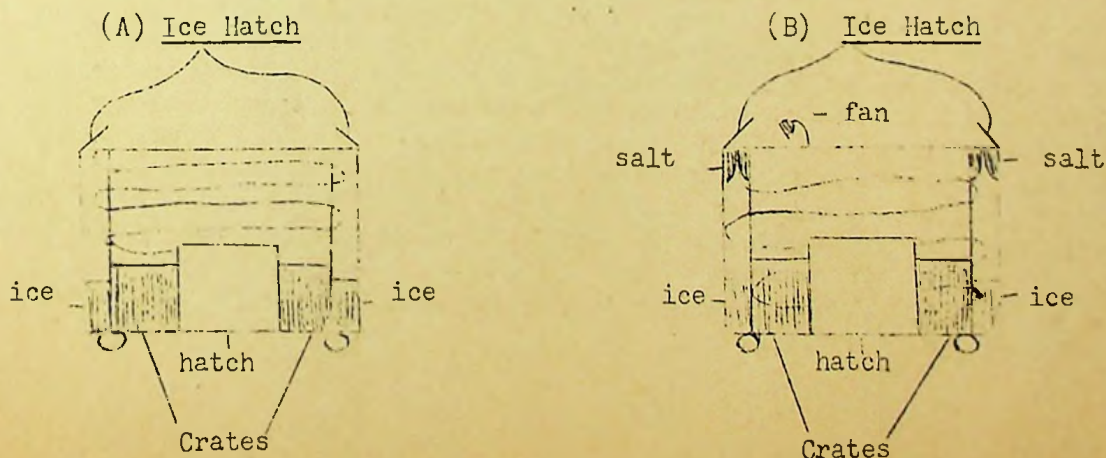
Howard in which the celery is packed in thin, wooden boxes stapled together.

Sturdee in which the celery is packed in larger-sized crates.

The middlemen. After the farmer has boxed or crated his crops, the commission merchants, the middlemen, truck the vegetables to market. Farmers with their own trucks do this themselves. If the commission merchant sells to produce markets, jobbers unload and sell to the local markets or retail stores.

Commission merchants take 10% of the profit made after deducting the cost of boxes and crates. If the crops are sold to the shippers, men who sell out of state, the commission merchants take 15% of the gross sale price after deductions are made for the crates, lug boxes, wire, and ice for the refrigerated cars.

Refrigeration. There is only one kind of refrigerated car but two ways of working it. The ordinary way is to have ice boxes on both ends of the car. The improved way is to pre-cool the car so that vegetables just out of the field and still warm can be frozen quickly; then salt is used with the ice. A fan at one ice hatch blows the cold air to increase the circulation.



I Ordinary refrigerated car

II, Pre-cooled car

The markets. The Terminal Markets cover 7th and 8th Streets in Los Angeles, while the Los Angeles City Markets spread over 9th and 10th Streets. Approximately 75% of the produce markets in the two markets were run by Japanese. The majority of the shipping concerns were run by Caucasians. Among the larger concerns run by Japanese were the H. F. Fruit Company, Imperial Produce, Naruto Produce, Okuhira Produce, Oka Produce, Rikimaru Produce, San Pedro Vegetable Exchange, Sun Produce, and the United Farmers Association. The Venice Celery Distributors and the Betsuin Produce were jobbers as well as shippers.

How much is sold at the local markets and how much out-of-state depends upon the demand and the conditions of the local and shipping concerns. About 95% of Mr. X's celery was shipped to the Canadian and to the northern and eastern markets of the United States. The Canadian markets were good although the farmers had to face a different money system and various governmental restrictions. In Canada, celery was sold by the pound, while in the United States it was sold by the stalk. Today, because of the celery shortage, it is sold by the pound in the United States too.

Anti-Japanese feeling in the produce industry now. It has been reported that the American League,* an anti-Japanese group under the direction of John F. Lechner, is supported by the Southern California Floral Industries and the Wholesale Produce. Among the directors of the League are men from the wholesale produce section who have been in competition with the Japanese produce firms or are the heads of concerns newly established since evacuation. However, the bigger companies such as the W. H. Deardorff Company, shippers, and the Pacific Fruit and Produce, a subsidiary of General Fruit Corporation, have not joined organizations like the American League.

* Editor's note:- Mr. X may be referring to the Americanism Education League.

WAR AND EVACUATION

Declaration of War

When war was declared, all the leaders of the Venice district—the Japanese language school teachers, the committee members of the Japanese school, and members of the Japanese Association—were interned.

The enforcement of the 5-mile travel limit and curfew caused the Venice farmer much hardship, for whenever he had any business to do, he had to get a travel permit from the local office of the Wartime Civil Control Administration or the police department. Because many others also wished to travel, he had to wait in line for the permit and do his business the next day. As this took much time, many business opportunities were spoiled.

Citizen Expectations of Security

There had been so much talk of evacuation that aliens were, in a hazy way, expecting it. But citizens of the Venice area never thought for one instant that they too would be evacuated.

Mr. X, a citizen, had never met any discrimination whatsoever in his work and was confident that he would be allowed to stay. Had he not been deferred from selective service because he was an essential farmer? Optimistically, he put in much time, labor, and money to be able to harvest and work his land for the duration. Thus, he lost his money. He was too confident of his rights as a citizen.

Speaking of citizenship, Mr. X said that he was uninterested in politics before because he thought that even if he did vote it would not mean very much. But this time he is going to vote. He never had enough time to study politics carefully before; now politics interest him.

Disposal of Crops and Equipment before Evacuation

In March, Mr. X received this message from the Department of Agriculture, answering his question of what to do with his crops as evacuation became imminent.

...The State USDA War Board recently informed us that the best possible evidence of the loyalty of Japanese persons to this country, and directly in line with the Food-For-Freedom campaign, is that they continue their farming operations. Furthermore, no operations should be neglected which in any way would hinder the maximum development of their crops, and no crops should be destroyed but all should be cared

Les USDA Board
stamps were told
they

for and carried on in the best manner possible..

(Signed)
Chairman, Los Ange

Furthering the feeling of unrest was the fact that his neighbors that even though they would not be there to benefit from their crops, would be considered saboteurs if they did not put in money and prepare to harvest. It was said that the FBI would come and take them to jail if they neglected the fields. Of course, this frightened the farmers, for after the outbreak of war people in the community were being picked up by the FBI for various minor reasons.

In the same month, Mr. X asked the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco what to do with the farm equipment he was purchasing on the installment plan. He was told that he should make suitable arrangements with the dealers who had sold the machines to him.

A tractor company dealer said,

"We don't know whether you Jap boys will pay or not. You are going to a concentration camp. We don't consider people who go in there citizens of this State. So pay now. I can't tell if you will be able to later on."

Although Mr. X's tractor bill was not due until June of the following year, he had to pay for it immediately. He had hoped for a moratorium. The tractors had to be stored in the company's garage. His brother lost his tractor though the payment for it was not due.

A group of Venice men had a lawyer draw up a petition to General DeWitt asking permission to stay a little longer than the time set for their evacuation, so that they might harvest the celery. But DeWitt did not answer them. The farmers had to put in money, about \$600 per acre at the minimum, to keep the farms going until the day of evacuation. Though there was a rumor that if the farmers lost much the government would repay them but so far no one has been paid.

While all this was happening, the people were trying to sell their crops. As the figures on the statements below indicate, the price range of celery in April, 1942, was low compared with May and June, 1942. The prices per crate according to the statements were as follows:

<u>April, 1942</u>	<u>May, 1942</u>	<u>June, 1942</u>
\$.35	\$.45	\$.75
.40	.50	1.60
.45	.60	1.65
.50	1.60	1.80
.65	1.65	1.85
.80		

Statements for the earlier months were even lower than those for April because as the day of evacuation drew nearer, panic-stricken people harvested their crops early and took them to the markets at the same time. The markets were flooded, and naturally prices went down drastically. In April, Mr. X was able to sell the crops by himself, but a reliable company signed a contract with him to harvest the crops in May and June.

It is said that in 1943 and 1944, the highest prices paid for celery were \$8.00 to \$9.00 a crate. These are the market prices enjoyed by Caucasian growers today. Therefore, they probably would not like to see the Japanese return to compete with them.

Because evacuees were anxious to get rid of whatever they had, they sold cheaply or else lent farming equipment, land, or crops to neighbors or other Caucasian farmers. Evacuees, it seemed, had lost all sense of balance. Here is an incident said to have happened. There might be more cases like it.

A Caucasian, formerly a struggling tractor salesman, borrowed farm implements and bought crops ready to be harvested from a Japanese. Because of the food shortage, this man made money on these crops and in the meantime bought other farms cheaply. Then the land value went up to \$1,000 an acre. He is now a wealthy man.

Farewell, Venice

Leaving Venice, California, on April 27, 1942, was like sinking down to the gloomy, colorless abyss of a foggy, damp morning. One by one the buses, filled with heartsick, discouraged, and humiliated evacuees, rolled away. The occupants craned their necks to see their homes, perhaps for the last time. All the energy used to build up what they had now disappeared like a mirage in the cloud of dust and the carbon monoxide of the buses.

One of the men who left Venice this day was Mr. X, whose story this is.

Riding along for hours at a time, the people talked of their former homes, of the crops they had left, and of the farm equipment either sold cheaply, stored away, or simply left in the fields. But in spite of despair, the gleaming hope of returning home by Christmas of that year still existed in their minds.

After engine trouble and a flat tire, Mr. X's group arrived at Manzanar, only to be met by a famous Manzanar dust storm. Anguished tears stung their eyes as they thought, "Haven't we gone through enough without having to face this too?"

The Lowrey Bill

No sooner had the Japanese lost their farms and their crops than an attempt was made to deprive them of their tools also. Mr. X has saved a sheaf of newspaper clippings of the events which led up to the passage of the Lowrey

Bill in California whereby stored evacuee equipment was seized. Mr. X lost his farm machinery as the result of the Lowrey Bill.

Its history. A clipping, dated January 28, 1943, refers to a letter written by John M. Gault, chairman of the war advisory committee of Los Angeles County Council, American Legion, to Secretary of Agriculture Claude Wickard recommending that the government take over the stored equipment under the control of the Federal Alien Property Custodian under the War Powers Act as a military necessity. The appointed confiscatory agency was then either to lease or sell property to Southern California farmers.

About a month later, the California Attorney-General Robert W. Kenney was quoted by a newspaper as also urging similar release of idle farm equipment. Other newspaper clippings of the same month describe efforts made by the State Department of Agriculture to obtain the machinery. A clipping, dated April 2, 1943, quotes Governor Earl Warren as stating that a bill would soon be proposed to the legislature to give the State power to seize the machinery under authority of Eminent Domain. A later clipping declares that the regulations by the Federal government of a number of automobiles left by the evacuees was spurring State officials in their efforts to acquire Japanese-owned farm equipment.

On April 12, 1943, a newspaper reported that at a meeting of the State Legion Board, the commander of the 20th district located in Los Angeles called for reports on the whereabouts of farm machinery, automobiles, and trucks owned by Japanese. "It was proposed that Legionnaires do detective work and locate this equipment, so that a complete itemized list may be submitted to authorities. The Legion is strongly in support of the proposal to confiscate this machinery and put it to work in the war effort...."

Mr. X stated that a clipping of May 25, 1943, gave a death blow to the evacuees' hopes. The article stated that a Federal survey revealed approximately 1,100 pieces of Japanese-owned farm equipment in Southern California, and that the results of the survey were revealed just as Southern California district attorneys were acting to obtain possession of the idle machinery under the new State law, the Lowrey Bill, signed by Governor Warren, on May 18, 1943.

The people back home, Mr. X continued after showing the clippings, reported the farm implements stored by the Japanese to the U. S. Department of Agriculture and other government bureaus interested in locating them. Therefore, many evacuees were forced to sell or to run the risk of having the equipment seized.

The Lowrey Bill authorized the seizure of idle farm machinery, farm machinery that was idle only because of the evacuation tragedy.

Digest of the Lowrey Bill. Mr. X has also preserved a copy of a digest of that bill which was prepared by the Manzanar Legal Aid Section on June 8, 1943. This digest reads, in part, as follows:

Assembly Bill 1975 as amended by California Senate on May 5, 1943, and signed by Governor Earl Warren of the State of California.

The Lowrey Act empowers the State to acquire by Eminent Domain, farm machinery and equipment to augment the food and fiber supply. Said Act provides that the State can acquire idle and unused agricultural equipment and implements, but specifically exempts farm machinery and implements:

- "(a) In actual, but not necessarily continuous, use in farming operation; or
- (b) Owned by persons, associations, or corporations engaged in farming operations in California; or
- (c) Owned by manufacturers or dealers."

Procedure: The State Farm Production Director or the Director of Agriculture, upon finding that public interest and necessity requires acquisition of certain agricultural machinery or implements certifies such need to the Director of Finance with the request that the Director of Finance proceed under the right of Eminent Domain to make such acquisition.

The Director of Finance reviews the facts set forth in such certification, and thereafter determines whether such acquisition is necessary for augmentation of food and fiber production in this State. His determination of the facts is conclusive evidence that the public interest and necessity require such acquisition and that the use to which the equipment is proposed to be put in a public use within the meaning of the Lowrey Act.

When such determination is made, the Director of Finance then proceeds to acquire the property under the Eminent Domain procedure set forth in the Code of Civil Procedure.

The Director of Finance may negotiate with the owner to acquire property at any time prior to or after filing action of Eminent Domain.

An appropriation in the sum of \$150,000 has been made for the purchase of such idle and unused machinery and implements.

The summary quoted above was signed by Henry J. Tsurutani, Director of Legal Aid at Manzanar.

Mr. X's farm equipment. The newspaper items and all the rumors to which they gave rise got Mr. X and others very excited. He decided it would be better to sell his equipment, no matter how cheaply, than to have it seized.

On June 7, 1943, the Manzanar Evacuee Property Officer wrote a letter for him to a certain company. The following is an excerpt:

"...The above named evacuee is somewhat concerned about the sale of his property, part of which is located on your farms and part of which is in storage. Under the Lowrey Act, it is going to be necessary for him to sell his farm and equipment, even though he wishes to keep it and use it for farming purposes when he goes out on relocation within the next few months....."

Recently it was learned that arrangements for keeping farm implements could have been made on behalf of persons who were going to relocate and continue their farming in other states.

Approximately 3,800 nursery flats and 25 larger items were sold. Some of the more valuable items were as follows:

1 Chevrolet, 1939; 1 1/2 ton truck; 1 Pontiac, 1940; 1 Farmall model, 1941, cultivator; 1 Hardie High pressure sprayer, 1941; 1 caterpillar tractor, 1941; 1 John Deere plow, 1941 (late); 1 John Deere disc, 1941; 1 land leveler, 1939; 2 hothouses with a capacity of 2200 flats each; 2 living houses; 1 garage; 1 barn; and 1 toolhouse.

Greenhouse flats such as those which formerly cost 8¢ each, now cost 24¢, it is said. Even at that, the flats obtained now are of second grade quality.

Effects of the Lowrey Bill. The Lowrey Bill was a great blow in many ways. It worked against the plans of the government, which was to get evacuees out of the centers and back to productive life. This Bill came when farmers were making plans to relocate. Farmers who lost their equipment abandoned relocation plans. They do not wish to go out as common laborers; they desire to run their own farms as before.

This Bill, as well as the newspaper propaganda that went with it, led to a great deal of bitterness. Many evacuees who were not farming also reacted to the harshness and cruelty of the Lowrey Bill and to the viciousness of the newspaper articles. The people felt persecuted.

In June and July, 1943, soon after the Lowrey Bill, came the first announcement of the segregation policy of the War Relocation Authority. People who were bitter seized this opportunity to go to Tule Lake. This is one reason why the Venice delegation to Tule Lake was so large.

TULE LAKE

Reasons for Venice People Going to Tule Lake

There were about 88 Japanese families in Venice. Today the majority of them have gone to Tule Lake. The departure of so many for that center is due to reasons such as these:

1. They see no future in this country for them since they suffered tremendous losses materially and financially.
2. They believe that Tule Lake will be the only center to stay open for the duration.
3. The old people wish to go back to their native land.
4. Some fear another evacuation if Japan and America should have a war in another decade or two.
5. Others feel a summons to take care of their parents in Japan.
6. Young people have complied with the wishes of the older folks to accompany them to Tule Lake.

Mr. X's decision. Mr. X also wished to go to Tule Lake. He had gone through much hardship. What future was there for him in the country which moved him and his family from their home and ended their independence? He might as well go to Japan where people were treated equally. He would have a better chance and his future would be secure, not balanced on the delicate scale of racial discrimination.

For days he said he would sign up to go to Tule Lake. During those days, his wife, a Kibei, argued tirelessly that he would be making a mistake. She knew the economic system in Japan. She knew that a person as outspoken as her husband would never be happy there. No, she told him, since he must start from scratch, he would be wiser to begin in America, even though he had been humiliated and depressed. Finally she won. Now he says, grinning shyly, "Never argue with a woman."

TODAY

Mr. X's Relocation Plans

Now that he has decided to go out once again, Mr. X has asked the man in charge of the local Evacuee Property Division how to obtain a tractor and other farm equipment. This man wrote to the Los Angeles Evacuee Property Division and received an answer.

This letter of June, 1944, quotes the local county U. S. District War Board to the effect that each state and county is under its own regulations but that the main factors considered are the applicant's background in agriculture, the acreage involved, the type of crop, the kind of equipment he already has or can obtain, and also the amount and kind of labor available to the farmer.

Even after receiving priority, it takes a considerable length of time to purchase the tractor, the letter adds. It closes with these sentences:

I am sorry not to be able to give you more definite information as to the qualifications required for priorities for tractors, but trust this may be of some aid to you. I would like to add that the War Board tells us tractors are the only items of farm equipment that are rationed at this time, and they indicate they have had no particular difficulty in obtaining any of the other farm tools in recent months.

The local Relocation office has told Mr. X that since he does not have the necessary tools, he ought to go on a share basis with someone else, for there are such offers. But Mr. X knows that going on share basis would not be good because the farmers who are failing and need help desperately are the ones who decide to go on shares. And then, usually, they try to get as much out of their partner as they can. In his estimation it is poor business to accept a share basis because prosperous farmers would never want anyone to come in on such an arrangement.

Well, Mr. X is going out on short term leave to find another niche in this country, a place that will accept him and a place that he can accept.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section
December 20, 1944

Community Analysis Notes No. 7

NISEI REPORT ON THEIR ADJUSTMENT TO TULE LAKE

INTRODUCTION

The two reports presented here were prepared by Nisei on the Community Analysis staff at Tule Lake Segregation Center and tell of Nisei life there. They based their first report on discussions with several Nisei between 25 and 30 years of age. The second report is an interview with a 20-year old Nisei.

Though independently obtained, the two reports are strikingly similar in content. Both tell of unfulfilled expectations of life at Tule Lake, the disillusioning impact of the Tule Lake incident of November, 1943, the barrier of language which symbolizes cultural differences, the emotional hazards of loneliness and lack of wholesome community activities, and the tormenting factional conflicts among the residents. Nisei agree that only the weather is ideal at Tule Lake.

The two reports reflect the difference, primarily one of emotional tone, in the adjustment of the older and younger Nisei at Tule Lake. The report of the older group shows more maturity and resignation to life in the segregation center. The interview with the younger Nisei reveals less optimism and is representative of the thinking of the 17-25 year age group which is noticeably more rebellious than the older group against life at Tule Lake.

PART I. THE REPORT OF THE OLDER NISEI

Unfulfilled Expectations

When the news of segregation to Tule Lake first broke, many Nisei took this as good news, a welcome change from the old camp. Of course, those with fond attachments were reluctant to leave, but on the whole the idea of a new camp was novel. The trip was even eagerly awaited.

The name, Tule Lake, itself lent a note of enchantment, especially to those in the arid desert camps of Arizona. Visions of a watery vastness where swimming, fishing, and other water sports could be enjoyed boosted the morale of many Nisei. And then there were the winter sports! Those with friends in Tule Lake received glowing letters about the camp, ice skating, skiing, and sledding. The weather was described as ideal and similar to that of a Californian coastal town. Another intriguing point was that Tule had no mud, for the soil soaked up the rain immediately. Photographs displayed by the Social Welfare Department added much to the attractiveness of Tule Lake; the shot of a mixed group of Nisei enjoying sledding down a snow-covered slope was particularly appealing.

Counteracting this propaganda to some extent were rumors that soldiers patrolled each block and that each block was fenced in with a ten-foot barbed-wire fence. But these rumors were discounted as having been started by the Caucasian personnel to encourage the borderline "double no's"* to change their answers.

The actual change to Tule Lake itself was disappointing and disillusioning. The first impression was that the entire camp in spite of its thousands of inhabitants looked gray and desolate. The absence of trees or shrubs of any kind added to the feeling of loneliness created by the appearance of the camp. This was especially noticeable to the segregants from the camps in Arizona and Arkansas where trees, greenery, and neatly kept gardens were the rule rather than the exception. The barracks looked filthy and dirty. The patchwork construction of the many ramshackle porches recalled a shanty town.

The rooms also were disappointing. Double floors and plasterboard walls sounded like heaven to the Postonians who were accustomed to bare walls and no ceiling. The walls and ceiling, however, were smudgy and the floors full of splinters. In mopping, one would end up with half the mop-head sticking to various places in the floor.

Former Tuleans seemed indifferent and even bitter toward the new segregants. With people from each center located helter-skelter throughout Tule Lake, the period of readjustment was a long one.

* Editor's note:- Evacuees were asked during registration whether (1) they promised allegiance to the United States, and (2) would serve in the armed forces wherever sent. Those who answered "no" to both questions are popularly referred to as the "No-no's."

The Impact of the November Disturbance

The November disturbance which came shortly after the entry of the new arrivals impressed the Nisei with having started off life in the new camp on the wrong foot. An unsympathetic Placement Bureau did little to ease the newcomers' mind. Consequently, there was bitterness and antagonism toward the Tuleans who seemed to hold all the key, or good, jobs (if not every single solitary one). It was galling to see whole families working while the newcomers had a hard time placing even one member of the family in a job. The administration, at that time, did little to alleviate the situation. Camp administration, back in November, seemed shot through and through with politics.

The "November march" on the administration gave high hopes of bettering camp conditions, but the hopes fell flat when the so-called "demands" received no recognition. Stoppage of work, curfew, curtailment of all entertainment, house-to-house search by the army for suspected persons and contraband, and the stockade, all added to Nisei woes. Many Nisei wished they were back in their original centers. If, at this time, leave clearance had been offered to those who desired it, there would have been another rush on the administration but of an entirely different nature.

The Language Handicap

The very strong emphasis on studying the Japanese language is an added burden to the graceful assimilation of the Nisei into Tule Lake life. They regard it more or less in the light of a necessary evil. Even the 'teen age school kids who spend hours in the classroom studying Japanese turn to English on the playing field and elsewhere. As long as so many Nisei are clustered together in one spot, English will remain the spoken language. Only when a Nisei is assimilated into Japanese life in Japan will he forget English. But should two Nisei meet in Japan, the conversation will lapse into the vernacular so familiar since childhood.

Regimentation in the form of taiso exercises also finds disfavor in Nisei eyes. They are continually told that everyone in Japan does taiso. They are asked how they can ever become good Japanese citizens if they can't even do the prescribed physical exercises properly. The exercises are carried out every morning by Seinenkai or the language schools. As the Kibei run the show in the younger age-brackets, it is all the more galling to the Nisei who have an old antipathy in this respect.

Community Inactivity

The lack of social life is distinctly disheartening to the Nisei. An occasional dance or movie in a tightly packed mess hall seems to be the only social outlet. True, there are "engeikais" (entertainment clubs) but the programs are Japanese. Songs, skits, and plays are all in the Japanese language. To an ear accustomed to "boogie woogie" and sweet jive, the programs are not really appreciated.

That the Nisei can and do appreciate good music was demonstrated by their enthusiastic approval of the artists at a recent Tule Lake concert of Western European music. Many Nisei would genuinely appreciate and look forward to more concerts of this kind.

Being confined within the limits of the camp by a barbed-wire topped, man-proof fence makes one feel closed in. The ever present barracks are not a soul-satisfying view. In other centers, evacuees are accorded more freedom. They can go for walks outside the camp and get a certain sense of being free and unfettered.

Some Effects of Center Splits

Besides a sense of emotional confinement, there is also physical confinement. And there is a sense of mental confinement too. Though one may think as he pleases, he does not dare voice his sentiments. A pro-administration view gets one in dutch with the people; the opposite view brings threats of the stockade. Of course, this mostly affects the higher-ups of advanced age and results in the true leaders staying in the background.

The variety of people here for a variety of reasons keeps the camp in a continual ferment. If this camp could ever have one kind of people with but a single purpose, it would be much happier.

With widely varying peoples here and the camp so huge, a sense of intimacy is lost. In a small camp, people would quickly get to know each other.

Tule Lake Advantages

Of all the camps, Tule Lake seems to have the best weather. The heat of Poston would make this camp intolerable.

The main compensation in being in Tule Lake is that it seems to settle the draft problem. Nisei here have no desire to serve in this country's armed forces. They feel that this is not their war. It may have been at one time but subsequent events erased any feelings of loyalty to this country. The Nisei who refused allegiance to the United States (a minority) feel that they were just as right in doing so as the Nisei who volunteered to serve in the armed forces. No doubt there are Nisei here solely to evade the draft, but many more sincerely desire to make a fresh start in Japan. The mounting Nisei casualty lists make the Tule Lake Nisei glad that, for the time being at any rate, they are "sitting the war out."

Since the so-called "disloyal" Nisei are in Tule Lake, a grave injustice is done to those "outside" and in the armed forces in being called "Japs" and discriminated against. Such continued discrimination makes the Nisei here feel secure and offers a consolation for life in Tule Lake.

Life here may not be all beer and skittles but it has advantages which make it tolerable.

PART II. INTERVIEW WITH A YOUNG NISEI

Unfulfilled Expectations

"It is part of human nature to be dissatisfied with what one has; but with most of the residents of Tule Lake there is sufficient cause for dissatisfaction with the camp as a whole.

"The first thing the segregants from other centers noticed on arrival was the poor facilities such as the rest rooms, shower rooms, and wash rooms. Apartments were filthy and depressing. Having been used to better living conditions in the other centers, they were bitterly disappointed and blamed the Tuleans for their lack of initiative in obtaining improvements for the camp.

"Because the camp was so large and friends scattered so far, there was a feeling of loneliness on the part of those from the different centers. Time and again, one heard the comment, 'If only people from the same center lived near each other. The people from Manzanar are certainly lucky.' It may seem strange that new friends could not be acquired, but it does seem that people who came here were not of a sociable nature; and not knowing their neighbors' feelings and background left Nisei somewhat reluctant to become good friends."

The Impact of the November Disturbance

"In the relocation centers, there was a more tolerant feeling among the people for each other. An individual had a right to his own opinion. But here if one does not think like the majority he is a 'dog' (inu: dog = informer). This was especially true after the November incident with its stockade, army control, searches, and inconveniences. Of course, this has resulted in an uneasiness of mind for those who like to voice their opinions whether or not they are contrary to their neighbors' thoughts."

Community Inactivity

"Because of the curtailment of work following the upheaval, too many residents had nothing to do. Since that time there are not many activities to attend and life is even more monotonous. It is the opinion of many that if every able-bodied man and woman were given some kind of job, there would be less chance of having internal strife and people would be happier."

The Language Handicap

"A major reason for a great deal of unhappiness on the part of the young people, especially girls, is the everyday chore of learning the Japanese language. Ten months of continuous study is showing on some of the young folks. In any conversation, sooner or later someone will say, 'I'm sick and tired of Japanese school.' Many feel that it is being forced upon them, and are tired of the weight of this particular burden.

"Of course one realizes the necessity of learning the language, but 'all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy' is steadily becoming the case. Even if there were activities which would be enjoyable, that ever present nagging feeling of 'I must study so I won't get behind' relentlessly presses the brain and makes one wonder whether he is right in relaxing or even thinking of lighter things."

Some Effects of Center Splits

"As is always the case in any discussion of the center the administration will come up for criticism sooner or later. It is a known fact that the Japanese people in Tule do not want a gooey type of administration which says 'yes' to everything but do prefer one which means 'yes' when it says 'yes' and 'no' when it says 'no'.

"Since the November incident, the people cannot see anything right or good with the present administration. They feel that most of the unrest and tenseness prevailing in this center is the fault of bad policies governing the center which are carried out by the Caucasian personnel ordained in Washington and agreed to locally.

"Because of the intense hatred toward the administration, anyone seen with or talking to a hakujin (Caucasian) is looked upon with suspicion. Therefore, the gap of understanding between the administration and the colony is wide. It will take a long time for it to heal. Until that time, there will probably always be dissatisfaction in one form or another among the residents of this camp."

Tule Lake Advantages

"As far as the weather is concerned, it is ideal. As for the other factors, it will just take time and cooperation from both sides to make Tule Lake as ideal a place to live in as could be possible under present conditions. Even so, there are Nisei here with a tough period of adjustment ahead of them."

Notes #8

RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Washington

March 9, 1945

SACRAMENTO COUNTY AND CITY, Project Analysis Notes No. 8, is the first in a series of short papers describing counties and communities on the West Coast in which there has been in the past a concentration of Japanese population. Eighty-eight percent of the California evacuees, for example, lived in 16 counties. Not all these counties can be included in the series, but some of the important ones will be presented.

No one locality is described fully, even for the current special purposes of resettlement on the West Coast; nor can every bit of information that is included be guaranteed as accurate, because sources of information have been incomplete and sometimes slightly prejudiced. These sketches, or Notes, have been prepared in the hope that they tell enough to indicate at least what were the dominant economic and social characteristics of specific pre-war Japanese communities. Also, when information is available, there is a statement of Japanese relations to the larger Caucasian community, developments in the course of evacuation, and the prospect for return to the particular locality. Each paper should be considered as a starter for closer work with evacuees from the locality described and as a practical aid in developing relocation plans with the groups concerned. Any more data that can be supplied to the Washington office, to make these sketches more complete or more reliable and hence more useful, will be welcomed.

All are labelled "Confidential", to be used as your personal work materials rather than for general distribution.

John H. Province
Chief, Community Management Division

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section
March 1, 1945

Confidential

Community Analysis Notes No. 8

WEST COAST LOCALITIES: SACRAMENTO COUNTY AND CITY

Sacramento County

In a total pre-war population of 105,000 in the City of Sacramento, the Japanese population was just under 2,900. The Japanese population of the County was, in 1940, 6,764.

At evacuation, most Sacramento County people went to Tule Lake Center, where many remained even after segregation. In July, 1944, there were 2,799 at Tule Lake, more than 2,000 having been residents there before segregation. Other Sacramento people had come in from all centers except Heart Mountain and Minidoka. On the same date, there were 382 at Poston, all but 7 individuals residing in Camp II; and 623 at Gila (September 30). (Exact numbers at other centers not known.)

History. The first Japanese immigrants to the United States came to the foothills just east of Sacramento in the 1870's. However, settlement did not begin until about 1894. Most of the immigrants came from the southern and seaside kens of Japan.

Eight counties border on Sacramento County. As there are no other large towns in the Sacramento Valley and neighboring foothills, Sacramento is the natural trade and cultural center for the Japanese in a large area, including the Hill district of Placer County and the Delta district of Yolo County.

Agriculture. The largest, yet tightest Japanese rural communities were east and southeast of Sacramento City: Florin, Elk Grove, Mayhew, Oak Park, Perkins, and Taishoku, the last an old community named for the former Emperor Taisho Tenno. When the Japanese first settled here, the region was undeveloped, with few homes. Permanent settlement and the development of a Japanese community apparently occurred 1910-20. Some livestock and small grains were raised, but production was poor, due to shallow clayey soil above hardpan. Well-irrigation was and still is in use. Because wells had to be drilled deep and pumps were poor, irrigation was expensive and very difficult in the early days. Today it is not physically difficult but it still is expensive and unrewarding because of a falling water table.

Cheap rentals (about \$10 an acre) and purchase terms were offered to the Japanese by the discouraged Caucasians, anxious to have Japanese farmers improve the land. Labor expended by the Japanese was extreme, involving the leveling of excrescences of hardpan, carrying in good soil and digging drainage ditches. Strawberries and wine and table grapes, especially tokays, became the specialty of the area, with some truck crops also grown.

At evacuation, the Japanese owned 279 pieces of farm property in the County

(with 175-200 individual owners), of which 37 pieces have been transferred (nearly all to Caucasians) up to 1945. Acreage: 6,561. ~~As elsewhere in the State,~~ Most of the farms were fruit farms, the truck farms typically being rented and the fruit farms owned. There were 198 Japanese farm tenants and 13 farm managers, according to the 1940 Census of Agriculture.

In the Florin area, the ^amodel size of Japanese farms was around 20 acres, with 60 acres and 80 acres considered big farms. Although about half of the farm operators were full or part owners, according to County figures, with a higher percentage in Florin, apparently many there had paid little on their mortgage principal. The Caucasian owners, having found it hard to make a living at Florin and realizing the difficulties of the Japanese, were willing to get interest payments regularly (quite high interest) and let the principal ride. Some farmers, especially those having more than 20 acres apiece, paid off mortgages at evacuation. The remainder have been all tied up in complicated debts and lease arrangements. Although most farms still are owned by original Caucasian settlers, an insurance company is said to be the largest single mortgage holder.

Even after years of hard work, the agricultural returns at Florin still are relatively small. Whereas Lodi orchardists get 10-15 tons of tokay grapes per acre, Florin farmers get only 3 tons. Vines grow straggly and must be tied into a bunch to prevent burning of the fruit. However, a good crop of strawberries can be obtained, with hard work. 1,760 acres of strawberries were grown in this locality before evacuation.

Marketing. There were southeast of Sacramento 6 wineries, a dozen shipping companies (or branches of large companies) and several strawberry marketing companies and associations. Some of these were cooperatives. A Topaz report says that two farmers' associations and two private companies were located in Florin alone. The Florin Fruit Growers Association had both Caucasian and Japanese members. Apparently the other association was limited to Japanese. Both the farmers' associations and private companies shipped to Middlewest and East as well as supplying the local market. Japanese farmers were helped by the associations through cooperative wholesale purchase of crates, farming equipment, and groceries. Associations also made crop loans.

Truck crops especially were marketed in the two local Sacramento markets. The Sacramento Farmers' Market, at 2nd and 5th Streets, was organized and operated by Japanese until 1933 when other nationalities were accepted. Thereafter it was operated by 212 Japanese, 46 Italians, and 9 Chinese. Cabinet members just before evacuation were Yohei Kato, President; Ikuji Kumagai, Vice-president; Jitsume Abe, Treasurer; Shigeichi Masuhara and Yoshio Ishimoto, Secretaries.

Social organization in the Florin-Elk Grove area. All groups were dependent upon the Japanese economically, since they were the largest producers; but socially there was nearly complete separation of Japanese and Caucasians. The public primary school at Florin was one of the State's few segregated schools for Orientals. In all the communities, there were Japanese Christian and Buddhist organizations, athletic clubs, farm research organizations, the

JACL, and Boy Scout troops as well as the usual prefecture societies, Japanese Association, and marketing co-ops. "Social get-togethers were frequent": carnivals, lectures, sports events, parties, etc. Issei parents considered attendance at language school compulsory. Many Nisei spoke Japanese constantly.

Contacts with Caucasians occurred as follows: Some children attended Catholic and Protestant churches, where services were in both English and Japanese. The races attended high school together, and some Nisei who took commercial courses worked in Caucasian offices in Sacramento. Farmers came together in the Fruit Growers Association. There was one social club, the Pacific Society, with two-thirds of its membership Japanese and one-third Caucasian. "The members were professional men and big operators. There was eating and drinking together on an informal basis to become acquainted." The organization was "limited to graduates." (Graduates of what? Did it meet in Sacramento or Florin?)

There seems to have been less class distinction within the Japanese communities in Sacramento County than in some others. The 1940 Census listed 149 native-born and 297 foreign-born male agricultural wage laborers, not a large number in relation to total Japanese population or in comparison with the number of farm workers in San Joaquin County immediately south of Sacramento. (However, some Issei laborers who lived in town worked on farms occasionally.) Some of the city families went in the winter to work on lettuce, asparagus, and other ranches, especially in the southern and southwestern parts of the County, and in the summer worked in canneries. Members of local farm families also worked in canneries and packing sheds, so there may have been considerable social mixing. In the Florin-Elk Grove locality, a few farm owners had good homes built in recent years, although the majority of farmers were no more than self-supporting and lived in the somewhat weather-beaten frame houses built by original Caucasian landowners.

Summary. This was an area of small family-farms, with some (although not great) social distinction between secure operators and renters or small landowners.

Agriculture in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta at the southwest corner of the County was different from that of Elk Grove and Florin. On large peatland ranches, protected by levees, were grown sugarbeets, potatoes, onions, cannery tomatoes, some bulk vegetables like spinach, and especially asparagus. There were a few Japanese farm operators raising the smaller crops, but in the asparagus "industry" the Japanese functioned as field laborers and packers. The highly commercialized Caucasian-owned ranches contained 2000 acres or more, apiece. A big Japanese farmer would have 100-300 acres, which he farmed in much the same way. Delta ranches provided bunkhouses and messhouses for their laborers, most of whom were unattached males of several races, Filipino, Mexican, and Japanese predominating. A flat rate was charged for board and room. Japanese farmers marketed locally more than did the large growers, who sent their produce to canneries and large shippers. The Japanese marketed in Stockton, Oakland, and San Francisco.

Three Sacramento County towns in the Delta were Isleton (1837 total population), Courtland (750), and Walnut Grove (631). Although the exact population of Japanese in and around these towns is not known, it apparently was large for such small communities. Each of the three had its Japanese Association and its language school. Walnut Grove was the Japanese "capitol" of the region. It is a rundown-looking town immediately behind a Sacramento River levee, but it has had the reputation of being a lively town. Some "urban" property was owned by Japanese. These towns had publicly-supported "Oriental schools" which were grammar schools attended by Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and Negroes. All races attended the same high schools. These communities formed a sociological island, like the natural islands of the Delta.

At the south-central edge of the County was still another type of community, Galt, which had a small Japanese population and which resembled Lodi in its agriculture.

Evacuation. Here more time to prepare for evacuation was given than in many other exclusion areas. Most farmers and business men had time to conclude leases. Nevertheless, there were the same losses as elsewhere: low rents and low purchase bids offered for Japanese-owned property; poor return on investment when goods were sold; considerable loss through theft of stored goods, since evacuation. Three circumstances have made evacuees, particularly Florin people, especially bitter since evacuation: (1) they could not bear to lose what they had worked unusually hard to gain; (2) 1942 was an excellent production year and promised to be a very profitable one, but evacuees received even less than in an ordinary year, as crops were harvested after evacuation; (3) a small number of government officials who, outside their official positions, became agents and trustees have charged unusually high commissions and given unsatisfactory reports.

Disposition of equipment was similar to that in other localities: some farmers sold all equipment; others loaned part or all to neighbors; others left all on the farm for the renter's use.

The Florin Fruit Growers Association, of which Mr. File was manager, took over the management of several evacuated farms. In a few cases, Mr. File was made legal trustee. Although he seems to have worked hard, there have been difficulties in making money on such poor soil, with increasing labor problems. Whereas there were 1,700 acres of strawberries in the Florin district before evacuation, there were only 200 acres in 1943, thus almost eliminating the best-paying crop. Incoming Caucasians did not know how to grow strawberries and grapes, and it was impossible to give all farms good supervision. Evacuees have been disappointed. Although receiving little or nothing for the 1942 crop, they have had to pay taxes. (The Association paid all expenses except taxes.) Nevertheless, only 37 of 279 pieces of farm property have been transferred in Sacramento County since evacuation. Most owners still want to return, "but not to a run-down vineyard." The Association has had to hire inexperienced pruners and pickers who may have damaged the vines. Tenants, who usually rented land on an annual basis, generally gave up their farms and sold equipment. Although they lost heavily in 1942, both owners and tenants seem to feel most

keenly the loss of income since then. One man at Tule Lake wrote, "The more fortunate ones were those who disposed of property at a reasonable value." Nevertheless, he wrote, "a few of the farms are now showing fair gains and a degree of development for which the owners are grateful." Some still receive encouraging letters from business associates and friends.

The attitude of those now at Topaz is wait-and-see. Farmers are reluctant to return until there are enough to form a marketing association. There, it is estimated that 50% eventually will return to the Sacramento area (city and country). A scout who returned to Florin from Gila in February, 1945, reported to the center that conditions were not favorable. However, since the City of Sacramento was moderately favorable, conditions in surrounding rural areas might improve.

Sacramento City

Population. The Japanese population in 1940 was 2,879. The Japanese district, covering about five square blocks, was located close to the Capitol and the main business section. Of the other minority groups in the city (Mexicans, Italians; Chinese, Filipinos, Negroes), many individuals also lived in this district. Some are known as a "rough element," which has increased since 1942. However, the old relationships between the various ethnic elements were quite well stabilized. The old Negro residents still are a stable group, apparently not antagonistic toward the Japanese.

According to the 1940 Census, there were 2,595 employed Japanese, 14 years old or over, in the County, of whom 1,128 were foreign-born males. Three-fourths lived in the city at least part of the year.

Business. According to figures on real property ownership and statements made by evacuees now at Topaz, nearly one-fourth of the Japanese owned homes, whereas "very few" owned their business sites. In the entire County, including a few small towns besides the city, Japanese owned 51 residences, 38 vacant lots, and 32 commercial properties. Organizations owned 8 churches and 3 schools, in 1942. Since then, only 2 commercial properties and 4 residences have been transferred. The commercial property varied considerably, including one apartment house, 1 hardware store, 4 groceries, 2 music stores, 1 newspaper, 2 nurseries, 2 doctors' and midwives' offices, 1 carpenter shop, and soon.

With florists, liquor stores, meat and fish markets, theatres, and other businesses, Sacramento contained a complete Japanese community, even including Japanese-style bathhouses where older people liked to congregate in the evening. Many business and professional men, such as insurance and real estate salesmen, had offices in a main downtown office building owned by a Caucasian firm.

Most shop-owners lived in rather poorly-equipped homes in the back of the store or in a loft, but as time went on more were buying homes in residential districts. The Nisei were buying land and building their own homes (see above), or renting property in better districts.

Japanese business men, such as insurance men, dealt mostly with Issei since they were the family heads and money-holders. However, Nisei were entering business. In several cases, farmers started small shops in town, to be managed by their Nisei children. Educated Nisei worked for firms financed by Issei, whether city or country in origin. For example, the largest ice plant in Sacramento, owned by Japanese stockholders, hired both Caucasian and Japanese salesmen. Dealers working for wholesale grocer, fish market, or tofu (bean cake) factory went far out into rural sections to trade with Japanese farmers. There was a hospital with complete staff of Japanese doctors and nurses. Four or five big retail produce markets were owned and managed by Nisei. Others worked in the two wholesale markets (mentioned in the description of agricultural marketing).

Other Employment. Some worked in canneries and many townspeople went to outlying Japanese farms on seasonal work when their own business was slack.

Local Nisei and others coming in from all over the State were getting jobs in State offices in increasing numbers. Private firms also hired them. "At the high schools, as graduation neared, many firms actually asked for Nisei....."

Community Relations. Statements differ regarding assimilation and relations between Caucasians and Japanese. Some evacuees claim that several restaurants would not serve Japanese. There was informal or tacit residential zoning. Some Nisei felt that even former schoolmates were cool to them after leaving high school. Higher premiums had to be paid on life, health, accident, and automobile insurance because of the assumption that a Japanese would not win a jury trial. (Probably the disabilities were no greater than in other California cities.)

"Even in the labor unions, the Japanese faced discrimination.....more so in the skilled trades which paid well..... In recent years, the CIO had made definite progress in abandoning such discrimination." (Sacramento has been known as a "good labor town" in general for a number of years.)

Other Nisei claim that the Japanese got along well in the city before the war, the Christian groups helping considerably.

Social Organization. Aside from Nisei out-group contacts, "the Japanese as a whole formed a tight community," segmented according to church or other interests. Issei and Kibei had more in common while Nisei drifted apart. Kibei had their own club and held an annual conference with Kibei of other cities, usually an oratorical contest. Nisei joined the JAACL or school and church clubs.

There were 8 churches, 4 of Japanese origin and 4 American. The 3 language schools were sponsored by Buddhist, Christian, and Nichiren groups respectively. Eighty percent or more of the children attended language school, some rather against their will.

Since Evacuation. Just after Pearl Harbor, a number of Issei stated in an

advertisement in the Ofu Nippo, published in Sacramento, and in the Japanese American Daily News, published in San Francisco, that they did not want to return to Japan. Many Issei invested all their money in the local branch of the Sumitomo Bank. They have suffered by the freezing of these foreign bank accounts. Nisei generally placed their funds in American banks and have not suffered so much. Property loss during and since evacuation seems to have been high, much of it due to pilfering of goods stored in private property. Incidents in surrounding areas during evacuation, e.g., a suicide in the Hill district, east of Sacramento, have affected former Sacramento residents.

The attitude of Sacramento people now at Topaz is wait-and-see. It is expected that domestics can return, but farmers will go back slowly. It is estimated that 50% will return to the Sacramento area, 20% will go to Japan, 20% have disposed of their property and probably will relocate elsewhere, 10% unaccounted for. Twenty percent of former Sacramento people already have relocated eastward. Sacramento people do not function as a locality group at Topaz.

Tule Lake residents seem to regard Sacramento as inhospitable. Evacuees from this county constitute the largest single locality group at Tule Lake. The "Sacramento and Delta wards" are still fairly homogeneous.

There were in 1944 nearly 400 at Poston and about 625 at Gila.

Post-Exclusion. At evacuation, workers in State offices were "suspended". Since the lifting of Japanese exclusion, State Personnel Board (Civil Service) has announced that Nisei evacuees will be employed according to their qualifications, applications being accepted from those who never have worked for the State previously, and old employees being re-hired after individual investigation.

The Council of Churches, YMCA, and Council for Civic Unity have made statements and given material to the newspapers in a campaign to gain acceptance of returning evacuees. Rabbi Goldberg addressed the Rotary Club in January, condemning boycotts. Undoubtedly a boycott would not be effective in a city the size of Sacramento.

Attitudes of people who have rented Japanese property apparently are the same as attitudes elsewhere or perhaps a little better.

The Sacramento BEE has continued a campaign against return of the Japanese, although its statements, on the whole, have not been violent and it has quoted favorable statements by civic organizations.

A genuine difficulty arises in the increase of population in the old Japanese district, especially increase of Negro population. An undisciplined element here and around the railroad station presents a real problem to returning evacuees. A man who returned before the lifting of exclusion, Mr. Osada, and his Caucasian wife who had remained in Sacramento have pointed out the possible threat from an undisciplined group having a high

proportion of males. The Osadas have assisted others returning on short-term leaves, have cared for evacuee property, and probably will give other assistance in the course of their real estate business.

Mrs. Tono Sakai, from Topaz, was issued in January a Sacramento license to operate the Lincoln Hotel, believed to be the first business permit issued to a foreign-born Japanese in California since December 17, 1944.

Evacuees have been returning slowly and quietly. In the two-month period, December 17, 1944 - February 17, 1945, 27 have returned to Sacramento County from Gila River Center alone.

A fire of unknown origin destroyed the home of Fumi Makai, Gila River Center, at Florin, and a fire due to a faulty flue destroyed the home of Nickey Saiki at Mayhew. Latter house was occupied by Caucasian tenants whose personal belongings were lost but who suffered no personal injury. Both houses were insured.

Police Chief McAllister of Sacramento City has asked for cooperation of the public in avoiding any untoward incidents, stating "acts of violencewill not be tolerated." Sacramento County Board of Supervisors, following the above mentioned fires, added 3 deputies to the sheriff's staff to give extra protection to Japanese and their property.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section
March 1, 1945

Confidential

Community Analysis Notes No. 8

WEST COAST LOCALITIES: SACRAMENTO COUNTY AND CITY

Sacramento County

In a total pre-war population of 105,000 in the City of Sacramento, the Japanese population was just under 2,900. The Japanese population of the County was, in 1940, 6,764.

At evacuation, most Sacramento County people went to Tule Lake Center, where many remained even after segregation. In July, 1944, there were 2,799 at Tule Lake, more than 2,000 having been residents there before segregation. Other Sacramento people had come in from all centers except Heart Mountain and Minidoka. On the same date, there were 382 at Poston, all but 7 individuals residing in Camp II; and 623 at Gila (September 30). (Exact numbers at other centers not known.)

History. The first Japanese immigrants to the United States came to the foothills just east of Sacramento in the 1870's. However, settlement did not begin until about 1894. Most of the immigrants came from the southern and seaside kens of Japan.

Eight counties border on Sacramento County. As there are no other large towns in the Sacramento Valley and neighboring foothills, Sacramento is the natural trade and cultural center for the Japanese in a large area, including the Hill district of Placer County and the Delta district of Yolo County.

Agriculture. The largest, yet tightest Japanese rural communities were east and southeast of Sacramento City: Florin, Elk Grove, Mayhew, Oak Park, Perkins, and Taishoku, the last an old community named for the former Emperor Taisho Tenno. When the Japanese first settled here, the region was undeveloped, with few homes. Permanent settlement and the development of a Japanese community apparently occurred 1910-20. Some livestock and small grains were raised, but production was poor, due to shallow clayey soil above hardpan. Well-irrigation was and still is in use. Because wells had to be drilled deep and pumps were poor, irrigation was expensive and very difficult in the early days. Today it is not physically difficult but it still is expensive and unrewarding because of a falling water table.

Cheap rentals (about \$10 an acre) and purchase terms were offered to the Japanese by the discouraged Caucasians, anxious to have Japanese farmers improve the land. Labor expended by the Japanese was extreme, involving the leveling of excrescences of hardpan, carrying in good soil and digging drainage ditches. Strawberries and wine and table grapes, especially tokays, became the specialty of the area, with some truck crops also grown.

At evacuation, the Japanese owned 279 pieces of farm property in the County

(with 175-200 individual owners), of which 37 pieces have been transferred (nearly all to Caucasians) up to 1945. Acreage: 6,561. As elsewhere in the State, most of the farms were fruit farms, the truck farms typically being rented and the fruit farms' owned. There were 198 Japanese farm tenants and 13 farm managers, according to the 1940 Census of Agriculture.

In the Florin area, the model size of Japanese farms was around 20 acres, with 60 acres and 80 acres considered big farms. Although about half of the farm operators were full or part owners, according to County figures, with a higher percentage in Florin, apparently many there had paid little on their mortgage principal. The Caucasian owners, having found it hard to make a living at Florin and realizing the difficulties of the Japanese, were willing to get interest payments regularly (quite high interest) and let the principal ride. Some farmers, especially those having more than 20 acres apiece, paid off mortgages at evacuation. The remainder have been all tied up in complicated debts and lease arrangements. Although most farms still are owned by original Caucasian settlers, an insurance company is said to be the largest single mortgage holder.

Even after years of hard work, the agricultural returns at Florin still are relatively small. Whereas Lodi orchardists get 10-15 tons of tokay grapes per acre, Florin farmers get only 3 tons. Vines grow straggly and must be tied into a bunch to prevent burning of the fruit. However, a good crop of strawberries can be obtained, with hard work. 1,700 acres of strawberries were grown in this locality before evacuation.

Marketing. There were southeast of Sacramento 6 wineries, a dozen shipping companies (or branches of large companies) and several strawberry marketing companies and associations. Some of these were cooperatives. A Topaz report says that two farmers' associations and two private companies were located in Florin alone. The Florin Fruit Growers Association had both Caucasian and Japanese members. Apparently the other association was limited to Japanese. Both the farmers' associations and private companies shipped to Middlewest and East as well as supplying the local market. Japanese farmers were helped by the associations through cooperative wholesale purchase of crates, farming equipment, and groceries. Associations also made crop loans.

Truck crops especially were marketed in the two local Sacramento markets. The Sacramento Farmers' Market, at 2nd and 5th Streets, was organized and operated by Japanese until 1933 when other nationalities were accepted. Thereafter it was operated by 212 Japanese, 46 Italians, and 9 Chinese. Cabinet members just before evacuation were Yohei Kato, President; Ikuji Kumagai, Vice-president; Jitsume Abe, Treasurer; Shigeichi Masuhara and Yoshio Ishimoto, Secretaries.

Social organization in the Florin-Elk Grove area. All groups were dependent upon the Japanese economically, since they were the largest producers; but socially there was nearly complete separation of Japanese and Caucasians. The public primary school at Florin was one of the State's few segregated schools for Orientals. In all the communities, there were Japanese Christian and Buddhist organizations, athletic clubs, farm research organizations, the

JACL, and Boy Scout troops as well as the usual prefecture societies, Japanese Association, and marketing co-ops. "Social get-togethers were frequent": carnivals, lectures, sports events, parties, etc. Issei parents considered attendance at language school compulsory. Many Nisei spoke Japanese constantly. .

Contacts with Caucasians occurred as follows: Some children attended Catholic and Protestant churches, where services were in both English and Japanese. The races attended high school together, and some Nisei who took commercial courses worked in Caucasian offices in Sacramento. Farmers came together in the Fruit Growers Association. There was one social club, the Pacific Society, with two-thirds of its membership Japanese and one-third Caucasian. "The members were professional men and big operators. There was eating and drinking together on an informal basis to become acquainted." The organization was "limited to graduates." (Graduates of what? Did it meet in Sacramento or Florin?)

There seems to have been less class distinction within the Japanese communities in Sacramento County than in some others. The 1940 Census listed 149 native-born and 297 foreign-born male agricultural wage laborers, not a large number in relation to total Japanese population or in comparison with the number of farm workers in San Joaquin County immediately south of Sacramento. (However, some Issei laborers who lived in town worked on farms occasionally.) Some of the city families went in the winter to work on lettuce, asparagus, and other ranches, especially in the southern and southwestern parts of the County, and in the summer worked in canneries. Members of local farm families also worked in canneries and packing sheds, so there may have been considerable social mixing. In the Florin-Elk Grove locality, a few farm owners had good homes built in recent years, although the majority of farmers were no more than self-supporting and lived in the somewhat weather-beaten frame houses built by original Caucasian landowners.

Summary. This was an area of small family-farms, with some (although not great) social distinction between secure operators and renters or small landowners.

Agriculture in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta at the southwest corner of the County was different from that of Elk Grove and Florin. On large peat-land ranches, protected by levees, were grown sugarbeets, potatoes, onions, cannery tomatoes, some bulk vegetables like spinach, and especially asparagus. There were a few Japanese farm operators raising the smaller crops, but in the asparagus "industry" the Japanese functioned as field laborers and packers. The highly commercialized Caucasian-owned ranches contained 2000 acres or more, apiece. A big Japanese farmer would have 100-300 acres, which he farmed in much the same way. Delta ranches provided bunkhouses and messhouses for their laborers, most of whom were unattached males of several races, Filipino, Mexican, and Japanese predominating. A flat rate was charged for board and room. Japanese farmers marketed locally more than did the large growers, who sent their produce to canneries and large shippers. The Japanese marketed in Stockton, Oakland, and San Francisco.

Three Sacramento County towns in the Delta were Isleton (1837 total population), Courtland (750), and Walnut Grove (631). Although the exact population of Japanese in and around these towns is not known, it apparently was large for such small communities. Each of the three had its Japanese Association and its language school. Walnut Grove was the Japanese "capitol" of the region. It is a rundown-looking town immediately behind a Sacramento River levee, but it has had the reputation of being a lively town. Some "urban" property was owned by Japanese. These towns had publicly-supported "Oriental schools" which were grammar schools attended by Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and Negroes. All races attended the same high schools. These communities formed a sociological island, like the natural islands of the Delta.

At the south-central edge of the County was still another type of community, Galt, which had a small Japanese population and which resembled Lodi in its agriculture.

Evacuation. Here more time to prepare for evacuation was given than in many other exclusion areas. Most farmers and business men had time to conclude leases. Nevertheless, there were the same losses as elsewhere: low rents and low purchase bids offered for Japanese-owned property; poor return on investment when goods were sold; considerable loss through theft of stored goods, since evacuation. Three circumstances have made evacuees, particularly Florin people, especially bitter since evacuation: (1) they could not bear to lose what they had worked unusually hard to gain; (2) 1942 was an excellent production year and promised to be a very profitable one, but evacuees received even less than in an ordinary year, as crops were harvested after evacuation; (3) a small number of government officials who, outside their official positions, became agents and trustees have charged unusually high commissions and given unsatisfactory reports.

Disposition of equipment was similar to that in other localities: some farmers sold all equipment; others loaned part or all to neighbors; others left all on the farm for the renter's use.

The Florin Fruit Growers Association, of which Mr. File was manager, took over the management of several evacuated farms. In a few cases, Mr. File was made legal trustee. Although he seems to have worked hard, there have been difficulties in making money on such poor soil, with increasing labor problems. Whereas there were 1,700 acres of strawberries in the Florin district before evacuation, there were only 200 acres in 1943, thus almost eliminating the best-paying crop. Incoming Caucasians did not know how to grow strawberries and grapes, and it was impossible to give all farms good supervision. Evacuees have been disappointed. Although receiving little or nothing for the 1942 crop, they have had to pay taxes. (The Association paid all expenses except taxes.) Nevertheless, only 37 of 279 pieces of farm property have been transferred in Sacramento County since evacuation. Most owners still want to return, but not to a run-down vineyard." The Association has had to hire inexperienced pruners and pickers who may have damaged the vines. Tenants, who usually rented land on an annual basis, generally gave up their farms and sold equipment. Although they lost heavily in 1942, both owners and tenants seem to feel most

keenly the loss of income since then. One man at Tule Lake wrote, "The more fortunate ones were those who disposed of property at a reasonable value." Nevertheless, he wrote, "a few of the farms are now showing fair gains and a degree of development for which the owners are grateful." Some still receive encouraging letters from business associates and friends.

The attitude of those now at Topaz is wait-and-see. Farmers are reluctant to return until there are enough to form a marketing association. There, it is estimated that 50% eventually will return to the Sacramento area (city and country). A scout who returned to Florin from Gila in February, 1945, reported to the center that conditions were not favorable. However, since the City of Sacramento was moderately favorable, conditions in surrounding rural areas might improve.

Sacramento City

Population. The Japanese population in 1940 was 2,879. The Japanese district, covering about five square blocks, was located close to the Capitol and the main business section. Of the other minority groups in the city (Mexicans, Italians, Chinese, Filipinos, Negroes), many individuals also lived in this district. Some are known as a "rough element," which has increased since 1942. However, the old relationships between the various ethnic elements were quite well stabilized. The old Negro residents still are a stable group, apparently not antagonistic toward the Japanese.

According to the 1940 Census, there were 2,595 employed Japanese, 14 years old or over, in the County, of whom 1,128 were foreign-born males. Three-fourths lived in the city at least part of the year.

Business. According to figures on real property ownership and statements made by evacuees now at Topaz, nearly one-fourth of the Japanese owned homes, whereas "very few" owned their business sites. In the entire County, including a few small towns besides the city, Japanese owned 51 residences, 38 vacant lots, and 32 commercial properties. Organizations owned 8 churches and 3 schools, in 1942. Since then, only 2 commercial properties and 4 residences have been transferred. The commercial property varied considerably, including one apartment house, 1 hardware store, 4 groceries, 2 music stores, 1 newspaper, 2 nurseries, 2 doctors' and midwives' offices, 1 carpenter shop, and so on.

With florists, liquor stores, meat and fish markets, theatres, and other businesses, Sacramento contained a complete Japanese community, even including Japanese-style bathhouses where older people liked to congregate in the evening. Many business and professional men, such as insurance and real estate salesmen, had offices in a main downtown office building owned by a Caucasian firm.

Most shop-owners lived in rather poorly-equipped homes in the back of the store or in a loft, but as time went on more were buying homes in residential districts. The Nisei were buying land and building their own homes (see above), or renting property in better districts.

Japanese business men, such as insurance men, dealt mostly with Issei since they were the family heads and money-holders. However, Nisei were entering business. In several cases, farmers started small shops in town, to be managed by their Nisei children. Educated Nisei worked for firms financed by Issei, whether city or country in origin. For example, the largest ice plant in Sacramento, owned by Japanese stockholders, hired both Caucasian and Japanese salesmen. Dealers working for wholesale grocer, fish market, or tofu (bean cake) factory went far out into rural sections to trade with Japanese farmers. There was a hospital with complete staff of Japanese doctors and nurses. Four or five big retail produce markets were owned and managed by Nisei. Others worked in the two wholesale markets (mentioned in the description of agricultural marketing).

Other Employment. Some worked in canneries and many townspeople went to outlying Japanese farms on seasonal work when their own business was slack.

Local Nisei and others coming in from all over the State were getting jobs in State offices in increasing numbers. Private firms also hired them. "At the high schools, as graduation neared, many firms actually asked for Nisei....."

Community Relations. Statements differ regarding assimilation and relations between Caucasians and Japanese. Some evacuees claim that several restaurants would not serve Japanese. There was informal or tacit residential zoning. Some Nisei felt that even former schoolmates were cool to them after leaving high school. Higher premiums had to be paid on life, health, accident, and automobile insurance because of the assumption that a Japanese would not win a jury trial. (Probably the disabilities were no greater than in other California cities.)

"Even in the labor unions, the Japanese faced discrimination.....more so in the skilled trades which paid well..... In recent years, the CIO had made definite progress in abandoning such discrimination." (Sacramento has been known as a "good labor town" in general for a number of years.)

Other Nisei claim that the Japanese got along well in the city before the war, the Christian groups helping considerably.

Social Organization. Aside from Nisei out-group contacts, "the Japanese as a whole formed a tight community," segmented according to church or other interests. Issei and Kibei had more in common while Nisei drifted apart. Kibei had their own club and held an annual conference with Kibei of other cities, usually an oratorical contest. Nisei joined the JACL or school and church clubs.

There were 8 churches, 4 of Japanese origin and 4 American. The 3 language schools were sponsored by Buddhist, Christian, and Nichiren groups respectively. Eighty percent or more of the children attended language school, some rather against their will.

Since Evacuation. Just after Pearl Harbor, a number of Issei stated in an

advertisement in the Ofu Nippo, published in Sacramento, and in the Japanese American Daily News, published in San Francisco, that they did not want to return to Japan. Many Issei invested all their money in the local branch of the Sumitomo Bank. They have suffered by the freezing of these foreign bank accounts. Nisei generally placed their funds in American banks and have not suffered so much. Property loss during and since evacuation seems to have been high, much of it due to pilfering of goods stored in private property. Incidents in surrounding areas during evacuation, e.g., a suicide in the Hill district, east of Sacramento, have affected former Sacramento residents.

The attitude of Sacramento people now at Topaz is wait-and-see. It is expected that domestics can return, but farmers will go back slowly. It is estimated that 50% will return to the Sacramento area, 20% will go to Japan, 20% have disposed of their property and probably will relocate elsewhere, 10% unaccounted for. Twenty percent of former Sacramento people already have relocated eastward. Sacramento people do not function as a locality group at Topaz.

Tule Lake residents seem to regard Sacramento as inhospitable. Evacuees from this county constitute the largest single locality group at Tule Lake. The "Sacramento and Delta wards" are still fairly homogeneous.

There were in 1944 nearly 400 at Poston and about 625 at Gila.

Post-Exclusion. At evacuation, workers in State offices were "suspended". Since the lifting of Japanese exclusion, State Personnel Board (Civil Service) has announced that Nisei evacuees will be employed according to their qualifications, applications being accepted from those who never have worked for the State previously, and old employees being re-hired after individual investigation.

The Council of Churches, YMCA, and Council for Civic Unity have made statements and given material to the newspapers in a campaign to gain acceptance of returning evacuees. Rabbi Goldburg addressed the Rotary Club in January, condemning boycotts. Undoubtedly a boycott would not be effective in a city the size of Sacramento.

Attitudes of people who have rented Japanese property apparently are the same as attitudes elsewhere or perhaps a little better.

The Sacramento BEE has continued a campaign against return of the Japanese, although its statements, on the whole, have not been violent and it has quoted favorable statements by civic organizations.

A genuine difficulty arises in the increase of population in the old Japanese district, especially increase of Negro population. An undisciplined element here and around the railroad station presents a real problem to returning evacuees. A man who returned before the lifting of exclusion, Mr. Osada, and his Caucasian wife who had remained in Sacramento have pointed out the possible threat from an undisciplined group having a high

proportion of males. The Osadas have assisted others returning on short-term leaves, have cared for evacuee property, and probably will give other assistance in the course of their real estate business.

Mrs. Tono Sakai, from Topaz, was issued in January a Sacramento license to operate the Lincoln Hotel, believed to be the first business permit issued to a foreign-born Japanese in California since December 17, 1944.

Evacuees have been returning slowly and quietly. In the two-month period, December 17, 1944 - February 17, 1945, 27 have returned to Sacramento County from Gila River Center alone.

A fire of unknown origin destroyed the home of Fumi Makai, Gila River Center, at Florin, and a fire due to a faulty flue destroyed the home of Nickey Saiki at Mayhew. Latter house was occupied by Caucasian tenants whose personal belongings were lost but who suffered no personal injury. Both houses were insured.

Police Chief McAllister of Sacramento City has asked for cooperation of the public in avoiding any untoward incidents, stating "acts of violencewill not be tolerated." Sacramento County Board of Supervisors, following the above mentioned fires, added 3 deputies to the sheriff's staff to give extra protection to Japanese and their property.

These are working notes prepared for use of the War Relocation Authority staff, and are based primarily on retrospective accounts of pre-evacuation communities by evacuee members of the project Community Analysis staffs.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Confidential

Community Analysis Notes. No. 9
March 9, 1945

WEST COAST LOCALITIES: PLACER COUNTY

In this foothill county northeast of Sacramento, there were 1,637 Japanese in 1940, of whom 1,571 were rural residents. This was one of the very few California counties in which there were more Japanese farm owners than tenants: more than 80 full or part owners and 54 tenants. This high proportion of ownership is explained by the fact that this was an orchard area. There were about 250 farm wage laborers and 21 managers, employed principally on Caucasian ranches. Little migratory labor was used except some Japanese who came up from the Valley to pick fruit.

There are no large towns in the county: Roseville, the largest, having only 6,600 and Auburn, the county seat, only 4,000. Roseville had two Japanese stores, and there were a few business establishments (more, relative to total population) in Loomis, Penryn, Newcastle, and Auburn. There was not, however, a Japanese town community comparable with those in the Delta or the Fresno area. Whereas 132 pieces of farm property were owned by Japanese, only 19 pieces of non-farm property were Japanese-owned, in the entire county.

Placer County people originally were evacuated to Tule Lake Center. About 925, or 56.7%, still are there. The remainder dispersed following segregation and the closing of Jerome Center. Whether they are present as a locality group in any of the other centers is not known, except for Granada where the 40 Placer families may be so associated. (About 30 of the 40 are landowners.) There are about 60 individuals at Topaz and a few at Roston. Others?

Agriculture. The principal crops were plums, pears, peaches, cherries, and sour grapes. When the Japanese first settled here, 30-40 years ago, land was cheap because it was not fertile and was uncultivated except for growing hay. Although it took many years of hard work, Japanese farmers finally acquired about 3,500 acres of now-choice orchards. Small farms contained 20 to 50 acres. Prosperous Japanese owned as much as 200 acres.

Since the typical ranch did not need many workers except in harvest, members of many families annually worked on Sacramento Valley farms, making enough money to cover yearly expenses, thus "leaving the profit accrued from their crops as clear savings." "Many Placer Japanese farmers built substantial houses suited for country purposes." All owned trucks and pleasure cars, the former essential because the farmer had to haul his own produce to market.

Marketing. Roseville is the railroad terminal of the district and location of large shippers. A Japanese marketing association, the Placer Fruit Marketing Company, located at Penryn, shipped fruit to eastern markets.

"There was some resentment to this marketing association by the other fruit houses at first but as it started in a small way and gradually expanded, it did not cause a great deal of antagonism."

Social Organization. Japanese children had little contact with others. They worked at home and were dominated by their parents. The Japanese were predominantly Buddhist, conservative, and the few organizations that they belonged to were Japanese. In spite of isolation, some Nisei were thoroughly Americanized and established an active chapter of the JACL.

Caucasian-Japanese Relations. Of minority groups, Portuguese and Japanese were present in about equal numbers, with a few Italian landowners. Both Portuguese and Japanese came about 35 years ago, both began as laborers, gradually accumulating enough money to buy land. There was constant social and economic competition between them, the Portuguese finally winning as they were Catholic (the predominant religion of the old Caucasian population), because some became naturalized citizens and some married into old Caucasian families.

Public acceptance of the Japanese in Roseville was poor (this explains why there were only two Japanese businesses there) and apparently there was some prejudice throughout the county. Economic competition undoubtedly was a strong factor. Land which Japanese had bought for \$50 an acre was worth \$150 an acre or more by 1942. "To the chagrin of Caucasian farmers, the Japanese were able to secure title to much of the good land during the last great depression — they had the ready cash to make these bargain buys.it is not surprising to discover that Caucasian farmers look upon the present time as opportune for getting back their choice land"

"Quite a campaign of anti-Japanese sentiment developed in 1923.... A man by the name of Livingston who is a rancher and real estate man.... and has an interest in various fruit marketing organizations was one of the prime movers in this campaign. The campaign was not directed at the resident Japanese population so much as it was at Japanese outside the county."

Even up to 1942, segregation was practised in the Newcastle and Penryn schools through the fourth grade.

After Evacuation. "When evacuation began, placer residents were at first in the 'White Zone' and were therefore not thinking.....of having to vacate their homes, but the Japanese population increased so measurably because of the influx of Japanese from evacuated areas that the Caucasians became more resentful." Local Japanese families had been accepted on an individual basis, but the Japanese people were never accepted as a group; so the increase of the group by the coming of strange Japanese was resisted. In this situation, the local residents felt insecure and began to prepare for evacuation also.

Despite ample time for evacuation, many signed ill-advised leases. Also

the Japanese could not harvest the 1942 crop themselves. Even so, many still hold their property and are better off than farmers from other counties.

Through efforts of the WRA, in 1942 and 1943 150-200 Chinese farmed Japanese land, in groups, not as individual farmers. (Not known whether Chinese still were farming in the county in 1945.) The majority of the evacuees leased their orchards to the fruit-packing companies which sublet them to other farmers. Some leases were made on an annual basis, some for 2 or 3 years, some to expire at the end of the war. A few of the fruit houses would like to have the Japanese return because management of the farms has been difficult in wartime conditions. Others seem reluctant to give up the land.

Placer Farmers, Inc. was organized after Pearl Harbor to care for Japanese farm property. (Whether this organization merely sub-leases the property or manages it itself has not been stated.) Although some farmers want to return, most of them must wait until October, 1945, when annual leases expire. Some Caucasian farmers have remained friendly and have encouraged evacuees to return. Others say, "Wait a while." Ever since evacuation, most independent farmers and farm organizations, including some of the biggest Portuguese farmers who formerly had Japanese laborers, have worked steadily to prevent the return of the Japanese.

Although 1945 was a bad production year, gross incomes were large. However, when labor and other expenses were deducted, there was a very small net income. Hence Placer County evacuees have had little income from their farms.

One of the most serious losses and present difficulties pertains to the farmers' trucks. Most were sold at evacuation. Now farmers see no way of marketing their fruit without trucks, and feel sure that they cannot obtain any.

Although a few business establishments were sold, most were leased to Caucasians. (Their present status is unknown.)

Names in news dispatches relating the famous Doi incident near Newcastle suggest that the Portuguese and Italians are acting as individuals, not as a group. Charles DeCosta has been a leader of the Anti-Japanese League, now the California Preservation Association, whereas Sheriff Charles Silva has provided protection for the Doi family.

Shig Kubo, head of the pre-evacuation Marketing Association at Penryn, reported on his return to Gila after a visit to Auburn in January, 1945, that he had talked to the Sheriff, County Agricultural Commissioner, vice principal of the high school, tax collector, County Assessor, banker, and numerous businessmen, lawyers, city officials. "Some people said that they did not favor the Japanese returning in large numbers but that they would provide the same services to those who return as to others persons with whom they have business or professional contacts.

"Kubo said there was a small group of extremists, led by Deputy Sheriff John Shannon, who are organized to discourage the return of former residents by boycotting merchants who deal with returning evacuees. Kubo was convinced, however, that this group consists of an unrepresentative minority and he found no evidence that their campaign had achieved success for he did not encounter any instances of discrimination in restaurants and other public places....."

The press reported in January that several Auburn women had said they would withdraw their children from school if Japanese children returned to school. However, after the unfavorable publicity of the Doi incident and after statements and action by Governor Warren, State Attorney-General Robert Kenny, and District Attorney Clarence Tyndall, the California Preservation Association said it did not approve of violence although 1,000 had signed its pledge of economic boycott.

Teiko Ishida, San Francisco JACL office, reported in the PACIFIC CITIZEN, February 3, that a reaction unsympathetic to boycotts and violence has begun in the county. Rabbi Goldberg and Dr. Joseph Tyler of the Sacramento Council for Civic Unity have been invited to assist in organizing a Placer County Council for Civic Unity. Dr. Rufus Richardson of Auburn High School (Junior College?) is cooperating. Reports membership of the Association has dwindled from 300 to 60. Also local leaders are extending invitations to the 20 wounded Nisei veterans at DeWitt General Hospital, who had said formerly that they were afraid to leave the Hospital because of local antagonism. The Doi family "has stuck it out on the farm." Marysville and Placer County people at Tule Lake Center, in Ward V, "have a high degree of cohesion." Ward V teams demonstrate this cohesion, e.g: Akole House and Wakaba ("young leaves" or Young Sprouts) basketball teams from Placer County. "It is the Ward least changed by segregation movements in and out, and politically, the rallying point along with Ward II of 6,000 Tuleans who stayed behind."

Placer County is one of the 5 Northern California hill counties with more than 50% of their original Japanese population still at Tule Lake after segregation: Modoc, Plumas, Butte, Yuba (Marysville), Placer.

These are working notes prepared for use of the War Relocation Authority staff, and are based primarily on retrospective accounts of pre-evacuation communities by evacuee members of the project Community Analysis Staffs.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Community Analysis Notes No. 10
March 13, 1945

BOYS' DAY*

The celebration of Boys' Day on May 5 by persons of Japanese ancestry in America is a carry-over of the traditional custom of Japan. A family celebrates the occasion each year until the son becomes 15 years old.

This day is known as tango no sekku or the first day of the horse in the spring (the character of the horse symbolizes manliness, bravery, and strength which are desired in all boys), as shobu no sekku or the Iris Festival (the iris leaves resemble the blades of the sword), and as koi nobori or the carp banner.

Tied to a pole, to represent each son within the home, is a carp, a decorative fish made of paper or cloth painted in red, yellow and black. The carp is hung by its open mouth to catch the breeze which immediately inflates the fish like a balloon. There are various sizes of fish.

Of all the fishes the carp is chosen to fly bravely in the breeze to honor the boys because, it is said, the carp has strong will power and determination to fight its way up the seemingly overwhelming and swift streams. The fish is held up to the growing boys as an example to imitate so that they may learn to become ambitious, strong, and determined to overcome difficulties in the stream of life. In addition, it is said, the carp keeps a presence of mind, and before it is cooked never jumps around on the chopping board like some fish do. A carp meets its death with courage and imperturbability. For that reason all the boys should act likewise.

Unlike the Doll Festival, observed annually on March 3 by the girls with displays of delicately made dolls representing members of the royal household of long ago, the boys have masculine dolls on their display stands. And instead of the peach blossoms to symbolize feminine characteristics of softness, mildness, and peacefulness as well as happiness in marriage, the boys have the carp as their symbol.

Within the homes on Boys' Day are exhibited the festival heirlooms of war-like ancestors, such as armor, helmet, leg guards, and sword. There are also small images of famous feudal generals and warriors bearing miniature paraphernalia like swords, armor, banners, drums, and spears. There are also group scenes of dolls depicting well-known hero stories.

Kintaro, a pink-skinned, fat, husky, little boy usually is included in the displays because he is known as Japan's "Baby Hercules." There are scenes

* Written by an evacuee member of the Community Analysis staff at Manzanar Relocation Center.

showing Kintaro overcoming a black bear by wrestling, Kintaro knocking down a huge pine tree with one blow, and many more exhibitions of extraordinary strength and vigor.

Shoki, the conqueror of evil, is another figure drawn on banners and shaped into dolls for the Boys' Day display. The children are taught to become strong and not be fooled by criminals. The story is that in China a man named Genso dreamt of Shoki as a powerfully built man with thick black whiskers and beard. After the dream faded away, Genso had an artist draw this picture of Shoki which is now reproduced in Japan for Boys' Day.

Other banners include some which have iris plants painted on them. Others bear red and gold stripes, and still others depict famous men. Besides the banners are wheels of arrows and clusters of gourds. Some say the gourds are used because a certain general once used a standard from which they were hung.

Before the war some of the Japanese population in California held picnics and racing contests on Boys' Day. Much hilarity and excitement prevailed as the people ate Japanese delicacies and choice American foods prepared by the women and as the people crowded around a make-shift stage to be entertained by their more talented friends. On this day, too, youngsters, with anxious determination, ran relays to obtain prizes of notebooks and pencils. There were also raffle and sweepstake prizes on a small scale.

In 1944 certain blocks observed Boys' Day though not much of a program was planned. Instead of having carp fly from each home which has a son, only one carp flew in each block. Because of evacuation, many had burned their carp and other festival ornaments or had left them at home. Some who did bring their displays shared them with their neighbors. In one block, three different families combined their festival material to give a display in the mess hall where everyone was able to see the festival objects and feel the spirit of the holiday. The little boys puffed out their chests and proudly said that this day was theirs. Tears dimmed the eyes of some of the older folks as they remembered the good old days when they were able to celebrate the occasion more elegantly. In some halls, the mothers prepared food especially in honor of the day. But because of the war and the lack of material, Boys' Day on May 5, 1944, passed by much like any other day.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Community Analysis Notes No. 11
April 2, 1945

WEST COAST LOCALITIES: FRESNO COUNTY*

THE COUNTY IN GENERAL

Population

Pre-evacuation Population. In 1940, there were 4,527 Japanese in Fresno County, the largest number in any California county except those counties with Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, and Sacramento. Rural dwellers made up nearly 78% (3,519) of the Fresno County population.

In the city of Fresno lived 797 Japanese. The total pre-war population of the city was 60,000. The number of Japanese in the city should be compared with the 2,900 in Sacramento and the 1,250 in Stockton. However, about 900 Japanese lived in rural districts immediately surrounding Fresno. In many ways they were part of the town community.

Distribution of Population by Townships.

Township 3 (Fresno, 797)	1,436
Township 8 (Reedley, 140)	564
Township 4	537
Township 14	450
Township 5 (Selma, 32)	389
Township 7 (Sanger, 24)	368
Township 9	208
Township 17	166
Township 16	139
Township 2	148
Township 11	74
Township 1	23
Coalingacity	15
Township 13	10

4,527

Center Distribution of Population. In the autumn of 1944, approximately 2,125 Fresno County Japanese were at Gila River. Of them, 538 were from the city of Fresno; 442 were from Parlier. At Colorado River were 725; Fresno County residents were represented in all three camps, but most were in Camp III. At Tule Lake Center were 834. The Tule Lake people constituted 18.4% of the total Fresno County Japanese population of 1940. Unlike the Sacramento locality group which had been at Tule Lake before segregation and merely stayed on after it, only 12 Fresno County Japanese were at Tule Lake before segregation. Tule Lake now has about 25 families from the city of Fresno and 20 families from its suburbs. The above figures leave about 850 county residents unaccounted for. Probably many have relocated; others are scattered through the centers.

Property Ownership

Farm Ownership. A high percentage of Japanese were, and still are, landowners. They owned 588 pieces of real property, of which 351 were farms. However, since evacuation, 79 farm properties have been sold or otherwise transferred. Of the 1112 Japanese farm operators enumerated in the 1940 Census of Agriculture (undoubtedly not a complete count in this case), 202 were full or part owners, 36 were paid managers, and 174 were tenants or sharecroppers. According to the Census of population, there were 476 farmers of Japanese ancestry.

Urban Property Ownership. The 135 pieces of urban property (88 others are labelled "classification unknown") include 50 commercial properties, 39 residences, and 30 vacant lots. In the spring of 1944, all these pieces were still owned by evacuees. The large number of vacant lots indicates some hope still held for the future. The 8 churches, 3 schools, and 5 "organization" properties, included in the 50 pieces of commercial property, also suggest the nucleus of a future community, or perhaps the membership simply has not yet agreed on disposition of the property.

Occupations

The number of Japanese businesses in Fresno seems large in relation to the above population. The explanation apparently is that this was a trade center for Japanese in a large area and a local trade center for Chinese and other minorities surrounding the Japanese.

Kinds of Businesses. All businesses and professions that one would find in any inland town were represented in the Japanese population.

1. 8 grocery stores, 2 of which had as many Caucasian customers as Japanese. These 2 operators made good money. One had recently built 4 modern homes and 2 rows of apartment houses. The homes were rented to Japanese. Apparently this owner still draws rent from his property.
2. 2 of the three fish markets in Fresno were Japanese; both were in Chinatown. Much of their profit (they did a good business) was in wholesale transactions with restaurants.

3. Food manufactures (bean cake and fish cake); confectionery; soft drink bottling.
4. 13 restaurants and 8 cafes. The latter specialized in Japanese and Chinese food; 7 soft drink shops.
5. 5 pool halls.
6. 9 hotels and rooming houses.
7. 1 of the three movies in Chinatown was Japanese-operated. Mexicans and Negroes patronized it. Nisei customarily went uptown to movies.
8. Miscellaneous small businesses. Numbers are given when known. Dry goods store; gift and art shop; 2 bookstores; 1 furniture store; drug store; jewelry shop; beauty parlor; bath house; barber shop; massage house; seed store; bicycle store; shoe repair shop; 2 printing offices; 2 photo studios; 1 electrical shop; 5 laundries; 5 garages.
9. 1 newspaper, the Central California Times or Chuka Jiho. There were also local agents of big city newspapers like Rafu Shimpo.
10. Professions. 5 insurance agents; 1 attorney; several notaries, including one woman; doctors; dentists; optometrists; 2 tailors; and 5 sewing schools. There were 3 private hospitals and 2 maternity homes. Among the professional people were Christian and Buddhist ministers.

Businesses in Surrounding Area. Not all surrounding communities with Japanese population had Japanese retail stores or service establishments. However, Selma and Parlier had not only grocery stores and garages for the local people but also businesses catering to migrant farm labor, such as liquor stores, gambling houses, billiard parlors, hotels, and rooming houses.

Agriculture

Crops. Fresno is famous for its raisins and boasts of being the world's raisin center. The Raisin Growers Association controls the bulk of the crop. The total crop comprises 60% of the U. S. raisin production. Also produced in this area are sweet wines, several orchard fruits, strawberries, canberries, cotton, and alfalfa. Oranges are grown near the foothills of Sanger and Clovis.

As among other farmers, grapes were the principal crop among Japanese fruit growers. According to variety, some grapes are dried, some marketed fresh. Black figs usually are marketed fresh; white ones are dried and sent to packing houses. Most peaches and apricots are dried or sent to canneries; few are sold on the fresh market.

So far as Japanese farming is concerned, the big fruit area was east of Fresno. West of town, although there was some fruit, more vegetables were grown. Generally, orchards and vineyards were owned; truck farms were rented.

Size of Farms and Credit. The average size of farm is not known. One of the largest Japanese operators who farmed southwest of Fresno raised cotton, alfalfa, raisin grapes, plums, canberries, and occasionally other crops on 280 acres. He was the only Japanese farmer growing cotton. A farm of this size would require \$10,000 a year or more to finance crop production. It was borrowed from the Farm Credit Administration. The Producers' Credit Corporation (correct title?), a local organization, had in 1942 more than 1000 investors, of whom 9 or 10 were Japanese. It gave no loans under \$500. A few small farmers in the Fresno area had obtained loans from the Farm Security Administration, but Japanese farmers were financed principally by produce shippers, as in most other parts of the state.

Labor. A considerable number of the 300 Issei male farm laborers and 170 Issei non-agricultural laborers in the County were unattached men. A survey at Jerome Center indicated that over 90% are Buddhist and most are over 50 years of age. However, up to the 1943 segregation, very few in that center had asked for repatriation. Other Fresno residents, also 90-95% Buddhist, did have a high percentage of repatriates. Evidently, many of the "old bachelor" laborers expect to return to Fresno County or, if that is impossible, go to some other center of Japanese farming.

Of employed Nisei males, approximately 175 were farm laborers and foremen, while 125 were in non-agricultural jobs. Not included are unpaid family workers.

Difficulties of census-taking for a migratory population must be considered in reading these figures.

The fruit harvest requires large numbers of laborers. Besides local agricultural laborers, there were many migrants, moving regularly up the San Joaquin Valley. Nationalities and races remained separate in the harvest crews. Each had a boss of its own race. Apparently most of the long, careful hand labor of drying the fruits was done by family members.

"No Japanese worked in the offices of any of the packing houses or wineries. The nearest the Japanese could get to these 'white collar jobs' was in foreman jobs as field supervisors."*

Growers' Associations. In Fresno, the Strawberry Growers' Association and Central California Farmers' Association had a Central California Produce and Growers' Market. How many were employed here or in produce houses in neighboring towns is unknown.

*This and following quotations are from locality reports prepared by the Community Analysis Section in the relocation centers.

CITY OF FRESNO

Nihonjin Town

Nihonjin Town, called Chinatown by Caucasians, was literally on the other side of the railroad track. The old Japanese section is surrounded by areas of Chinese, Italian, German, Mexican, and Russian population concentration. Most Chinese businesses are on Talare St., Japanese on Kern St. Mexican shops are scattered throughout the district. Socially, the minorities kept apart from each other even though they lived so close together and had some business dealings with each other.

Issei did most of their shopping in Chinatown, whereas Nisei customarily went "uptown" to shop, especially if they lived in town. Rural Nisei might shop in Chinatown. Some Japanese businesses catered to Chinese as much as to Japanese. However, after the invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the Chinese boycotted Japanese business and hurt it seriously.

Schools

Public Schools. Most children in the minorities attended Edison High School "across the tracks," but more and more attended Fresno High School "in the elite district of town." It was thought that the one across the tracks did not meet standard educational requirements. There were only a few in the other two high schools. Nisei often were timid about mixing with Caucasians, but sports presented a means of entree. In athletics, no racial distinctions were made. In social affairs, young people mixed quite well until about the senior year in high school when the Nisei felt a coolness toward them.

Language Schools. As in other Japanese communities in California, Christians and Buddhists maintained separate language schools. Buddhist language schools being more numerous, the Buddhists could hold athletic meets at which children came from surrounding towns to compete. Apparently Christian children in grammar school did not have this opportunity. The Christians regarded themselves as more Americanized and perhaps were. Their textbooks were prepared in California and passed by the State Department of Education. Buddhist textbooks, prepared in Japan, were thought to present a better quality of Japanese speech and writing. Christians as well as Buddhists believed that the latter knew more or better Japanese.

Social Life

Churches and clubs were the center of the Japanese social life. Christians and Buddhists tended to stay within their own circles. Besides the usual Buddhist organizations, there were Congregational and Methodist Churches for the Japanese, and a Salvation Army organization. The churches had Women's Clubs, athletic clubs, Christian Endeavor and Epworth League for the young people. The Congregationalists had a Boy Scout troop for Nisei, with a Caucasian leader. This troop became well known through taking various prizes and performing before service clubs and schools.

Among adults, there were the usual Japanese Association and Kenjin-Kai. "It was the professional people and the insurance agents who managed to own beautiful homes and cars," and presumably provided social leadership.

No open discrimination was shown by Caucasians toward Japanese in eating places, movie houses, skating rinks, or any other place except during a short period when the Crown Plunge, a swimming pool, was closed to them. Even this ban was lifted.

COMMUNITIES ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF FRESNO

Besides the downtown Japanese settlement, Japanese lived in several suburbs where they had their own language schools, Seinen Kai, and Mothers' Clubs. The language schools were at Blackstone, Bowles, North Fresno, Mammoth, and West Fresno.

West Fresno

West Fresno is a community of about 40 profitable truck farms which averaged 20 acres apiece. A wide variety of both winter and summer crops was grown. All farmers belonged to the Vegetable Growers' Association and marketed at the Central California Produce and Growers' Market in Fresno. Some also had standing orders from Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican grocers. Several families owned their homes although they did not own the farm land.

North Fresno

Most families in North Fresno rented homes as well as land. Farms generally were larger than in West Fresno. Strawberries were the chief crop.

OTHER JAPANESE COMMUNITIES IN FRESNO COUNTY

Interrelationships of Communities

Fresno was the Japanese trade and culture center for a large territory which included Madera in Madera County, Fowler, Selma, and Kingsburg on Highway 99 and a number of side-road villages, most of which were east of the Highway. Small towns where Japanese lived include Caruthers, Orange Cove, Reedley, Parlier, Sanger, Clovis, Del Rey, and Laton, all in Fresno County, and Dinuba, Cutler, and Orosi in Tulare County.

The relationship between larger towns and rural areas was not entirely one way. Town communities depended upon the farmers and their laborers socially as well as economically. Parents and go-betweens watched for steady good workers among the young men coming through the area at harvest and would seek to make matches between them and local girls. Nisei of Fresno, both boys and girls, went out in surrounding rural communities in school vacation and would make friends.

Selma and Kingsburg

Towns like Selma and Kingsburg had not only a garage, ice cream parlor, and chop suey restaurant but also businesses catering to the migrants. Grocery stores and garages might serve Caucasians as well as Japanese. However, such businesses as barber shops were run for the Japanese because in most towns in the Valley,

Caucasian businesses of this type would not serve Orientals.

Parlier

Although one of the smaller towns, Parlier "had the largest number of Japanese residents (about 100 families). The number of Japanese-owned business houses in Parlier was equal to those of the Caucasians, if not more. Almost half of the students at Parlier High School were Japanese."

Clevis and Sanger

Clevis and Sanger had no Nihonjin Town. Each had only about 25 Japanese families in the rural areas about them. Nevertheless, small places like these usually had a language school, Young Men's Association, Young Women's Association, and a Women's Club.

EVACUATION

Nisei. As in Sacramento, Oakland, and elsewhere, evacuation occurred just when Nisei were entering Civil Service, taking over family businesses or starting businesses of their own, enlarging farm operations, buying land, or entering new professions such as nursing and teaching. Some Japanese communities probably had already passed their best period, but Fresno people seemed to be on the way up.

Japanese Cooperation. The actual evacuation they took very well. An FSA employee who assisted in the evacuation reported, "The cooperation, attitude, and deportment of the Japanese was splendid. Goodness only knows what the tribulations would have been but for the ingenious organizational ability of this group. They were open, friendly, and ever willing to assist in the many problems presented. One can only surmise at the possible bitterness and frustration; one can only guess at the hurts..."

Fair Play Committee. Local Caucasians organized a Committee on National Security and Fair Play, which presented to each evacuee family a card expressing friendship and promising assistance. It said in part, "We would assure you that evacuation does not in our minds reflect in any way upon your integrity as citizens... We would have you feel this is only a temporary change and that after this unfortunate conflict is over you will be welcomed back to this Community and to your accustomed occupations of life. We pledge ourselves to do everything possible to reduce the hazards and soften the effects of your exile." It was signed by W. P. Rankin, Marjorie Zolhart, Frank H. Thomas, Very Rev. Mrs. James G. Dowling, and Warren A. Banner.

Disposal of Property. Mexicans and Chinese tended to take over the Japanese urban businesses; Caucasians took the farms though possibly a few farms went to Mexicans and Filipinos. As almost all farm tenants were renting land on a yearly basis, they gave up their farms completely. Nevertheless, many still want to return to California.

POST-EXCLUSION EVENTS AND ATTITUDES

Center Plans. From both Poston and Gila Centers come reports that many Fresno County people are ready to return home. Between December 17, 1944, and February 17, 1945, 114 individuals returned to Fresno County from Gila. This is more than twice the number returning to any other area from Gila. A report from Poston for the week of February 26 to March 4 states, "A recent visitor from the Reedley area, who was here to recruit laborers, reported excellent sentiments there. Clovis and Sanger are two other towns that have favorable conditions for relocation. Most of those leaving from Camp II have gone back to the San Joaquin Valley. Furthermore, those now making plans to leave are predominantly ex-residents of that section of California."

FSM. On February 10, 1945, the County Supervisor of the Farm Security Administration stated that one farm loan of \$2500 had been made to a Nisei and that a similar application from another was being checked.

First to Return. Kazuo Miyama, thought to be the first discharged GI to settle in San Joaquin Valley, brought his family from Gila River to his Fowler farm in December. He was quoted in the press as saying, "There is no place like home." A month later, he was still reported to be having no difficulty

Incidents. On the other hand, there was a shotgun attack on the S. J. Kakutani home near Parlier; the Robert Morishige home (near Selma?) was burned; and shots were fired into the home of Frank Osaki near Fresno. All incidents were played up by the Fresno Bee. Osaki is said to be on friendly terms with his neighbors and has friendly dealings with his tenants. He has two brothers honorably discharged from military service.

James Morishige, his wife and two daughters were reported as well received when they returned to their farm northwest of Selma. The children attended school without difficulty.

The Fresno BEE (12/27/44) reported that hearing was to be continued indefinitely on a petition for state seizure of an 80-acre orchard and vineyard near Parlier. Respondents were Tamigoro Chiamori and his two sons. The suit was part of the "current campaign to eliminate illegal ownership of Fresno county land by Japanese nationals."

In December, the Reedley High School (Junior College?) withdrew the offer of a job to an Idaho Falls teacher because he might bring into the community an adopted daughter of part-Japanese ancestry. Later, however, some Reedley people felt a bit ashamed of this incident.

The BEE (Feb. 19) played up a report of dislocation of three families by the return to Fresno of an evacuee from Chicago. In contrast, the editor of the Selma ENTERPRISE for some time "has been conducting a militant campaign for fair play."

Probably the story of the return will continue to sound like these paragraphs - up and down, now hopeful, now discouraging.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Confidential

Community Analysis Notes No. 12.
April 9, 1945

WEST COAST LOCALITIES: IMPERIAL VALLEY

JAPANESE POPULATION OF IMPERIAL VALLEY

Size of Population. The 1940 census gives the Japanese population of Imperial County as 1,583. Slightly over three-fourths were rural dwellers. Of the 530 male or female employed workers, about two-thirds were farm workers.

The WCCA registered 1,360 at its Brawley and El Centro Control Stations. The difference between the WCCA figure and that of the 1940 Census is probably accounted for by voluntary evacuees and by migratory laborers who had been counted as Valley residents.

The Japanese lived in and around such Valley towns as Niland, Calipatria, Westmoreland, Brawley, Imperial, Holtville, Seeley, El Centro, and Calexico. The distribution in the seven townships where the Japanese lived is as follows:

Township 1	230
(Calexico 33)	
Township 2	448
(El Centro 170)	
Township 3	111
Township 4	247
(Brawley 178)	
Township 5	112
Township 6	260
Township 7	175
	<u>1,583</u>

In July 1944, there were 59 Imperial County people at Tule Lake (less than 4% of the 1940 Japanese population) and in December 1944 there were about 975 at Poston, Camp I. With approximately 1035 thus accounted for, there are still 325 unaccounted for (of the 1360 evacuated). Some were in other centers than Poston, some had relocated; others were in the Army.

JAPANESE AGRICULTURE IN THE VALLEY

Number of Farm Operators and Acreage. Of the 212 farms operated by Japanese in 1940, 18 were fully owned, 2 were partly owned, 15 were managed, and 177 were operated by tenants.

WCCA registered 210 operators who farmed a total acreage of 13,141. There were 226 separate farm units.

A description of Japanese farming in Imperial Valley, written at Tule Lake, listed a total of 17,800 acres, of which 12,000 were in lettuce, at least 5,000 in cantaloupes, and 800 in market tomatoes. Not included

were minor truck crops. While the figure is undoubtedly too high, it is true that Japanese were actually farming more land than was listed officially as a Japanese operation.

Other crops grown in the Valley in addition to the three big crops of lettuce, melons, and tomatoes, were cotton, grapefruit, strawberries, grapes, dates, alfalfa, barley, cucumbers, cabbage, and peas. Although about 15 Japanese farmers raised milk cows and hogs until the agricultural depression of the 1920's when they sold out, the Japanese did not thereafter participate, except as laborers, in growing anything other than their usual truck crops.

Early History of Japanese in the Valley. Japanese first came into the Valley in 1904 or 1905 to work in the cantaloupe fields. Tomatoes were introduced in 1910; and in 1915, a man named Sato introduced lettuce as a field crop. In the succeeding expansion of these crops, the Japanese participated, for they had started to become independent farmers during the first decade of their arrival.

Through the 1920's and '30's, the independent small farmers, far from being a threat to the big growers, had such a hard time that some quit the Valley entirely, while others stayed as laborers and foremen on the large ranches. Some foremen were in charge of huge farms on which up to 4,000 acres might be cultivated. They were paid a flat annual salary plus a bonus for a better than average crop. Since the pay was good and no risks were involved, these men were able to save money, which some of them invested in land in a Nisei's name. In contrast, other erstwhile independent farmers became wage laborers or insecure sharecroppers.

In the 1930's when the agricultural situation was bad, some companies replaced Japanese managers with Mexicans, Italians, and others who would accept a smaller salary. But the Japanese observed with satisfaction that the new managers could not farm as economically and that a few of the big operators even went broke just as some of the Japanese did.

Large grower-packer-shippers dominate the Valley. A few of the biggest companies are American Fruit, Arena, and S. A. Gerrard. Besides these companies, there are large local ranchers. Independent farmers, especially the Filipinos, Mexicans, and Japanese, cultivated 5-25 acre tracts which did not compete with the big growers except in the aggregate of their production. Small farmers who could supply all or nearly all labor within their own families could compete better than the larger independent farmers who had to hire labor and had other costs like those of the big shippers but not their advantages, for example, their own packing sheds. Notwithstanding the amount of the independents' total production, the big growers still were in a dominant position because their ownership of the packing sheds enabled them to control nearly all marketing in the Valley and their operations in other localities gave them political power and influence over supply houses and produce merchants that local people could not exert.

JAPANESE LIFE IN THE VALLEY

Niland, Brawley, and El Centro are three communities referred to repeatedly in the following characterization of Japanese life in the Valley. Niland is a newly developed area toward the northeast edge of the Valley. Brawley is the largest and most central town. As it is the biggest center for produce packing, it has a large population of migratory labor. El Centro, the county seat of Imperial County, is located toward the southern end of the Valley. An older town than Brawley, it has older, more settled residents at its core, but like Brawley it has the same mixture of minority races among the poorer migratory laborers on the outskirts.

Movable Houses and Transient Life. Most of the Japanese farmers seem to have lived in small, movable houses. A former Niland resident of Japanese ancestry said a house would be a combined living room, dining room, and kitchen, with one or more separate bedrooms, a bath house, and implement shed. Another said a typical house would have a kitchen-dining room and one or two bedrooms, and a separate bath house.

The reason for the movable houses was that in many districts the soil was soon exhausted and farmers had to move. Around Niland "families sometimes bought large tracts and farmed part of it at a time". But because of the poor soil, "most farmers hesitated to tie themselves to a particular tract." So most of the land was leased from individual Caucasians. Around El Centro, "most of the farms had a drainage outlet; still they developed alkali, which partly explains the moving ... to other tracts." In the El Centro-Calexico district and probably elsewhere, Japanese farmers raised alfalfa besides using commercial fertilizer, some of the alfalfa being plowed under. Since the field had to be kept in a cover crop for 3 years in order to build it up properly, this became expensive, too expensive for many farmers, who either had to look for new tracts or give up independent farming altogether.

Ownership of Land. Few Japanese farmers owned land. Although exact figures for individual localities have not been obtained from the Centers, the percentage of farm owners varies from 5% to 15%, with an average for the Valley of 10%. Apparently even fewer town residents owned property, either homes or business property.

Information on land values has not been given by the Japanese for any area except El Centro-Calexico and this pertains to the early and middle 1930's. Irrigated land suitable for fruit and truck crops rented at \$25 to \$60 an acre annually. It was customary to pay half the rent at the beginning of the season and the remainder at the end of the season. It must be remembered that in Imperial Valley the harvest season was winter and early spring.

The farm labor in the Valley was chiefly Mexican, Filipino, and Japanese. Minor elements were Hindu, Negro, and Dust Bowl migrants.

The migration of laborers in the summer after the Imperial harvest was on up the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys and into the Santa Maria and Salinas lettuce fields. To avoid the terrific summer heat of the

Valley, independent farmers and their families would go to Los Angeles or San Diego, where the older Japanese boys worked on farms.

Marketing. Produce was shipped to Los Angeles in large refrigerator trucks or by train to the East from Brawley, Calipatria and other towns on the railroad. Even from Calexico, which is due east of San Diego, produce was shipped the 250 miles to Los Angeles.

Niland Community Life. Although Japanese had been in the Valley 40 years, they had been in the Niland district only about 10 years before evacuation. They came from the Brawley and El Centro areas. Only one small family with a general store lived in town. All others were in agriculture.

"Almost the only crop grown was tomatoes. Autumn cucumbers and melons, squash, chili peppers, and eggplant were much less important. Some farmers raised summer cantaloupes on old land. There were no fruit trees."*

High school students attended school in Calipatria. Farmers bought groceries in Niland, but clothing and large purchases were made in the two larger trade centers, Brawley and El Centro.

Fifty-five or 60 children attended a language school taught by a local man. It was held in its own building just outside Niland. There was no Buddhist temple in Niland and apparently none in Calipatria. The people went to Brawley or El Centro on special ceremonial days. Starting about a year before evacuation, a Methodist minister from Brawley held services in the Niland elementary school on Sunday afternoon. "Nisei of high school age and older, of both sexes, belonged to a club of sorts. Otherwise there was not much recreation."

"There was an informal organization of the families in the area." Family heads took turns in holding office in it. In 1942, the Niland Japanese community divided into groups of families. Some evacuated voluntarily; others waited to be moved by the Army.

As most of the resident farmers were Japanese, there was little opportunity for contact with other races except in the hiring of Filipino and Mexican seasonal workers. Not long before evacuation, a few Filipinos had started to farm independently in the southern part of the district. In grammar school, Japanese children came in contact with Caucasians, but the groups tended to play separately. In high school there was somewhat more mixing, especially in athletics, but Nisei did not go to high school dances. "Several families in Niland were prejudiced against the Japanese; the rest were indifferent. There may have been concealed prejudice too."

* This and following quotations are from locality studies made at either Colorado River Relocation Center or Tule Lake Center by members of the Community Analysis Section.

Brawley Community Life. In Brawley's population of 12,000-14,000, including semi-migratory workers, "almost 5,000 were transient labor, approximately 1,000 working in the lettuce seeds, the rest in the fields harvesting melons, cutting lettuce" or picking the other market vegetables. From December to June, the transients made Brawley a very active place. In the summer, they went north, "leaving Brawley a sprawling, somnolent, heat-baked town taking its annual siesta."

"The business of the Japanese merchants in Brawley fluctuated with the harvest season. The merchants fattened up as much as possible during the busy season to compensate for the slack which followed. Restaurants far outnumbered all other businesses. No doubt these restaurants barely made ends meet and probably even took losses during the off season. The four or five grocery stores plied a modest trade dealing with the 600 or so permanent Japanese residents of the Brawley district". The 1939-40 Directory listed 38 Japanese businesses, including a drug store, 3 hotels, 2 pool halls, a barber shop, produce companies, and other businesses.

"Though 90% of the farming in the Brawley district was done by Japanese, about 35% worked under the shipping companies' farming systems. Only ... about 5% owned and worked their own land. The rest either leased land or worked it on a share-crop basis. The average size of truck farms of independent farmers was 25-30 acres." Because their financial condition depended wholly on fluctuating market prices, "there can be no doubt that the Japanese working for the shipping company farms were generally better off, with their steady, set salaries plus bonuses, than these truck farmers." The chief crops grown by Japanese farmers were the usual three: tomatoes, lettuce and cantaloupes.

There were the typical social and economic associations, including the Japanese Association of Imperial Valley, JAIV, Buddhist and Methodist Churches and their auxiliaries, language schools for both, a Boy Scout troop, and a Blue Triangle Club for Nisei girls in high school.

The big social occasions for the Japanese of the whole district were New Year's, O Bon, Hana Matsuri, and the annual prefecture society picnics. "Socially, the Japanese kept to themselves. Only in the public school system did the Nisei meet Caucasian friends on an equal footing." However, prior to Pearl Harbor, there was little discrimination by Caucasians against Japanese. In the memory of one of the oldest Japanese pioneers, there was only one case of racial discrimination, when in 1907 there was some agitation against the employment of Japanese labor in the cantaloupe fields.

El Centro Community Life. Japanese had been in El Centro, county seat of Imperial County, for about 30 years. In town, they operated a drug store, a liquor store, 5 grocery stores, 8 restaurants, a dry cleaning and laundry business, 2 pool halls, 2 cooperative growers' associations, and a few other small businesses. There were also a grower-shipper and a dentist. "The city dwellers were pretty well off, economically and socially. However, they did not own their stores or homes."

"As is the custom of the Japanese, almost every able-bodied member of the family worked in the field," except the mother or daughter who took care of the household. "The main crop for the smaller farms was usually tomatoes. Squash, cabbage, carrots, lettuce and melons were grown extensively on the larger farms."

Social Life. The Congregational and Buddhist Churches each supported a language school. From the surrounding area, students came in to El Centro to attend the Central Union High School. A few were financially able to go on to college.

Aside from the big holidays, New Year's, O Bon, and Hana Matsuri, there was little for the Japanese farm people to do. Occasionally a Japanese movie was held in the church, attended by the whole family. Boys attended athletic events and some took an active part in sports, as in other towns: Most young people belonged to Buddhist or Christian clubs.

In past years, the Issei had almost no contact with other racial groups, perhaps principally due to the fact that most could not speak English. In school "the Japanese students did not join organizations and fraternities, and they did not attend socials and dances." However, there had been some improvement in race relations immediately preceding 1941. "The Japanese had cooperated with the County Fair by putting on a Japan Night program ... for the last six years. This was considered a success and was a help in building good relations. Through their school connections, especially in athletics, the Nisei were gradually being drawn into wider social circles." An Issei drugstore owner was a member of the Kiwanis Club and a vigorous promoter of the Japan Night program, and another Issei was a prominent produce merchant although not so popular in the Japanese community.

EVACUATION

Ordinance No. 154. Developments after Pearl Harbor were somewhat different in Imperial Valley from the remainder of the state, or perhaps one should say general developments became more acute and more obvious in the Valley. On February 19, 1942, the County Supervisors (Schlatter, Osborne, Preble, Graham, Vencill) unanimously passed Ordinance No. 154, "requiring registration of, and regulation and control of alien enemies of the United States." It required registration with the County Agricultural Commissioner of oneself and family, of one's agricultural lands (whether leased or owned), and of one's business if engaged in handling, harvesting, processing or shipping of agricultural products.

It stated, "It shall be unlawful for any alien enemy, either as tenant, lessee, sublessee, cropper, partner or foreman, or under any other designation or arrangement whatsoever, directly or indirectly, to occupy, lease, sublease, farm, operate, control, have or direct any interest whatsoever in agricultural lands within the County of Imperial, or benefit in the products or proceeds of any such products grown on

such agricultural lands; and it shall further be unlawful for any such alien enemy to acquire; control, or in any degree, benefit, directly or indirectly, from any of said operations through a native born, or a naturalized United States citizen....; providing, however, that this ordinance does not prohibit the employment of an alien enemy as a laborer under any rights granted him by any federal or state constitutions, treaties, laws or regulations, but in any event said employment shall be a bonafide labor employment, and not otherwise."

In equally sweeping language, the Ordinance declared it unlawful for American citizens to assist, encourage, or connive in agricultural operations by alien enemies; to enter into any agreement whereby any enemy alien might have an interest in lands or crops; for these aliens to have any firearms, carrier pigeons, shortwave radio, signalling or communicating device; to "transport, carry, haul, or in any manner whatsoever transport or haul farm products, food products or crops in, along, upon or over the public highways of the County..."

Punishment was imprisonment up to six months or fine up to \$500 or both. The Ordinance authorized the Agricultural Commissioner, "each of his deputies, inspectors, agents and employees, and all peace officers of said County" to enter all agricultural lands to investigate alleged violations. The District Attorney was designated to enforce the Ordinance. It declared it was the legal and patriotic duty of all citizens to report any apparent or actual violation.

Reasons Given for the Ordinance. The Ordinance was declared an urgency measure, giving among other reasons the following: "Many thousands of acres of agricultural lands in Imperial County are occupied by or are reported to be occupied by alien enemies....The Board of Supervisors is advised that the nations with which we are at war plan to attack and seize all the territory on the Pacific coast. The agricultural lands in Imperial County are among the richest in the world. Large irrigation works have been developed by the people in this county at a cost of millions of dollars, and rough, virgin land has been transformed from a desert waste into a region of untold productivity. Many of the said alien enemies have children and families in the countries with which we are at war. By occupying agricultural lands in Imperial County, these alien enemies are obtaining information concerning the kind and quantity of farm products being grown here, and also information relating to the supply and delivery of water to the agricultural lands in the county and to the nature and extent of all public utilities. ...The federal and state governments have been requested to evacuate all alien enemies from the Pacific Coast area. The action of said federal and state governments has not been as expeditious as the local situation warrants. The presence of such alien enemies in this county is a serious menace to the peace, health and safety of our people and their property. Their unrestricted activities at this time constitute manifestly a dangerous and innocuous public evil that should be suppressed forthwith. The number and the occupations of the alien enemies of this county are unknown."

Since the Japanese had introduced several of the Valley's crops and had had a prominent part in its reclamation and extension of irrigation, they could have learned little which they did not know already about the Valley's rich agriculture, by driving a truckload of lettuce along the road. The inexact information and the hysteria of this document are quickly apparent. Also noticeable is the fact that the provisions pertained only to agriculture.

Reaction of Japanese. Faced with the Ordinance, Issei and apparently even Nisei hastened to register as laborers, denying any interest in agricultural lands and operations. The District Attorney called all Japanese alien farmers into his office and took statements from them regarding their positions on farm lands. Farm operators "in many cases" signed statements that they were farm laborers receiving 40¢ an hour. "Leases were surrendered by Japanese farmers to the District Attorney. We were informed by one reliable Japanese leader that the District Attorney's office advised a Caucasian farmer that no Japanese alien or citizen could work on a farm." (Quoted from a letter written by an FSA representative.)

Then later, in May, FSA men came into the Valley to assist evacuated farmers in disposing of their lands and crops, they found, in addition to the usual problems of evacuees, the particular problem of those who had disclaimed any agricultural interests, then later sought to maintain leases or realize some income from their crops.

Since the Issei could not act as independent farmers, crop mortgages which they had signed were ignored by Caucasian leaseholders or landowners, who sold crops and kept profits without paying the mortgage. Thus the Japanese farm operator was left with the responsibility of repaying the loan but without any income from his farm with which to pay.

All possible legal loopholes were used in order to attach agricultural or business property and movable possessions and to cancel leases.

The FSA reported, "The highly capitalized nature of the type of farming and the complex system of tenure and financing under which the Japanese operated created financial problems which have led to civil suits. The principals concerned in these financial deals are all represented by counsels who are working out adjustments and compromises." (The only attorney representing Japanese interests who was mentioned by name was a Mr. Horton. Attorneys who represented Caucasians in suits against the Japanese were Mr. Whitelaw of El Centro and a Mr. Roberts.)

With the help of FSA and a few private lawyers, something was salvaged from the general entanglement; also, the WCCA and FSA sought opinion on the legality of the Ordinance itself.

Other Pre-Evacuation Problems. Nevertheless, the pre-evacuation period was characterized by confusion and fear on all sides, increased by the fact that 110 aliens, including about 65 large farm operators were interned. Another circumstance connected with the internment disturbed the Issei especially. The JACL, and at least one Issei working with the JACL, put on a campaign to make Issei buy War Bonds for the sake of

public relations. The Issei thought that they were being put on the spot and that they were being reported to the FBI if they did not follow the JACL program 100%. Thus there was tension among the Japanese as well as between them and the other residents. As if to make the tension more graphic, two Japanese were murdered.

According to a November 1944 report from Imperial Valley people at Tule Lake, "December 7th saw the loosening of petty racial prejudices of other minorities such as Filipinos and the 'Johnny-Come-Lately's' to the California scene," the "Okies" and "Arkies". In El Centro the Okies paraded around in cars waving guns and threatening to 'kill all the Japs' in Imperial Valley. They were getting ready for a march on to Brawley when the State Police intervened and dispersed the self-appointed Mid-west vigilantes. On New Year's Eve, directly after, Filipinos got out of hand and shot up a Japanese ranch house, killing the mother and father of four children. The murderers were not apprehended and all accounts state that the police seemed to exert no special efforts to bring the Filipinos involved to trial. There were also a few cases of beatings reported consistently.

"The 'old stock' Americans quickly decried such high-handed flaunting of justice but seemed unable to do much about it. The label of 'Jap-lover' in California was not especially sought after. Evacuation saw many of these Americans remaining loyal to their Japanese friends, however. They told the Japanese that they would 'be back in a year or maybe less and don't worry.' As the last load of Japanese evacuees left for Poston, the student body of the Brawley High School turned out en masse to wave goodbye to classmates and friends."

Voluntary Evacuation and Property Disposal. Because of their inland position, many of the Japanese, especially around El Centro, did not expect to be evacuated. In the Niland district, 8 families evacuated voluntarily to Rocky Ford, Colorado, whether because of the stringency of the Ordinance or the expectation of evacuation is not known. These people had their farm equipment sent to them and lost relatively little. A few others from Niland went to Los Angeles, from which they were evacuated to Gila, Granada, and other centers.

At Poston most of the Niland evacuees are said to have sold their farm equipment at evacuation. Personal property was stored in Caucasian homes or in the Buddhist and Christian churches at Brawley. Some sold their movable houses to their landlords; others abandoned their houses.

Some of the Brawley evacuees at Poston claim that they foresaw the evacuation of the Valley and that panic was not so prevalent as in some other sections. But a report from Tule Lake indicates that the terrorizing of Japanese residents and the internment of so many family heads led to a panic loss in the disposition of property.

At Brawley, much of the property - farms, homes, and equipment - was left in the hands of Caucasian or Mexican friends, while a few gave power-of-attorney to real estate companies. Some have sold farm equipment since coming to the Center. Much personal and household property

was stored in the churches. Thefts from the churches have been reported and a fire in the Christian church caused some damage. The Imperial County Citizens' Welfare Committee advised evacuees to sell crops and farm tools but to keep household goods and store them in the churches.

At El Centro, this advice was followed by many, although a few here also stored their belongings with Caucasian friends. By now, all goods have been removed from the churches to a WRA warehouse in Los Angeles.

Reasons for Valley's Anti-Japanese Sentiment. It is perhaps not difficult to account for the unusual vigor of the anti-Japanese reaction in the Valley. Some explanations offered:

- 1) The Valley never has had a tradition of law and order and in recent years has seen actual vigilantism in response to unrest among the migratory farm workers.
- 2) The efforts of Mexican laborers to improve their standard of living and to form unions, especially in the Brawley, Holtville, and El Centro districts, have been met with communist scares and other alarmist reactions. In other words, the basic relationship is competition and frustration.
- 3) Frequent rumors after Pearl Harbor that Japan planned to invade California by way of the Gulf of California and Imperial Valley, coming into the Los Angeles-Long Beach area through the back door, gave Valley residents a bad scare.
- 4) So many Issei were picked up by the FBI (the Japanese believe that they were reported by one of their own people) that the Caucasian community was convinced the Japanese were dangerous.

The Valley Since Evacuation. Imperial Valley had a boom in 1943. Growers made big money in lettuce and melons; rentals and land sale values rose. There was some conflict between big and small growers over the securing of packing materials, fertilizer, and seeds, with the big growers apparently doing better than their competitors. In general, crops declared essential by the government, such as carrots, did not bring the big income of the luxury crops. There was adequate unskilled labor in the Mexican nationals, but skilled labor was scarce. The 1944 income is not known.

In an article published in PM, December 26, 1944, Carey McWilliams declared that Imperial Valley is a "hot spot." "The difficulty there is that the Valley has never had a tradition of law and order. It is the home of vigilantism in California, and, on more than one occasion, it has connived at lawlessness. Recently an anti-evacuee mass meeting was held in Brawley - called by Mayor Elmer Fears - at which 39 organizations in the valley banded together to oppose the return of the evacuees. In this area, returning evacuees cannot expect protection from local police or from other law enforcement agencies."

Evidently the meeting referred to here was one held December 7 at the Brawley High School Athletic Field, sponsored by Imperial County United, and addressed by John R. Lechner, "an authority on Japanese activities in California", according to an advertisement in the Brawley News.

The announcement of this meeting was lurid, "Sure we remember the sneak attack of the Japs on Pearl Harbor -- that infamous treachery we will never forget. ...Do we of the Imperial Valley want the return of the Japs." "Unhappily unfortunate" consequences and "any possible serious reaction" were referred to as reasons for not allowing Japanese to return.

On January 5, 1945, Howard J. Demake, District Superintendent of Schools in Imperial County, was quoted in the press as questioning people's ability to cope with "greed and emotion on any intellectual bases."

A Filipino leader stated that more Imperial Valley Filipinos have taken over former Japanese property than San Joaquin Valley Filipinos have. He expected that some would resist efforts of Japanese to regain land on which they have been making good money. He stated that feeling is more antagonistic toward Japanese among Imperial Valley Filipinos than among those in the north. This is largely due, he declared, to the Imperial Valley Filipinos being used by pressure groups to play Filipinos and Japanese against each other to get farm labor at a lower wage. He was concerned that the Filipinos did not understand this, particularly in view of the fact that some Imperial Valley restaurants and other public places openly discriminate against Filipinos and refuse to serve them.

Japanese Sentiment Toward Return. As for the evacuees, the Poston Community Analyst reported December 31, 1944 that "enthusiasm about return or relocation eastward is largely lacking now" because of loss at evacuation and anti-evacuee agitation in Brawley and elsewhere in the Valley. Another Poston report earlier in the month, from a Nisei assistant analyst, stated also that former Brawley residents have little hope of returning. "Many have relocated east of the Rockies, and probably many more will follow their footsteps." A few had earlier volunteered for the Army and of course others have been drafted.

El Centro and Niland people at Poston agree that "there is not much that will attract the Imperial Valley people back to their former place of residence." However, of those who expect to make a new start, "many are planning to pick a better region, perhaps along the coast. The Colorado families (from Niland) plan to stay where they are, as they have been successful."

A report from Tule Lake in November, 1944, stated that people believe that the present Imperial Valley population will not welcome back the Japanese, with the possible exception of the largest shipping companies which may need experienced and skilled labor.

These are working notes prepared for use of the War Relocation Authority staff, and are based primarily on retrospective accounts of pre-evacuation communities by evacuee members of the project Community Analysis staffs.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Community Analysis Notes No. 13
April 9, 1945

WEST COAST LOCALITIES: SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Table of Contents

- I. Five Counties
- II. San Francisco City and County
 - Economic Base of Population
 - Minority Groups
 - Japanese Businesses
 - Retail Dry Cleaning and Dyeing Business
 - The Japanese Dry Cleaners Association
 - Attractions of Dry Cleaning Business to Issei
 - Conduct of Business
 - Aggregate Amount of Business
 - Nisei in the Business
 - Labor Unions
 - Evacuation
 - Wholesale and Retail Art Goods Business
 - Location
 - Organization
 - Size and Conduct of Business
 - Relations with Other Races
 - Evacuation
 - Hotel and Apartment House Business
 - Number
 - Quality of Structures
 - The Association of Hotel and Apartment-House Operators
 - Standard Rates
 - Ownership
 - Approximate Valuation of Some Properties
 - Evacuation
 - Relations with Other Races
 - Domestic Workers
 - History of This Employment
 - Types of Work
 - Relations with Other Races
 - Proportion of Japanese in Domestic Work
 - Fishermen
 - Number of Fishermen
 - Size of Business
 - Evacuation
 - Flower Market
 - Other Occupations
 - Social Life
 - III. San Mateo County
 - Burlingame
 - San Mateo
 - Belmont
 - Redwood City

Table of Contents (Cont.)

- Menlo Park
- Half Moon Bay and Pescadero
- IV. Alameda County
 - Berkeley
 - Residence
 - Occupation
 - The University
 - Social Organization
 - Evacuation
 - Alameda
 - Size of Population
 - Occupation
 - Community Relationships
 - Evacuation
- V. East Bay Floral Industry
 - Number in Business
 - Conduct of Business
 - Chrysanthemum and Other Outside Flower Growers
 - Three Wholesale Flower Markets
 - Evacuation
- VI. Problems and Possibilities of Return to the Bay Area
 - Return of Domestic Workers
 - Retail Cleaners
 - Fishing Industry
 - Greenhouse and Nursery Men
 - Hotel and Apartment-House Managers
 - Towns

FIVE COUNTIES

The city of San Francisco is the highly urban center of the Bay Region which is made up of five considerably urbanized counties.

1. San Mateo County, "down the Peninsula" south of San Francisco has such fashionable suburban communities as San Mateo, Burlingame, Menlo Park, Hillsborough and Woodside; some very beautiful districts and a not-so-beautiful industrial area of ship repair docks, airfields and commercial salt flats.
2. Alameda County, directly across the Bay east of San Francisco, includes Berkeley, Oakland, Alameda, Hayward, San Leandro and other communities. Except for greenhouses, nurseries, very small truck farms and orchards, it has little agriculture. For both Japanese and Caucasians, Alameda County was one big residential suburb for San Francisco. It had, in addition, its own commercial and social life. Each town has its own "tone" -- Berkeley because of the University of California, a colony of literati and a large home-owning professional class; Oakland, without as much "atmosphere" as the other towns but with a solid foundation as a railroad and marine shipping terminal; Alameda, a middle-class town of working men.
3. Contra Costa County, on the east side of the Bay and north of Alameda County, has large farms and a few towns. Among them are Pittsburg, Antioch, Concord, Martinez, Richmond, and El Cerrito. This county, like Marin, San Francisco and San Mateo, is bounded by water on two sides -- the mouth of the Sacramento River on the north and the Bay on the west. Its population has grown enormously through the wartime increase of shipbuilding.
4. Marin County, across the Golden Gate north of San Francisco, is a peninsula between the Bay and the Ocean, and a popular locale for rustic suburban homes, vacations and hikers' weekends. It has relatively little agriculture. Except for San Rafael, its towns (San Anselmo, Mill Valley, Sausalito and even smaller ones) are pleasant little places with virtually no industry or business except service trades. Marin County has one of the biggest shipbuilding developments on the Coast.
5. San Francisco County is synonymous with San Francisco City.

These are working notes prepared for use of the War Relocation Authority staff, and are based primarily on retrospective accounts of pre-evacuation communities by evacuee members of the project Community Analysis Staffs.

Comparison of San Francisco Bay Counties

	San Fran- cisco	San Mateo	Alameda	Contra Costa	Marin
Total Japanese Population, 1940 ¹	5,280	1,218	5,167	829	150
Employed persons, 14 years old and over, including unpaid family workers. 1	2,580	621	2,226	350	85
Japanese farmers and farm managers (including women) 1	1	92	180	89	5
Japanese-owned acreage, 1942 ²	0	61 A.	212 A.	445 A.	0
No. of Japanese-owned farm properties, 1942 2	0	8	19	8	0
Same: non-farm properties 2	169	92	305	111	0
No. of evacuees at Tule Lake Center, July 1944 3	790	215	744	159	2
This number as per cent of 1940 population 3	15.0%	17.7%	14.4%	19.2%	1.3%

1. U. S. Census of Population, 1940.

2. Information from Property Survey Section, Evacuee Property Division, WRA.

3. Information from Research Branch (CAD), Western Defense Command.

Japanese farming in the Bay Area has not been studied but several of the urban occupational groups have been described.

SAN FRANCISCO CITY AND COUNTY

Economic Base of Population

San Francisco has been in the past a financial and commercial center, with large white-collar groups, high per capita income, many commuters, and a big development of service trade and retail business catering to travelers.

Minority Groups

In comparison with Los Angeles, it has had few Mexicans. It had in 1940 17,782 Chinese, 5,280 Japanese and 4,846 Negroes. (In 1944, it had 12,000 Negroes.) The worst slum was the famous Chinatown, not because of characteristics of the Chinese people but because many were forced to live in a small area.

Japanese Businesses

The Japanese had many business establishments in Chinatown, but they lived in a different district, covering most of some 20 square blocks. The businesses serving their own population were located here. Nihon-machi, the Japanese section, was old and run-down although in better condition than Chinatown. This was a complete community, with "the usual business associations, churches, publications, language schools, sewing and music schools, law, dental and medical offices, insurance agencies, hospitals, beauty and barber shops, baths, photograph studios, carpentry and plumbing stores, dry goods, drug stores, art goods stores, florists, groceries and markets, restaurants with both Japanese and American style cooking, hotels, dry cleaners and dyers, laundries, and so forth."*

Since there were few agricultural laborers coming into the city seasonally, in comparison with interior Valley towns and even Los Angeles, the income of the Japanese population and hence purchasing power to maintain these businesses came from Caucasian residents of San Francisco and Caucasian tourists. Therefore, Japanese occupations serving the metropolitan Caucasian community will be described separately. In Los Angeles the solid base of Japanese economy was the close-knit wholesale produce business. In San Francisco, however, the foundation was disparate, yet large in the aggregate; viz., many small family-run businesses. The Japanese import-export business must have brought in much money from outside the Japanese population but the total extent of the Japanese Caucasian trade would be difficult to state.

Retail Dry Cleaning and Dyeing Business

The Japanese Dry Cleaners Association was established as early as the San Francisco earthquake. The Association regulated prices and established wage rates to avoid cut-throat competition. "One of the most rigid rules was the one on admittance of new members." There was an unwritten policy that if "a member wished to get out of the cleaning business, he was to sell his plant to some relative or to some good friend. In this way, the number of cleaners was kept constant and 'kept in the family'....." In 1940, the Association had 115 members, 40% Nisei. About 15 other Japanese cleaners who were not members nevertheless abided by the rules of the organization. "Regular monthly meetings were held and observers were sent to all American cleaners' meetings and to union gatherings, with whom.....they were on cordial terms."

*This and following quotations are from locality studies prepared at the Central Utah Relocation Center by the Community Analysis Section.

Attractions of Dry-Cleaning Business to Issei

For the following reasons the dry-cleaning business was well suited to the business background and financial status of the average Issei:

1. Only a limited knowledge of English was necessary.
2. They were anxious to give good service and were friendly, hence built a steady clientele.
3. Initial investment was small, usually not more than \$1,000. (Price was low because business usually was acquired from a relative.)
4. Maintenance costs were low, rent of store space being the only cost for a business already well established.
5. The business was small enough so that it could be run by husband and wife, possibly with the aid of older children.
6. With addition of such sidelines as a laundry agency, tailoring or dressmaking, a small-scale business would yield large profits.

Conduct of the Business. All cleaners gave their work to two Japanese wholesale cleaners, one in San Francisco, one in San Mateo. "Early in the history of the Japanese cleaning business, it was discovered that the Japanese cleaners could not depend on Caucasian wholesalers to do their work." The charge by the wholesaler was 25% to 33% of the retail price. The remaining 2/3 to 3/4 of the retail charge was not all clear profit because the retail agent had to press and mend the garment after it was cleaned and often would deliver it also. "The operator could carry on a complete business equipped with a sedan, a pressing machine, a steam or electric iron and a kit of sewing implements..... The usual gross income, depending on the size of the establishment, ranged from \$400 to \$700 monthly, with two or three adults operating the shop. Total expenses ran around half of the total income."

The aggregate amount of business was more than \$1,000,000 annually, including laundry agency service, dyeing work and other adjuncts of the dry-cleaning business. Almost all cleaners rented their stores, which served also as their homes; hence little property was involved in this business. Their greatest loss at evacuation was loss of clientele and good will.

Nisei entered the business in the last few years before evacuation as independent operators by first serving as apprentices and then buying businesses as they became available. They have done even better financially than the Issei because they introduced newer business techniques and established better rapport with Caucasian customers. Since Japanese dry-cleaning agencies were scattered through the city, the varied local neighborhood relationships were important.

Labor Unions

"Several attempts were made by labor unions to induce Japanese cleaners to recognize and deal with labor leaders but since the pressure exerted was not very serious, Japanese cleaners went quietly about their business. However, the Association members cooperated with the unions in keeping price and wage levels on a par with those paid by Caucasian cleaners and also sent some of their cleaning to be done by Caucasian wholesale plants. No serious conflicts were noted with neighboring Caucasian cleaners although competition was keen and there were naturally some attempts at taking customers from each other."

Evacuation. Japanese cleaners voluntarily suspended business for a few days after December 7, 1941. Gradually they resumed business and before evacuation had recaptured three-fourths of their business. Many regular customers assured them of continued trade. One cleaner bought or attempted to buy several Japanese businesses at a very low price and some others tried to frighten customers away from Japanese stores. However, the whole situation was not so bad as the cleaners had expected.

Wholesale and Retail Art Goods Business Location

Approximately 80% of the Japanese art-goods and novelty shops (Bi-jutsu-ten) of the city were located on four blocks at the "better" end of Grant Avenue, famous main street of Chinatown. Probably most tourists thought that all stores were Chinese and did not know that half of them were Japanese. Local people, who could distinguish one shop from another, preferred a few of the Japanese stores because they were more attractive, and the clerks were more energetic in dealing with customers. However, both nationalities had both artistic and tawdry shops. Two of the locally famous stores, Daibutsu and Shiota, were among the 12 (or so) that were well established before the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915. In fact, the first Japanese traders were operating before 1900. By 1942 there were 39 stores on Grant Avenue and 10 outside Chinatown.

Organization. Japanese merchants had two organizations, the Retail Dealers Association (nearly 40 members) and the Art Goods Wholesale Association. They were intended to standardize prices and keep harmony among art goods dealers. The more or less uniform wages they sponsored were not generally to the advantage of employees, who received \$50 - \$60 a month for a 10 - 14 hour day. "Former art goods store workers insist that they will definitely not work at such a low wage level again as established by the Association... Since all employees were of Japanese descent, labor unions appeared not concerned about organizing them, nor did the workers themselves attempt to organize a labor union. May be the failure to do this was due to a lack of leaders or because of fear of losing their jobs when job opportunities for Japanese were relatively scarce."

Size and Conduct of Business. The average gross income of some of the retail businesses was surprisingly large. "For example, a small Grant Avenue shop, 24' x 50', did \$5,000 to \$6,000 worth of business every month and an average-sized store, with about five employees, usually did a gross business of more than \$15,000 a month." The largest firm was a partnership operating a chain of stores, probably 12, throughout the country. Other large firms:

Pacific Dry Goods Company, import, wholesale and retail business in Chinatown.
Ino Merchandise, with three branch stores on Grant Avenue and one on Market Street.
Daibutsu; Pagoda; Kisen; Nikko; Kajiwara, retail stores.
Nippon Trading Company.
Nippon Dry Goods Company, largest wholesale firm, doing an annual gross business of about \$500,000.

It is estimated that the approximate total annual business of Japanese art goods stores, including retail and wholesale, was over \$3,000,000.

None of the Grant Avenue merchants owned their store buildings. They rented space on either a month-to-month or year-to-year basis. A few had a 5-year lease. A few Nisei art dealers owned homes in the (Japanese?) residential district.

Relations with Other Races. Some Grant Avenue merchants were very active socially with Caucasian business associates. A few of the younger businessmen joined in numerous sukiyaki dinners and night club parties. "Grant Avenue merchants established numerous business connections with various firms in San Francisco and other states. These business connections might be helpful in their future business dealings." There was no competition in the wholesale art goods business, as none but Japanese imported made-in-Japan goods. Some business people and politicians complained loudly that cheap made-in-Japan goods were being dumped on the American market. However, this charge pertained more to articles of everyday use than to art objects and trinkets. "Japanese merchants' relations with other American firms remained very favorable." In the general art-goods field, there was constant competition between Oriental and Caucasian dealers.

In the retail trade, there was not much competition between Japanese shops and the art departments of large department stores as the latter sold principally to local people and the Japanese sold to tourists. However, there was keen competition and some ill feeling between Chinese and Japanese because of the latter's expansion in Chinatown. Actually, businesses of both groups went bankrupt in the Depression. Yet it seems to have been true that the Japanese were more aggressive and were taking the better locations on Grant Avenue. The Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Six Companies appealed to city officials to rid Chinatown of the Japanese and boys picketed Japanese stores without damage to the latter's business.

Evacuation. The close connection with Japan of some of these businesses caused their capital to be frozen. In others, losses were heavy because the time allowed for disposing of many small items of merchandise and store equipment, such as an art store contains, was short. One man, for example, claims that he sold his entire equipment in haste for less than 30% of its true value. The total loss in the trade has not been estimated. A few stored their goods. Some property (what kind?) was sold to the U. S. Government after evacuation.

Besides importers of art goods, there were importers of Japanese manufactured products and foods, whose business collapsed after Pearl Harbor. Because some of these importers had catered to the Japanese population only, they had no competitors outside their own nationality.

Hotel and Apartment House Business

Number. Japanese operated 16 hotels and 19 apartment houses in the Japanese district and 5 hotels in Chinatown catering principally to Negroes. Only one of the establishments can be considered up-to-date, viz. the Yamato Hotel on Grant Avenue, with a clientele of well-to-do visitors from Japan.

Quality of Structures. In Nihon-machi (Fillmore Street district), both apartment houses and hotels have been converted from old houses and flats that are 50 years old or more. They are mostly of wooden frame construction, with old-fashioned plumbing fixtures. Since they were not built as hotels originally and no recent improvements had been made, the rooms were inconveniently arranged. "Even so, as compared with Chicago and other large industrial city apartments, the structure and the sanitary condition of these old-fashioned houses in San Francisco where the Japanese resided, are much better, according to the various individuals who have seen and lived in both places."

The association of hotel and apartment-house operators restricted membership to those catering to visitors from Japan. The association was small, its purpose not clearly defined, and it was not very active. "The Caucasian association invited some of the Japanese hotel and apartment house operators in Chinatown and in the Japanese colony to join their organization, but the Japanese saw little advantage in accepting such membership since with few exceptions they gave service only to their own people."

Standard rates for transients ranged from 50¢ to \$1.00 per day per person. Customers going to or from Japan were charged more because extra service was given, such as securing passports, arranging baggage transfer, and the like. Apartment-house rents ranged from \$8.00 to \$50 per month.

Ownership. Six hotels and 10 apartment houses are known to have been Japanese owned; 3 of the apartments have Caucasian tenants, past and present. The 16 include most of the better income properties.

Approximate valuation of some of these properties. "One apartment for Caucasians was worth at evacuation time about \$20,000; another with white tenants, roughly \$50,000; some smaller apartments about \$10,000 each; and a typical Japanese colony was valued at about \$40,000."

Evacuation. Most of the income property is being managed by the real estate division of the Trust Department in a San Francisco bank. Contracts with this bank can be terminated by the property owners at any time. Fees charged and management given seem to have been entirely satisfactory. For those who did not own the buildings they operated, disposition of the business was not so easy and no one plan was followed.

Relations with Other Races. Although few of the Japanese in this business had personal contacts with Caucasians, relations of the group as a whole were friendly. One Nisei apartment-house operator got along very well with the 30 Caucasian families who were his tenants. Not a family moved out after Pearl Harbor. There was practically no economic competition with Caucasians in the Fillmore district, as there were only 3 Caucasian-operated apartments, all of which catered to whites.

Employees in Japanese-operated hotels and apartment houses were almost entirely Japanese." (Some Filipinos were hired?) They were not unionized.

One of the businesses catering to Negroes was in Nihon-machi, all others in Chinatown. Relations between the races were friendly.

Domestic Workers

The history of this employment goes back to the "school-boy" domestics of the 1890's and early 1900's. Next came the Japanese family workers. Finally, "from ordinary housework, they branched out to become caterers, chauffeurs, chefs and other higher-wage bracket workers."

By 1942, men live-in domestics received \$75 - \$85 per month while women received \$65 or somewhat more. For those living outside, wages were \$125 a month or more, according to the former manager of a Japanese employment agency.

Types of Work. Although there were some specialists who did only one type of job, most men did general work such as sweeping and cleaning rooms, polishing floors, cleaning windows and doing some plain cooking. In the last category, Japanese who received \$100 and up were good home cooks and short-order cooks although few had reached the category of chef. There were few chauffeurs because of small stature and faulty eyesight and few butlers because of the poor English spoken. But several had a good reputation as confidential valets.

Some women worked as nursemaids, "and a great many, both men and women, did laundry work at which they were very adept." In the live-in category, most Japanese were employed as couples, usually receiving around \$150 a month, plus room and board.

Among outside workers, there was not so much demand for gardeners as in Los Angeles since so few homes within San Francisco city limits have gardens and large lawns. Down the Peninsula, in San Mateo County where the large homes are located, there was a demand for Japanese gardeners.

The "day worker", male or female, usually served a number of households, doing general housework. The "piece worker", engaged by the hour, took such jobs as cooking for a special dinner, washing dishes or contracting to clean windows. The "home worker" collected washings, did laundering at home and delivered the laundry. Some seamstresses were in the home-worker class. The "part-time" laborer had regular places to work for one or more half days per week. Finally, there were the "school-boy" and "school-girl" workers. Before the evacuation, pay scales were as follows: For men, 75¢ to \$1.00 an hour; for women, 50¢ to 85¢ an hour. At present, pay for both men and women is \$1.00 an hour and over. Even though pay was good, Nisei were reluctant to become domestics.

Relations with Other Races. Filipinos, Chinese and Japanese were all in demand as domestic workers. "Negroes were not very much in demand." However, since 1942 Chinese and Filipinos have been drifting into more profitable work and the number of Negro domestic workers has increased greatly.

Proportion of Japanese in Domestic Work. The former manager of one of the leading Japanese employment agencies estimates that 20% of the adult Japanese population were live-in domestics. Another 20% were engaged in other forms of domestic work. Although these figures seem high, the small number (in comparison with other cities) of Japanese restaurant owners, florists, fruit-stand managers and wholesale market workers means that domestic workers undoubtedly were a relatively large occupational group. The nature of the total San Francisco population also would foster wide employment of domestics. In spite of their numbers, they still worked, of course, on an individual or family basis, and had close acquaintance with Caucasian employers. These relations seem to have been consistently good.

Fishermen

Number of Fishermen. There were approximately 150 Nisei and possibly 30 Issei in the commercial fishing industry. Apparently all worked on Japanese owned boats. There were about 12 fishing boats in the San Francisco area. All were owned and captained by Nisei, although on each boat there still were 2 or 3 Issei fishermen. All Japanese fishermen belonged to the CIO.

Size of Business. The fish were caught on overnight trips and sold either in China Basin at San Francisco or at Pittsburg across the Bay. Total annual business in good years amounted to \$220,000, with each owner netting more than \$5,000 profit. At evacuation, all boats were sold to Caucasians for \$5,000 to \$9,000 apiece, amounts which represent a big loss to the Japanese.

Evacuation. "Even after the declaration of war, the boats were allowed to go out to sea, although for obvious reasons, the profit was greatly diminished..... it averaged about \$200 profit a trip. Fear that the boats would be confiscated by the government as had those at Los Angeles and Monterey made San Franciscans hasten the sale of this equipment. Inability to find suitable buyers on short notice accounted for the low prices.... The relationship with other fishermen during this time did not change visibly. No news of damage to boats or of ill treatment of Japanese fishermen by other fishermen was noted."

Flower Market

Japanese flower growers came to the San Francisco wholesale flower market from South San Francisco, San Leandro, Richmond, Oakland and other communities. Although there was no large Japanese association market as in Los Angeles, there was one Japanese wholesale market. (Just one company?) Italians dominated the retail trade in San Francisco.

Other Occupations

Because San Francisco Nihon-machi provided special services, such as dancing teachers, printing establishments, and hospitals, for all surrounding towns, it had more people in professional and semi-professional positions than there is space to list. For example, there were at least 15 insurance agencies, 6 photo studios, 7 transfer companies, 6 employment offices; agencies of Japanese banks, steamship companies, newspapers; shops specializing in Japanese products like sake, miso, tea cookies, Japanese vegetables and canned goods.

Social Life

Although the 15 churches (including Christian and Buddhist), serving the Japanese population, seem a large number, actually it is not so large as the number in Los Angeles, relative to population. The number of schools, especially of kindergartens, was large. There were 12, not counting sewing schools, music schools, etc. There was even a YMCA language school. There were the usual Ken societies but not so many young people's clubs or gangs. Different types of employment, lack of an organized circuit of athletic clubs and other elements seem to have prevented the florescence of clubs which occurred in Los Angeles in years immediately preceding evacuation.

Even so, the Japanese in San Francisco conducted their social life almost completely within their own group. As an older Nisei business man said, "I attended a church exclusively for the Japanese, most of my friends were Japanese, my business (general dry-goods) was with the Japanese, the YMCA and the JAACL organizations which I attended were also mainly (the JAACL entirely) limited to Japanese, and, finally, most of the social activities such as dances, athletics and entertainments were also with the Japanese groups. "From the business standpoint, my contacts with the Caucasian groups were greater but still superficial. It was mostly a 'hello' and 'good-bye' sort of relationship."

SAN MATEO COUNTY

Going south from San Francisco, one passes through the following towns and suburban districts, given in order, which had some Japanese residents.

Burlingame

Burlingame is a little city of 15,000 inhabitants in which there were a couple of Japanese businesses and about 10 people working as domestics.

San Mateo

San Mateo, the largest town in the county, has approximately 20,000 inhabitants. The center for Japanese activities has a Buddhist Temple, Union Church, language school and JAACL. Like most other towns in this county, and like Piedmont and Pasadena, it is the home of many wealthy people. Its families who have high prestige are somewhat conservative and religious.

Japanese have been here since about the time of the earthquake, when a few began working as domestics and a grocery store was opened to serve the Japanese laborers at the Leslie Salt Works. After the earthquake and fire, more Caucasians moved south from San Francisco to this area and more Japanese came to work in their homes. "By the time of evacuation, many Japanese had worked in the same homes for as long as 30 years."

"Of approximately 100 Japanese families (600 individuals) that lived in San Mateo, 34 owned their own homes and two of them together owned an additional six houses." Two of the 40 houses have been sold since evacuation, the remaining 38 being worth nearly \$250,000. Although in 1942 the Japanese were still engaged mostly in housework, chiefly as gardeners, day workers and home launderers, "they made a fair living." In addition, there were 4 laundries, 3 cleaning

and dyeing shops (one wholesale), 2 well established grocers, 2 nurseries and 2 popular floral shops. There were a few other small businesses. San Mateo nurseries apparently sold their products retail, specializing in potted plants, young trees and shrubs. Of all these businesses, only two were owned by Japanese.

In Japanese social life, San Mateo was a solid "family community". Its once popular pool hall and boarding house were closed through lack of patronage and through pressure of Japanese residents. Nevertheless, there were about 50 bachelors in the San Mateo locality. Both Buddhist and Christian groups were strong but "one great advantage the Christians had over the Buddhists was that the city of San Mateo itself was a very strong Protestant church center." Nisei participated in numerous sports and religious activities.

"Viewed as a whole, evacuation experiences were not very painful." Business was nearly normal when evacuation was announced. Several people rented their houses at too low a figure and sold cars and personal goods for very small amounts. On the other hand, church women's societies and the local chief of police did a great deal to help the Japanese through the evacuation period and many others sympathized with them.

Belmont

Belmont is a small town which, so far as the Japanese were concerned, was "strictly a nursery business community...Its nurseries were not as large as the Japanese nurseries in Woodside and Redwood City but they did a big trade in raising annual flowers, such as sweet peas and tulips."

Redwood City

Redwood City, the San Mateo county seat, is a town of about 12,500 people. Apparently there were some domestics, gardeners, and the nurseries mentioned above. It is not known what urban businesses there may have been.

Menlo Park

Menlo Park is a little town. Like Atherton and Woodside which are residential districts on its outskirts, it is another suburban community of well-to-do families, mostly of Irish descent. (The majority of Atherton families were Jewish.) Although the first Japanese settler at Menlo Park was a farmer, there was little farming. Of approximately 250 Japanese in the three communities, comprising close to 80 families, most were domestics and landscape gardeners. "About 60 families obtained their income from these two sources and another ten from farming...Five operated nurseries and four were in some other form of business. One was a Japanese language school teacher." Of the four businesses, all small, in Menlo Park, one was a large and prosperous grocery store, one was a dry-cleaning and two were home-laundry businesses. The income of the domestic workers and gardeners was stable and quite good. The Japanese cultural and social center for this locality was farther south at Palo Alto. "A relatively high degree of assimilation with the Caucasian community had been achieved through frequent association with the intellectual groups, participation in athletic contests, meetings of religious organizations and by the active leadership of prominent individuals. Assimilation was accelerated in this area because of the cosmopolitanizing influence of Leland Stanford University in Palo Alto."

Caucasians of Menlo Park expressed regret regarding the evacuation and have maintained a favorable attitude since it. The grocery store was sold to one of its Caucasian employees "at a reasonable price". The smaller businesses were in rented property which was given up. Home owners leased their property to Caucasian friends. On the whole, the urban group did not suffer greatly. What happened to the farmers and nurserymen has not been stated.

Half Moon Bay and Pescadero

The small communities of Half Moon Bay and Pescadero on the Pacific coast had a few Japanese of unknown occupation.

ALAMEDA COUNTY

Berkeley

Residence. Berkeley had no Nihon-machi as in San Francisco. However, because of an unwritten real estate agreement, almost all Japanese lived below Grove Street, i. e., below the Berkeley Hills, in a district of pleasant small cottages and small apartment houses. A few of the older Japanese residents, the well-to-do, and those connected with the University of California or the Pacific School of Religion, lived around the University (i. e., above Grove Street) or in the hill neighborhoods.

Occupation. The population of approximately 1,500 (in a total population of 85,000) was engaged as domestics, in gardening, and the management of local retail stores and in businesses in Oakland and San Francisco. A few doctors and dentists had offices in two cities. Local shops were the usual family businesses, grocery stores, cleaners, florists, etc.

The University. Students from other parts of the state lived at the Japanese Men's Student Club, the Japanese Women's Student Club (both under trusteeships), the International House or in boarding houses for Japanese. A few lived in apartments although it was difficult for Nisei to obtain apartments near the campus because of the attitude of the Apartment House Owners' Association. The Japanese students "within their own group had their fling at college life," by organizing local socials and dances and by attending a variety of public functions in San Francisco.

Social Organization. The two Buddhist and two Christian churches formed the nuclei of Japanese society in Berkeley. Both the Free Methodist Church and the Berkeley United Church had their own Japanese ministers, as in other towns. In addition the United Church usually had a Caucasian serving a novitiate to conduct Young Peoples' services. Buddhist Nisei spent more time than Christian Nisei in learning Japanese language and culture.

Evacuation. "The jar of this experience after life in a town built 'around a university' was difficult for all since Tanforan Assembly Center was once a race-track and its stalls were horse-stalls." Aside from this special shock, the occurrences at evacuation seem to have been like those in other towns. Much personal property was sold outright; the remainder was stored in the churches.

Alameda

Alameda had about 800 Japanese in its population of 36,000 people (1940). They lived in the east part of town, whether by choice or because of restrictive real estate covenants has not been stated. According to one estimate, one-sixth of the Japanese families owned their homes. The Japanese owned a community building as well as the usual Buddhist and Christian churches.

Occupation. Most of the people worked as gardeners and domestics or conducted small local businesses, among which were 3 laundries (one in existence more than 35 years), 4 florist shops (2 of which had been operating more than 35 years), a garage, an art shop, a photographer, 6 cleaners, 6 shoe repair shops and 3 groceries. As in San Francisco, most were family-conducted businesses and scattered through Caucasian neighborhoods. The population as a whole was middle-class, independent and conservative.

Local professional people included a physician, a dentist, and an architect. Because Alameda schools were considered unusually good, business and professional people who worked in Oakland or San Francisco lived in Alameda for the sake of their children. In this group were white-collar workers in the import-export houses and the banks.

Community Relationships. Besides the usual church organizations, Kenjinkai, and JACL, there was some socio-economic participation with Caucasians in the Rotary Club, merchants' associations and community drives. One of the Japanese florists was especially well known among Caucasians. To promote good will, he had taken to Japan two baseball teams composed of Japanese and Caucasians.

The community was civic-minded and strove to cooperate in community affairs. "Even the Buddhists and the Christians lived on friendly terms." On the whole, the Japanese got along fairly well with their Caucasian neighbors."

Evacuation. Because of the proximity of airports and military installations, Alameda was one of the first towns to be evacuated. At Alameda is the Oakland Airport and a large new naval air training base rivalling Pensacola. Supply depots and shipyards now line the waterfront. On February 15, 1942, Issei were ordered evacuated from the western part of the city. The second order evacuated aliens from the entire city. The third order by early May had evacuated all persons of Japanese ancestry to Tanforan Assembly Center. "The only suggestion governmental agencies offered was for the Japanese to sell their property and belongings and move out. The government offered to provide storage for movable possessions but would not guarantee their safekeeping.

"The greatest help.....came from Hayward, Mt. Eden, Centerville, and Irvington. Japanese of these communities sent their trucks to provide transportation and then sheltered the Alameda people in their own homes and in shacks around their farms. For two to four months, these evacuated Japanese were without income, and yet no welfare cases developed." Churches and the JACL had helped to effect this evacuation.

EAST BAY FLORAL INDUSTRY

Number in Business

Colonies of flower growers and nurserymen were scattered through the East Bay area. More than 1,000 people were employed in the Japanese floral industry

of the whole Bay area (but not 1,000 separate families). The 1939 Rafu Shimpō Directory listed 14 nurseries and greenhouses at Richmond; Oakland, 24; Hayward, 10; San Lorenzo, 5; and there were others at El Cerrito, San Leandro, and elsewhere. It is estimated that 75% of the growers owned property.

Conduct of Business. Greenhouse nursery plots were 3-10 acres each, or occasionally more. Land was worth \$2,000 an acre at the outskirts of the cities and even more inside city limits. "The average cost of greenhouses, say 35 feet by 200 feet, ran from \$20 to \$25 per running foot or to a total of \$4,000 to \$5,000 per structure before 1941. Some were able to keep the cost of construction down considerably by building the greenhouses with their own labor." Boilers and other equipment had to be bought however. Total investments ranged from \$15,000 to \$300,000 or even more for one or two of the largest growers. In this area, the chief products were roses, carnations, gardenias, holiday decorative plants, shrubs and bedding plants.

Chrysanthemum and Other Outside Flower Growers. Since repeated growth of flowers on a piece of land fosters increase of disease and insects and decrease of soil fertility, these growers moved every three or four years or rented extra plots, rotating cultivation among the several gardens or fields. For the same reasons, only about 15% of these growers owned property. The average chrysthemum grower rented 4-10 acres, planting flowers on about half the acreage in one season. The investment was chiefly in cash rent of \$50 an acre (or more); lumber and cloth for plant cover; packing shed and storeroom; stakes; pipes and hose; insecticides; fertilizer; string and wire; and water.

"Three wholesale flower markets were established in San Francisco, the largest of the three being operated by Japanese, one by a mixed group, chiefly Italians and other Caucasians, and the third and smallest market, by Chinese." A large proportion of the flowers was shipped East.

Evacuation. The size of the greenhouse owners' investment and the nature of their property, with so much glass and pipe and different grades of cloth, made it especially liable to damage. With irresponsible tenants and inattentive agents (even when not actually unscrupulous, as some have been), the nursery property has deteriorated. For many of the greenhouse men, losses have been unusually heavy.

Problems and Possibilities of Return to the Bay Area

The table, "Comparison of San Francisco Bay Counties," shows the number from this area who were at Tule Lake Center in 1944. The largest block of Bay Region people were still at the Central Utah Center. There were 23 former San Francisco residents at Poston and 33 at Gila, and probably others from Oakland and other towns. Some San Mateo County evacuees are at Heart Mountain. The exact location of others is not known. The 1800-1900 Bay Area people at Tule Lake (1944), being highly urbanized and diverse, know each other by hearsay rather than personal friendship. They do not form, in whole or part, a cohesive group.

Of the various occupations and types of trade, probably it would be most difficult for the art goods shops to reopen, since so much of their merchandise was from the Orient. Live-in domestics everywhere are in the best position, with day workers and piece workers among domestics and gardeners in the next best position for return. Miscellaneous city businesses, such as floral shops, general stores,

restaurants serving Japanese food, will not reopen until either Japanese farmers and nurserymen or city dwellers return, to provide goods for sale and a clientele. So far as towns are concerned, the City of San Francisco (where there was more antagonism immediately after Pearl Harbor) and Richmond and Alameda with their mushroom war industries will present more difficulties than other towns of the area. San Mateo towns probably will be the best. Housing seems to be the biggest worry in the whole area. However, there is more effective organization to help returning evacuees, especially in San Francisco, than in inland valley towns.

Return of domestic workers seems especially favorable, as

1. Topaz Center people report that "numerous former employers have asked their pre-evacuation domestics to come back as soon as possible;"
2. domestics are not unionized and not concerned with union attitudes;
3. will have places to live;
4. need not deal with the general public;
5. need not contend with rationing and shortages of materials;
6. will not have strong competition among the present inexperienced Negro domestics or others, because so many have left this type of work even though demand has increased. In spite of these advantages, Nisei still are not attracted to domestic work, according to Topaz residents.

Among retail cleaners in San Francisco and San Mateo Counties (possibly the East Bay region also), the question of return of a Japanese wholesale cleaner seems to be fundamental in their planning. If the San Mateo wholesaler returns, many of the retail cleaners will be willing to go back. Evacuees are worried by the following questions:

1. Although they were not unionized before evacuation, will the unions cause difficulty now?
2. Can evacuees get city permits?
3. Will Japanese operators be forced to trade with Caucasian wholesale cleaners? Will they be able to trade with them, if the Japanese need to?
4. How big a campaign will Caucasian competitors make against Japanese return to the business?
5. Has the attitude of former clientele changed?
6. Since so many rented store space, rather than owning it, will they be able to rent space and get equipment now?

"On the whole, the prospects for starting a retail dry cleaning business, for Nisei, in San Francisco appear bright. Many former cleaners with cash resources are thinking.....of opening shops with their own small cleaning plants so that they will not be dependent on wholesale cleaners. Permits for operating such cleaning plants can be obtained from the city. But Issei.....are planning to wait until the end of the war and then to establish themselves in San Francisco." (Written in January 1945).

In the fishing industry, Nisei with some assistance from Issei seem financially capable of starting anew, but they may have difficulty obtaining boats. (All boats were sold at evacuation.) Issei say they do not expect ever to work on the boats again, and the Nisei are fearful of making up crews entirely by themselves as they claim they have not had enough experience. With Nisei being drafted, there may not even be enough Nisei with any experience to man the boats. If they can get permits, boats, and crew, they think they can make a living as prices are high.

Greenhouse and Nursery Men. Interviews at Topaz indicate that "probably more than 50% of the East Bay nurserymen" still at the center have insufficient operating capital to start business again. Even those with capital think that it will take much time and money to repair greenhouses and equipment and build up plant stock again. Several of the properties are in serious disrepair. A few gave duration leases or complicated leases which will make very difficult an early return of property to Japanese owners. Some renters are advising against return, evidently being unwilling to give up a profitable business although unwilling to say so openly. Owners fear that such renters might cause them trouble. As in most other businesses, inability to get experienced labor must be considered, too.

On the other hand, the high percentage of land ownership and the presence of houses on nursery property are factors favorable to return. Also the price of flowers and nursery stock is high and evacuees probably can make a good living despite high costs of labor and of new stock. Leaders at Topaz are seriously planning for return if public attitudes are at all favorable.

As there were fewer owners among San Mateo nurserymen, the latter feel sure that Caucasian owners, even though they may be personally friendly, will not evict present Caucasian tenants in order to rent again to Japanese.

Hotel and Apartment House Managers

Negro population in San Francisco has grown from 4,846 to 12,000 or more, in three years. Some estimates state that possibly 10,000 now live in the district where formerly fewer than 6,000 Japanese lived. Although Japanese hotel and apartment-house managers seem to expect no personal antagonism from Negroes should they return, they are influenced by attitudes of Caucasian acquaintances toward the present Negro population. When these people say that the Japanese would not want to associate or should not be associated with the new Negro residents, the evacuees are reluctant to oppose such judgment.

Topaz people think that hotel and apartment house owners can return successfully. For them "it (coming to agreement with present operators) is merely a question of time." "Eventually the rather considerable financial investments....will draw them back home."

Fortunately, people in this line of business will also get housing when they take over their business again, "that is, providing they do not object to living in the midst of Negroes," as they usually phrase the problem now. In order to house other Japanese families, present tenants must be evicted, and this the evacuees are reluctant to do.

Towns. San Mateo and small surrounding communities seem the most favorable on all counts. Caucasian renters have taken good care of Japanese-owned property. There is some preparation, by both old residents and evacuees, for the latter's return. The prestige of the former and the secure position of the latter as long-time domestics and gardeners or managers of well-patronized shops should help greatly. People from the Menlo Park district south of San Mateo are more scattered and their leadership broken; otherwise, important factors are favorable.

Leaders of the Alameda people (from the East Bay) also have been scattered or leadership lost. But here also, possibilities of return are fairly good.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Community Analysis Notes No. 14
April 16, 1945

WEST COAST LOCALITIES: SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY*

THE COUNTY IN GENERAL

Japanese Population

Size of Population. According to the 1940 Census, San Joaquin County had 4,484 Japanese residents. More than half of the county Japanese were in and around Stockton.

Distribution of Population by Townships.

O'Neal twp.	2,253
(Stockton, 1,259)	
Elkhorn twp.	510
(Lodi, 163)	
Union twp.	479
Castoria twp.	457
Liberty twp.	410
Tulare twp.	210
(Tracy 19)	
Elliot twp.	82
Douglas twp.	72
Dent twp.	11
	<u>4,484</u>

Evacuated Population. From San Joaquin County, 4,746 Japanese were evacuated to assembly centers; most of the additional 250 probably were non-resident individuals who returned to the county to register in order to be evacuated with their families.

Over 4,000 went to Stockton Assembly Center, 286 to Sacramento Assembly Center, and in May 1942 went directly to Manzanar Relocation Center. From the assembly centers almost all the San Joaquin County people went either to Tule Lake, Gila River, or Rohwer.

In 1944, there were 1,056 former San Joaquin residents segregated at Tule Lake; 596 of them came from Rohwer.

*These are working notes prepared for use of the War Relocation Authority staff, and are based primarily on retrospective accounts of pre-evacuation communities by evacuee members of the project Community Analysis Staffs.

*Also see "Relocation at Rohwer Center: Part III. Background for the Resettlement of Rohwer Farmers," Community Analysis Section, Project Analysis Series No. 20 by Margaret Lentis. Chapter VI deals specifically with Japanese farming in San Joaquin County.

Towns and Villages. Around Stockton and Lodi are clusters of small towns and villages. For example, Waterloo, Linden, and Peters are east of Stockton; French Camp, Lathrop, and Banta are to the south, while east of Lodi is Lockeford, while to its west is Woodbridge. In the southern part of the county are Manteca, Tracy, and Ripon. The San Joaquin Delta area is in the western part of the county.

Japanese Occupations and Industries

Employment. The 1940 Census shows that 1922 of the Japanese in the county were employed. The majority (1,429) were in agriculture. The second largest group (203) were in personal services, while the third largest group (178) were in the wholesale and retail trade.

Property Ownership. Of the 214 farms operated by the Japanese in 1940, 38 were fully owned, 15 were partly owned, 5 were managed, and 156 were tenant operated. Of the 214 farms, 71 were in O'Neal township; 61 were in Castoria township; 22 were in Union township; Elkhorn township had 21; the other townships had 10 or less.

STOCKTON

Population. Founded as a Gold Rush town, Stockton has been prosperous during most of its history. The population grew from 55,000 in 1940 to 70,000 in 1943; now it is estimated at nearly 80,000. The highly mixed population includes Italians, Chinese, Basques, and a Hindu-Afghan group in addition to the three principal minorities, the Mexicans, Japanese, and Filipinos. Before the war, 10% of the population was Mexican. There were few Negroes until war industries attracted a large number to the city.

In 1940, 208 of the 1,259 Japanese in Stockton were listed as family heads.

Japanese Businesses. There was the usual range of Japanese businesses, which catered principally to Filipinos, Mexicans, and Japanese. The Japanese-Chinese business district was immediately southwest of the Court House. Several businesses were considerably more prosperous than the usual small family-run businesses. One prosperous business was a general store whose owner now lives in New York City; the Stockton Theatre Corporation still operates profitably. Among the several profitable up-to-date businesses sold at evacuation were the Matsumoto drug store and a hotel owned by the Hisaka family.

Among the businesses and business organizations were four sewings schools; a Stockton-published newspaper, The Stockton Times; farmers' associations; Nisei Farmers' League; Vegetable Produce, Grocers', Cleaners', Barbers', Hotel, and Dry Goods Merchants' Associations. There were nine Japanese commission merchants or produce wholesalers.

Social Life. Besides those who lived in the South El Dorado Avenue section, a number of Japanese lived south of the Santa Fe railroad in a pleasant residential neighborhood of Italians and other Caucasians, Chinese, and Japanese.

Well-to-do farmers' families lived in town on a social level with the well-to-do town businessmen. Nisei of both rural and urban families, except those in the poorest laboring class, patronized the "good" movies and restaurants run by Caucasians rather than those in Japanese Town which were patronized by Mexicans, Filipinos, and Negroes.

Togo Shima, eldest son of Kinya Ushijima who reclaimed much of the Delta, had many friends among the Caucasian businessmen of Stockton. He lived entirely as they did, spent money freely, and seems to have been genuinely liked by them. He now lives in New York City.

In addition to many Kenjin-Kai and the usual Japanese Association and JAFL, there was a World War Veterans' organization, Japanese Boy Scout troop, a Japanese Salvation Army, three language schools (one Christian) and three Tenrikyo groups.

Within Japanese society, Christians and Buddhists tended to carry on their activities separately. Rivalry between the two groups in basketball and other sports was keen. The high school had a Japanese club which attempted to balance the leadership of the two groups. Although this club, which was quite active, provided most of the social life of the young people, there was some mixing with other students.

Adults "did not mix socially with Caucasians...Despite this lack of social intercourse between Japanese and Caucasians, the two communities existing side by side got along fairly well...little or no discrimination shown toward Japanese by Caucasians."* Relations remained "fairly normal" even up to evacuation.

SAN JOAQUIN DELTA

Agriculture

Ownership. Before evacuation, one-fourth of the Japanese farm operators in San Joaquin County were landowners. Although not as high a proportion as in Fresno County, this is still much higher than in most areas of Japanese concentration. These Japanese-owned farms ranged in size from 5 acres to 8000 acres. Although most of the ranches were very large corporation farms, some were small truck farms. Most small farmers lived south and east of town.

Crops. The biggest Delta crops were potatoes, sugar beets, and dry onions; tomatoes, celery, beans, and asparagus were also grown. Small farmers among the Japanese sold their products directly to grocers in town or in the large public retail market where stalls could be rented from the market association for \$25 a year.

Ranching Companies. The Woyl-Zuckerman, Hoover, Empire Delta Farms, and other ranches had labor camps with bunkhouses and messhouses. Before the war, the companies supplied bed, fuel, and food, usually at \$1 a day. The Japanese occupied most of the year-round jobs underneath the top managerial personnel, such as jobs in machine shops, as tractor drivers, warehouse foremen, labor foremen, and chemist's assistant. Some Mexicans and Filipinos also lived on these ranches the year around, but they were not in the foremen class with the Japanese.

Supervisory Caucasian personnel, Japanese farm supervisors, and most of the larger Japanese farm owners lived in town. They generally spoke English and were considerably Americanized.

*From a report "Stockton and Environs" prepared by the Community Analysis Section at Tule Lake Center, December 13, 1944.

Nisei-Issei-Kibei Influence. A Nisei has estimated that only about 5% of the Japanese farm workers in the Delta were Nisei. They got along with the Mexicans and others quite well, apparently better than the Issei did. As one would expect they felt more at home when in Stockton. Issei and Kibei in the labor camps exerted a strong Japanese influence. As they were isolated on the Delta islands, spoke only Japanese, and had many old men in their group, their old-world attitudes are expectable. As in most small ingrown communities, their life was full of gossip, favoritism, discrimination against other races and occasionally against some of the very Americanized Nisei. They valued a certain amount of Japanese education and highly valued practical experience, but they did not seek much American education. Families whose children were growing up in this isolation were more Japanese than in most other parts of California. What was true of the Delta was true to nearly the same extent of the labor camps on large farms around Lodi.

FRENCH CAMP

There was a sizable Japanese settlement at French Camp on both sides of Highway 50, 5 miles south of Stockton. On the whole, Japanese farms here were smaller than those in and around the Delta, but the farmers made a fair living from truck crops. Their vegetables and strawberries were sold at the local Stockton market or were trucked to Sacramento, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. At least one man raised some chickens commercially but there seem to have been no large commercial poultry farmers. Here there were independent farmers, not the class of foremen on large ranches such as existed west and north of the city.

The French Camp way of living was "fairly good," according to the autobiography of a former French Camp resident who went to Manzanar. Though there was a Japanese language school, the people "brought up their children in the American ideas as much as they knew how to...."

Nisei attended high school in Stockton. In some cases they became as much a part of the Stockton community as the wealthier Delta farmers.

In March, 1942, people living west of the highway were evacuated. The 40 families east of the highway remained until May when they went directly to Manzanar.

LINDEN

Linden is in the area east of Stockton, approaching the Sierra foothills. A few Japanese operated dry-land farms here.

LODI

Lodi Japanese farm operators were in good financial condition. They held fruit and nut orchards, vineyards, and farms specializing in large contract crops such as tomatoes. Although the whole county is wealthy agriculturally with high production, Lodi probably is better off than other communities because the wealth is better distributed. Although the Graffigna, Di Giorgio (former Earl Fruit Company) and other companies have large holdings, many farmers make a comfortable

living from 20 acres of grapes. Lodi is a more productive region than most of the other grape-growing sections.

Here also were the larger ranch "camps" (messhouses and bunkhouses) for laborers. Customarily, each camp has only one race, either Japanese, Mexican, Filipinos, or Hindu. In the Delta where there were fewer families and more unattached males among the Japanese, they might be mixed in the same camp with Filipinos or other groups. Most foremen for the Earl Fruit Company seem to have been Japanese. Their houses, though the usual plain company houses, were kept in good condition. This company was paternalistic toward its Japanese employees and permitted the building of Japanese language schools on its property.

After the evacuation, the business of the company was damaged by the charge of "Jap-lover," but it seems to have recovered whatever business may have been lost. The Lodi managers in 1943 still seemed friendly to their former Japanese employees.

In Lodi, as in Stockton, the Christian group was small but vigorous. A few years before evacuation, a Christian missionary started working in Lodi.

EVACUATION

After the outbreak of war, there are said to have been two killings in Stockton, but there were no mass fights, as some of the Japanese had expected, because of such a large population of unattached males of several races. A few Caucasians with Japanese friends say that Filipinos were given a go-ahead signal for attacks on Japanese by other Caucasians who disliked Japanese. (A story heard, of course, elsewhere in California.)

In the Delta camps, Japanese, Filipinos, and Mexicans continued to eat together in messhalls without difficulty. In town, the Nisei with money who had been accustomed to going to better restaurants and all other public places continued to attend public dances and similar functions as late as March 1942. Trade in Japanese business establishments declined somewhat, but there was little obvious discrimination.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Community Analysis Notes No. 15
July 18, 1945

A LEXICON OF CENTER TERMS

Introductory Note

Many words and phrases result from the evacuee's effort to express himself most tellingly. The Issei adopt those English words which express their thoughts more compactly than the Japanese equivalents, while the Nisei choose those expressive Japanese terms which strike their fancy, when not drawing directly on an ability to use or develop American slang. The result is words and phrases part English and part Japanese. A knowledge of both languages is necessary to appreciate completely the richness and succinctness of the words and phrases so compounded.

The whole tendency in language at the Tule Lake Center seems to be toward a shorter, more expressive speech which is neither good English nor good Japanese, but is certainly good "talk." The trend is similar to that which occurred in Hawaii. However, at Tule the trend is held in check by the more solidly-built English of the Nisei. The gradual disuse of English by the Issei in the center increases the development of Japanized English.

The merging of the two language styles may fill the need for a special center language. The center is an abnormal community with distinctive characteristics; it is not a corner of Japan, nor is it in the mainstream of American life. Such a separate community develops its own vocabulary, assimilating into it the type of humor, sarcasm, and attitudes which reflect the daily life of the center.

Terms Used by Issei and Kibei

These terms are more common at Tule Lake with its higher percentage of Issei and Kibei than elsewhere. Yet most Nisei would "catch" the meaning.

- bôn hêdô^ô Used like "bone-head" or "lunk-head" but has slightly different meaning. The "bon" comes from bonkura which means a shiftless or indolent fellow. Bonyari means in a daze.
- dêdô^ô bôru Used for "dead ball". It means hit by a pitched ball instead of the proper meaning of a ball which goes into the plate off the bat.
- gâmu sêttô^ô Means end of a game, in baseball. Comes from term used in tennis.
- bakkû nêttô Means back-stop.
- gôrô^ô Means ground-ball. Goro-goro is an onomatopoeic word describing the sound of something rolling; also "thunder".
- tônne^l Refers to the error in which a ball passes through players legs.
- dôrôn gâmu Means "game called off" because of rain; possibly from the Japanese for "drowned out", although it is sometimes used also for games called on account of darkness.
- yângû Describes a young person unversed in anything practical. The term is used in addressing such. Like "bub" in English.
- pônkin^ô Used like "pumpkin head".
- sulô pokû Means "Slow poke". However, Issei think of poku as referring to pork. Pigs are slow animals, of course.
- chôn Means bachelor. Comes from Korean. As such, almost a term of disapproval.
- chôkkûrû To cheat. Comes from chokku chee (Chinese).
- chôkkû chêe kind Means "something underhanded". Used by Nisei as well.
- têkkiyâ Means job. Comes from gardeners of southern California who "took care" of so many gardens. To lose one's tekkiya means to lose one's job.
- têkushî dê yûkû Means "to walk". Tekushi means taxi; dê means with; yuku means to go. Since there are no such things as taxis in camp, such a statement isn't taken at face value. It is a term expressing attitude toward center life.
- sêcô hân Means "second hand", Used in derogatory fashion about girls of questionable character.

tōtē shān	<u>Totemo</u> means "very". <u>Shan</u> comes from schon, in German. Thus, "very pretty".
dēmō	From "demonstration".
piūrō	From program, professional, or proletariat.
senchī	From sentimentalism.
āgi	From agitator.
ērō	From eroticism.
būri	From bourgeoisie.

Terms Often Used by Issei

These terms reflect the Issei interest in sports, in food, and in the common objects of camp life.

Sports:

basuketto bōru	Basketball.	sofuto bōru	Softball.
besu bōru	Baseball.	hitto	Hit.
picha.	Pitcher.	kecha	Catcher.
fasuto besū	First base.	sekendo besū	Second base.
sado besū	Third base.	homu besū	Home plate.
fauru bōru	Foul ball.	stu-raiku wan	Strike one.
stu-raiku tsu	Strike two.	stu-raiku sree	Strike three.
outo (aotō)	Out.	outo fieda	Outfielder.

Food:

mesu	Mess hall.	buroni	Bologna.
beru	Bell.	weini	Weiners.
miluku	Milk.	ogisu	Eggs.
raisu	Rice.	fishi	Fish.
buredo	Bread.	keiki	Cake.
bata	Butter.	pai	Pie.
sūpu	Soup.	rosu	Roast beef.

Others:

mappu	Mop.	lunba	Lumber.
baketsu	Bucket.	pento	Paint.
tabu	Tub.	bottoru	Bottle.
doa	Door.	brashi	Brush.
windo	Window.	hosu	Horse (carpenter's "horse" as well.)
kyamou	Camp.	katen	Curtain.
stovu	Stove.	lakku	Lock.
canten	Canteen.	buraku	Block.
banku	Bank.	wado	Ward.
ofisu	Office.		

Expressions Used by the High School Nisei

These terms reflect the usual bobby-sox interests. Some terms reflect the war period, and at least one, "Pearl-harboored", reflects attitudes close to center psychology.

attractive girl:

slick chick
whistle bait
sharp
rare dish
dilly
dream puss

attractive boy:

heaven-sent
drooly
swoony
mellow man
hunk of heart break

not attractive girl:

sad sack
goon
rusty hen
spook
dog biscuit
seaweed

not attractive boy:

dog face
void-coupon
too safe
stupor-man
sad sam

girl with sex appeal:

drape shape
frame dame
black out girl
ready Hedy (from Hedy Lamarr)

boy with sex appeal:

yea man
groovy
twangi boy
go-giver

prude:

touch-me-not
moth-ball
mona lizard

good dancer:

pepper-shaker
rhythm-rocker
cloud-walker
jive-bomber

girl who necks with anyone:

toujour la clinch
goo ball
smooch date
sausage (everybody's meat)
mug bug
share-crop
necker=chief

a boy who's fast:

b.t.o. (big time operator)
wolf on a scooter
active duty
educated fox

girl crazy:

skirt-nerfs
dolly-dizzy
skirty-flirty
dame dazed
witch-wacky

boy crazy:

slack-happy
khaki-wacky

grinder:

brain box
book bug
book beater

to be in love:

twitter-pated
moon-bit

teacher's pet:

gone-quisling
palm-greaser
p.c. (privileged character)

to be jilted:

robot-bombed
blow a fuse
shot down in flames
defrosted

strict parents:

crab-patch
curfew-keeper
picayunic

grades in high school:

90-"you're in the groove"
80-"you're in the solid"
70-"you're in the passive"
60-"you're off the beam"
50-"you're horrific"

terrible:

sub-zero
salty
sklonkish (from "skunkish")

good food:

lush-mush

an easy course in school:

gravy train

favorite word:

fuzzbuttens (for something good)

"Pearl-harbored"

for anything "sudden, unexpected and unpleasant". A favorite term for evacuation or for exams sprung in English school.

Nisei Terms for Grooming and Hair Cuts

Pachukus

Mexican zoot-suit style, long and interlaced in back.

Bo-chuk

From bozu, or priest's style of close cut. "Shave-head" is the English variant.

EDWARD H. SPICER
PAPERS - MS 5

W. R. A. COMMUNIST PARTY

Mop heads	Long hair cut (boy).
Powder factory	Lots of make-up - especially powder (for girl).
Esquire	All dressed up (for boy).
Hollywood	All dressed up (for girl).
Buick	Long, low-slung and slim (for girl).
Hollywood	With dark glasses.
Primp	A favorite Nisei verb for preoccupation with appearance.
Wolfing glasses	Dark glasses.

Older Nisei General Center Terms

Aliases for block managers:

block heads	all centers
stooge	(esp. Poston)
messenger boy	Tule Lake

Divisions, sections, groups:

G men	garbage crew
Moving and Hauling Co.	Relocation office or division
Tule Lake GI's	Hokoku Seinen Dan boys in <u>hachimaki</u> and sweatshirts
Tule Lake WACS	Joshidan girls in pigtails and middies

Terms Applied to Social and Political Life of Center

"Dog license"	Gate pass to Ad. area (from colony to Ad. area). Also for I. C. tag to be worn at all times.
Inu	Literally Japanese translation of "dog". Expression applied to so-called stool pigeon of administration.
Kyan-Kyan	Japanese expression for a bark of small dogs. Applied to small "inus" or dogs.
Dogs are barking again	Expression used when supposedly secret information intended only for the colony is acted on by the Administration.
Mug	Picture Identification badge issued by the Army. Also dog license -- see above.

Waste time	Expression meaning the dislike of some activity.
Lose fight	Expression of disgust or hopelessness. Not worth it. (Often applied to Japanese School by some Nisei.)
Have you got a roll?	Cigarettes?
Let's go to the shack	Club house.
Did you went?	Instead of using correct tense. (go)
Shall we went?	Instead of using correct tense. (go)
"The mean!"	same as "you don't say!"
"Borrow"	to steal lumber or take some necessity.
Yogore	Self-derogatory term used by certain rough elements. Also used as an epithet by some. <u>Yogoreru</u> means to get dirty. Applied to certain gangs.
Red Kamaboko) U.S. Kamaboko)	Kamaboko is a fish cake semi-cylindrical in shape; hence, sliced bologna cut in half.
Slop suey	Chop suey, but served in one dish with rice, salad, etc.
Tule Lake Tuxedo	Farmers' overalls, mechanics' overalls, or any overalls or levis of the mechanics or farmers in Tule Lake.

Words and Phrases Coined by Nisei

nanchu say?	What did you say? Derived from a mixture of Japanese and English. <u>Nani</u> (nan) which means "what"; <u>chu</u> (sound produced in combining "nani" and "you") and <u>say</u> . Used humorously, as: "Go jump in the lake!" "Nanchu say?"
Abura hamu Lincoln	Abraham Lincoln. (Boiru hamu Lincoln) caused by difficulty in saying "Abraham." "Abura" meaning "oil" or "grease" "Hamu" meaning "ham". Thus humorously "Boiru Hamu Lincoln" derived from the fact that Tule Lake residents got to eat a great quantity of "oily boiled hams", because of the presence of a local hog farm.

naki naki corru

Forced to call a bluff or a bet in a poker game. Derives from a combination of a Japanese expression and an English word. Naki naki coming from the word "naku" to cry, thus the Japanese expression "naki naki" which is the emphasized statement of "to cry" or in this case "forced to". Added to this expression, the English word "call", expressed in a tongue twister for Japanese who cannot say "call", but say "corru".

Usage: In playing draw poker the first better stands pat, and the second player draws two cards and gets a hand too good to lay down to a possible bluff. The second better is forced to call his bet.

The first better says, "Two dollars". The second player says "This is naki naki corru", and lays down the two dollars to call his hand.

My wallet is
pechankō

I'm flat broke. Pechanko is popular term in Japan. Used in same meaning, viz. "flat".

My stomach is
pekō pekō

I'm hungry. Peko peko means "empty".

Going after
bafun?

Going after manure? Bafun means manure. Heard often in recent days with residents permitted to go out to farm to get manure for gardens. Possible chance of being adopted to another usage, if sardonic humor is intended. e.g. "Going to messhall for dinner?"

Kētō

Hairy person. Used with connotation of "hairy ape" when hakujin seems too mild. Similar to "Jap" as a term of disapproval.

Kuichi

Means "Jaw". Brought in from southern California. Compounded of ku meaning "nine" and ichi meaning "one". Ten in Japanese is ju.

Yabō

Used in self-derogatory manner to indicate Japanese. Means vulgar or boorish. Possibly similar history to "yank".

They're a bunch of
rumpon

They're tramps. Rumpen means "vagrant laborers".

Skibeī

Used to indicate person whose actions are not above board. Means lecherous. (Since kibeī is the root of this word, it would not be used in their presence. Shows Nisei attitude. Another coined word of Nisei after segregation was ibeī-kibeis, meaning "Japanesy". Not heard so frequently these days. Sukibeī means "Wolf" and is used like our bobby-sox slang for "Wolf".)

No yāke up	Don't get your dander up. Don't get desperate. <u>Yake</u> means "desperation". <u>Yakeru</u> means "to burn". Either one could be the root term.
A lä mā	Indeed! <u>Ma</u> is a Japanese expression meaning "Wait a bit", "indeed", "dear me", "well", or "I should say".
Dāmē	"It's no good". (Disparagement is common in the center, so everyone knows this Japanese phrase.)
Itāi	"It hurts". (A term used in the hospital frequently to locate the ailment.)
No isogu	Take your time. <u>Isogu</u> means to hurry.
No shimpai	Don't worry.
Are you still māttering?	Are you still waiting? <u>Mattoru</u> means "to be waiting", in Japanese; many Japanese verbs, because of their greater expressiveness or onomatopaea, are simply incorporated into their speech by the addition of English verb endings. This is a good example of the Wasei assimilation of Japanese.
Nāni tsüküttoring?	What are you making? <u>Nani</u> means "what". <u>Tsukuttoru</u> means "to be making".
Daikon legs	<u>Daikon</u> is the fat, shapeless radish used in pickling. Hence, girl with short, fat legs.
Dōnchū sōdān me?	"Why didn't you ask me?" "Why don't you confer with me?" (Usually after mistake has been made.) <u>Donchu</u> from "don't you". <u>Sodan</u> means "to consult".
It's jān jān now	It's no good now. Probably <u>jan</u> comes from <u>ja</u> meaning "bad" or "evil".
Nāni doing, saying, making, etc.	<u>Nani</u> used very often in place of what.
They're a bunch of kuzū	They're a lot of scum. Used in referring to persons considered worthless.
He's a kōshinukē	He has no backbone. <u>Koshinuke</u> means "a dislocated hip", literally.
They're bākā	They're fools. <u>Baka</u> means fool.
Chochin mochi	Refers to person who accompanies timid suitor and helps his courtship. Literally, a person who holds a lantern. <u>Chochin</u> means lantern. <u>Mochi</u> means holder.

Kāban mochi	Refers to anyone who accompanies person of importance and attends to small details. Common in Japan. Not a valet but more a secretary. <u>Kaban</u> means briefcase.
Shīnsān	Originally used by Issei in referring to or addressing Chinese. Taken by Chinese as compliment for a literal translation is "honorable teacher". Nisei use in a more derogatory manner. However it is often heard in greetings, among Nisei themselves, which are simply meant to be friendly with an undercurrent of sly innuendo.

Issei Terms Peculiar to the Center

Go home o kuu	Means "to be fired". "O" corresponds to objective particle. <u>Kuu</u> means to eat.
Pānku suru	"Puncture a tire." <u>Punku</u> from "puncture" and <u>suru</u> means "to do."
Orri	All right.
Okāy	Okay.
Macuro	Mercurochrome.
Rīsurīn	Glycerine.
Sufu	From staple fibre. First two syllables in each word are compounded, as <u>sutaple fuaiba</u> . More common in Japan. Used by Issei when talking about Japan.
Hisuteriē	Hysteria.
Pātte	Putty.
Pēnkī	Paint.
Pīncētto	Tweezers.
Takushi	Taken from taxi. Used by Issei in referring to transportation of persons who have "an in" with drivers.
Pīnto o āwāsēru	Focus. Heard among former photographers when discussing past accomplishments. <u>Pinto</u> from point. <u>Awaseru</u> means to adjust.
Posuto	Post-office.
Doru	Dollars.
Sābuisu	Service.
Sābotāgī	Sabotage.

Sáberu	Sword.
Koppu	Glass or cup.
Níkochin	Nicotine.

Hawaiian Slang Used in the Center

The wide use of these terms reflects the large number of Hawaiians here at Tule Lake.

Takes it easy)	Said with humorous, or "baby talk" inflexion.
Gots to go)	
Kau kau	"To eat".
Happa	Half caste.
Pow	Finished.

EDWARD H. SPILLER
PAPERS - MS 5

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Weekly Summary No. 16
April 19, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
April 1 - 7, 1945

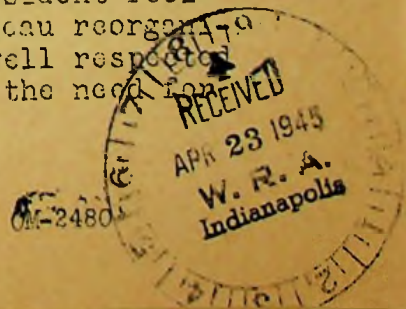
Departures from the centers dropped slightly during the week, but relocation planning did not decrease correspondingly, except at Topaz. Although a special railroad coach left Poston with 54 residents returning to Sacramento, the number of people relocating from that center was far below the number last week. Both good and bad reports of community acceptance continue to reach the centers, and fear of physical violence and discrimination are still strong deterrents to resettlement. Stories of discrimination in the favorable Bay Area are beginning to seep back to Topaz. Evacuees in all the centers are willing to risk community acceptance if their housing difficulties are solved.

Evacuee Organization

The weakening of community solidarity in the centers as a result of the post exclusion program was apparent a month ago (Weekly Summary No. 12.) Since then this process has continued as seen in the importance of individual planning, and the disappearance of organized efforts to keep the centers open (although new developments in this area are possible after WRA's answer to the Conference requests is received.) Counter-trends in evacuee organization are developing, however, which change this picture. First, cooperative efforts concerned with relocation continue; and second, organized action concerned with how to live in a closing center is appearing.

1) At Heart Mountain tentative Council plans are afoot to revive the defunct Relocation Planning Commission. Many Councilmen accept the need for a Commission, primarily because they feel it is desirable to have an Administration recognized body to formulate and transmit objections to the present WRA program, and recommendations for its improvement. Other less important reasons are to give the Administration a token of the Council's reasonableness and willingness to cooperate and to do a few jobs with the Administration to encourage relocation.

The Council at Granada is trying to reorganize the Evacuee Information Bureau to facilitate the dissemination of relocation information. The Council is gradually assuming a more active leadership in resettlement planning. Councilmen, however, recognize the necessity of carrying public opinion along with them and are adapting their leadership to the tempo of resident feeling. They are bidding for public support of the Bureau reorganization by holding meetings at which Dr. Ichihashi, well respected as a professor and scholar, leads discussions about the need for



streamlining the Bureau and for resettlement planning in general. These meetings will bring into the open opinion favoring cooperation with WPA in resettlement. Their success or failure will affect the position of the sit-tight groups in Granada who are opposed to relocation and the closing of the center.

2) The newest development in community organization is around the problems involved in living in the closing centers. Three examples of this kind of organized action occurred during the week.

A new kind of block organization has appeared at Heart Mountain. The women of one block, at the suggestion of their Councilman, organized into a "Women's Committee Looking to the Future." This group plans to deal with block problems involved in the closing of the centers, such as mess hall consolidations, children's leisure time when the schools close, and so on.

At Gila two mess halls agreed to consolidation, with the mess crews recruited from members of both messes. Each block parted reluctantly with its old mess. Final arrangements were made only after negotiation by the Butte Council Chairman, the Central Block Manager, the Senior Steward, and the block people.

At Poston one of the avacue doctors, considering taking a position in a Los Angeles hospital, met with an organized community effort to retain his services until the closing. A group of center leaders visited him and discussed the feelings of the people about his relocation, and petitions were circulated in every block thanking him for his services and requesting that he stay.

Rohwer Relocation Estimates

The analyst at Rohwer consulted fifteen or sixteen Issei to arrive at the following estimates of relocation. The Issei estimates are that about 65% of the residents expect to stay at Rohwer as long as possible for one reason or another. These reasons include preference for the Japanese cultural and social life of the center to living in a Caucasian community, plans to return to Japan after the war, "nothing to resettle to, with, or for," fear of not making a success outside, and difficulties of professional workers who depend on a large Japanese community.

The remaining one-third of the present population are said to be making serious relocation plans and are expected to go out soon after the expiration of the school term. After that, the Issei informants believe the relocation rate will slump, since only the 65% wanting to remain will be left. Between June and November they expect that almost one-half of these will have found it possible to relocate. This will leave at the end of

the year a residue of between 30% and 40% who, the informants say, will constitute the absolutely unrelocatable element. The relocation thinking of these people follows this line:

The Government forced us to evacuate and to come here, and it has no right to make us leave if we want to stay. We like it here, or at least prefer life here to life outside as long as the war lasts. And right or not right, if we just sit tight and refuse to leave the Government either won't or can't make us leave anyway.

A "residue of between 30% and 40%" is not emptying the center by January, 1946. Nevertheless, if deadlines are disregarded momentarily, and these figures are compared with relocation estimates made by Rohwer residents two and three months ago, the trend is encouraging. In January a resident guessed that 59% either had no relocation plans at all or intended waiting to see how others fared on the Coast, and in February a survey made by the Council indicated that 84% had neither plans nor intentions of relocating. This suggests that in two months relocation planning has considerably increased.

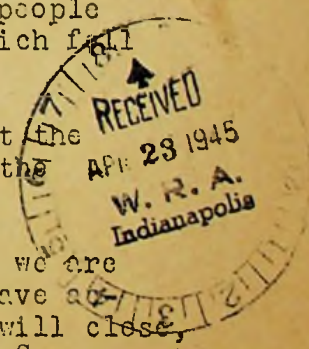
The Voice of the Nisei

The columns of the Heart Mountain Sentinel, like those of the Rohwer Outpost, have been carrying articles heckling the Issei on the Council for their conservative attitude toward relocation. As at Rohwer, Issei responded angrily, and for awhile Councilmen talked of an anti-Sentinel campaign. They decided instead to write an answer to the Sentinel's accusations, stating that as representatives of the people Councilmen could not support W.R.A.'s present policy. They feel it is their duty to work for improved relocation conditions and maintenance of the center the duration.

The Why of Box-Making

Evacuees at several centers are busy making boxes and crates. Puzzled as to how to reconcile the low relocation rate and widespread attitude that residents cannot relocate under present circumstances with the flurry of box-making, the analysis staff at Topaz investigated. By simply asking people why they were making the boxes, they received answers which fall into two categories:

- 1) We are making boxes now because we cannot trust the Government to provide us with enough boxes or the material to make them when we need them.
- 2) We are not thinking in terms of relocating but we are concerned about the closing of the camp. We have accepted as fact the announcement that the camp will close, but at the same time we are convinced that the Government will not throw us out if we can't get any governmental assistance to relocate. So we are making preparations to be ready to move to another camp under another agency.



EDWARD II. STICKER
PAPERS - MS 5