Ethnic assimilation: A study of Japanese families in the United States and Hawaii

Kazuichi Hamasaki
University of Nebraska at Omaha

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Thesis

Ethnic Assimilation

(A Study of Japanese Families in the United States and Hawaii)

Submitted by
Kazuichi Hamasaki, B. A.

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

Department of Sociology

of
The Municipal University of Omaha

1953
Map I. Migrations of the Japanese Families

- 1854 - Commodore Perry open Japan's door.
- 1868 - First Migration to U.S. (students)
- 1884 - First Labor migration to Hawaii and U.S.
- 1941 - Evacuation - Japanese family entering relocation camps.
- 1942 - De-evacuation - Leaving camps.
Preface

The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the Japanese families of Omaha, Nebraska and Wailuku, Hawaii, for information given to us, sincerely and cooperatively, through interviews; and for permitting us to observe overt actions of family and community life.

To Mr. Ikebasu for data given to us of War Relocation Centers and for the invaluable discussions of Japanese family in the United States. To the secretary of the Japanese American Citizens League for making available the roster and information of Japanese families of Omaha, Nebraska, and Dr. T. Earl Sullenger for his guidance and patience. To Edna Gregorson for her meticulous criticisms and suggestions of the study, and to those not mentioned who have been factors in completing this study, we express our appreciation.
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Introduction

There are many definitions and possible interpretations of ethnic assimilation. It can mean anything from "elevation of economic status and adaptation to new standards of civilization, to changing of the color of skin." However, in the final analysis, ethnic assimilation divides into two phases, physical and cultural. When we speak of physical assimilation, we immediately think of two or more races blending into a dominant race and losing all former identities. This theory of assimilation may occur in a democratic country but is most improbable. Thus, when we speak of ethnic assimilation in the United States, a nation of many races, we believe that the connotation of cultural assimilation may be defined as:

"That art or process by which one is brought into a resemblance, harmony, conformity or identity with regard to others. More specifically to our case, it means adjustment to the new conditions and adaptation to the social, political, industrial and cultural institutions, both traditional and actual of America." "Ethnic assimilation is an uncon-

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conscious process whereby ideas of two or more races become blended. Attitudes are harmonized. The sutures found in accommodation have disappeared and a new unity has arisen."

There are four theories of ethnic assimilation mentioned by Bogardus: They are (1) the Melting-pot theory; (2) 100 per cent Americanism; (3) the theory of ethnic federation; and (4) the community theory of Americanization.

The best known of these four is the "melting-pot" theory whose original idea was democratic, but which unfortunately brings to the immigrant a mental image of himself dangling over a cauldron into which he is about to be dropped and from which he will ultimately emerge as an indistinguishable part of the mass, having lost previous identity.

The second theory implies that immigrants who were slow to fight for our country, even against their own, should be compelled to leave the United States.

The third, ethnic federation, infers that each group is to maintain its racial integrity; intermarriage is not to occur; but a common type of culture is to be developed.

The fourth, the community theory, means giving the im-

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migrant, the best America has to offer and retaining for Americans the best of the immigrants.

This dissertation will be based on the community theory of Americanization from which we will attain our objectives and deduct final conclusions. This theory was chosen because it is believed that it subscribes to the following definition of Americanism to which the writer subscribes: Americanization is the uniting of new and native-born Americans in fuller common understanding and appreciation, to secure by means of self-government the highest welfare of all.

The objective of this research has been a chronological study of Japanese families living in the Territory of Hawaii and of others living in Omaha, Nebraska and along the Pacific coast states, during which the writer collected data relating to: (1) environmental or cultural transitions, (2) obstacles that discourage assimilation, and (3) factors that accelerate assimilation.

Three methods or technique were used in this study: (1) interview schedule, (2) non-controlled participant observation, and (3) documentary evidence.

Through personal interviews based upon a prepared schedule, we entered into the homes of the Japanese families, talked with them looked for overt and tangible factors and

*Chronological - containing an account and trend of events in the order of time.
attempted to probe their deeper thoughts. This research does not however, go into detail but is rather a report of overt actions and physical aspects. We believe that by these factors the Japanese family is more readily understood and accepted as "fellow American" by his neighbor.

The writer being of Japanese ancestry, was readily accepted in all interviews. Visitation from time to time in most of the homes, gave opportunities for playing with their children, discussing personal problems, and observing overt actions in order to determine true attitude. This method of non-controlled participant observation gave the writer a more objective interpretations of family and community actions of the Japanese families in Hawaii and in the United States.

The bulk of the data herein recorded concern the Japanese families of Hawaii and are based upon the writer's twenty-two years of living among these people and upon a recent visit. Overt observation of natural actions were recorded during the summer of 1951. The same method of interviews as that previously described was used, although in this case the interviewee was not aware of being a participant in a research project.

The data regarding the Japanese families on the Pacific coast were obtained wholly through the use of the library.
Less than 10% of data were collected through interviews conducted in Omaha.

Little has been written of the Japanese family and community life on the Pacific coast states although there is great abundance of materials written on the Japanese in agriculture and the many reasons why 'California should rid herself of the Yellow Peril!'

Throughout this thesis, certain terms will be used to describe the various generations of Japanese in America.

1. **Issei** (pronounced ee-say-e) meaning "first generation." This word refers to those who were born in Japan—hence, alien Japanese and ineligible to become American citizens. Their first conspicuous appearance in the United States of these people dates back to the year 1868 when some entered as students. The great bulk of Issei made their appearance as a labor migratory group during the year of 1884.

2. **Nisei** (pronounced nee-say-e) meaning "second generation." This word identifies the children born in the United States from the union of Issei men and women. This group automatically becomes American citizens. It is by far the largest group today.

3. **Sansei** (pronounced sun-say-e) meaning third generation." This word identifies the children, born in the United States of Nisei parentage. They, too, automatically become American citizens. This group could be classified as the "teenagers." In this group we found the optimum conditions. Whether this condition will exist as they grow older will be more objectively answered in the next decade.

4. **Shisei** (pronounced shee-say-e) meaning "Fourth generation." Because of their extreme youth, little has been written or said about this generation. They are the children of the third generation.

5. **Kibei** (pronounced kee-bay-e) meaning "returned to America."

Kibei refers to those Nisei who have spent a portion
tion of their lives in Japan and who have now returned to the United States. This practice of returning to Japan was exercised during the early years of the Japanese residence here in the United States. It was the ambition of all families to be able to send their sons and daughters to Japan for their education.

Of the five groups mentioned above, the first, second, and third generations will be discussed at greater length. The writer believes that the impact of the future of the Japanese family in America lies in the third, fourth, and following generations. Complete assimilation is probable and yet when he thinks of the consensus of public opinion in regard to assimilation, the writer admits that it would take centuries before a maximum assimilation could take place.

Here a re-emphasis of the importance of the definition of ethnic assimilation is necessary because it will be the index by which the writer will determine and attempt to draw his final conclusions. He believes that while public opinion emphasizes the theory of amalgamation into one race, it also watches the everyday overt actions and the physical aspects of the Japanese family and through these factors the American neighbors learn to exercise toleration and accommodation, a tedious and slow process of ethnic assimilation.
It is the writer's belief that the culture of the United States cannot be reduced to a point where one can say "this is the American culture and without this specific characteristic one is not an American." It took our early pioneers and men such as Abraham Lincoln, Jim Thorpe, Booker T. Washington, John D. Rockerfeller and Mr. Wong, the laundryman, to mold this great nation. Only as a composite and an integrated force could America have achieved its greatness. The American culture began and has continued to be a conglomeration of many cultures from different races in the process of give and take, the uniting of new and native-born Americans in fuller common understandings and appreciations in order to attain by means of self-government, the maximum security for all.
Chapter I

History

This inscription is found on the bottom of the Statue of Liberty, serenely untouched by the howling storms of more than half a century:

"Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be free; the wretched refuse of your teeming shores. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me. I lift my lamp beside the Golden Door."

Until the year 1868, the Japanese people, under penalty of death, were not allowed to leave their homeland, nor could any nation send their people to Japan. The signing of a treaty of peace by Commodore Perry in 1854 eventually led to other treaties by which foreigners secured the right to enter and reside in Japan, and Japan obtained for its subjects the right to enter and reside in the treaty nations. During the early migratory period, most of the immigrants to the United States and the western nations were students, diplomats, business men and miscellaneous groups. The most conspicuous of the groups were the students. In 1871, the Emperor issued the following edict: "My country is now undergoing a complete change from the old to the new ideas, which I sincerely desire; therefore, I call upon all

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the wise and strong minded to appear and become good guides to the government. During youth time it is positively necessary to view foreign countries so as to become enlightened as to the ideas of the world; and boys as well as girls, who will themselves become men and women, should be allowed to go abroad, and my country will benefit by their knowledge so acquired."2

Thus the class or the quality of the early migratory groups was above the average status of the Japanese family in Japan. This incident perhaps is unique in the history of human migration to the United States.

The emigrants from the European countries can be consistently characterized by the following: the family unit interested in colonization, with the purpose of establishing new homes; persecuted religious groups and other minority groups; convicts, outcasts, and persons escaping debts; rugged individuals seeking fortune and adventure.

The economic and social status of European immigrants ranged from the bottom of the scale to the top. They were largely of the Caucasian race.

The early emigrant from Japan as was previously stated

differed from the European emigrant in many ways. His primary objective was to absorb as much as possible of the western culture which would benefit his native land. Thus, migration was temporary and not based upon the desire of colonization. Sixteen years later, however, the first labor migratory group left Japan for the United States with a different objective in mind. This group was interested in economic betterment. An item worthy of note is the fact that Japanese immigrants were largely of the male sex. This factor was contradictory to the edict of the Emperor as he had directed that both sexes should go abroad to foreign countries to absorb the culture. Their folkways expressed the belief that woman's place was in the home and so, what few Japanese women the Occidental countries saw had the status of wives.

During the sixteen years of migration from 1868 to 1884, there were an average of eighty-five Japanese immigrants per year entering the United States as students, but the great bulk of migration during the sixteen years was to the Asiatic countries. This indicates that the Japanese government, being much more familiar with Asiatic countries allowed its subjects to emigrate more rapidly to these

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3See Y. Ichihashi, op. cit., p. 9.
countries, as laborers.

In spite of the strict seclusion and inclusion policy of the Japanese government, Japanese emigrants were allowed to leave their native land to go to the nearby countries as early as the sixteenth century, but this privilege was revoked before long and it was not restored until the opening of Japan's door by Commodore Perry in 1854.

Thus, during the early period of migration, the Japanese government showed every indication of caution in releasing her subjects to foreign countries, especially to the western countries. Factors such as ill-treatment, great distance, and unfamiliarity prevented and cautioned against wholesale migration. The years from 1863 to 1884 could be inferred to be a period of trial.

"In 1884, the Japanese government signed an agreement with the Hawaiian sugar plantation owners, whereby the latter were permitted to import into Hawaii Japanese laborers under contract, and soon afterward a law was enacted to permit general emigration of the working classes." Prior to 1884, in the year 1868, the Japanese government did allow a limited number of emigrants to go to Hawaii but later per-

\[4^{\text{See Y. Ichihashi, op. cit., p. 1.}}\]

\[5^{\text{See Ichihashi, op. cit., p. 6.}}\]
mitted this group to return to their homes because of ill-treatment. An American document corroborates this story by stating:  

The next race sought was the Japanese. In 1868, forty-eight laborers under a three-year contract which called for four dollars per month, besides food, lodging, and medical assistance, were brought in from Japan. They gave excellent satisfaction, but reports of ill-treatment reaching Japan brought an investigation by that country with the result that, although no grounds for complaint were found, some forty of this group were permitted to return to their homes on the naive condition that each was to work for the Japanese government in order to reimburse it for the expense of the return passage.

An explanation from a Japanese writer:

And yet the men who so earnestly invited the Japanese invasion treated the pioneer invaders from the Orient in no generous manner. From the stories told by later immigrants there is no doubt that these early laborers from the Orient met brutal treatment at the hands of the plantation overseers. The rumors of inhuman treatment, somewhat exaggerated as they traveled across the ocean, reached the Japanese authorities, who thought it their duty to despatch a vessel to Hawaii and recover the laborers who had been taken there.

These two statements express the extremes of two points of views. Interviews in Hawaii provided no contact with any Japanese who had any personal knowledge of this instance. It is assumed that ill-treatment did occur, but the views


7 K. Kawakami, Asia at the Door, (1914), pp. 199-200.
expressed by the Japanese writer is perhaps exaggerated. Through interviews and research materials, the conclusion was drawn that ill-treatment is best interpreted by such factors as injustice in wage-scale, discrimination in general, and a few incidents of physical harm. These factors will be discussed in Chapter II.

In spite of these claims, the "push" and "pull" became greater and was culminated by the signing of a contract between the Japanese government and the Hawaiian plantation owners. This led to a new era, an era of labor migration to the United States and Hawaii. The outstanding impacts were: (1) the opening of Japan's door by Commodore Perry; (2) the realization by the Japanese government of the ever-growing population and the possibility of colonization as a means of reducing this problem; (3) the great demand for Japanese labor by Hawaiian plantation owners; (4) the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 stopping all Chinese labor into the United States and Hawaii and creating a shortage of cheap labor; (5) the visions of greater opportunities in a country still in its rudiments in comparison to the limited opportunities of their native land as expressed by visitors, diplomats, students, and others telling of great riches and the great abundance of land; (6) the ambition of Japanese

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to better themselves economically.

The Hawaiian plantations were probably the greatest single factor leading to the lowering of restriction of the immigration policy of the Japanese government. As an inducement, the plantations submitted the following terms to the Japanese government:

Laborers coming to Hawaii were to enter into contract to work on a sugar plantation for a term of three or five years. Wages were to be guaranteed at the rate of ten dollars per month for men and six dollars for women. Forty per cent of the immigrants were to be women, and the Board was to pay half the expenses for the children brought in. The people were to be returned at government charge if, at the end of the contract years, they did not wish to remain in Hawaii.

Even such generosity, if such terms could be considered so, did not convince the Japanese government of the wisdom of acceding to the terms. After much correspondence, the Japanese government finally presented terms as follows which were accepted by the plantation owners and the board:

1. The Hawaiian Board of Immigration shall provide free passage to and from Japan for the Japanese laborers, their wives, and children.
2. The Board shall guarantee to the Japanese employment without signing an advance labor contract.
3. The minimum rate of wages shall be nine dollars per month with food or fifteen dollars without food.
4. The term of contract shall be three years.

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10 Ibid., p. 43.
Such were the terms by which the Japanese government tried to protect its subjects going to Hawaii, and under this arrangement the first 953 Japanese - 689 men, 156 women, and 108 children arrived at Honolulu on February 7, 1835.11 Thus began the acceleration of labor migration to the United States and Hawaii.

Summary

In this chapter a brief summary of the history of Japanese migration to the United States and Hawaii has been presented. It was noted that Commodore Perry first opened Japan's door in 1854. Later in 1868, the first migratory group left their native land and appeared on the United States soil largely as students and diplomats with the purpose of absorbing the western culture. This migration was the first noticeable movement from Japan to America. The signing of contracts between the Japanese government and the Hawaiian Plantation owners opened an era of labor migration to the United States and Hawaii.

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11 See Kawakami, op. cit., p. 200.
Chapter II

Japanese Migration to Hawaii

In presenting this study of Japanese communities created by immigration, first consideration will be given to the Japanese living in Hawaii. In this connection, it is of utmost importance to review the early history of Hawaii which plays an important role in ethnic assimilation.

The Hawaiian Islands in the middle of the Pacific Ocean were discovered by Captain Cook in 1778 and were first named the Sandwich Islands. Soon after this, whalers, traders, missionaries, and adventurers began to reach the Islands from many lands. The Islands became a refueling point for all ships to and from Asia from the United States and the European countries. But it was not until 1842, that the United States government took a definite interest in the affairs of the Islands, which was climaxed by annexation of the Hawaiian Islands in 1898 through the request

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of the native government.

It was estimated by Captain Cook that the native population was approximately 300,000 to 400,000 when he discovered the islands. Other estimates were made which were about 300,000. The native population is said to have dipped to the low 57,985 in 1878\(^4\) and this leads to a question of the validity of Captain Cook's estimate. It is claimed that during the first hundred year of colonization, importation of the white man's diseases were the greatest factor in the diminishing of native Hawaiians. The population began to rise as the labor migratory group from Japan began to make its appearance. The movement of population during the years 1884-1950 may be seen in the following table:\(^5\)

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>1884</td>
<td>80,578</td>
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<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>89,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>154,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>191,909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>255,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>368,336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940*</td>
<td>423,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950*</td>
<td>499,794</td>
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Table one on the foregoing page indicates a steady increase of population through the absorption of immigrants. The Chinese were the first labor group to appear, followed by the Portuguese, Japanese, and finally the Filipinos. The Filipinos first appeared in the 1910 census although the great bulk of immigrants arrived from 1920 to 1930. Other groups such as the Porto Rican, Spanish, and Korean are also recent arrivals (first appearing in the 1910 census) although small in number in comparison to the first four groups. The increase of population from the year 1915 and on is primarily due to natural causes rather than increase by immigration. During this period, the ages of Japanese couples and the fertility of the female were at their peak and thus there was a great gain in birth rate and a diminishing death rate. Mortality at birth was lowered because of free hospitalization to mothers which was offered by the plantations.

One would infer that a mixture of cultures such as the Hawaiian communities presented would result in race problems and conflicts. Three outstanding factors prevented this situation from occurring: (1) the Christian teaching of early missionaries who first appeared in 1880; 6 (2) the friendly nature of the Native Hawaiians; (3) the adoption of segre-

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migration of groups within the plantation camps and villages.

The first known missionaries came from Boston to convert the native Hawaiians in the year 1820. The Christian teachings of these missionaries laid the basic foundation of the philosophy of brotherly love and equality. The term "brother" which we assume was used very frequently by the missionaries in converting the natives to Christianity is carried over by their grandchildren in the frequent use of "brother" in greeting friends.

Many writers who have written about the native Hawaiians have stereotyped such characteristics just as the American Negro has been stereotyped. The most conspicuous of these stereotypes is that "the native Hawaiians are lazy in nature." To understand the native Hawaiian, one has only to see the beauties of Hawaii, its colorful and gay flowers, its soft, sweet, and enchanting music, its constant and pleasant climate, creating an atmosphere of relaxation and a feeling of "there's no hurry." To be happy and gay, living from day to day and letting tomorrow worry about itself is natural in this setting. It is said that the native Hawaiians have little to show for all the years that have gone by but they are also, the happiest people in the world on the little they have. This feeling of friendly and brotherly love has been projected into all immigrant groups that have joined this cosmopolitan community, mini-
mizing racial problems and conflicts.

Segregation of nationality groups on the sugar plantations probably resulted from three factors as follows:

1. The carrying over of the practice of segregation (such as the Negro race of southern plantations) by American owners of the Hawaiian plantations.

2. Importation of laborers as groups, creating distinctive communities such as the Chinese laborers, followed by the Portuguese laborers, then by the Japanese laborers, and finally by the Filipino laborers.

3. Handicaps resulting from not being able to speak the English language almost forced all subsequent new immigrants to seek their respective groups in order to obtain security and companionship.

The factor of segregation helped tremendously in aiding all immigrant groups to adjust to the new environment. Race problems seem deeply rooted in human nature and although human nature changes, it changes very slowly. C. Aronovici says about the process of assimilation:7

A foreigner is an individual who has been removed from his normal native environment with its customs, language, aspirations, folk ideals, racial and national loyalties, e-

economic adjustment, and legal control to understand. It would be a remarkable mentality that would honestly accept American life unchallenged and it would be a dangerous and dishonest alien who would pretend to know and love this country without going through a long and painful process of assimilation.

These nationality groups entered into an environment that was not imposed or forced upon them. They were able to make a gradual adjustment because all the while, they were not completely ostracized in exercising the habits of their native lands. Because of this conditioning at the consummation of contracts with the plantation owners, they were able to leave the plantation and enter into heterogeneous community with the least amount of effort required in adjusting to the new environment.

The general characteristics of the Japanese immigrants were as follows:

1. They belonged to the laboring class. There were claims that the Japanese immigrants were the poorest, most ignorant and illiterate class in Japan. The following facts will attest that the above claims might have been a bit exaggerated:

A Japanese who went to Hawaii under contract had to pay at least 200 yen ($100) to cover all the necessary expenses in reaching the Islands. In the '80's and '90's, $100 was not an insignificant amount of money; the sum was

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not possessed by a member of the poorest class, nor was he able to borrow it from anybody. One who was able to meet the necessary expenses, therefore, either possessed $100 or else enjoyed the confidence necessary for borrowing the same. He could not have belonged to the most ignorant class. Our logical conclusion is that even those who had gone to Hawaii under contract were largely drawn from the middle farming class, neither very rich nor very poor.

2. They were ambitious and adventurous persons. Not satisfied with home conditions, they migrated, and upon termination of their contracts with the plantation owners, they realize their opportunities to succeed were not great so, the majority left the plantations and sought elsewhere to attain their objectives.

3. The majority of the early migrants were of the male sex. Women traveled only when sent for by their husbands or husbands to be.

4. Very few families were among the migratory groups. Cost of transportation was the main factor. The few couples who migrated were usually only recently married on the strength of the dream of migration to Hawaii becoming a reality.

5. The majority of migrants had one objective, to accumulate as much wealth as possible and to return to their native land.

6. Economic and social status were uniform rather than having the extremes at the top and at the bottom of the ladder.

7. The ages of the migrants were also uniform. Again
cost of transportation was the main factor, preventing fami-
lies, young couples, and older persons from entering into
this new venture.

As a labor migratory group, the Japanese immigrants
did resemble the European immigrants in some respects. For
instance, they were ambitious and adventurous, which were
characteristics of migratory groups from the European coun-
tries. Primarily, their stay in Hawaii was to be temporary,
but later this sentiment changed to a desire for coloniza-
tion. This change was the result of several factors name-
ly: the shattering of the myth that one was able to accumu-
late great wealth within the contract years and return to
one's native land; leaving the plantations and venturing
into new field of occupations, their opportunities became
greater; adjustment and adaptability to the new environment;
brides arriving; families beginning to appear; and finally,
the Japanese immigrants becoming contented with life condi-
tions in Hawaii.

What opportunities did the plantations offer the immi-
grants? The very fact that the great majority left the
plantations indicates that few opportunities for getting a-
head were present. The Gentlemen's Agreement which stopped
Japanese immigrants from coming to the United States and
Hawaii, and the withdrawal of Japanese labor from the plan-
tations, necessitated the exploitation of the Filipino la-
bor resources. The Chinese laborers also at the conclusion of their contract with the plantation left for greener fields. The Portuguese, being of the Caucasian race, were offered better opportunities, thus, they lingered longest on the plantations.

The following table will give a general idea of the Japanese laborer on the sugar plantations.\(^9\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Percentage of Japanese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>14,539</td>
<td>1,949</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>17,895</td>
<td>7,560</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>42,242</td>
<td>31,029</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>43,917</td>
<td>28,106</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>44,304</td>
<td>19,474</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>44,378</td>
<td>15,339</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>44,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The peak of Japanese labor on the Plantations reached the astounding figure of 73% in 1902 and had diminished to approximately 30% by 1939. It was not possible to obtain
more recent statistics of the number of Japanese employed on the plantations.

Another interesting fact resulting from the immigrants leaving the plantations for other jobs, was the fact that they were able to earn larger wages which resulted in an improvement in their economic conditions. This statement can be verified by the fact that cash became available for buying homes, farms, and the opening of business establishments. This situation indicated that the Chinese and Japanese people were thrifty and hard working people, a conclusion which will be verified in following chapters of this study.

Summary

The signing of contracts between the Japanese government and sugar plantation owners opened the door for Japanese labor forces to enter into the United States, Hawaii, and the world. Because of the small population, Hawaiian plantation owners imported laborers from China, Portugal, Japan, and the Philippines. The importation of these people in groups led to a natural segregation of Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, etc.

On completion of their contracts, most of the Japanese and Chinese left the plantations to seek employment elsewhere. This proved to be an economic advancement for most individuals.
Chapter III
The Japanese Community in Hawaii

Two distinct Japanese communities exist in Hawaii, namely, communities created by the plantation camps and villages, and communities created by immigrants from the plantations. In studying these two communities, it is evident that their degree of Americanization differs enough so that it is possible to make some comparison and illustrate this difference.

The term "Japanese community" appears misleading and ambiguous, therefore, an interpretation of the term, as used in this study seems imperative.

A Japanese community may be interpreted as a community distinguishable because of its physical aspects, such as a community occupied predominantly by one nationality group in a given area. Again, a Japanese community may be interpreted as a composite community, stressing the whole rather than a distinguishable given areas.* An illustration of this latter type is Omaha, Nebraska. Here diffusion of Japanese family throughout the community rather then centralization in a given area has been the procedure. Thus, when we speak of the Japanese communities located outside of the plantation camps and villages, our thoughts are aligned with the
latter interpretation, Japanese families living in heterogeneous communities.

An attempt will be made to discuss the two types of communities by comparison through an observational study centered upon two plantations, the H. C. & S. and the W. S. Companies and the community located in Wailuku, Maui, a city with a population of 7,400.  

All major cities located on the Island of Maui with the exception of one (being the outgrowth of a sea port) were outgrowth of sugar plantation mills in its area. The city of Wailuku is the outgrowth of a sugar plantation mill. It is an heterogeneous community. The outstanding feature that distinguish the community of Wailuku from the communities of the plantation is the structure of the houses. The houses on the plantations are uniform in every detail and are concentrated in given areas, while the houses in communities outside the communities of plantations are large and small, new and old, beautiful and shabby houses. Some of these houses are owned by the occupants while others are rented. These communities offer occupational opportunities to its inhabitants although some are employed at the sugar mills. Their occupational status runs from the professional

11 Taken from the 1950 Seventeen Census, "Summary of the Total Population of the United States."
doctor to the common laborer. These characteristics typifies the community of Wailuku and communities outside of the sugar plantations.

The main factor in the location of the plantation villages is proximity to work assigned. The people that are employed in the plantation mills are located in villages that have been constructed almost surrounding the mills. Villages are also constructed at strategic areas with the sole purpose of caring for a given area in planting, irrigation, and harvesting the crop. The obvious reason is that during the horse and buggy days distance and time were very important. These villages are a very conspicuous sight because of their uniformity. Their structures are identical, a home usually consisting of two or three bedrooms, a living room, and a kitchen. These Japanese communities have a communal type of bathroom which we will mention again in this chapter when discussing customs of the people.

The painting of the houses are according to their locations. Homes in the area of the plantation mills are usually painted green with black roofs and their lawns are well cared for. The villages away from the mills are painted all black or brown and their lawns are neglected. Everything is colored by the soil of the area. One can almost guess the general area from which an automobile has come because of the color of the soil on the tires. These villages
have a population running from 200 to as much as 3,000. All towns, villages, and camps are the outgrowth of plantations, and the three major towns or cities on the island of Maui are the result of the location of plantation mills. Thus, in demarcation, the community of the plantation and the community resulting from its out-growth, is very clean-cut. The problems and conflicts resulting from interstitial areas are lacking as compared to the communities in the United States.

The custom of housing nationality groups together in the early days added to the already conspicuous solidarity among the Japanese people of Hawaii. In communities of plantations and in communities outside of the plantations, the Japanese groups have consistently organized "Ku," a Japanese term meaning "district." Although the district or community club opened its membership to all, approximately ninety-nine per cent are Japanese. The reasons behind this factor are: the more conservative group, the Isseis are in the great majority and they control the Ku. The few Nisei that are active in organization work are of the older group, being born before 1910, therefore having thoughts and beliefs more or less aligned with their parents. Also, a

12 All facts and data received on the term "Ku" are through the cooperation of Mr. Masashi Matsushita, President of the Papohaku Ku of Wailuku, Maui.
Japanese family entering into a new community will be approached by members of the Ku and encouraged to join, while member of other nationality groups are not contacted nor encouraged to become members. The consensus of opinion of the Ku is that of, "Why create possible conflicts and problems that may arise from mixture of nationality groups."
But at the same time the Ku will acknowledge all nationality groups that wish to become members through their own initiative.

The primary objective and function of the Ku is to become better acquainted with neighbors and to help one another. This factor is usually accomplished during such events as weddings, deaths, and all disasters that require comfort and aid. In the event of death, the male membership is usually assigned to such duties as burial, accepting of condolences, flowers, and gifts while the female membership prepares the food during the one or two days of mourning for all that assist on such an occasion. The situation is a little different at the wedding where the bride's and bridegroom's families look on as advisors and directors to see that everything is in accordance with plans while members selected because of close friendship from the Ku do most of the preparations for the wedding. At events such as these, guests usually numbers from 100 to as many as 500 and since equipment to meet such occasions is lacking, hence,
the community club through the dues received from members has in its possession such items as dishes, tables, benches, large kitchen utensils, tarpaulins, and many other useful things to accommodate all occasions that might arise.

The Ku not only gives aid and comfort to its members but also creates a feeling of security and belonging. With all these benefits deriving from the Ku, there are conspicuous black spots that tend to blot out the good deeds of the Japanese community club. The community club with membership almost wholly of Japanese, presents a picture of "Japanism" to the other nationality groups. The term "Japanism" is used by the younger generations of all groups to denote that the situations, feelings, and actions of a person or group are tinted too much with the Japanese flavor. In a community where many nationality groups are present, an organization such as the Ku should benefit all rather than a specific group. "Group loyalty easily becomes group egocentrism."\(^\text{13}\) This factor was accelerated by the rising status of Japan in her successful war ventures in the east. The Japanese group solidarity rose to such a stage that criticism and even fear were expressed by other nationality groups, strongly voiced by the Caucasian group.

This rising solidarity was curbed and redirected by the bombing of Pearl Harbor which we will discuss in Chapter five.

The question immediately arises as to why this condition of group and community solidarity did not exist in other nationality groups. Group solidarity does exist in all nationality groups in Hawaii although the degree and objectives differs from that of the Japanese group. There are Hawaiian fraternal organizations, Portuguese, and especially in athletics. Such factors as cultural background, the group numbers in relationship to the total population, the Exclusion Act of Japanese immigrants, and early discrimination against the Japanese led to the differences that exist between the group solidarity of the Japanese and group solidarity of other nationalities.

Summary

The outstanding feature of this chapter was meant to be a description of the two distinct Japanese communities in Hawaii, communities created by the plantations and the communities created by the departure of the Japanese people from the plantations. Because of its uniformity, the interstitial areas in dividing the two communities are clean-cut. Wherever the Japanese people have settled outside of
the plantations, they have organized community clubs, whose primary objective is to help one another and to become better acquainted with their neighbors. Although membership is opened to all nationality groups, almost all members are Japanese. Group egocentrism became a conspicuous liability which was later curbed through Americanization.

Through such factors as wide cultural differences, strong group solidarity, and relatively great numbers in relation to the total population, it is easy to see that many community and family problems will arise. The chapters that follow will show the reluctance of the Japanese people to release the folkways of their native land and the problems resulting from exposure to Americanization.
Chapter IV

Family Life and Americanization in Hawaii

Because of the quasi-segregation policy of the plantations and the firm community solidarity of the Japanese people, the progress of Americanization of the Japanese people during the early twenties could be related to the fable of the "Race between the Hare and the Tortoise." Here appears the fundamental difference between the European and the Japanese immigrant. The European immigrant easily and quickly adapts and adjusts to the new environment because of his likeness of physical characteristics and culture, while the Oriental is involved with a definite unlikeness of physical characteristics and a noted difference in culture, resulting in a slow change. Although slow and even at times reluctant to change, the Japanese family is in the process of Americanization and on the right path in disposing of dual characteristics.

Entering into the study of the Japanese family and its activities in community life, the scene takes us back to the period from 1920 to the 1930. A visit with a Japanese family, a fictitious Mr. Maruoka, who stays over-night at the home of Mr. Yano and his family may give the reader some definite ideas of family customs and home conditions.
Approaching Mr. Yano's plantation home, we stop a moment and observe the general scenery around us. Houses are uniformly built of lumber, all overt structures being identical, the only distinguishing factor being the house numbers. The lawns are artistically created with a tint of Japanese flavor. In locating a home or family, descriptions such as the following are very frequently used: "a mango tree grows in front of the house;" "it is the second house, the third lane, from the camp store;" or a designated house number. (During this period, house numbers were used only by the plantations, and very few streets had names or appeared on sign posts. There was no system of blocks and it was not as easy as going to 520 South 34th St. or 60th and Dodge St.)

In climbing the usual three or four steps to the door, one observes the neatly paired Japanese slippers made of straw and also of wood. If any shoes are present, it is usually a working shoe. Rarely does one see dress shoes as they are tucked away in the closet used only on special occasions such as traveling, weddings, etc.

One does not knock at the door. Salutation according to the time of day is voiced or even use the interrogatory method, "Is Mrs. Yano at home?" The door is opened by Mrs. Yano, and upon recognizing Mr. Maruoka, a ceremony of welcome begins. Japanese people are very courteous in many
ways as we will discover throughout this study. Mrs. Yano begins by thanking Mr. Maruoka for past kindnesses and bows at the same time. Mr. Maruoka acknowledges the gesture by bowing himself. Mr. Maruoka then thanks Mrs. Yano for past kindnesses and bows which is also acknowledged by the repetition of a bow. This ceremony is most often conducted with both parties in kneeling position. The plantations homes having porches, this ceremony is held just inside of the porch door and at its conclusion, the caller is then invited into the house.

Mr. Maruoka takes off his slippers, and walks into the living room. Slippers or shoes are not worn inside of the house, hence, everybody is barefooted. Mr. Yano hurries into another room and brings out a "zabuton" a Japanese cushion (which is in the form of a square) to sit on. The Japanese women kneel while the men squat as the American Indians do. The floor of the home is covered by a straw mat, and as we look around, we cannot help but notice the bareness of the room. Wall paper if any, is usually of a more conservative color. Mrs. Yano excuses herself and hurries into the kitchen to prepare tea. A calendar, a picture or two decorates the room. There are no chairs and if there is any table, it is built about a foot high. In spite of the bareness and simpleness of the Japanese home, a very conspicuous characteristic is that the home is very
Although backward in many things, Mrs. Yano's kitchen has clean, cool running water. Her fireplace is crudely constructed, resembling an outdoor fireplace. The kitchen table is in a corner, no more than a foot high, elongated or round. On the center of the table is a glass filled with chopsticks, the only utensil used in eating. Like her living room, her kitchen utensils are simple and few. Although the room is small, an impression of spaciousness is created by this factor.

The tea is ready and Mrs. Yano places on the floor the tea-pot, tea cups, and a bowl of cookies. Sipping tea and nibbling cookies, current news, home conditions and news of their native land is discussed by hostess and visitor. Usually about this time, Mr. Maruoka presents the gift which he has brought for the family. It is the custom to take a gift when visiting a relative or close friends. This practice is not carried out with close everyday neighbors.

About 4 o'clock, Mrs. Yano's home begins to stir with life. She begins to prepare the supper for the evening. Her younger children come running home barefooted, carrying a school bag containing books written in two languages. Upon seeing their mother, the children announce, "mother, we have returned." This custom is also practiced in the morn-
ing upon leaving for school when the children say, "mother, we will go to school and be back." Looking into their school bags, a book about the "Three Little Pigs," the book reading from left to right, while another book in the Japanese language (resembling a shorthand scribble) reads from right to left. After being served a cookie or a slice of bread with jam, the youngest children hurry off to play, singing "Mary had a Little Lamb," and again singing "Momo Taro-san" which has been learned at the Japanese language school. The older children have duties to fulfill, the daughter usually helps her mother in preparing the meal and other housework. The son has the duties of watering the gardens heating the "furo" and preparing kindling for mother. The term "furo" is the Japanese word for bath tub.

A little later father and son return home from their work on the plantation. The father is the head of the family and he is treated as a king. He takes a bath and make himself presentable before meal time. Taking a bath every day is a "must" with the Japanese family. The plantations have constructed the communal type of bathroom and toilet for the Japanese people. This was possible because the Japanese folkways on sexes were not as strict and confining as those of the Occidental race. Japanese mothers practiced openly in public, breast-feeding of their infants. In rural areas in Japan, the "furo" is located outside of the
home and with little, if any, coverage.

Mr. Yano, guest, and children, all attired in Japanese kimonos are now about ready to partake of the meal prepared by the women folk. Because of the guest, Mrs. Yano has prepared a special meal, much more extravagant than their every day meal. An every day meal usually consist of one main dish with salted cabbage or turnips and rice. Mrs. Yano begins to place the foods on the table, first of all a pot-like stove in the center of the table, glowing with charcoal. She places a skillet on it filled with chopped chicken and all the ingredients that make up chicken sukiyaki. One of the more favorite dishes of the Japanese people, eaten on special occasions and certainly not every Sunday. Another plate filled with sliced raw-fish. Just the mentioning of raw-fish would make people sick, but to the Japanese family this is a delicious luxury. A cone-like bowl is placed in front of each person and is later filled with rice. Mrs. Yano takes the first scoop of rice and puts it into two miniature cone-like bowls and places it on the altar before the image of Buddha, says a prayer and then takes the morning offering to be eaten by the father of the family. The two bowls of rice are for Buddha and for the deceased relatives. This practice stems from the belief of reincarnation taught in Buddhism. Also visible are the fruits and cookies which Mr. Maruoka brought as gifts.
Everybody is seated on the floor and around the table, except for the mother and oldest daughter. These two have to serve, and see that the head of the family and guest have everything they need. "Miso-shiru," a Japanese soup is served and the sipping sound is heard. The soup bowl is brought to the mouth and sipped rather than the Occidental method of bringing the spoon to the mouth, and the same is done with the rice bowl. The sipping sound is thought to be quasi-ethical. The Japanese is much more expressive in indicating the hotness or the deliciousness of the soup, hence, the exaggerated sipping sound. Also, most of the beverages are served piping hot. Mrs. Yano begins to fill the bowls with rice, serving the guest and then the family. The rice is compared to the potato and bread in American meals. Anyone who has eaten in a Chinese restaurant will claim that there is a secret in handling of the chopsticks. To be able to pick up a grain of rice on the table requires everyday practice, to be sure, but there is no secret method of simplifying this trick. No knives are used, therefore, if meat appears on the meal, it is usually chopped into small pieces and mixed with vegetables. If meats and fishes are served that require cutting, the individual himself bites off as much as he wants to, through the aid of the chopsticks. Little conversation occurs during the course of meal, children are disciplined not to talk, to eat, hurriedly, and leave the table.
All work is done during day light hours to avoid as much as possible the use of kerosene lamps and lanterns. Most families will be in bed by 9 o'clock, guided according to the seasons. The evenings are quiet, the father smoking cigarettes, relates the happening of the day or does a little reading, mother continues with the never ending housework, and the children do their studying. Visiting is confined to the weekends, although, neighborly visits are made during the early part of the evening.

Nearing bed time, Mrs. Yano prepares the bedding by spreading the "futon" on the floor. The futon resembles the American comforter. As many as three will sleep on one comforter, using another blanket as a cover. Because of the climate, heavier or extra blankets are not needed. Again, the bedrooms are as simple and spacious as the other rooms. One will not find a guest room and thus, Mr. Maruoka receives no special attention. He shares the bedding with the rest of the family.

"And now I lay me down to sleep, I pray the Lord my soul to keep, if I should die before I wake, I pray the Lord my soul to take. Amen." The Japanese children are not as lucky as the American children who recite their prayer. Their prayers are not as easy. Mrs. Yano lights the candles and burns a little incense and kneels before the altar. The children kneel beside their mother, imitate as much as
possible her gestures. Their hands clasped together, they listen to the prayer of their mother who almost sings it in rhythmic chant, impossible for a child to repeat. The children are able to repeat the last few words, "na mung da butsu" repeating it over and over, bowing at the same time.

About 4 o'clock in the morning, life begins to stir in the home of Mr. Yano. Mrs. Yano gets up first, starts the fire, and prepares breakfast. A little bit of coffee and toast, rice mixed with hot tea, left-overs and salted cabbage, comprise the breakfast for Mr. Yano and son. By the time breakfast is finished, a new pot of steaming rice is done and again the first portion is placed before the altar, the rest is used for lunches and noon meal. Mr. Yano's and the children's lunches are prepared. These consist of a main dish and "musubi" or rice ball. The rice is pressed together to form the shape of a ball, thus receiving its name. At the center of the rice ball is placed an "ume" which has the resemblance of an olive, the color being red and the taste is similar to a dill pickle.

Mr. Yano and son leaves for work about 5:30 and soon after, the whole household is awakened. The rest of the family is then fed, the children's breakfast consisting of cocoa, cereal, and toast. Mr. Maruoka prepares to leave, and begins the ceremony of departure. He gives thanks for all the kindnesses to him and invites Mr. and Mrs. Yano to
visit his family soon, bowing time after time. As he is about to leave, Mrs. Yano presents Mr. Maruoka a gift to take home to his children and again the ceremony of bowing and expressing thanks. He closes the gate behind him, and Mr. Maruoka makes a final gesture of gratefulness by bowing in a standing position and Mrs. Yano returns the bow.

With their lunches and books in their bags, the children impatiently await the return of their mother and upon her arrival, politely say, "mother we are going to school and will return." Running barefooted to meet their friends of many nationalities, they enter into an environment strange and different from that which they have just left. Now the children are forced to play the role of Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde. With difficulty they now attempt to speak the English language. And in a matters of hours, they must again make the transformation to the Japanese language. At one school, the books begin from left to right, sentences read horizontally, at another school, the books begin from right to left, sentences read vertically. Dismissed from classes, the children hurry home to their mothers and discuss what Mrs. Weight said about their health and again what Nishi sensei said about a coming event. Conflicts? Problems? Yes, it is obvious that there are many.

Almost forty-five years have gone by since the arrival of the Japanese immigrants in 1834 and one cannot help but
wonder, if they will ever assimilate the American culture. Yet, as we study the period from 1930 to December 7, 1941, noticeable changes may be observed. Now, if one expects to observe changes in their color of skin, slant and color of their eyes or the change of their dark and thick hair, then he will be disappointed. However, there are many noticeable changes, the American education being the one greatest motivating influence.

The years from 1935 to 1941 present two conspicuous changes, one in assimilation and another in economic status. Again by creating a fictitious family, an attempt will be made to present an authentic picture of the Japanese family living in a heterogeneous community of this period.

The Miyamoto family, numbering eight in all, live in a community outside of the plantations. Their neighbors are of many nationalities, although predominantly Japanese. There have been many assumptions and claims made about the propagation of the Japanese people. "Japanese children multiply like mongooses. Families of seventeen are not unusual." There are families of seventeen and more undoubtedly, but in the community in which our observational study was conducted, there were thirty-two Japanese families to-

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taling 189, giving an average of 5.9 per family. Again, in a veteran's project community where second generations predominate, the sixteen families totaled 54, giving an average of 3.31 per family. These figures are by no means the true average number of persons per family of Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands or the United States but it does infer that the above quotation and claims of the potentiality of propagation among the Japanese people might have been a bit exaggerated. More will be said on this topic in studying the Japanese families in the United States in Chapter six.

The overt physical structures of the Miyamoto's home resembles that of the neighborhood, not a very big home or fancy but the prestige and pride of ownership is the outstanding factor. The homes are painted with many colors and lawns beautifully landscaped. As we approach the Miyamoto's home about 6:30 A.M., we hear Mrs. Miyamoto busily preparing breakfast for her family. Strong odor of coffee percolating on a gas stove and the burning of toast in an electric toaster fills the brisk morning air. The three younger children with sparkling faces hurry to the table, the scraping of chair legs and the clinking of spoon against the cereal bowl can be heard. A final gulp of milk, brother hurries his sister with the lunch, "hurry up Nesan, make my lunch pau quick, I already late you know," or receives ten cent for hot lunch served at school. After receiving his lunch, off he goes without any message to his mother, books
of two languages in his school bag, running barefooted to meet his friends. The last two sentences touch on two very important and interesting phenomena that are very conspicuous in the communities of Hawaii. The former sentence involves "pidgin English," and the latter involves the Japanese language school.

"Pidgin English is the common language of the territory. In the continental United States, the children of European immigrants upon entering the public schools, quickly lose their foreign accent, and after two or three years speak English as well as any child of English speaking parentage. The reason, of course, is environment, the immigrant child being greatly in the minority. But in Hawaii, the opposite is the case, for the immigrants child is greatly in the majority."\(^2\) Another very important factor added to the above is that not only is English speaking group a minority, but added to the environment are many different nationalities that have sharp differences in languages and pronunciations. Jumble all these different languages and the result will be a very crude pidgin English. The Japanese language schools also contribute to the complexity of the pidgin language. Thus the Japanese have the most conspicu-

ous pidgin English and using a popular slang, "one can almost say that the Japanese in Hawaii murders the English language in using it." "One outstanding fact has been noted, however, and that is that despite all the education absorbed by the Xanthin school children of Hawaii, only a very small percentage learn to speak correct English, with a correct pronunciation. Even among the better educated, there is a strong Oriental flavor to the pronunciation, while among the vast majority, pidgin English reigns supreme." This has been so with all nationality groups that emigrated from the east, although the second generation Chinese children are the most improved among these groups.

Some of the more favorite pidgin English words and phrases are: "Sabe" almost universal for "know;" "Numba one" means the top or head of anything or any group; "biemby" means soon; "mo betta" means better; "waste time" is a much used phrase of scorn or contempt or derogation. ("He waste time that fella" means "He is no good.") A pidgin conversation, a quarrel between two taxi drivers following a slight bump:

"Whatsa matta you?" demands one of the other, angrily.

"Whatsa matta me?" responds the other. Whatsa matta you whatsa matta me? You whatsa matta?"

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3 Ibid., p. 222.
4 S. Clark, All the Best in Hawaii, (October 1949), p. 52.
Therefore, if one is not familiar with pidgin English as used in Hawaii, misinterpretation may easily lead to frustration and disgust. For instance, if a lad tells you, "you stay go," one would not know whether to stay or go. This is a very common phrase meaning "you go ahead." Another very frustrating phrase is "da kind." A child will very often go to a clerk and ask for "da kind." The clerk will patiently try to interpret his hand signs and descriptions and finally finds out what the child wants and say, "Oh! you want da kind," understandingly, brings out a box of crayon and everybody is happy. A large store in Honolulu have the title, "Da Kind." This phrase is used as a means of a short cut or when one hesitates or does not know the name of an article he wants.

Another factor that helps to create pidgin English is the conversation that occurs between the American-born children and their immigrant parents. A majority of the Japanese children cannot speak the Japanese language well and thus need to rely on English and a bit of Hawaiian to carry over the conversation with their parents. For instance, on page thirty-eight, at the bottom of the page, because of habit, instead of saying, "please sister, hurry and finish my lunch as I am already late," the child inserts a bit of Japanese, a word of Hawaiian and because he is speaking to his sister, attempts to speak almost entirely in pidgin English. Nesan
is a Japanese word meaning sister and pau a Hawaiian word meaning finish. Again, if the child happens to be talking to his mother, he would say, "hurry-up Okasan, o soe desu," meaning "hurry-up mother, it is late." Also a mother calling her son to come home for lunch would say, "Shigeru, come home, kau kau deki teru," translated, "Shigeru, come home, lunch is ready. Kau kau is a Hawaiian word for meal or to eat and deki teru a Japanese words for ready.

From facts presented thus far, one cannot deny the tremendous handicaps and complications the immigrant children have to overcome inorder to speak the English language. More so with the Japanese children as they have to learn to pronounce the vowels and consonants of the English language and also must learn the correct pronunciation of the Japanese alphabet. The possibility of minimizing the use of pidgin English in the future among the Japanese children does present some hope. Education is the main factor. Although contrary to the belief stated in quotation number sixteen, "despite all the education absorbed by the Xantin school children of Hawaii, only a very small percentage learn to speak correct English, with a correct pronunciation," we believe that the environment will eventually change to English speaking and our generations to come will not have the influence of immigrant parents but parents that speak only one language, educated in one school, and have one loyalty.
Almost all Japanese children are "hell bent for education," as any teacher in the Islands can tell you. Like our Jewish children they propose to take advantage of anything a kindly fate has offered them; they are not only more diligent but more intelligent--well, at least "smarter" or at any rate busier, perhaps even more unscrupulous in their quest of learning than their Island classmates. They add nothing to the disciplinary problem. The Japanese child comes to school to study and to learn; all other matters are extraneous with him. White and Chinese students are usually brighter, Hawaii's 2,300 teachers seem agreed, but the plodding stick-to-it-iveness and the acid-like engraving memory of the Japanese usually lands him on top.5

"Japanese illiteracy rate is next to the lowest of all races."6 These characteristics of the Japanese children point out the potentiality of this group in minimizing the use of pidgin English and also in accelerating the process of Americanization.

Another well discussed problem of the Japanese people of Hawaii is the Japanese language school. The Japanese language school and dual citizenship have been most vulnerable to attacks and criticisms by anti-Japanese groups in the Islands. Primarily, the greatest motivating force in establishing the Japanese language school was the fact that the Japanese immigrants stay in Hawaii was to be temporary. Therefore, it was important that their children receive the national education of Japan. "Established in 1896 to give


a national education in accordance with the prescribed rules of the Imperial Department of Education, they were attended originally by the children of Japanese immigrants who had no intention of residing permanently in the islands. Consequently, the training they afforded was one-hundred-percent Japanese, with all text books authorized by the Japanese Government and printed in Japan. The obvious reason is that upon their return to Japan, the children should not be handicapped and could continue where they had left off in the islands.

Gradually, however, as the Americanization of Hawaii proceeded, outside pressure began to criticize the practices of the Japanese language school and its teachings. The main reason for the pressure against the Japanese language school was the changing of attitude in regard to returning home by the Japanese immigrants. Thus, there was no need of the language schools. If the Japanese immigrants were to make Hawaii their new home, they too must become Americanized and attend the American schools only. "The opposition to the Japanese language schools went all the way to our Supreme Court---and the Japanese won." The result of the court decision led to a compromise education by which the Japanese

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3 See Harry A. Franck, op. cit., p. 265.
language schools were "subject to inspection by the Territorial Government; their text-books have been translated and made available to the Territorial Department of Public Instruction; and many of the topics discussed are American. Inevitably, however, the courses deal with Japanese morals, culture and loyalties." The Japanese advocates maintain that the schools provide systematic training in the Japanese language, necessary for children to converse intelligently with non-English speaking parents and grandparents and also useful for later business activity in the Japanese community.

The Japanese language schools begin immediately after the American schools are out and last one hour. There are six days of school, and on Saturday the classes are longer for the upper-class students. The classes are divided into three parts: reading, writing, and learning definitions of words. Penmanship is taught once a week, thus, reading and the learning of definitions takes up most of the school time. The writer himself attended the Japanese language school for ten years and must very embarrassingly admit that the fruits resulting from all the years of learning are few. The knowledge acquired from the teaching of morals and culture, especially in respect for the elders, courtesy, discipline, and family solidarity is unmeasurable. The

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9 See J. Barber Jr., op. cit., p. 143.
Japanese child remembers vividly such stories as "George Washington and the Cherry Tree," "Abraham Lincoln," and a Japanese fable, "Momotaro-san." The latter is a story about a poor childless couple, making their livelihood by chopping trees and washing clothes. One day, as the wife was doing the washing, down the creek came floating a very large peach, which she happily took home. Upon cutting it in half, out jumped a baby boy who grew up to be a great hero. He remembers little if any about the history of Japan. He does imitate the Japanese "samurai," who resembles the American cowboy.

A very conspicuous feature of the Japanese language school is that as the children grow older, the majority of them tend to drop out of school. The number of students decreases sharply as the classification rises and the upper classes number anywhere from five to fifteen. The reasons for this condition are:

1. The rising expense in sending children to two schools.
2. It is compulsory to attend the public schools up to a certain grade, while it is not mandatory to attend the Japanese language schools.
3. The extra-curricula work resulting from attending two schools.
4. Part time work after school hours to help out with the needed extra income.
5. Basic Japanese language is learnt during the early grammar classes.

6. The constant outside pressure of Americanization.

7. The objections of the children toward this extracurricula.

8. And finally, the parents themselves in the process of Americanization becomes less insistent upon their children attending the language school.

"They further opine that attendance will drop off in the Japanese language schools gradually by itself; that already the island-born parents are not so insistent, and that their children will not insist at all."¹⁰ The bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese in 1941 closed all Japanese language schools and since then, there has been no move or indication of the possible reopening of the language schools. We believe that even without Pearl Harbor, the Japanese language school would have eventually disappeared.

We believe these two factors "pidgin English," and "The Japanese language school" to be very important to the Japanese child. In eliminating the language school, the Japanese child can concentrate solely on the English language, eliminate the Japanese flavor in his speaking, and by so doing, minimize his conspicuous pidgin English.

¹⁰ See H. A. Franck, op. cit., p. 266.
Clarifying these two important points, we return to Mrs. Miyamoto who having sent off her three children to school is now preparing breakfast for the working men of the family. Father is a machinist at a pineapple canery and the oldest son is also employed by the same company as a machinist. The second son is a carpenter, while the third son holds a white-collar job at the county tax office. Working hours reduced to eight hours compared to the ten to twelve in the plantations, Mrs. Miyamoto does not need to get up 4 o'clock in the morning nor does she need to rush in preparing breakfast and lunches for the working men. Electricity and gas make her work easier and quicker.

Eight o'clock and the house is quiet again except for the swishing sound of the broom as Mrs. Miyamoto begins cleaning the house. It wasn't too long ago when house cleaning was simple and easy. Well, that was yesterday, now she has to move her furnitures from place to place, being careful not to scratch or mar her linoleum as she rolls the beds to one corner and then back again in place. Mrs. Miyamoto's living room is brightly decorated with pictures bought from the dime stores, and flowers artistically displayed on tables and on the radio, thus creating extra work in dusting. Her dining room table has been elevated to the standard size with chairs placed uniformly around it. One very familiar sight, chopsticks in a glass can still be seen. Her kitchen,
with a gas range and a refrigerator added, creates an atmosphere of a crowded New York subway during the rush hour.

The return of her youngest son from the Japanese language school reminds her that it is about time to prepare dinner for the family. The evening meal is usually a typical Japanese meal, steaming rice, a main dish, salted cabbage, vegetable salad, and tea. The Japanese families are able to economize on their food budget because of the cheapness in preparing an everyday Japanese meal. One can almost say that the Japanese meal in Hawaii consists $\frac{3}{4}$ of vegetable and $\frac{1}{4}$ of meat, a small portion of the meat is chopped in small pieces and added to the vegetable to create a main dish. Thus, a pound or even less of meat adequately feeds a family of eight. Another food item which is consumed a great deal by the Japanese family is fish. Fish in Hawaii, is very cheap and the variety of fishes creates many Fridays in a week for a family. Fish can be eaten fried, broiled in sweet soysauce, made into soup, and horrible as it may sound, eaten raw.

The trend in the change of diet is shown by the fact that the third and fourth generation Japanese children are much taller than their parents and the early second generation children who were fed on a diet that resembled that of their native land. The table on the following page will present a slight difference in the sizes of the children
born and reared in the United States and children that were born and reared in Japan: 11

Table III
Comparative Table of the Height and Weight of Japanese children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Born and reared in America</th>
<th>Born and reared in Japan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>7yrs....3.54 ft...42.3 lbs</td>
<td>3.52 ft....38.6 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>&quot; ....3.52 &quot; ...40.4 &quot; ...3.43 &quot; ....37.3 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>12yrs....4.38 &quot; ...65.4 &quot;</td>
<td>4.25 &quot; ....60.0 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>&quot; ....4.35 &quot; ...65.4 &quot;</td>
<td>4.24 &quot; ....59.5 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It is also important to note that this study was conducted during the early twenties and the Japanese children in Hawaii were subjected to a diet that resembled that of their native land. In the community of our observational study, we did not attempt to measure the height of the Japanese children but the trend of taller Japanese children is very obvious. Again our Public Schools played an important role in this change. Even as early as the late twenties, the American schools consistently through the P.T.A. and the children, tried to convince the mother of the Japanese children that their diet was not sufficient for a normal and healthful growth. Thus, the Public Schools in-
introduced and took the initiative in planning a more balanced diet for the children. Children that were under-weight were compelled to take milk and cod-liver oil during school hours. As the child gained its normal weight, he was released from taking milk or cod-liver oil. Because of the possibility of regression, the Public Schools introduced a period before noon to be a milk recess. Parents were encouraged to let their children take milk and the children were rewarded with crackers. Yes, a little bit here, and a little bit there, a compromise here and a change there, the process of assimilation was in action. Like the slow moving tortoise, it needs time to reach the goal.

Mrs. Miyamoto calls her youngest son to prepare the fu-ro. A very good illustration of a Japanese "furo" is a cartoon depicting the cannibal boiling a victim in a large kettle. There are two kind of furo, one has the shape of a rectangle and is about one and half to two feet deep and built of wood. The other is round and made of metal which has the same depth. The water is heated directly rather then the hot water system, thus everyone takes his bath in a limited time to eliminate reheating. Because of its heating system and of the large space it requires, a special room is annexed to the house or a separate small building is build, used as a laundry and bathroom. The Americanized version of the furo is that it has a hot water system rather then the direct
There is no blessing of food at the table as Mrs. Miyamoto has already placed the little bowl of rice on the altar as an offering and blessing. The younger children have their own table and the older members of the family eat in the dining room with Mrs. Miyamoto doing all the extra work such as filling the bowl with rice, filling their cups with tea, etc. In comparison to the plantation home, Mrs. Miyamoto's home activities become a little easier without that "preparing for an early tomorrow." During the early hours of the evening, the radio is dialed to programs such as the Lone Ranger and the Green Hornet and little later father, mother, and family listen to the Japanese programs. The oldest son receives permission to use the car, while the other son goes out to the corner to meet his friends, wearing Japanese slippers. Yes, slippers are still visible but added to it are shoes of all sizes for the family.

"Hey nesan, what is eleven times twelve?" or "Otosan, what this kanji means?" The children prepare their lessons for tomorrow and two different languages must be reviewed. "Otosan" means father and "kanji" means word. The Japanese child try to avoid using the Japanese language as much as possible.

There is no special preparation in making their bed
now. No futon to spread on the floor. They just jump on the bed and go to sleep. Mother kneels before the altar and goes through the same ceremony although the children are not present. The reasons are obvious, the children do not understand the prayers and will not attempt to memorize the prayers that are very difficult to pronounce. Thus, homes of the second generation Japanese families do not carry on the praying ceremony as performed by their parents. One will find the Buddhist altars in most homes but it is becoming a common sight to see these altars missing in the second and third generation homes. The Buddhist priest realizing the lack of enthusiasm and decline among the followers, are beginning to translate prayers into English and conduct church service in English. Another reason for the declining of Buddhism is the increasing influence the Christian churches have on the third and fourth generations. The first generation parents object strenuously to their children straying away from their religion although the second generation parents have the attitude of "Whatever they want to become, Christians or Buddhists, it is their choice."

Many years have passed since the arrival of the Japanese immigrants in 1884 and there is no doubt that many have wondered if these strange looking people would ever change their ways and become Americans one day. Their always cour-
teous replies, "yessy, yessy, bossy," and in their odd looking kimonos and stilted wooden slippers, one can almost hear their always busy choppy, choppy steps. In Picture I, a picture of four Japanese children born in the United States and we assume their ages to be from four to six.\footnote{E. S. Parker, "Real Yellow Peril," \textit{Independent}, vol. 105, (May 1921), p. 475.}

Illustration I

This picture presents vividly the characteristics of Japanese children in physical appearance. Their kimonos are typical clothing of Japan. All Japanese children during their childhood receive a very close hair-cut as the picture indicates. They were attired in such clothing as late as the early twenties although as the child grew older and entered school, clothing was changed to western costume. This picture appeared in the magazine \textit{Independent} in the article "Real Yellow Peril" in the year 1921. Underneath the picture was quoted, "Behold the Yellow Peril!"
sunny appealing little sinners the sight of whom must cer­
tainly strike terror to the stoutest heart." We will in
due course of this study bring out facts such as loyalty,
criminality and others that prove these claims to be a bit
exaggerated as these and many other Japanese children born
in the United States and Hawaii proved themselves to be
good American Citizens.

The next picture,\textsuperscript{13} taken approximately thirty years

Illustration II

"Hawaii: A Melting Pot," \textit{Life Magazine}, (November 1945),
p. 106.

later, (from 1. to r.) presents picture of a Chinese-Hawaiian,
Portuguese, and two Japanese Boy Scouts of America which ap­
peared in the \textit{Life Magazine}. The boys were shown collecting
gas masks. Carl Nakagawa and Thomas Ohara here present a tremendous change from Picture I, although their innate physical characteristics were clearly visible. A very interesting feature of Carl and Thomas is their height. Postulating that Carl and the Chinese-Hawaiian boy, Joseph, are about the same age and Thomas and the Portuguese boy, Moses, are likewise, we can infer that the Japanese children have probably achieved a normal and healthful growth as they adjust and transit into the new environment.

Picture III, is a photograph of a Japanese couple who

Illustration III
lived in the islands for almost fifty years. Mr. X, as we shall call him, worked some fifteen years on the plantation as a field worker. Mr. X and sons all corporated and worked together until they had saved enough to send one son to Honolulu to learn a business trade and later they opened a place of business under the leadership of this son. Mr. X was able to send another son to Japan to be educated and they themselves were able to visit their native land during the years spent in Hawaii. Yes, quite a change, an immigrant couple attired in kimonos and Japanese slippers changed to the Americanized clothing of Picture III. To the writer, this picture is very significant because he has lived and grown up among these people and has seen the first part of their lives and then the new one of today.

Summary

In this chapter have been presented two "bird-eye" views of family life of the Japanese in Hawaii, one, a period where family life resembled so much like in their native land and the other, a period that showed a change and the process of Americanization in action.

During the earlier period, occupations were limited and the accumulation of wealth slow. Some of their custom
such as communal bath-houses, sitting on the floor and sleeping on the floor were unchanged. Their diet consisted mainly of rice and very little of meat. Humble, courteous, and steadfast in their ambition, progress toward Americanization was yet shown to be constant.

The period from the middle thirties to December 7, 1941, showed noticeable changes in assimilation and economic status. A future that has the potentiality of presenting a happy and prosperous life for the Japanese children of Hawaii seems possible.

If we consider that race problem is a very deep one and takes a long time for change to occur, we realize that many generations will not see this phenomenon take place. In the final chapter of Hawaii, we will discover many indices that will present sharp trends of the race problems and the Japanese family of Hawaii. We shall present the possibilities and potentialities of the social phenomenon of a new race.
In this chapter we will attempt to discuss the aftermath resulting from the bombing of Pearl Harbor. How this factor affected the general community of Hawaii and more so, of the Japanese people in the process of Americanization.

The "sneak attack" on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 brought sharp changes to the Hawaiian Islands and especially to the Japanese family. Little did the Japanese people of Hawaii realize the critical moments that were ahead of them and quick decisions that they would have to make as they began to rise on that historical Sunday morning. When the first news and flashes of emergencies were broadcast over the radio, the Japanese families, and especially the Niseis, would not believe that the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor. Confused with the war maneuvers that were going on between the Navy, Army, and the Air Force, people thought that this was the doing of the military officials in making the maneuvers more realistic. It was during the afternoon when the people of Hawaii felt the full shock as they heard the confirmation of the attack of Pearl Harbor and the declaration of war with Japan by the President of the United States.
The possibilities of a landing by the enemy forces led to many restrictions and preparations to meet this situation. The people hurried back to their respective homes, all huddled around the radio, frightened, and with anxiety listened to all reports that came over the radio. Many will agree that the night of December 7, 1941 was the longest night they had ever experienced. Many with blankets covered around them never went to bed, creaking rocking chairs, rustling movements here and there, and occasional whispering as they sat in darkness awaiting what fate had in store for them. Outside of their homes, they could hear the rumbling of military vehicles, patrolling and protecting vital public utilities against sabotage. Every now and then, they heard warnings about the leak of light and even the lights of the radio had to be covered so the reflection could not be seen.

All sorts of dark rumors circulated immediately after Pearl Harbor, but this is what actually happened: "The Army high command reported that there was no act of sabotage committed in Hawaii or in the area of the Western Defense Command."¹ "Almost to a man, and to a woman, the Japanese-Americans were solidly, obviously, enthusiastically on the side of the United States. An investigation by the F.B.I.

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turned up no single proven case of sabotage by island-born Japanese.\textsuperscript{2} There are many reasons why there were no proven cases of sabotage and why the Army High Command did not duplicate the mass incarceration of the Japanese families in Hawaii as it was executed in the area of the Western Defense in the United States. Surely, the situation in Hawaii was much more grave and critical.

It is important to recognize the statistical facts and characteristics of the population of Hawaii at this time. Table IV on the following page will show the major nationality groups that are significant in our study.

The only data received from the Washington D. C. office of census on the 1950 population of Hawaii were the total number of the Japanese population and the total population of Hawaii. Thus, the figures in parentheses and underlined are an approximate estimation of the other nationality groups.

From the estimation of Captain Cook's probable population to the 1910 census, the native population of Hawaii had declined steadily until 1920, through the process of intermarriages with the immigrants, has steadily increased their number. It would seem that the 23,000 increase from

\textsuperscript{2}S. Clark, \textit{All the Best in Hawaii}, (October 1949), p. 53.
### Table IV

Population of Hawaii by Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1896</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian,</td>
<td>39,504</td>
<td>38,547</td>
<td>41,750</td>
<td>50,860</td>
<td>64,310</td>
<td>(92,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; part-Hawaiian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>22,438</td>
<td>39,150</td>
<td>49,140</td>
<td>73,702</td>
<td>103,791</td>
<td>(126,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>24,407</td>
<td>79,675</td>
<td>109,274</td>
<td>139,631</td>
<td>157,905</td>
<td>184,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Asiatic</td>
<td>21,616</td>
<td>28,568</td>
<td>49,488</td>
<td>96,692</td>
<td>81,343</td>
<td>(85,183)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Others**</td>
<td>1,055</td>
<td>5,961</td>
<td>6,260</td>
<td>7,451</td>
<td>15,931</td>
<td>(12,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>109,020</td>
<td>191,909</td>
<td>255,912</td>
<td>368,336</td>
<td>423,330</td>
<td>499,794</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Other Asiatic includes Chinese, Filipino, and Korean through the year 1930. In 1940, however, the Korean group was dropped to the "all others" because of its smallness in number.

**All others includes Porto Rican, Negro, and European whites rather than American whites. The Korean group was added in 1940.


1940 to 1950 in this group is questionable and probably overestimated. This opinion is based on the following facts:

1. The Native-Hawaiians freely marry outside of his own group, especially with the Chinese.

2. Tremendous acceleration of intermarriages during the period from 1941 to 1948.

3. In 1932, thirty-three percent of all marriages were
a mixture of racial groups, and in 1945, forty percent.5

The Caucasian group, in a manner somewhat similar to the trend of the Japanese group are reluctant to marry outside their racial group. About sixty-two percent of this group are male and thus is created the necessity for some to seek their mates outside of the group. The female white does not intermarriage as much as the male because of the obvious reason, the wide disparity of sex-ratio. The large increase in this group is due partly to the importation of white Americans during the War to work in military installations.

The Japanese group have increased in number steadily although, in percentage to the total population, they reached the peak in 1920 and since then have shown small but steady decrease. The strict control of the Japanese family is the main factor in preventing wholesale intermarriages, although another very important factor is that the 1950 census reported that there were 93,250 male and 91,361 female.6 The


6 All statistics cited throughout this study are, unless otherwise specified, from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Census and the 1951 Statistical Abstract of the United States. Therefore, the correct dates of references are April 1940, 1950, and 1951. Thus, all statistical data cited will not be quoted but with the understanding that it came from sources just mentioned.
Hawaiian population as a whole has an abnormal sex distribution. This is naturally to be expected in a population conditioned by a continued stream of immigration. The 1940 census reported that there were 137.6 males per 100 females in Hawaii, however, surprisingly the Japanese group showed male to be 52.4% or 110.3 males per 100 females. The 1950 figure of males per 100 females for the whole of Hawaii, was not available but the statistics on the Japanese group showed that there were 50.9% male or 102.0 males per 100 females. One can conceive of the great influence this factor had in preventing the Japanese male from seeking a wife outside of his racial group. Also, the Japanese girls have been known to be good housewives.

The Filipinos, classified in the "other Asiatic" group were the last major labor immigrant group to arrive. Their number reached its peak in 1930 some 70,000, primarily due to immigration. Here in this group lies the greatest disparity of sex-ratio. The 1940 census revealed that the male consisted of 77.2% or 346.3 males per 100 females. Many factors lie behind of this situation, mainly, the Filipinos were not able financially to send for future brides. Another factor is that they have not as yet, been accepted by the nationality groups in Hawaii in regard to intermarriages as have other groups. In other words, having arrived only recently, they are at the bottom of the social and occupa-
tional ladder as each new group has been in the past.

There are only about 6% or about 22,000 Chinese in Hawaii. Among all the Asiatic groups in Hawaii, the Chinese are most liked and have attained the highest social and occupational status. "Chinese are among the best melters in the Pacific pot, the mixed marriages which are part Chinese produce cross strains of notable character and attractiveness. The Chinese-Hawaiian strain, for one example, is considered an admirable element. The easy grace and powerful physique of the Hawaiian is combined with the quiet industry and resourcefulness of the Chinese."7 The Chinese people are urban dwelling people and the great majority of Chinese are located in Honolulu.

In the "all other" group, the Koreans, Puerto Ricans, and the Negroes are the main subjects in this group. Military personnel and other minority groups, that are debatable in classification, are also listed in this group. Prior to World War II, Negroes in Hawaii were no problem to the society because of their small group. They were active in community work and have attained high status. Post-war brought out an entirely different condition. Many Negro soldiers remained in Hawaii after they were discharged and a very conspicuous Negro district in the city slum area has been great-

7See S. Clark, op. cit., p. 61.
ed. Koreans number some 7,000 and are mixing freely with other nationality groups. Puerto Ricans number some 10,000 and are still employed by the plantations. The military personnel group are becoming significant as more and more marriages result with native Hawaiian girls. These married couples have the tendency of settling in Hawaii rather than the soldier taking the bride back to the United States. These families are found mostly in government housing projects and in communities that are predominantly or wholly of these mix-marriages.

Thus, there is no dominant group in Hawaii, although the population of Hawaii is 50% Asiatic. "The ethnic salvation of Hawaii has been the fact that there has been no single line or racial predominance. If one wished to "draw the line," where would he start? Leading members of the community may have as many as four to five ancestral strains."3 One cannot get an authentic picture of the intermarriages of Hawaii by studying the figures reported by the census bureau. The census bureau has long stopped trying to untangle the many intermarriages which include four and five blood strains, thus lists two types of intermarriages, Asiatic-Hawaiian and Caucasian-Hawaiian.

Figure I below indicates that the Hawaiian group which includes mix-marriages and the Caucasian group are steadily climbing while the Japanese and the "other Asiatic" group indicates a trend of decline. The Japanese group reached its peak in 1920 when making up 42% of the total population.

Population Trends in Hawaii

Although its decline is small, it has been steady, and in 1950 the Japanese totaled 36% of the population of Hawaii. The nearest rival to the Japanese is the Caucasian group. It is believed that this group will never become the dom-
nant group, if ever there should be one, because of two important factors: the sex-ratio is 164 males per 100 females, therefore the Caucasian must go outside of his racial group in seeking his mate; and the Caucasian birth-rate is the lowest in Hawaii. One would then question, how is that the Caucasian group has steadily increased since 1920? The important factor is that with the increasing number of intermarriages, the offspring very often have as many as four to five blood strains and common among these are the Caucasian blood and Hawaiian blood strains. Whenever possible, the Caucasian blood strain is stressed because of the social status one gains. In simplifying classification of offspring resulting from intermarriages, the three major nationality groups are stressed and put ahead of others, the Hawaiian, Caucasian and Japanese. Another factor that helped to increase the Caucasian population is the importation of white labor during World War II and the great majority of such who have settled in Hawaii. Military personnel have married native Hawaiian girls and likewise settling in Hawaii, have helped to increase the Caucasian group.

There are many indications that the phenomenon of the emergence of a new race or group is becoming a reality in Hawaii. Facts presented thus far, and photographs which will be presented on the following pages, will substantiate our belief. The significance of intermarriages in Hawaii is
that not only does it create the possibility of a new group, but of a community minimized in racial conflicts and problems.

Illustration IV

and amalgamation that does not result in one distinctive or dominant group but a group that is unified in the process of Americanization. Such a group respects the rights and privileges of neighbors and believes in equality for all regardless of color, religion, or creed. It is a community that puts to action its beliefs, rather than theorizing without action.

On the foregoing page, Illustration IV presents pictures of families of intermarriages.

**Picture 1** is the family of an American born Caucasian husband and a Hawaiian Chinese wife. The Chinese people are fair in complexion and thus their offspring are fair. Thus far, intermarriages between the Caucasian and Oriental have produced very few offspring characterized by blue eyes or light hair. The children of this couple do have light hair.

**Picture 2** is the family of a Hawaiian Japanese husband and a Caucasian wife. The offspring will be Hawaiian, Japanese, and Caucasian and probably be classified a Japanese or a Caucasian. Notice the oldest son have the feature of a Hawaiian and Japanese while the second child does appear to look more of his mother.

**Picture 3** is the family of a white American born in Hawaii husband and a Japanese-American wife. A very conspicuous factor about this picture is that the oldest daugh-
Illustration V

10 Ibid., pp. 104-5.
ter, who is seated next to her mother, resembles the mother most closely and has the features of a Japanese. The three other children resemble the father and have no conspicuous Japanese features. They probably will be classified as Caucasian.

**Picture 4** is the family of an American Negro Husband and a Japanese-American wife. Their son has inherited features from both parents.

**Illustration V** on the foregoing page shows pictures of offspring that are much older.

**Picture 1** is the daughter of parents that have three blood strains, English, Belgian, and Hawaiian. She has the features of a "happa-haole." This term means "half-white or American" to denote an individual with white features. A native Hawaiian has some features of the Negroid race and is easily distinguished from the "happa-haole." She probably would be classified as a Caucasian or Hawaiian-Caucasian.

**Picture 2** is a daughter of French and Portuguese parents. She would be classified as Caucasian.

**Picture 3** is a daughter of English and Hawaiian parents, and she too probably would be classified a Caucasian.

**Pictures 4, 5, 6, and 7** all have one common factor, Oriental blood strain. **Picture six** is the only person having parents of one nationality and in this case, Japanese.

**Pictures 8 and 9** are daughters of parents of white and Hawaiian blood strains.
These illustrations give an idea the conglomeration of nationalities involved in intermarriages in Hawaii. We wonder what the future possibilities of intermarriages in Hawaii will be.

Sanctioned by the Hawaiian society, intermarriages of all nationality groups are crossing and recrossing with many blood strains. There will come a time when it would be impossible to list all the blood strains the Hawaiian children have and eventually classification must revert to plain American. Can this community be the true picture of a "melting-pot in action?" It certainly has the ingredients and greater still, they are in the process of amalgamating into a unified group. This social phenomenon is expressed in all activities; working, learning, playing, and praying with all nationality groups.

Illustration VI on the following page shows that non-discrimination begins with the children and works up.

Picture 1 presents a Caucasian and an Oriental girl playing together intimately which is a very familiar sight in Hawaii. In all activities, especially in schools are these non-discriminatory actions best displayed.

Picture 2 presents a group of children of many nationalities playing together with harmony and friendliness. Many such day nurseries are conducted in Hawaii and these are open to all nationality groups.
Illustration VI

Ibid., pp. 107-8.

In such an environment, working, playing, learning, and praying together, intermarriages are inevitable. Even the Japanese families are beginning to break from the strict restriction of marriage within their racial group. Supplementing the above factor, is the disappearance of the Japanese immigrant parents. Figure two on the following page gives trends of native born, foreign born and total Japanese population of Hawaii. It has been estimated that the average age of Isseis in the United States in 1939 was
and by comparing Figure 2 below and Figure 4 on page 9, it is inferred that the approximate average age of Isseis in Hawaii is close to seventy-three. This conclusion was reached from the following indices: 1. The 1900


Figure 2. Chart indicating trends of total population, native, and foreign born Japanese of Hawaii.

Note: Red dotted lines and figures are estimations.

arrived before 1901 and only some 4,000 arrived after the year 1900. 2. The Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907 controlled immigration of Japanese to Hawaii and the United States. At this time, the average age of Japanese immigrant was probably twenty-two years. The high cost of transportation curtailed youth out of high school and youth that had just started to earn their livelihood. Hence, the minimum degree of Issei population in Hawaii in the next two or three decades is most probable, and, as this generation becomes history, the Japanese families of Hawaii will become wholly American citizens, use of one language, and accelerating the process of Americanization.

On December 7, 1941, approximately 22% or some 35,000 of the total Japanese population of Hawaii were foreign born. Figure 3 on the following page, the 1940 census revealed that 23.7% were foreign born. It seems perhaps, improbable for this minority group to influence the attitudes of a group that is almost four times larger, but it would be logical to postulate that the 77% of native born or Japanese-Americans would influence where their loyalty should be felt. An illustration of this factor is that at the termination of World War II, only 7,000 to 8,00013 Japanese

Native and Foreign Born Trends

Figure 3. Bar charts indicating native and foreign born differences in percentages.

Legend
- Native born - Changed to majority - Estimation
- Foreign born - Changed to minority - Estimation

from the continental United States and Hawaii were expatriated to Japan. Here lies the greatest factor in proving why there were not sabotage nor espionage acts by the Japanese in the United States and Hawaii. All Japanese people that had close contact with Japan were watched by our F.B.I. and before the President of the United States declared war on Japan, these characters were rounded up and incarcerated into a special camp. But let us look into the characteristics of the 7,000 to 3,000 that were expatriated:

1. The great majority were Isseis.
2. The few Nisei children were minor in age and had no means of support if they wished to remain in the United States, thus the necessity for accompanying their parents.

3. Buddhist priests and Japanese language school teachers constituted the majority.

4. Japanese that were here on visas, such as students, business men and many others.

5. Japanese that were employed as officials for the Japanese government here in the United States.

6. Japanese that openly and strenuously claimed their loyalty to Japan during the incarceration period.

The latter group, because of their status, were segregated from the great majority and incarcerated at Tule Lake, California. During the period of World War II, disturbances and unrests occurred at the War Relocation Center which was the only War Relocation Center out of the ten camps to have had such incidents. Observing the characteristics of this group and breaking it down, we believe that 5,000 or more had the status of 'temporary immigrants;' wives and children were forced to join their husbands even though they did not agree with the attitude of the husband and father. Therefore, approximately 500 or less Isseis that had resided in the United States for a considerable time desired to be expatriated or were subjected to expatriation. Mention should be made of the fact that there were many cases wherein the
Isseis although they objected, were forced to return to their native country because of their questionable loyalty during the period of incarceration. Many Isseis claimed that they were forced to join the pro-Japanese group. Generally however, the Nisei were able to influence their parents much more effectively than the Isseis influenced their children.

We must not overlook the fact that thousands of Japanese Isseis would have voiced their loyalty to Japan except for deterrents such as: the children might suffer or the family strenuously opposed; the thought of starting all over again if they returned to Japan; and the giving up of all material gain and luxuries to which they had become accustomed. But once the Issei resolved to be loyal to the United States, their war time records were unquestionable and outstanding. "Stories which began to leak out concerning fifth-column activity in Hawaii, some accurate and others completely unfounded.... Some of the Jap pilots shot down at Pearl Harbor were said to be wearing Honolulu High School and Oregon State College rings. Extremely detailed spy information was indicated by the fact that empty hangars were ignored, those with planes bombed. Roads were effectively blocked by trucks driven across them from side to side. Jap agents were able to judge from reports on the supplies ordered by the navy from various local vegetable dealers.
just when the major part of the fleet would be at Pearl Harbor. Unlicensed short-wave stations were found to have been operated by Jap residents during the raid. Directing arrows were discovered cut in the cane field. 14 Despite all these rumors and stories about the Japanese in Hawaii and United States during World War II, "the Issei's record was without a single dirty blotch," reports the F.B.I. As we have mentioned before, all suspicious Isseis and Niseis were well watched by the F.B.I. and were rounded up before they could do anything. There were court cases of sabotage and espionage but none were proven guilty.

The Isseis were enthusiastic in civil defense duties; duties such as air raid warden, blackout warden and etc. The Issei women volunteered for sewing work with the American Red Cross. The Japanese farmers were compelled to produce more vegetables for the ever increasing military personnel as well as for civilian consumption. They were allowed to help build war installations, although closely watched. Yes, they all pitched in and if they were not able to do anything in building defense, they bought war bonds to strengthen our country. They gave their sons to the United States Army and many of their sons made the supreme sacrifice. An illustration of this is the following excerpt which appeared in the

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People's Forum titled "A Plea from a Gold Star Parent:"  

We ask you, the Public, to be the judge. My wife and I are in the 70's, the age when we should be enjoying the fruit of our labors—enjoying the laughter of our grandchildren—enjoying the luxuries of modern today. But no! The complex condition of the world, in Europe, in Korea took all these realizations of life away.

We lost our oldest son in Italy, fighting so that we all can enjoy freedom of life; our second son fought for all of us through the war with the 442nd and was fortunate to come home to us alive. Thank God. Our third son is fighting another war in Korea and we got notice a few days ago that he was wounded—how bad? Is it his legs, arm shot off, is he still living?

Now to top it all, the Draft Board wants our youngest son (only one left at home). Our plea, a plea from old father and mother, to defer our son was met with cold reception.

We ask you the Public, how much more agony and suffering must we, an alien parent, sacrifice?

Mr. Ezra J. Crane, editor and manager of the Maui News commented in the editorial section of the Shimizu's letter as follows:

A letter to the People's Forum in the current issue of the Maui News tells a heart-rending story of one family's distress caused by two wars and the administration of selective service in Hawaii...

Briefly the Shimizu's story is this:
One son was killed in action in Europe in World War II. Another son fought through that war with honor and returned safely. A third son has been in the front lines in Korea and was recently seriously wounded.

Now, a fourth son has been called and unless justice is tempered with mercy before November 12, he will be drafted into service, and in all probability in 14 weeks will be join-

---


ing his other brother in Korea.

It would seem from here that when a family gives three sons to service, one of whom has made the supreme sacrifice, it should be entitled to consideration of its plea for deferment....

World War II has proven that the Japanese-American were loyal to the United States and a great majority of Isseis likewise. The people of Hawaii trusted the Japanese people although at the height of crisis, thoughts of mass incarceration of the Japanese in Hawaii were contemplated by military and civic leaders. It did not take long for the leaders to comprehend the problems that would result from the execution of this plan. Taking away 37% of the population that produces the great bulk of food consumed in Hawaii, 56% of all personal attendants, 53% of the fishermen, 43% of those in manufacturing and mechanical trades, 42% of tradesmen and storekeepers, over 70% of carpenters and other craftsmen, and members of many other occupations, the leaders concluded it would not only cripple Hawaii and possibly create an economic chaos, but would delay by several months the building of defenses against the enemy, which was so vitally important. The Japanese immigrants could not become American citizens at this time but they excelled in their loyalty to the United States, and their sons carried the colors of the American soldiers in Europe and the Pacific

in World War II. They have rewarded the people of Hawaii for their trust with maximum effort in loyalty and Americanism.

The Japanese immigrants not only displayed loyalty during World War II, but conspicuously expressed their desire to absorb the American culture. Many traditional customs were broken or are in the process of transition. The wearing of Japanese slippers in downtown areas and public places is transplanted by the use of American footwear. The Japanese parents made every effort to speak English. This factor was made necessary in conversing with the thousands of American soldiers that were stationed in Hawaii. The very conspicuous custom of bowing in courtesy when greeting Japanese friends in public places became less conspicuous as the American method of greeting was assumed. However, the adoption and use of a semi-bow or a slight nod instead of the complete and formal bow was prevalent. The ceremony of courtesy in the homes and other non-public places is still exercised although less vigorously in emotion. The practices of "shimpai marriage" or the "go-between-third-party" in marriage has almost disappeared and the importance of love as the process that leads to marriage being the primary factor today. By the process that leads to marriage we mean, that period of friendship, courtship, love engagement, and marriage. The practice of shimpai marriage was very common in the early twenties when a third party contacted
and arranged marriage between two families. This situation usually resulted when the parents of the male realized that the time had arrived for their son to have a wife. The parents then contacted a close friend or someone who then attained the status of the third party or go-betweener. They discussed the prospects that the parents had in mind, all the while the persons primarily involved had little if anything to say in choosing a mate. After selecting the future possible bride, the third party contacts the family and there follow discussions among the family and then with the go-betweener. If the family does not approve of the match because of other possibilities or status of the family, a polite answer of "no" is given. If both parties agree to the match, then the two parties involved are consulted by the go-betweener and the parents, presenting reasons why the marriage would be successful. After agreement of the two persons involved, the gentleman meets the lady and her parents before marriage, as a means of courtesy, thanking bride-to-be and parents for the honor. Similar to the custom of the Irish, the dowry creates status and it is with great pride a bride comes with all her bedroom furnishings such as dresser, chest, sewing machine, etc.

Other folkways which stem out from Buddhism are still practiced. The Japanese honor their deceased twice each year, once on Memorial Day and still another, during the
period from July to September known as "bon." The decora-
tions of flowers are universal, but the Japanese adds can-
dies and fruits and Japanese lanterns for their deceased.
Again, the teaching of Buddhism of reincarnation results in
this practice. The celebration of "bon" is very colorful,
as the cemeteries are beautifully decorated by Japanese lan-
tern and the Japanese girls delve into their trunks to take
out their Japanese silk kimonos for folk dancing. Little
girls from two years of age to mothers, dressed in colorful
silk kimonos that would make the color of the rainbow look
gray, participate in Japanese folk dancing.

The Japanese celebrate the New Year as we stress the
importance of Christmas. On this holiday the Japanese din-
ing room table is filled with all the Japanese delicacies
awaiting relatives, friends, and neighbors that will come
to wish the family a happy and prosperous new year. The
Japanese dress in their best and the head of the family vi-
sits neighbors, friends, and relatives thanking for past
kindnesses and wishing all the luck in the New Year. Always
partaking of a little food and a toast of sake (a Japanese
beverage resulting from the fermentation of rice) or if of
the younger generation, scotch whiskey. Many a time, the
head of the family will set out with a number of visits in
mind but after four or five visits, many have to be assisted
to their homes.
The celebration of Boys' Day and Girls' Day have almost completely disappeared. The first boy of the family receives the honor of this holiday and fishes as long as ten feet in length, colored red and black and other steamers are tied to bamboo poles to indicate that the family is blessed with a boy. Girls' Day is celebrated for the same purpose except that many Japanese dolls are displayed. As we have said, this practice has just about disappeared. The cost of such celebration is probably the main factor in eliminating this special day, but the assimilation of American custom of the celebration of birthdays with cake and ice-cream instead of the traditional flying of paper fishes is also a factor.

Many of the folklores, bad and good are in the process of disappearing, although there are a few that show signs of remaining in the Japanese families and their communities. Although conspicuous, many of these customs are good ones and have added color to the cosmopolitan culture of Hawaii. These customs become a disadvantage or a liability to the Japanese families only when they create the feeling of ethnocentrism and when they are contrary to the social standards and laws of the American society. The Japanese families in Hawaii have recognized this factor and have made adjustments and transitions. Even though they are still far from the objective they hope to achieve, they
have burned the bridges behind them and they have no choice but to move forward. They have chosen their home.

Observe Illustration VII on the following page, a picture that represents three generations. This picture indicates that time is the biggest factor for this Xanthin group to achieve maximum assimilation of the American culture. We can not stress enough the importance of the process of regeneration. The Japanese have been barred by immigration law at the time of this study from entering into the United States although there is a possibility of relaxation of this attitude. A limited number of Japanese immigrants will probably be permitted to enter the United States. If so, this group will have to conform with the majority of Japanese-Americans who have already attained a high degree of Americanization. Therefore, the process of regeneration has every possibility of reproducing better Japanese-Americans from the previous generation, better in the degree of Americanization.

The characteristics of Illustration VII on the following page are as follows:

Numbers 1, 3, and 12 are third generation daughters of 4.
Numbers 5 and 7 are first generation.
Numbers 8 and 10 are third generation daughters of 6.
Number 15 is third generation and the daughter of 9.
Illustration VII

Numbers 13 and 16 are third generation son and daughter of 11.

Numbers 2, 14, and 17 are sisters and third generation.

Numbers 5 and 7 are grandparents of twenty-two grandchildren and one great grandchild.

Numbers 4, 6, 9, and 11 are second generation.

Compare this picture with that on page fifty-four and one will notice the process of regeneration in action. One might even say, "their physical features are Japanese-American," in contrast to the features of their ancestors.

Let us consider the simile between the process of regeneration of the Japanese families in relationship to assimilation and the purification of the Missouri river water
to drinking water.

There are many methods of purifications but of one thing we are certain, they do arrive at the purification station muddy and undrinkable. They are then passed through sands, exposed to sunlight, chemicals are used and many other processes, and finally the result is clean drinking water. Now, whether it is well-water, ocean water, mountain water or river water, all must go through the process of purification if the final result is to be drinkable water. Some methods of purification are more detailed and result in better drinking water while other methods are not as good and the result is not as good, but still in the final analysis, all water thus treated serves its purpose that of drinking water. Water taken from clean mountain streams needs little purification while the muddy water from rivers needs a meticulous process of purification. As long as the blue lake water remains in the lake, we will recognize it as lake water but as soon as it leaves the lake and flows into the river, it becomes river water. The river water that is taken by our water station is purified and sent to its consumers as drinking water.

The writer has watched many a time on the Island of Maui, the Iao river flow into the Pacific Ocean after a heavy rain-fall. During the normal flow of water, because
of the intakes of drinking water and irrigation purposes, the river does not flow into the ocean. During a heavy rain-fall, the muddy river water flows into the ocean and for many miles along the shore line, one can see the outline of the muddy river water separated distinctly from the ocean water. As the flow of the river returns to normal, two or three days later, the ocean water along the shore line is as blue as it was before.

The processes of regeneration of the Japanese families in relationship to Americanization is not as simple as the purification of Missouri river water to drinking water or the dissipation of the muddy Iao river water by the Pacific ocean but here is a similar changing process. As generation after generation becomes history, the Japanese families will become completely American, of one loyalty, of one language and of one composite culture. Through education and its environment, the Japanese families will be purified and re-purified until they will be accepted as Americans rather than as a hyphenated group. Generation after generation will go through the process of Americanization, each generation coming out of this purification process further advanced until the optimum condition is achieved.

The American community is a new and different community. With the exception of the American Indians, all nation-
ality groups could be classified as having foreign ancestry. These nationality groups have come from homogeneous communities and are still in the process of adjustment to the new heterogeneous community of which they are part. Thus, the dominant group, too, must make the adjustment to conspicuous minority groups to complete the process of Americanization. With our many media of modern communications and educational institutions, we have gained greater knowledge and understanding of people that are strange and different.

Prognostications, trends, and inferences would be apropos at this time but we believe that these factors will be better presented in the final chapter of this study. The Japanese families in the United States presents a community, as we have stated before, much more advanced in the process of Americanization, the most obvious factor for this difference being the environment. Thus, with this general pictorial background of the Japanese families in Hawaii, we enter into the study of the Japanese families in the United States.

Summary

December 7, 1941 played a significant role in the Americanization of the Japanese families in Hawaii as they
were confronted with the decision of where their loyalty should lie. The decision was quick and firm, exemplified by their fine war-time record. Little did many Americans realize the grave decisions the Isseis had to make and the consequences that might result from their decisions. The Isseis became countryless, they ostracized themselves from their native land although aware of the fact that they would not be eligible to become citizens of the United States.

The Population of Hawaii was conspicuously characterized by a large group of Asiatics and the Japanese having largest number. This situation created a serious problem especially during World War II. Many rumors of Japanese sabotage and espionage in Hawaii and the United States have been unfounded. The war record of the Japanese during World War II both in battle and home defense established firm ground for their loyalty. Their crosses stand side by side with their buddies in Italy, France, Germany, and even in the Atolls of the Pacific.

Colorful folklores are in the process of disappearing from the Japanese family and home. Although there a few traditional customs that give indication of remaining a part of the Japanese family tradition for years to come.

In another decade or two, the first generation
Japanese in Hawaii will have become a history. Another half a century or so and another generation will become history. As time goes on, the process of regeneration plus education and environment presents a bright future for the Japanese-Americans.

In the final analysis, there must be a willingness, a sincere desire to want to be a good American. The Japanese people of Hawaii have this desire as well as the Japanese people living in the United States.

In an homogeneous community, little if any, effort of assimilation is required, but in a heterogeneous community it takes the dominant group as well as the minority group to complete assimilation.
Chapter VI

Japanese Migration to the United States

Of all the vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural difference.

---J. S. Mill

Chapter VI presents a brief history of the pioneering period of the Japanese immigrants in the United States. The great influx of Japanese laborers created many problems and the appearing of the Anti-Japanese agitators resulted.

In the year 1868, the door of Japan was opened for her subjects to emigrate to the western nations for the purpose of seeking knowledge of western cultures. Prior to this movement, in the year 1860, the Japanese government dispatched a number of embassadors to the western nations mainly with the purpose of reconnaissance. A mission consisting of seventy-one persons toured the United States, spending three weeks at the capital city.¹ Because of the fine report of these officials of the western nations, the era

of Japanese emigration to the United States and the European nations began.

Until the year 1884, the status of the Japanese immigrants were students, official representatives of the Japanese government, and business men. The Japanese first appeared on the 1870 census numbering 55; in 1880, the census listed 148; although the door was open for the Japanese laborers to migrate, the census listed only 2,039 in 1890. Observing Table V below, the increase of the Japanese popula-

Table V
Japanese Population in the United States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Native-born</th>
<th>Foreign-born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>148</td>
<td></td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>2,039</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>24,925</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>24,057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>72,157</td>
<td>4,502</td>
<td>67,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>111,010</td>
<td>29,672</td>
<td>81,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>130,834</td>
<td>68,357</td>
<td>70,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>126,947</td>
<td>79,642</td>
<td>47,305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>141,768</td>
<td>116,768*</td>
<td>25,000*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Writer's estimation.

lulation through the census year of 1910 was primarily due to immigration. Until the year 1900, the great bulk of labor immigrants migrated to Hawaii. Conditions being unsatisfactory, many left the islands for the United States. The
Japanese laborer was welcomed in the beginning primarily because the Japanese immigrants accepted the wages of coolies and were very good workers. Hence, Japanese labor created serious competition with the American labor and immediately, labor organizations and civic organizations demanded immediate stoppage of the flow of Japanese labor. The years of 1907-1908 saw the creation of the famous Gentlemen's Agreement, its objectives: first, to prevent illegal entrance of Japanese from Canada, Mexico, and Hawaii, second to control and limit Japanese labor entering United States. Although the Gentlemen's Agreement served its purpose, the United States government realized that Japanese labor in the United States had reached its saturation point. Because of consistent and strong pressure from California and other west coast states, the United States government passed the Immigration Act of 1924. The significance of this act is that it stopped all further Japanese labor migration to the United States. The Immigration Act of 1924:

"An immigrant not eligible to citizenship shall not be admitted to the United States unless...." Accordingly, no Japanese is to be admitted into this country unless he is an immigrant previously lawfully admitted to the United States, who is returning from a temporary visit abroad of not more than one year; or an immigrant who continuously for

\[2\text{Ibid.}, \ p. \ 61.\]

\[3\text{Ibid.}, \ pp. \ 301-2.\]
at least four years immediately preceding the time for his
application for admission to the country has been, and who
seeks to enter the same solely for the purpose of, carry-
ing on the vocation of minister of any religious denomina-
tion, or professor of a college, academy, seminary or uni-
versity; or an immigrant who is a bona fide student over 18
years of age and immigrant who seeks to enter the country
for the purpose of study in an accredited institution par-
ticularly designated and approved by the Secretary of Labor;
or an immigrant who is the wife or unmarried minor child of
an immigrant admissible as a minister or religion or a pro-
fessor....

There are many other technical specifications of the
Immigration Act of 1924, although the above mentioned pro-
visions present a very good picture of this act. Its pri-
mary objectives was to stop Japanese labor migration to the
United States and her territories, legally and illegally.
Thus, Japanese immigrants that were ineligible to become
American citizens were of this date prohibited from enter-
ing into the United States. The immigrants that were per-
mitted to enter the United States were only on temporary
visas.

In observing Figure 4 on the following page, we can
see how effective the Immigration Act of 1924 was in com-
parison to the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-1908. During
the enforcement of the Gentlemen's Agreement, the foreign-
born population showed steady increase in spite of the li-
mit ed and controlled number of immigrants from Japan.
This was due partly to the migration of Japanese picture-
brides. At one stage of the migratory period of the Japanese
Japanese Population Trends of the United States

Figure 4. Trends of total, foreign, and native-born Japanese in the United States.

to the United States, the female migrant compose only 4%. After the Gentlemen's Agreement went into effect, the percentage jumped to 39% through the census year of 1920.4 The passing of the Immigration Act of 1924 stopped immigrants from entering the United States with the exceptions of those immigrants specified in the provisions and this factor is shown by the steady decrease of foreign-born

4 Ibid., p. 71.
What were the factors that induced the Japanese to leave their friendly environment and move into an environment that seemed hostile and so sharply different? Why did the Japanese government allow her subjects to emigrate to a country that did not want them and openly expressed their feelings? Hostility toward the Japanese appeared as early as 1900 and a study of Figure 2 on page seventy-five and Figure 4 on the foregoing page shows that the great majority of Japanese emigrants migrated to the United States and its territories during the years from 1896 through 1910. The basic factor that motivated the Japanese, as with most other migratory groups, was economic conditions and opportunities for advancement in a new country. This factor was emphasized and enlarged upon to the Japanese people by those who had observed the many latent opportunities in a country still in its rudiments. Through letters and personal lectures they encouraged their friends and relatives to enter the "golden gate," to reap and to exploit its richness. Especially stressed was the great abundance of farm land with its rich soil in comparison to their native farm land of mountainous terrain and limited acreage. The deep ambition to better himself has also been a major factor and this characteristic is very noticeable in the Japanese living in the United States today. We will point
out later that this ambition to better himself became the major cause of the creation of anti-Japanese feeling by the American people. Adventure and also the urge to learn and acquire knowledge of western culture have also been factors influencing emigration. Military conscription laws also encouraged youths nearing twenty to emigrate. It should be assumed that such emigrants were few because it was the greatest honor for Japanese families to offer their sons to the service of their Emperor and country and greater still was the honor if their sons should make the supreme sacrifice.

The most conspicuous characteristic of the Japanese family is their innate physical features. The Japanese have been stereotyped as people with slant-eyes, buck toothed, half-pints, and yellow-skin. The Japanese family is paternalistic. Although among the younger generation, the democratic family is much more common. As we have stated very often, the Japanese are ambitious people. Their craving for education is compared to the Jewish people here in the United States. Also similar to the Jewish people, family unity is very close-knit and firm.

The most controversial characteristic of the Japanese family is the factor of birth rate. There have been assertions made and claimed that the Japanese propagate three to four times more then the birth rate of the people of the
United States. Claims such as the following were many as the Japanese family during the period from 1915 through the early thirties settled down to raise families: 5

In ten years the Japanese births in California have increased from one in forty-four to one in thirteen, with only one Japanese woman to four Japanese men in population, while there is one white woman to one white man here. Their rate of birth is between three and four time that of our race. At this rate, in ten years there will be 150,000 (1931) Japanese born here, and 1949, they will outnumber the white people.

Such belief and prognostication in regard to birth rate among the Japanese people, perhaps, were exaggerated. The total native-born Japanese of California in the 1930 census revealed approximately 50,000 in comparison to the claim of 150,000. The total Japanese population of California in 1950 revealed 34,956 in comparison to the total population of California in 1950 of approximately 10,000,000. Observing Figure five, on the following page, the sharp climb of the total Japanese population of California is certainly not normal. The decrease indicated in the census year of 1940 is probably due to the passing of the fertility period of the Japanese family and the adjustment and adoption of the teaching of birth control. The decrease of Japanese population in 1950 is largely due to the hostility and opposition expressed by the white peo-

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Japanese Population Trends in California

Figure 5. Trends of total, foreign, and native-born Japanese in California.

The population of the Japanese people in the United States have increased abnormally during the period from 1900 through the census year of 1930. In observing Figure two on page seventy-five (Japanese population trends of Hawaii), Figure four on page ninety-eight (Japanese population trends of the United States), and Figure five above indicates that the Japanese population are now in the pro-
cess of tapering off from the sharp and abnormal growth and leveling to a gradual and normal growth. The follow­
ing were the more conspicuous factors for the abnormal growth of the Japanese population:

1. Population increase by immigration.

2. Population increase by birth rate over death rate.

3. Fertility of the Japanese people were at its peak during this period. Picture brides and brides increased from 4% to 39% during this period.

4. Majority of the early immigrants were located on rural farm and rural non-farm areas and thus, their families were larger.

5. History reveals that most of the immigrants that came to the United States during the pioneering period have had large families. Children were assets.


Map two on the following page indicates population migration of the Japanese immigrants during the period from 1890 to 1910. A very conspicuous factor in studying the map is that the port of debarkation and its immediate area absorbed approximately 93% of the Japanese immigrants during this period.

Map three on the following page divides the forty-eight states into four regions, western, southern, eastern, and mid-western. The outstanding occupations of immigrants during this period in the four regions are as follows (list-
Migration Trends of Japanese Immigrants in the United States During the Period from 1890-1910

Legend

The degree of coloring indicates Japanese population distribution. The dark coloring indicating large Japanese population and the light coloring indicating small population (Japanese).

1. Western region - primarily farming, domestic service, tradesman, railroad and mining, and fishing.

2. Southern region - primarily domestic service in

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6 Ibid., pp. 107-47.
The Western, Eastern, Southern, and Mid-western Regions

3. Eastern region - domestic service and tradesman.
4. Mid-western - primarily farming.

The western region of the United States was able to absorb most of the Japanese immigrants because of such factors as ports of debarkation, rich farming land, abundance of work in the railroad and mining, and hostility against large cities, Texas and Oklahoma being farming.
the Japanese immigrants, restricted their migration to the east. The migration trend of the Japanese immigrants from 1890-1910 (Map two, page 104), presents a picture of a "funnel." The cone-shape forming from the northern tip of the Pacific coast to its southern tip and narrowing into the mid-western states and to the eastern states.

The great majority of the Japanese immigrants that migrated east from the Pacific coast states were through labor contractors. Hence, in studying the United States census statistics on population of various states, especially the western region during this period, we found out that migrations were in large groups rather than individual or small groups. For example, the state of Montana registered no Japanese in 1890 but in 1900, registered 2,441 Japanese immigrants and in 1910, only 1,585 Japanese immigrants. This situation existed in the majority of the states and especially in the states that created the imaginary "funnel."

A very conspicuous factor of Map two is that very few Japanese immigrants ventured to migrate into the southern region, with the exception of Texas. The reasons causing this situation were the following factors: the south already was supplied with cheap Negro laborors; race discrimination was prevalent; and no economic opportunities were available. We have also found out that the Japanese people in the United States have consistently settled in com-
munities in large urban cities and on rural farmlands. A very small percentage have settled in rural non-farm communities. Map two on page 104 illustrates this situation clearly. Another significant factor of Map two is that in comparing with Map four in the following chapter, indicates no significant population change. With the exception of California, all states indicated slight increase or decrease. This factor indicates that little migration occurred among the Japanese people from the period 1900-1940.

"As the Japanese laborers poured steadily into the United States and increased tremendously in the opening of the 20th century, the American laborers realized that the presence of the Japanese was making their struggle for existence harder."^7 The first decade of the 20th century was filled with anti-Japanese agitation. "the first real opposition to Japanese immigration was voiced at a mass meeting held in San Francisco in 1900."^8 We were able to interview sixteen Isseis in Omaha, Nebraska in relation to anti-Japanese agitation. We asked the interviewees, "What shocked or impressed you most about America upon being exposed to its environment; its customs, its people, or its bigness?" Of the sixteen Isseis interviewed, only five had

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experienced anti-Japanese agitation and all claimed such incidents outstanding in their first impressions of America. One interviewee expressed his disappointment during his first few weeks in San Francisco, as follow:

Before I came to America, I was instructed about the democratic ways of living and the fair play of the American people by the Christian Missionaries in Japan, but when I arrived in San Francisco, this was not the case. People called us "yellow-skin Japs!" and tried to hit us. It was hard for me to believe that the people here in America were not civilized. I was taught strongly in morals and studied religion from the Christian Missionaries, and the actions of the American people of San Francisco were very disappointing.

Another interviewee expressed fear:

I arrived in San Francisco just after the big fire so everything was still charred. Racial prejudice was very strong then, and people threw stones at us, spit at us and called us Japs. Both the young and old people did this to us. Just one street car was running in San Francisco and we were very much afraid to ride it. We kept to ourselves after our work was done and we dared not step out after dark.

Another interviewee complained that they were treated as bad as dog:

I remember how they would cuss us all the time. Always called us names. Jap do this and Jap do that. They spit on the ground when they saw us. After awhile, we learned not to take it so hard and all their cussings and name calling went through one ear and out the other. Yes, that was long time ago and such memories are bad ones to remember but it seems that it has stuck inside of me.

In general, the Isseis experienced fear during the early stay here in the United States. This was brought a-
bout, in part, by the continual staring of people everywhere they went. The ones who did not, were probably among those affected by the following factors:

1. Some Japanese immigrants brought in by labor contractors, were taken immediately away from the area of agitation to their destination.

2. The mid-western states and the eastern states were receptive to the Japanese immigrants.

3. In the majority of the states away from the Pacific coast, Japanese were in great demand for labor and thus did not create labor problems with other laboring groups.

4. The Japanese immigrants entering the sea port of Seattle and vicinity did not encounter the violent expressions of anti-Japanese agitation as experienced by immigrants in San Francisco.

5. Because of the small population that migrated to the east, in comparison to the Pacific coast states, their presence did not create serious social problems.

The anti-Japanese agitations were concentrated mainly along the Pacific coast and immediate vicinity, especially centered in the state of California. During the period from 1900 to 1910, anti-Japanese groups presented two outstanding facts to the public about Japanese immigrants: first, Japanese immigrants created economic and labor problems; and second, Japanese immigrants were of an inferior race, similar to that of the Chinese immigrants. One report presents this view of economic problem:

The present campaign began with the hubbub in the Hearst papers about "inequitable Oriental competition sap­ping the economic life of America and retarding recovery." A survey of industrial plants was made to convince harass­ed local merchants that Japanese competition was responsi­ble for their woes.

Another view by a Californian:\textsuperscript{10}

The Japanese in California are not content like the Negroes in the south, and the Chinese in the west to labor; they rise, and rapidly into business and land proprietor­ship. They are, one might say, "too American, too like us," and being more efficient, more industrious, and more cap­able to cooperate among themselves, they beat us out.

The American Defender's deduction:\textsuperscript{11}

Because there are no Japanese on the relief rolls, the American Defender indignantly concludes that Japanese have driven Americans from their jobs.

The Japanese depreciate land values claims another:\textsuperscript{12}

An important phase of the economic question has to do with depreciation in the value of land in any community where the Japanese are admitted.

The Union's objection to the Japanese immigrants is that they lower standard of wages. The Japanese accepts the wages of coolies and creates unemployment for the white laborers. It is known that the Japanese immigrants during


\textsuperscript{11} See C. McWilliams, op. cit., p. 735.

their early years in the United States accepted all wages without any complaint. Thus, they were exploited and were in great demand. The Japanese laborer not only accepted coolie's wages but also were good hard workers. It did not take long for the Japanese immigrants to alter this situation. They began to demand higher wages and as the result, they were also damned by the employer.

As soon as the Japanese laborers were able to save a substantial amount of money, they left these uncomfortable conditions and entered into farming or went to urban areas. In order to save a substantial amount of money to become independent, the Japanese families sacrificed luxuries and lived under conditions that were much lower than the American standard which led to the deduction that they were of an inferior race. The following concepts of the Japanese were common, as Mr. McWilliams points out in his article:

Wherever the Japanese have settled, their nests pollute the communities like the running sores of leprosy. They exist like the yellowed, smoldering discarded butts in an over-full ashtray, villifying the air with their loathsome smells, filling all who have the misfortune to look upon them with a wholesome disgust and a desire to wash.

The feeling of anti-Japanese rose to a tremendous height in effort to attain its objective, the creation of a law to prevent and control Japanese immigration. Such

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13 See McWilliams, op. cit., p. 735.
Ideas were common as the following quotation appeared in the Magazine Nation: 14

The man from Nippon is of inferior stock, the Californian says, just as bad as the dirty Chink. His personal habits, his morals, and his general view of life are so far below the American that they menace our society.

Still another wrote: 15

Right or wrong our people will not live with those of a physically different race except on the basis of that race's inferiority.

As the income of the Japanese rose, so did their standard of living. The Gentlemen's Agreement curtailed Japanese immigration into the United States but as the Japanese families' economic status rose, a graver problem was created for the people of California. Economic competition especially in farming became critical. The cries of "the Japs are of inferior race," became history and a new cry was created, "The Japs are unassimilable." Thus the period from 1910 to 1930 was filled with anti-Japanese legislation, especially in regard to land ownership and the complete exclusion of Japanese Immigration to the United States. The consensus of opinion toward the Japanese people in the United States

as an unassimilable group was stated as follows:16

Many of our states by law forbid such marriages. On this coast, and more particularly in the Hawaiian Islands, the Japanese themselves show little disposition to intermarry with the whites; but, on the contrary, a strong desire to marry among themselves. Their racial instinct is very decidedly developed. The two peoples run along different lines physically, morally, socially, economically, and politically. As they differ in color so do they in tradition, habits, and aspirations.

Mr. MacClatchy presented three reasons why the Japanese will not make good citizens:17

The Japanese can not, may not and will not provide desirable material for our citizenship.
1. The Japanese can not assimilate and make good citizens because of their racial characteristics, heredity, and religions.
2. The Japanese may not assimilate and make good citizens because their government claims all Japanese, no matter where born, as its citizens.
3. The Japanese will not assimilate and make good citizens. In the mass, with opportunity offered, and even when born here, they have shown no disposition to do so, but on the contrary, antagonism.

Mr. J. M. Inman expresses and explains to his eastern brethren why the Japanese immigrants are not welcomed:18

Now we have been roundly abused by some of our Eastern

brethren, more especially by those of the cloth, for our treatment of these people. They and many of our well wishers of the Eastern United States fail to understand, and frankly admit it, why we take the attitude we do toward these aliens. Being sober, industrious, peaceful and law abiding and containing within their population neither anarchist, bomb-thrower, red nor I.W.W., it cannot be understood by our Eastern brethren why they are not welcomed into our midst with open arms. Our answer is contained in the one good old Anglo-Saxon word "unassimilable."

Mr. Inman continues with the following thought:19

The Oriental comes to California to make his fortune, as has many a foreigner before him, but he refuses to conform to the American standard of living; he refuses to become a part of this great commonwealth; he herds by himself; he forms his own Oriental community. In other words he cannot and will not assimilated.

Mr. Davis in his article, "We said: Let's find the Facts," present a city official's reply from California of the Japanese problem:20

The white race is ordained to rule. As soon as the colored races get the idea of equality or of mixing in their heads, social and racial balance is upset and anarchy begins. The man who tries to give these people any gleam of hope of changing their status is a public enemy and comparable to those long haired Boston reformers who have tried to educate the Nigger. Your survey plan is all bunk. California knows more in ten minutes how to handle these Japs than your Eastern folks will know in a thousand years. You had better tell your New York committees to forget it, and not mess into a situation that they know nothing about.

19 Ibid., p. 4.

A very conspicuous factor about the thoughts expressed by writers and anti-Japanese agitators is that, none ventured to interpret their definition of unassimilable. The facts they have presented such as different morally, economically, politically and wanting to form his own community, as basis of their claims and thoughts are fragmentary and fragile. Americanization or assimilation does not occur in a day or a year but is a process of gradual adjustment and transition. More so, in the case of the People from Asia whose process of Americanization takes longer and is meticulous in every stage of the process. Similar to that of the purification of water, which when taken directly from the clear mountain lake needs little purification but when taken from the muddy river must go through a meticulous process of purification.

It seems to this writer that term "unassimilable," expressed by writers and agitators during this period was taken to mean "the ability to amalgamate into the white race, losing former innate characteristics." Some of the thoughts expressed during this period perhaps in certain ways resembled that of Hitler's Aryan race. This belief of the white race being superior over the Asiatic people probably is the greatest factor that hindered assimilation of the Japanese immigrants during this period.

As there were anti-Japanese agitators, there were pro-
Japanese supporters also. Needless to say, most of the support were from the Eastern states and a few educators from the Pacific coast states. The majority of politicians were anti-Japanese although many avoided the Japanese problem. Mr. Sidney Gulick made a study of the Japanese homes in Los Angeles and reports: 21

The Japanese in Los Angeles are well housed and my reports say that they respond quickly to orders or suggestions from the authorities as to improvement or changes in their houses. Indeed, they are often more satisfactory in this regard than the lower class of Americans.

Reverend M. A. Matthews presents this thought: 22

They say no people should be admitted who can not be assimilated. You have other peoples here living in peace and harmony who can not and never will be assimilated.

From previous statements made by anti-Japanese agitators, this condition can exist if the Japanese remained in the status of an inferior race and do not try to get ahead. As soon as competition arise, conflict usually follows. Colonel John Irish praises the Japanese for their knowledge of farming: 23

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The expulsion of the Chinese was demanded because of their vices. This created an economic vacuum that drew in the Japanese. Cultivated land amounting to 363,943 acres lapsed back to nature and ceased production for lack of farm labor. The Japanese came in slowly and abandoned fields were made productive by their labor. They proved to be cleanly, honest, law-abiding and very industrious.

Mr. Steiner brings out an interesting view:

The interesting feature of this whole Japanese problem is that no charges are brought against the Japanese of incompetency, shiftlessness, lawlessness or revolutionary tendencies. If judgement is passed upon them from the point of view of thrift and enterprise and real ability to succeed, they must be given high rank among all our immigrant groups.

In all cases presented, none of the writers inferred the possibility of the Japanese as an assimilable nationality group. Characteristics such as cleanly, honest, industrious and ability to succeed are presented, perhaps inferring to the public that the Japanese people have good qualities and deserve toleration and accommodation. It is obvious that the good qualities written about the Japanese were greatly overshadowed by the number of hateful and disagreeable things said about them.

Perhaps, the rising economic status of the Japanese farmers and their great success in whatever they undertook in farming led to the creation of legislation to prevent land ownership. The continuous cry of "California belongs to the white race," was voiced by many organizations such as the American Legion, The Native Sons and Daughters of
the Golden West, Committee of One Thousands, and others. To the politicians of California, the Japanese problem was the main issue in their campaign platforms. Outstanding critic of the Japanese from the political standpoint was Senator J. D. Phelan.

The history of independent farming by the Japanese in California presents four well-defined stages, contract, share tenancy, cash tenancy, and finally, ownership of the farm. Although fear was expressed by white farmers of the invasion of the Japanese taking all their rich farmlands, the white farmers that did not care for responsibilities and worries of crops gladly came to terms with the Japanese on contract, share tenancy, and cash tenancy. There were two outstanding reasons why the white farmers allowed the Japanese to farm their land: first, the Japanese paid the highest price, and second, the Japanese farmers took special care of the farmland and increased the yield of crop. This method ofarming became very popular. The white farmer retired to the city and every now and then went out to the country to inspect the Japanese lessee. His share of profit was guaranteed even in the event of a crop failure or the lowering of market price. The white farmer also


knew that his farmland was in good hands and would be well
cared for. The Japanese farmers brought with them remark­
able knowledge of the soil from their homeland. The follow­
ing quotation confirms the ability of the Japanese farmers:26

The serious over-population of Japan restricted the
size of farms to something like three acres for the average
family. As a result, the Japanese farmer developed a re­
markable knowledge of soils, fertilizers, methods of land
reclamation, and modes of intensive cultivation quite in
contrast with the lavish expansionism of the American
pioneer. By combination of highly disciplined labor and a
knowledge of intensive cultivation, the Japanese were able
to enter areas of California regarded by the white man as
uncultivable—sections like the Imperial Valley and the
Delta Country or the waste timber lands of the Northwest
and from the inhospitable soil they wrested new green fields
and orchards or vineyards. A good deal of California's re­
markable fertility is due to these methods of cultivation,
which in some cases increased fruit and vegetable yields
three and four fold.

Mr. Marshall DeMotte presents statistical data of
Japanese farmers and it must have startled many farmers and
officials of California:27

Of the 3,893,500 acres of land under irrigation in
California, the Orientals occupy 623,752 acres, or about
one-sixth. The total farm crops of California for 1919
amounted to $507,811,881 but this included grain and other
products which the Orientals do not raise. Reducing the
total to the groups of crops in which the Orientals are ac­
tive, we have $137,000,000 as the yield for 1919. Of this
the Japanese alone produced $67,145,750 or about one-third.

26 R. A. Schermerhorn, These Our People: Minorities in

27 M. DeMotte, "California—White or Yellow?" Annals of
the American Academy, vol. 93, (January 1921), p. 22.
For immigrants that were classified as coolies and had the status that would lower the standard of living, have certainly improved their status during their twenty years in the United States. It does appear much more significant, as the Japanese immigrants confronted many man made obstacles besides the natural ones. Some of the man made obstacles were as follows:

1. The Japanese Aliens were not eligible to become American citizens. The McCarran and Walter Omnibus Bill have altered this situation in 1952.

2. 1900 - First organized agitation toward the Japanese immigrants.

3. 1906 - Segregation of students in schools of San Francisco.

4. 1907 - Gentlemen's Agreement - controlling and limiting number of Japanese immigration and illegal entrance into the United States.

5. 1909 - No less than seventeen anti-Japanese measures were presented at the session of the legislature in the state of California.

6. 1913 - Alien land law of California - any alien not eligible to citizenship could not own land in the state of California. Also, aliens were able to lease land for three years only.

1913 - the 1913 session was flooded by more than thirty anti-Japanese measures.

1913 - Amendment to Alien land law of California of 1913 preventing transferring of land to native-born children and correcting many other loopholes of the 1913 law.

7. 1920 - The outlawing of leasing land to aliens that

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28 All dates, and land laws were taken from Mr. Y. Ichihashi's Chapters XV, XVI, XVII, and XVIII.
are not eligible to become citizens.

3. 1923 - Amendment to the 1913 land law prohibiting cropping contract. This amendment reduced the Japanese farmers to laborers.

9. 1924 - The Exclusion law of 1924 - Stopping Japanese immigration which we have previously explained.

Prior to December 7, 1941, Mr. Eddy writes, "the Japanese controlled or owned $28,000,000 of Los Angeles' annual $42,000,000 out put of produce, and three-fourths of it is in the hands of aliens who also own twenty of the twenty-two principal wholesale vegetable markets." Along the Pacific coast states, says Robinson, "the Japanese had owned or controlled 11,030 farms valued at $70,000,000 before they were evacuated." One wonders how they were able to attain the economic wealth they accumulated with all the opposition they had to overcome. Indirectly, perhaps, the white farmers and officials were factors in this success since their hostility toward the Japanese immigrants created a stronger unity and cooperation among the Japanese. Japanese farmers were in no position to go out and lease the white farmer's land individually, but by merging into corporations, partnerships and family projects, they were able to lease farmlands and eventually purchase farmlands.


Obviously, they were discriminated from the purchasing of farmlands to the selling of produce, therefore, they formed their own market places, fruit and vegetable canneries, trucking and even the third party became the Japanese.

The anti-Japanese agitations were not constant as there were periods of intense agitation toward the Japanese and again this attitude abated under cool but watchful eyes. There were six significant agitation movements from the year 1900 to 1950 toward the Japanese:

1. The period from 1900 to 1910 agitation to stop Japanese immigration.
2. Agitation abated slightly but rose likewise in 1913.
3. Termination of World War I caused the Californians again to turn their attention to the Japanese problem and the years from 1919 to 1925 marked a rise of agitation.
4. 1933 the Japanese government war on helpless China and incidents such as the bombing of the American gun-boat the Panay, created rising agitations toward the Japanese.
5. December 7, 1941, agitation toward the Japanese reached its maximum, culminated by mass incarceration.
6. 1944, the return of the Japanese to their homes on the Pacific coast and immediately cries from the Pacific and especially from California voiced disapproval which lasted for a few months only.

Summary

In this chapter, we presented the migration of Japanese immigrants to the United States. Although, the
anti-Japanese agitation, the Japanese laborers steadily entered into this country to the extent that legislations were passed in congress to control Japanese immigration.

The Japanese families not satisfied with labor work, gradually worked themselves up, and created competition and conflict with their white competitors. The rich farmlands being located in the western region of the United States, the Japanese population too were located in this area. As the Japanese gained economic wealth, they began to purchase the rich farmlands of the Pacific coast states which eventually led to legislations that prevented alien Japanese to purchase farmlands.

As the Japanese immigrant's status rose, so did their standard of living. The anti-Japanese agitators could no longer claim that the Japanese were of an inferior race, hence, the creation of a new idea regarding the Japanese immigrants "unassimilable." This term carried with it the connotation of inability of the Japanese to amalgamate into the Caucasian race.

Prior to December 7, 1941, in spite of tremendous obstacles created by legislators, the Japanese farmers controlled or owned many farms and markets for distributing their produce. The values of the farms and produce presented a startling figures.
Chapter VII presents a brief summation of general conditions of the Japanese families in the United States on December 7, 1941. Stressed will be the population trends and distribution and the factors that led to mass incarceration.

Prior to December 7, 1941, there were in the continental United States approximately 127,000 persons having common ancestry with the enemy that launched the Pearl Harbor attack. Of these, some 113,000 lived in the four states of California, Washington, Oregon and Arizona, and 94,000 being residents of California. Of the total Japanese population, 47,305 Japanese were born in Japan and are known as Issei, and 79,642 Japanese were born in the United States and are known as Nisei.

Figure six on the following page show that the American born Japanese comprised 52.7% of the Japanese population in 1940 and by virtue of birth on American soil, they held American citizenship.

1Statistics cited in this chapter are, unless otherwise specified, from the Sixteenth Census of the United States. The correct date of reference is, therefore, April 1940. Thus all statistical data cited will not be quoted but with the understanding that it came from the 15th Census.
Native-born and Foreign-born Trends

Legend
- Native-born - Changed to majority - Estimation
- Foreign-born - Changed to minority - Estimation

Figure 6. Chart indicating native and foreign-born percentages and trends of Japanese in the United States.

Native-born and Foreign-born Trends

Legend
- Native-born - Changed to majority - Estimation
- Foreign-born - Changed to minority - Estimation

Figure 7. Chart indicating male native and foreign-born percentages and trends of Japanese in the U.S.
Native-born and Foreign-born Trends

Legend

- Native-born - Changed to majority - Estimation
- Foreign-born - Changed to minority - Estimation

Figure 3. Chart indicating female native and foreign-born percentages and trends of Japanese in the U. S.

Figure seven on the foregoing page is the breakdown of Figure six. It shows the male native-born and foreign-born trends. In comparison to Figure eight above the disparity of native and foreign-born indicates that perhaps like other migratory groups, very few women ventured to leave their home.

In comparison with the sex-ratio of Hawaii, the disparity of sex-ratio in the United States is much greater, the outstanding contributing factor being the hostility ex-
pressed in the United States. Also, the Hawaiian Plantation Owners provided in their contract that forty per cent of the immigrants to be women.

Another conspicuous factor in comparing Figure seven and Figure eight is that there were 30,000 male foreign-born to 17000 female foreign-born in 1940. This factor perhaps was discussed by the military officials in deciding mass incarceration.

The three charts on native and foreign-born trends does indicate that possibly, by the year 1930, the foreign-born Japanese population would have reached its minimum number. With our modern media of communications and transportations, we assume that there will be a small number of Japanese aliens in the United States. The Japanese war-brides at present is adding to this group. Also, the possibility of leniency toward Japanese immigration by our government.

As we have stated before, upon arriving at their destination, the Japanese settled down and did little migration from 1910 to 1940. Studying Map four on the following page, the greatest number of states that have shown decrease of Japanese population are located in the mid-western region although the total number of Japanese population decrease were shown in the western region. The outstanding factors
Map 4

Distribution of Japanese Population in the United States in 1940

Legend

Blue increase
- 10 - 100
- 100 - 500
- 500 - 1,500
- 5,000 or more

Red Decrease
- 10 - 75
- 75 - 150
- 200 - 500
- 900 or more

Green - indicating no significant gain or loss

Note: The increase, decrease, and no gain or loss are based on Map two on page 104, Japanese Population distribution from 1890-1910 in the United States.

that cause the decreases in the different states of Japanese population were the termination of railroad constructions, the Japanese laborers could not adjust to min-
ing, and Japanese farmers are known to be small truck gardening farmers rather than the wheat and corn farming of the mid-west.

Prior to December 7, 1941, there were located approximately 93% or 118,193 Japanese aliens and citizens in the western region. The eastern, southern and mid-western regions combined totaled some 9,000 Japanese aliens and citizens. The southern region having the smallest number of

Population Distribution in the United States

Figure 9. Pie-chart indicating distribution of Japanese population in the southern, eastern, mid-western, and western regions of the United States in 1940.

Japanese population with 923 and Texas alone having half (458) of the total Japanese population.
"Occupationally, the west coast group was split 45-55% between agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits. Truck farming predominated, and in this branch of activity, the Japanese-American farmers had achieved importance far greater than the size of their group would suggest. Of those in non-agricultural pursuits, two out of five were engaged in trade services. Few were laborers in mechanical and manufacturing industries, and fewer still had attained status in the professions."\(^2\) This was the general picture of the Japanese family on the Pacific coast and the United States prior to December 7, 1941.

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese-Americans in Hawaii were shocked and astounded to hear that the "Japs have attacked Pearl Harbor," but the Japanese aliens and citizens in the United States expressed fear and confusion, especially the old Issei parents who had previously experienced anti-Japanese agitation. Suddenly there erupted again all the hate that had accumulated since the first organization of anti-Japanese agitation toward the Japanese in San Francisco in the year 1900. The following interviews present partial views on conditions that existed just after Pearl Harbor:\(^3\)


I was born in this country; I went to school here; so I confidently assured my somewhat worried parents that the talk (mass incarceration or deportation) was silly, that after all this was America; it would not happen here.

An interviewer reports as following: 4

The young people react differently. They are not afraid but they are desperately perplexed and puzzled. One said to me: 'This thing has taken all the starch out of us. We thought we were Americans; now we don't know what we are, or what on earth to do about it...'. An old friend of mine and his bride have gone to camp, and this week she writes: 'In spite of all the sacrifices we had to make in selling our home, giving up a good business, and coming here, we still believe that democratic America is the best, and we too are praying for an early end.'

A Nisei expresses confusion: 5

So I grew up with that screwy division of mind—part American and part Japanese. The trouble was I couldn't be either one or the other. With Japanese, even with my own folks, I felt out of place; I felt like an American. But with Americans, I felt Japanese.

Nisei papers printed appeals to the Japanese people as they did everything they could to hide themselves: 6

All right, Nisei, come out of your hiding! Come on out and get into civilian defense. You'll be surprised to find how few of you will be sworn at, stabbed, stoned, or shot.

With all the confusion, fear, and hate expressed during the month that followed the attack, the President of the United States expressed belief that mass incarceration was not justifiable although strong and strenuous objections had been voiced by the people of the Pacific coast states. Evacuation of strategic military areas began a few days after the attack of Pearl Harbor although mass incarceration of Japanese in the Pacific coast states was not ordered until March of 1942 by the President. As we have stated before all Japanese, both aliens and citizens having suspicious status or close connection with the Japanese government were arrested and taken into custody as the first few bombs were dropped by the Jap planes.

Our best means of communications, newspaper and radio played important role in stirring the flame of hate which eventually led to the custodial and precautionary incarceration of Japanese people in states that were deemed as the area of Western Defense. "For example, John B. Hughes, a Los Angeles news commentator for the Mutual Broadcasting Company, initiated a one-man campaign against the resident Japanese-Americans on January 5, and for almost a month thereafter devoted some or all of his broadcasting to arousing public opinion in favor of drastic action."7 National-

7 See D. S. Thomas, op. cit., p. 17.
ly known writers uncovered dangers and presented solutions in their syndicated columns. Henry Molemore in the San Francisco Examiner and other papers of January 29, 1942, wrote that he:

Argued for the removal of every Japanese-American on the west coast to a point deep in the interior. He didn't mean, he pointed out a nice part of the interior either, herd 'em up, pack 'em off and give 'em the inside room in the badlands. Let 'em be pinched, hurt, hungry and dead up against it...let us have no patience with the enemy or with anyone whose veins carry his blood...Personally, I hate the Japanese. And that goes for all of them.

Still another writer Westbrook Pegler urged that:

The Japanese in California should be under armed guard to the last man and woman right now and to hell with habeas corpus until the danger is over.

Then there was General De Witt's doctrine of enemy racism inherited by blood strain. He claims that:

A Jap is a Jap...It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not; he still is a Jap....The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese born on the United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become "Americanized," the racial strains are undiluted....We must worry about the Japanese all the time until he is wiped off the map. Sabotage and espionage will make problems as long as he is allowed in this area.

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8 See D. S. Thomas, op. cit., p. 19.
9 "Fair Enough," (February 16, 1942), Los Angeles Times.
The Army high command reported that there was no act of sabotage committed in Hawaii or in that area of the Western Defense Command in the months between Pearl Harbor and the deportation in that command. To this General De Witt answered:11

He was so certain that a race of such enemy blood strain must commit sabotage that the very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken.

Dr. Thomas replied to General De Witt's belief:12

Starting from the assumption that race determines attitudes, the general arrived at a position where the Japanese-Americans were damned if they did and damned if they did not commit treason.

These thoughts were constantly projected to the people and like a chain reaction it finally reached the President and in early March, proclamation of mass incarceration was ordered of Japanese aliens and citizens from areas of the Western Defense Command. Thus began the long process of mass evacuation. "The young and old, lame and able-bodied, loyal and disloyal are all herded together; when moved to the relocation sites they will again be herded together. Some of them are aliens, some are American citizens, some have sons serving in the American Army. Many

11 Ibid., p. 1128.
12 Ibid., p. 1128-29.
have had to give up homes and possessions. Owing to the necessity for quick action, the innocent had to suffer with the guilty.13 "Yet within a period of 137 days, over 112,000 people had been moved into the centers, the gates had been locked, and sentries had established patrols. A remarkable demonstration of the loyalty of the Japanese-Americans for the speed with which this vast movement of people was accomplished. In no single instance did they fail to cooperate with the authorities. On the contrary, they helped install most of the facilities in the centers."14

At first, voluntary evacuation to assembly centers and camps were suggested to the Japanese people. Very few took this advantage. The probable factors that caused the Japanese to be reluctant to move were as follows:

1. Economic reasons - business well established or the thought of beginning all over again elsewhere.

2. Personal possessions - homes being the biggest factor.


4. The cost of transportation and the moving of household appliances presented problems.

5. The disruption of homes, problems of children, aged, and sick.


The problems of taking their possessions were soon solved by the Army High Command which issued the following order:

Each person was permitted to take bedding and linens, but no mattress; toilet articles, extra clothing, and essential personal effects. No family could take more than its members could carry. No pets could be taken. No personal items or household goods could be shipped to the assembly centers. The government provided for the storage of heavy household effects such as pianos and refrigerators.

General John De Witt gave families only five days to dispose of their possessions and report for incarceration. The compulsory nature of the movement placed them under every conceivable commercial disadvantage. Buyers as a rule were unwilling to pay reasonable prices when fully aware of the fact that a sale would have to be made, whatever the price, if the owner were to salvage anything from his enterprise. The shortness of time and the fact that there were many evacuees in the same predicament gave every advantage to even the honest buyer. For the dishonest, the confusion and fears of the evacuees made fraud and cheating easy. This resulted in something close to disaster for virtually every Japanese-American businessman. Precise data on losses are difficult to obtain, but it may safely be concluded that every evacuee incurred some loss, that many

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of them suffered severe and irreparable losses, both tangible and intangible, and that the burden fell more heavily upon the small owner than the large. An example of such incidents is the case of an "evacuee who saw his produce business (valued at $250,000) auctioned off for $2,000 to an enthusiastic competitor. The fruits of forty long and hard years of labor had been taken away from him in matters of minute." 16

In regard to the evacuation, we asked both the Issei and Nisei this question: "What did you think about the wholesale incarceration of the Japanese people?" and "Did this incarceration create bitter feeling toward the United States government and its people?"

An interviewee answered this question, thinking deeply as if in a "trance," recalling that horrible nightmare as she answered:

At first I just couldn't believe it. Everybody to go! My son and daughter were born here in America and can't even speak Japanese. I guess the government should distrust the Issei Japanese, but not my son and daughter. A great injustice! My husband never did recover from that shock and his life time work, his business, our beautiful home, our everything gone in just about three months. We left California with four bags and a couple bundles, that's all we saved for the thirty years of hard work. Yes, it was a horrible nightmare. I never felt bitter against any-

one and I do hope that the American people understand us better for all that we have suffered to show that we are loyal Americans.

A young Nisei was stirred when this question was asked and answered excitedly:

It was very undemocratic. Imagine us, American citizens marched like war prisoners by soldiers that had bayonet on their rifles, into a camp surrounded by fence which was topped by a barbed wire entanglement. There were towers mounted with machine-guns. We were prisoners. What for? Because our parents are Japanese and our citizenship did not mean anything.

The National President of the Japanese-American Citizens League was reported saying:17

Never in the thousand of year of human history has a group of citizens been branded on so wholesale a scale as being treacherous to the land in which they live. We question the motive and patriotism of men and leaders who intentionally fan racial animosity and hatred.... But we are going into exile as our duty to our country because the President of the United States and Military Commander of this area have deemed it a necessity. We are gladly cooperating because this is one way of showing that our protestations of loyalty are sincere.

The general consensus of feeling resulting from the mass incarceration was that the action was undemocratic, but we gladly do what our government deemed right. One interviewee replied, "what else could we do but obey the orders." "Who will take us in, we have no country but this country."

17Oakland Tribune, (March 9, 1942).
There followed that period of incarceration or community life in the War Relocation Centers. To some evacuee, it was a vacation and to others it was a horrible experience.

Summary

Approximately, 93% of the total Japanese population in the continental United States were located in the Pacific coast states. This situation created a very grave situation for the Western Defense Command on December 7, 1941. Through constant pressure from newspapers, radio stations, influential organizations and political figures and the advice from the Western Defense Command, the President of the United States ordered mass incarceration of Japanese aliens and citizens.
Chapter VIII

War Relocation Centers

By the end of May 31, 1942, approximately 112,000 Japanese aliens and citizens were evacuated into War Relocation Centers. These centers were located in seven states: Arizona, California, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado and Arkansas.\(^1\) Mr. Robinson states:\(^2\)

Today 72,000 of our Japanese citizens live behind stockades under United States Military guard because some of them betrayed their adopted land. A tragedy of divided loyalties.

Mr. Beatty views the situation differently:\(^3\)

Few Americans realize that between 70,000 and 80,000 American Citizens are today under "protective custody" of their government in primitive camps surrounded by barbed wire fences, and guarded by armed troops. Fantastic as it may seem, these citizens are not charged with being party to any crime and their loyalty to the United States has been pretty clearly established. It is not even certain that the restraint which has been imposed upon them is legal under the constitution. The basic cause of this un-

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\(^1\)Reported by an Intelligence Officer, "Japanese in America," Harper, vol. 185, (October 1942), p. 489.


American discrimination is that these Americans have the misfortune to have had ancestors born in Japan.

The environment of these centers were certainly not ideal and the adjustment must have been very trying for the Japanese people. One factor is obvious, these were not normal communities and War Relocation Authorities realized this factor immediately and as soon as the gates were closed, plans were underway to de-evacuate the Japanese people.

To present a general picture of life in these War Relocation Centers we quote from a letter which a Nisei girl wrote to her white friend in California:

We are now in our apartment in----Assembly Center, having arrived here yesterday after a heavy shower. ----is famous for black clayey soil; so you can imagine what the mud was like. Lunch was a horrid affair...one frankfurter, a mess of overboiled cabbage, white bread, pasty rice, and canned cherries. All the workers are volunteers from the camp, and the cooks are quite inexperienced or else rusty with disuse, since many of the farmers from our vicinity were house boys and cooks some thirty years ago. Dinner was better...canned carrots and peas, one slab of canned pork, lettuce salad, apricots, and plenty of milk.

The apartments are rooms with four, six, and eight beds. Usually they assign one apartment to a family. The rooms have screened windows, concrete or wooden floors, and a door too small or may not fit. Some doors are at least two inches too small for the doorway. When we first saw our living quarters we were so sick we couldn't eat or talk...couldn't even cry till later. Since they will not allow less than four in one room my two brothers are living with H---and me. We have put up canvas partitions. These things are tolerable but you should see the latrines! Ten seats lined up; hard, fresh-sawed, unsandpapered wood; automatic flushing about every fifteen minutes.

We are slowly getting adapted to the diet, lack of privacy, etc., but every time we think of the white plastered walls, sunny rooms, and green gardens we left behind we again drop into depression...

Last night it rained...for many people on their beds. Our head nurse says she cries every night when she think of the old folks, many of whom will most likely die here very soon, and of the children, who don't understand why they can't leave this horrid place.

I have been giving you the worst side of life here, the side most obvious. There is another side to the picture too. Some of the formerly busy mothers have time to look after their babies and chat with the neighbors. For many this is a long vacation in somewhat drab surroundings.

One man says he has a new slogan. Instead of "Remember Pearl Harbor," it is "Remember the Concentration Camp." Until our dying day we'll not forget.

Another letter from a Nisei girl pictures a different view:

When I first came I thought this place was really going to be fun and exciting because everything was so new and we met so many new friends, all Japanese of course. Yet I know that others didn't take things as I did because they weren't used to the terrific heat and dust and discomfort. We used to go to the intake to watch the new groups come in, and they always looked so tired and discouraged...

About the younger generation and their attitude toward camp life, it is a sad story. It is really disgusting to see maturing personalities disintegrating. The young people around seventeen or eighteen are getting lazy, ambitionless, satisfied, and stagnating. Security is something that we strive for and desire in any normal life, but in place and situation like this, what awful consequences it brings. I just wonder what some of us will be like in personality and character in four or five years.

Yet camp life offers excellent opportunities to show our ingenuity and creative ability in practical ways. To mention a few articles we make: furniture, sandals, beautiful paper flowers, parks out of desert foliage, vases out of rock and cement, and there is a knitting and crocheting craze throughout the camp.

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The War Relocation Authority, through its Community Activities Adviser, Mr. Edward B. Marks, Jr., requested Mr. Howard Braucher, President of the National Recreation Association, to have someone visit the Jerome and Rohwer Relocation Centers to observe and report upon the recreation pattern developing in them. Miss Corinne Fonde, Assistant Director of Park and Recreation was chosen, therefore, all data used hereafter of War Relocation Centers Jerome and Rohwer are taken from the report made by Miss Fonde to Mr. Braucher.

Miss Fonde presents a bird's eye view of physical structures at Rohwer, and the suffering endured by the white personnel that were employed by War Relocation Authority, assisting and directing activities in the centers:

There are no trees of any kind where the barracks in which the evacuees or the WRA personnel live in either Jerome or Rohwer. Ceilings are low, barracks are of crude wood and tar paper construction, with the tar paper sometimes partially omitted, and the heat in this section of Arkansas surpasses anything I have ever experienced. In Rohwer there is no running water in the barracks occupied by the WRA personnel. They must walk half a block or more in red dust and very coarse gravel to the wash house, etc, for every drop of water and bathing and sanitary conveniences. This, of course, is the living condition of all evacuees...

Miss Fonde presents an interesting thought when she describes the appearance of the Centers and its entrances:

Some beautification of the entrances to the Centers would soften the feeling of depression with which one en-
ters the Relocation Centers. I felt this very definitely and it must be acute for the evacuees who suffer the feeling of uncertainty of what is ahead of him. I realize that the Supervisor of Community Activities of Jerome... was right when he said that conditions can not be made too ideal for the evacuees because of the resettlement objective....

She goes into more detail descriptions of physical structures and life conditions in the Center:

Jerome and Rohwer are each a community of roughly 8,500 persons. Relocation Centers are not municipalities in the normal sense. Life in them is not much above the subsistence level for anyone. A home in a relocation center is 100 sq. feet per family in a tar-paper covered barracks 100 feet long and 20 feet wide, of a simple frame construction, with army cots and blankets and small heating stoves furnished but no plumbing or cooking facilities. A bath, laundry and toilet building is shared with upwards of 250 people with like accommodations in the same block, as in the mess hall where food is furnished without cost and conforms to the rationing program in effect for all citizens of our country.

There is the opportunity for every able-bodied adult to earn, while within the center from twelve dollars per month as an apprentice to sixteen dollars or nineteen dollars for a forty-four week in jobs requiring skills essential to community operations. There is a maximum allowance of $3.75 per month for work clothes for adults and for personal clothes for dependents.

The 112,000 evacuees living in relocation centers left behind them in their former locations on the Pacific, according to one report, relates Miss Fonde:

An estimated total of $200,000,000 worth of real, commercial and personal property - ranging from simple household appliances to extensive commercial and agricultural holdings. Many disposed of their personal property in quick sales at heavy financial loss. Some stored furnishings and retained interest in holdings.

By legislation enacted by congress, the Japanese peo-
People were partially compensated for the loss incurred during evacuation.

The objectives of the WRA we assume were: first, to keep the evacuees as active as possible during the period of incarceration, and second, a plan to resettle the evacuees as soon as possible.

A large number of evacuees were given responsibilities in community activities with the hope of having everyone participate in some activity. The communities were made as normal as possible. Schools were in progress, vocational programs were offered to the adults, religious activities, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. works, Boys Scouts, Girls Scouts, Cubs, Brownies, Carnivals, and many other programs were offered to the evacuees.

Miss Fonde describes the following scene:

The evening I arrived at Jerome, I was taken on a tour of block activities. Every block was humming with baseball, softball, basketball, free throw contest, volleyball, table games, crafts, flower and vegetable gardening, mass games and story telling.

The fair, that lasted two nights, was the good "ole Country Fair," no mechanization but a display of foods, vegetables, crafts, flower displays, talent shows, games, and many other activities. Then there were evenings of folk and couple dancing, which many groups enjoy; of the
book review club, review a book a week; of the discussion group much interested in the subject of post-war planning; and activities of the Little Theatre.

Miss Fonde was a guest at a play depicting the process of incarceration and to the final objective the evacuees seek:

I was presented with a play written by a Japanese-American girl. It very dramatically presents the story of evacuation and the "conglomeration" of feelings of the evacuees; then "entrance into a new life in a new location," the Relocation Center, and finally the plan of resettlement interpreted in this wise: "We are all searching for an Exit to the outside world, but may this Exit lead us to wider horizons, higher ideals, more people, to be of greater service and to rise nearer to God....We must get out of a mile square world. We cannot confine ourselves through pity. We must move beyond these gates. We must expand. We have found our Exit....Let's Get Out!"

The second objective of the WRA was the resettlement of the evacuees. The problem of resettling the evacuees presented a grave and an immense job. Since the majority of the evacuees were from the Pacific coast states, it was necessary to resettle and spread the Japanese throughout the forty-eight states. The WRA made contact with all private and state employment agencies and the great task of resettling the Japanese began. "On July 31, 1942, the WRA announced that American citizens of Japanese ancestry who had never lived in Japan nor gone to school there might obtain permits to accept jobs and leave the relocation cen-
with their families." Thus, only two months after the gates had closed, the long process of de-evacuation began.

Probable factors that led to de-evacuation were as follows:

1. The changing military situation - Pacific coast states no longer danger zone.
2. Loyalty of Japanese aliens and citizens established. All questionable Japanese aliens and citizens were interned at Tule Lake, California camp.
3. The fine war record of the all Japanese-American, 442nd Regimental Combat Team and 100th Infantry Bn.
4. The shortage of labor, especially in farming.
5. The constitutionality of the mass incarceration.

By the end of May 1944, about 38,000 evacuees had left the Relocation Centers. There were still approximately, 70,000 evacuees in the Relocation Centers. These Japanese people perhaps could be classified into two groups: first, the permanent residue population, made up of the lame, the halt, and the blind - the old Issei bachelors, orphans, aged Issei couples without children and a few wives of servicemen that either were isolated or widowed; and second, the unskilled laborers and the farmers who wanted to return to the Pacific coast to resume their farming. These eva-

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cueses feared the outside. They were uncertain about the type of treatment and reception they would meet. They lacked confidence in their ability to succeed in areas with which they were not familiar. Having adjusted to center life, they did not want to face still another dislocation. And lastly, there was the hope in many minds of the change of attitude toward the Japanese people by the Pacific coast states.

"As of March 20, 1946, when the last Relocation Center was closed, the WRA reported that of the 109,300 relocated persons, 51,000 settled away from their former homes, while 57,000 were again in the Pacific Coast States. For the remainder, between 7,000 and 8,000 were returned to Japan." However, the 1950 census shows that many more returned to the Pacific coast states, as we shall see.

Summary

This chapter described the physical structures and life conditions experienced by the Japanese people in the ten War Relocation Centers. These centers which were directed by the War Relocation Authority were organized to

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utilize the help of the evacuees as much as possible in community activities. However, participation in the work opportunities of the camp was voluntary.

It is obvious that during the early months of incarceration, to many, life in these communities was similar to concentration camps. Bitterness was expressed by many and the stern and severe policy of the military guards added fuel to the flame. Adjustments were made but nevertheless, the evacuees found it impossible to obliterate the isolated conditions and the feeling of confinement.

No sooner had the door closed than a program of resettlement was in process. Finally, the Relocation Centers became history on March 20, 1946, all evacuees had left the centers. They had found the Exist.
Chapter IX

Japanese Population Distribution

Chapter IX presents a brief summation of statistical facts on population distribution and trends in the United States in 1950.

By the end of the year 1950, we found the Japanese families in the United States well settled in their respective communities. For the time being, it seems that their future would be peaceful. No communities welcomed the Japanese families with open arms, although no hostility against them was shown. The Pacific Coast States did show some resentment and some open agitation against the returning Japanese families but these reactions soon abated.

The Japanese population throughout the United States showed conspicuous changes in resettlement. Seven states showed decreases while thirty-seven states plus Washington D. C. showed Japanese population increase. Map five on the following page presents this statistically.

In 1940, only seven states had 1,000 or more Japanese population but in 1950, fourteen states (Texas 957) listed one thousand or more Japanese population. The State of Illinois showed the largest increase (some 11,000) while
Map 5

Distribution of Japanese Population in the United States in 1950

Legend

Blue increases

- 15 - 100
- 100 - 250
- 250 - 500
- 500 - 2,000
- 2,000 or more

Red decreases

- 15 - 100
- 100 - 500
- 500 - 1,000
- 1,000 - 6,000
- 6,000 or more

Black

- Indicates no significant gain or loss

Note: The increases, decreases, and no gain or loss are based on Map four on page 128, Japanese population distribution in the United States in 1940.

the state of California listed the largest decrease (approximately 9,000). Although all of the southern states listed increases, with the exception of South Carolina, the in-
creases were from fifty to one hundred with the exception of Texas. The large increases listed in the mid-western states and eastern states will alter the trend of urban and rural and the classification of the occupations of the Japanese people in the four regions.

**Population Distribution in the United States**

![Pie chart indicating distribution of Japanese population in the southern, eastern, mid-western, and western regions of the United States in 1950.](Image)

**Legend**
- Western
- Mid-western
- Southern
- Eastern

**Figure 10.** Pie-chart indicating distribution of Japanese population in the southern, eastern, mid-western, and western regions of the United States in 1950.

The western region decreased from 93% of the total population in 1940 to 75.6% in 1950. The largest increase was shown by the eastern region from 3.2% in 1940 to 16.6% in 1950.

With the shifting of population to the east, the ma-
majority of the Japanese people entered urban communities. The Pacific Coast States also showed increase in urbanization by the Japanese people. As Japanese farmers become financially stable and able to hire laborers, their sons left the farms and sought opportunities in large cities. The trend toward urbanization of the Japanese popu-

Japanese Population Trend in the United States

Legend

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Changed to majority</th>
<th>Estimation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Changed to minority</td>
<td>Estimation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11. Chart indicating urban and rural trends of Japanese population in the U. S. in 1950.

Urbanization was slow until the mass incarceration during World War II when it suddenly jumped to 69% from 54% in 1940.
The trend of the population of the United States toward urbanization in 1950 was 64%, rural non-farm 20.7% and rural farm 15.3%. Japanese population in rural farm in 1950 was 19.2% and rural non-farm 11.2%. Table six below presents these facts of the four regions.

Table VI

Japanese Population in Urban, Rural non-farm and Rural Farm in the Four Regions of the United States in 1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural non-farm</th>
<th>Rural Farm</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K-w</td>
<td>5,592</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>2,459</td>
<td>8,679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>1,133</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>2,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>73,199</td>
<td>10,734</td>
<td>23,146</td>
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<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>18,710</td>
<td>3,944</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>23,561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>93,654</td>
<td>15,960</td>
<td>27,174</td>
<td>141,763</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most conspicuous change in occupations of the Japanese people were domestic service and farming. The decreasing of Isseis from the Japanese population being the outstanding factor. Japanese children receiving the maximum education, have greater opportunities in choosing his occupations. City trades and professional occupations have shown tremendous rise. The decrease in farming is due to mechanization and the hiring of laborers. Social life in small farm communities are limited for the Japanese people. Thus, younger generation as soon as they are able
to leave their homes, head for large urban cities where they are able to attain better occupational opportunities and social life.

Summary

In this chapter, we presented a brief review of statistical facts of the Japanese population distribution and trends throughout the United States in 1950. Conspicuous shifting of the Japanese population is seen. The results of this population shifting were as follows: first, the Japanese population have shown a tendency to move to large urban cities, second, the changing occupations resulting from urbanization.
Chapter X

The Japanese Family of Omaha, Nebraska

The United States census of 1890 listed two Japanese females in the population of the state of Nebraska. This figure increased to three females in the year 1900. We could not find any information on why, how, or what these three Japanese women were doing in Nebraska. In the year 1910, the state of Nebraska listed 590 Japanese, the majority of which settled in the western areas of the state. The first noticeable number of Japanese came to Omaha during the packing-house strike in South Omaha at about this time. They were imported as strike-breakers.

In 1940, the city of Omaha listed forty Japanese in her community and in 1950, 137 Japanese. In our study of these Japanese people of Omaha, we found 136 of the 137 persons listed. We interviewed thirty-two families out of the thirty-three registered with Omaha Japanese American Citizen League. We made no attempt to interview five bachelors, three of whom were old timers and located in the South Omaha Community. Two other bachelors whose occupation was chick-sexing, spent their off-seasons in Omaha.

Among the Japanese families of Omaha, we found three
groups: first, the pioneering Japanese families, all of whom we found to be engaged in business; second, the Japanese laborers that were brought to Omaha as strike-breakers and who married Caucasian women and settled in South Omaha; and third, the Japanese families that were resettled from the War Relocation Centers. This study will concentrate largely upon the third group.

The early pioneering Japanese families were subjected to no anti-Japanese agitation. We were able to interview four families and all were engaged city trade business. All are married and have families and have lived in Omaha for over forty years.

The majority of the Japanese laborers that came as strike-breakers, have gone back to the Pacific Coast States. The outstanding factor here was the lack of female companionship. Also, because of their status, they met continuous opposition from packing-house laborers. Of the few that remained, three Japanese married Caucasian women and have settled in South Omaha with their families. There were also three Japanese bachelors who remained in South Omaha.

Twenty-four families came to Omaha from the War Relocation Centers. These Japanese families have lived in Omaha for approximately seven years. They arrived with all of their possessions in three or four suit cases or
boxes having lost everything except clothing and a few of their most precious possessions. Some of them required financial aid for transportation and livelihood till their first pay-check. They all understood that this was to be a new life and they were to make new adjustments. It was far better than the environment of the Relocation Centers since they now had an objective toward which to work.

The average Japanese family of Omaha, Nebraska consists of 4.12 persons per family. The table below shows

Table VII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupants</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Issei (both husband and wife)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisei (both husband and wife)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issei husband and Nisei wife</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermarriages (first generation)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermarriages (second generation)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family with in-laws and brothers, sisters</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family with in-laws only</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the membership in Japanese families of Omaha. In the classification, 'family with in-laws, brothers, and sisters,' we assume the Nisei couples to be the head of the family.
One young couple came to Omaha first and after establishing a home, sent to the Relocation Center for the husband's elderly parents, sisters and brothers, in keeping with the custom of the Japanese family that the oldest boy takes the responsibility of caring for his parents.

The majority of the Japanese families upon arriving in Omaha spent two to three years living in apartments. Of the thirty-two Japanese families interviewed, only three families still remained in apartment dwellings. The majority of the twenty-nine families living in single dwelling homes are in the process of purchasing them. There were a few families that were not certain whether Omaha would be their permanent home and therefore hesitated to buy homes. Through interviews, we found that a few families are dissatisfied with life conditions here in Omaha. The dissatisfaction arises from lack of companionship, and as one wife says, "my friends and all my relatives are on the Pacific coast, and I guess, we eventually will return to California."

In regard to their homes, we asked this question, "Did you have difficulty in finding a suitable home?" "Were you discriminated against?" "What were the reactions of your neighbors?" A Nisei replied as following:

Oh yes we were discriminated against, especially in
certain areas. We went to see a very prominent real estate agent here in town and he was very polite to us and we finally agreed to a contract and were told to come back the next day and sign some papers. I just don't know what happened but I guess he must have inquired in the neighborhood what they thought of a Japanese family moving in. Anyway, we went to the real estate office at the appointment time and he told us that some pressure group had prevented him from selling the home to us. He suggested that my wife and I should go from house to house and have gain written consent from the neighbors. If all of the neighbors agreed on our purchasing the house, he would be glad to do business with us. My wife got very mad and we told him that we would look elsewhere. We learned a good lesson from that incident and we are very much satisfied with our present home. It is not the type of home we would like to have, but it will do till other opportunities come our way.

Another family, although meeting strong opposition by some neighbors, went ahead and bought the house. A young housewife laughingly related this incident:

I remember clearly the real estate agent telling us, "you are buying this house on your own risk." When we did move into our new home, I felt as if everybody in the neighborhood was watching us as if there were no walls around the house. As time went on, I made friends with my next door neighbor, a lady who is about my age. Our friendship grew and whenever we met, like other women, we would gossip about our neighbors. Eventually, I found out that there were a few objectors to our buying this home, especially an old maid. This lady objected most strenuously and even went to consult a lawyer. That was about three years ago. This lady later told me that she heard so many things about the Japanese and thought that we were savages. She was afraid that at anytime we would kill her.

Still another housewife hoping to purchase a home just after World War II relates this experience:

The real estate agent was very cool to us and showed us several homes that we might purchase. After studying
the houses and the prices, we thought that we would like to see one house before we considered any of the others shown to us. We were told that many people would gladly purchase this house and if we didn't want to buy a home, to go elsewhere. We finally decided on the house and he consented to drive us by it and that was all. We were not allowed to inspect the house and so, we purchased this house without even stepping on the ground. The terms were certainly not reasonable.

Although there were many people that experienced such situations, there were Japanese families that were able to purchase homes without much difficulty. It is obvious that the oppositions came from the better districts of Omaha. The outstanding objection seemed to be that if such a minority group enters an area, other unwanted groups would follow and consequently, the value of the land would decrease.

Map six on the following page points out two facts about the location of the Japanese homes: first, the Japanese homes are well scattered throughout the city with the exception of the areas from 30th and Cummings to 30th and Blondo. This is an area where the process of invasion and succession is taking place. Within this area is the dividing line between the white and the Negro. Further north toward Lake St., the Negro family has crossed the street. Probably, this is the outstanding reason why the Japanese people are able to purchase the houses. Second, thus far, the Japanese families have not crossed 40th st. The probable reasons being that people from 40th street
Map VI. Locations and Occupants of Japanese Homes of Omaha, Nebraska

Legend

Issei
Nisei
Issei Husband and Nisei Wife
Intermarriages (1st generation)
Intermarriages (2nd generation)
Family-in-laws, brothers, sisters
Family-in-laws only

Legend:

- Blue: Issei
- Black: Nisei
- Green: Issei Husband and Nisei Wife
- Red: Intermarriages (1st generation)
- Black: Intermarriages (2nd generation)
- Yellow: Family-in-laws, brothers, sisters
- Orange: Family-in-laws only

Map of Omaha showing locations of Japanese homes and intermarriages.
and west, people are more concerned with those who enter their district and the homes too are larger and would be impractical for the small Japanese families to purchase.

The occupations of the Japanese people of Omaha are concentrated in the category of skilled and semi-skilled with a few common laborers and a few professional workers. Such jobs as waiters, yard caretakers, and workers in molding and refining in the production of figurines are held by laborers. There are a few white-collar workers and registered nurses and a psychologist among the professional workers. There are only nine women listed as engaged in employment. Three women, one of whom is a widow, contribute all or the majority of their earnings to the home. Five wives assist their husbands in their respective places of business. Of the seven Japanese business men who are proprietors of a trade business, four are long time Omahans. Table eight on the following page lists the different occupations engaged in by the Japanese people of Omaha.

In studying the relationship that exists between the Japanese employee and his white employer, we asked this question: "What were the reactions of your fellow workmen and employers toward you in your employment?" The answers were simple and brief, "okay," or "fine." Most of the Japanese families arrived in Omaha by 1946 and all classi-
Table VIII
The Occupations of Japanese People of Omaha, Nebraska

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Issels</th>
<th>Misels</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chemist (laboratory)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chick-sexer &amp; Watch repair</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed in family business</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figurine (production work)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glazier</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenhouse (florist)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Packing-house</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietor (city trade)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychologist</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered Nurse</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired, husband</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired, husband and wife</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheet Metal</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch repair</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare Dept. (BoysTown)</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wives employed</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wives not employed</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yard caretaker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| Total                                | 20     | 53     |
fications of laborers were in great demand. No labor conflict or competition existed. Therefore, both the white employers and employees were able to adjust to Japanese employees and respected them as fellow workers. One interviewee replied with pride:

When I first started to work for this firm, they were very short handed, that is, there were very few watch repairers that could do a good job. With my experience, I became an important employee at this firm. Every now and then my fellow workers would consult with me on certain mechanism and this situation helped in our growing friendship.

Then came the problem late in 1946, the termination of World War II the returning of former employees, seeking their jobs. I thought I would be the first to be kicked out but as time went on my position at this firm became firmer and all the important watch repairs became my special duty.

A Nisei house-wife said:

I have been working for this hotel for five years now and I have six girls working for me. I make all salads for meals served at this hotel and I have a swell bunch of girls that help me.

It is funny, with some people, they dread to go to work, but for myself, I look forward to going to work because of the friends I have made at work. There is another Japanese gentleman working with us and with the mixture of Caucasian, Japanese, and Negro, we have a very good time.

Occupations that involve other nationality groups offer an opportunity for the Japanese people to help the Caucasian neighbors to better understand them. This action also works both ways, the Japanese people, too, can learn more of their Caucasian neighbors.
The literacy of the Japanese families here in Omaha is considerably high in comparison with other nationality groups. Table nine shows the educations obtained by

Table IX
The Education of Nisei (male) of Omaha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>High School</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Japanese College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Completed education in Japan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 watch college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Niseis (male) in Omaha. This group includes all Nisei males over eighteen years of age that should have graduated from a high school. Out of the twenty-three Nisei males, fifteen were married and eight unmarried. Three are in the process of completing their college education.
Contrary to the practice of their nativeland, the Nisei women of Omaha, Nebraska have attained a high level of education. All of the Nisei women interviewed completed four years of high school education.

Table X
The Education of Nisei (female) of Omaha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>High School</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Japanese College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>...............</td>
<td>1 Designing college</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>3**</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>...............</td>
<td>3**</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* indicating education in progress.
** indicating registered nurse.

At this point, the stress on education by the Japanese families in the United States becomes evident. The atti-
tude toward education is that, "if one wishes to go far ahead in this world, he must study and educate himself."

Mr. Mori, an Issei, depicts the ambitions of the Isseis in an article written for the Pacific Citizen newspaper:

We Isseis wanted to learn the English language. We learned it in the American homes as well as in the classes. We learned everywhere.

Everybody in our circle was education-conscious. We firmly believed that with a fluent tongue and pen, the golden door would be opened for us.

Professional education is lacking although this situation has changed tremendously. Especially in large urban cities, doctors, dentists, lawyers, and of the cloth are becoming numerous.

The trend today for higher education among the Japanese people is stressed more than ever. The prestige of high school diploma has been overshadowed by college diplomas. We asked the parents in regard to education, What is or will be the goal you would like your children to achieve when they grow up?" The majority of parents had plans for college education. A nisei parent answered:

First of all education and we are saving a little every month so our daughter will have the opportunity to attend college some day. The decision will be her own. If and when we do have a boy, we would like him to enter the

---

professional field, if possible, to become a doctor.

We did not attempt to list the educational background of the Isseis of Omaha, Nebraska as few received formal American education. Out of the eighteen Issei men we interviewed, only four completed high school education. These four were considerably younger than the majority of the Isseis we interviewed. One Issei finished two years of college and still another attended a trade school to learn watch repairing.

Little is known about the education of their wives and we made little effort in inquiring about it. The primary function of the Japanese woman is to take care of the home. Therefore, the majority of Japanese women after receiving the minimum of education, attend vocational schools to study home economics or receive practical training at home.

We asked the Isseis, "What was your ambition when you decided to go to the United States?" One group answered that they had educational ambitions, and another had the ambition of accumulating great wealth and returning home. Of the Isseis we interviewed in Omaha, the majority belonged to the latter group. An Issei related this story laughingly:

I intended to go to University of California and when
I arrived in San Francisco, I met some of my friends, who told me, 'why go to school, you don't need any education to make money here.' This was true because my friends were sending money home and their families had built homes. I did not know what to do and I finally decided that I would educate myself later when I had accumulated enough wealth. This I have never done and now I have to regret it all my life. Both of my sons have finished college, one has received his education at Harvard University. I suppose, my ambitions have been partially fulfilled.

Another Issei:

When I was a little boy, I was quite a dreamer. I used to dream about becoming a great man, a big businessman and own three or maybe four big ships. My friends were already in America and they would write to me about the opportunities present for ambitious people to learn something about America. The Christian Missionary taught me a little English which helped me very much when I arrived in San Francisco. I found too much racial hate in San Francisco so I moved to Colorado where I worked for a while. Then I moved to Illinois and finally came to Omaha, Nebraska and have been in this same business since then.

I am very happy with what I have and I think I have accomplished my goal.

The activities of the Japanese families here in Omaha are very limited. In studying their activities or means of entertainment, we divided the Japanese family into four groups: first, the elderly Isseis; second, the Niseis, third, Niseis and Sanseis from thirteen to approximately twenty years of age; and fourth, Sanseis of ages from four to approximately thirteen.

The activities of the Isseis in Omaha are very limited, and until the appearance of television, their children were their only entertainment. There were a few that attended
religious services offered by Omaha churches although their attendance was occasional. Other means of recreation for the Isseis are visiting Japanese friends, reading materials both American and Japanese, and visiting with fellow workers at their place of employment. For some, this is their best social opportunity. The Omaha J.A.C.L. does offer some entertainment (annual banquet, picnic, and their regular meetings) although the younger generation is much more active and few Isseis taking this opportunity.

Since they spend little time in social groups, the Isseis have little opportunities to acquaint themselves with the American people. Television can help them if they have a little knowledge of the American language and culture. In our more recent interviews, we found out there was great interest among the Isseis in following television programs. This situation is of course found in homes that have televisions. We have had difficulties in interviewing the more elderly Isseis in making them understand what we want to know and the meaning of our questions. In some homes an interpreter was required, and in other homes, the Isseis were very adept in using the American language.

Of the older Nisei group who have every opportunity to participate in all media of entertainment and recreations, only a few are members of Ak-Sar-Ben, and a few take active part in church and P.T.A. activities. There are some that
assist in Boy Scout work and other were given the honor of helping in the last election, a privilege they were deprived of in states they had come from. In sports very few participate. There are some who belong to bowling teams and others that rooted for the Omaha Cardinal baseball team, but these are few. The majority of the Japanese families entertain themselves while others form cliques comprised of Japanese only. Although few are participating in community activities, we believe that time and the broader knowledge of the Japanese people by the American people will open the door to maximum participation in community activities.

The third group, Niseis and Sanseis of the ages from approximately thirteen to twenty present a grave problem, especially in an environment such as Omaha, where there are few Japanese children. This is the period when children become aware of physical differences. Japanese children begin to realize that they are Japanese and then, too, their American classmates also become aware of this phenomenon. Saturday night dates prevent Japanese children from double dating with girl friends and their buddies. In order to be accepted, their character must be excellent they must be popular in school activities or the dates feel offended and the parents may advise them not to go out with a Japanese again. These experiences are inevitable
for Japanese children in an environment such as Omaha, unless the Japanese children stay away from all school functions or chum with schoolmates that do not date often. In cities such as Los Angeles and Chicago, dates for Japanese children are normal as they date among themselves. The following are experiences of Nisei school girls. One relates:

When I was four, I attended the kindergarten. I can still picture in my mind the teachers and kiddies with whom I spent many wonderful and happy days. After spending two years there I went to school...I learned and played together with children of all races. We did not despise one another but simply enjoyed ourselves by being friendly. But when I entered high school things began to change. Some arrogant white children were the cause of this.

Another expresses confusion as follow:

Gradually, as the circle in which I moved became larger, I met different people of various temperaments. My single outlook on life became complex and more complex as I unwillingly realized that I was not to be classed as one of them. It was one of the most heart-breaking period of my life. I wanted to be an American; I wondered why God had not made me an American. If I couldn't be an American, then what was I? A Japanese? No. But not an American either. My life background is American. My ideals of life, education, religion were all American.

But they tell me I am not an American; that I cannot ever be assimilated for no reason which I have ever been able to understand. My looks made me Japanese, yes, but until a few years ago I was Japanese in appearance only; I speak the Japanese language with the faulty enunciation of the foreigner.

\[2^2\]


\[3^3\]

Ibid., p. 23.
There are few Nisei and Sansei children of this age group here in Omaha. In our research, we did not personally interview the Japanese children in this group, although we did ask few questions of the parents about them. To be more specific, there were only four children in this group, their activities clustered around both Caucasian and Japanese friends. Therefore, the Japanese children are in the majority in grade and junior high school and this group perhaps have the maximum normalcy for the Japanese family.

We did not interview children in this group formally, but we have had many opportunities of talking with them and discussing their activities. Mostly, we listened to and observed their actions in play and work, noted their thinking and their use of the English language. We concluded that at this stage, Japanese children in this group have achieved the optimum adaptation toward Americanization. We believe that anyone listening to a group of children playing outside who were hidden from view, would be unable to identify the Japanese child from the other children because of enunciation and use of the English language.

We revisited many families throughout our research to observe children in their activities. We found here the greatest difference between the Japanese family in Hawaii and the one in the United States. In Hawaii, the Japanese children often uses pidgin English, and he has not been
so thoroughly Americanized. However, time and a changing environment should bring about the same degree of Americanization for Japanese people in both communities.

In studying the activities of Japanese children in this group we asked the following questions: "How are your children treated in the neighborhood by your neighbors?" "How about the treatment at school?" "Do your daughter or son have girl friends or pals to chum with?" "Where are their after school hours and weekends spent?" "Do they bring their friends home or do they get invited to their friends' home?" To these questions, a Nisei mother replied:

My son is only six and half years old and he doesn't have the slightest idea that he is different from the other kids he plays around with. He always has a swell time and receives many invitations to birthday parties. I remember the first birthday party he had, we invited about sixteen children and my son stressed that the party should be just like the ones he had attended. His friends are mostly from school and church and a few from the immediate neighborhood. At school, he gets along fine so the teacher told me. He is very aggressive and not a bit shy.

The mother of four children happily related:

Here in Omaha, our neighbors are exceptionally nice to us. I just had my baby about three months ago and my husband is so busy that I don't know what we would have done if the nice neighbor from across the street did not help us. When I do go to help my husband, this elderly lady takes care of my three children. They call her "grandmother" and I just don't know how to thank her.

Another mother complaining:

My daughter, as soon as she comes home, sits at the
telephone desk and if she is not calling someone, the phone rings and it is usually for her. She talks and talks and sometimes it goes on for two hours or more. She thinks I installed the telephone just for her.

Japanese children attend Joslyn Memorial classes in music, dancing, and art. They enjoy the same privileges at all recreational activities that are opened to the public. Thus far, they have been exposed to an environment that has produced the maximum qualities of Americanization for this period of growth.

In our study of the Japanese families in Omaha, Nebraska thus far, we have touched only tangible factors. Subjects discussed are overt, physical characteristics of the Japanese family, a history of their migration, and their actions in community activities. In our final phase of the study of the Japanese family in Omaha, we attempted to probe their attitudes. Whether these attitudes were conditioned and subjective, we will not attempt to discuss. We have no scientific means by which we could measure or validate these attitudes. Our intention is to present to the reader the feelings, opinions, or attitudes of the Japanese family living in the American environment for over forty years, as well as his relations to the American culture and people.

Especially of the Issei parents, we asked this question: "What do you think about the American culture?"
"Do you think it is harmful in the up-bringing of your children?" Consensus of opinion of Isseis parents was that the American culture is a fine environment in which to raise their children but infers that respect and courtesy for the elders is lacking. Some mentioned that discipline was lax. These opinions are the result of being exposed to the two environments. A Nisei mother replied to the above question:

No, I don't think so. We are a happy family and we do not encourage our children to learn the customs of their grandparents. I was brought up among American people and have a vague knowledge of Japanese culture. We believe that the American environment and with the Christian teaching of bringing up of our children, they'll make good Americans.

Some believe that there are many Japanese customs that are valuable in building a good family and certainly these good Japanese customs would not corrupt or lower the standard of the American culture. Following the trend of American families, the Japanese families are becoming democratic rather than strictly paternalistic, as they were previously in Japan.

In reply to the question, "What do you believe to be the outstanding factors of anti-Japanese agitation or discrimination toward the Japanese people?" the answer was "lack of knowledge and acquaintance with the Japanese people is the real reason." A Nisei, whose father, a Japanese, and mother, a Caucasian, related this story:
During World War II, I was stationed in a medical outfit in Florida. Our medical station was mainly for the returning wounded veterans for recuperation and rehabilitation. There were a few wounded veterans from the Pacific recuperating at our station. Some of them were very bitter against the Japs. My sympathy was with them because most of them were badly wounded.

There was one fellow that was always griping about the Japs and day after day, I heard him saying, "the only good Jap is a dead Jap." He kept this up for a couple of weeks and I finally asked him if he knew any Japanese-Americans? His answer was "no," and "I don't care to know them, and anyway they're all no good. Give 'em a chance and they'll stab your back, yes, I don't like any Jap and the only good Jap is a dead Jap!" At this point, I told him my name and that I was Japanese, and had been taking care of him for the past two weeks.

After that he never yelped and we got along fine.

Another incident related by a Nisei:

A lady called me on the phone regarding a problem child. She told me the problem and I told her that if she could come to my office and talk to me about it we might be able to help her. We made an appointment and when she entered my office, I immediately sensed that she was confused and did not know whether she was in the right office.

We began our discussion about the child and after arriving at a conclusion, we ended our formal discussion and began to talk about everything in general.

When she first called me, she did not remember my name too clearly although Patrick stuck with her and therefore she had not thought that I would be a Japanese. Naturally, when she entered my office she thought she was in a wrong room. I told her that I was a Japanese-American and was born in California.

Then she said, "I thought all Japanese spoke like they do in the movies," and we both had a good laugh. She apologized for her ignorance and I am darn sure that she will never forget that incident.

These and many other case studies point to an important factor: the American people have only a vague knowledge of the Japanese people in the United States and do not know the majority of them are lawfully American citizens.
The case study that involved the purchasing of a home is another illustration of the distorted picture the American people have of the Japanese-Americans.

In a survey conducted by a University on the Pacific coast, this question was asked, "Do you know how many Japanese people there are in the United States?" Both the children and the adults answers ran from 500 to 10,000,000. In a region that has been fighting the Japanese for almost forty years, it is evident that the correct facts about the Japanese people in America are not commonly known.

Another question we asked, "After all these years living among the American people, what do you think about them?" To this question, many were conservative in their answers and limited their answers to adjectives, "fine," "very nice people," and "understanding." The majority of the Japanese people living in Omaha, Nebraska, have experienced a bitter feeling toward the people and government of the United States during the early period of incarceration although this feeling has abated to nil.

Dr. Sullenger in his work, "Problems of Ethnic Assimilation in Omaha," says, "assimilation is an educational..."
process. It includes participation, subtle changes, and gradual growth. It is a process of give and take."

With this in mind we asked one more question as a conclusion to our research, "Do you have any suggestions for achieving a better understanding so as to suture the gap between the Japanese-Americans and the American people?"

One interviewee replied by saying:

"We must win the faith of the American people by our thoughts and actions. By this I mean, that our thoughts and actions must be harmonized to the fullest extent with those of the American people. We must share in the building of the America we all love. We must show that we are interested just as much as the American people. If we, only talk about these things nothing will happen, but action, the actual doing of them is the most important."

A Nisei replied:

"One of the greatest factors that can create a better relationship between the Japanese and the American people is religion. Christian living, teaching, and practice can eliminate so much misunderstanding. We must have faith and convictions in what we believe."

Still another thought expressed:

"As long as we classify ourselves as Japanese and not as Americans, we will always feel inferior. Live, act, and do like the American and we will be accepted by the American people. Make every effort to mingle with the American people. We not only learn about the Americans by doing so but they, too, will learn about us."

Another young Nisei replied:

"Become active in community organizations such as, P.T.A."
church groups, recreational, and by voting in all elections. By working together for the same goal we become united and create an atmosphere of oneness. We must not feel sorry for ourselves but be proud that we are Japanese-Americans.

These interviews present the general thoughts and suggestions expressed by the Japanese people of Omaha. These and many more interviewees have indicated that the Japanese family is very much satisfied with their community life here in Omaha and do intend to create a better understanding and be accepted as an important part of the growing organism.

Summary

This chapter has presented a verbal picture of the Japanese people of Omaha, Nebraska. It has been our purpose to help the reader gain knowledge of facts regarding their employment, education, home environment and social problems in order to create a sympathetic understanding of those factors which prove to be obstacles in the process of assimilation.
Chapter XI

Conclusion

The trends we have observed in our studying the Japanese families in Hawaii and in the United States are as follows:

1. The Japanese population both in the United States and Hawaii have gained a "normal growth" from the abnormal population growth during their first two decades in America. Their population growth show steady increase although in proportion to the total population in their respective communities, the Japanese population show steady decrease in percentage.

2. The Japanese population shows a movement toward large urban cities in the United States. There is a decrease of population in rural farm communities. There is a slight increase in rural non-farm communities.

3. There is a movement toward higher occupational fields, especially in the professional status. White-collar workers have increased. The popular domestic service is passing away with the departure of Isseis from the Japanese families.

4. The rapid decrease of Isseis from the Japanese
families in the United States and Hawaii is evident. The Japanese-American children will therefore have one language, one loyalty, and the American culture.

5. The Japanese families in both Hawaii and in the United States are becoming democratic and less paternalistic.

6. The inclusion and seclusion of the Japanese families in Hawaii is breaking. Increase in intermarriages, accelerated by World War II being the outstanding factor.

7. Many customs and traditions are passing from the Japanese families, especially in Hawaii, where these customs and traditions were practised enthusiastically.

8. A conspicuous movement toward Christianity both in the United States and Hawaii. Small Japanese communities such as Omaha, Nebraska cannot support a Buddhist priest to serve the few members, hence, the children and the Isseis are accepting religious experiences offered by Christian churches.

9. The younger Niseis in the United States show movement toward community participations and responsibilities.

10. Legislations passed in the last five years in Congress are favoring the Japanese people in the United States and Hawaii. A bill requiring partial compensation
for the loss incurred during the mass incarceration was passed. The McCarran and Walter Immigration and Naturalization Bills give Isseis who were not eligible before the opportunity to become American citizens. Up to thirteen percent of the bills passed in the 1951 sessions of Congress have had direct benefit to persons of Japanese ancestry. Isseis in Hawaii have taken their first step of becoming naturalized citizens in 1953.

Figure 12. Japanese population trends in the United States (1930-1980).

Note: Red lines indicates probable trends of native, foreign, and total Japanese population of the United States.

Figure twelve above and figure thirteen on the following page are primarily presented to indicate the approximate general trend of the Japanese population to the year

*McCarran and Walter Omnibus passed in the 83rd. Congress, 1st. Session after this portion of thesis completed.
1980. Our estimation is certainly not correct and our prognostications are not presented for the purpose of absolute accuracy, but rather to indicate the "normal" Japanese population growth in the United States and Hawaii.

Figure 13. Japanese population trends in Hawaii (1930-1980).

Note: Red lines indicates probable trends of native, foreign, and total Japanese population in Hawaii. (1930-1980)

The study of Japanese families in the United States and Hawaii indicated one obvious factor, the Japanese family has progressed toward Americanization. This can be proven by application of the criteria often used for judging immigrant groups:

1. The Japanese people have proven their loyalty in
2. Definitely in the United States and to a lesser degree in the Hawaiian Islands, there has been improvement in the standard of living of the Japanese family.

3. The average Japanese Nisei shows a great desire for advanced education. Literacy is very high of the Japanese family.

4. The majority of the Japanese families studied showed great adaptability to new environment which had been forced upon them since the episode of relocation camps.

5. As to personality traits, all of the Japanese families mentioned in this study proved to have desirable habits, high ideals and an earnest desire to be worthy of a definite place in the American community.

We must, however, take into account the fact that any race which has conspicuous physical characteristics, experiences greater handicaps in its struggle for assimilation than do European groups. Mr. Steiner makes this statement: ¹

No matter, therefore, how responsive the Japanese may

be to their American environment, they must still form a separate group easily distinguished from people of the west. Their physical type marks them out as Orientals wherever they are. The judgment that we pass upon the most cultured Japanese is colored by our instinctively unfavorable reaction to alien types. More serious even than this, they stand out as a symbol of the fears, dislikes and prejudices which enter into our traditional conception of the Asiatics. In spite of their evident efforts to adapt themselves to American conditions, our attitude of dislike remains unchanged. A decade or more ago we condemned them as undesirable because they were willing to work for low wages and brought with them such a low standard of living. Today, they are still unpopular and the charges made against them are that they demand high wages, insist upon owning land, are successful in business competition, and desire to establish themselves as residents in white communities. The qualities that would ordinarily command respect become in their case a reproach and intensify our determination to have nothing to do with them.

The Japanese-American children of today have every opportunity to go forward and carry their share of community responsibilities and become an integral part in the building of America. They have not the obstacles that their parents and grandparents encountered. They speak fluently the English tongue and have the educational background their grandparents were not fortunate enough to have.

We have found out throughout the study that the American people have had vague ideas or no knowledge of the Japanese people living in the United States and Hawaii. The Japanese people must educate the American people, because assimilation requires the action of two parties. The American culture began and has continued to be a congro-
Appendix

The following questions were used in our schedule in studying of the Japanese families of Omaha, Nebraska. We used the schedule as a guide and questions were not limited to the questions listed below. Our working schedule listed no numbers, there was no set means of conducting the interview. Every interviewee required a different approach. Establishing rapport was not as difficult as we anticipated. Most people were happy to discuss their past experiences and their present family and community life.

Note: *Indicates that this question has been discussed in one of the chapters in this study sufficiently that further discussion is not necessary.

1. How many are in the family? (Characteristics)*

2. Occupations of the members of the family?*

3. Where were you married? (Nisei and Issei)

   All Nisei were married here in the United States. Out of the eighteen Issels interviewed, five were married in Japan.

4. What was your ambition and what did you expect to achieve when you decided to go to America?*

5. When did you first year of America and what did you do about it?

   Sources of informations were the Japanese government, Christian Missionaries, and from friends already in America.
6. Reasons moved to Nebraska?*

7. What were some of the difficulties in finding your way and adjusting to the American environment?

Not being able to speak the English language. Food also presented temporary problem.

8. What opportunities were given to you to learn the English language and also to adjust to the environment?*

Informal education - given by non-profit organizations.

9. How well have you mastered the English language?

The majority of Isseis speak with broken English although there were few that were able to speak fluently and write the English language. Thus, reading materials are both of Japanese and English.

10. What shocked or impressed you most about America upon being exposed to its environment; its customs, its people, or its bigness?*

11. How far have your own notions about the freedom of women, the independence of children, etc., changed as a result of life in America?*

12. What occupations have you undertaken since your arrival here in the United States, and Omaha, Nebraska?*

We found that the Japanese people here in Omaha, and the United States to be stable and very few wandered from job to job.

13. Did you encounter problems in bringing up your children in a bi-cultural environment?*

The first two decades of adjustment were the hardest. Especially with the children of today, confusion as to their status is still expressed.
14. What were the reactions of your fellow workmen at your place of employment? What about your employer?*

15. Did you have difficulty in finding a suitable home? Were you discriminated against?*

16. What were the reactions of your neighbors?*

17. How is your present relationship with your neighbors?*

18. How are your children treated in the neighborhood by your neighbors?*

19. How are your children treated at school?*

20. Do your daughter or son have girl friends and pals to chum with?*

21. Do they bring their friends home or do they receive invitation to their friends' home?*

22. Do they participate in recreational, school, and after school activities? Do they belong to Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts and Cubs?*

23. Do you belong to any religious groups here in Omaha or do you attend services offered by churches of Omaha? How often do you participate? Are you active in church work?*

24. Do you belong to community organizations such as church groups, P.T.A., and other activities that bring you in contact with the American people?*

25. If given an opportunity, would you become an American Citizen?*

The Japanese-American Citizen League have been working very hard by which the Japanese aliens could become naturalized citizens. This has become a reality only recent-
ly (1952). The Japanese aliens of Hawaii have begun steps toward naturalization.

26. What do you think about the American culture? Do you think it is harmful in the up-bringing of your children?*

27. What do you believe to be the outstanding factors of anti-Japanese agitations or discriminations toward the Japanese people?*

28. After all these years living among the American people, what do you think about them?*

29. What did you think about the wholesale incarceration of the Japanese people? Did this act create bitter feelings toward this government?*

30. What is or will be the goal you would like your children to achieve when they grow up?*

31. What did you do when your children came home crying because someone called her racial names or have been denied privileges because his nationality background?

Thus far, very few, if any, racial incidents have been experienced by Japanese-American children here in Omaha, Nebraska. A factor to be considered, there are very few Japanese children in Omaha and their presence have caused no problem. The Japanese children too, are good students and juvenile delinquency in the whole of United States and Hawaii is amazingly small. A study was conducted in Seattle, Washington, where the Japanese homes are located in the slum areas and in which 30% of the boys are Japanese, the Japanese children are third from the lowest in a list of 70. During the period from 1919 to 1930, of the 710 boys that were sent to the Parental School from Seattle, only three were Japanese.1

32. Do you have any suggestions in achieving a better understanding so as to suture the gap between the Japanese-Americans and the American people?*

33. Do you plan to return to the Pacific coast states or your former home?*

34. How does the future of the Japanese look at the present to you?*
## Western Region (10)

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<td>California</td>
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<td>Wyoming</td>
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**Total** 118,193 107,129

**Per cent** 93.1 75.6

## Midwestern Region (9)

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<td>Wisconsin</td>
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**Total** 3,512 8,679

**Per cent** 3 6.1

## Southern Region (14)

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<td>Georgia</td>
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**Total** 923 2,399

**Per cent** .7 1.7

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<td>Vermont</td>
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**Total** 4,319 23,653

**Per cent** 3.2 16.6
Books


McWilliams, C., *Brothers Under the Skin*, (Bookhaven Press, Los Angeles, 1943).


Books


Magazine Articles, Signed


Magazine Articles, Signed


Magazine Articles, Signed


Magazine Articles, Signed


Magazine Articles, Unsigned


Magazine Articles, Unsigned


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