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~~Morton Judzins~~

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE ADJUSTMENT OF
JAPANESE EVACUEES IN DENVER.

Submitted:

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John deYoung
Community Analyst
War Relocation Authority
Hunt, Idaho

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	
I. <u>The Japanese Community in Denver Prior to Evacuation</u>	1
Size and Composition of Group	1
Occupation of Group	2
The Residential Area	3
Church Groups	4
Nisei Organizations	4
General Characteristics	5
II. <u>Present Japanese Community in the Denver Area</u>	5
Size and Composition of Group	6
Occupations of Group	8
Residential Area	10
III. <u>Role of Japanese Organizations and Denver Civic Groups in</u> <u>the Adjustment</u>	12
Evacuee Groups and Organizations:	
J.A.C.L.	12
Japanese Church Organizations	13
Informal Japanese Groups	16
Civic Groups:	
Y.W.C.A. Activities	17
Y.M.C.A. Activities	19
Caucasian Church Activities	20
IV. <u>Relations of Other Minority Groups with Japanese</u>	23
The Spanish American Group and the Japanese	23
The Relation of the Negro Group to the Japanese	24
Relations with Other Minority Groups	27
V. <u>Discriminatory Restrictions on Japanese in Denver</u>	29
Occupational Discrimination	29
Jim Crow Restrictions	31
VI. <u>Kinds of Adjustments Being Made by Evacuees in Denver</u>	33
Adjustments of Voluntary Evacuees	33
Adjustments of Evacuees from Relocation Centers	33
Extent of Social Maladjustment	38
VII. <u>Evacuee Attitude Towards the Relocation Centers and WRA</u> ...	40
Concluding Remarks	41
Appendix	44

INTRODUCTION

A brief survey of the Japanese community of Denver, Colorado, was made during the month of October, 1943. Special emphasis was placed on the adjustment problems of the evacuees who had settled in Denver. Only a rather general picture of the developing Japanese community could be obtained in the short period devoted to the survey.

The results obtained for Denver probably can be taken as fairly representative of other Japanese communities which are growing up in the larger cities of the Rocky Mountain region. The adjustment problems of the Japanese in Salt Lake City, for example, appear to follow much the same pattern as in the Denver region.

I.

THE JAPANESE COMMUNITY IN DENVER PRIOR TO EVACUATION

Denver and its outlying area has had a small Japanese community for the last thirty years. According to the 1940 census there were in the city of Denver 323 Japanese. In the small suburbs, which with the city proper make up metropolitan Denver, there were 111 more Japanese. In the counties surrounding this metropolitan district, there were 378 additional Japanese. (Table I) This made a total of 812 Japanese in the Denver area in 1940.

TABLE I

JAPANESE POPULATION IN DENVER AREA, 1940*

Place	Number
City of Denver	323
Arapahoe County	111
Jefferson County	42
Adams County	336
Total	812

* Source 1940 Census

The majority of the Japanese were situated in small towns on the outskirts of Denver and in the rural areas surrounding the metropolitan area.

The 1940 figure of 323 for the city of Denver was a slight drop from the Japanese population of 1930 when the count stood at 349. The Japanese community was apparently becoming smaller. A sizable proportion of the 1940 figure of 323 was made up of seasonal workers who drifted in and out of Denver. By 1941 it is estimated that the actual Japanese population stood somewhere between 250 and 300. A breakdown of the 1940 group reveals that 65.3% were citizens and 34.7% aliens. (Table II)

TABLE II

CITIZEN, NON-CITIZEN BREAKDOWN OF JAPANESE POPULATION IN DENVER, 1940

	Male No.	Female No.	Total	%
Citizen	89	122	211	65.3
Alien	82	30	112	34.7
Total			323	

There were almost as many alien male as citizen male. This is partly explained by the fact that unattached aliens drifted into the region drawn by the seasonal occupation. One hundred eighty-five of the total group were over 21 years of age. All the aliens were over 21, whereas only 73 of the 211 citizens were above this age group.

Occupation of Group

Denver (pop. 322,412) can be best described as a mining and agricultural center and a health resort. There was very little industry before the start of the present war. In fact it had long been the definite policy of the Denver Chamber of Commerce to discourage industry from becoming located in Denver. Even before the war there was little opportunity for the Colorado Japanese to be absorbed in factory and industrial work.

In the outlying areas of the city, agriculture was the main occupation of the Japanese. In Adams County almost the entire population was employed in truck farming and other forms of agriculture.

In the city of Denver itself, the occupational range extended from professional to domestic service. A tiny Japanese business district had been built up in the Larimer Street area. This business district consisted of a fish market, 3 oriental merchandise stores, 7 restaurants, 2 jewelry and watch repair shops, 1 laundry, 2 barber shops, several hotels and a shoe repair shop. In addition to these establishments there was a Japanese owned drug store, beauty parlor, and garage outside this localized area. (Table III)

TABLE III

BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS OPERATED BY JAPANESE IN 1940 IN DENVER.

Kind	No. of Establishment
Beauty Shop	1
Fish Market	1
Drug Store	1
Restaurants	7
Jewelry & Watch Shop	1
Oriental Merchandise Store	3
Laundry	1
Barber Shops	2
Garage	1
Hotels	2
Noodle Factory	1
Wholesale Veg. Produce Co.	1
Clothing Store	1
Total	22

These business establishments were congregated within a three block area in a deteriorated business section of Denver. This area fits the sociological description of the marginal area or zone of transition. This area in Denver was originally the central business district. As Denver grew the central business district shifted to the southeast and the former central area began to deteriorate. Today the former main business street, Larimer Street, has become an area of pawn shops, second-hand clothing stores, flop houses, missions, saloons, cheap hotels, and rooming houses. This street is roughly comparable to the bowery in New York, South State or North Clark Street in Chicago. The Japanese shops and cafes were centered within a three and a half block stretch between 18th and 23rd streets on Larimer. This zone of transition in Denver follows the sociological pattern in that it is also the area where the largest amount of physical and social deterioration is found. Poor housing, delinquency, poverty, and disease is prevalent in this area. It is also the area where the racial and immigrant colonies are located.

A survey of the occupational range indicates that the majority of Japanese wage earners in Denver either operated shops or other establishments, worked in domestic and personal service jobs or fell in the professional category. (Table IV)

The number of doctors and dentists was way out of proportion for the group. There were five dentists and three physicians. This group relied mainly on non-Japanese for a clientele. Several of the dentists and doctors had city-wide reputations. A few depended to a great extent on the Japanese population of Denver and surrounding region and other minority groups. There were no Japanese lawyers, opticians, or optometrists. Several Colorado Nisei, however, were in law school and were planning to start law careers.

TABLE IV
OCCUPATIONS OF JAPANESE IN DENVER, 1941*

Occupation	Number
Hotel & Restaurant	15
Domestic work	15
Laundry & Cleaners	3
Beauty Parlors, Barber Shop	3
Mechanics, Garage work.	2
Hospital Personal Service	12
Clerical	6
Operator of own business	25
Professional people	12
Shoe Repair	1
Seamstress	2

* Prepared from 1940 City Directory, interviews, etc.

The Japanese Residential Area

Even before evacuation there was a small ecological concentration

of the Japanese in Denver. The big proportion of the Japanese lived in the transition area and were concentrated around the section in which the Japanese shops and cafes were located. This area was known to some extent as a 'Little Tokyo'. The smallness of the group, however, did not place the section in the public eye. Since the area was one in which deterioration was far advanced, living conditions were bad. The unattached men lived in cheap hotels or rooming houses. Families were in crowded apartments and run-down houses. This section was also a lower-class Mexican area and the Negro district pressed in on two sides.* One or two families lived in the upper-class Negro residential district. The Japanese professional and prominent business group was scattered throughout the city middle-class residential areas. This professional and business group owned their homes. Certain residential areas were closed, however, to Japanese.

* see
Figure I

Church Groups

There were two Japanese church groups in the Denver area, the Buddhist church and a Japanese Methodist church. There were three Buddhist churches, one in the city of Denver, and two in the rural sections. Both city and rural groups had young Buddhist associations. The Buddhist Church in Denver is about 20 years old and is situated in the Larimer Street area. The Buddhist priest could scarcely speak English. The leaders of the church were business men who had established themselves in the Larimer Street area.

The Japanese Methodist church has had a very interesting history in Colorado. To begin with the Methodists were the only Protestant group that actively worked among the Japanese in Colorado. Practically all of the Protestant Japanese of Colorado belonged to the Methodist Church. There has been a Japanese Methodist Church in the city of Denver for the last 40 years, with a Japanese pastor. The present Japanese pastor has been in the Denver area for 15 years. Since the number of Japanese Methodist parishioners in the city of Denver was very small, the parish took in the surrounding rural area and extended throughout all of northern Colorado. The Japanese Methodist pastor also went as far afield as Nebraska and Wyoming. The Sunday services in Denver did not draw more than 20 to 25 church-goers. In 1932 an old church was purchased in a present Spanish-American section, next to the Negro district. This church was named the Japanese M.E. Church of Denver. A semi-social religious club, the Japanese Fellowship Circle, met on Sunday evening. The membership was made up of Nisei from Denver and the rural areas. The fellowship meetings had an average attendance of 12 to 15 Nisei.

Nisei Organizations

Connected with the Denver Y.W.C.A. was a Japanese Nisei social club which met twice a month for dancing purposes. There were a few organizations sponsored by the Japanese group for the Nisei. Both the Japanese Methodist Church and the Buddhist Church had young peoples' associations.

JAPANESE RESIDENTS IN DENVER, 1941
 DENVER, COLORADO, BY CENSUS TRACTS

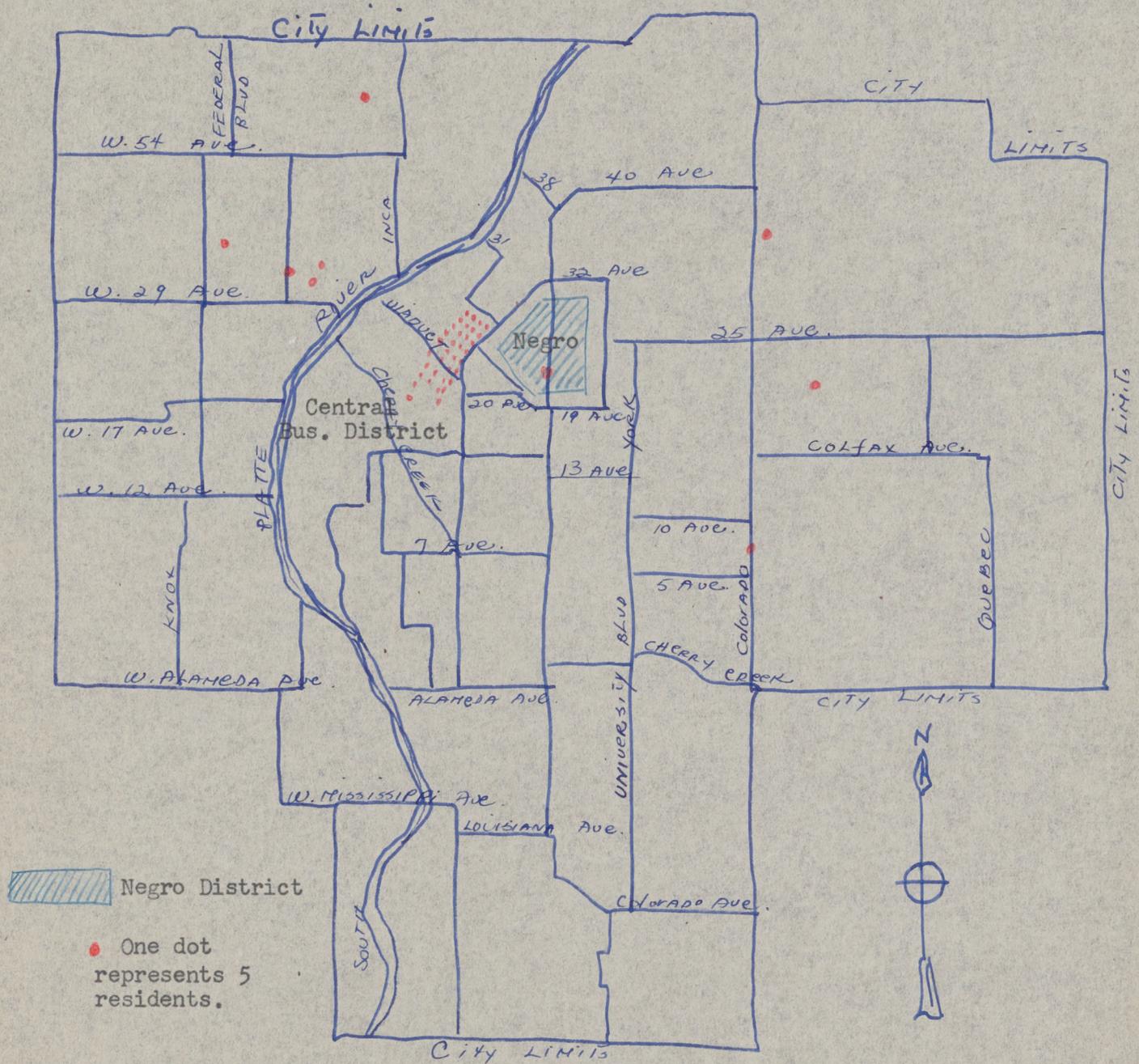


Figure I

There was an athletic club in Denver for Nisei boys known as the "Nippon Club". Some of the rural areas had separate boys' and girls' clubs distinct from the Denver group. These were usually sponsored by the Buddhist Church.

A Denver chapter of the Japanese American Citizen League existed but it was a very inactive group. It did little or nothing to meet the problems of the Japanese group.

General Characteristics of Colorado Japanese

Most of the Colorado Issei have lived in this region for the past thirty or forty years. The Nisei have been born and raised in Colorado. Since this native group has been very small, there has necessarily been much more contact with Caucasians than has been the case among some of the larger Japanese rural communities of California. The lack of Japanese women in the early days resulted in quite frequent mixed marriages, especially with women of other ethnic groups.

The rural population on the whole was more conservative than the Denver population. There appeared to be a greater proportion of Buddhists in this rural group. The difference between rural and city people apparently was quite noticeable. The rural girls were under much more parental supervision. Much of the difference especially among the younger group was, of course, due to the greater sophistication of the Denver group brought about by the conditions of city life. In general, it can be said that the rural families around Denver retained more of the Japanese cultural pattern.

The native city group also was not an integrated community. The greatest integration had taken place among the 'uptown' or 'Larimer Street' group. This 'uptown' group was regarded by the Japanese families who had established themselves in other areas of the city as a somewhat lower class group. Thus even before evacuation there was not much integration of the Japanese group.

II

PRESENT JAPANESE COMMUNITY IN THE DENVER AREA

The Japanese population of the Denver area has grown tremendously since the evacuation from the West Coast. From a small community of approximately 250 in Denver and 600 in neighboring rural area, the Japanese population of the Denver metropolitan area has grown to more than 3500. (Table V)

TABLE V

JAPANESE POPULATION OF DENVER METROPOLITAN AREA AS OF OCT. 1943

Origin	Number
Colorado Japanese	812
Voluntary Evacuees from West Coast	862
Evacuees from Relocation Centers	1378
Others*	<u>500</u>
Total	3552

The Japanese Community in the city of Denver has grown from a small group of about 250 to approximately 2,000. In the surrounding rural areas the population has jumped from 500 to approximately 1,500.

The proximity of the rural and small town areas in which many Japanese have settled to Denver throws this rural group in constant contact with the city group.

An integrated Japanese community, however, does not yet exist. Instead there are several large groups of Japanese which in turn are broken up into smaller groups and cliques. There is first of all the small group of Colorado Japanese who may be referred to as the native group which have been described in Part I. This 'native' group still retains much of its former identity. Then there is the group known as "the voluntary evacuees".

Prior to the forced mass evacuation move from the West Coast, it is estimated that approximately 860 Japanese voluntarily moved into the Denver metropolitan area. The majority of this voluntary population consisted of family groups. At least 50% of this group established themselves in agriculture. They bought farms, hired out as farm laborers, or operated farms on a share crop basis. The other 50% settled

*

It has been estimated by the Denver Relocation office that probably as many as a thousand Japanese on which no records are available have drifted into the Denver metropolitan area from other sections of the U.S. This figure seems to the observer to be too large since the drift out of the Denver area is also great. A figure of 500 is probably closer to the actual number.

in Denver. Many of this group started small business establishments in the Larimer Street area. Among these early voluntary evacuees was a small group of Nisei chick-sexers from California. They were young and full of life, had flashy cars, and plenty of money to spend. This small handful of Californians during the first months created some unfavorable public opinion through their appearance and conduct. The voluntary group had almost a year in which to make adjustments before the evacuees from the relocation centers appeared on the scene.

During the first months of the resettlement program, most of the job offers that came to the relocation center were agricultural and domestic jobs, the majority of which fell into a single person category. In Denver there was a great demand for domestics, especially maids. These domestic jobs drew large numbers of young Nisei girls from the centers and from the voluntary evacuees of the Denver area. There was also a great demand for seasonal agricultural workers which drew young Nisei boys and men from the centers. These workers were usually single, and those who were heads of families left the family in the relocation centers. Thus during the first few months of relocation a young unattached Nisei group moved into the Denver area. The influx of Japanese into the Denver area was so great that saturation point was believed reached over six months ago and the Denver metropolitan area was closed to further relocation.

The majority of the voluntary evacuees came in from California and almost 90% of the evacuees from relocation centers were also Californians.* The bulk of the evacuee population in Denver is thus originally from California.

Smallness of Issei Evacuee Group

The exact number of Issei in Denver is not known since the number is constantly changing and records are not available for the voluntary group. A survey made of the evacuees from relocation centers indicated that the proportion of Issei who have settled in the Denver metropolitan areas is very small. According to WRA records, there were only 83 Issei in the Denver metropolitan area who had come from the relocation centers.** If these figures are correct, only .061% of the total relocated evacuees in Denver are Issei.

* See Appendix C for place of origin on West Coast of relocation center evacuees in Denver.

** See Appendix D for complete breakdown of this Issei group.

In the city of Denver there were only 39 Issei from centers. These 39 consisted of 20 family groups and 15 single male Issei. Of the 20 family groups, all accompanied a Nisei head of the family and were dependent on the Nisei family head. The 15 single Issei supported themselves. Of the 9 independent Issei families in Denver, 3 operated their own business, 4 were working for other Japanese, and 2 worked for Caucasians.

The WRA records are not complete and there are probably more Issei from relocation centers in Denver than the numbers given above. In addition, there are the voluntary evacuee Issei families in Denver. Yet these incomplete figures do indicate that the Japanese group in Denver from the relocation centers is still predominantly a Nisei group. So far this Nisei group has not been able or has wanted to draw out the rest of the family.

Occupations of Present Japanese Group

It is very difficult to arrive at any satisfactory statistical results with respect to occupational categories since records are not available for a great portion of the group. Incomplete records are available for part of the evacuees from the centers but little is known of the voluntary evacuee group. The following data gives only a general idea of what the occupational range is at the present time.

Growth of Business Establishments

There are now over 70 Japanese business establishments in the city of Denver. (Table VI)

TABLE VI

BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS OPERATED BY JAPANESE
IN DENVER - OCTOBER 1943

Kind	Number of Establishments		
	Prior to Evacuation	New	Total
Beauty Shop	1	2	3
Fish Market	1	1	2
Drug Store	1		1
Restaurants	7	6	13
Jewelry & Watch Repair Shop	2	3	5
Shoe Repair Shop	1		1
Oriental Merchandise Store	3	1	4
Laundries & Cleaners	1	7	8
Barber Shops	2	3	5
Garage	1	3	4
Hotels & Apartment Houses	2	8	10
Pool Halls		3	3

Oriental Food Factories	1	8	9
Florist		1	1
Book Store		1	1
Photographer		1	1
Newspaper	2		2
Total			<u>73</u>

Eighty per cent of these establishments are situated within a four block section between 18th Street and 22nd Street on Larimer Street. Each month sees more of these little stores, cafes, and service establishments spring up. Some are definitely catering to a predominantly Japanese clientele, such as the cafes which specialize in oriental foods. The pool halls, barber shops, hotels and rooming houses for Japanese tenants, and oriental food manufacturing companies are also catering to the Japanese group. The oriental food manufacturing companies are, however, branching out and selling their products in other communities where Japanese have settled and in the relocation centers. The cafes and pool halls and rooming houses are necessarily limited to the local scene. At the present time business is very good for most of these Japanese establishments. A saturation point seems to have been reached for cafes specializing in oriental food. In a three block area, there are now 13 Japanese cafes, and this is in an area where there is competition from low-priced American and Mexican restaurants. Most of the Japanese restaurants appear to be thriving but several apparently are barely able to make ends meet.

The service establishments such as laundries, dry cleaners, barber shops, watch repair shops, are already catering partly to non-Japanese customers and are apparently doing a thriving business.

These new shops and establishments are located in the same area as the pre-evacuation Japanese business district. The result has been an increased concentration in this area and a definite 'Little Tokyo' type of business district is now noticeable.

The largest increase in Japanese establishments has been in hotel, restaurant, and personal service establishments. The number of Japanese restaurants has been doubled in a year. There are now eight times as many oriental food-producing concerns. Laundries and cleaners have likewise increased eightfold. The number of barber shops, watch repair shops, pool halls, and garages has been tripled.

Range of Present Occupations

A survey made of the occupations of over 700 evacuees from relocation centers indicates that at the present time the great majority are still employed in the agricultural, produce shed, domestic, and personal service categories. However, more and more jobs in the skilled

and white collar categories are opening up. (Table VII) Twenty-six per cent of the group surveyed were in agriculture, 15% in produce sheds and vegetable markets, 14% in hotel and restaurant work, and 16% in domestic jobs. Over 70% fall in these four categories. The other 30% is divided among clerical, skilled, personal service, and professional categories.

A survey of the present occupational classification of a group of 400 Nisei made up of Colorado Nisei, voluntary Nisei evacuees, and relocation center Nisei gave very similar results. Twenty-four per cent of this Nisei group fell in the agricultural category, 15% in produce shed work, 10% in hotel and restaurant work, and 13% in domestic work. A higher percentage is found in the clerical and skilled categories indicating that the Nisei are moving over into this category in larger number. (Table VIII)

TABLE VII
OCCUPATIONS OF 700 EVACUEES FROM RELOCATION CENTERS

Occupations	Male	Female	Total	%
Agricultural			180	25.7
Professional jobs with War Agencies	13		13	1.85
Government Agencies	8	2	10	1.42
Attending School	32	18	50	7.14
Technicians	2	2	4	.59
Hatchery work	5		5	.71
Produce sheds, vegetable markets ..	103	1	104	15.
Hotel and restaurant work	73	26	99	14.
Photographer	1		1	.14
Domestic work	15	95	110	16.
Laundry and Cleaners	15	6	21	3.
Beauty Parlor	3	5	8	1.14
Service Station, Mechanics	13		13	1.85
Truck drivers, etc.....	25		25	3.57
Hospital work	12	8	20	2.85
Printing	4		4	.57
Clerks, Stenographer	6	7	13	1.85
Shoe Repair	2		2	.28
Factory work	7	10	17	
Total			700	

Present Residential Area

There has been a tremendous expansion of the Larimer Street residential area. At the present time there are probably over 1,500

Japanese concentrated in this region. (See Figure II) This has meant that the previous area has been greatly expanded. There has been a movement towards the central business district and an encroachment into the Negro district. Housing is very bad in this area. Store front apartments are not uncommon. The majority of the young unattached Nisei in this area live in rooming houses and hotels. Yet in spite of the unwritten real estate restrictions, there has been a quite noticeable degree of dispersion throughout the city of Denver. A new and very small concentration has grown up near the University of Denver and another in a Jewish neighborhood. In general though, the dispersion has been in the same general vicinity where Colorado Japanese were already established.

TABLE VIII
OCCUPATIONS OF NISEI IN METROPOLITAN DENVER*

Occupation	Male	Female	Total	%
Agricultural work	78	26	114	24.3
Produce sheds	64		64	15.
Hotel and Restaurant work	35	6	41	10.
Attending School		6	6	1.40
Hatchery work	15	6	21	4.91
Domestic work	2	56	58	13.
Laundry and Cleaners	1	1	2	.46
Beauty parlor, barbers	15	2	17	1.63
Mechanics, garage work	14		14	3.27
Truck drivers, etc., warehouse wk..	20		20	4.67
Hospital work	1	4	5	1.16
Clerks, steno, office work	10	25	35	8.10
Store clerks	5	3	8	1.86
Factory work	3	11	14	3.27
Professional jobs with War Agencies	5		5	1.14
Miscellaneous	6	8	14	3.27
Total			428	

* Taken from records compiled by Denver Y.W.C.A. Japanese Young People's Club.

III

ROLE OF JAPANESE ORGANIZATIONS AND OF DENVER CIVIC GROUPS IN THE ADJUSTMENT

Evacuee Groups and Organizations

J.A.C.L.

The Japanese American Citizens League maintains an office in Denver. There is one paid worker and a secretary. One of the functions of the office is that of an information bureau through which evacuees contact their friends. A reading room is also maintained for Nisei soldiers on leave in the area. The smallness of the Denver staff necessarily means that not very much field work can be done. The work that is done is good but is limited in quantity. Occasionally, the JACL acts as an agent to secure housing for hard pressed families, and more frequently is a means through which Nisei secure jobs. Smallness of staff and lack of financial backing are weaknesses of the JACL organization in Denver.

The membership of JACL in Denver is still very limited, probably not more than 200 at the present time. This membership is still a very select one taking in the Nisei segment that has come to be known as the intellectual group. The average Nisei in Denver seems to feel that the group is too intellectual. This attitude is typified by such statements as, "Poor guys like us don't fit in the JACL."

In general, it can be said that the JACL is not very popular with the average Nisei. This feeling goes back to pre-evacuation and evacuation days. In California the feeling against the JACL among the Nisei ran high. The JACL was charged with encouraging and aiding the evacuation move. Since the great bulk of Nisei in Denver are from California, much of the bitterness and resentment towards JACL remains. This California Nisei group was at first almost 100% against the JACL and it probably can safely be said that 70% still are against the organization. The leadership of the JACL in California, especially that of Los Angeles, was made up of the Nisei intellectuals and young professional people. Socially the JACL Nisei group was the Japanese '400' of Los Angeles. Even before the war the JACL had failed to gain the confidence of its members. Its activities of the pre-evacuation days, of the evacuation period, and during the assembly center period, turned both Nisei and Issei almost solidly against it. As an organization, it has to break down this suspicion and is only slowly making progress in Denver.

The cooperation between non-Japanese groups and the Denver JACL office has not been very satisfactory. In some instances there is almost an atmosphere of suspicion. The relationship of the Denver WRA office with the JACL office seems to be typical. The JACL workers

make no bones of the fact that they feel that WRA should take a much more active role in supervising the relocated evacuees in Denver. This is especially true with respect to teen age youngsters who for the first time are without parental control. They are critical also of many WRA policies. Some members of the local WRA relocation office apparently take this as personal criticism and feel they must defend the WRA position. A feeling of tension is noticeable in the relations between the WRA relocation office and JACL office.

The same type of tension has developed between the YWCA group and JACL. The JACL workers seem to feel that the YWCA group has not made adequate use of the opportunities the YWCA Nisei Club affords. The YWCA group, on the other hand, feels that the JACL should have developed a much more active leadership group among the Nisei.

Japanese Church Organizations

The Japanese M.E. Church described earlier has in the last four months been extremely active among a certain segment of the Japanese population. A Nisei minister was detailed by the Methodist Church to work for a three month period in Denver organizing a program for the young people and to assist the permanent Japanese pastor in church work. In this three month period this Nisei minister has created a flourishing Japanese community church. The name of the church has been changed from the Japanese M.E. Church to the California St. Community Church. This was done partly in an attempt to draw non-Japanese in the surrounding community into the church but mainly to avoid the issue of denominationalism. Many of the Christian Japanese coming into the area are non-Methodist and are hesitant about attending a church of another denomination.

Through the local WRA office, the Japanese newspapers, and other sources, the Nisei minister made up a list of some 700 Nisei in the area. Four hundred of these Nisei were personally contacted by the minister who sought to find out if they were going to church. In his interviews emphasis was put on attendance in neighborhood churches, but if the Nisei had not been attending church, they were invited to the Japanese church. Not more than 50 out of 400 Nisei contacted had been attending Caucasian churches. It was apparent that for the most part only those Nisei and Issei who had previous contact with Caucasian churches on the Coast were attending these churches. The bulk of those who had formerly been churchgoers had gone to Japanese churches and did not feel at home in a Caucasian church. Since many of the young Nisei utilize the church mainly as means of a social contact with opposite sex members of their own racial group, the Caucasian church did not meet this requirement. Nisei from Buddhist families who are making their initial contact with the Christian church may find it easier to adjust first in a Japanese Christian church. The Nisei minister thus

felt that creating a strong Japanese church was necessary. After the creation of such a church, coordination with Caucasian churches could be worked out.

A relatively integrated Japanese community church has developed in the last four months. The Sunday morning church services whose average attendance had formerly been between 15 to 20 now draw an average of 70 to 80 people. Only about 8 native Colorado Japanese families regularly attend these services. The attendance of the young people's Fellowship Circle has greatly increased. From a small group of 15 to 20 members, the average attendance now runs between 85 to 100. On special occasions the attendance goes as high as 200. The great majority of churchgoers are evacuees. A few Mexican children from the neighborhood have been brought into the Sunday School. Except for one Caucasian member who followed Japanese from the West Coast, the attendance is almost entirely Japanese. Occasionally Nisei may bring Caucasian friends with them.

Composition of New Members

The composition of the new church group is made up of handful of young married couples with the great mass being young single individuals. The average age of this group falls somewhere 20 and 22. The group is made up of girls working as domestics, the student crowd, and young Nisei in clerical and semi-skilled jobs. The girls outnumber the boys two to one. Except for a handful of individuals, the Larimer Street group has not been brought into the church group.

Social Activities of the Japanese Church

The big drawing card of the Japanese church, especially the fellowship group, lies in the social factor. The Sunday Night Fellowship meetings is one of the few places where young Nisei can meet each other. Parties are occasionally sponsored by the Fellowship Circle.

Criticisms of Other Church Groups and Organizations

The formation of a Japanese Christian church has given rise to criticism by other church officials and organizations. The charge is made that this Japanese church is in reality impeding assimilation by drawing Japanese away from Caucasian Christian churches which they had been attending. The Y.W.C.A. Japanese Club supervisor, the FOR secretary, and members of the Missionary group in Denver are upset over this recent development. In some instances almost open hostility has developed. The Nisei minister is charged with obtaining addresses of Japanese under false pretenses. A request was made to the WRA office for a list of evacuees in Denver. This was obtained with the understanding that all ministers in the area were to be informed of Japanese families living their parishes. The YWCA Japanese Club supervisor and certain church officials charge that this was not done and

that the Japanese church used the list only to build up their own membership. There seems to be some doubt as to whether this is true or not. In any event Caucasian ministers have apparently not received notice of Japanese families living in their parishes. At the present time, a Baptist missionary is attempting to do this. Another charge that is made is that the Japanese church is drawing Japanese individuals and families away from Caucasian churches which they have joined. In several instances this is true for the Nisei.

Resentment of Colorado Japanese

There is some resentment shown by the Colorado Japanese towards the influx of evacuees into the church. The church attendance of the Colorado group has been reduced. Previously the smallness of the church group had built up very intimate relationship between pastor and the congregation. The newcomers now outnumber the old members 10 to 1. The name of the church has been changed and the old members are forced to take a back seat. This has created resentment and a few old members have stopped coming to church. The situation is a little different with the Colorado Nisei who have retained control of the Fellowship group through the club officers. The increased social activity and larger numbers of young Nisei of their own age is not unwelcome to most of the Colorado Nisei who belong to the group.

Summary of Japanese Community Church

The role of the Japanese church can probably be best summed up in light of the social relationship it provides. The interest of the young Nisei who are flocking to church is on this aspect rather than the religious.

It is difficult to say at the present time whether the Japanese Christian church is aiding or hindering adjustment. It cannot be denied that this church is in part meeting needs which have not been met by the Caucasian church groups of Denver. On the other hand, it is true that public attention is being called to the fact that a strong Japanese church is being built up. The church is in a run-down neighborhood and draws most of its congregation from outside this neighborhood. Following the outbreak of war, the Japanese church was stoned and windows broken. Already the large numbers of Nisei who attend the Sunday evening fellowship meeting have given rise to voiced unfavorable sentiment by people living in this area.

In a few cases the Japanese church has drawn Japanese members away from Caucasian churches and in this respect assimilation to some extent is being hindered.

The suspicion that has been engendered among the other church group is bad. There has long been a lack of cooperation between church

denominations in Denver and the present setup is doing little to build up a better relationship. It is unfortunate also that the Nisei minister who built up the present community church was detailed for only a three month period. He has now been transferred to another state. If a new Japanese minister is sent in, he will inherit all the headaches that have developed. While it was the aim of the temporary minister to build up a strong Japanese Christian church and then begin working toward inter-relations with Caucasian churches, a new man may not follow this plan. A real danger exists that the Japanese church will become more and more self-centered. If this occurs, there will probably be also increasing suspicion and non-cooperation shown by Caucasian church groups and other organizations. The development of the Japanese Christian church in Denver has been determined largely by the fact that there was an established Japanese Christian church in the community.

Activities of the Buddhist Church

The activities of the Buddhist church of Denver have been greatly curtailed since the war. The fact that the Buddhist priest scarcely speaks English places him under suspicion by Caucasian organizations.

The majority of the Buddhist members have always been located in the Larimer Street area and have been somewhat regarded by the Christian Japanese as the lower class group. Since the surrounding rural areas have their own Buddhist churches, the Denver Buddhist group has been strictly a city group. This has meant that the Young Buddhist Association of Denver has been a more sophisticated and more Americanized group than the rural Buddhist Y.B.A. This Y.B.A. is still active and holds Sunday evening meetings into which a few of the Nisei evacuee Buddhists have been drawn. A pattern seems to be developing in which many young Buddhists who are no longer under parental control are drifting into the Christian church if they are interested in church activities at all.

There is some talk heard occasionally about possible subversive activities of the Buddhist group. A certain amount of this type of opinion must be expected since to most people Buddhism is unfamiliar and as such is open to suspicion.

Informal Japanese Groups

A few informal associations have developed in the Japanese community. A Nisei boys' athletic club has been in operation for the past year. The past winter this club sponsored a basketball team known as "The Nips" which played in the YMCA city league. This group takes in only a handful of Nisei boys and outside of athletic interest does not function in the Japanese community. The choice of the name, "The

Nips", led to some criticism of this group.

A group of young Californian Nisei mostly from the Larimer Street area have banded together and formed a social club known unofficially as "The Californians". The leaders are found in a small group of Nisei boys who work as chick-sexers in the hatcheries. This group is very well paid, own big cars, and have plenty of money. During the past year, this Californian group has sponsored public dances. At first these dances were held in the cheap dance halls of the Larimer Street area and attracted the rougher elements of the Japanese district. Drinking and fights were common at some of their early dances. Partly because of this trouble, the group attempted some sort of control by holding the dances in a better atmosphere and by attempting to formalize attendance. Finally the group decided to sponsor a dance in a ballroom of one of the big hotels of Denver. This was frowned upon by one of the relocation officers who felt that a large congregation of young Japanese in the midst of war-crowded Denver would be inadvisable and might even lead to an incident since large numbers of soldiers are ever present in the hotel section of Denver. The proposed dance was called off when opposition to it was voiced by the WRA relocation official.

Activities of the Y.W.C.A. and Japanese Nisei Club

The Denver Y.W.C.A. has been actively interested in the social life of the Nisei who have relocated in Denver. This interest began before the war. In October of 1939, a Japanese Social Club was organized for the native Colorado Nisei group. This club drew both the city and rural Nisei and met twice a month on Thursday nights for dancing. It began with an initial attendance of 27 and grew within the next two years to an average attendance of 85. These Thursday night meetings remained on the whole a social get-together, although there was some attempt to interest the group in the problems of the Nisei.

The dances were very popular with the young Japanese and demonstrated that even before the influx of newcomers to Denver, recreational and social activity was scarce for the Japanese. Most of the Japanese homes were small so that entertaining friends at home was very difficult. Until the time of the entrance of the U.S. into the war, the Japanese American Club of the Y.W.C.A. functioned merely as a social club. In the months following the outbreak of war, groups of voluntary evacuees began to come into the Denver community. The problem of the evacuees was brought to the attention of the Y.W.C.A. In some instances members of the Japanese American Club asked for assistance in relocating friends and relatives from the West Coast. In March, 1942 after a committee composed of permanent residents, evacuees, and members of the Y.W.C.A. Citizen Committee had discussed

the problems facing the evacuee coming into Denver, an information service for evacuees was set up in the Y.W.C.A. building. Office space was provided by Y.W.C.A., and members of the Japanese Club took the responsibility of providing voluntary workers.

The community committee of the Y.W.C.A. brought the problems of the Japanese evacuation before the Denver Ministerial Alliance which began to take some interest in the matter, at least to the extent of raising funds to replace the windows of the Japanese M.E. Church which had been stoned and broken after war was declared.

Finally through the efforts of interested individuals, an advisory committee regarding Japanese problems in the community was set up. This was composed of representatives of the Y.W.C.A. Citizen's Committee and the Denver Council of Religious Education. The function of this Committee was to serve in an advisory capacity to workers dealing with the Japanese problem. A young Nisei girl who had been formerly secretary of a San Francisco Y.W.C.A. branch was employed by the National Y.W.C.A. to work on the Japanese information project.

After the establishment of a Denver Relocation office in Denver, the Japanese information project gradually became less important, and by the summer of 1943 was no longer in operation.

Antagonism between Local Residents and Newcomers.

As the incoming group of Japanese became increasingly larger, considerable antagonism began to develop between the local residents and the Japanese from out of state. The underlying factor of the antagonism on the part of the local residents lay in the fact that they felt their community standing which they had built up over a period of 30 years would be impaired by the newcomers and their future endangered. This antagonism evidenced itself in lack of cooperation on the part of the local Japanese groups. The Y.W.C.A. Nisei Club provides a good illustration of this. The original Japanese Club had from the start been dominated by a small clique of Denver Nisei. This clique was determined that the Y.W.C.A. Japanese Club should remain a weekly dance affair and did nothing to help integrate the out-of-state young people into the group. As more and more out-of-state young people began attending the Thursday night dances, the local group began to solidify in its opposition to the newcomers. Those out-of-state college students were accepted by the local group, but the great majority of California Nisei did not fall into this group. There was almost complete ostracism of the Class of California boys, as "Zoot Suiters". The attendance at these Thursday night dances soon began to average between 130 and 200 with twice as many boys present as girls. The majority of girls came from middle and upper class group, while the big proportion of the boys appear to have come from lower-class groups. This was evidenced in type of dress and behavior of the boys at the dances. There was apparently a great deal of difference between the girl's social background and that of the bulk of the boys. Intense competition for girls,

plus the discrimination towards California boys, eventually led to open conflict between the Colorado Nisei boys and the California group. After several fights on the dance floor, the Y.W.C.A. exerted pressure to formalize the club and to create some type of supervision. A registration system was instituted and Y.W.C.A. Nisei Club membership cards were issued. An enrollment of 500 was soon reached. The October enrollment showed 308 boys and 193 girls as members of the Nisei Club. Admittance to the Thursday night dance is now by membership card. Guests are required to have member as a sponsor.

Through the Y.W.C.A. club supervisor, a planning committee had been set up to formulate plans for the club. This committee had been dominated by local members although two Californians were eventually appointed to the group. The planning committee, however, was ineffectual since the local members were determined to keep the Nisei Club strictly a social dance club as had been the custom in the past and resisted any attempt to reorganize. A nominating committee set up to elect officers for the Nisei Club likewise was ineffectual for months. Finally in October, officers were elected.

In the last six months, the Japanese girls club of the Y.W.C.A. has greatly expanded. Various interest groups have been organized and a Supper Club for Nisei girls on Thursday nights has grown up.

Activities of Y.M.C.A.

In decided contrast to the Y.W.C.A., the Denver Y.M.C.A. has shown no interest in the problems of the Japanese in Denver. The unofficial explanation is that because of the large numbers of soldiers who use the Y.M.C.A., it would be inadvisable to have Japanese around. A few Japanese boys have lived temporarily in the Denver Y.M.C.A. It appears to be more than ordinarily difficult for a Japanese to acquire a room at the Denver Y.M.C.A.

The attitude of several Y.M.C.A. members towards the Japanese almost verges on open hostility. While this non-interest in the problems of a minority group may seem strange in light of the liberal attitude of the National Y.M.C.A., it is explainable in view of the extreme conservatism of the Denver Y.M.C.A. The local Y.W.C.A. which is actively fighting on the liberal front and is much closely allied with the national unit. The Denver Y.M.C.A., on the other hand, is closely under control of local business men. This leading business group is very conservative and leans over backwards to avoid any controversial issue. A few members of the Y.M.C.A. Board are sympathetic towards the American Japanese but make up the minority. Throughout its history the Denver Y.M.C.A. has been extremely conservative. The present Negro Y.M.C.A. is a case in point. In 1905 a local Negro employed in a janitorial capacity established a boys' club in the Negro district and called it the Negro Y.M.C.A. When the Y.M.C.A. Board heard of this, they forced abandonment of the name, Y.M.C.A.

The Denver Ministerial Association, then took over sponsorship of the club and called it the Negro Brotherhood Club. After this club had been in operation for 10 years, the Local Y.M.C.A. decided to take it under its wing. In the past the local Y.M.C.A. evidently has not considered work with minority groups as part of its functions. The philosophy of the Y.M.C.A. group is well summed up in their annual boast, "We Raise Our Budget." To attain solvency the board caters to the conservative business element of Denver. This conservatism is even felt to the extent that there is under cover resentment on the part of conservative Y.M.C.A. members towards soldiers who have at present largely taken over the Y.M.C.A. facilities. There is also a decided lack of cooperation with the Denver Y.W.C.A. Many of the Y.W.C.A. activities are regarded by the Y.M.C.A. Board and staff members as being somewhat radical. The conservatism of the local Y.M.C.A. fits in with the general conservative pattern that characterizes Denver as a city. Denver is a mining, agricultural and health center and has maintained a relatively isolated position. There has long been a definite policy of discouraging industry from establishing itself in Denver by the Chamber of Commerce. Denver in the sense of community cooperation is still a young community. It is characterized by lack of cooperation between various community groups. The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. do not work together, the church groups have never cooperated to any appreciable extent. It is a little wonder, then, that the Japanese have been ignored by the Y.M.C.A. in view of its extremely conservative sponsorship.

A few Y.M.C.A. staff members personally are interested in helping the Japanese, but can do little or nothing to accomplish this. Last year a Japanese young men's basketball team was permitted to join the Y.M.C.A. league and to play in the Y.M.C.A. gym. This team called themselves 'The Nips' which had an unfortunate connotation. Even if the policy of the Y.M.C.A. were more favorably inclined towards the Japanese, the high membership fee of \$15 would quite affectively keep most Japanese boys from using its facilities.

The Negro Y.M.C.A. which is in the so-called 'blackbelt' area has offered its facilities to the Japanese, but the Nisei boys have not accepted this invitation. A number of Japanese families are now living within the Negro district but parents frown upon social contact with Negroes.

Role of the Caucasian Churches in Denver

The Colorado Council of Churches and the Denver Ministerial Association have evidenced interest in the Japanese problem. But although meetings and discussions of the Japanese problem have frequently been held, little action has been taken. A Congregational ex-missionary has been put in charge of publicity but beyond this takes no active part in working with the Japanese. The Methodist group has sponsored the

Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church of Denver. The Baptist group has an ex-missionary working in the Denver area. This group recently opened up a 'brotherhood house' in an attempt to provide a better atmosphere for young Nisei boys who are living in the Larimer Street area. The missionary group which has been sent into the Denver area is a very vocal group, but as yet has not succeeded in getting the Denver city churches very much interested in the Japanese.

In general the Caucasian churches have done very little to bring Japanese families or individuals who live in their parishes into the community church. There are one or two exceptions to this. About 15 Japanese families in the last year have joined neighborhood churches. Nine of these 15 families have been taken into one of the Caucasian Methodist churches, the other six are divided among two Baptist churches. The other churches have shown little interest. This is partly explained by the fact that in many instances the various ministers have no way of knowing when Japanese families move into their neighborhood. Others are fearful of the attitudes of their parishioners. One objection that has been raised is that this association of young Nisei with Caucasian young peoples' church societies might lead to intermarriage. It is claimed that the shortage of young Caucasian men in church societies will put undue emphasis on the Nisei boys.

In the past year, there has been little cooperation between the various church denominations. The Methodist Church which for the past 40 years has been the only Protestant denomination actively working among the Japanese in Colorado has strongly entrenched itself. With the establishment of a relocation center in Colorado and the resettlement of many Japanese in Northern Colorado, other church groups began to show interest. Religious workers were assigned to the centers and the rural areas. In the rural areas, however, rather rigid territory lines are observed by these workers for fear of paching on each other's territory.

In Denver the expansion of the Japanese Community Church under Methodist auspices is giving other church groups concern. A committee of ministers, missionaries, and other religious workers which has been dealing with the problem of intergration of the Japanese, has come to the conclusion that this new Japanese church is harmful in that it is retarding integration and assimilation. This group feels that Japanese church in this respect is undoing the work of the other church people.

The Baptist missionary is at present working with the local Caucasian ministers. His proselytizing is confined to Japanese Baptists and Buddhists. He is attempting to interest these individuals in the Baptist churches of Denver. Names of members of other denominations are turned over to ministers of these churches. This missionary also runs a semi-religious residential house for young Nisei boys which is supported by the Baptist churches of Denver. The policy of the Baptist group is to have no strict Japanese church. This is in contrast

to the present Methodist policy of building up a Japanese church. There has been very little activity on the part of churches in Denver. One or two ministers have taken an interest in Japanese living in their parishes. The rest have ignored the Japanese or have been ignorant of their presence. There is a decided lack of cooperation among the various denominations. This also is true of the church groups in the rural districts.

The fact that an ex-missionary group is in control of Japanese church programs has been in some respects more of a hindrance than a help. Several of these missionaries have a good understanding of Japanese Americans, but others who are operating in the area do not understand the psychology of the Nisei. Some of these missionaries after 30 or 40 years of work in Japan are tackling the problems as though they were back in Japan. A story is told about this missionary group to the effect that not so long ago they came to the conclusion that it would be good to teach the Nisei in the centers the American way of life and suggested that they be taught American sports such as baseball and football.

Japanese Emergency Christians

A small group of Japanese in Denver are deliberately using the Christian churches to get established. This group is known to other Japanese as 'emergency Christians'. These Nisei, in some respects, are retracing the footsteps of their fathers, many of whom used the Christian churches to get jobs and to familiarize themselves with American cultural patterns when they first came to the United States.

RELATIONS OF OTHER MINORITY GROUPS WITH THE JAPANESE IN DENVERThe Spanish American Group and the Japanese

The Spanish speaking population of Colorado is estimated at approximately 68,000 of which 30,000 are in the metropolitan area of Denver. This Spanish speaking population can be broken down into two large groups. There is an old Spanish American group and a more recent Mexican group which has been imported by the large sugar companies.

The Spanish speaking group of Colorado has long been considered the group which has been subject to the most discrimination in Colorado. This discrimination has ranged from very stringent economic and political restrictions to social discrimination, such as real estate restrictions and Jim Crow restrictions. In Denver itself discrimination against Spanish speaking peoples is not as noticeable as in the small Colorado towns, but it still exists as a very potent force. While Jim Crow restrictions are no longer in effect, the economic setup effectively keeps the Spanish speaking group in a low economic and social plane.

While there is no strict "Spanish Section", with rigid boundaries as is the case for the Negro community, there is a large concentration of Mexicans and Spanish Americans around the run-down Larimer Street area next to the Negro district. The Spanish Americans who can afford good homes have established themselves in the middle-class residential districts of the city. In general the low economic level of the group has forced them into the run-down and undesirable sections of town. The housing conditions of this segment of the group is greatly inferior to that of the Negro group in Denver. This lower class group of Mexicans and Spanish Americans have the highest infant mortality, relief, and delinquency rates of any group in Denver.

Occupations of Spanish American groups

Economic discrimination has long kept the Spanish group on a low economic plane in Denver. The majority of the Spanish speaking group has been forced into low wage jobs and seasonal field work. The pattern for the Mexican labor group is almost one of peonage. Large numbers of Mexicans have been brought in by the sugar beet companies to work in the beet fields. This is a seasonal job and prior to the war, the wages were low. After the sugar beet season was over, the great mass of Mexicans were forced on relief in Denver. A month or so before the beet season began, this group was cut off relief and forced back to the beet fields for the beet season.

Before the war there were very few Spanish speaking individuals in white collar jobs in Denver. The defense boom has now forced employers to hire Spanish individuals in this category. Defense industry

has also raised the economic level of the group. In general, however, the group feels that this economic advancement is only temporary and they are very pessimistic about their future in Denver.

Only in the last few years has there been any organized activity among the Spanish group. There is now a Spanish Chamber of Commerce. Some 15 or 20 Spanish organizations have been consolidated into a federation. These organizations have succeeded in electing a Spanish member to the City Council. Lately the group has been fighting discrimination. Outside of political cooperation, there has been little cooperation with the other minority groups.

Spanish Attitude Toward Japanese

There has been very little expression of opinion on the part of the Spanish group toward the incoming Japanese. There has not yet been competition for jobs. To some extent there has been social contact with the Japanese, but this has been almost entirely of Spanish American and Mexican girls with Japanese boys.

Japanese Attitude Toward Spanish Group

The great majority of the Japanese who have come into Denver are from California and have brought with them prejudice against the Mexicans. Further, the Larimer Street area in which the Japanese have congregated is also an area of concentration for lower-class Mexicans. The two groups live side by side in this area but there is little social contact. The Japanese opinion falls in line with the prevailing discriminatory attitude of the Denver community towards the Spanish group.

The Relation of the Negro Community to the Relocated Japanese

The Negro community of Denver numbers about 8,000. This population has not appreciably increased since 1935 when saturation point seems to have been reached. The group has long been concentrated in one section of the city which has come to be known as the Negro quarter. This 'Black Belt' is situated fairly close to the business district. (See Figure I) In the past ten years, there has been a gradual shift in a westerly direction away from the business district. As the Negroes vacated areas close to the business district, lower-class Mexicans have moved in. The Negro district is bounded on two sides by areas which are predominantly Mexican.

While there are some tenement conditions in the Negro area, the living quarters are on the whole quite good. Denver has never been an industrial center, and hence the bad conditions usually found in an industrial city are not present. In general, the pattern of life in Denver for the Negro is that of the middle-class Negro domestic. These domestics own their homes. Street after street in the Negro district is similar to streets in which Caucasian middle-class and lower middle-class families live. Yards are neatly kept,

houses are painted and repaired. The Negro infant mortality rate is lower than white infant mortality rate in Denver.

Occupations of Negro

The majority of Negroes in Denver have been employed in domestic work, porter, or restaurant jobs. While wages have been low in Denver, living costs have also been low. This domestic and porter class which make up the Negro middle-class in Denver have sent their children to college. Since the war, there has been an appreciable increase in wages for Negroes. There has also been a shift from domestic to defense jobs. This is particularly true of the Negro female domestic workers who have left domestic jobs in large numbers to work in the defense plants which have sprung up in and around Denver. This has resulted in a shortage of domestic workers.

Social Classes

The great Negro mass in Denver probably would fall into the category that is usually known as the 'middle-class'. The professional group and the prominent business group form the Negro upper-class. However, the large lower-class group usually found in Negro communities in northern cities does not seem to be found in Denver. There are, of course, families and individuals who fall in the category known as the lower-class, but this group does not make up the great mass of Negroes as is usually the case in northern cities.

Discrimination Towards Negroes

In spite of the relatively good position of the Negro in Denver, there has been a great deal of discrimination. Until the summer of 1943, Jim Crow restrictions were in force in movies, amusement parks, and restaurants. The young educated Denver Negro, except for professional activities within his own group, found little economic opportunity in Denver beyond the porter or domestic category of his parents. Thus, the majority of this young educated group has left Denver and sought employment elsewhere. This pattern fits in with the middle-class conservatism of the Negro group. As indicated earlier, the middle-class group own their homes, emphasis is put in keeping this home in good condition, and children are sent to college. Yet the group at the same times does not have much concern for the future welfare of the Negro group in Denver. Parents are content to let their children go elsewhere to seek a future. The group is also very individualistic. There is lack of cooperation in the group.

Negro Attitude Toward the Japanese in Denver

There seems to be two schools of opinion within the Negro

group toward the Japanese. One group feels that the American Japanese deserve discriminatory treatment. This group feels that the Japanese in America have never shown any inclination in the past to embrace the Negro and are getting the kind of treatment they deserve. As far as the Negro is concerned, the American Japanese before the war passed for white. While the majority of the group who feel like this are lower-class Negroes, a few educated Negroes also have this discriminatory attitude.

The other school of opinion is that which centers around the principle of discrimination because of race. This group is not concerned because of individual discrimination against the Japanese, but because it is discrimination based on race and they are against any form of discrimination. They argue that for the Negro to discriminate against the Japanese destroys their own stand. This type of attitude is found among the better educated Negroes, and to a surprising extent among the high school and younger age group Negroes.

Resentment Towards Japanese Because of Economic Competition

There does not appear to be any appreciable resentment on the part of the Negro group because of economic competition. Japanese girls and women have been going into domestic work formerly held by Negro women, but since Negro women are no longer competing for these jobs, they are not resentful. The same is true to a lesser degree among the restaurant jobs. However, if after the war Negro women are again forced back into domestic work, there will in all probability be competition and resentment. There is a little resentment at present voiced by some Negroes because American Japanese are being accepted for clerical jobs which the Negro has been denied.

Several Japanese operated business establishments have a predominant Negro patronage and have built up good relationship with their customers.

An interesting development is seen in the fact that a few Japanese are buying homes in the upper-class Negro section. The Negro residents have in several instances voiced the same objections against the Japanese as white residential neighborhoods have done. However, where Japanese families have moved into the upper-class Negro neighborhood, friendly attitudes on part of both the Negroes and Japanese are developing.

Young married couples have also been renting apartments on the fringes and within the Negro section. In most of these cases, there is little social contact.

Attitude of Japanese Toward the Negro Group

The majority of the evacuees came into Denver with a discriminatory attitude toward the Negro. A small handful of intellectual Nisei

are an exception to this. Most of the Japanese, however, have definite prejudices against the Negro. In this respect, the Nisei have taken over the prevailing white attitude towards the Negro. The Colorado Nisei has adopted the white attitude towards the Negro in Denver. Negroes are sometimes referred to by the Nisei as "Kuronbo". This is a Japanese word which has the derogatory meaning of 'nigger'. The Issei have brought cultural prejudices from Japan. These in addition to the adoption of the prevailing white attitudes toward the Negroes have resulted in an intensification of prejudice.

The nearness of the growing Japanese community to the Negro section means that many of the younger Japanese are attending public schools where there are large groups of Mexican and Negro children. Friendships are springing up among the younger children. But even this association of young Nisei children with Negro children is frowned upon by Japanese parents. An example of this is seen in a group of fifteen grade school boys composed of Japanese, Spanish, and Negro boys who began to frequent the Negro Y.M.C.A. When the Negro Y.M.C.A. leader who is trying to encourage community cooperation of these groups attempted to formalize this small group of boys, objections were met. The boys were asked whether they would like to form a club and become members of the Negro Y.M.C.A. which was in their neighborhood. Without exception the Japanese boys came back and reported that their parents wouldn't let them join this particular Y.M.C.A. Instead the parents were going to send them to another Y.M.C.A. which was several miles away. The fact that this other Y.M.C.A. was a long way off and in a bad neighborhood did not concern the parent. It was a white Y.M.C.A. The boys themselves preferred to be with their Mexican and Negro friends in the colored Y.M.C.A. but the parents would not permit this.

The fact that the Nisei have not thought of themselves in the past as members of a minority group has an important bearing on their attitude toward other minorities. Even though they have undergone experiences themselves brought about by racial prejudice, many, nevertheless, exhibit the same type of prejudice against individuals of other minorities.

Relations with Other Minority Groups

Although there is a large Italian group in Denver which is estimated between 30,000 to 35,000, there is little or no economic discrimination shown towards the group. Politically and socially the group still retains somewhat of an integrated nature. The majority of this group live in North Denver and have not come very much in contact with the Japanese. Some of the produce sheds and vegetable markets are operated by Italians and many Nisei boys have been hired in this occupation. Here relations appear to be good. In general, it can be said that attitude of the Italian group toward the Japanese is identical with the prevailing attitude of the non-ethnic residents of Denver. The same holds true for the Jewish group, with the exception of a few

Jewish individuals who have been practising discrimination against the Japanese for business reasons.

DISCRIMINATORY RESTRICTIONS ON JAPANESE IN DENVER

The most effective discriminatory restrictions on the Japanese in Denver have been in the real estate and occupation category. Adequate housing is a majority problem in Denver, but the housing problem is made even more difficult for the Japanese by reason of their ancestry. In certain residential districts very effective real estate restrictions have been put in effect making it impossible for Japanese to buy or rent in these areas. The majority of these restrictions are unwritten regulations adhered to by the real estate companies. In some instances these restrictions have been forced by the property owners of certain residential areas who exert pressure on the real estate companies through petitions. In a few residential sections, there are actual "Oriental Exclusion" clauses on owners' contracts which prohibit them from selling their property to anyone of oriental ancestry. This type of exclusion clause goes back in part to the period when Colorado believed itself to be menaced by the Chinese 'Yellow' peril. To some extent, it was also originally aimed at Japanese, for Japanese have been in this area for 40 years. In a few rural areas in Northern Colorado, Japanese have been unable to buy land for the past 20 years.

This type of real estate discrimination naturally has given rise to subterfuges. Japanese families have rented houses in restricted areas in the name of Caucasian friends. The housing difficulties intensified by discrimination has led in part to the great expansion of the 'Little Tokyo' district.

Occupational Discrimination

Discrimination in occupations has increasingly been broken down in the last year forced mainly by an acute labor shortage. A year ago, the majority of jobs open to Japanese fell into agricultural or domestic category, now more and more other classifications are opening up.

Discrimination Against Professional Workers

In general, it has been very hard for professional people of Japanese ancestry to get established in Denver. It is true that there is a small group of Colorado Japanese in the professional category who became well established in the community. But since the war, it has been extremely difficult for professional workers to become established in Denver. One evacuee doctor received a license in Colorado but was inducted into the army before he could begin practice. The Colorado State Board of Examiners apparently does not want to grant licenses to professional Japanese. The Issei professional men are, of course, eliminated by the fact that all applicants must be citizens or have taken out first papers. Several Nisei evacuee dentists have

taken the State examinations and were refused licenses on grounds of not passing the examination. At the present time, several Nisei lawyers are preparing to take the Colorado Bar examination.

Labor Union Discrimination

Labor union discrimination has effectively kept many occupational categories closed to the Japanese. The railway companies in Colorado are in need of workers and many Japanese were formerly employed in railroad work. However, local union protests have prevented the hiring of Japanese in Northern Colorado in this occupation. The A.F.L. Teamster and Warehousemen Local #17 at present will not employ Japanese Americans where they have employer union contracts. Two local A.F.L. unions, the Dairy Employees and the Local Produce Drivers Union have employed a few Japanese Americans but the number as yet is negligible.

A rather tense situation concerning labor unions developed during the summer of 1943 when a group of Japanese Americans working in the egg produce industry attempted to get a union contract with the A.F.L. In June there was a Teamsters Union conference on the West Coast which came out with a resolution against the American Japanese. The Denver delegate to this conference on his return with the aid of the Denver Post stirred up the local A.F.L. unions with the menace of thousands of 'Jap workers' coming into the area. A delegation sent to the Mayor to protest against any further influx of Japanese. The matter was taken up with Senator Johnson of Colorado. The A.F.L. wanted to prevent the Japanese who were already established in Denver from bringing in their families. By this ban on families, it was thought that many of the relocated Japanese would leave. The Japanese produce group at this time decided they did not want to join the A.F.L. and approached the C.I.O. group. The C.I.O. at once agreed to accept the group. This placed the A.F.L. in an awkward position and objections were raised by them. A representative of the War Manpower Commission was finally drawn into the dispute.

Having had its hand forced by the C.I.O. offer to accept the Japanese Produce Union, the A.F.L. finally decided to open its rank to the group. The egg produce group, however, had already decided they preferred the C.I.O. offer and went about preparing a contract with the employer under C.I.O. auspices.

On record the Denver A.F.L. will now accept Japanese into their unions but this means little since they are very reluctant to hire any Japanese.

Discriminatory Attitude of Hospitals with Respect to Nurse Cadets Program

The recent Nurses Cadet program for which Nisei girls are eligible has met a snag at the present time since several Denver hospitals

have refused to admit Japanese girls.

It is interesting to note that the two hospitals that have refused to admit Japanese girls have long had Japanese working as kitchen help and housemen. One of the hospitals has also had Colorado Japanese nurses on their staff.

White Collar Jobs

Jobs that fall in the white collar category have increasingly been opening up for Nisei. There are now openings for clerks, stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, and other positions. A few professional men have hired Japanese stenographers, but the majority of the white collar workers are with local stores and concerns. There seems to be a definite pattern with respect to this type of job. The Nisei in these jobs are seldom seen by the public. These white collar workers are kept in the background. This also is true to some extent for hotel and restaurant work. A few exceptions can be found. An interesting side-light is seen in this respect in the policy of a few popular Chinese restaurants who have employed Nisei as waiters, waitresses, and bus boys. One prominent Chinese restaurant has 10 or 12 Nisei waiters and waitresses who are automatically taken by the Caucasian customers for Chinese in the Chinese cafe atmosphere. In one such restaurant where almost all the help except for the proprietor and kitchen help are Nisei, a large placard is prominently posted to catch the customer's eye as he enters. This states, "We Chinese thank you for your patronage."

Amusement Park Discrimination

Denver has several commercial amusement parks that even before evacuation discriminated against Japanese. The swimming pool in one park was closed and in another the dance hall would not admit Japanese. These parks also discriminated against the Negroes and Mexican groups.

Restaurant and Hotel Discrimination

Except for a few second and third rate restaurants, there has been no discrimination in the restaurants of Denver. Hotels, likewise, have not discriminated.

Movies, Bars, Nightclubs and Bowling Halls

There has been no discrimination in movies, and most bars and night clubs have received Japanese without any noticeable hesitancy on the part of operators. One of the leading night clubs of Denver, however, has refused to admit Japanese on the grounds that their presence might create a disturbance among the large number of soldier patrons. It is again interesting to note that their particular night club has no qualms about hiring Japanese to work behind scenes in the kitchen. Most of the bars have not shunned Japanese trade since the

group that frequents such places have money and are good spenders.

One of the big downtown bowling alleys has in the past been taken over completely on Tuesday and Sunday nights by a Japanese group even to the exclusion of soldiers. The bowling alley people, especially the pin boys, welcome this group who pay liberally for services.

Public Parks

The public parks and golf courses have received Japanese along with other residents of Denver. There has been little adverse public opinion even though the Japanese have tended to use these public parks in relatively large groups. This has been especially true on certain golf courses where the Japanese have been rather conspicuous. As many as 10 to 15 foursomes have congregated at certain golf courses on Sunday mornings. Surprisingly, this has not given rise to much criticism.

VI

KINDS OF ADJUSTMENTS MADE BY EVACUEES IN DENVER

The evacuees in Denver fall into two large groups, the voluntary evacuees and evacuees from the relocation centers. The problems of adjustment have been different for each group.

Voluntary Evacuees

Many of the voluntary evacuees came to Denver to settle near friends and relatives who had long been established in the area. In addition, this voluntary movement was a family rather than individual movement. Entire families migrated from the Coast and settled in Denver and in the surrounding rural area. A sizeable proportion of this group brought with them household furnishings and other property. This group although they had been forced to tear up their roots on the West Coast, were not subjected to forced evacuation and to relocation center life. Most of them came in because of connections already established with relatives or friends. Many when they made the move had already decided to settle permanently in the Denver area. To a large extent, this voluntary group was an adventuresome group who were looking ahead into the future. With this in mind a sizeable proportion bought farms or opened small business establishments in Denver. The fact that the group was small and already had contacts made their assimilation into the Japanese community relatively easy. By the time the evacuees from the centers started pouring into Denver, the majority of the voluntary group had made a fair adjustment.

Evacuees from Relocation Centers

For the evacuees coming into Denver from relocation centers, relocation presented a different picture. This group had undergone all the experiences of forced evacuation, of assembly center and relocation center life. Further, the majority of them still looked toward the West Coast as their home. An extremely important factor in the adjustment problem was that they came in at first as individuals, not as family groups. Another complication lay in the fact that in addition to facing acceptance into a strange Caucasian community, they met a Japanese community which was beginning to view their large numbers with suspicion and fear. After a year in Denver, certain patterns of adjustment are now becoming evident.

Adjustment of the Agricultural Group

The best adjustment has probably been made by the family groups that settled in the rural areas. These family groups have bought farms, are working on farms, or are share cropping. The shortness of the Colorado growing season, the different methods of farming, and different crops, which at first seem forbidding and unpromising to California farmers are now better understood. The past season has been one of the

most productive in years and the new farmers have seen bountiful crops. In certain areas the yield has been very profitable. It is reported that farmers producing such items as cauliflower have made up as high as \$20,000 on a share crop basis. The good harvest yield has had a tremendous effect on plans for permanent settlement. Farmers who previously worked hard several seasons a year have seen how a short-growing season can permit profitable farming. The farming population has almost doubled in the Denver area and probably will continue to grow.

The agricultural prospects around Denver and throughout Northern Colorado presents a good future for the Japanese. Good farm land is available for sale in this region at prices which the Japanese used to pay for rent in California. There is a definite trend toward buying farm land. The Issei especially are beginning to regard the Denver area as their permanent home. A sizeable proportion of well-to-do Issei farmers who were ready to retire on the West Coast have been settling in the small towns around Denver and are buying homes in good residential sections. This settling in the suburbs rather than Denver has been largely determined by the non-availability of homes in Denver. Many of the older Nisei children of this small group are going into business in Denver.

Adjustment of Nisei Professional Group

Only a few evacuee professional people have attempted to begin practice in Denver. There is already a sufficient number of doctors and dentists in the area. Difficulties in securing a state license is another deterrent. Several young lawyers are planning on beginning their careers in Denver and visualize a future based on expansion into the other minority groups.

Adjustment of the Business Group

A sizeable expansion of Japanese business establishments has taken place in Denver. These establishments are necessarily licensed in the name of a Nisei member, although in many cases the business is a family controlled venture. This is especially true of service establishments such as laundries, cleaners, and of hotels and restaurants. The California Nisei area, on the whole, an older age group than the Colorado Nisei and large proportion has had business experience in California.

The future of the Japanese establishments which do not need to depend entirely on Japanese trade looks promising. Business is booming at present for most of the Japanese establishments. This group is looking forward to a future in the Denver area. Since many of these shops, cafes, and other enterprises are run by family groups, a fair adjustment is being made. Housing for this group is still a difficult problem.

Adjustment of the Government Employee and Student Group

The United State Government and allied war agencies are utilizing

a small group of Japanese an interpreters, language instructors, and white collar workers. Members of this group have brought their families to Denver, but their future is uncertain since the jobs they fill are of a temporary nature. In general, this particular group is not making permanent plans for remaining in the area. The few white collar government civil service employees, especially those in permanent government agencies, are however planning on a future in Denver.

The majority of the evacuee university student group* of Denver are not looking forward to staying permanently in the region, with the exception of one or two individuals who are planning professional careers in the region. This evacuee university student group has several years of study ahead of them. Most of their families are still in the centers and have no plans for resettling in the Denver area.

Adjustment of the Young Married Couple Group

The young married couple Nisei of Denver can almost be differentiated as a separate group. There is overlapping with the professional group, the government and business groups, but in addition there exists a number of white collar workers, defense workers, and semi-skilled workers made up of young Nisei couples who have relocated in Denver. This group tends to regard their stay in Denver as only temporary. They feel that the jobs they are filling are either war duration jobs such as defense work or are jobs that were previously occupied by Caucasians and will again be so after the normal labor supply has returned. These individuals are either looking back to the West Coast where many own property or have had small business establishments or are turning their faces eastward.

Adjustment of the Unattached Nisei Worker

This category takes in the bulk of the Nisei in the Denver area. The occupational classification of this group ranges all the way from seasonal farm worker to skilled occupations. It has been and is at present still an ever-changing, shifting group. Probably as high as 50% of all the Nisei who came into the Denver area have drifted out again either back to the centers or to other areas. The Middle West, particularly Chicago, has become the 'Mecca' for this young unattached group. For some this attraction in the Middle West lies mainly in fact that their friends are there and life in a larger city than Denver is pictured as more exciting. But an ever increasing number of young Nisei are coming to the conclusion that there is little future for them in Denver where the peacetime economy is such that there will be no industry to absorb them. The jobs they hold at present are either deadend domestic or personal service jobs. By large, the majority of the group have no plans for the future, and their stay in Denver is regarded by them and their families as of temporary nature. The families of this

* Roughly, some 50-60 students.

group are still in the centers and have no immediate plans of relocating. The typical young Nisei girl of this group is in her late teens or early twenties, is a graduate of high school, and has had little or no work experience. In order to get out of the center she had to come to Denver alone to work as a domestic for a Caucasian family. Her family back in the center still look back to the West Coast as their home and are waiting for the day that they can return there. Her future plans are closely tied up with her family.*

A trend in change of jobs is noticeable. As office and clerical jobs are opening up, Nisei girls are leaving housework field. Those who have stayed in the domestic category have been moving from jobs in middle-class families to higher wage jobs in wealthier homes. A small group of Nisei girls have become waitresses in the Japanese cafes on Larimer Street. Some have come direct from the centers, others have left domestic jobs in the city to take these waitress positions. This group of girls live down in the Larimer Street area. Since the Nisei girl who falls in the domestic category is under some form of supervision by her employer, she does not have much contact with the Larimer Street crowd. Contact with Larimer Street is usually confined to a Thursday afternoon visit to the Japanese shops or cafes. Her main social contacts are with the Y.W.C.A. Japanese Club and the Japanese community church.

The average Nisei boy who falls in this unattached category is also in his late teens and early twenties. He also tended to be a high school graduate and had little or not work experience except for those who came from rural areas and were familiar with farm work. Most of them took jobs merely to get out of the center without much thought for the future. The majority were originally employed in seasonal farm or produce shed work, in the vegetable market, or as bus boys. Last year after the farm season and work in the sheds was over, many of the boys returned to the projects or came into Denver and took jobs in restaurant and hotel work. During the year a wider range of jobs have opened up. For those Nisei who had the experience, jobs began to be available in garage work. In the last month, defense jobs began to open for the Nisei. Jobs as stock boys, mail clerks, and unskilled and semi-skilled office jobs are also becoming available.

In contrast to most of the unattached Nisei girls who live with their employer, the Nisei boys are on their own and live in cheap hotels and rooming houses in the Larimer Street area. Since their wage level is low, they cannot afford very expensive quarters. There are usually two or three boys to a room. The hotels and rooming

* A survey of resettlement of girls and women in Denver made by Kimi Mukaye, National Y.W.C.A. secretary working in the regional office in Denver, on 124 Nisei girls presented this picture in the spring of 1943. Six months later the pattern had not changed appreciably except for a growing shift out of domestic jobs.

houses, except for one or two places, are situated above shops and stores on Larimer Street or in old run-down buildings in the nearby vicinity. It is almost impossible to keep these places clean. Many have vermin and the deteriorated condition of the buildings makes effective control impossible. Living conditions are in most cases very poor and crowded in this area and the unattached young Nisei boy spends his spare time playing pool with his friends or hanging out in one of the Japanese cafes. The families of most of the boys are in the centers and have no immediate plans for relocation. California is still home to most of them and that is where they want to be. The young Nisei boys on the whole are too young and inexperienced to take the lead in bringing their families out. The kind of jobs they are in do not pay enough for them to build up a financial reserve. In contrast to these younger boys are the older Nisei who are establishing businesses or have jobs with a future. These older Nisei are attempting to bring out their parents and brothers and sisters as soon as they establish themselves and can find living quarters. A number of the young Nisei group do not want their families to come to Denver since that will mean an end to their present unlimited freedom.

The more ambitious members of this young group are either seeking to get into jobs which they feel have a future for them or are drifting to the Middle West where opportunities loom larger. The great number, however, are merely marking time in Denver until they can return with their families to the West Coast.

This large segment of unattached young Nisei whose families remain in the center are making an adjustment that can be called a 'straddle' type. They regard their stay in Denver as being only for the duration. Their families, on the whole, do not intend to leave the center. The young Nisei boy or girl after a year in a relocation center prefers the life of Denver even though living conditions are bad and recreational facilities few. The Japanese community is large enough so that they can make plenty of friends of their own age and race. While they may miss their families, there is not the acute loneliness that occurs when an individual is suddenly plunged into a large city. In this connection, not all the change in the population of this young unattached Nisei group is out of Denver. There is also a small but steady stream into the area, especially from big cities like Chicago. Single Nisei boys with no specific plans for the future have drifted back into Denver after trying Chicago, Detroit, and other large cities. These places have proven "too big" or "lonesome" for many of these boys.

Summary

The rural group, the business group, the professional group, and the white collar group are attempting an adjustment with the expectation of staying permanently in the Denver region. The large proportion of the unattached young Nisei are, however, making only a temporary type of adjustment.

Extent of Social Maladjustment

As indicated earlier, lack of social and recreational facilities is a problem that faces the entire group. The most obvious social maladjustment lies with the young unattached Nisei who lives and works in the Larimer Street area. Here young boys and girls, many still in their teens, have found themselves without any parental control. The Larimer Street area has been described as a deteriorated business region. Interspersed between pawn shops, bars, cheap cafes, missions, and second-hand furniture stores are the Japanese shops, cafes, and pool halls.

There has been a great deal of talk about the social maladjustment of the young unattached Nisei boy and girl in Denver. Social maladjustment is and will continue to be one of the big problems that must be faced. The situation in this respect is complex. There are many problems instead of one since at present there is no really integrated Japanese community.

The non-Japanese inhabitants of the Larimer Street region are lower-class Mexicans and down-and-out drifters, in short, the type of Caucasian male population that is found in any flop house and cheap rooming house district of a big city. It is in this area that the great bulk of the young unattached Nisei live. To this region of Japanese shops and cafes the young Nisei boy who may live in the rural area comes after work and on weekends. As must be expected in a population of 3,500, there are some rough individuals. Certain spots have become hangouts for this relatively wild group. When the Japanese first began to move into Denver in appreciable numbers, there were among the group a bunch of California boys who can best be described as "zoot suiters". These boys immediately caught the public eye and their conduct soon gave rise to much talk and rumors.

At the present time this group is no longer so noticeable although it still exists. Some of these Japanese boys soon realized that long hair and "zoot suits" identified them with the despised Mexican and they soon discarded this type of apparel.

While the whole social situation of the Larimer Street region is unhealthy, actual cases of maladjustment and delinquency so far have been more spectacular than extensive. The number of cases in which it has been necessary for city officials to step in has been small for the size of group involved. In short, the situation is not as bad in the Larimer Street area as rumor would have. There are several bad spots in which a group of Nisei, some of whom are verging on delinquency, congregate. This is especially true for a dozen or so Japanese girls who have relaxed all morals to the extent that they are prostitutes in all but professional standing. Some of these girls had bad reputations prior to evacuation but others up to evacuation led sheltered and circumspect lives. The same holds true for a small group of boys. There have been several thefts and other offenses committed

by this group. Drinking, gambling, and fighting is common among this element. This type of individual makes up only a small proportion of the larger group. But this does not minimize the danger that exists for the larger group which is being exposed to this atmosphere. Most of the youngsters are for the first time without parental control and are letting off steam. After being confined to a relocation center, they are apt to be rather carefree the first few months on the outside, especially with no supervision. In this respect these young Nisei are reacting in the same way any other youngster would under the circumstances. Perhaps more than any other minority group, the Japanese have tended to shelter the second generation. This sheltering of Nisei children plus the Japanese traditional pattern of parental control, has meant that many Nisei are having to assume responsibilities for the first time. In addition, the Nisei population in Denver is very young, many still being in their teens. They have undergone the shattering experiences of evacuation, of assembly center, and of relocation center life. It is little wonder that many of these youngsters are confused during their first months in the outside world.

While it is true that most of the West Coast 'Little Tokyo's' were in slum areas, the pattern in Denver is a little different. The major difference is that the Japanese business and residential section has been merged in Denver. This means that the residential section is partly in a run-down business and flop house area. A very real danger of delinquency and social maladjustment exists for the young inexperienced Nisei who is plunged into this atmosphere. Probably one reason why there have not been more cases of maladjustment and delinquency lies in the fact that the young Nisei in this area have been up to now a shifting type of population. There has been a continual change in population of this young group.

The Adjustment Problems of Evacuees Compared with Other Migrants and War Workers in Denver.

The major differences between the type of disorganization among the evacuees and other newcomers to large cities lies in the age group involved and the lack of family organization. Most immigrant groups that face city life do so in a family type of organization. Living conditions may be bad for other migrants to Denver, but the family is able to function as a unit. In contrast to other migrants in Denver, the Japanese newcomers so far have been made up of a much younger age group. The migrant defense workers coming in have had experiences similar to the ones they meet in Denver which is not the case for the Japanese.

VII

EVACUEE ATTITUDE TOWARD RELOCATION CENTERS AND WRA

Within the last few months there has been a change in attitude on the part of the relocated evacuees towards the relocation centers. Up until a few months ago, the relocated evacuees have thought of the center in terms of security. This was especially noticeable in the Denver area on the part of evacuees from Granada and other nearby centers. The farther away the relocation center was from the area of resettlement, the less was the degree of dependency on the center. Evacuees from the Western Defense Command Area tended to come in with plans of permanent resettlement. The feeling of dependency depended to some extent on whether or not family members remained in the center. Lately, this dependency on the center has been decreasing. There is little doubt that this decrease is tied up with recent WRA emphasis on relocation. The majority of the evacuees in Denver now feel that the WRA is actively attempting to push the residents of the centers out into relocation. This follows the center residents' attitude that WRA is trying to push them out.

On the other hand, most of the evacuees in Denver feel that the WRA is on the Japanese side even though the main concern now is relocation. They feel that WRA will continue to stand up for them even when they leave the centers. This feeling that the WRA is actively on their side is relatively new. At first the WRA was regarded in somewhat the same category as the WCCA and the FBI. In Denver this change of attitude towards the WRA was largely engendered by the Denver Post campaign against the Japanese. The defense of the Japanese by the WRA during this campaign and the Dies attack, convinced the Denver evacuee group that the WRA stood with them. The Denver Post campaign thus had one good effect. A whole range of opinion about the role the WRA should play after the evacuees leave the centers is found. This ranges from a belief that WRA should take an active part in getting evacuees settled by finding adequate housing and providing other assistance to the belief that the WRA should dispense with all responsibility once the evacuee leaves the center. Almost without exception, both Nisei and Issei feel that if the WRA lets unattached youngsters out of the center, they should retain some sort of supervision over them. It was also felt that the relocation office should provide some form of social welfare counselling, especially for this young group.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is quite evident that the best adjustment made by evacuees in Denver is that found in family resettlement. This merely substantiates the fact already well known that only through family resettlement can a lasting relocation program be worked out.

The Japanese evacuee group of Denver at present makes up one of the largest concentrations of Japanese outside of the relocation centers. The demands for labor, plus the proximity of several relocation centers to the Denver area, drew large numbers of the evacuees into this area during the early days of the relocation program. A large population of young unattached evacuees poured into the area merely to get out of the relocation center. The influx became so great that the area was closed over six months ago to further relocation. The Denver area thus has an evacuee group that has had from six months to a year in which to make adjustments.

Viewing the present Japanese population of the Denver area in light of Denver's peacetime economy, there is little doubt that a saturation point has been reached.* If all the Japanese now in Denver were to stay in their present jobs after the war, there would be competition with other groups. Many of the young unattached Nisei regard their stay in Denver as of a temporary nature. If this turns out to be the case, much of this competition will be avoided. A considerable retrenchment of the Japanese population in the years following the war can be expected. Yet the Japanese group of Denver will still remain a sizeable community and will face many problems.

There is already indication that there may be a period of anti-Japanese feeling in Northern Colorado after the war. The Japanese community will feel the repercussions of such anti-Japanese feeling for it is starting to become an integrated entity among the city minority groups. Rise in anti-Japanese attitudes will probably bring about an even greater intensification of the Japanese community.

A definite 'Little Tokyo' district is developing and the assimilation of the Japanese group in Denver will, no doubt, proceed at a slower rate than the assimilation of smaller groups of Japanese who are settling in the Middle West and the East. To a certain degree, then, the Japanese community in Denver is following the pattern of the pre-evacuation Japanese communities of the West Coast. A small pre-evacuation Japanese group in Denver had already created such a pattern of development and the evacuee Japanese group is largely following along these old pre-evacuation lines.

* Certain rural areas where sizeable numbers of Japanese can be absorbed are exception to this.

The main problem of economic adjustment lies in the low economic level of most of the Japanese in Denver. Denver has long been noted for its low wage level and while the war boom has materially increased wages, the average is still low, especially since cost of living has also zoomed. The low economic level of the Japanese has had important repercussions on their economic and social adjustments. Lack of proper housing has been one of the worst problems of the evacuees. Yet many evacuees in Denver would by choice remain in poor housing in a Japanese section to be near Japanese friends and neighbors. The security of having members of their own race close by, and the intimate relationship that such a Japanese neighborhood provides for the Issei, exerts a tremendous pressure to keep a 'Little Tokyo' section together. By reason of unavailability of proper housing, of economic necessity, and partly from choice, poor housing conditions are characteristic of the Denver city group.

Social adjustments have been perhaps the most serious problem for most of the evacuees. The young unattached Nisei has been hardest hit by the lack of proper recreational and social opportunities. A potential danger of a greatly increased delinquency and social maladjustment rate among this group looms larger every day. To some extent the WRA must consider itself morally responsible for these young unattached Nisei, who under WRA auspices have attempted to strike out for themselves. The pattern of life that has developed in a slum atmosphere of Denver for this young, unattached Nisei group is not one that is either encouraging to family relocation or is helpful to these young individuals.

Just how far WRA should assume responsibility for evacuee adjustment is a difficult question to answer. The problems of adjustment will differ from place to place, from group to group, and from individual to individual. Specifically in Denver there is need of a welfare counselling program. The relocation officers are so tied up with a myriad of other matters that they are not able to supply the type of counselling needed. This idea of counselling is not new since several of the WRA relocation offices already possess relocation counselors. Denver, however, has been without this type of service during the period when it was perhaps mostly sorely needed.

The lack of cooperation among civic and church groups with regard to the problems of the Japanese points up the fact that more intelligent planning and guidance is necessary if these outside groups are to function in a worthwhile manner. Whether it is within WRA's province to attempt guidance is another matter. But it is self-evident that guidance is urgently needed.

The situation that has developed in Denver also points up the necessity of getting the understanding and cooperation of the Japanese groups in the centers, of the local Japanese group which is already established in communities, and of evacuees who have relocated.

Individual Japanese have great concern for the future of the American Japanese. Group cooperation has not proceeded satisfactorily either in centers or among the evacuee groups on the outside.

APPENDIX A

JAPANESE POPULATION IN THE U.S. PRIOR TO EVACUATION

State	Per cent	Japanese Population	Total Population	Per cent Japanese
California	73.8	93,717	6,907,387	1.3
Washington	11.5	14,565	1,736,191	.8
Oregon	3.2	4,071	1,089,684	.4
<u>Colorado</u>	2.2	2,734	1,123,296	.2
New York	2.0	2,538	12,479,142	.02
Utah	1.7	2,210	850,310	.4
Idaho	.9	1,191	524,873	.2
Arizona	.5	632	499,261	.1
Montana	.4	508	559,456	.09
Nebraska	.4	480	1,315,834	.03
Nevada	.4	470	110,247	.4
All other	3.0	3,831	103,773,594	.003
All U. S.	100.	126,947	131,669,275	.1

APPENDIX B

JAPANESE POPULATION IN COLORADO AUGUST 1, 1943

Native Population (1940 Census)	2,734
Voluntary Evacuees (WCCA figures)	2,700
Evacuees from Relocation Centers	
Seasonal Leave	1,267
Indefinite Leave	1,747
	<hr/>
Total*	9,448

* The total figure is probably well over 10,000 if the number of evacuees who have drifted in from other areas were known and could be counted.

APPENDIX C

EVACUEES IN DENVER AREA* FROM RELOCATION CENTERS

<u>Project</u>	<u>Seasonal Leaves</u>	<u>Indefinite Leaves</u>
Granada	101	206
Heart Mountain	26	169
Central Utah	5	101
Poston	83	282
Minidoka	4	89
Gila River	13	97
Jerome	13	97
Tule Lake	3	53
Rohwer	3	80
Manzanar	4	44
Santa Anita Assembly Center	8	16
Fresno Assembly Center	1	5
Tanforan Assembly Center	1	1
Puyallup Assembly Center	1	0
No record of Project	46	24
Total	<u>309</u>	<u>1234</u>
Grand Total		1543

Note: Count taken as of October 23, 1943

* The Denver area as used here is a larger area than the metropolitan area of Denver in which there are approximately 1,400 evacuees from relocation centers.

APPENDIX D

RELOCATED ISSEI FROM RELOCATION CENTERS (1)

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Issei in city of Denver	25	14	39
Issei in rural area	32	12	44
			<hr/>
Total			83

ISSEI FAMILY GROUPS IN DENVER

20 family groups
15 single Issei men

35

ISSEI FAMILY GROUPS IN RURAL DISTRICT

16 family groups
15 single Issei men

31 (all in agriculture)

(1) Figures from Denver WRA Relocation office records.

APPENDIX D

(cont.)

INDEPENDENCE OF ISSEI FAMILY UNITS IN DENVER

11 families accompanied Nisei head of family
9 families set up independent households
15 were unattached Issei men

INDEPENDENCE OF ISSEI FAMILY UNITS IN RURAL AREA

1 family operating own farm
9 families working for Colorado Japanese farmer
6 families working for Caucasian farmer

15 single Issei men

11 working for Colorado Japanese farmer
4 working for Caucasian farmer