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Community Analysis Section
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The Japanese Language Schools and Present Attitudes Toward the Teaching of
Japanese to Nisei and Sansei

(By an Evacuee; With Additional Comment by the Community Analyst)

This report is based on interviews with approximately 20 persons of various ages and of both sexes concerning the Japanese language schools. My own observations and experiences as a student of a Japanese language school have also been utilized.

According to the explanation of the older people, the language schools were first started because of the need for closer understanding between the members of the family, the parents and the children. The only way to reach each other, to express thoughts, to exchange letters, to advise the young ones, was through a common language it was felt.

So because the parents were not able to learn English, the children were sent to the schools to learn the tongue of the parents. Due to the economic struggle for existence, to the discrimination against them on part of people who always hated the yellow race, to their inability to naturalize, to the anti-alien land laws, to the immigration laws, the parents did not have the time nor the will to learn English; everything seemed to be against them.

The schools were necessary because the parents wished to have their children speak to them effortlessly and naturally, so that the children might find out the feelings of the older Japanese in this country. In this way, the feelings of the Issei might be interpreted to American society at large. The parents wished to learn what was going on in the world, and they

wished, to tell the people that they, too, had something to offer. They desired to learn about America through their children who could interpret what America is to the parents.

The idea of learning the language so that the American-Japanese relations might become better was stressed time and time again at the graduation exercises of the Japanese language schools and at the other important meetings of the students and the teachers.

This is understood by Reginald Bell who writes in his study,

Public School Education of Second Generation Japanese in California:*

The Japanese-American organizations that have been interested in developing the schools have not been unaware of the social and educational responsibility that is theirs. As early as 1913 the Japanese Educational Association of America, gave its attention to the part it was to play not in Japanizing the American-born Japanese child but in fitting him for the American scheme of things. In that year, it adopted the following resolution:

"The goal to be attained in our education is to bring up children who will live and die in America, and as such, the whole educational system must be founded upon the spirit of the public instruction of America."

Commenting on this resolution, the general secretary of the Japanese Association in America said:

"Indeed, from the point of view of the Japanese immigrant they desire that their children shall become not only good citizens of American birth, but also that, being born of Japanese parentage, they shall make a distinct contribution to their American National life by means of some of the finer qualities of their parentage."

It is this hope, and the conviction that it is absolutely necessary from the standpoint of social efficiency and family organization for the children of the second generation to be taught the language of their parents, that lies behind the maintenance of the Japanese language schools. Again and again, as one reads the testimony before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization (Japanese Immigration Hearings, Part II, P. 696,) this fact is made clear. The children, runs the argument, have no real difficulty in picking up English. But they know little Japanese. Alienation from their parents results, since the parents -- particularly the mother -- know relatively little English. This becomes especially disastrous when it

*Stanford University Press, 1935, Pp. 20-21

comes to interpreting the finer points of moral and social control, and may result in disorganizing the family unit. It may lead to the lack of parental control and delinquency such as has been marked in other second-generation groups. The Japanese above all things do not want that for their children.

At first it was thought that the Nisei did not need to know the Japanese language, for knowing English was thought to be sufficient for everyone. This was an opinion expressed by the Japanese leaders in Seattle in about 1913. The Japanese Consul, and other high Japanese officials also agreed to this. But in about 1913 the people thought it wise to emphasize the values of Japanese culture in interpreting the Japanese to America.

The parents who could not speak English thought that the children should learn the Japanese language. In this way family life and heart to heart talks between parents and children could exist. In about 1913, in Garden Grove, California, one of the early schools was started. It had only five or six students because there were not many Nisei at that time.

The schools started in various ways. Some started very informally. One parent would ask someone to teach his child the language and then another parent and another asked if his child might join and learn. Before long, a school was in full operation.

Bible schools in the church taught children how to sing the hymns in Japanese and to read the Bible in Japanese so that the children would be able to join their parents in Christian service at home. The goal was to spread Christianity among the Japanese.

"In 1933 the number (of language schools) reported officially by the three California language-school associations (Central California Association at Fresno, Southern California Association at Los Angeles,

and Northern California Association at San Francisco) was 220."*

School Buildings

The schools were held in the Christian churches, Catholic churches, Buddhist temples and innon-sectarian buildings. The majority of the students went to the non-sectarian schools. The schools conducted in non-sectarian fashion were usually in buildings built like the old-fashioned little red school house or in structures similar to the rambling country schools. Usually each school had a lot adjoining it to be used as a athletic field.

In some of the schools each class had a separate room while in other schools several classes met in the same big room. There were schools which had regular public school desks and seats and black-board at one end of the room. Other schools had tables and chairs only. The interiors of the rooms were very simple. They usually looked like school rooms anywhere else.

Teachers

Persons who were teachers never intended to become language school teachers in America. They all came for economic reasons or in the hope of continuing their education in America. They are ordinary people. Some of them were graduates of Japanese high schools; others were university graduates. Some of them attended universities in this country and others did not. Many of them intended to study and then return to Japan, but for some reason did not do so. Being school teachers did not necessarily mean that they were brilliant. Some persons became teachers to help defray their family living expenses.

*Ibid. P. 20

The salaries were raised by means of tuition paid by the students. The salaries ranged from \$55 to \$200 a month. Some of the schools charged \$1.50 per student and then the second child of the family paid 50 cents, and the third child paid 25 cents. Other schools charged \$3 for the first child, \$1.75 for the second and so on.

After the schools were established, whenever teachers were needed, the schools advertised in the Japanese newspapers. Those interested answered the advertisement. They were chosen according to their qualifications by the school board of trustees. A teacher qualification examination was made necessary as a result of a law which was in effect from 1921-1927, but the Supreme Court, in the case of Farrington vs. Tokushige, waived all requirements.

All of the teachers are said to have been interned by the FBI. The reasons why this was done are unknown. Gradually they are being freed.

Text Books

At first all the schools used text books printed in Japan, but they faced the inconvenience of having to skip subject pertaining to the "Japanese spirit" and Japan's history. The teachers thought that such subjects did not help the students in acquiring the daily conversational exercises.

Then the California Japanese Reader text books were written in this country. They were planned by the Japanese Educational Association of America in 1918. Those who sponsored them hoped to teach the language only and wished to use the books in their Americanization program.

The main purpose of the revised books compiled in California was to help the students to learn the correct form of conversation. The books

carried students up to the eighth year of grammar school. There were 16 books altogether; two books were to be used in one year. Many translations of Aesop's Fables and Grimm's Fairy Tales were in the new editions. And instead of a story about the Japanese flag, one about the American flag was substituted. Also, the text books contained materials on America instead of Japan because they fitted the mode of life here.

These books were to contain lessons to enable the Japanese-Americans to learn the Japanese language just as the French language was taught to the French-Americans and the German to the German-Americans. The people of Hawaii had their own books long ago. In this way they hoped to combat prejudice.

The books are supposed to have been approved by a high official of the California State Board of Education on December 6, 1941 and were still being gone over for further improvement by the teachers when the war broke out. New plans for printing the books were abandoned because of the internment of all teachers.

Not only were all the teachers of the Japanese language schools interned but also many who were connected with the Japanese school associations or who were connected with various schools as advisers or members of board of trustees. All of those connected with some schools were taken; in other cases only a few were taken. The people say that this is due to the work of the inu (dogs), "informers," who are accused of getting \$25.00 a head for sending these people to internment camps, (it is said).

Because of this many people suffered hardships. One man who was connected with the Japanese language school in a town near Los Angeles was taken. His picture was put in the paper and he was accused of being a spy.

His children too were accused of being spies. In this way the newspapers started a good many spy rumors and stories.

The books and all the equipment needed by the students in the course of study were bought by them, just as in college.

The main purpose of the schools was to teach the students the language, besides that they were taught reading, writing, and were given lectures on ethics. The literature and classics of Japan as well as of Europe, the history of Japan and Europe, the geography of the world, famous biographies, and sacred stories of Japan were taught as soon as the students advanced further. ^(Penmanship with Japanese brush) Brush writing was also taught because it enabled one to become patient and steady, hence, it helps to build good character.

JAPANESE HOLIDAYS AND THE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

The Japanese holidays were called to the attention of the people by the stores and at times by the newspapers. Sometimes the stores and the newspapers called on the language schools to help at this time. The Japanese stores wished to sell their wares, so they advertised the different holidays-purely for business. The schools, as a rule, did not have a part in the programs unless invited to participate by the stores when they sponsored contests. For instance, on the occasion of the "Doll Festival" (March 3) The stores might sponsor an essay contest in the schools, with the winner receiving a doll.

The Kibei and the Language Schools

Some of the parents have sent their children (kibeis) to schools in Japan. They thought that the children would learn the language well there

and would also learn etiquett, filial piety, and the moral ethics in which the parents had been trained. They thought that this would make the children well-behaved and obedient as well as companionable.

Some of the other parents sent their children to Japan because they were not able to care for them while they farmed out in the fields or when they went to work. The children were not getting the attention that they should when both of the parents had to work. Therefore, the causes for sending the children were educational and economical.

During this period in Japan, the parents thought, their children would be better behaved, and also excellently trained in the Japanese language. They knew that children who did not go to Japan were sent to Japanese language schools but were not able to converse well in Japanese, even though they had gone to school for years. This was because English was so much easier to learn and so natural to them. So parents who really wanted their children to learn Japanese well, sent them to Japan. The children who remained in America did not want to bother to learn anouther language, but since being in this Center, and since the relocation program has begun, the parents and their offspring have become aware that young people should know the Japanese language for the purpose of corresponding with each other personally instead of having to use indirect methods.

Children who went to Japan to learn the language were able to talk in a few months while those who studies in this country did not pregress very rapidly. The latter and their parents spoke to each other in broken American-Japanese fashion. This was all right for ordinary conversations but when the need for serious talk arose, there was much difficulty and misunderstanding.

Let us go back to what the kibe encounters while in Japn. As long as the parents in America are able to send money for his comforts, education, and to repay his guardian, everything is all right. But when depression hits the parents, and they are not able to send money, trouble arises. This trouble occurs especially when the relatives in Japan are poor. This, however, depends upon the relatives. If they are kind, the children will not suffer no matter what happens but if they are unkind, then the children will really face privation.

The children also do not have or feel the love of the parents while they are growing up. They see other children living with their parents in family harmony. Even though at times candy is bought with the money the parents in America send them, the feeling of the children is different from those whose parents themselves personally provide little things. There are many childish desires such as being told bedside stories or being tucked into bed, which are never gratified. They yearn for their parents but also they resent it that they were sent to Japan, away from any parental affection.

At times there are well-to-do families who send their children to Japan for an education. These people wish to have their children go to a good Japanese college so they send plenty of money. The student thinks of himself as a rich man's child and therefore spends money lavishly. Usually these children live in the city, for the schools are better there. If the students are lucky they will find good friends but it is very easy for them to fall in with the wrong kind of companions who only wish to make them spend their money. This of course, happens in any city.

When the parents decide that their children are old enough to be of help rather than a burden, and when the parents think that their children have been educated enough, they call for them.

Naturally both the parents and the children are very happy and anxious to see each other after the long separation. But something is terribly wrong. The bond between the parent and child is gone. The love that should exist between them is not present. The child tries to call his mother "mama" but only "obasan" (aunt) comes out of his mouth. In his mind, he wonders whether these people are his parents, wonders whether he should have left Japan, where there was no parental love but where he was at least sure of himself.

Yes, the children are able to converse with the parents--perhaps they speak better Japanese than the parents ever expected them to. But the children have not turned out the way the parents have hoped would be the case. Even when they talk to each other, the ideas conflict. Even though the parents are not citizens of the United States, their ideas are very Americanized. The children have ideas characteristic of modern Japan. The parents know only the old Japan. (As the years go by, the kibe will learn and be able to understand American ideas if they are given a chance, just as the Issei have. And the Kibe have more chances of becoming Americanized than the Issei because they are not the pioneers.)

Because the parent and the children are not able to adjust themselves immediately, the parents regret what they have done. Sending children by themselves to Japan has failed. Other parents notice the harm done, so even though they are poor, they decide to keep their children beside them. Therefore, many parents were unwilling to send their children by themselves to Japan. Instead they sent the children to the Japanese language schools in the hopes that they might learn to speak Japanese well and still retain the the bond between parent and the child.

Naturally they talk to each other in broken, mixed Japanese-English language.

Parents are now learning English in the Center, for they have time to do so. They are learning it so that they may be able to listen to the radio, read the newspapers, and understand what the children are saying. But the parents are now old and this process will take a long time.

Degree of Success in Instruction

The Japanese language schools, just as the American public schools, were co-educational. And the students behaved in the same way as they did in the American schools. But the teachers were not able to punish the students if they misbehaved or if they did not do their homework. If the discipline was severe, the children would stop going to that school and would attend another one. Therefore if the teachers were too strict, the school would collapse. So the teachers stressed moral ethics and etiquette.

Because of the lack of discipline and because of the lack of interest, the children did not attempt to learn much. Naturally the young children desired to go out and play after regular school instead of attending a second school another hour. But the children who have gone to the language schools are thought to be better behaved and more polite than persons who did not attend the schools. Students who attended the schools in Buddhist temples were said to be exceptionally well-behaved.

School hours were managed in one of two ways. Either the children met for a fifty minute period each day from Monday to Friday or met once a week on Saturday, from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. There was a recess over the lunch hour and usually a 15 minute rest period sometime during the work hours.

The schools which met every day were better for the students because in that way the students at least looked within the books each day. The Saturday school students, on the other hand, only glanced at their books once or twice during the whole week. The studies of the Japanese school did not conflict too much with the public school work because the students usually did the public school home-work first. The schools which met everyday did keep some of the young people from attending after-school activities of the American school, such as athletics and parties, but those who went to the schools on Saturdays usually continued their after-school activities.

As the years went by, and as the children began to enter public high school, more of them discontinued going to the language schools. Here is an example. Out of 10 persons who began together in a certain language school, 5 stopped after they graduated from the American grammar school while 4 more discontinued after entering the American high school. Only one was left to continue and graduate from the Japanese school.

Often various excuses were made by the students in order to get out of studying Japanese. But the college students usually realized the value of learning the language. When they were young, they did not want to go to the language schools but they were forced to attend because everyone else did and it was the thing to do. They did not take studying seriously. If they had, they would now be able to read the Japanese newspapers, something that very few of them can do.

Report cards were sent to the parents but that did not affect the children much. As a rule the students cared much more about the records they made at the American public schools. They would try for different honors in the regular schools so that not much time was left for studying Japanese. But the parents thought that going to school was better than not attending at all.

Those who did continue and completed the equivalent of high school training in Japan are today helping to teach soldiers at the Army and Navy language schools. It is very hard for anyone just to pick it up. One must study intensively.

The Language School and Japanese Nationalism

In Japan the concepts relating to the Emperor were talked about and read about in school but this was not emphasized as much or discussed in the same manner in this country. Of course, the students were told what the people in Japan thought of the Emperor and what they did about it there, but they were taught that there was no place for such thoughts in this nation.

As to loyalty to the Emperor, even in Japan this has just recently been revived. When the daimyo, the feudal lords, were subdued, Emperor worship began again. This was at the time of the Meiji revival in 1868. Even in Japan the real loyalty is to the country, just as the people in this country are loyal to the nation and fight for it but not for Roosevelt.

Although the teachers have tried to omit the idea of the Japanese spirit, it does enter. This is very subtle to discuss. It is so delicate and deep. The children are taught that the welfare of the country comes first, their parents come second, their children (when they have them) next, while they themselves are to be considered the last. What is called the "Japanese spirit" is this view of ethics and moral philosophy.

Testimony of Nisei Who Attended the Language Schools.

The following are comments of individuals who have gone to the language schools. There are among them persons who really studied and those who went because everyone else did. Those who were going to school unwillingly did not

learn much.

When I began to interview the young Nisei about their experiences in language schools and their opinion of language schools, some of them said, "Do I have to go? Of course, it is a good idea to have a school. It's very useful in later life, but I won't go." or "I would go if it were offered. But it has to be straight conversational and writing. I need to know so that when an Issei asks me anything, or if one tries to tell me something, I will know how to answer."

Case 1. Female nisei, 21 years old. Well-educated in Japanese language school in the city:

We had oratorical and essay contests as means of incentives to make us study harder. We read non-political articles in the newspapers and magazines. The political ones were too hard. While in school, I learned flower arrangement, brush writing, history, geography, grammar, etiquette and public speaking.

My class had a strong competitive spirit. The other classes did not seem to be interested enough. Not all of the students learned a great deal. The girls seemed more interested in their studies than the boys.

We had social clubs in school for the high school students. We went on picnics and on camping trips. The parents and the teachers meet at these times. It is rather similar to open house in American schools.

Case 2. Female nisei, 20 years old.

I went to school because my parents paid the bill. But this idea of going to school was of no value because my parents spoke English at home. My parents were able to speak good English until they came to this Camp. Now they speak in broken English. Well, anyway, it seemed as if my parents paid the teachers so that we could ditch classes.

This was one of the ways of playing hockey. We would go to school but we would have it arranged so that someone would telephone the school saying that I was needed at home. After being excused, I would hop into the car with the other kids and go to the beach to have a good time.

Case 3. Male Nisei, 17 years old.

I only went up to the fourth grade in Japanese school. I did not attend any longer because we moved to another place. There wasn't any school around there. My mother wanted me to study at home but I don't know, I just didn't feel like it, I guess. Maybe it was because there wasn't anyone else to compete with.

I know that if we went to school we would become useful people, for language teachers are needed. And the more people who learn the Japanese language, the better that will be. I forgot a lot but if I reviewed everything I suppose I can make it. Anyway we are of Japanese ancestry so we should know our own language.

Case 4. Male nisei, 17 years old.

I attended Japanese language school because everybody else did. Sure, if there is one here I would go. I think Japanese is another foreign language that we should know. It will probably be more useful than knowing French or Spanish. I have taken French all through school now. And Japanese will be easier for us to pick up. Of course, I have forgotten much because I haven't practiced writing or reading but it will come back to me.

Case 5. Female, nisei, middle twenties.

We Nisei need to know Japanese because the Issei do not understand English. The children must be able to write to the parents in case they relocate. To know how to read, write and speak common Japanese is essential

to better family relations. Then again, if you go to Japan, you must be able to speak, read, and write the language.

You will find that you are free and not tied to the family if you are able to correspond with them. If more Nisei knew the language, the Issei might be able to express their ideas and be understood more clearly, and the Nisei in turn could express ideas more clearly so that everything would be better understood. To discuss ideas freely is important. If you go to school, then you will learn.

I went through a Japanese language school in California and graduated from a high school in Japan. I know that in learning Japanese in California schools, the Emperor or the Japanese spirit was not upheld. We were there to learn the language and we were not concerned with the other things. We had such courses of study as: literature, lectures on morals, and sacred stories of shrines along with the regular course of reading and writing.

After learning about another country, naturally you wish to go and see it, just as when you learn French and French history and French literature then you will want to go and see France.

Naturally everyone did not attend the language schools because not everyone cared to learn Japanese. Also some (those who lived out in the country) could not find time to attend. In other cases the schools were too far from their homes or the tuition was too much.

If I didn't know Japanese then I wouldn't seek employment in a Japanese community. Only those handicapped in English applied for jobs in a Japanese community.

I wish to know why the Caucasians (civilians) are learning Japanese. Why should the government oppose teaching Japanese in the Center? There is no harm in teaching a language.

In case language schools are all right to have in the Center, I suggest that you need teachers who know both English and Japanese well. Also teachers are needed who have seen Japan, modern Japan, not the old Japan. A board of directors should be put in power so that the teachers will not go off the main road of teaching only the language.

Besides bettering the relationship between America and Japan, a reason for studying Japanese was that a person had to know the language in order to carry on an intelligent conversation without making a fool of himself. If more Nisei understood the Japanese language, there would have been better understanding and harmony among the Issei, Nisei, and Kibei. The Nisei would have been able to show what America is to those who did not know.

Case 6. Female nisei, 23 years old.

A son, who is about 22 years old went on a short term leave. He wrote to his parents in the crudest form of Japanese, but his parents appreciated the fact that he undertook to take the time and labor of writing to them personally when he so easily could have written in English and could have had it translated to them. Until then, he did write in English and his sister translated the letter to the best of her ability to the parents, but that was indirect and did not satisfy them.

As the children became older, they began to realize that it was necessary to have learned the language. If they were able to express deep thoughts in speaking as well as in writing, much good would have resulted. As it is now, many persons who cannot explain their ideas to the parents in English, try to explain themselves in broken, English-Japanese along with hand gestures. But this requires much patience so that many persons just do not attempt it.

We spoke in English while in the Japanese language school. Even in class when the teacher spoke to us in Japanese, some of us replied in English because the equivalent word in Japanese did not readily come to us. (From experience, I know the students spoke in English in the language school although the teachers stressed the importance of speaking in Japanese while on the school grounds. But now, due to the evacuation, the situation is different so that there probably would not need to be any prompting. The writer.) At times, the teacher, when explaining the meaning of a word, spoke to us in English, for that seemed to be the easiest way of conveying it to us.

My teacher is now in a detention camp. He used to write to me in Japanese but because I always answered in English he gave up and he now writes to me in English.

Sansei

The following are some of the opinions on the wisdom of having Sansei learn Japanese.

Even though the Sansei learn the language, they will only be learning for the benefit of the grandparents and not for their parents. As long as the old people are alive, they will be happy in receiving letters from the little ones.

In one family, the parents speak good English, and speak fairly good Japanese, but they cannot write in Japanese. Their little daughter, aged seven, knows how to write the easiest form of Japanese (katakana) so she writes to her grandfather, who happens to be in another Center. The little girl writes for her parents and as a result the grandfather and the parents know what is going on.

Many feel that the third generation or the Sansei should be taught Japanese because the Nisei mothers do not wish to have their children face the hardship and inconvenience of not being able to speak Japanese to their Issei friends, parents and in-laws.

There are Nisei parents who do not speak any Japanese and they do not wish to have their children deprived of any convenience as a result of not knowing Japanese.

Case 7. Female nisei, 30 years old.

I have a friend, a Nisei mother, who speaks only English and so do the children. But the mother did not go to parties where there were Issei women present because she could not understand what was going on, and these situations only made her uncomfortable. She always wished she were able to speak the language. There were so many things she wished to talk over with the women.

Case 8. Female in her late twenties, well-educated.

If the Nisei know Japanese as well as they know English then they can get excellent jobs in Japan because there are more opportunities there. But if they stay here and know only English, they will not be able to compete with the Caucasians and get to the top, for they do not know enough of American culture.

The ideals of Japan and America conflict. Japan teaches the obligations to the parents, the relatives, and individual sacrifice, whereas America teaches individualism.

The local elementary school teachers are having a hard time with the small children, the Sansei, because they know more Japanese than English.*

*This is not true in all the schools. It depends on the blocks where they are situated.

Consequently they do not think in English but in a mixture of the two languages. Some of the children have Japanese accents when speaking English so that if they went outside they would be termed orientals. I think that it would be a disadvantage to know too much about Japan if you are going to stay in this country. The majority of the people will live among the mediocre people when they go out of this Center. Mediocre people do not like those who know more than they do. They would be suspicious.

Here in the camp, there is only Japanese influence and no American influence because the people associate only with the Japanese. Although the majority of the Issei, Kibei, and Nisei never thought of going back to Japan because they were accustomed to this country, due to the evacuation their feelings have changed.

The old people now remember the old sweet life in Japan. When we had snow here for the first time, some of the Issei said that it reminded them of Japan. When the peach and apple and locusts blossomed, people said this also reminded them of Japan. To live with many Japanese-faced people and to see a Caucasian now and then make the people feel that they can become accustomed to live among Japanese neighbors only, so that life in Japan would not be too hard for them. In about 5 months even the Nisei can become adjusted in Japan and not feel any hardship, they say.

Many Issei are planning to take their children to Japan if there is as much prejudice after the war as there is now. The Issei have bucked against prejudice and discrimination until now but they do not wish to have their children suffer as much as they have.*

Anyway I do not approve of having Japanese language schools in this Center. If we have them, nearly everyone will attend and before long, more people will want to go to Japan. If that is the case, why did we have segregation in the first place?

*It is the opinion of the writer that the little children might go to Japan with the parents but that the majority of the older children will not go.

Case 9. Male issie, middle aged. Former language school teacher.

As the world is becoming smaller, the foreign countries will soon become no longer foreign. Thus, more people will begin to read books published in other countries. Reading books which are not translated is better, for only from the original can the people get the real meaning that the authors try to convey. So far bookds written about Japan, as a rule, have contained erroneous statements as to the life and customs of the Japanese. They have not introduced Japan correctly. The only person who has written to introduce that country in a true way has been Lafcadio Hearn.

America is a melting pot. The people from all over the world brought their own cultures to donate to build up the United States. Japan has a good culture and civilization to offer. This culture can reinforce the weak points that are in America. Making a contribution is a duty to this country. The United States is not a country only for the Caucasians. There are all types of people of different races and nationalities here. And the Japanese should take their place and part too, not only for themselves but to give spiritual value to America.

As a proverb in Japan goes. "When one has three daughters, it is best to let them die by fire, because if they are alive, they would take their dowries, the best of things in the home, to their new homes. Whereas if they died, their ashes will remain to sow on the fields, therefore nothing will be lost."

The Japanese children should learn about the Japanese culture and become good American citizens. This is not impossible.

Case 10. Male issei, middle aged, artistic and philosophic

Teaching the Japanese language and teaching the Japanese education are two entirely different things, this you must understand. By teaching the language,

the people will not become Japanized nor indoctrinated, no more than teaching English at schools in Japan will make the children there Americanized or Anglicized.

The people of the Hawaiian Islands were taught the Japanese language along with their American schooling. They are more Americanized because of that. As one can see, the people from the islands showed their loyalty. And another thing, the people of the Islands have been given equal opportunity with everyone else so that the atmosphere is clear-cut. There is no confusion as to their equal rights.

No matter how that war ends, the need for closer understanding will arise so that the people in America should know the Japanese language. In that way they will learn the Japanese culture, and understand her and have more respect for her. If this had been true the present war between the two nations might have been avoided.

The public school curriculum should have Japanese as one of the foreign languages taught. Until now, the culture of America has been taken from Europe, but now the scene will shift to the Orient. To understand the Oriental's ideas one must learn his language. Japan is the closest Oriental power to this country so that she will serve as a gateway to the Orient.

As far as teaching the little children Japanese is concerned, I think it will be good for them.

Case 11. Female sansei, 10 years old.

When she was asked why she wished to go to a Japanese language school she replied, "I just want to go because my mother wants me to go. That's all." Another said, "I want to go if everyone else does."

As far as they are concerned, they will go if everyone goes. They do not care. These children are young and do not think of their future.

Case 12. Female issei, middle-aged, former language school teacher.

Here in the Center, it should be good to teach the children for about 45 minutes a day after school hours, not only to teach the children the language, but also to keep the children from getting into mischief. I think it is bad for the children to fool around. If they go to the language school they will become quiet and well-behaved. It is necessary for them to learn the language because they have Japanese blood in them, just as the French should know their own French language even though they might be of the third, fourth, and fifth generation Americans.

From their youth, the Nisei who have learned Japanese, are now proving useful as army and navy language teachers. You can't mold a person into being a teacher just like that. I think the parents are proud of the fact that their children are able to teach Japanese to the soldiers. The parents went through hardship in order that the children might be sent to the language schools.

Case 13. Male issei, late sixties. Well educated.

After the war, the relationship between the United States and Japan will be good. This war began because of the lack of knowledge of Japan. The two nations will and should come closer together. It is silly for them to fight.

This war will not last forever. And the Japanese should know the Japanese language so that the true culture of Japan can be presented to America.

The Japanese-Americans, the citizens, are discriminated against by American society. If they are without the knowledge of the Japanese language and know only the English language then they will be discriminated against not only ^{by} the the English-speaking people but also by the Japanese-speaking people.

Those without the knowledge of the Japanese language will have a small social life like the Negro race and the Indian race. The Negroes speak good English but they are discriminated against by the society at large.

America has become a rich country since the time of Columbus, not more than 500 years ago. America has built a wonderful civilization established by the European people. They brought their civilization here. The Japanese have a good civilization to offer too. And they should be allowed to bring in their contribution.

When anyone learns Japanese while he is young, he will speak better with less stumbling than if he learns the language when he becomes older.

Those persons of Japanese parentage should comprehend the true Japanese spirit that has effected the formation of the spiritual culture of Japan. And with this same spirit, they should serve America, the home of the citizens.

Case 14. Issei couple, in their late sixties.

If the instructors teach only and strictly the language and if they do not mention the national sentiment and political ideas of Japan which do not conform with the political ideas of America, then it is all right. Of course much depends upon the teachers.

The little children should be allowed to play. They should not have their play hour taken away from them. I think learning another language will tax them physically. But teaching the language to the grown-ups is good, for they have plenty of time in the Center. And the more they use their brains the better and keener they will become.

The Issei felt that because they could not talk to the nisei heart to heart, that they were losing them. They wished to teach the children Japanese so that the children would be able to understand what the parents wish to say to them. But I do not know about the Sansei.

Case 15. Female nisei, 22 years old. Attended language school.

I don't know; but I think it (the Japanese language) helps those of the Japanese ancestry. I don't think it is a disadvantage to know Japanese. So

if it is possible to learn Japanese, then the Sansei should take the opportunity.

As for me, I went to the Japanese language schools because my folks wanted me to go. I never regretted it.

Case 16. Male kibeï, 25 years old. Intends to teach language at Camp Savage.

Look in the mirror, and see yourself. You look like a Japanese. The more you know different languages the better off you will be.

Sansei along with the rest of the people of the Japanese ancestry are of a minority race. Therefore to find opportunity they must learn the language so that they will be able to understand what is going on.

There should be more understanding between Japan and the United States. If Sansei learn Japanese they can act as go-betweens for the two nations.

I can't understand why the Los Angeles school system as well as the other school systems in America never taught Japanese as one of the foreign languages. You know, German, French, and Spanish are taught.*

Case 17. Male kibeï, 27 years old. Knows both languages, English, Japanese

Through the medium of the Japanese language, a person can best find out the Japanese characteristics of thought, customs, traditions, civilization, culture, and history: how the people came to Japan, and also what the thoughts of the people of the Orient are. It is better for the Sansei and Nisei to know what and who their forefathers were. While studying the past, the future of Japan will become clearer.

Acquiring a broad knowledge will bring out better individual character. By knowing both the Eastern and Western cultures and civilizations, a person

*A New Course in Japanese at Washington & Lee was announced in the Christian Science Monitor, January 12, 1944.

Lexington, Va., Jan. 12-- A course in Japanese will be offered at Washington and Lee University in the term beginning on Feb. 7. Francis P. Gaines, President of the School, has announced. The course will be taught by Col. George M. Brooke, U.S. Army, retired, of Lexington. The class will meet five hours a week at a time to be arranged. Five quarter hours of elective credit will be given. Work will consist in a study of the alphabet and a limited number of characters, with drill in pronunciation, conversation and reading.

can become a better citizen.

An older Kibei happened to come by and he said, "It is foolish for the Caucasians to wonder why Sansei should be taught Japanese. After all, the Caucasians are learning the language too. And learning Japanese is just the same as learning German or Spanish."

Case 18. Female nisei, 25 years old. Attended language school.

All I can think of is that Sansei should be taught Japanese so that they can speak to their grandpas and grandmas. That's the most important and the closest thing.

Case 19. Male nisei, 30 years old, of a professional background.

Every race should learn its own native tongue because other people expect you to know it. It is very embarrassing if you do not know Japanese, to have someone ask you to translate an article in a magazine or newspaper. It is surprising to find out that by studying Japanese, your English vocabulary also enlarges, because you use the dictionary so often. But then that is true in studying any language.

When you know your own native tongue you will be respected for that additional knowledge by issei as well as by the Caucasians. And you also learn to appreciate the culture of Japan and will want to tell others about it so that much good will come of it.

The studying of any language has its own distinctive beauty. The Japanese word for farewell, "Sayonara," is considered one of the most picturesque words in any language.

For the Nisei to obtain stable and reasonable jobs, they have to be able to speak both English and Japanese, and also must have a fair writing knowledge of Japanese.

If a young person of Japanese ancestry is employed by an American firm, the main reason for being employed in the first place is because the concern wants to obtain Japanese clients. Therefore, the concerns use persons who have knowledge of the Japanese language. Knowing the language means getting economic security.

Present Status of Language School Buildings

No one seems to know exactly what happened to all the schools after the evacuation. But it is known that some of them are used as storage houses for evacuee property while others have been rented to different organizations. Then there are few schools which were just abandoned.

Before the mass evacuation, the school buildings were used as shelters for persons from Terminal Island, because they had no place to which to go, due to the 48 hour evacuation notice of removal they had received.

The Teaching of Japanese in the Center

At first, right after the people were moved into this Center, no attempt was made to study Japanese because the people were emotionally upset. They were bewildered and angry at being put into the Center. Whenever the people talked about their former homes they called them "Shaba" which means "a place where there is life."* They think of this place as the land of the dead or a place on another planet--disconnected from the living world.

Back home, the majority of the people frantically burned all literature printed in Japanese because they thought that the FBI would intern them if they were found with such writings. Therefore, the Japanese language books and the little dictionaries which went with them were fed to the ever-hungry fire. Fear drove the people into burning many other valuables, too, which should have been kept.

Very few persons thought of formally studying Japanese in the Center until 15 boys asked to have a class started because they were unable to pass the entrance examinations to the Army and Navy language schools. The class was started in the Spring of 1943 under the sponsorship of Adult Education with the object of preparing the students for Camp Savage and military work. The instructor said that an announcement of the purpose was printed in the Center paper.

The class was limited to 30 students, but the attendance was 50 students, and about 150 persons were on the waiting list. But gradually the class dwindled and different students enrolled and left the class for a number of reasons. The class was not a uniform class. There was a difference in the ability of the students; some of the students found that the work was too advanced and difficult for them and they lost interest. Also working hours conflicted with the class hour and as a result some of the students had to withdraw. Some of the secondary students enrolled but they had to be eliminated from the class because of the WRA regulation.

Some of the very advanced students, after studying for about 3 or 4 months, volunteered to teach at universities where instructors in Japanese were needed.

The class continued for about one year, but it is now disbanded, for only 7 or 10 students appeared. Some of these students, according to the instructor, were higher in their ability than the candidates for Camp Savage.

Just before the class ended, a few of the students found out that their names were sent to the FBI for being enrolled in the class; therefore the students were panicky and hastily dropped out.

After 2 months had lapsed, another class, with another instructor, started because some of the boys wished to learn enough Japanese to teach at the Army and Navy language schools, but because the young children were permitted to study the language, the class has been discontinued.

Present Language Habits in the Center

Present speech habits in the Center have been a dividing line between the Issei and Nisei. Here are a few examples:

A Nisei girl went by a group of Issei women who were talking. Although the women were saying that the girl had on a very becoming dress, the girl, because she could not understand Japanese, thought they were gossiping about her. She said to another Nisei, "Those old women always gossip about the Nisei, trying to make life miserable for them." In reality the women were complimenting the Nisei.

One man said, "I do not want to eat in the mess hall in family style because there will be too much trouble. My sons would rather eat with their friends and I would rather eat with my friends, for in our friends we find common thoughts. If I must eat with the boys, I would have to tie them with a rope and literally drag them to my table. They might eat with me but even at that there would be no happiness because the kids would speak only English and I know only Japanese. There would be no communication. I would just have to sit at the table and listen to a lot of jabbering which I do not be able to understand."

A son who is in the Army wrote to his mother in English. The letter had to be translated for her. The translator, unless he knows both languages well, is likely to misinterpret.

This mother thought the letter was translated to her the way it was written, but another person looked at the letter and translated it in another way, so that she was confused over the meaning.

Now when she wishes to write to him she has someone write in English for her because he does not read Japanese. Naturally her intimate thoughts cannot be

written in the way she desires. Since her son is going overseas soon, she has much she wishes to tell him, but she cannot do so. Thus, she has to depend upon the person who translates the letter which she receives, and she has to depend upon the person who writes to him for her. Her son's real thoughts cannot be conveyed to her because 2 or 3 persons can translate a letter into 2 or 3 different meanings.

Therefore when someone translated to her sentence by sentence what her son wrote to her, she was surprised and said she did not know he wrote that.

Thus, the inability to understand the language creates misunderstanding which at times makes life very unpleasant.

On the whole more Japanese than English is used in conversations in the Center now. Persons who were rather reluctant to speak Japanese while they were outside now find themselves speaking a word or two without much effort. Because so many speak in Japanese in the Center, a person at times finds himself unconsciously inserting a Japanese word instead of an English word even while speaking to a Caucasian.

There is a variety of speech habits. At times there are Issei who insist upon speaking English although Nisei speak to them in English. This is because they think all Nisei are ignorant of the language, for their own children speak only English. Then again, there are Issei who feel hurt when a Nisei speaks to them in English. They would rather have him speak in Japanese. Since the Nisei are Japanese in appearance, they are expected to know the language.

Conclusion*

*The following newspaper clipping announces a ruling, which if true, would have an important bearing on any attempt to reestablish Japanese language schools in California.

Foreign-language schools---Pasadena Star-News, April 1, 1944, Editorial-- Foreign-language schools may not be operated in California unless licensed by the State Board of Education, Attorney General Robert W. Kenny has ruled in an opinion furnished Superintendent Walter F. Dexter. The need of supervision and regulation in time of war is apparent and what has been learned since Pearl Harbor about Japanese language schools operated in this state before Dec. 7, 1941 shows the wisdom of keeping an official eye on foreign-language schools at all times. There is no objection to their cultural uses, but Americans never again will tolerate them as centers of foreign ideology.

From the interviews it is plain that interest in the Japanese language and in Japanese language schools is as great and probably greater than before evacuation. A great many people who never cared to learn the language are greatly interested now. Evacuation has increased the consciousness of being Japanese. People say, "We have been stuck in here together, we should at least know the same language." If the people had been left alone on the outside the language schools would gradually have died out, but evacuation has probably given them a new life.

Since evacuation, the people have found that the knowledge of the language is important. Before evacuation, many persons did not bother to study the language because they did not find the need for it. Today, it has dawned on some of the people that in case they are departed to Japan, their children will have to face the inconvenience of illiteracy unless they learn the language. Some of the people have thought that since the American colleges are teaching the Japanese language, people with Japanese faces should know their own ancestors' language. Some of the others think that after the war, America and Japan will have a more friendly relationship and that from then on more commerce and more travel and more exchange of ideas will arise: this, the need for the Japanese language will become acute. Therefore a good many feel that the Nisei and Sansei should be given a chance to learn the language, so that they may be able to help America in her new future.

ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT LANGUAGE SITUATION

Not long ago a number of young men who were working together in a certain Section at Manzanar decided that if they were to be drafted into the United States Army, they would prefer to serve as language teachers at the army and navy training schools. Most of these young men were kibeï, and therefore had considerable background knowledge of the Japanese language. One of these young men told the others that his father-in-law, who had been engaged for many years in educational and religious (Christian) work in Southern California, would be willing to give them instruction in the Japanese language and this older man was approached.

It was not long before the administration heard that the instructor was not only teaching Japanese to the young men interested in the army and navy training schools but was also giving instruction to other groups as well, including a large group of small children, many of them sansei. It was said that he was charging parents a monthly fee for each child in the class, after the manner of the pre-war language schools. This he denies, saying that the money collected was for the purchase of books only. Particular objection was raised because this man was using for the unapproved classes, facilities which had been provided for the approved class and for a series of lectures on American history which had been arranged for the benefit of the issei.

The charges and counter-charges which ended in a request that this man terminate his Japanese language courses need not concern us here. What is of moment, however, is the eagerness with which parents sought to enroll their children in these Japanese language classes. This interest in the Japanese language, occurring in a Center after segregation, may come as a surprise to some. However a knowledge of the history and operation of the language schools

in the past and of present language problems of those of Japanese ancestry may help to clarify the situation. Consequently an attempt has been made to obtain source material relating to these points and these data form the body of this report.

The crux of the linguistic problem lies, of course, in the recency of Japanese immigration. The fact that the first comers, the members of the so-called "first generation" are still alive, that they are in the main the parental or at most the grandparental generation, controls the situation. Those who are now the elders, when they came, were immediately plunged into a life of sustained toil, with very little leisure time for study or intellectual pursuits. Because they were ruled ineligible for citizenship, they were cut off from the political incentive to master English. Because they were Orientals they were isolated spatially and socially and thus lost opportunity and will to become conversant with the language of the country in which they were living. As is the case with so many first-comers from any section of the world, the intention of the Japanese immigrant in many cases was to work for a certain number of years and then to return to the land of his birth. By the time old ties had become tenuous, children had been born on American soil and a change of mind and heart had taken place, the immigrant ordinarily had given up any idea of new linguistic ventures and was content to have America interpreted for him through the medium of nisei children. Thus few issei, despite long years of residence in the United States, can speak English well.

But even though the older people accepted that they would never master English, they could not yield to the notion that they would therefore have little direct communication with their American born children. The ideal of family life to which they subscribed dictated the closest of understanding and regard between parents and children. It taught that a sense of moral values and abstract concepts should be passed from parent to child in addition to ordinary

directions and requests. Bilingualism was therefore imperative for either parent or child. A linguistic adjustment was necessary and it was expected of the child.

There are a number of reasons why it was the child, rather than the parent from whom the concessions came. In the first place, where the child was brought up in a home where Japanese was spoken, he ordinarily learned Japanese before he learned English and the only problem then was to keep him conversant enough with Japanese to make communication with the parents a continuing reality.

Moreover, the uncertainty of so many of the elders concerning their future led them to insist that their children have some mastery over Japanese. Part of this uncertainty of plans and destination arose from personal, cultural, religious and sentimental considerations. Even where an economic adjustment had been made, the aging immigrant often felt the desire to see the land of his ancestors again and to die there. But a significant part of the uncertainty grew out of the American political scene. Press and legal attacks upon the Japanese in America were so persistent during the years, and war between Japan and the United States was so often predicted by writers or officers of the armed forces, that the alien immigrant could not be certain that, despite his own wishes, he might not be forced to find a haven in the Orient once more. And whether he left America by choice or under compulsion, he was determined to take his family, including his children, with him. At the very least he expected that his children would accompany him to Japan and see that he was comfortably settled. Even if the others would not plan to stay, he would very likely expect that the eldest son or oldest child would recognize an obligation to remain with the parents, and he would hope that other children would plan on frequent and prolonged visits to Japan. Obviously the ability of the child to speak and read Japanese was essential to the plans or anticipations growing out of these uncertainties.

Important, too, in the movement through which the child strove to become bilingual to compensate for his parents linguistic handicaps, is the almost religious force of the concept of parental dominance and filial regard. Thus it was morally and ethically important for a child to attempt to understand his parents, their thoughts, their values and their background.

The curriculum of the language school, because it represented what the parental generation considered important and because the parents supported it financially, included instruction in other subjects besides the fundamentals of the language, accordingly. Precepts of behavior, etiquette, brush writing, flower arrangement, and a knowledge of the history of Japan also came in for special attention.

The inclusion of such material points, on a psychological level, to the insecurity of the parental generation in America. The elders either felt little interest in identifying themselves culturally with America or despaired of doing so. But they did have a feeling of importance and they did wish to be identified in the eyes of their children with something of cultural significance. Therefore they wished to have their children know something about the civilization which they represented.

If the parents did not feel that the language school could give the child the grasp of Japanese and the appreciation of Japanese culture that these uncertainties and feelings dictated, the child was sent to Japan for schooling. Thus the kibe group arose. But the large number of cases of maladjustment, such as are described in this report, led to some skepticism of this course as a solution. Thus for some there was a renewed interest in the language schools.

Nor were the parents unaware of the economic advantages of bilingualism for their children. Japanese would be essential if the family went to Japan.

English would be an advantage in Japan too, for it would open up teaching positions and make possible opportunities with firms which traded with America. Again, in the Japanese community in America Japanese was necessary if the firm with which one was associated dealt with issei trade. American firms also demanded a knowledge of Japanese from nisei, who were often hired to attract and keep the Japanese trade.

The parents, it may be said, had little notion that their program for their children would militate in any way against the ability of their children completely to master English. It was the assumption of the parents that "the child will pick up English without trouble, from his playmates and at the American school." The deft handling of Japanese appeared to the parents to be the paramount problem. Most issei still hold to this view. They hear their children speak a language foreign to them and they assume it is excellent English. They do not realize that the English the average nisei speaks is marred by Japanese syntax and grammatical forms and that the child often has an inordinate amount of trouble with English plurals, prepositions, and tenses. Even the nisei are perpetuating the same mistaken slogans in respect to their sansei offspring. Not long ago a very intelligent and outwardly Americanized nisei girl said of her five year old daughter who can speak no English, "She'll learn English fast enough. It's best that she learn Japanese first, for that is a hard language."

However, in spite of the wishes of the parents, relatively few of the children have done exceptionally well in the learning of Japanese. The American schoolroom, playground, recreational gamut and neighborhood offer more than a sufficient number of attractions to fill the mind and occupy the leisure time of a child. The children attended the language school out of deference for and at

the direction of the parents. Actually only a small percentage completed the entire course offered at the language school. As the children became older they exerted increasing pressure upon the parents to allow them to drop their attendance at the language school. There was considerable "cutting" and lack preparation on the part of the students as the higher grades were reached. Language schools were forced to include more and more social activities and began to inject a greater amount of material pertinent to the American scene in an effort to hold the interest of the youngsters. Persons who have had some contact with the language schools speak, too, of the rivalry and competition among the schools for the services of teachers who were considered particularly capable or who had a reputation and following among students. In some localities there was competition for students as well on the part of schools which were striving to maintain themselves.

In some respects the interest of the parents in language schools can be interpreted as a variety (often quite unconscious) of self justification. They were immigrants in America, segregated politically and socially, misrepresented in the press and still trying to climb from one of the lower rungs of the economic ladder. They consequently felt that if their American-born children were to understand them and to respect them, they would have to know the Japanese language and something of the history and conceptual core of the culture from which their ancestors had stemmed.

Moreover, the immigrants took the bad press that was accorded them and the constant misrepresentations of Japanese culture and their own motives quite seriously. They therefore determined that their children should exonerate them and rehabilitate them in the eyes of the American public and should make unmistakably plain the contributions which those of Japanese ancestry are capable of making to life in the United States. These contributions the immigrants thought

of in terms of what they themselves knew and valued, namely the finer elements of Oriental, and particularly of Japanese, culture. In order to make this contribution their children therefore had to be familiar with the Japanese language and moral principles. The contributions of those of Japanese ancestry, in other words, were to proceed within the framework of "the Japanese spirit." With missionary zeal it was felt that excessive American individualism and looseness of family ties might be helpfully modified by the influence of Japanese concepts of cooperation, family solidarity and personal serenity of mind. Thus the parental generation, instead of assuming that their children would realize themselves through the medium of American life and without regard to their ancestry, have urged the second generation to retain contact with the thought and behavior patterns of their forebearers and to serve America in terms of these.

The insistence that the nisei serve America in terms of a background of Japanese cultural values rather than by total absorption into the American scene was and is a favorite topic of the issei teachers and elders. One of the issei teachers at Manzanar, a Christian clergyman, has written a "message" which embodies the point of view, and has phrased it as follows:

"We glory in the privilege of our being Japanese, and are grateful. You, nisei, the Americans of Japanese parentage, should comprehend the true Japanese spirit that has affected the formation of the spiritual culture of Japan your parent's home, and should, with this same spirit, serve America your mother country. The present brilliant culture of America has been built up in less than five centuries since it was opened, by the various peoples each bringing a different culture from Western Europe.

"We Japanese too, by bringing ours generated by the history and tradition of three thousand years, should enrich the contents of the spiritual culture of America, contributing toward the realization of the ideal of its foundation. Thus, we can firmly believe that God has now granted us Japanese to grow and spread, and that He has given us the mission of perfecting the spiritual culture of the Pacific Age."

The language school, of course, was one of the prominent instrumentalities through which excellences of Japanese culture were to be preserved for the nisei, and, through them, were to enter American life. Consequently the language school can be said to have been a retarding influence in the assimilative process, for those who were most affected by its teachings tended to look backward to an ancestral past rather than forward to complete assimilation into American life. This conservative action of the language school is not necessarily to be condemned. There are those who argue with good reason that a too rapid assimilation of some immigrant groups has led to social disintegration, and that the Japanese language school, which makes for communication in word and thought between parent and child, has been a salutary influence in social control in the Japanese community.

The interest of the Japanese language school in traditional aspects of Japanese culture and morality has often been mistaken for an attempt to inculcate and spread Japanese nationalism. Actually, however, the views and the arts which were emphasized, - filial regard, etiquette, brush writing, flower arrangement, etc., antedate Japanese imperialism and will doubtless outlive it.

In fact, the parents who organized and supported the schools and many of those who taught the classes had left Japan long before the ascendancy of the Japanese military and long before the Japanese expansionist movement began. It is not too much to say that the modern military ventures of Japan, depending as they do upon an industrialized economy and an urban population, run generally counter to, and in time will largely eliminate in Japan, the type of thought and behavior, the etiquette and the graces, which sentimental issei in this country hope may be perpetuated.

The war, evacuation, detention in Centers, and relocation have stimulated a new interest in the Japanese language, as the source material of this

report indicates. Many people who had left Japanese communities and were losing proficiency in Japanese have been forced to reside in a Center where large numbers of older people speak Japanese only. Such individuals are falling into the linguistic patters of those around them. "People who would just use a word or two of Japanese once in a while before evacuation and who would be embarrassed over it then, are talking right along in Japanese now," a friend said to me the other day. There is a feeling on the part of some of the issei that, for their convenience, Japanese should be the official language of the Center. As one put it, "The camp was really put here for the issei, because they were enemy aliens. The nisei just came along. It's easy for the nisei to get out, to relocate. Many have already gone out and more will follow. It is we older people who will remain in the Centers. That's why we want a language spoken that we can understand, so we'll know what is going on."

Children who would have grown up in an English-speaking household are now readily picking up Japanese from neighbors, school-mates and playmates. A young mother gave this as her reason for wishing to relocate without delay: "I don't speak Japanese myself and I have asked my husband to use English around her so my daughter will learn good English without interference. But now my daughter is coming home and talking in a mixture of Japanese and English. It sounded cute at first to hear her put in the Japanese words, but it looks to me now as though we're going backwards instead of forwards in our family. I told my husband that we should get out of here as soon as possible if we want to bring her up in a strictly American way."

Some of the present interest in the Japanese language may be a defensive reaction on behalf of institutions which have been, it is felt, unfairly attacked. The internment of language school teachers whose only sin was to answer a newspaper advertisement and to put their knowledge of Japanese to economic use has

resulted in a resolve that any attempt to eliminate purely cultural activities will be resisted. Not long ago a young man told me how he had testified on behalf of a relative who was interned because of her alleged connection with a language school. This is his explanation of what took place:

"I didn't have much to say. I just testified as to her character and her loyalty. They asked her a lot of questions and she answered them without any trouble. After a few questions, what they had against her became apparent. She was the president of the P.T.A. of a Japanese language school. It turned out that she was not even present at the meeting where she was elected. Everybody else felt too busy so they elected her to the "honor" in her absence. This had happened just before the war and she had not even attended a meeting or presided at a meeting after her election. The most reasonable and sympathetic member of the Board was W. The one who seemed to know the least about the Japanese and the whole business was an F.B.I. man. He brought out a book used in the language school and asked her a lot of questions. The thing that bothered him most was a picture of a submarine in the book. This was of a submarine surfacing, and he thought there must be something subversive about that. W. said to him at last, 'Good Lord, man. This isn't the Stone Age. There's nothing subversive about teaching children that there is such a thing as a submarine.' It was a pretty pathetic performance. She was held for a little while longer and then released. Meanwhile her family had to go to a Center without her." Stories such as these circulate and are used as proof of the inability of the white man to understand the function of the language schools and the necessity for instruction in the Japanese language.

There is considerable indignation too, because while the language schools and the teaching and learning of Japanese are so roundly condemned, the army, navy and certain technical services associated with the war effort are constantly soliciting the services of those who have a background in Japanese. A few days

after a ruling was announced which prohibited citizens who had ever been in Japan from leaving Centers* (this was interpreted by kibeI as being aimed at them) kibeI of Manzanar were asked to volunteer for language teaching and special war work. Evacuees complain that while interest in the Japanese language is condemned for political and flag-waving purposes, it still is utilized by the government on all possible occasions. This is often cited to me as an example of the peculiar workings of the "hakujin" mind. However, despite the fickleness of the Caucasians on the language question, those who desire to teach or enroll in an army or navy language school or to utilize their linguistic ability in some other warborn context, are brushing up on their Japanese, either by themselves or with the aid of an instructor. There is a lively rate of purchase from commercial firms on the outside of the Japanese language text books which have been prepared for the army and navy language training schools.

Strange as it may seem, relocation and army service, that is, the separation of parents and children because of evacuation or war conditions have been a spur to interest in Japanese, especially written Japanese. It has been found that parents are much more congenial to separation from their children, when they know that they and their children can keep in direct touch through the medium of a language which is mutually intelligible. Of course these separations often induce the issei to take up the study of English in earnest too. As it works out, where the parent knows little or not English and it is assumed that he is not likely to learn any, the child (especially if he has had some training in Japanese) may attempt to learn enough Japanese to enable him to communicate with the parent. Where it is the child who has no background in Japanese and shows no inclination to acquire any the parent may interest himself in the adult English classes being held at Manzanar.

* No such order was issued. Leed

The greatest incentive to the study of the Japanese language now, however, is the heightened uncertainty and insecurity which those of Japanese ancestry in this country feel today. I have several times stated in my reports that unless the present mood changes drastically, there will be a large-scale exodus of those of Japanese ancestry from this country at the close of the war. The movement will by no means involve only those at Tule Lake. It will involve many who are now in Centers and some who have relocated. When I talked to a prominent evacuee a short while ago about this matter and told him that there were some who thought that all those who were planning to return to Japan were in Tule Lake, he laughed and said, "A good many of us say that those in Tule Lake are either a little crazy or very naive. There will be many going to Japan who never saw Tule."

Selective service, of course, "smoked out" some of those people who were perfectly content to remain in the ordinary Center for the duration rather than to go to Tule Lake, but who nevertheless planned to go to Japan at the close of hostilities. When sons faced service in the United States Army, however, parents who had made up their minds to return to Japan balked. They were fearful of what a son's participation in warfare against Japan might mean to the family and to relatives when they attempted to take up residence in Japan. So they repatriated and expatriated their children.

The other day, at a meeting of a relocation committee, someone asked why it was that so many evacuees are determined to return to the West Coast rather than to contemplate relocation in the midwest or east. To this one of the important evacuee residents of the community replied grimly, "Los Angeles is only one boat trip from Japan! The inference is that a great many issei have suspended final plans for the future pending the outcome of the war and the development of post-war conditions. They do not intend to try to pioneer anew in another locality. They will eventually return to their former surroundings. If there is no place for them there, or if prejudice persists, they will return to Japan.

Another indication of the determination of a good many issei to return to Japan is a species of frenzied buying which is taking place. The story is being passed around that the funds of issei and kibe are likely to be frozen after the war, that the value of American currency will slump sharply in the post-war era and that therefore it is wise to convert assets into goods. Items that are rare or expensive in Japan are the ones most eagerly sought. Because it has been reported that woolen goods are practically non-existent in Japan, wool yarn has been purchased in large quantities. Because second-hand articles of American manufacture are said to have a ready sale in Japan, this type of conversion of assets is considered practical economics for those headed for Japan.

The awowal of so many issei that they may or will return to Japan has had much influence on the linguistic position of their children. Children whose parents talk continually about returning to Japan feel that they must safeguard themselves against all eventualities by learning enough of the language so that they can accommodate themselves, socially and economically, to life in Japan should it prove necessary. Parents who have publicly proclaimed their intention to return to Japan or who have privately made up their minds to do so are eager to have their children improve their knowledge of the language of the land to which they plan to take them. Recently one of the leaders among the issei of the Japanese community at Manzanar told me, "I estimate that one-third of the people who went to Tule Lake from Manzanar went there because parents wanted their children to be able to study Japanese openly and without interference. Otherwise they could have let their children say "yes" to question 28 and stay here. But these parents have made up their minds that they will have to return to Japan. They are cleaned out and discouraged. What else can they do at their age? having made up their minds that there is nothing more to look forward to in

America, they want their children to be able to speak, read and write Japanese decently. Some others are staying here only because their children do not know any Japanese and they do not see how their children can pick up enough now to get along in Japan. If language schools are started here and the children learn some Japanese, these people, too, will go to Tule and to Japan."

It is against this complex web of economic loss, disillusionment, army and navy language schools, relocation, Center life, uncertainty about the future, and heightened consciousness "of being Japanese," that the present attitudes concerning the study of the Japanese language must be seen. It is doubtful whether interest in such study will greatly diminish until the separate and special treatment for which the group is singled out ceases and until a larger number of issei are convinced that fair treatment and opportunity will be extended to themselves and to their children in post-war America.

Morris Edward Opler,

Community Analyst.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Memorandum

Date: 6/3/44

To:

From:

This report contains two parts:

1. A Nisei view of what Nisei and Issei felt to be the significance of the Japanese language to Japanese Americans before and after evacuation.
2. The analyst's view of the present role of the Japanese language in the Manzanar Center.

The report emphasizes the increased interest in the Japanese language since evacuation and the continued growth of that interest even since segregation.

The major factors producing this interest might be summarized as follows: evacuation shocked Nisei into a realization that they could not escape identification with Japan in the eyes of the majority of Americans and at the same time it threw them into continued closer contact with Japanese-speaking people. They are now assuming that even though they stay in the United States, the best opportunities for jobs will probably come through post-war commercial and other relations with Japan. (This assumption strikes me as a pretty good one.) Evacuation merely reinforced these ideas in the Issei, which they had held all along.

In the Nisei account included in the report, there is a good presentation of the efforts on the part of the Issei to separate language teaching and Japanese nationalism. The concept of the language as tool for communication with parents and as a means to economic opportunity is well presented.

The account also brings out the renewed efforts of Issei to learn English while they are relieved of the old grind to make a living.

The significance of the report to me lies in its very clear revelation of the social factors which influence the learning of and attitudes toward a language in an immigrant group.

Edward Spicer