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WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Topaz

Memorandum

To: Mr. Robert Dolins
East Coast Area Relocation Supervisor
From: Washington Community Analysis Section - *Stude Young*
Date: Aug. 29, 1945
Topic: Background Information on Topaz Residents

The population of Topaz is primarily urban having come from the San Francisco Bay area. Only 7% of the original population came from rural districts and mainly from Alameda, Contra Costa, and San Mateo counties.

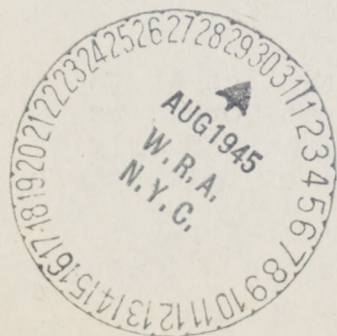
Topaz is one of the five centers which sent approximately 70% of all the relocatees to the New York district. At the present time there are several hundred Topazeans throughout the district. This group is made up largely of a white collar and professional Nisei and young Issei group. At least 80% of the New York group is Nisei and many of the resettlers still have family members back in the center. While it is true that the cream of the professional and white collar workers have relocated, most of the remaining population in Topaz was engaged in occupations which can be found in the East Coast Area.

The large movement from Topaz is back to the Bay region. However, not all of the remaining group (3790) as of August 18, 1945) will be able to return either because of lack of housing, lack of employment opportunities, or for other reasons.

The community analyst at Topaz and his staff at Topaz have prepared a series of background studies on the Japanese of the Bay area. These studies describe the occupational background of the Topaz residents and give some estimation of how many will return to their former jobs in their pre-evacuation residence. Some of this material has been summarized in the mimeographed report,¹ "West Coast Localities: San Francisco Bay Area". The studies we are mailing to you gives you a more detailed picture and includes several new reports. Such information may be of help to you and your district officers in aiming relocation opportunities at Topaz in the next few months.

While we do not have any current statistics as to the numbers in the occupational groups still at Topaz, we know in general that certain categories still have fairly large numbers. In February of this year, for example, there

1. Community Analysis Notes No. 13 West Coast Localities: San Francisco Bay Area. April 9, 1945.



Mr. Robert Dolins-2-8/29/45

were still 235 of the original 301 former laundry owners, operators, and ordinary laundry workers still in the center. The floral industry in which a thousand or more workers were engaged has a large group remaining. Sizeable numbers of personal service workers, clerical workers, professional and semi-professional workers and small business operators still remain. On the other hand there is little of the farm element left.

Submitted with this memorandum are the following studies of major occupational groups in Topaz Center:

1. Retail Dry Cleaning and Dyeing Business in San Francisco
2. San Francisco and East Bay cities Laundry Business
3. Domestic workers in San Francisco
4. San Francisco Wholesale and retail Art Goods Business
5. San Francisco Hotel and Apartment House Business
6. San Francisco and East Bay Floral Industry

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CENTRAL UTAH PROJECT
TOPAZ, UTAH

MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. Dillon S. Myer, Director
War Relocation Authority
Barr Building
Washington, 25, D. C.

ATTENTION: Dr. John H. Provinse
Dr. Edward H. Spicer

FROM: Community Analysis Section

SUBJECT: Alameda (A West Coast Locality Study)

This Alameda study is based on fifteen interviews, representing a fairly accurate cross-section of the population, we believe. The interviewer and writer himself was a resident of Alameda and so he has first-hand knowledge of the pre-evacuation community.

ALAMEDA

1. Profile of the Community

Alameda, principally a residential district of 35,000, is located on the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay directly east of San Francisco. The Japanese population, somewhat concentrated in the eastern portion of the suburb, consisted of about 130 families, or a total of about 800 persons, including Issei and Nisei. The average length of residence of Japanese families around Alameda was 25 to 30 years--some had lived there 40 or more years.

2. The Japanese population in Alameda was made up of small businessmen--not the wealthier class of Japanese. They were independent and conservative. Most of the families owned a car--probably one third owned two. There were about 3- businesses: three laundries (one in existence for more than 35 years), four floral shops (two of which had been in existence for more than 35 years), a garage, an art shop, a photographer, six cleaners, six shoe repair shops, three groceries, etc. Most of these businesses were small and were operated on a family basis. These shops were scattered throughout the city and catered mostly to Caucasian trade.

In the class of professional people there were: one physician and surgeon, a dentist, and an architect.

Because Alameda schools were considered among the best in the country, many Japanese made their homes there but carried on their businesses in San Francisco and Oakland. Other Japanese worked in offices, banks, and importing and exporting houses in San Francisco. Some worked as landscape gardeners and domestics.

Homes Owned: The interviewer believes, on the basis of interviews, that one out of every six families did own their homes. However, the majority of these home owners do not reside in Topaz. Business property owned were one laundry and one garage. The Japanese community owned their own churches and one community building which was used by different organizations.

3. Social Structure

Among older Issei residents, leisure-time group activities were built around the Buddhist Church, the Methodist or Protestant Church, and a few Ken Jin Kai organizations. Nisei group activities centered in the churches and the J.A.C.L., athletic clubs and some business clubs with Caucasians, such as the Rotary Club and merchants' associations. The Japanese were very civic minded and cooperated in the solution of community problem. They took an active part in Red Cross and in the Community Chest Drive.

4. Relations with Caucasians

Significantly, one of the Japanese florist was very well known among the Caucasians. He belonged to the Rotary Club, the Merchants' Association, in which he took an active part, and was responsible for most of the good relationship that existed between the two racial groups. He took two baseball teams composed of Japanese and Caucasians to Japan for the purpose of promoting good will between the two nations. For that reason, he became well known in the baseball world.

Hardly any conflicts developed among the residents. Even the Buddhists and the Christians lived on friendly terms. The Issei with their limited English got along fairly well with their Caucasian neighbors.

5. Evacuation Experiences

Alameda being an island with airports at the northern tip of the city, an Oakland airport on the southern end, with a shipyard close by, and the west shore of the city facing San Francisco Bay, the army considered the city a strategic military area. Japanese residents in Alameda were among the first to be ordered to evacuate. There were three evacuation orders. The first and second orders were directed at aliens only, but since Issei and Nisei were generally closely interdependent, the orders affected practically all. On February 15, the first order came to evacuate the western portion of the city. The second order demanded evacuation of all aliens from the city. The last, in early May, directed that all persons of Japanese ancestry proceed to the Tanforan Assembly Center.

Mr. Dillon S. Myer

The second group, the Issei, ordered to evacuate by February 24, suffered hardship and great worry and financial losses. This group did not go directly to Tanforan as did the third group--the Government did not provide housing or transportation for this evacuation, nor was housing available in nearby white zones. Naturally, Issei suffered great anxiety about a place to go. The only suggestion governmental agencies offered was for the Japanese to sell their property and belongings and move out. The Government offered to provide storage for movable possessions but would not guarantee their safe keeping. Some evacuees did sell their property and belongings but at great loss. Some moved in with relatives and friends in nearby communities and in other parts of California.

The churches and the J.A.C.L. took an active part in asking other chapters in their communities to help the Alameda evacuees. The greatest help from people of Japanese ancestry came from Hayward, Mt. Eden, Centerville, and Irvington. These communities sent their trucks to provide transportation and then sheltered the Alameda people in their own homes and in shacks around their farms. For two to four months, these evacuated Japanese were without income, and yet no welfare cases developed.

Finally, the general California evacuation came, but Alameda Japanese had already sold their property and belongings or had stored it.

6. Correspondence with Caucasian Friends

Most Alameda residents whom the interviewer contacted write to and receive letters from Caucasian friends. Generally, neither the Caucasian friends nor the residents mention in their letters the subject of returning to California immediately, but they do express the hope of seeing each other again soon. One caucasian, however, who recently wrote Miss M. O., not merely asked when she and her family were coming back to California, but offered her a home in the likely event she did come. (See appendix for a copy of the letter.) Most of the information from California friends is news about the evacuee friends' home community.

Mr. Dillon S. Myer

7. Feasibility of Returning to Former Community

Possibilities are good. There might be some adverse community reaction, but since most of those who plan to return own their homes, serious objection to resettlement is not expected to arise. Economic interest are unlikely to present any serious obstacles. However, most respondents agreed that starting a business at this time presents many difficulties, especially for those who had closed out or sold their business. To build up a clientele during the war period seems a stupendous undertaking in their opinion. Gardeners and domestics appear to face least difficulty because of the great shortage of workers in these areas of employment and because employers want their former servants to return.

8. As to the former Alameda community leaders now in residence at this center, the President of the Japanese Association, a laundryman, is still here. His family has relocated to New York, and his two sons are in the Army. He has sold his laundry business and is uncertain as to whether to join his family in New York, or to go back to Alameda to attempt reestablishing himself in business there. He is a member of the new Community Council.

Another pre-evacuation leader is a Buddhist minister, a parolee, who might assume some leadership in helping the people reestablish themselves in Alameda. A Protestant minister who appears well liked by his church members might assume the leadership for his flock.

Mr. Harry Kono, relocated to Denver, a florist, and the man who sponsored the baseball tour to Japan, would appear to be the most logical leader of the Alameda people, but whether or not he plans to leave Denver and return to his former community is not known.

/s/
O. F. Hoffman
Community Analyst

Sam Narahara;si
12-29-44

A P P E N D I X

Oakland 11, California

Wednesday eve (before Thanksgiving)
Nov. 22, 1944

My very dear M-----:

If you have any ears left, it isn't because my Tommy, Pops and I haven't talked about you often (and Tommy and I continuously) since you went away. Last Christmas you note was kind of sad, and I have worried about you. Just as Pops and Tom and I started on a short trip last Spring, we received a letter or questionnaire (or is it "questionnaire?) about you. We picked up the letter at the mail box just as we were leaving and because it was a Government envelope, decided to read before leaving. It was about you and I answered immediately and mailed it on our way out of town. I saved a carbon of my reply so that you might read it if you so desired. I was sure that when we arrived home from our short vacation that it would be only a matter of a day or two until I would hear from you, but how dissappointed I have been over the many months. Pops thought I had better get the shack (you remember - down by the garages) fixed up so that you, your mother and sister would have a place to stay until you could find something. But My M-----has not shown up, to date. Many, many, times we passed your old home in Alameda. Never once saw any sign of life there. But the last time we went over, it did look as though some one were upstairs. Was there a Chinese family on the same side of the block with you? Shortly after your departure, in passing, I though I saw a Chinese (an old gentlemen) sitting on a front porch. The Philippinoes (thank goodness) did not move in as we were first afraid of, but unfortunately, almost ALL the negroes from the south have!!!! The entire Japanese colony location in San Francisco is now occupied by the negroes plus a great portion of the rest of the city - and that goes for Oakland and Berkely, too. I do not get to Alameda much any more, because of lack of gas.

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The gentlemen from the Hayashi flower shop on Santa Clara Ave.? Is he therein camp with you? Remember me kindly to him. He knows only my single name (M-----)

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and that we lived on Buena Vista Ave. The gentlemen who washed my car? How is he? And the little lady on Park Street at the (Yokohama or Tokyo?) laundry, who recommended you to me. Please do remember me most kindly to her. I am more than concerned over my little friend of long ago, H----- S-----? She married the dentist and lived in Sacramento. I believe her name now is I----. If you have any sort of a directory for your camp, and the opportunity ever occurs, would you look her name and address up for me? I doubt if there would be more than two I---'s, who would be dentists, and if you do run across her, do tell her how often I speak of her, and hope that some day again we will be as close and as dear friends as we were in our childhood.

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You were upset about something the last time you wrote me, but I hope it has all cleared up by now. After any one once know my M----- they just couldn't be anything but kindly and nice to her.

Much love to you. I await your reply anxiously.

Always, Sincerely and lovingly your
friend.

/s/ S-----S-----

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CENTRAL UTAH PROJECT
TOPAZ, UTAH

January 31, 1945

AIR MAIL

MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. Dillon S. Myer, Director
War Relocation Authority
Barr Building
Washington, 25, D. C.

ATTENTION: Dr. John Provinse
Dr. Edward Spicer

FROM: Community Analysis Section

SUBJECT: Domestic Workers in San Francisco
(West Coast Locality Study)

Although countless persons worked as domestics in San Francisco, few, if any, possessed an over-all picture of the conditions of work in this area or of the numbers engaged in this occupation. Hence, rank and file former domestics proved a fruitless source of information relative to the past and future of this occupational group in that area. However, this office was fortunate in arranging an interview with the former manager of one of the leading and oldest Japanese employment agencies in San Francisco. He has the reputation of being very reliable and truthful in his statements. With slight modifications with a view to better organization of subject matter, the following is essentially what the respondent disclosed in the interview.

DOMESTIC WORKERS IN SAN FRANCISCO

1. History

The time is the 1890's; the place, the San Francisco waterfront with a loaded steamer coming in from the Orient. On it are eager-faced young men in their early twenties who have heard of the fabulous country called the United States, where money grows on trees and the streets are all paved with gold and silver! These men have little money. They have no friends or jobs, and they are in a strange, exciting country whose language they cannot speak!

The small, cheap, Japanese waterfront hotels and boarding houses on the fringes of Chinatown first served as general employment agencies. They prospered by recruiting Japanese labor for farms and for railroad companies at coolie wages, and also for so-called "school-boy" jobs in Caucasian families. Those in the latter category worked for board and keep while attending school to learn the English language. This can be considered the origin of domestic service by the Japanese. When the Japanese women immigrated, their husbands often sent them to work in Caucasian homes to familiarize these women with English and the American way of life. This process was continued for a long period of years. Then, as employers discovered that the Japanese were reliable, dependable and neat, demand for Japanese family workers grew. From ordinary housework, they branched out to become caterers, chauffeurs, chefs and other higher-wage bracket workers.

2. Classifications

Domestic work for men in San Francisco included several types of service. By and large, the majority worked as ordinary servants, that is, they did general housework such as sweeping and cleaning rooms, sometime polishing floors, cleaning windows, and doing some plain cooking. By evacuation time, men living-in domestics received from \$75 to \$85 per month while the women workers received \$65 and up. By 1940 for those living outside, the wages had climbed to at least \$125 a month and over.

(In recent years considerable specialization developed. Some did nothing but polish floors, others washed windows. When this occurred, general usage of the term "domestics" tended to include the "specialists" and also those who did general house cleaning, cooking, etc., that is, the living-in domestics.)

Among the living-in domestics were the Japanese cooks, with pay of \$100 and up per month. According to the respondent, Japanese became especially capable cooks. They were able to cook good, ordinary meals, but, however, not to a point of being able to supervise large dinners for special occasions. In his opinion, there were many first class cooks in private homes but very few who could be considered "chefs." In fact, on the basis of his long experience as an employment agency manager, he concludes that as general household cooks, Japanese are just as skilful as Chinese, who rank among the best in this profession.

Other workers in the living-in category were chauffeurs, but since Issei Japanese were generally small in stature, and since some had faulty eyesight, their number was small. A few worked as valets and butlers. They developed a good reputation as confidential valets, but as butlers they were not much desired, mainly because of their inability to speak English properly. Others worked as gardeners, but there was little demand for gardeners in San Francisco since only a few San Francisco estates had room for gardens and large lawns. Most of the demand for gardeners came from down the Peninsula from suburban mansion owners located in Hillsborough, Woodside, Burlingame and San Mateo.

As for women, many found jobs as nurses for babies, and a great many, both men and women, did laundry work at which they were very adept. But the majority of the employers, rather than engage a person to do a particular job, preferred couples to live-in and act in various capacities. These couples were usually paid about \$150 per month, plus room and board, with a day or a day and a half off weekly.

A further word about the various types of other than live-in domestics is in order. The "day worker," male or female, usually went to a number of houses doing general housework. The worker was paid by the day,

hence the term "day worker." The "piece worker" was engaged by the hour, at such jobs as cooking for a special dinner, washing dishes for a couple of hours, or contracting to wash and clean the windows of an office or office building--jobs which did not require a whole day to do. The "home worker" class included persons who collected washings and then did the laundering in their own homes, delivering the clothes at the end of the week. Some seamstresses can be classed as "home workers" in that they, too, took their work home to be done during their spare hours. The "part-time" laborer had regular places to work for one or more half days per week. He also did general housework but mainly for people who had small apartments which did not require the all-day attention of a servant as did the larger homes and apartments. Lastly, there is the "school-boy" or "school-girl" worker who did odd and end jobs for three or four hours daily in exchange for room and board plus a few dollars for spending money. School ended, a certain percentage of such persons are "graduated" into the occupation as full-time domestics.

For those in the classifications just mentioned, pay was by the day or the hour, the usual remuneration before the war being about \$.75 to \$1.00 per hour for men and \$.65 to \$.85 an hour for women. It can be safely presumed that at present the average for both men and women is approximately \$1.00 an hour and over. That these are the rates of pay is the information contained in letters received by residents of the Center from various Caucasians in and about San Francisco.

3. Competition and Future Opportunities

As far as competition is concerned, there are only three other nationalities to consider. Before the war, it came particularly from the Filipinos and in some particular lines such as cooks and housemen, mainly from Chinese. Negroes were not very much in demand. Caucasian employers preferred the other two races, and the Japanese in particular, because of their cleanliness and neatness. However, the tables have turned since the war. The greatest supply to sate the Caucasian domestic demand was the Negroes who came by droves into San Francisco from other states. The Chinese and the Filipino labor supply has not increased, in fact many appear to have forsaken the domestic field for other more profitable jobs. Reports coming into the Center indicate that the

employers are very much dissatisfied with the services of Negroes since many have turned out to be untrustworthy and unmanageable. As far as this field of work is concerned, it will be the easiest and the safest for Japanese to enter at this time of unstable feelings to the Japanese returning to the West Coast, since as domestics they will not be much in the public eye, and their employers will be a sort of sponsor.

4. Relationship with Caucasians

The good name that the Japanese had made for themselves in their years of service have stood up splendidly in these times of duress and the fact that numerous former employers have asked their pre-evacuation domestics to come back as soon as possible is a satisfying sign of their good will and faith. In all the years that he served as the manager of this employment agency, respondent did not get one serious complaint from employers relative to the efficiency of the domestics, or their trustworthiness. Minor complaints usually were the result of the worker's lack of English and some small mistakes arising therefrom. Too, there are no labor unions to harass their return. It must be noted that the future of workers in any other occupation in San Francisco will always have to reckon with the American labor unions.

In the interviewee's opinion, 20% of the adult Japanese population of San Francisco did domestic work of one sort or another by living in with their employers. An additional 20% were engaged part-time or by the hour in some phase of domestic work. (Part-time workers were using this merely as a means of supplementing a family income obtained principally from other sources.) However, only a very few Nisei earned their living as domestics. The reasons are understandable. Most parents having worked as domestics were not inclined to urge their children to follow in their footsteps. And since they were generally better educated than their parents, the children upon graduation did not want to "stoop so low" as to engage in this type of work. Consequently, they tried to get white collar jobs and ignored the domestic field entirely. Just before evacuation, the Nisei sought jobs in defense plants and in other war related industries.

Conclusion of this office. From this vantage point, it appears that evacuees who accept work as domestics will find the readjustment to resettle on the West Coast less difficult than will those who go into many other occupations. Especially does this apply in the case of former domestics whose pre-evacuation employers want them to return at an early date. Apparently, there will be less resistance to Issei in this field than in almost any others. By accepting positions as domestics, persons actually "take unto themselves" Caucasian sponsors.

As far as the Nisei are concerned, they, too, would probably find less resistance if they returned as domestics than as small businessmen, farmers, or workers in war industries. But so far as this office has been able to determine locally, Nisei generally do not wish to enter the domestic field. The wages are on the level which they consider unattractive. Like most other Americans, they prefer to be something more than house servants. They resist any suggestion that the Japanese minority in America become merely "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Not even temporarily to tide themselves over the transition period of resettlement are Nisei willing to accept employment as domestics.

But even former domestics will have to contend with the possible change of opinion of former employers and public sentiment toward evacuees, with the competition of persons who have since evacuation occupied their positions, and with the possible change of family composition of domestic workers and what this involves in terms of housing provided for live-in domestics.

/s/
O. F. Hoffman
Community Analyst

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CENTRAL UTAH PROJECT
TOPAZ, UTAH

MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. Dillon S. Myer, Director
War Relocation Authority
Barr Building
Washington, 25, D. C.

ATTENTION: Dr. John Provinse
Dr. Edward Spicer

FROM: Community Analysis Section

SUBJECT: San Francisco Fishing Industry
(West Coast Locality Study)

The following account is based on two interviews with former operators of fishing boats in San Francisco, one an Issei and the other a Nisei. They were selected as respondents because they were pointed out as being in a better position to discuss this subject than other fishermen in the center.

SAN FRANCISCO FISHING INDUSTRY

1. Scope of the Industry

Possibly one of the least known yet one of the most profitable enterprises conducted by Nisei with the assistance of Issei was the commercial fishing business out of San Francisco. The volume of business did not compare with that of the Los Angeles or Monterey areas; however, it was a thriving business with a promising future for approximately 150 Nisei engaged in this field. About 12 fishing boats with crews of twelve to fifteen persons fished in the vicinity of San Francisco. Going out overnight, they returned the next day to dump their catch at the canneries located in China Basin or at Pittsburg, California, far up the San Pablo Bay. Although the group was small, their total annual business amounted in peak years to \$220,000 with each owner, netting more than \$5,000 profit. This is a good return, especially when it is realized that weather conditions usually kept the actual working period down from fifteen to eighteen days per month.

This fishing industry had developed during the last 15 to 20 years. At first, the Issei managed the business exclusively with boats rented or leased from Caucasians. However, as time went on, they began to purchase and operate their own fishing boats until at the time of evacuation, all boats were manned and operated by Japanese. Also, at that time they were all owned and captained by Nisei. However, two or three Issei still worked on each boat and because of their experience or their close family ties still exercised considerable influence on the management in some instances. At the time of evacuation, all the boats were sold to Caucasians for only part of their true value. Boats were sold for \$5,000 to \$9,000, indicating a tremendous loss to the owners.

2. Union Affiliation

All those engaged in this business were members of the C.I.O. union. The A.F.L. was also prominent in the fishing industry, but the Japanese belonged to the former organization. Of the two, the C.I.O. generally

was the more sympathetic to the Nisei. The Japanese group was so small that it did not initiate labor organizations of its own, nor did they become a source of apprehension to the Causasian fishing industry unions.

3. Relations with Caucasian and Other Groups.

Their two chief competitors were the people of Italian and those of Slavic extractions, but since the competition was mild, the relationship between the three groups remained friendly and cordial, with cooperation being the keyword. Although on the social scale the Nisei ranked much higher than the Italians--in education and intelligence, most of the Italians were aliens and lacked good command of the English--two groups got along splendidly. In the opinion of the two respondents, the prospect of resuming the former relationship does not even now seem too bad. Certainly, in view of the likelihood that the C.I.O. will extend an effective welcome and that only Nisei will return to the trade, there seems little doubt that returning evacuee fisherman can take up the fishing business where they left off. The same can probably not be said of the Monterey and Terminal Island situation, but the general conditions appear more favorable in San Francisco where the evacuee fishermen group was so small as not to threaten the economic dominancy of the Caucasians.

4. Evacuation Experience

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

5. Correspondence with Caucasian Friends

Because of the war, fishing off the coast has been somewhat restricted, according to a letter from a Caucasian fisherman to a Topaz friend. However, he writes, this has raised the market price of fish so that profits of fishermen are higher now than ever before. He reports that in recent months restrictions have been eased to add measurably to the general happiness of the fishermen--the prospect of huge profits, what with a big demand for sea food and fairly high prices.

6. Feasibility of Returning to their Fishing

Granted that the fishing business looks promising to Nisei, several obstacles will still have to be overcome before they can again become fully reestablished in their occupation. First of all, it is questionable whether the government will raise the ban on fishing for men of Japanese ancestry. Another big problem is the difficulty now to acquire boats suitable for fishing purposes, although they expect to acquire small navy vessels, e.g. P T boats, after the war through long term loans with the government. Also, there is the matter of obtaining adequate manpower to form an experienced crew. Only a few Nisei have been in this business long enough to be able to man their own boats and operate them efficiently without Issei advice. But Issei fishermen of the San Francisco area talk now in terms of not returning to their former trade even in the post-war era. So far as financing the business is concerned, the Nisei, with some assistance from the Issei, seem capable enough to start anew.

In the opinion of the two respondents, the outlook for Nisei in this business on the whole seems very favorable. They would encourage Nisei to look into this trade as it promises a more profitable future for them than do most other fields. Except for the individuals who need sizeable capital to operate boats, most any ambitious young man can pick up this business. Segregation has broken the hold that the Issei had and now they are ready to hand over this business to younger and more energetic Nisei. They feel this is especially advisable

since the backbone of the fishing trade that centered in Southern California and at Monterey appears to be definitely broken. A serious drawback to Nisei taking over, however, is that many young men who have been connected with the fishing business have relocated or are in the Army. How many will return to the coast and resume the old trade is at present anybody's guess.

O.F. Hoffman
Community Analyst

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WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
CENTRAL UTAH PROJECT
TOPAZ, UTAH

MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. Dillon S. Myer, Director
War Relocation Authority
Barr Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Attention: Dr. John H. Provinse
Dr. Edward H. Spicer

FROM: Community Analysts Section

SUBJECT: Menlo Park - Atherton - Woodside
(West Coast Locality Study)

This summary is based on information presented by four intelligent respondents who lived in the area in pre-evacuation days, one of whom had only recently returned from a short term leave to his home community. The interviewer, one of the Assistant Community Analysts, who was himself evacuated from this locality.

Mr. Dillon S. Myer

Menlo Park - Atherton - Woodside

1. Profile of the Community

Menlo Park situated about 40 miles south of San Francisco and approximately 20 miles inland from the Pacific Ocean at the foot of the Black Mountain Range, is part of the Peninsula. The town is not very large, probably a few thousand, mostly people of Irish decent.

Atherton lies at the outskirts of Menlo Park, and consists of exclusively residential homes of well-to-do families--there are no stores of any kind. The only landmarks suggesting the typical city are its City Hall and its Southern Pacific railroad station. People living here before the war did most of their shopping for groceries in Menlo Park through their cooks and other hired help by a delivery services. The majority of the people residing in this exclusive district are of Jewish decent.

Woodside is very similar to Atherton, located just at the back of this residential district right on the foothills.

In making the locality study of Menlo Park, Atherton and Woodside in connection with the Japanese problems, Palo Alto, located south of Menlo Park about a mile across the dry river San Francisquito, should definitely be included, because socially and politically they were and are all inter-related. But since Palo Alto lies in another county, the Japanese there were evacuated to Heart Mountain Relocation Center and hence can not be included here.

The influx of Japanese residents to Menlo Park began when a Japanese farmer settled in the area a year after the close of the first World War. It began several years earlier in the Atherton and Woodside areas, with the employment of some domestics and gardeners. Since it is a narrow valley region, thickly covered with oak trees, tillable land was not available in large acreages. Therefore, the influx of Japanese agriculturists to the district was limited. At the time of evacuation the Japanese population of these three communities totaled only about 250, comprising close to 80 families, widely scattered. For perhaps 20 families, the length of residence was around 23 years and for a few, several years longer. Others had lived in the area perhaps 15 years.

2. Economic Aspects

Economically the Japanese in this district did fairly well. Their income was quite stable since they were in great demand

Mr. Dillon S. Myer

as domestics and as landscape gardeners. About 60 families obtained their income from these two sources and another ten from farming. As for the rest, five operated nurseries and four were in some other form of business. One was a Japanese language school teacher.

One of the largest grocery stores in Menlo Park was operated by a Japanese and patronized by Caucasians. The volume of business handled before and after the declaration of the Pacific war and until evacuation was tremendous. Customers showed a marked change in their sentiment with the outbreak of war. When Menlo Park Caucasians heard about the evacuation orders for all persons of Japanese ancestry, they expressed their regrets at this serious turn of events. This store was sold to one of its Caucasian employees at a reasonable price.

The operator of the one cleaning and two home-laundry businesses are now in Heart Mountain Relocation Center. Since the buildings housing the firms were owned by Caucasians, and since the business establishments were very small, the losses sustained at the time of liquidation were not large.

Almost all of the home owners in this region were sent to Heart Mountain. Before evacuation they had leased their properties to their Caucasian friends. Detailed information as to the manner in which these properties are taken care of is not now available, but one Nisei boy who visited the home town, reports that the houses are in good care.

3. Social Structure

All of the political and social organizations, such as the Buddhist and Methodist Churches, Womens' Club, Japanese Association and Athletic Club, except the Japanese language school, were established in the Palo Alto district.

4. Relations with Caucasians

A relatively high degree of assimilation with the Caucasian community had been achieved through frequent association with the intellectual groups, participation in athletic contests, meetings of religious organizations, and by the active leadership of prominent individuals. Assimilation was on an accelerated scale in this area because of the cosmopolitanizing influence of Leland Stanford University in Palo Alto.

Relations with the well-to-do Caucasian families in Atherton and Woodside were purely on a business basis as these people were in a much higher income bracket, but since they were closely associated with their Japanese domestics and gardeners, mutual understanding was established. Employers took a very sympathetic attitude toward those whom they knew intimately as their servants.

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5. Feasibility of Returning to Former Community

In the opinion of one of the sons of the former operator of the large grocery store in Menlo Park mentioned above who visited his home town very recently, the sentiment of the people toward evacuees in that region is still very favorable. He was welcomed by his former business associates and schoolmates, invited to their homes for a dinner, and slept at the house of his former employee, now owner of his store. On the basis of his recent experience back home, he feels that Japanese will not meet with any resistance in his locality should they trek back home for a permanent residence. Respondent is not planning to return to the West Coast as yet since he is at present farming in Utah.

Another respondent, one of the few Peninsula property owners in Topaz, possibly the only one, reported that he and his family have lived in Menlo Park for the last 30 years and that during all that time people in this community were very kind and friendly. He left his property and nursery business in the care of his neighbor and has no doubt but that the property is well taken care of. He is still undecided about going back to his former community because he is doubtful about public sentiment in California.

Although the majority of evacuees from this locality own no homes or other property on the Peninsula, excluding Palo Alto, this presents no very serious obstacle to resettlement there since the majority were live-in domestics. Now that the restrictions are lifted, they may seriously consider returning because of the great demand for workers in this line of activity. For other there will be housing problems.

6. Present Leadership

The evacuees from this locality are very much scattered. Approximately 50% were shuttled to other Centers, principally to Heart Mountain. Some have already relocated; most of the younger men are now in the armed forces; and a few are in government service. In all, probably 70% of the ablest leaders have thus been siphoned from the Centers. This suggests that new leaders will have to assume the responsibilities for helping establish good public relations work and for solving other problems, if and when the bulk of Peninsula evacuees decide to return to the West Coast.

O. F. Hoffman
Community Analyst

Frank Yamasaki:si

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CENTRAL UTAH PROJECT
TOPAZ, Utah

MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. Dillon S. Myer, Director
War Relocation Authority
Barr Building,
Washington, 25, D. C.

ATTENTION: Dr. John Provinse
Dr. Edward Spicer

FROM: Community Analysis Section

SUBJECT: San Francisco Retail Dry Cleaning
And Dyeing Business
(West Coast Locality Study)

The following account is compiled from
interviews made with five former owners,
three Issei and two Nisei, or dry cleaning
establishments in the city of San Francisco,
all active members of the Japanese Dry
Cleaners Association

SAN FRANCISCO RETAIL DRY CLEANING
AND DYEING BUSINESS

1. History

The history of the cleaning business by the Japanese dates back surprisingly long--some few establishments are reputed to have done a thriving business already at the end of the last century. The cleaning business originated with tailors and laundrymen who made cleaning a side business--their spare moment job. Japanese men were just emerging as individual businessmen after having served their apprenticeship learning English and the American ways of life as domestic in American homes. With this initial adjustment made to American culture, Japanese married men--very few Japanese women then lived in American--turned their thoughts to their wives left in Japan and bachelors toward the prospective brides from the mother country. Together Issei men and their spouses were now ready to start small businesses and thus were born the dry cleaning business as one suited for their purpose.

The history of the Japanese Dry Cleaners Association must be entwined with that of the general growth and establishment of individual cleaning businesses. Records and minutes of the Association date back as far as the San Francisco earthquake. A loosely-knit organization existed prior to that time, but no definite records of its activity at that time were kept. The membership grew and by the time of the Panama Pacific International Exposition in 1925, this organization was one of the most influential and powerful Japanese business organizations in San Francisco. The chief purpose of this Association was economic. It had no political affiliation either in this country or in Japan. Its aim was to keep harmony among its members by making rules and regulations regarding prices for cleaning and establishing wage rate--this to avoid cut throat competition and to provide a regular channel for cooperation with Caucasian cleaners and American labor unions. It may be said to their credit that they never experienced any serious labor trouble with the Unions.

One of the most rigid rules was the one on admittance of new members. The Association felt that there were a

sufficient number of Japanese cleaners in San Francisco, hence it was agreed to keep the number static. They felt that too many Japanese cleaners would kill the goose that laid the golden egg. A further index of their clannishness was the unwritten policy that in the event a member wished to get out of the cleaning business, he was to sell his plant to some relative or some good friend. In this way, the number of cleaners was kept constant and "kept in the family," as it were. By 1940 the Association boasted a membership of at least 115. At the outbreak of the war, 40% of its membership consisted of Nisei. Gradually, the Nisei were finding this business lucrative and profitable. Aside from these 115 or so members, there were approximately 15 other Japanese cleaners who were not members of the Association. However, these non-members operated according to the rules and regulations set by the Association, and there were no trouble existing between these two groups. The leadership of the Association was principally, as would be expected, in the hands of the older cleaners who owned and operated the larger, well-established shops, but the trend was toward getting new blood into its leadership. Regular monthly meetings were held, and observers were sent to all American cleaners meetings and to union gatherings with whom, as mentioned above, they were on cordial terms.

2. Economic Conditions

The dry cleaning field was very well suited to the business background and the financial status of the average Issei who came to this country to make a living. He did not need a complete mastery of the English language to run this particular business. Limited conversation was all that was necessary. Even as late as 1940, many cleaners could not speak English very well, yet because they gave good service and were friendly, they were able to do a thriving trade. Another reason Issei chose the dry cleaning field was that the initial financing was very small, especially when he was able to buy out an already established cleaner. Usually not more than a thousand dollars was required for buying such a place. The price was surprisingly small because, as mentioned previously, the business was generally acquired from a close relative or a good friend. Usually, the former owner remained in the shop long enough to teach the buyer all the tricks of the trade and to introduce him to the clientele.

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Maintenance cost were very small; about the only outlay of money was for daily food, for rent of store space, and for personal necessities. Of course, where new establishments were opened, the initial financing called for an outlay of thousands of dollars for equipping the store. However, these cases were rare. Issei were inclined to become dry cleaners because the business was small enough so that it could be run by a family of two adults, a man for doing the heavier work and a woman to do sewing and repair work such as alterations. Usually, the operator diversified his business serving as an agent for some laundry, accepting work as a tailor, working as a day laborer in slack periods, or making dresses. These side lines of business added considerable to the incomes, usually sufficiently to pay for the family's everyday needs. Thus a small scale business was forced to yield large profits.

All cleaners sent their cleaning to a wholesaler whose usual charge was 25% to 33% of what the retailers would charge the customers. For example, a wholesaler charged about 30% to clean a man's complete suit. After the retailer got it back, he pressed it and charged \$1 for the complete job. Extra charges were made for mending garments. For clothes called and delivered, usually a higher fee was asked than for clothes brought in by customers and later called for. In his own small way, the operator could carry on a complete business equipped with a sedan, a pressing machine, a steam or electric iron, and a kit of sewing implements. Simple indeed! The usual gross incomes, depending on the size of the establishment, ranged from \$400 to \$700 monthly, with two or three adults operating the shop. Total expenses run around half of the total income.

The business also gave the operator some degree of independence. He could start the morning when he pleased and could knock off work to go fishing when he was so inclined. Or else he could stay up nights and work to the "wee small" hours of the morning.

In the last few years, the older cleaners were in the process of turning their shops over to their sons, and this accounts largely for the advent of the Nisei in this business. But other Nisei served as apprentices in various shops, and eventually with the help of their employers, Nisei found cleaning establishments for sale which they bought with their small savings. They have

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proven to be even better businessmen than their elders, principally by the application of newer business techniques and by establishing better rapport with their Caucasian customers. Also, where the Issei were complacent and generally slow about capitalizing on opportunities to increase their business, the Nisei were very aggressive in their successful attempts to get a greater volume of business.

3. Wholesale Trade

The fortunes of the one Japanese wholesale cleaner affected the life course of all the retail cleaners. Early in the history of the Japanese cleaning business, it was discovered that the Japanese cleaners could not depend on Caucasian wholesalers to do their work. In their extremity, the retail cleaners even toyed with the idea of building a cooperative wholesale cleaning establishment for themselves. But in the meantime, the afore-mentioned wholesale cleaners rose in strength and prestige so that one by one the retailers came to depend on him, until at last practically all retailers were sending their business to this firm. Unfortunately, this wholesaler was beset every now and then with disputes in his establishment so that services at times were not very satisfactory. However, to the end this wholesale firm remained a power in the San Francisco Japanese cleaning business. Meanwhile, another Japanese wholesaler was rising in the cleaning business in San Mateo, and so when services occasionally lagged in the San Francisco plant, some San Francisco retailer began dealing with the San Mateo wholesale plant. Thus two Japanese wholesale plants came to take care of all the San Francisco retail business under arrangements suited to all concerned. In the last months before evacuation when the San Francisco plant was forced to shut down, the San Mateo wholesale plant proved a boom.

Since the pre-war destiny of Japanese retail cleaners depended so greatly on their ability to secure the services of a Japanese wholesaler in San Francisco, retailers in Topaz consider with apprehension the prospect of being at the "mercy" of the Caucasians. They fear they may then not be able to do a profitable business. They take some comfort in the fact that the San Mateo plant will be available, and they hope that wholesaler will see his way clear to resume operations.

4. Property Value

The aggregated amount of business done by these 130 cleaners amounted to well over \$1,000,000 annually. Of course, this included the return from the regular dry cleaning business, the dyeing work, tailoring, laundry agency services, alterations, sewing and other minor services which can be done by the average cleaner. However, the outlay in equipment was relatively small. Practically all cleaners rented or leased their stores, and most of them lived behind their places of work. The only essential equipment was the press machine whose used value was very small. They all owned private cars which they used for both business purposes and for pleasure. So evacuation involved the cleaners principally in the loss of their large clientele and their good will.

5. Relations with Caucasians and Unions

Several attempts were made by labor unions to induce Japanese cleaners to recognize and deal with labor leaders; but since the pressure exerted was not very serious, Japanese cleaners went quietly about their business. However, the Association members cooperated with the unions to the extent that they kept the price and wage levels on a par with those paid by Caucasian cleaners and also sent some of their cleaning to be done by Caucasians wholesale plants. No serious conflict were noted with neighboring Caucasians cleaners although competition was keen and there were naturally some attempts at taking customers from each other. The situation boiled down to this that the cleaner who gave the best service got the trade as is true in any other competitive business.

The reason so many Caucasian customers preferred Japanese cleaners to Caucasian cleaners was the fact that the former took greater pains in making alterations and in mending. Be more meticulous and prompt than other, was their watch-word. Most of the cleaners served customers who had patronized them for many, many years. The "steady" customers were the pillars of their business.

6. Evacuation Experiences

The immediate effect of the outbreak of war was not as bad as the cleaners expected. All kinds of dire threats and violence were anticipated, but fortunately none of them came to pass. All cleaners closed their shops on the day after Pearl Harbor was attacked--Monday, normally the busiest day--and anxiously waited to see what the results would be. There were a few isolated cases of threatening telephone calls but none of the threats were carried out. The next several days, trade was at a standstill. No customers came nor were any attempts made to call on regular customers. All business was voluntarily suspended. Many Caucasian customers later remarked that they were afraid to take any work to the Japanese cleaners for fear of some sort of reprisal. However, in a few days, after the first shock of the war news had worn off, the trade began to pick up, and by closing time for evacuation, the cleaners had recaptured three-fourths volume of business they had before the declaration of war. Many regular customers offered assistance and in general were very sympathetic. Most of them promised to give the cleaners work if and when they should open shop in San Francisco. During the period just preceeding evacuation, one Jewish cleaner did buy up or make attempts to buy out a number of the Japanese cleaners at a very low price. Some Caucasian cleaners used the war for an excuse to detract customers to their stores, but in most cases this appeal proved ineffective. It is the general feeling of Japanese cleaners that had no evacuation taken place, they would be making good profits now.

7. Feasibility of Returning to the Area

In contemplating reestablishing himself in business in the San Francisco area, the Japanese cleaner seeks the answers to at least six questions of major importance. In the first place, since San Francisco is a strong union town, will the unions with the pressure exerted by the retail Caucasian cleaners permit or rather tolerate the presence of Japanese Cleaners? Secondly, will the city give cleaners permits to operate within the city limits? This is especially a source of worry to Issei who are contemplating opening up a shop. Thirdly, will the Japanese operators be forced to trade with the Caucasian wholesale plants? Should they be unable to find wholesalers willing to do business with Japanese, the latter

could not open any shops. Fourthly, how much competition will come from Caucasian retail cleaners? Now that the city is "rid" of Japanese competition and now that the Caucasians have control of the city's dry cleaning business, will they allow Japanese to return? Fifthly, will there be enough trade for Japanese to make a fairly decent living? How sure can they be of getting back their former clientele after a lapse of three years? A shift in population has probably displaced many of the old customers and friends in the area where they formerly operated their stores. Lastly, will they be able to lease or rent space to start new shops? Will they be able to get new or used equipment? In summary, as one man remarked, "If I knew the answers to these problems, I would know what to do."

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

O. F. Hoffman
Community Analyst

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CENTRAL UTAH PROJECT
TOPAZ, UTAH

Feb 20, 1945

AIR MAIL

MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. Dillon S. Myer, Director
War Relocation Authority
Berr Building
Washington, 25, D. C.

ATTENTION: Dr. John Provinsse
Dr. Edward Spicer

FROM: Community Analysis Section

SUBJECT: San Mateo - Burlingame - Belmont
SAN MATEO COUNTY
(West Coast Locality Study)

This study is based on about thirty interviews, some long and others short, and upon the writer's own background. The writer himself is a San Matean, a home owner there, and was evacuated from that area.

SAN MATEO - BURLINGAME - BELMONT

(SAN MATEO COUNTY)

1. District Profile

Since the life of Japanese centered in the city of San Mateo, the whole locality may be referred to as San Mateo. The two other neighboring cities held less attraction for Japanese. In one of them, Burlingame, the sister city to the north, Japanese had established only two or three businesses, and about ten residents worked there as domestics. To the south, in the small town of Belmont, Japanese operated a number of nurseries, but too few of the nationality lived there to form a strong organized group. San Mateo, although not the county seat, assumed importance as a center for Japanese because of its location in the heart of San Mateo County. Smaller communities just outside the San Mateo district contained Japanese; to the west, on the coast, Half Moon Bay, and Pescadero; to the south, there were the towns of Redwood City, San Carlos, Menlo Park, Atherton, and Woodside.

Two important highways lead through San Mateo to the rich Santa Clara and Salinas Valleys, and to the fishing town of Monterey and the art center of Carmel. These highways converge and become one of the two main roads leading to southern California. San Mateo also enjoys close and easy access to the great air terminal, the San Francisco Airport; and for the sport lovers, there is San Mateo's own Bay Meadow Racetrack; and a few miles north, Tanforan.

Climatically, San Mateo is ideal. The tree-covered Black Mountains ward off any fog that the Pacific may want to blow in. The city boasts nearly 300 days of sunshine, yet since it is not a "high pressure development tract," it does not advertise any of its existing selling points.

Less than 20 miles from San Francisco, San Mateo attracted many wealthy people who built their suburban homes and estates there. The San Mateo district is comparable to Piedmont and Pasadena in the total wealth and the high standard of living maintained. The Caucasian residents on the whole are conservative, religious, and since they take their religion seriously, they built beautiful church

edifices, on the one hand, and, on the other, manifested a sympathetic and understanding attitude toward minority groups, especially toward the Japanese in their midst. As will be shown later, this fact that wealthy, well-educated, God-fearing people make up the San Mateo community, suggests why it will be less difficult for evacuees from that area to resettle in their former homes than for others to return to their home communities.

2. Length of Residence

Early in the present century, Japanese began to dribble into the community as domestics, yet at the time of the disastrous San Francisco earthquake fire of 1906, only a handful of Japanese were working as domestics in rich Caucasian homes. At that time, also, more than 60 Japanese laborers were employed with the Leslie Salt Works. The presence of these laborers explains the establishment of the first Japanese grocery in San Mateo. These laborers wished Japanese food, and the store set out to supply their demand. This shop was first opened on a street which later became San Mateo's main thoroughfare.

When the 1906 fire destroyed numerous palatial homes in San Francisco, many of the wealthier Caucasians moved down to Burlingame, San Mateo, and Hillsborough, the latter a neighboring community of Burlingame. Quite a number brought their Japanese servants with them. This, plus the fact that the fire put many Japanese domestics out of work temporarily, explains why so many Japanese domestics moved into San Mateo for employment. By the time of evacuation, many Japanese had worked in the same homes for as long as 30 years.

3. Economic Conditions

The San Mateo Japanese are not rich but they are all economically well-to-do according to Japanese standards. Of the approximately 100 Japanese families that lived in San Mateo, 34 owned their own homes, and two of them together owned an additional six houses. Only two of these houses have been sold since evacuation. The 38 houses still in evacuee hands represent a total value of a quarter million dollars. The majority of the families had automobiles and enjoyed other luxuries of life.

Domestic work continued through the years as the principal occupation of San Mateo Japanese. Even at evacuation time, they were still engaged mostly in housework, chiefly as gardeners, day workers, and home launderers.

Japanese operated four laundries, three thriving cleaning and dyeing shops, two well-established groceries, two nurseries, and two popular floral shops. In addition, a Nisei owned a tennis shop, another a bait shop, one was an exclusive home tailor, another a barber, and one a dentist. Belmont was strictly a nursery business community, as far as the Japanese were concerned. Its nurseries were not as large as the Japanese nurseries in Woodside and Redwood City, but they did do a big trade in raising annual flowers, such as sweetpeas and tulips. San Mateo nurseries catering to the retail trade specialized in potted plants, greens, young trees and shrubs. But of all these establishments, only two of the properties were owned by the Japanese, all others being leased from Caucasian landlords. This fact makes the opening of Japanese stores in the near future a problem which seems to hold no immediate solution since the owners of the buildings will hardly wish to face possible community ill-will by evicting Caucasian renters.

4. Social Structure of the Japanese Community

The Issei in San Mateo hail from all parts of Japan, the largest number coming from the prefectures of Wakayama, Fukuoka, and Hiroshima.

Japanese family life was not definitely established in San Mateo until about 1908 or 1910 when the bachelors had accumulated some money and were able to call for their mates from the mother country. (The oldest of the Nisei in San Mateo are about 30 to 35 years of age.) Japanese home life in the area became characterized as something to be fostered to the exclusion of some outside interests. An example that home life was paramount in San Mateo can be seen from the fact that its once popular pool hall and boarding house was closed through lack of patronage on the part of Japanese and also the pressure which the Japanese residents exerted on the establishment.

By evacuation time, San Mateo's Japanese population totalled about 600, a little over half of whom were Nisei. Very few Japanese lived in Belmont. Of the 145

family units in the San Mateo locality, one-third were bachelors. Incidentally, it is significant to note that 36 of the 100 established families have men in the armed forces. Several more young men are at present ready for their preinduction physicals or for actual induction.

As indicated earlier, San Mateo formed the hub of Japanese social activities. Japanese movies and plays were presented here. San Mateo was a typical Japanese community with its Buddhists and Christians who got along together very affably. One great advantage the Christians had over the Buddhists was that the city of San Mateo itself was a very strong, Protestant church center. This religious character of the San Mateo community will probably make it much easier for Japanese to return to San Mateo than for them to establish themselves in other areas. The Christian groups irrespective of creeds have united in an effort to help all Japanese return to the community. The presence of Hisei in numerous sports and religious activities will help the Japanese materially in their relations with the Caucasians.

5. Evacuation Experiences

Since Japanese businesses generally depended upon a Japanese clientele, the shock of war did not affect them very much. Those that catered to Caucasian customers did for a few weeks suffer a let-down in the volume of business, but gradually it almost climbed back to normal. By the time of evacuation, there was hardly any trace of racial discrimination in the community. Nor did evacuee home owners suffer too heavy financial losses, except that they rented or leased their homes at too low a figure and that many disposed of their automobiles at less than their real value. In the case of those who rented homes, the situation was different in that they were forced to dispose of their household goods and other personal property at "fire sale" prices, and in many instances goods had even to be given away free.

Viewed as a whole, evacuation experiences were not very painful. Many Caucasians openly sympathized with the Japanese in their hour of departure. Church women's societies helped in many ways to cushion the shock of the uprooting and promised to help all resettlers in the future, a promise they are making good on at the present time. And, fortunately for the evacuees, the local chief of police was an understanding friend who made things easy for them, es-

pecially in the early stages of the war when several prominent Japanese were picked up by the FBI.

6. Communication with Caucasian Friends

Practically all evacuees in Topaz from the San Mateo locality are constantly receiving letters from their many Caucasian friends. With few exceptions, they are letters of encouragement, expressing the wish and hope that evacuees will early return to their homes. These few exceptions are letters which advise the Japanese not to return during the war period. San Mateo City itself is publicly not expressing too unfriendly an attitude. But since no San Mateans from this Center have yet returned to their old homes, the city's true sentiment has not yet been tested.

As an index of the number and determination of San Mateo Caucasian friends, there can be cited the following newspaper article which appeared in the San Mateo Times early in December shortly before the lifting of the exclusion order:

S. M. Group Aids Returning U.S.-Japanese
First Meeting Adopts 7-Point Program to
Defend Principles of Fair Play

"A seven-point program for a campaign of 'public education' concerning the return of the Japanese-Americans to California was adopted Wednesday night in San Mateo at the initial meeting of the San Mateo County Committee on American Principles and Fair Play.

"The committee, which includes ministers of almost all denominations, adopted a resolution declaring that 'attempts to deprive any law-abiding citizen of his citizenship because of racial descent are contrary to fundamental American principles and jeopardize the citizenship of others.'

"The resolution also asserts that 'it is un-American to penalize persons of Japanese descent in the United States solely for the crimes of the government and military caste of Japan' and that 'attacks upon the rights of any minority tend to undermine the rights of the majority.'

"At the committee meeting Wednesday, held in Kloss Hall of the First Congregational Church, with the Rev. Sidney H. Buckham acting as moderator, the following program was agreed upon:

"1. To influence public opinion toward goodwill and understanding for the Japanese, by personal interview and speaking before societies and clubs.

"2. To present facts about the Japanese in the interest of overcoming blind prejudice and false propaganda.

"3. To encourage the newspapers to give the news concerning returning Japanese proper and proportionate publicity, without flare headlines and unfavorable bias.

"4. To give support to officers of the law in the performance of their duty in protecting Japanese citizens and their property.

"5. To manifest cordial personal attitudes toward individual Japanese who may return to the West Coast.

"6. To enlist the support of leading citizens in the community in the program of the fair play committee, and to add names to the sponsoring membership of this group.

"7. To support loyally the policies of the United States government in the handling of the Japanese problem."

"The group appointed an organizing committee of 10 members which will meet next week to elect the officers who will direct the 'public education' campaign."

The above article appeared prominently in four front page columns and subsequently resulted in many pro and con comments. However, the article carried a heavy "punch" because the sponsors of the movement are all well-known, influential San Mateo County citizens. The group represents the local chapter of the strong American Principles and Fair Play Committee. Later, a Citizens' Committee of 100 was formed to aid any evacuees attempting to resettle in San Mateo.

7. Possibility of Returning

San Mateo Japanese are expecting to meet with less resistance in their trek back to their homes than do most other Japanese who plan in terms of resettlement on the West Coast. The reasons, in addition to those already stated, are probably: (1) only a few of the resettlers in San Mateo were in business, and (2) most of them expect to work in homes or with homes as the basis of their operation just as in pre-evacuation days. Many of the former employers have offered domestics their old positions, as a result of which many of the latter are now preparing to go back.

How soon evacuees will return depends largely on how soon they will be able to persuade present tenants to vacate their houses. Although a few San Mateo evacuees have committed themselves to Japan by going to Tule Lake Center, the big majority, in particular those with grown sons and daughters and with homes to go back to, are already making plans for returning in the early summer. Most San Mateans have no intention of relocating to other parts of the country because they anticipate fine and fair treatment when they return to the Peninsula.

From the above, it becomes obvious that San Mateans still maintain their compact group with practically the same leadership available as in pre-evacuation days. However, some Issei leaders are looking to and are ready for newer leadership among the younger Issei and the older Nisei.

Since, as mentioned earlier, the oldest Nisei are probably only between 30 to 35 years of age, their leadership may not be accepted immediately because of their youth. Although a number of them are capable to assume such leadership, they probably will be thought of as yet too enthusiastic and unsteady to take over community leadership. However, until new leadership takes over, the present Issei leaders, perhaps a little timid at the moment, appear not to face unsurmountable obstacles in public relations with San Mateo Caucasians.

O. F. Hoffman
Community Analyst

Nobuo Tabata:sl;rh

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WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Central Utah Project
Topaz, Utah

Community Analysis Section

TO: Mr. Dillon S. Myer
War Relocation Authority
Barr Building
Washington, D. C.

ATTENTION: Dr. Edward Spicer
Dr. John Provinse

SUBJECT: Foothill Area - Placer County
(West Coast Locality Study)

This Center has only a few families, possibly a total of sixty individuals, transferees from the Tule Lake Center, who formerly resided in the Foothill Area of Placer County. Despite the few in number, the story of Placer County residents should be told so that WRA can facilitate their resettlement. The Japanese history of that region, too, is so interesting that the story should be told for its own sake. This study is based on interviews with four former residents of that district, and on a letter from a fifth who has since relocated in the Midwest.

1. A Bit of History

In both the American and Japanese histories of California, Placer County plays an important role. Hereabouts it was that gold was first discovered which made California the focal point of the '49 Gold Rush and which later resulted in the state's eventually becoming one of the greatest in the Union. For the Japanese, Placer County was about the first district to which the Japanese migrated from the city of San Francisco. Shadows of the past can still be recognized: the grave of the first Japanese woman to pass away in this country; and also the remnants of the tea culture which the Japanese attempted to introduce into the United States. To this spot, too, came artisans from the high courts of Japan to find new fields for exercising their exceptional talents. Where they or other descendants ever drifted to is one of the unsolved tales of local lore.

2. Economic Conditions

This is the country where as a natural result of panning for gold and later the introduction of placer mining, the once green vales and rolling hills lost their pregnancy and became rocky unproductive land. Early pioneers first planted hay in their attempts to bring normalcy back to these acres and succeeded not a little. Orchards sprang up here and there, and it was to these that itinerant Japanese labor found its way in the first years of this century.

Working on ranches for a number of years made these Japanese farmers skilled in their work and land-wise. To begin with, they were not novices at the trade. With an agricultural heritage based on generations of tilling the limited soils of Japan, they came prepared to force production even from inhospitable land. After following the various fruit and vegetable crops from one part of California to another, they had finally found in Placer the land to their liking. Here they raised their families and built permanent homes. Land was cheap because it was not fertile and was uncultivated, and it would require years of toil before anything could be realized from it. Although the first years were fraught with disappointment and failures, finally the Japanese had in their grasp some of the finest fruit orchards in Placer. Subsequently, the little towns expanded and communities such as Roseville, Newcastle, Auburn, Placerville, Penryn and Lincoln, became centers

of lively agricultural activity.

By frugal saving and persistent planning, the Japanese were able to amass approximately 3,500 acres of now-choice land arrayed with healthy, fruit-bearing trees. The smaller farmers held about 40 to 50 acre tracts while the more prosperous owned as much as 200 acres. These orchard farms were the envy of Caucasian ranchers. But not all Japanese were farm operators, many worked as laborers and ranch foremen for well-to-do Caucasians.

Since the average ranch did not need the attention of many workers except during harvest, members of many families annually went to work in Sacramento Valley farms after their own harvest was over and made enough side money to cover yearly expenses, leaving the profit accrued from their crops as clear savings.

Many Placer Japanese farmers built substantial houses suited for country purposes. All owned their own trucks and pleasure cars. The former equipment was absolutely necessary for hauling farm produce to the packing sheds or the railroad terminals.

3. Community Organization

Although Roseville was the railroad terminal of that district and consequently a center of Japanese business activities, public acceptance was so poor that only two Japanese stores were in operation there. A few miles to the east in Loomis, we find some establishments and the Japanese population thereabout numbered several hundred. Penryn, Newcastle and Auburn also had stores and the usual Japanese organizations: namely, the Buddhist Church with its numerous societies, a Japanese language school and the Japanese Association. Placer County rural areas were predominantly Buddhist. Very few Japanese Christian churches dotted the smaller rural settlements of California. Placer county Japanese numbered possibly a little more than 300 families, totalling over 1,500 persons. The group was enlarged considerably, perhaps to three or four thousand, during the summer harvest months when Japanese farm laborers from the Valleys came to work in this region.

4. Relations with Caucasians

The rather phenomenal success of the Japanese farmers in

Placer was never well received by the Caucasian group of the region. Even at best the relationship was never more than lukewarm. However, up to the time of the outbreak of war with Japan, there occurred no cases of boycott or any form of physical violence.

When the Japanese first began buying land in Placer, the unproductive tracts were valued at about \$50 per acre and were thought to be good only for raising hay. But the Japanese farmers through patient diligence and thrift improved their ranches until in 1940, no fruit-bearing soil could be bought for less than \$150 per acre, while the richer land covered with good, youthful trees commanded a price ranging over \$200 per acre! To the chagrin of Caucasian farmers, the Japanese were able to secure title to much of the good land during the last great depression--they had the ready cash to make these bargain buys. In the light of this bit of history, it is not surprising to discover that Caucasian farmers look upon the present time as opportune for getting back their choice land, acres which when in the hands of Japanese farmers grew perhaps the best peaches and plums in California.

5. Evacuation Experiences

When evacuation began, Placer residents were at first in the so-called "white zone" and were therefore not thinking much in terms of having to vacate their homes, but the Japanese population increased so measurably because of the influx of Japanese from evacuated areas that the Caucasians became more resentful. This development plus the feeling of insecurity in their "white zone," induced many to prepare for the day when they, too, would have to evacuate. Despite anticipating evacuation for themselves and being obliged to enter the assembly center near Marysville, California, many in their haste signed ill-advised leases, leases which they were to regret later. Just what the dispositions were, this office is not in the position to note since most of those evacuated from Placer are yet at the Tule Lake Center. So far as is known here, Placer Tuleans still have possession of their land. (One of the chief characteristics of the Japanese is that they do not let so of their property, especially real estate, unless they are forced to do so.)

As already suggested, the relationship between Caucasians

and Japanese was not too friendly from the beginning. And so when evacuation took place, Caucasian farmers, especially the lower elements and their farm organizations, began working for keeping the Japanese out indefinitely so that in the end, Caucasians would be able to take over the Japanese properties at bargain prices. This basic desire explains in large part the present disturbances. Now that the ranches are in their hands, they are very reluctant to let go of them again.

6. Feasibility of Resettling in Placer

The consensus of opinion of Placer residents here is that it is not so much individual Caucasian farmers who are making trouble for returning Japanese but the strong vicious farm groups who are making money at the expense of the Japanese and for this reason do not want them back. Backing up local farm groups in their determination to keep Japanese out are others more powerful, such as the State Farm Grange.

One case of how land owners are faring with their tenants or managers is that of a Mr. A. who had left his farm in charge of a Caucasian "friend." Last year, even though the area suffered one of its worst years in history, Mr. A's manager reported selling the fruit crop at a gross of over \$5,000. Yet after his itemized expenses were deducted, the total net profit check amounted to \$313.50! Labor costs alone consumed half of the gross profit, according to the expense account.

But there is a bright side too. Opposition to evacuee farmers returning is not universal. Much credit must go to the many fair-minded Caucasian farmers of Placer County who are doing everything in their power to restore the Japanese properties to the rightful owners. So strong is their influence that despite all the publicity about the Doi case, many Japanese are intending to return to Placer in the near future.

Most of them will have to wait until October at least when the yearly leases run out. Possibly the greatest deterrent to Japanese farmers returning, besides adverse public opinion, is the fact that practically all of them have sold their private cars and trucks. And trucks must be acquired to haul their products to the packing sheds in Newcastle or the rail terminal at Roseville.

7. Letter from Placer Relocatee to Middle West

In closing, a letter just received by the writer from one of the older Nisei formerly from Lincoln, California, can be quoted. Lincoln is also considered one of the "anti" spots and is situated about 35 miles northeast of Sacramento in a very low-elevation district where the rolling hills, leading up to the Sierra Nevada Range, begin:

"As to the Questionnaire you sent me, I think I can give you a great deal of information. Since so many different types of people came in after we moved out of Placer County, I have heard a lot of different stories concerning our home town. As you know, it's just a few persons that can cause you trouble. My Caucasian friends have asked for protection for Japanese-Americans, but it seems like they got nowhere! (Note: this was before the opening of the Coast was announced by the Army.) I don't like to take a chance of going back until it is quite safe - even then, one wouldn't know.

"Economic conditions generally were fair but a great deal depended on one's occupation and place where he lived. This area is not a very rich farming center, and I would say offhand that about 40% of the Japanese-Americans owned property and homes while the remaining farmers leased lands from Caucasian owners.

"The Nisei were just emerging from their adolescence to claim leadership on a par with the Issei. Consequently, the Nisei were very active with their young people's organizations. The Japanese American Citizens' League became especially active in their promotion of friendship and understanding with the Caucasian groups. Due to difference of opinion, the Issei and the Nisei had several conflicts on general policies but these were smoothed over when their respective views were understood by each other.

"We had more time for evacuation than others but financially were hard hit because we were unable to harvest our crop for the year. Most of the ranches were given over to be cared for by the different fruit houses. Ours were taken over by the Placer Farmers, Inc., which was organized after Pearl Harbor for the main purpose of caring for the properties of Japanese farmers. Most of the businesses establishments were leased to Caucasians although there are a

"few instances where the businesses were sold outright.

"Evacuees do hear from their Caucasian friends from the home towns and most of them are really friendly. However, they strongly advise the evacuees to wait until the end of the present season before returning. They frankly feel, too, that a few unthinking Caucasians can cause a lot of headaches for any Japanese-Americans going back now when the growing season has just started, and much money put into the venture.

"Most of the Japanese who own property want to return when it'll be safe and they will have proper protection from the government and local police. Also it greatly depends on which section of the county one returns to. It seems that some parts are better than others. Some of the prime problems that we are facing are the strangers who have moved in after evacuation, chiefly, the Filipinos and the Okies and the Arkies. Also some trouble can be expected with gas stations and stores which may boycott Japanese. Immediate problems are the acquiring of automobiles and trucks as well as some necessary farm mechanical replacements since most of these were sold at the time of evacuation.

"All in all, Placer County can be considered one of the bad counties due to the influx of the above-mentioned low class, illiterate people. Also the fruit houses into which we put a lot of faith seem reluctant to give up their profitable, newly-acquired Japanese properties."

8. Conclusion

Such is the tenor of opinion of former Placer County residents. It appears that the majority in Topaz are planning to return to their former homes, but they are not in too great a hurry about taking the step. The trek back may not get under way until summer or autumn for reasons indicated above.

Oscar F. Hoffman
Community Analyst

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CENTRAL UTAH PROJECT
TOPAZ, UTAH

Feb. 16, 1945

AIR MAIL

MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. Dillon S. Myer, Director
War Relocation Authority
Barr Building
Washington, 25, D. C.

ATTENTION: Dr. John Provinse
Dr. Edward Spicer

FROM: Community Analysis Section

SUBJECT: Japanese East Bay Floral Industry
(West Coast Locality Study)

The following report is based on lengthy interviews with twelve former East Bay nurserymen, and also on the discussion which the writer heard when he attended an informal meeting of about a dozen nurserymen. The writer himself operated a floral shop prior to evacuation.

The conclusion seems justified that no other occupational group has a better chance of re-establishing itself than do the flower growers. What they need primarily is a little encouragement and opportunities to borrow funds from government agencies.

NOTE: In the event this report is transmitted to the San Francisco Relocation Office, the account of the evacuation experience of nursery "H" should be deleted lest the identity of the nurseryman and of the attorney involved become known and cause future embarrassment for both.

JAPANESE EAST BAY FLORAL INDUSTRY

1. History

The floral industry in the East Bay Area is reported to be one of the largest in the country. Easy Bay's year-around temperate climate is an ideal area for growing flowers. These flowers supply the local markets but are also shipped to all parts of California, especially to Los Angeles, and to adjoining states. In the fall, asters and chrysanthemums, packed in refrigerator cars, represent the heaviest floral shipments to all parts of the United States.

The Japanese took a pioneering role in developing and greatly expanding the floral industry, not only in growing greater quantities and better qualities but also in securing wholesale outlets. Japanese started to grow commercial flowers sixty years ago. With their very long background of flower culture, a great many Japanese naturally were drawn toward the floral industry; and at the outbreak of World War II, they had earned for themselves a leading position in this field. This enviable position was achieved against great obstacles. Japanese worked long hours, were subjected to the acute fluctuations of the business cycles of their luxury trade, and constantly faced with anti-Japanese suppression.

By 1941 more than a thousand Japanese in the Bay Area were making a living through the floral industry. This business ran annually into millions of dollars.

2. Economic Conditions

It is estimated that about 75% of the growers owned their own property and that their investments ran into millions of dollars, including their homes, greenhouses, boilers for heating, equipment and plants.

Three wholesale flower markets were established in San Francisco, the largest of the three being operated by Japanese, one by a mixed group, chiefly Italians, and other Caucasians, and the third and smallest market, by Chinese. The Japanese grew the best quality flowers and the biggest chrysanthemums and the best grades of roses, carnations, and gardenias. The greenhouse nurserymen

constituted the largest of the growers group of whom the big majority specialized in growing one of the following types of plants: roses, carnations, gardenias, holiday decorative plants, shrubs and bedding plants. Greenhouse nursery space of operators ran from three to ten acres and up. The value of land varied, depending on soil and location. Some growers bought or owned land worth \$2,000 or even more per acre where the plots were located in the outskirts of cities. Greenhouse acreage within the city proper was valued even higher. The average cost of greenhouses, say 35 feet by 200 feet, ran from \$20 to \$25 per running foot or to a total of \$4,000 to \$5,000 per structure before 1941. Some were able to keep the cost of construction down considerably by building the greenhouses with their own labor. Total investments of a plant usually ran from \$15,000, probably up to \$300,000. Two growers may even have had a larger investment than this.

3. Chrysanthemum and Other Outside Flower Growers

Only about 15% of these growers owned their own property. Experience shows that after several years of raising flowers on the same soil, its fertility is considerably reduced, disease and harmful insects increase and the spot becomes so infested with harmful insects and plant diseases that the grower considers it wise to rent the land for three or four years and then move to another plot either by renting other land or by the process of rotation on his already rented acreage. The average chrysanthemum grower rented four to ten acres of ground and planted flowers on two or more acres, letting part of the land lie fallow or planting it to other crops on a rotation basis.

Whereas the investment of greenhouse growers runs into tens of thousands, that of chrysanthemum growers runs into the thousands. The investment of chrysanthemum growers is chiefly in cash rent payment of \$50 an acre or more; lumber for frame work for cloth covering, for packing shed and store room, stakes or split wood for holding up plants; pipes and rubber hose for irrigation and sprinkling system; several grades of cloth. (Japanese grow their chrysanthemums under various types of cloth, ranging from heavy cheese cloth to heavy weight black cloth to control the maturity of plantlets.); insecticide; fertilizer; string for tying plants; wires for use on frame work; and water.

4. Relations with Caucasians

Business relations with Caucasians were good. Mutual confidence was developed over a period of years. They had worked together through good and bad times. Both groups saw a definite need for cooperation in the best interests of the floral industry. To further their mutual economic interest, they organized a corporation and bought a market site for \$150,000, on which, prior to evacuation, they had planned to build a wholesale market. Japanese flower growers periodically gave good will parties. All prominent floral leaders irrespective of race or nationality and some civic leaders were invited, among them the mayor of San Francisco who happened to be a florist. The get-togethers came to be recognized as some of the biggest social affairs of any sponsored by the Japanese.

5. Evacuation Experiences

Many nurserymen, like other groups, had to undergo very bitter evacuation experiences losing thousands of dollars in crops, rent, equipment and personal property.

The evacuation order came as a shock. According to the nurserymen, the Army did not give sufficient time to the growers to settle their business affairs. Bewildered and confused, their worries were not in terms of small or big profits they might realize in the business transactions, but rather in terms of what should be done with their houses and other property, and how to provide funds for taxes and upkeep as these obligations became due. Government agents were there to assist, but, either advertently or inadvertently, gave very little constructive help to evacuees in settling business affairs.

In the confusion, many Caucasians took undue advantage of the situation. Unwise contracts were made, such as, "war duration" contracts, delegating power of attorney to some lawyer or other local representative, signing a sort of "blank check" type which enabled the other party of the contract to enjoy very wide privileges. Many rented to strangers at a nominal rent. For example, one nurseryman who had 10 acres of chrysanthemum plants, a home, a packing shed, other buildings and nursery equipment for growing chrysanthemums, left his home and property in charge of his employees without any rent. All he required was that they look after the property. Some valuable equipment and supplies that are hard to get, such as cheese cloth, and

personal property, he stored in one of the buildings and locked it up. Recently when a checkup was made, many of the stored items were found to be missing. Employees explained that these things were stolen while they were out working.

Mr. M's family had been in the nursery business for over forty years, lately specializing in growing carnations. He owns property which includes a large home, about 1500 lineal feet of greenhouse, a boiler and boiler house, and all other necessary equipment. When evacuation was announced, there was time only to make what amounted to a eleventh-hour contract, finally agreeing, after much haggling and arguing, on a rental of \$60 per month. Mr. M feels that the rental value of his house alone is worth \$60, what with practically a new General Electric refrigerator costing \$300, a good modern electric washing machine, and a piano. Of the eight rooms, he retained only two for storage space of household goods and personal belongings. The rent included the use of greenhouses and other nursery equipment, and the virtual possession of a full, bearing crop of carnations. The contract ran for one year, with the understanding that the renter was to stay until Mr. M was able to return. When the year was up, Mr. M received no communication from his renter, nor for months thereafter. Upon investigation, W. R. A. found that the renter had left after the year was up to rent and operate another Japanese American nursery in the neighborhood. Evidently, he did not wish to go to the expense of restocking with new carnation plants. In the meanwhile, five strange families had occupied the house without benefit of lease, with one family collecting the rents without the owner's consent or knowledge. According to report, these five families had lived in the house about four months.

After they were evicted, the nursery was rented to a Chinese who is now operating the nursery. At the moment, he is four months in arrear on his rent payments. The W. R. A. report, according to Mr. M, leaves much to be desired! The gas range, refrigerator, washing machine, and piano are missing, nor did the report cover the item of the stored household goods in the two rooms in the house.

H Nursery was established more than 40 years ago. Its owners were among the earliest pioneers to establish the floral industry on a sound basis. The leader of this

nursery held important positions in flower growing organizations, and reputed among both Japanese and Caucasians as well to be one of the best known Japanese figures in the nursery business.

This valuable nursery property of five acres at evacuation time was located in the heart of the city residential area. The property consisted of 3 homes, 18 greenhouses, a packing shed, an office, a large heating boiler system, a well and a tank for watering, 5 trucks, and other equipment. When in full operation, this nursery employed as many as 25 to 30 helpers, including 5 drivers and office personnel. This nursery specialized in growing holiday and bedding and decorative plants. In the later years, it was specializing in growing azaleas that were hybridized and propagated by the thousands and in collecting new varieties. At evacuation, the owners owned \$8,000 to 70,000 azalea plants.

When the evacuation order came, the owners could not find a suitable tenant because of lack of time. They sold the trucks at a great loss, the shrubs and azaleas at about \$.25 on the dollar. Bedding plants selling currently on the wholesale market at \$.75 to \$1.25 a flat were disposed of at about \$.35.

The property was left in charge of an attorney, whom he** had known for ten years, and who later rented the three homes for \$60, \$50 and \$45 respectively and also sold some vacant lots. The nursery itself was left unrented. Only once did the attorney indicate that he had a prospective renter, a Chinese, although the owner learned after a year that several persons actually were interested. Without being very specific, the attorney stated that it was inadvisable to rent the nursery. Mr. H immediately wrote back, asking twice for more details about the Chinaman's offer, his name and address, so that the owner could negotiate directly. Since he was receiving information about the deterioration of his nursery property, previously always well kept, he felt that even at a nominal rent of \$35, it would be advisable to rent the nursery so that equipment and greenhouses could be kept in good condition. The attorney did not so much as answer the letter, advising that the nursery be rented. Instead, the attorney persuaded the owner to dispose of

**The owner who had by far the largest investment in the nursery.

the whole remaining property which the owner had no intention of selling.

As for rent on the three houses, it was received very irregularly; and when it was, the attorney used the rent money for "upkeep" of the buildings or for other "legitimate" purposes. At this turn of affairs, the flower grower's banker suggested changing the agent. Accordingly, the attorney was notified and all power of attorney previously granted him to manage this real estate was revoked. However, since much of the nursery property was now in a wrecked condition to the extent that parts were beyond repair, and it appeared that the property could not be made to function as nursery, save through prohibitive expenditure, another agent was secured and through him half of the land was sold for residential lots, and the greenhouses and other buildings and some equipment were disposed of at salvage prices. Under the new agent, rent for the three houses was immediately forthcoming and is being received regularly.

In short, this nursery owner lost through evacuation, tens of thousands of dollars and consequently feels it is practically impossible to re-establish himself in his former business.

In the latter part of 1944, his son-in-law, with permission of the Western Defense Command, investigated the nursery and found it in a terrible condition. Nearly all glass panes on the hothouses were either broken, or deliberately removed--the putty was gone! In the hothouses, the steam heating and water pipes, also the redwood boards, were missing!

6. Feasibility of Re-establishing Themselves in Former Business

In an evaluation of the overall situation in connection with re-establishing themselves in business, nurserymen are at present weighing the obstacles, enumerated below, that must be overcome, and, secondly, the factors which suggest that possibly on the whole they face a less critical resettlement problem than do most other occupational groups.

a) Some of the More Unfavorable Considerations:
Faulty contracts, for example, such as contain clauses

which preclude the owners' obtaining possession of their property at an early date. Some leases run for the duration of the war and six months thereafter.

A number of the properties, in particular greenhouses, are in a very serious state of repair and will virtually have to be rebuilt. This will take considerable time and capital.

Some lease-holders have neglected to restock the nurseries with new plants. To build up this stock and to get into full production and operate at a profit, looms as a serious problem.

Some nurserymen in Topaz would like to resume their business but are handicapped by reason of their sons having relocated or having been inducted into the Army. The average Issei is well able to supervise his nursery business and even to do some of the labor.

Inability to obtain experienced and reliable laborers is the expressed fear of a few nurserymen.

Since most nurserymen in camp are Issei and since there is considerable question about community sentiment in the East Bay Area, and since some of the letters which they receive from friends or former business associates seem to indicate that the time for their return is not opportune, Issei are very reluctant to take the venture. (It may be observed that some of the persons who are expressing these doubts about the wisdom of Japanese nurserymen returning at this time, are the Caucasians operating evacuee nurseries and making so much money at the moment that it is definitely not to their interest to have the owners return at this time.)

On the basis of the interviews, probably more than 50% of the East Bay nurserymen still residing in Topaz are handicapped by a lack of sufficient operating capital.

The majority feels, since they were forcibly removed from their former business that Government should provide loans on a liberal basis. A few even talk in terms of indemnities.

b) The More Favorable Aspects:

The majority of the nurserymen own their own property and hence will not be faced with the necessity of finding a suitable spot for growing flowers.

Since the large majority of the flower growers, especially the "inside" flower growers, had dwelling houses built on their premises, they, unlike most other evacuees who are planning to return to the West Coast, will not face a housing problem.

The demand for flowers greatly exceeds the supply in the whole San Francisco Area. Reports from the West Coast indicate that flower growers have probably not made more money in their lives than at present.

A few leaders of the Topaz group, (more than 50% of the East Bay Area nurserymen are now residing in Topaz), are thinking seriously of resettling on their nursery farms. At the moment, however, they are still waiting for the chrystalization of public opinion in the East Bay Area and hoping that the United States government will help provide some machinery for marketing the flowers that the evacuees contemplate growing.

A few are thinking in terms of calling a meeting of Topaz nurserymen to explore the various techniques and methods of working together for possible resettlement in the East Bay Area, and for putting the nursery business on a sounder basis than prior to evacuation by agreeing on methods of production control.

O. F. Hoffman
Community Analyst

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CENTRAL UTAH PROJECT
TOPAZ, UTAH

January 26, 1945

AIR MAIL

MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. Dillon S. Myer, Director
War Relocation Authority
Berr Building
Washington, 25, D. C.

ATTENTION: Dr. John Provinse
Dr. Edward Spicer

FROM: Community Analysis Section

SUBJECT: San Francisco Wholesale and Retail Art Goods
Business (West Coast Locality Study)

This report on the San Francisco Oriental Art Goods Dealers, wholesale and retail, is based on interviews with five former merchants on Grant Avenue and one former leader in the Japanese colony.

The types of wares handled by art dealers in their shops were: dry goods, chinaware, toys, lacquer wares, vases, rug, ornaments, and other curios.

SAN FRANCISCO WHOLESALE AND RETAIL

ART GOODS BUSINESS

1. Location

San Francisco Chinatown is well known throughout the world to visitors and tourists of many nationalities for its interesting sights and very oriental atmosphere, but very few people became aware of the fact that Japanese art merchants occupied almost four blocks of this famous foreign colony prior to evacuation. Approximately 95% of the stores dealing in the art goods business were located in Chinatown, on the first four blocks at the main entrance to the colony on Grant Avenue, the main thoroughfare of the exclusive shopping district of the city of San Francisco. The Chinatown end of the Avenue is so narrow that two automobiles cannot be parked side by side without blocking the traffic.

In the opinion of tourists and local shoppers, the most picturesque part of the Chinatown was the art goods stores section operated by the Japanese. Its show windows were decorated in good taste with an array of oriental antiques and ceremonial robes, and with oriental robes and kimonoes modified to suit the American taste. In sharp contrast to this orderliness and general attractiveness, was the filth and unsightliness of the rest of Chinatown. The inner section of the colony was considered by the City Board of Health to be one of the worst sections in San Francisco. Yet it was this questionable notoriety which induced tourist to visit Chinatown whenever they came to San Francisco, and no doubt it was this feature of the community which obscured the presence in the area of the Japanese merchants dealing in the art goods and curios, and their business successes and accomplishments. Only regular customers were aware of the important business role of Japanese art goods dealers in Chinatown.

2. History

The history of oriental art goods stores dates back to the year 1890. And already at that time half a dozen stores were in operation in San Francisco. At least two of the stores were located on so-called Dupont Street,

now Grant Avenue, the others in the vicinity. The reason for the establishment of stores in this locality at that early date was that the district was conveniently near the pier where oriental steamships docked. Transportation needs thus were reduced to a minimum. Having established a strong business foothold in this section, Japanese traders and merchants were about to expand their business when they were abruptly interrupted by the great earthquake of 1906 which created havoc by its numerous tremors and subsequent fires throughout San Francisco and vicinities, and especially the Chinatown district. Since the district south of Market Street was not touched by the earthquake and great fire, the Japanese living in Chinatown moved to a new location called South Park. This new district, too, was close to the pier where the oriental steamships docked.

When reconstruction of old Chinatown was about half completed, the Japanese merchants began to re-establish themselves on Grant Avenue. And by the time of the Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915, about twelve Japanese art goods stores were again firmly established on Dupont Street (Grant Avenue). Two of the oldest stores, established in the year 1890 but interrupted by the earthquake, were Daibutsu and Shiota.

By the time of evacuation as many as 39 stores on Grant Avenue and ten stores outside of this district in San Francisco were doing a thriving business, and this despite the fact that the war was on with Japan. Merchants who dealt solely in imported merchandise from Japan were slightly affected by the abrogation of the treaty with Japan in 1940, but those who handled locally manufactured merchandise did very well. According to the importing merchants, had they not been uprooted suddenly and forced to sell their entire stock within a certain time and ordered to vacate the area, completely divorcing themselves from the business that they had established in the course of 30 to 40 years, perhaps they could have made a go of it despite the war.

3. Relations with Caucasians

Some of the Grant Avenue merchants were very active socially with their Caucasian business associates. A certain few, especially the younger businessmen, joined in

numerous sukiyaki dinners and night club parties. Perhaps these social functions were arranged primarily for business purposes, but real friendship may have been created through these associations with Caucasians. Grant Avenue merchants established numerous business connections with various firms in San Francisco and other states. These business connections might be helpful in their future business dealings.

Evacuees have been hearing from their friends and business associates, such as their lawyers, bankers, and real estate representatives. Some of these former associates advise that the time is not ripe for them to venture into business in San Francisco, especially in the art goods. Other financial leaders advise the art goods dealers to relocate to the East for the time being. Most of the recipients of these letters, appear to be inclined to accept the advice and relocate elsewhere.

Economic relations between the two groups in San Francisco as well as in the other states was generally friendly, although business competition of the art goods dealers with Caucasians was constant. True, some of the merchandise carried by the local department stores was also handled by the Japanese shops on Grant Avenue, but since Grant Avenue merchants sold mostly to tourists, local competition either way was not felt very much. In the wholesale business, it was slightly different. Since no other American firms carried made-in-Japan goods, there was no competition, but some business people and a few politicians complained loudly that made-in-Japan goods were being dumped on American markets, and that American firms were unable to compete with cheap coolie labor in Japan in the production of art goods. They argued, therefore, that our government should put an embargo on all imports from Japan. Despite all this fuss, Japanese merchants' relations with other American firms remained very favorable.

4. Relations with Chinese on Grant Avenue

Relations between Japanese and Chinese art goods merchants on Grant Avenue were characterized by keen competition throughout the whole period the Japanese were in business on the Avenue. According to the Chinese in San Francisco, Japanese merchants were infiltrating into the Chinese domain, Chinatown. True, Japanese merchants had lodged

themselves on Grant Avenue at the entrance to Chinatown, but this part of the Avenue is really a buffer town. According to the Japanese, the Chinese colony is farther down the Avenue. However, this section is generally regarded as part of Chinatown. The Japanese merchants were so aggressive and up to date that the Chinese merchants were unable to compete. Chinese merchants in these four blocks usually conceded defeat by vacating their shops and moving farther down the Avenue. Others liquidated their business, especially during the depression of 1929. However, many Japanese stores went bankrupt during the depression also.

In order to discourage Japanese merchants from further establishing their business in Chinatown, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Six Company, an association of six large Chinese companies in San Francisco, and very powerful, tried every means to accomplish this purpose. City officials were asked to help rid Chinatown of Japanese merchants. Failing in this, they tried picket lines with 'teen age boys standing in front of the stores owned by Japanese merchants with large posters discouraging customers to enter the stores. Usually the sign read about as follows: "This is a Jap store; buying Jap merchandise means helping Japan." The Chinese Chamber of Commerce also distributed handbills and put up signs in all Chinese stores saying, "This is a Chinese store." But as un-American and as un-democratic as these methods of competition of the Chinese Americans were, and as intolerable, to oust Japanese merchants from Grant Avenue, they were of no avail. The business flourished as ever, and Caucasian customers patronized the stores as usual.

This experience suggests that should Japanese art goods merchants ever attempt to re-establish themselves in Chinatown, another hard, competitive struggle would likely ensue. And this time the Chinese would probably have the upper hand because they are already established, and public sentiment will be in their favor.

5. Economic Structure

Japanese merchants had their own associations, namely, the Art Goods Retail Dealers Association, with a membership of close to 40; and the Art Goods Wholesale Association made up of wholesale dealers only. The purpose of these

associations was merely to standardize local wholesale and retail prices among art goods stores and firms, and also to work toward a more or less uniform wage scale. These were merely an association to keep harmony among the merchants. Any business disputes among its members were taken up.

The economic lot of the Associations' employees was not a happy one. The wages paid clerks and salesmen were exceedingly low. Apprentices in most cases were receiving about \$50 to \$60 per month for working 10 to 14 hours a day. It may be significant to observe that former art goods store workers insist that they will definitely not work at such a low wage level again as established by the Association, should former art merchants re-establish themselves in business there and wish their former employees to return.

6. Labor Union

Laborers in Grant Avenue stores were not organized. Since all employees were of Japanese descent, labor unions appeared not concerned about organizing them, nor did the workers themselves attempt to organize a labor union. Maybe the failure to do this was due to a lack of leaders or because of fear of losing their jobs when job opportunities for Japanese were relatively scarce. American firms in San Francisco, just as the other cities in California, did not hire Japanese Americans. In organizing a union, unless the leaders receive full support of all of the workers, usually the leaders will be the only ones fired and be without jobs. Consequently, no one attempted to take the leadership in San Francisco.

The average gross income of some of those firms in retail business, as well as the wholesale, was relatively large. For example, a small Grant Avenue shop, 24 feet by 50 feet, did \$5,000 to \$6,000 worth of business every month, and an average-sized store, with about five employees, usually did a gross business of more than \$15,000 a month. The largest firm was owned by several partners who operated a chain of stores throughout the country, probably twelve altogether. Another large firm, the Pacific Dry Goods Company, doing a retail and wholesale business in Chinatown, imported its merchandise directly from Japan and China. Another top-notch firm, Ino Merchandise, operated three branch stores on Grant Avenue,

and one on Market Street. Others were Daibutsu, Pagoda, Kisen, Nikko, Kajiwara, Nippon Trading Company, and others. The largest strictly wholesale firm, Nippon Dry Goods Company, did an annual gross business of roughly, about \$500,000. It is estimated on the basis of the interviews that the approximate total annual business of all Japanese art goods stores, including both retail and wholesale, in San Francisco, was over \$3,000,000.

7. Evacuation Experiences

One respondent, one of the partners of a large store on Grant Avenue, established 45 years ago, disclosed that his partner, and who happened to own more than 80% of the stock, left for Japan before the outbreak of the Pacific War. Therefore, the entire stock of goods was taken over by the Federal Government, **the merchandise sold and the cash frozen**. Thus the firm was forced to take terrific loss, in the opinion of interviewee, though the actual loss in dollars and cents cannot be estimated.

Above respondent also disclosed that his father opened a store on Grant Avenue just about two years prior to evacuation. Business at that time was very good, then came the evacuation order which allowed them only a very short time to clear up their business. He was one of the fortunate ones who disposed of his entire stock at a fair price. But like many others, he took a big loss in selling the store furniture and fixture. He claims that his father sold his entire equipment for less than 30% of its true value.

Another respondent, a partner in a wholesale and retail business for the past 30 years, revealed that his firm at the time of evacuation operated four stores, the largest and two others located on Grant Avenue, and one on Market Street, the main thoroughfare of San Francisco. He admitted that business dropped off slightly after the outbreak of the war, but that prior to that the approximate gross income per month from one store alone was more than \$15,000, and during the Christmas month, it went as high as \$20,000. Fortunately, he was able to sell part of his stock at a reasonable profit but had he been permitted a longer period to liquidate his entire stock, or to continue his establishment, he could easily have made a normal profit, he says, which has been denied him by evacuation. Owner of a house in the residential district

of San Francisco, he will be able to trek back home whenever he decides to do so. At present he is in Chicago, exploring the possibilities of re-establishing himself there in the art goods business.

8. Property Owned

None of the merchants on Grant Avenue owned their store buildings. They rented store space on a month to month or year to year basis. Few of them had a five-year lease on the buildings. However, the owners as a whole were very cooperative and did not take undue advantages. In fact, Japanese merchants were given preference over others, no doubt because they exercised greater care over the property and because they even made improvements on the buildings.

A few of the Nisei art dealers owned homes in the residential district.

9. Possibility of Returning

Possibility of returning to their former occupation by this group is very remote at the present. The consensus of opinion of former art merchants seems to be that they are unable to resume their former business either on the West Coast or elsewhere at the present time for the following reasons: (1) the majority have no homes to go back to; (2) once uprooted in business, the individual finds it difficult to restore confidence in himself to resume his business; (3) since the complete stock of merchandise has been liquidated, it would take time to build up the stock; (4) all equipment, furniture, and fixtures have been sold at a great loss; (5) vacancies of stores in good location are not available; (6) public sentiment appears not very good; (7) merchandise would be difficult to obtain at this stage of the war; (8) complete cessation of importation of oriental art goods for the duration of the war.

/s/

O. F. Hoffman
Community Analyst

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Central Utah Project
Topaz, Utah

Community Analysis Section

TO: Mr. Dillon S. Myer
War Relocation Authority
Barr Building
Washington, D. C.

ATTENTION: Dr. Edward Spicer
Dr. John Provinse

SUBJECT: Foothill Area - Placer County
(West Coast Locality Study)

This Center has only a few families, possibly a total of sixty individuals, transferees from the Tule Lake Center, who formerly resided in the Foothill Area of Placer County. Despite the few in number, the story of Placer County residents should be told so that WRA can facilitate their resettlement. The Japanese history of that region, too, is so interesting that the story should be told for its own sake. This study is based on interviews with four former residents of that district, and on a letter from a fifth who has since relocated in the Midwest.

1. A Bit of History

In both the American and Japanese histories of California, Placer County plays an important role. Hereabouts it was that gold was first discovered which made California the focal point of the '49 Gold Rush and which later resulted in the state's eventually becoming one of the greatest in the Union. For the Japanese, Placer County was about the first district to which the Japanese migrated from the city of San Francisco. Shadows of the past can still be recognized: the grave of the first Japanese woman to pass away in this country; and also the remnants of the tea culture which the Japanese attempted to introduce into the United States. To this spot, too, came artisans from the high courts of Japan to find new fields for exercising their exceptional talents. Where they or other descendants ever drifted to is one of the unsolved tales of local lore.

2. Economic Conditions

This is the country where as a natural result of panning for gold and later the introduction of placer mining, the once green vales and rolling hills lost their pregnancy and became rocky unproductive land. Early pioneers first planted hay in their attempts to bring normalcy back to these acres and succeeded not a little. Orchards sprang up here and there, and it was to these that itinerant Japanese labor found its way in the first years of this century.

Working on ranches for a number of years made these Japanese farmers skilled in their work and land-wise. To begin with, they were not novices at the trade. With an agricultural heritage based on generations of tilling the limited soils of Japan, they came prepared to force production even from inhospitable land. After following the various fruit and vegetable crops from one part of California to another, they had finally found in Placer the land to their liking. Here they raised their families and built permanent homes. Land was cheap because it was not fertile and was uncultivated, and it would require years of toil before anything could be realized from it. Although the first years were fraught with disappointment and failures, finally the Japanese had in their grasp some of the finest fruit orchards in Placer. Subsequently, the little towns expanded and communities such as Roseville, Newcastle, Auburn, Placerville, Penryn and Lincoln, became centers

of lively agricultural activity.

By frugal saving and persistent planning, the Japanese were able to amass approximately 3,500 acres of now-choice land arrayed with healthy, fruit-bearing trees. The smaller farmers held about 40 to 50 acre tracts while the more prosperous owned as much as 200 acres. These orchard farms were the envy of Caucasian ranchers. But not all Japanese were farm operators, many worked as laborers and ranch foremen for well-to-do Caucasians.

Since the average ranch did not need the attention of many workers except during harvest, members of many families annually went to work in Sacramento Valley farms after their own harvest was over and made enough side money to cover yearly expenses, leaving the profit accrued from their crops as clear savings.

Many Placer Japanese farmers built substantial houses suited for country purposes. All owned their own trucks and pleasure cars. The former equipment was absolutely necessary for hauling farm produce to the packing sheds or the railroad terminals.

3. Community Organization

Although Roseville was the railroad terminal of that district and consequently a center of Japanese business activities, public acceptance was so poor that only two Japanese stores were in operation there. A few miles to the east in Loomis, we find some establishments and the Japanese population thereabout numbered several hundred. Penryn, Newcastle and Auburn also had stores and the usual Japanese organizations: namely, the Buddhist Church with its numerous societies, a Japanese language school and the Japanese Association. Placer County rural areas were predominantly Buddhist. Very few Japanese Christian churches dotted the smaller rural settlements of California. Placer county Japanese numbered possibly a little more than 300 families, totalling over 1,500 persons. The group was enlarged considerably, perhaps to three or four thousand, during the summer harvest months when Japanese farm laborers from the Valleys came to work in this region.

4. Relations with Caucasians

The rather phenomenal success of the Japanese farmers in

Placer was never well received by the Caucasian group of the region. Even at best the relationship was never more than lukewarm. However, up to the time of the outbreak of war with Japan, there occurred no cases of boycott or any form of physical violence.

When the Japanese first began buying land in Placer, the unproductive tracts were valued at about \$50 per acre and were thought to be good only for raising hay. But the Japanese farmers through patient diligence and thrift improved their ranches until in 1940, no fruit-bearing soil could be bought for less than \$150 per acre, while the richer land covered with good, youthful trees commanded a price ranging over \$200 per acre! To the chagrin of Caucasian farmers, the Japanese were able to secure title to much of the good land during the last great depression--they had the ready cash to make these bargain buys. In the light of this bit of history, it is not surprising to discover that Caucasian farmers look upon the present time as opportune for getting back their choice land, acres which when in the hands of Japanese farmers grew perhaps the best peaches and plums in California.

5. Evacuation Experiences

When evacuation began, Placer residents were at first in the so-called "white zone" and were therefore not thinking much in terms of having to vacate their homes, but the Japanese population increased so measurably because of the influx of Japanese from evacuated areas that the Caucasians became more resentful. This development plus the feeling of insecurity in their "white zone," induced many to prepare for the day when they, too, would have to evacuate. Despite anticipating evacuation for themselves and being obliged to enter the assembly center near Marysville, California, many in their haste signed ill-advised leases, leases which they were to regret later. Just what the dispositions were, this office is not in the position to note since most of those evacuated from Placer are yet at the Tule Lake Center. So far as is known here, Placer Tuleans still have possession of their land. (One of the chief characteristics of the Japanese is that they do not let go of their property, especially real estate, unless they are forced to do so.)

As already suggested, the relationship between Caucasians

and Japanese was not too friendly from the beginning. And so when evacuation took place, Caucasian farmers, especially the lower elements and their farm organizations, began working for keeping the Japanese out indefinitely so that in the end, Caucasians would be able to take over the Japanese properties at bargain prices. This basic desire explains in large part the present disturbances. Now that the ranches are in their hands, they are very reluctant to let go of them again.

6. Feasibility of Resettling in Placer

The consensus of opinion of Placer residents here is that it is not so much individual Caucasian farmers who are making trouble for returning Japanese but the strong vicious farm groups who are making money at the expense of the Japanese and for this reason do not want them back. Backing up local farm groups in their determination to keep Japanese out are others more powerful, such as the State Farm Grange.

One case of how land owners are faring with their tenants or managers is that of a Mr. A. who had left his farm in charge of a Caucasian "friend." Last year, even though the area suffered one of its worst years in history, Mr. A's manager reported selling the fruit crop at a gross of over \$5,000. Yet after his itemized expenses were deducted, the total net profit check amounted to \$313.50! Labor costs alone consumed half of the gross profit, according to the expense account.

But there is a bright side too. Opposition to evacuee farmers returning is not universal. Much credit must go to the many fair-minded Caucasian farmers of Placer County who are doing everything in their power to restore the Japanese properties to the rightful owners. So strong is their influence that despite all the publicity about the Doi case, many Japanese are intending to return to Placer in the near future.

Most of them will have to wait until October at least when the yearly leases run out. Possibly the greatest deterrent to Japanese farmers returning, besides adverse public opinion, is the fact that practically all of them have sold their private cars and trucks. And trucks must be acquired to haul their products to the packing sheds in Newcastle or the rail terminal at Roseville.

7. Letter from Placer Relocatee to Middle West

In closing, a letter just received by the writer from one of the older Nisei formerly from Lincoln, California, can be quoted. Lincoln is also considered one of the "anti" spots and is situated about 35 miles northeast of Sacramento in a very low-elevation district where the rolling hills, leading up to the Sierra Nevada Range, begin:

"As to the Questionnaire you sent me, I think I can give you a great deal of information. Since so many different types of people came in after we moved out of Placer County, I have heard a lot of different stories concerning our home town. As you know, it's just a few persons that can cause you trouble. My Caucasian friends have asked for protection for Japanese-Americans, but it seems like they got nowhere! (Note: this was before the opening of the Coast was announced by the Army.) I don't like to take a chance of going back until it is quite safe - even then, one wouldn't know.

"Economic conditions generally were fair but a great deal depended on one's occupation and place where he lived. This area is not a very rich farming center, and I would say offhand that about 40% of the Japanese-Americans owned property and homes while the remaining farmers leased lands from Caucasian owners.

"The Nisei were just emerging from their adolescence to claim leadership on a par with the Issei. Consequently, the Nisei were very active with their young people's organizations. The Japanese American Citizens' League became especially active in their promotion of friendship and understanding with the Caucasian groups. Due to difference of opinion, the Issei and the Nisei had several conflicts on general policies but these were smoothed over when their respective views were understood by each other.

"We had more time for evacuation than others but financially were hard hit because we were unable to harvest our crop for the year. Most of the ranches were given over to be cared for by the different fruit houses. Ours were taken over by the Placer Farmers, Inc., which was organized after Pearl Harbor for the main purpose of caring for the properties of Japanese farmers. Most of the businesses establishments were leased to Caucasians although there are a

"few instances where the businesses were sold outright.

"Evacuees do hear from their Caucasian friends from the home towns and most of them are really friendly. However, they strongly advise the evacuees to wait until the end of the present season before returning. They frankly feel, too, that a few unthinking Caucasians can cause a lot of headaches for any Japanese-Americans going back now when the growing season has just started, and much money put into the venture.

"Most of the Japanese who own property want to return when it'll be safe and they will have proper protection from the government and local police. Also it greatly depends on which section of the county one returns to. It seems that some parts are better than others. Some of the prime problems that we are facing are the strangers who have moved in after evacuation, chiefly, the Filipinos and the Okies and the Arkies. Also some trouble can be expected with gas stations and stores which may boycott Japanese. Immediate problems are the acquiring of automobiles and trucks as well as some necessary farm mechanical replacements since most of these were sold at the time of evacuation.

"All in all, Placer County can be considered one of the bad counties due to the influx of the above-mentioned low class, illiterate people. Also the fruit houses into which we put a lot of faith seem reluctant to give up their profitable, newly-acquired Japanese properties."

8. Conclusion

Such is the tenor of opinion of former Placer County residents. It appears that the majority in Topaz are planning to return to their former homes, but they are not in too great a hurry about taking the step. The trek back may not get under way until summer or autumn for reasons indicated above.

Oscar F. Hoffman
Community Analyst

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