

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS IN JAPANESE AMERICAN LIFE

Relationships to Japan

Early objectives of immigrants

- Education in America and Return to Japan

- Making a fortune in America and return to Japan

- Escape from Japan for future in America

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PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Early objectives of immigrants.

The influx of Japanese to San Francisco and their settlement can roughly be divided as follows:

Trial Period - 1885-1900

Immigration Period - 1900-1910

Transition Period - 1910-1920

Final Period - 1920-1940

Before 1885, you might call it a mythical period with very limited numbers.

During the First Period, the majority came with an idea to go back to Japan when they had saved several hundred dollars. They belonged mostly to laboring class. However, among them you found leaders later, such as Mr. U., better known among Americans as "hima, the Potato King, and Mr. A., the late publisher and owner of the Japanese-American. Also, there were a number of men who later became leaders in Japan.

...During this early period, the majority worked as domestics. Many went out to farming communities as periodical laborers during the harvesting season and came back to San Francisco during winter time.

...

Toward the end of the 19th century, there was a rapid increase of Japanese population. This is the time when numerous youths under 20 years of age came to America with an ambition to study in American schools while working. Some sought an opportunity of freedom, equality and independence.

During the third period fortunes were made and lost. The fortunate ones held on to what they made, among whom the most outstanding were

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the flower growers. Also this is the period when Japanese established themselves in the cleaning and pressing service.

The fourth period was one when Japanese capitalized on the fruits of their earlier labor and savings - more property owners, etc.

(Topaz report 50, May 28, 1945)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Objectives of the immigrants.

One of the factors in the disintegration of solidarity at Fish Harbor, Terminal Island, is the longing of the Issei to go back to Japan.

(Josif paper)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Early objectives of immigrants.

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

(Topaz report 45, Feb 24, 1945)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Early objectives of immigrants.

"The majority of the people who immigrated to America came because of economic reasons. They were still in their teens. In order to become a spy, one must be trained for that, and again the people who came are not intelligent nor crafty enough for that. Even if they tried after living in this country for 20 years, Japan would not trust the meager information."

(Manzanar report 222, March 20, 1944)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Early objectives of immigrants.

My father was born in Japan and came to America when he was in his late teens. Dad originally came to America because he was the youngest child in a family of eleven. Being the youngest of such a big family he had no hopes of inheritance. In Japan the sons of the family inherit by age. At the death of the Family Head, the eldest son assumes full responsibility for the surviving members. The lot of the youngest son is the poorest. Seeing no future in Japan, he decided to come to America to seek his fortune. In this land of opportunity, by hard work and perseverance, one can make a comfortable living. Having literally nothing but the clothes on his back and a few dollars over, he had to find employment immediately. (First worked in small Japanese cafe as handy man, waiter, learned to cook, married, went to another town and started in business, mother died, children in Catholic home). (Manzanar report 226, April 1, 1944)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Early objectives of immigrants. Personalities.

Mr. O's father came to America in 1907 while still a young man, unmarried, and full of adventure and hope for the future. He came not as an ordinary immigrant, but as a trader with a purple passport. He had graduated from a commercial high school and he intended to go into business in America. Because he did not have any money when he landed in this country he obtained a job as cook at Suisun...the he migrated to the sugar beet fields of Tulare, and to Colorado as a coal minor. While in New Mexico, he had fallen to the status of a bootblack in the Santa Fe Railroad Station. While here, he felt keenly the disappointment of the results of his trip to this country, after he had such high hopes of becoming a successful business man. Then cook again. While he was still working there he received notice that his mother had died. He hurried home to Japan. During this period, while he was attending to all the necessary family affairs, he was caught in the military conscription. After serving his term in the army, he married, and in 1911 he and his wife came to America. With the couple came their little daughter, born in Japan. He never went back to Japan again until 1930...

(Manzanar report 243, Aug 24, 1944)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Early objectives of immigrants, modification.

Some day Mrs. Maruki might go to Japan but that would be a long time from now. She says that she cannot go to Japan just like any other ordinary person. Life would be too restricted because of her royal rank. Here she ~~xx~~ was as free as the bird and never worried about how she looked and how she behaved.

Bakk in Japan, many many years ago, she was born the daughter of a daimyo, a prince of one of the provinces. Her father was very tall and handsome, in fact, he was six feet tall and very imposing. But then, ~~in~~ those olden days, the people in Japan were tall. Not as short as now, probably because they did not sit on mats in those days. Mrs. Maruki led a very protected life. She had the most fun when she boarded in a girls' high school dormitory in Tokyo. After school life was over, wherever she went, at least three servants followed her about. There was not much freedom.

Later she met her husband to be. He was a rich man's son. They were married; a little later her husband left Japan to study in the United States. He published his own newspaper in Seattle and then moved to San Francisco to start another newspaper. Because he ignored her pleas for him to return to Japan, Mrs. Maruki came to America with their son. She intended to make him return to Japan with her but she found that she liked the freedom here so much, so that since then she has never gone back.

(Manzanar 148, Jan 27, 1944)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Early objectives of immigrants. Personal ties.

It was in the year of 1889 when my father came to this country from Japan. He was 14 years old then. His father had been killed in the Japanese revolution they had. That was the time the present Mikado and the Omatazawa family were fighting over the rule of the northern part of Japan. My father's people were on the side of the people of the north. They lost the fight. After his father was killed, my father was adopted...The family into which he was adopted was quite well off in Japan. They had property in Japan and servants. But he didn't like it, the way the Japanese people lived and the way he was treated, since he was a step-son. So he ran away from home and went to the Hawaiian Islands. Then came to U.S., where was "adopted" as a houseboy, then raised wild horses, then started in the catfish industry.

My mother came to this country in the year 1915. My father had known her family. Their two families lived in the same district...I guess my mother was what you call a "picture bride."

When the First World War came my father and mother had three children. He was called for ~~xxx~~ active duty. He was about ready to be inducted when the armistice was signed. He had sold all of his property and business...because he thought he was going into the army. My mother, my sister, my brother and I were supposed to go to Japan if my father went to war. We were going to stay with my grandfather on my mothers side if my father was taken. But since my father wasn't taken, we cancelled our trip...

(Manzanar report 231, April 22, 1944)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Immigration and maintaining personnel ties.

In order to understand the reaction of the alien repatriates to evacuation and their attitude toward the future, it is necessary to know something about the background of these aliens as a group. Because they are and must remain aliens...there has been the tendency to identify them with Japan. It has been assumed by many that the associations of the enemy aliens of the repatriate group with Japan must be particularly close.

In order to gain some perspective concerning this point, the records of arrival of the aliens listed in this study were examined. A reliable record of arrival date existed for 148 of the 151 alien males. The earliest arrival date was 1889. The most recent was 1921. The three who came after the exclusion act of 1924 was passed are treaty merchants or illegal entrants. Some members of the group have lived in this country for as long as 55 years and the most recent comer has resided here for 13 years.

This means that while Japanese immigration is recent in terms of the total history of immigration to this country, the Japanese immigrants themselves are not recent comers. The bar that was lifted against Japanese immigration 24 years ago has made it inevitable that members of this group be long-time residents of the United States. Since immigration from non-Asiatic countries has continued, there are few, if any, groups of aliens from any European or South American country which have as long an average term of residence in the U.S. ...The statistically average member of the group left Japan in 1912 two years before the outbreak of World War I, ten years before the advent

of fascism, twenty-one years before the rise of Hitler, nineteen years before the Manchurian incident, and the beginning of the modern expansionist movement of Japan. Those alien males who have canceled the repatriation request average 31.2 years of residence in the US. Those who remain repatriates came to this country in average 32.5 years ago.

Since the alien men came as immigrants to this country first and then sent for brides or returned to Japan for Brief visits to marry, the alien women have not been in this country for as long a period as the men, on the whole. Yet their terms of residence are impressive... women of this group have been here for as long as 42 years and the most recent arrival has lived here 14 years...As in the case of the men, those who have lived here longest tend to remain repatriates. The disillusionment at being rejected and suspect is most complete when residence in the country has been longest, apparently (by 2 years???) Sentimentality over the place of birth grows with age. Doubts concerning ultimate rehabilitation in this country are related to sickness and dependency, and these factors are correlated with old age and with the longer term of residence.

But it may be asked whether these long terms of residence in the United States, based on arrival dates, are not more apparent than real. It may be asked whether frequent and prolonged visits to Japan did not keep these aliens in constant and meaningful contact with their mother country. In order to explore this possibility a careful check was made of all foreign travel of the aliens of this group. It was found that 97 of these aliens have never visited Japan since their arrival in this country. Besides the 97 aliens who have never returned to Japan there are a number of alien men on our list who returned only for the

purpose of marrying. In 1920 the Japanese government agreed to end the movement of "picture brides" to the US. This agreement was strictly observed. Aliens who wished to marry therefore had no recourse but to travel to Japan to find a bride. There are 26 clear cases where alien men visited Japan for short periods with the specific purpose of marriage in mind. These trips were of a few months duration only. The longest trip for this purpose of which we have a record lasted 13 months. The shortest lasted but one month. The average time spent in travel and stay in Japan on these occasions is five months. These trips took place most frequently in 1922, 1923, and 1924, just before the final enactment of a Japanese exclusion law. ... There are other alien men who made one short trip to Japan after the agreement with Japan and before the application of the exclusion law. Some of them doubtless went for the purpose of finding a mate, but since they nowhere assert this on the forms or in the materials which have been studied, they have been excluded from the list. Then there are many others who made but one short trip to Japan during a long period of residence in the United States. Sometimes the nature of the errand is stated - to settle property affairs following the death of a parent or close relative, to see an ailing parent for a last time, etc. For the most part these short emergency trips, usually occasioned by personal or family matters, give little indication of interest in Japan as a national entity and do not disturb the impression of long residence in America for this group.

A careful examination was made of the educational records of 148 alien males of the group. It was found that 87 of them, well over half, had only a grammar school education in Japan. Sixteen of them had four years or less of schooling. 42 had gone to grammar school for

six years or less. 24 members of the group have had some Japanese middle school education, though most of them did not complete the course. 27 claim the equivalent of American high school training but the majority of these seem to have dropped out after the first two years. Ten individuals have had one or more years of college training. Only three finished a four year college course.

Considering only those Nisei of the expatriate group who are the years of age are older....a large proportion...would be virtual illiterates in Japan and would be facing great initial embarrassment and hardship, especially if they had to make an economic adjustment and had to compete for jobs immediately. The statistics concerning the number of expatriate Nisei who have first hand knowledge of Japan are quite as sobering...The figures reveal that 115 of the total number of expatriates of the age group we are considering have never been to Japan. Anything they know about that country is hearsay. 59 of this number are males and 56 females. 14 of the males are cancellees, but 45 remain expatriates; 12 of the females have canceled but the status of the 44 continues unchanged.

There is another group of these expatriates, 35..., who have been in Japan less than a year, ordinarily for one of those three-month summer trips. Their impression of Japan is one that the tourist and vacationist receives of a country, and it is hardly likely that they yet have the realistic conception of the land which is essential to any kind of permanent adjustment. Five other cases were found where the individual had been in Japan for more than a year, but at such an early age that the sojourn could have no meaning for him now.

(Manzanar report 242, Aug 4, 1944)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Early objectives of immigrants: visiting.

In about the year 1900 Mr. Watanabe came to this country as a young boy. Because he did not know English, he was deceived by stories of an excellent job offer. But instead of that he was hired as a railroad builder immediately after two days in the states. With the other new arrivals, he was taken to this job by certain railroad agents - Japanese - who were placed in San Francisco hotels that catered to immigrants.

Although he tried, he could not be released from his ten-year contract because he could not speak or understand English. During this time, he ate nothing but pancakes. The ingredients were mostly flour and water. Yes, he worked just like a coolie laborer. The wages were very poor, but naturally after ten years, he did accumulate some money. He went to Japan to get his wife, who was promised to him through an arrangement between the parents on both sides. Together they returned and worked...as piece workers on vegetable and fruit farms for about one year. Then worked for florists. Then leased a small tract of land and house and began own florist business. Family got to be pretty well off so the mother took the two sons to Japan to be educated. In the meantime Mr. Watanabe stayed and worked on the ranch.

In 1939 Mr. Watanabe had cancer. He longed to go to Japan because the doctors said that he would not live long. Like many sentimental persons, he wished to see his relatives and die in the home in which he was born. Mrs. Watanabe returned to the states to take her husband back; they left immediately, leaving one of the boys to care

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for the ranch. He had graduated from an agricultural high school in Japan; had not been allowed to enroll in the government schools because he was not a Japanese citizen.

(Manganar report 123, Jan 5, 1944)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Early objectives of immigrants, modifications.

The earliest Japanese immigrants to come to the U.S. was a group headed by Snelson, the German Counsul at Kobe, Japan...The leader, Snelson, was a mining engineer, so he didn't know very much about farming. He took the group, except for Masumizu, who stayed in San Francisco, to work in a mine. Masumizu worked as a carpenter and studied English during his spare time. However, he joined the group in the mine about two years later. Snelson, despite his stipulation (1878) with the Japanese officials that he would bring the group back to Japan after five years, knew that his plan had failed and fled to the eastern United States. After that, they faced a series of misfortunes, so they decided that it would be wiser to disperse. (follows the story of one of the immigrants, ending in Sacramento, and an account of the pre-war Sacramento Japanese.)

Few of the people in the area want to go back to Japan. They made this stateent in an advertisement in the Ofu Nippo of Sacramento and the Japanese American Daily News of San Francisco just after the war started. They said that they felt a loyalty to the United States and had severed their ties with Japan. In spite of the fact that the Issei were not technically American citizens, they said that they felt they had a dual citizenship.

(Poston report 28)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Early objectives of immigrants, modifications.

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

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

(Topaz report 41, Jan 31, 1945)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Early objectives of Immigrants. Modification.

One of the older immigrants said: "I still feel a longing to go back to Japan. Here in this country, I am an alien because I have no citizenship, and my world feels small because it is restricted at certain points. When I walk around among the Americans, I have a feeling that I don't belong here. But back in Japan I would be in a position to do things as I want to, to help in the operation of the government."

...there was an added incentive after the passage of the Immigration Act for the Japanese to remain in this country. For they knew that they would not be permitted to return here should they remain away beyond the life of their passport. ~~That~~ However, feeling did run high about the restrictive laws against the United States government and its policies, and beside the many who may have had to quit their farm land and return to Japan, there were probably those who conscientiously desired to avoid this country as a place to live.

...a prominent minister of this community can complain: "The weakness of the Japanese community, I would say, lies fundamentally in one fact, namely: the uncertainty of the first generation as to whether they shall spend their lifetime in America, or whether they shall eventually go back to Japan." The significant point is the extremely slow recession of the feeling that America is just a place to make money, and that Japan is really home. Furthermore, it is only after a presumably temporary home is established in America for the purpose of making enough to return comfortably to Japan, and only after children, who find natural roots in this country, start to come, that the

parents resign themselves to a lifetime in America. It is the establishment of the family which makes for the settling down that leads to an involuntary and gradual breaking of ties with Japan.

However, when we analyze the forces tending to keep them within the symbolic structure of Japan, we find that the same family sentiments are the ones strongest in maintaining this orientation. Where one was born, where one's kinsfolk are, where the ancestors are buried and the family shrine stands - all these are for the Japanese the terminal of his deepest sentiments. In the dilemma created by these opposing forces such a factor as economic opportunity becomes a determinant in the choice of his home, and the large number of those undecided in 1925 as to whether or not they shall return to Japan are essentially those who feel the uncertainty of their economic future in America.

...We see very clearly...how the Japanese immigrant at first made a very obvious distinction between his economic orientation and his social orientation. America was the place to make money, Japan was home. This bifocal orientation of the earlier years seems in the later years, with the establishment of families and relatively ~~mp~~ permanent business enterprises, to fuse into one. Actually, however... ~~the~~ the Japanese immigrant unconsciously carries the old dual orientation within himself, and what the circumstances of economic necessity and of family growth have forced him to accept, his whole personality, formed within the Japanese social orientation, tends to reject.

(Miyamoto, Social Solidarity, Seattle, 1939)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Early objectives of immigrants, modification, visiting:

My father had first come to this country when he was about 19 or 20 years old. He is now about 64 years old. He lived here for about 10 years and then went back to Japan to marry. He stayed in Japan just a couple of months and then came back here with his wife...After he came back he worked where he had before, a fruit farm.

My father's original plan was to establish himself as an independent farmer. He was interested in buying land from his employer, and the latter was eager to help him get started. But after the First World War he changed his mind and went back to ~~Japan~~ Japan. (Very likely this was because of the more severe anti-alien land laws which were enacted in the early twenties. This man, an alien, had no grown children in whose name land could be purchased.) My father was very anxious to buy land and settle down.

(Manzanar report 124, Jan. 6, 1944)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Maintaining personal ties, education children in Japan. Kibei and Japan.

Some of the parents have sent their children to schools in Japan. They thought that the children would learn the language well there and would also learn etiquette, filial piety, and the moral ethics in which the parents had been trained. They thought that this would make the children well-behaved and obedient as well as companionable.

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

During this period in Japan, the parents thought, their children would be better behaved, and also excellently trained in the Japanese language. They knew that children who did not go to Japan were sent to Japanese language schools but were not able to converse well in Japanese, even though they had gone to school for years. This was because English was so much easier to learn and so natural to them. So parents who really wanted their children to learn Japanese well, sent them to Japan.... Children who went to Japan to learn the language were able to talk in a few months while those who studied in this country did not progress very rapidly. The latter and their parents spoke to each other in broken Am-J fashion. This was all right for ordinary conversations but when the need for serious talk arose, there was much difficulty and misunderstanding.

Let us go back to wait the Kibei encounters while in Japan. As long as the parents in America are able to send money for his comforts, education, and to repay his guardian, everything is all right. But depression hits the parents, and they are not able to send money, trouble arises. This trouble occurs especially when the relatives in Japan are poor. This, however, depends upon the relatives. If they are kind, the children will not suffer no matter what happens but if they are unkind, then the children will really face privation. The children also do not have or feel the love of the parents while they are growing up. They see other children living with their parents in family harmony. Even though at times candy is bought with the money the parents in America send them, the feeling of the children is different from those whose parents themselves personally provide little things. There are many childish desires such as being told bedside stories or being tucked into bed, which are never gratified. They yearn for their parents but also they resent it that they were sent to Japan, away from any parental affection.

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

When the parents decide that their children are old enough to be of

help rather than a burden, and when the parents think that their children have been educated enough, they call for them.

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

Yes, the children are able to converse with the parents -- perhaps they speak better Japanese than the parents ever expected them to.

But the children have not turned out the way the parents have hoped would be the case. Even when they talk to each other, the ideas conflict. Even though the parents are not citizens of the US, their ideas are very Americanized. The children have ideas characteristic of modern Japan. The parents know only the old Japan...

Because the parent and the child are not able to adjust themselves immediately, the parents regret what they have done. Sending children by themselves to Japan has failed. Other parents notice the harm done, so even though they are poor, they decide to keep their children beside them. Therefore, many parents were unwilling to send their children by themselves to Japan. Instead they sent the children to the Japanese language schools in the hopes that they might learn to speak Japanese well and still retain the bond between parent and child. In Japan the concepts relating to the Emperor were talked about and read about in school but this was not emphasized as much or discussed in the same manner in this country. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

(Manzanar report 229, April 4, 1944)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Maintaining personal ties, visits.

I have never been in Japan and from all that I hear I wouldn't want to live there. Even my parents, though they are Issei, have no desire to go there to live. Many years ago my father went for a short visit. When he came home he said that he didn't like it, except for a short visit. He said he didn't like the lack of conveniences and the poor way in which most of the people have to live. When they eat rice they eat up the very last grain. Then they pour tea into the same bowl, stir it around and drink that to make sure they haven't missed any. They have to be too economical.

(Manzanar report 213, Feb 29, 1944)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Personal ties with Japan, reaction to propaganda.

Before evacuation there was no great political interest in Japan even on the part of the Issei in this country. The Issei had sentimental memories about their childhood in Japan and they had family and personal attachments to relatives who were still living in Japan. I remember the "visitors" from Japan who would come to the West Coast and try to interpret Japan and her policies and try to stir up sympathy for Japan and her position. Just to show the kind of thing Japan was up against when dealing with Western powers they would rave about the American alien land laws. This had very little effect. The Issei had managed to survive for years in spite of the alien land laws, at least the ones who had stayed in this country. They were much too concerned with taking care of the enterprises in this country which they had founded and built up over the years to be really interested in Japan and her wrongs. While they were still irritated at the laws, they were more interested in the progress of their children, who were not touched by the laws. The propagandists and apologists for Japan all rushed for the last boat for Japan without having made any impression. If their children had not been evacuated or discriminated against, the aliens would have accepted most anything without grumbling much.

(Manzanar report 203, Feb 24, 1944)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Early objectives of immigrants, change, personal ties with Japan.

A 22 year old Issei talking. My father came to America in 1921, in September...He was a minister. He came to carry on his work. He is a Methodist. Probably he was sent out here to do religious work among the Japanese. He came first to Hawaii; it seems like Hawaii is always the first stop on the way to the mainland. He stayed there about six months. Then he came on to the mainland; the family had followed and met him in Hawaii and all came to the mainland. ... Father never made much of a living at preaching. He had to try many other things. He was in the tailoring business in San Francisco in 1926 for instance...We did lots of things. My dad had a strawberry farm. He worked in churches too...(later) I know we were getting relief. I know that some relative from Japan sent my father \$500 to help out. State relief helped... (Then family in institutions, gardening, running flower shop, moving around a lot, father got another church - very little one, hardly anyone came, - taught a Japanese language school - "That's where he made most of his money." - more family reverses, struggles.) In April of 1940 my father had gone to Japan. He went alone. There was some business Mr. H. wanted to have done in Japan. He couldn't go and my father wanted to...They treated him well there. He even got to China. He paid sixty cents for a bottle of warm pop in China. The people he stayed with in Japan are millionaires. They gave him the money with which to come home. They had a Packard. When he was ready to come home people told him to look up their relatives here in America and to tell them they are well and so forth. These people gave him money too.

He got sick in Japan though; he came back looking like a skeleton. He lost 20 pounds. He brought us all gifts. He brought me a pottery dog, a Fu dog. It looks like a mixture of cat, dog and lion. He says it is worth ten dollars. I don't know whether he got it in China or Japan. I didn't appreciate it. He must have been getting old -- bringing all that old stuff. ...My father sent back an electric toaster to the people he stayed with in Japan. He said that this was one thing they didn't have in Japan. Ever since his trip dad has wanted to go back to Japan. It made him homesick. He was talking about it all the time. He said he wanted to go back again and kept saying that. There everything was easy for him. He found many relatives there. Here we have no relatives outside of the immediate family. (Father interned after Pearl Harbor, later paroled to center, then picked up again) They said they wanted to question him further and they took him away. He has been gone since. I think that one thing that got him in bad was that he visited China and Korea when he was on that trip to Japan. And when he came back he went around talking about his experiences. In his church he took up a collection for Korean children. Ten cents would keep one of them in school for a long time, he said. He didn't collect much, perhaps a dollar a month at the church, but I guess it was the idea and the interest he took in it. And he talked so much about returning to Japan, too. My father signed up for repatriation. He is the only member of the family who has. None of the rest of us are interested in Japan. Even my mother will stay here. She says she is too old to go back to Japan.

(Manzanar report 60, Sept 11, 1943)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Maintaining personal ties with the homeland; visiting.

40 year old Nisei woman arguing that appointed personnel should not discourage Nisei from looking to Japan for their future:

"When I went to Japan I was treated with perfect respect. At least nobody could tell by looking at me that I didn't belong there. Of course I could speak Japanese well. Nobody can tell that I am not an issei from my talk. No, I never tried to make a living in Japan, I was just visiting there." Was there with daughterso she could inherit family name out of respect for her grandparents, was registered as Japanese citizen. See Legal ties.

(Manzanar Report 27, July 26, 1943)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Maintaining personal ties; visiting the homeland:

Young unmarried Kibei: "Both my parents are in Japan and other relatives are there. I am the oldest boy. I have to go back to Japan, I know that. They depend on me to support them and to carry on the family name. I can't say that I'm not sympathetic to the country where my parents are and where I lived so long. I have lived almost half my life in Japan. I went there as a small child and was there for 12 years. Mr. Merritt has said that Tule is for those who intend to go to Japan at the end of the war and so I feel I should go."
(Manzanar Report 39, July 31, 1943)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Maintaining personal ites, visits. Kibei and Japan.

Mary's mother divorced her father and leaving the children in the fathers care sailed for Japan. The children loved their father. The mother was stern, nagging. Father remarried, later died. Then the two younger children were sent to their mother, who had also remarried. While in Japan Mary and Henry attended school and helped with the usual household chores. Because their mother was strict, Mary at times felt that she would run away. Finally when she was 18 her older brother in the U.S. wrote and told her that he wished to see her. Happily, she packed her belongings and was back in the United States to live with her brother and her uncle's family. Stayed here three years, then received word that her mother was ill. Before Mary ~~xxx~~ was called to her mother's sick bed in Japan, she made arrangements for her youngest brother to come to this country. After Mary reached the familiar shore of Yokohama, she hurried to her mother. All during the trip she was uncomfortably aware that she was being followed by an intelligence agent, finally he became satisfied she was alright and left her. To Mary's disgust, her mother was not ill but very well. The mother thought that it was high time that Mary was married, therefore plans had been made for such an occasion. Mary refused to accept this arranged marriage. ~~xxx~~ After visiting her relatives, she came back to America.

(Manzanar report 106, December 15, 1943)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Personal ties, educating the children in Japan:

Nisei went back to Japan with parents at very early age because father decided to return to Japan to live.

Now for my history in Japan. I lived about 70 miles from Tokyo in a village. My mother had wanted to live in the city. My father wished to live in the village of his parents. They compromised. They bought property in a village near the one in which my father was born and near enough to Tokyo so that they could get there once in awhile.

Father developed a new type of mulberry tree and became successful in silk culture, but life was unhappy because of the enmity of the headman of the village, and because he was expected to contribute lots of money to various causes because he was supposed to be a rich fellow from America. Son saw that he was homesick for America.

It made me want to go to the land of my birth too. I thought that if I could come to America and establish myself here, that my parents could ~~xxxx~~ at least come to visit me for long periods.

In Japan I attended a primary school for six years. I remember some of my first experiences. When I first came I was the only child there with leather shoes and this caused much attention. Because I was a stranger the others used to gang up on me at first. Sometimes I had to fight the whole bunch.

After primary school I went to a Junior high for two years and then to High School for three years to study silk culture. Then I went to a teachers college for two and one half years. I am one of the first

group of graduates of the new Teachers College which was part of the system established by the State Education Department in 1936.

Many dropped out of this course, it was so hard. Those of us who went through with it became very close to each other. When we graduated we formed a little club and each got a little pin. I have mine here. It has nothing to do with the school. It just means that we are going to remember each other and always be friends and hope to meet some-time again. Our symbol is the sigma, from the mathematics class. This is to remind us of how hard we had to work in mathematics.

In school I took a little English but there was no chance to specialize in it in the course I was taking. The teachers did not encourage us to study English as a specialty because it was so hard and took so much time and is not of much use in Japan.

In College I studied 25 major courses under this new system. Especially I took farming, mathematics, and silk culture. Those were the subjects of my special training.

I came to the United States on May 27, 1939 to establish a new home in the United States and to study silk culture too.... went to Polytechnic high school in Los Angeles for studying correct English, made friends among teachers and students, volunteered for army, released after Pearl Harbor, volunteered for Manzanar.

(Manzanar report 124, Jan 6, 1944)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS
RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Legal ties - dual citizenship.

A 40 year old Nisei woman to the analyst: "I came in to talk to you about this dual citizenship and the problems of these poor nisei. I am a nisei myself, one of the oldest ones. I would like to see that law you spoke of (that children of Japanese nationals born after 1924 were not citizens of Japan, unless, in compliance with Japanese law, they registered the child at a Japanese Consulate within 14 days of its birth). I understand the wording now that I see it but I don't think that is is always held to in Japan. We say in Japanese that there is always a loophole in the law. When I took my daughter Ruth to Japan so that she would inherit the family name out of respect for her grandparents, she was registered at once as a Japanese citizen. (Upon inquiry it turns out that Ruth was born in 1919 and therefore is not subject to this 1924 law.) And there are other cases. I have a neighbor whose child was born long after 1924. He claimed that this child was accepted as a Japanese citizen and was registered in Japan even though she was not registered at the time of birth or for a long time afterward.

(Manzanar Report 27, July 26, 1943)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

The Kibei and Japan:

A young man, a Kibei, who has spent 7 of the last 10 years in Japan and whose parents are in Japan, feels that it is his obligation to the Japanese government to return at the earliest possible moment. He explained his position thus: "I came to the United States in 1940. When I left I told the Japanese government that I would be back in two years. I married here, got a wife here and we have a baby. That's all I have left of my trip to the United States." His stay in this country has been a trip to this man and repatriation is the logical and honest step for him to take.

The most pathetic instance...was that of the Issei father who is paying a high personal price for sending his two boys to Japan for their education. The boys were sent to Japan in 1924. One returned in 1937, the other reentered the U.S. in 1941. Both though they are American-born, have requested repatriation. Their foreign-born father refused to do so. The old man came to the hearing with the one son with whom he is on speaking terms. He testified that he had little control over the boys, particularly over the one who had returned in 1941. ... The old Issei, as a result of long and continuous residence in this country has become more assimilated and Americanized than his native-born sons.

(Manzanar report 49, August 24, 1943)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

The Kibei and Japan.

As for the Kibei, they were harmless enough before evacuation. In the first place all Kibei are not alike. Some of them were educated in Japan during a liberal regime and they are more liberal and anti-imperialistic than most Issei and Nisei in this country. The two most prominent liberals and labor leaders among the Japanese on the West Coast were Kibei. One had a scar on his head that he got from the Lost Angelers "red squad" while leading a strike.

Perhaps the Kibei as a whole were just a little bit more pro-Japan before the war than the Nisei. For instance, for a while there was a Kibei branch of the JACL. This branch wanted to put on a Japanese play. J.O. a very liberal and pro-American Kibei, objected. This was a year before the war began but there was tension between the two countries already. His point was that while there was nothing wrong with the play, the public might not understand and besides it was the purpose of the branch to help the Kibei toward Americanization and not to brush up on old Japanese traditions. This led to a controversy, and J.O. was kicked out of the branch. Then the whole organization became alarmed and felt that the distinction between the Kibei and other Nisei might lead to division and situations of this kind. The Kibei branch was dissolved and one common membership retained so that the Kibei could be more quickly assimilated.

The Kibei were not nationalistic while they were in Japan. A good many came here though they were of military age and Japan was fighting a war in China. Also a big group came in 1940 when the Japanese government made it clear to dual citizens that if they stayed they would be ex-

pected to accept full obligations of Japanese citizenship, including military service.

This group, when they got to this country, had all the usually difficulties of foreigners, especially lonesomeness and language difficulties. They were not entirely accepted by the more Americanized Nisei, to whom their ways and ideas seemed foreign. So evacuation hit them on top of everything else. They were more sensitive to the press attacks too. The Nisei and Issei have grown up with the California politicians and were prepared for some of the things they said and did. The Kibei took it all more personally.

When a Nisei who has no experience or interests in Japan to fall back on is disillusioned, he just goes into the dumps and stays there. The Kibei have an alternative though. If things begin to look impossible in America, Japan begins to look good to them again. They begin to recall the slogans and teachings that didn't mean so much to them when they were in Japan. If they are blocked and frustrated and misunderstood in this country they tend to go in the only other direction with which they are familiar.

(Manzanar report 203, Feb 24, 1944)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Organized relations with Japan, the Consular Service.

Kyokuto Kenkyu Kai (Far East Research Institute), originally know as Nisei Speakers' Bureau, under which name it was first organized at the Los Angeles home of the Japanese Consul, was formed for the purpose of coping with increasing pressure of anti-Japanese propaganda. Were interested in "presenting another side of the Eastern crisis, quite apart from the very thoroughly propagandized Chinese reports so dominating the American public opinion." The nucleus of the group was composed of the executives and principal members of the JACL. One of the first speakers was the Vice-Consul. Last heard of 1938. Speakers were secured from outstanding visitors from Japan, professional lecturers, own members. Records indicate that most of the meetings were open to the public and in many of these gatherings open forum discussion was encouraged.

(Presid~~to~~ report.)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Organized relations with Japan, the consular service. *Legal ties.*

If all the Japanese living in Seattle were to be ranked according to position in the community, there is no question as to who would stand first. The Japanese consul, as a symbolic substitute for the nation and the Emperor whom he represents, has a pre-eminence unmatched by any, regardless of wealth or of personality among the Japanese in Seattle. The people render him the accord which the Japanese have long been trained to give any representative of the Emperor, and this recognition of authority follows clearly defined patterns of respect and obligation.

Yet, in spite of the regard the people have for the consulate, it must be recognized that in essence the consular office and the community are dissociated. While it is true that the consulate can bring strong controls to bear upon the community, in actual practice the consul is never so rash as to impinge too much upon the community activities. Thus, when an important event or celebration that is distinctly a part of community life takes place, the consul is generally invited in an honorary capacity, but he seldom has any direct administrative control over the event. It is only where the community function is clearly related to the nation of Japan that the consular office assumes actual control, as, for instance, when some notable visitor from Japan comes to the city of Seattle.

The importance of the consulate, however, has not always been the same. Between 1901 when the office was first established, until the passing of the Immigration Act of 1924, the relationship of the consulate to the community was primarily that of a visa office for the Japanese

migrants. Since 1924, however, the function of the consulate has shifted increasingly from the duty of overseer of the migrants to defender of the Japanese immigrant settler's position. For the Japanese immigrants, lacking the right of franchise as they do, the strength of the Japanese consular office has in no small measure compensated for their lack of citizenship.

Fundamentally, therefore, the value of the consulate to the community has increased in proportion to the increase in strength and status of Japan as a world power. Here, too, is an explanation of the Japanese tendency for all faces to turn towards Japan, for where they lack strength as individuals, they find in the power of a nation the courage to voice their own cause and defend their rights. In the community ~~solidarity~~ agreement concerning their orientation lies the strength of their community solidarity, for having as their focus of attention the same authority, the whole group tends to be controlled by the same motives.

With the increase in power of Japan there is created a necessity among the people to defend the cause of that nation more vigorously, for with each rise in national status new problems arise out of the growing complexity of international relations. Thus, during the recent Sino-Japanese wars, the community has felt it obligatory to cooperate extensively with the consulate in propagandizing the Japanese cause. This obligation is born of the fact that the first generation, for all their long years in America, still cannot forget the training of loyalty to their nation which they learned years before. Moreover they feel deep in their hearts that if the Japanese nation were not so powerful as it is, the immigrants in America would be trodden under foot by the Western peoples.

The consulate functions to solidify the community not so much by its authoritarianism or leadership, but rather by the participation which it demands of the people in certain types of activity that serve to reawaken in them memories of their native land.

(Miyamoto, Social Solidarity, 1939)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Organized relations with Japan, societies and organizations.

Japanese organizations in the United States included:

1. Cultural - those interested in the arts and customs of Japan.
2. Trade, professional, industrial, agricultural or cooperative - formed for the mutual economic or quasi-social(?) benefit of its members.
3. Religious
4. Language schools and affiliates - school sponsors, parent groups and clubs.
5. Youth organizations - cutting across other classifications
6. Social clubs
7. Home-tie groups - Japanese prefecture groups, or Hawaii and U.S. locality groups.
8. Patriotic societies - mostly organized after Sino-Japanese war started to aid the Japanese war effort; also purely nationalistic societies. Contribute to J. war fund, ~~xxxx~~ - money, goods, soldier comfort bags.

(See Presidio reports on Japanese organizations for specific examples - with no idea of membership base nor influence)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Organized relations with Japan, Shinto.

In the United States the two main representatives of Sectarian Shinto (as distinguished from State Shinto) were Konkoyo and Tenrikyo.

Mention has been found of two smaller organizations Izumo Taishakyo Hokubei Kyokai and Maruyama Kyokai, which were probably forms which in Japan are classified as Sectarian Shinto. State Shinto appears to have been represented on the West Coast by Hokubei Daijingu (North American Daijingu), Inari Jinja (Inari Shrine) and the Meiji Jingu (Meiji Shrine). In addition, various smaller and more obscure Shinto organizations have been found to have existed on the West Coast, but it is difficult to distinguish any particular affiliation which they may have had.

While Sectarian Shinto does differ from the official government-sponsored Shinto to the extent that it includes a variety of popular beliefs and moral and spiritual doctrines, it is still closely allied to the traditional and fundamental cult of State Shinto. The official form is under constant government supervision in order that it may instill devotion to the state with an emotional and religious fervour. Whether this distinction, never very strong, existed among Shinto churches on the West Coast is open to question. In general, the Shinto shrines and churches sought to encourage devotion to purely Japanese deities, arranged in a theological pattern that makes the Japanese state and the god-world inseparable.

Tenrikyo is one of the forms of Sectarian Shinto and the principle addition it made to the fundamental doctrines of Shinto was...faith healing. It was founded in 1838, and in 1908 was declared by the

the Japanese government to be a form of Sectarian Shinto. A church was established in Los Angeles in 1924, and in 1927 the North American Tenrikyo Church received its state charter. In 1929 the Japanese headquarters ~~received its state charter~~ established a foreign language school in Kyoto, Japan, for missionary training, and in 1934 set up American Mission Headquarters in Los Angeles for the unification of churches in the United States.

Of the branch churches 41 have now been identified. In 1938 there were 18 churches in the Los Angeles area, and in the same year there were 250 priests in the United States. In 1934 Tenrikyo is said to have had 1350 members in Southern California. xxx

...The priests are said to have been immigrants to the United States, then sent back to Japan for training, and subsequently returned to the United States as priests. However, in 1939 Masaji Hashimoto, the general secretary of the headquarters in Japan, who was also a second lieutenant in the Japanese Army Reserve Corps, was appointed head of the Los Angeles mission; he was one of the prominent leaders of the Tenrikyo colonization project in Manchuria. The statement is also made that the priests sometimes had to work to support themselves and that they were consequently often deported from the United States. In addition to the main churches the Mission Headquarters organized a Whole Heart Society in order "to strive for missionary work among the Nisei and the American people."

Subsidiary societies of the Tenrikyo Church included a Seinen Kai in Los Angeles. It was preceded by a similar society called Six O'clock Club which had been disbanded apparently because it had turned into a purely social club and because its "members had forgotten that their parents were Japanese." The Seinen Kai was founded in 1938 at Mission

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Headquarters in Los Angeles on the return of a priest from Japan, and the first president was appointed by the head priest. The club's advisors were five priests and the stated purpose was a "happier understanding between Japanese and American cultures." This Los Angeles Seinen Kai also had a branch in Gardena Valley. The society published a monthly paper, and other activities included helping the Mission Headquarters entertain visiting Japanese professors on a lecture tour in 1936. In July 1939 they took part with other Japanese religious organizations in a ceremony for deceased Japanese soldiers in China. In 1940 they sponsored a lecture on the "Japanese Spirit." Subsidiary societies included a Woman's Society, Junior Church, Children's Society, language schools.

The Church had a certain amount of contact with the Japanese Association.

Most Tenrikyo activities appear to have been of a patriotic nature. In 1937 in Los Angeles a "soul invitation" ceremony was held for the Japanese soldiers killed in China. Etc.

Made a number of contributions for the Japanese war effort,...

Konkokyo is the second of the two main forms of Sectarian Shinto which were imported into the United States from Japan. In 1926 the general secretary of Konkokyo headquarters in Japan came to the U.S. to investigate the possibility of missionary work; he traveled and gave lectures, and organized Shinto Societies in Seattle, Tacoma, and Los Angeles. The first Konkokyo Church was established in Seattle in 1928 and this church was followed by others in various localities. In 1938 the Konkokyo United Society in North America was formed in San Francisco to unite the supervision of the priests and followers in

the United States and Canada; it established branch offices in the various churches with the head priests as branch presidents. Then in 1939 the Administrative Organization of Konkokyo Missionary Work in North America~~x~~ was established to further complete the organization, which stated that its purpose was to educate the Nisei in honesty, loyalty and filial piety.

Konkokyo headquarters were in Japan, and the central administrative agency for the United States was in San Francisco. Churches in other large cities formed the branches, and most of these branches supervised the activities of the smaller churches in their vicinities. History of the Japanese in America states that Konkokyo relied for its support on the voluntary gifts of its members.

In 1940 there were said to be 3360 members, with San Francisco and Los Angeles having the largest number, and nine main churches. To of these were in Washington, one in Oregon and six in California. A good many of these churches had a number of smaller churches and subsidiary societies under their jurisdiction.

The organization was active in welcoming the crew members and officers of the Japanese Imperial practice vessels and special duty vessels and the people sent to the U.S. by the Japanese Department of Education. It had a monthly publication devoted to doctrine, testimony and news of the various churches. In 1933 the Konkokyo Corps in North America sent representatives to a World Religious Conference in Chicago. The Los Angeles church held a meeting in 1937 to pray for the glory of Japanese national might and a ceremony for the spirits of Japanese soldiers killed in China.

The Konkokyo United Society in North America in 1938 sent its president

and 13 others to Japan and to the fighting fronts to comfort the soldiers. They took with them 5600 comfort bags, 500 pounds of candy and a large fund for patriotic purposes. On his return, the president travelled through the West Coast lecturing and urging the Japanese to "fulfill their responsibilities behind the gun for the Japanese cause." Etc. Contributions to Japan and so on.

Hokubei Daijingu started its missionary work in the United States in 1894 and in 1904 the first Main Shrine was established in San Francisco, later burned down. ...The priests were trained in and sent from Japan for the stated purpose of the "propagation of Shinto gods' great doctrines and the stimulation of the Japanese national spirit." There were a variety of other officers in addition to the priests. The main shrine was in Los Angeles, but mention of only one other Daijingu has been found, that was in Oxnard. In Los Angeles there were several subsidiary societies. The women's society in 1940 was said to have 200 members. A ^{youth} ~~Girix~~ society in 1940 was said to have 120 members. Activities of the Hokubei Daijingu appear to have been largely patriotic. In 1937 the Los Angeles Main Shrine held two meetings for the perpetuation of Japanese military might and the "inspiration of nationalism and the Japanese spirit." Etc. In 1940 the Los Angeles Main Shrine planned to hold a ceremony to honor and worship the spirits of Japanese war dead enshrined as heroes of the Aashiwara Shrine in Japan... Affiliations with any particular sect or shrine of Shinto in Japan have not been found for Beikoku Shinto Syokai and indications are that it possibly was connected with State Shinto. It had numerous officers, including in 1940-41, 23 advisors. In Southern California in 1934 there were 500 members. One branch has been identified, in Los Angeles; There was a Shinto Society in Monterey but it has not been determined

whether this was affiliated with Deikoku or not.

The organization had two subsidiary societies, God Worshipping Women's Society and Meiji Shrine Society. Activities appear to have been largely of a patriotic nature...

Tensho Daijingu may be either a special shrine of Deikoku Shinto or it may actually be an alternate name. The fact that it was a shrine to the sun-goddess indicates that it was associated to some degree at least with Sate Shinto. Since the emperor is looked upon as the divine manifestation of the sun-goddess, loyalty to the imperial dynasty and worship of sun-goddess are one and the same thing. There were other minor shinto organizations on the West Coast,

(Japanese Organizations in the United States; WDC, Civil Affairs Branch, President of San Francisco — Shinto).

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

The Buddhist Church.

Japanese Buddhism in the United States is an outgrowth of the parent organization in Japan. Of the 13 sects existing in Japan, Shin Shu was the first of the seven, ~~which~~ which eventually were imported into the U.S. to establish a church here in 1890. In addition three main headquarters were later established, two in San Francisco, and one in Los Angeles. Various subsidiary societies were founded...

Of the sects, Shin Shu is the strongest in the United States and in 1940 reported having 70 priests, 14,000 regular members, 15,000 Sunday School students, and 35 Japanese Language Schools. The church's activities appear to have shifted in emphasis from guiding the Issei to leading the Nisei toward the Japanese way of life. The Buddhist Churches maintained close ties with Japan, since the priests originally were sent from Japan and returned there from time to time. ~~In~~

In 1938 and 1939 at the Shin Sect's general conference in San Francisco all the church members pledged themselves to do their part for the Japanese cause by contributing materially and spiritually. The subsidiary organizations of the church acted as the agents for collecting contributions...money, comfort bags, tin-foil.

Buddhism, as well as every other phase of Japanese life, has, during the course of the last few years, accommodated itself to fit the purposes of Japanese nationalism, and particularly since 1937 has incorporated the principles of Shinto into the body of its beliefs and teachings. It has become, first of all, Japanese. In all probability, the priests who were sent from Japan to the United States were trained

and instructed to bring about this identification of Buddhism with the purposes of the Japanese national state among churches in the United States. R

From the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War Nishi Honganji was the most active of the Buddhist churches in making contributions to be sent to Japan; the Fujin Kai was very active in making collections. This church sent more missions to Japan and the Japanese battle fronts than any other.

The Young Buddhist Association was to some extent a social club following the general pattern of youth organizations within any church group. But it also served to bring its members into closer relations with the Issei members of the church, and of the community. The societies were naturally in constant contact with the priests sent from Japan to influence the Nisei toward accepting Japanese ideas.

While the doctrines and practices of Zen Buddhism are considered more austere and generally ascetic than those of the other sects, the adaptation to Japanese nationalistic purposes has apparently been as complete; and, although on the basis of the number of adherents it has not been as important as other sects, it has for centuries existed as a sort of religious philosophy of the warrior classes, rather than as a religion of the masses. On the West Coast of the United States, the influence of Japan existed in the fact that the priests came from there, and temple activities suggest the usual amount of influence toward patriotic endeavours. This appears to have been particularly true on Terminal Island.

(The Presidio reports; also see C.A.R. No. 9, Buddhism in the United States, attached.)

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Community Analysis Report No. 9
May 15, 1944

BUDDHISM IN THE UNITED STATES

The attention focused on people of Japanese ancestry in the United States has aroused interest -- and misunderstanding -- as to what Buddhism, the religion of more than half these people, stands for, what it stood for in Japan in relation to Shintoism or "emperor-worship", and what it stands for in the United States in relation to American and Christian institutions.

Buddhism and Shintoism in Japan.

In the United States the principal differences between Buddhism and Shintoism are not always clearly understood.

Buddha, from which the name Buddhism comes, is a title meaning the Knower or the Fully Enlightened One. Gautama, a prince of India, was the Buddha who, at the age of 35 after six years of seeking truth, founded the religion in the sixth century before Christ. On reaching manhood he renounced the life of a prince for that of a wandering ascetic to seek a way to help humanity. Finally, he gave up his ascetic ways and sat down under the now famous Bo-tree until he attained the enlightenment he sought. Then until he died, at the age of 80, he taught his belief that the best kind of life avoided extremes of pleasure and self-mortification, and took the "Middle Way" which leads to calmness and understanding, and eventually to the apex of perfection, Nirvana. "The Eight-Fold Path" of the Middle Way is a code of ethics for good living.

Around these beliefs, various rites and symbols have developed. The lotus whose blossoms rise above their muddy roots; the picture of Buddha as visualized by the artists among his followers; the candles bringing light into darkness; the burning incense which symbolizes the worthlessness of man until he realizes his potentialities; a gong and meditation beads to help in meditating on the Middle Way and the Wheel of Life above which the Buddhist aspires to rise, are all part of the religion.

In Japan, as a whole, there are some eight major sects which are subdivided into innumerable lesser groups, each with slightly different rites and beliefs. Buddhism, very popular among all classes of society, contributed much to the culture and well-being of Japan. Besides influencing the arts, social life, morals, and ethics, it worked in the fields of social welfare and secular education.

Buddhism entered Japan through Korea about the sixth century after some eleven centuries of spreading from one oriental country to another. Ever since, Shintoism and Buddhism have been closely intertwined in Japanese history and have constituted a source of differences among political groups. After Buddhism had entered Japan, the name Shinto, meaning "way of the gods",

was adopted to distinguish the old native religion from the new arrival. Of the three major kinds of Shintoism found in Japan, the most popular among the common people centers about the old native beliefs in gods of the household, fields, and wayside. Though Buddhism and this popular form of Shinto took over rites and beliefs from each other, they have never completely fused at any time. The common man, for instance, believes in Buddhism for the sake of his soul and in the Shinto gods to protect and guide him in daily affairs.

Besides this popular and relatively unorganized Shintoism, there is a more exclusive kind which is organized into sects. These sects, many of which believe in healing by faith, are not likely to tolerate a belief in Buddhism among their followers.

The third kind of Shintoism is that best known to the American public as "emperor-worship". This is State Shintoism, carefully fostered by the national government, united with the political system of Japan and taught in its schools. Based on traditions that the emperor is descended from the Sun Goddess and that the gods created the Japanese and their islands, State Shintoism fosters belief in the divinity of the emperor and the purity of the Japanese race. Of relatively late development in Japan, it did not become the official national cult until about 1868. The same political upheaval which made this form of Shintoism the State religion gave Buddhism a severe setback. As a consequence of the political conflict, the royal family withdrew from the Buddhist order; temples and priests were attacked; and efforts were made to destroy Buddhism. However, the people of the nation so resisted governmental efforts to eliminate Buddhism that it was permitted to exist, but only as one of several religions subordinate to State Shintoism.

After this period of hardship, Buddhism revived, undertook new missionary and welfare activities, and began to evolve methods of cooperation among its sects. Three of the sects, for example, founded The United Buddhist University, and in 1918 The Interdenominational Association was organized to represent all leading Buddhist sects, except the Nichiren, in their dealings with the imperial government. The Nichiren sect, which is weakly represented in the United States, has more Shinto symbolism and nationalistic tendency than other sects. The Shin and the Zen sects, on the other hand, resisted State Shintoism. Both the Shin and the Zen are represented among the American Buddhist sects.

Buddhism in the United States Before Evacuation.

Buddhism was introduced into the United States and Hawaii by Japanese immigrants. In 1940, of an estimated 56,000 Buddhists in the United States, 55,000 were of Japanese ancestry. The remainder included Caucasians, who, in the 1930's founded The Buddhist Brotherhood in America at Los Angeles, where most Caucasian Buddhists live. The Brotherhood is non-sectarian but has cooperated in religious affairs with Japanese Buddhist sects and has won converts to non-sectarian Buddhism among young Buddhists of Japanese ancestry. Another prominent non-sectarian organization of Buddhists is

The International Buddhist Institute, founded in 1927 by Buddhists of varied racial and national backgrounds.

Of the eight major Buddhist sects found in Japan, six are represented in the United States and Hawaii. The six are Shin, Shingon, Zen, Nichiren, Tendai, and Jodo. Only the first four sects named are numerically important in the United States, and of them the Shin is by far the strongest, having a membership that is estimated to include three-fourths of the Buddhists in this country. Next in order of size to the Shin are the Shingon, Zen, and Nichiren sects. The four maintained separate organizations in the United States, and until evacuation of people of Japanese ancestry from the west coast were often out of touch with each other.

The Shin sect. The importance in the United States of the Shin sect reflects its strength in Japan, for it was, and still is, strong in the rural districts whence many Japanese came to this country. The simplicity of this sect, the so-called Protestantism of Buddhism, has appealed to the common people since St. Shinran founded it in 1224. He believed that only faith in Amida Buddha and frequent repetition of the formula, Namu Amida Butsu, (Homage to Amida Buddha), were necessary for the salvation of the soul. The minimum of ceremony and little stress on metaphysical doctrine in the Shin sect contrast with the formality and ritual of other sects. For instance, the Shin use tablets instead of images of Buddha, and its priests are allowed to eat meat and marry.

The Shin denomination, especially as operating through the organization of the Nishi subsect in The Buddhist Mission Church, has maintained itself and become the leading sect in the United States for several reasons. Besides maintaining its membership among the foreign-born who had belonged to the denomination in Japan, the Shin sect seems to have been more adaptable, probably because of the simplicity of its ceremonies and doctrines, to the culture of the United States and so more appealing to members of the second generation. However, it has suffered disorganization as a result of evacuation and its membership has declined.

In 1936 the Census of Religious Bodies reported that the Shin had 14,388 adult members. An estimated average of three members of each Buddhist family belonged to the church, which would have given the Shin sect in 1936 a total of about 43,164 members.

Though the Shin denomination has ten subsects in Japan, only two are represented in the United States. They are the Nishi Hongwanji (West Mission) and the Higashi Hongwanji (East Mission), and of them the Nishi subsect has by far the greater number of members.

In 1898, all members of the Nishi were united into The Buddhist Mission of North America by the Reverends Sonada and Nishijima of Kyoto, Japan. Then, in 1905, when the first Buddhist church in the United States was built in San Francisco, the Kyoto headquarters of the Nishi chose Reverend Sonada as the first Bishop. The Kyoto headquarters has continued to select the bishops, the fifth of whom is the Reverend R. Matsukage, who is now at the Central Utah Relocation Center in Topaz but maintains contact

as head of The Buddhist Mission, with six Nishi churches located in the free zone. They are in Denver and Fort Lupton, Colorado; Mesa, Arizona; Salt Lake City and Ogden, Utah; and New York City.

Besides appointing the Bishop, the Kyoto headquarters has also contributed 3000 yen a year toward his salary and has trained young men from the United States for the priesthood. However, few Nisei followed the Japanese custom of the eldest son of a priest adopting his father's profession. Most of the priests in the American Buddhist churches were born in Japan, and after being trained there for the priesthood were sent to the United States to conduct congregations. These priests are supported by their congregations, not by the denomination as a whole, or, as in the case of the Bishop, by the Kyoto headquarters.

The Buddhist Mission of North America is organized into a hierarchy with the Bishop at the head. The principal Mission temple is at 1881 Pine Street in San Francisco. Under the Bishop are two deans and seventy-one lesser bishops and clergymen of whom six are Caucasians. At the time of evacuation, the Mission consisted of about 35 temples and churches and more than double that number of less formally organized congregations, which were divided into seven dioceses, each with a temple and bishop subordinate to the Chief Bishop in San Francisco. Four of the dioceses are in California, while the other three are in the states to the north and east. The seven dioceses of the Buddhist Mission and their headquarters are as follows:

<u>Diocese</u>	<u>Headquarters</u>
Northern California	San Francisco
Southern California	Los Angeles
Central California	Fresno
Coastal California	Guadalupe
Northern	Seattle
Middle eastern	Salt Lake City
Denver	Denver

In Japan, the priests have complete responsibility for financing and maintaining the temples, but in the United States the Buddhist churches are incorporated under state laws with the church officers responsible for finances, policies, and administration. Although some churches encouraged the appointment of American citizens as officers, the churches were actually controlled by priests and Issei leaders.

The Shingon or Odaishi sect. The sect next in size to the Shin in the United States is the Shingon, which was founded in 806 by Kobo Daishi. More highly ritualized and metaphysical than the Shin sect, the Shingon denomination has attracted the more conservative, older people, who also depend, especially in Hawaii, on the priests as faith healers. The influence of popular Shintoism is apparent in its tendency toward pantheism and its doctrine that the "Great Sun" is the source of all.

The Zen sect. The Zen sect is small in the United States, although

a subsect, the Soto, is practiced to some extent in Hawaii. Encouraged as a religion for the Samurai, the warrior class, the Zen sect emphasizes stoicism, meditation, and stern self-discipline through which, the followers believe, a man can save himself without depending on the gods. Though it strongly influenced philosophical thought after its founding in 1191, it was not a sect for the common people.

The Nichiren sect. The Nichiren sect is the weakest of the inations in the United States and Hawaii. Established in Japan in 1253, it represented a rebellion against older sects, and tended to attract zealots. Unlike other Buddhist sects, it did not dissociate itself from Japanese nationalistic thought and its symbolism combines the Sun of Shintoism with the Lotus of Buddhism.

Conflicts among sects and between sectarians and non-sectarians were stimulated among the Buddhists as a result of evacuation from the west coast. Before evacuation, the sects had little contact with each other, but at the relocation centers they came together to form the United Buddhist Church. The board of trustees was made up of representatives from all groups. Priests of the different groups took turns in conducting services, but at each service the peculiar ritual needs of each sect were given consideration. The tendency was not toward the elimination of all sectarian differences of doctrine and rites. Still the fear that such a leveling might occur as the result of the newly organized United Buddhist Church led to anxieties and conflicts.

In Poston, for instance, the four Buddhist sects and the non-sectarians agreed at first that none would hold separate services but all would participate in the services of the United Buddhist Church. Later, however, members of the numerically dominant Shin sect withdrew from the United Church to resume their former sectarian rites.

At the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, splits also occurred in The United Buddhist Church despite the vigorous resistance of its board of trustees. Not only did this center have doctrinal differences as at Poston, but also financial problems which developed among the priests.

Both subsects of the Shin denomination, the numerically large Nishi and the less prominent Higashi, are represented at Heart Mountain. However, since Nishi leadership was weakened at the time of evacuation by the internment of many of its priests and outstanding laymen, it happened that the ranking member of the Shin priesthood at the center was a Higashi. Gaining the support of a Nishi priest, he proposed that the financial contributions from the congregations of The United Buddhist Church be pooled and equally divided among the priests. The congregation itself, not the denomination as a whole, it will be recalled, pays the salaries of the priests. Other priests with a larger following than the two mentioned objected that such an arrangement would cheat them out of the salaries they were entitled to and withdrew from The United Buddhist Church.

Doctrinal differences at Heart Mountain were due to the Nichiren sect, which after a time withdrew from the United Church. This sect, as mentioned above, has a nationalistic tendency, and later its priest went to the segregation center.

At the Jerome Center, the split in The United Buddhist Church was due neither to financial or doctrinal differences but to a political schism. Until registration for the army occurred, the course of the Church was fairly smooth, but at that time twelve of the trustees of the Church requested three other board members to resign. The twelve members feared that the hostility of the three to registration would make Buddhism appear to be a pro-Japanese religion. The three dissenters resigned, and with three priests and a following of about 300 people established the Daijo Bukkyo Church. Most of them were repatriates and were suspiciously regarded as pro-Japan by other evacuees. When segregation took place, this Church disbanded.

In all centers, the general tendency is for the older Buddhists to cling to the pre-evacuation sectarian lines. Their services, though conducted by Japanese priests, show many Christian influences.

The growth of non-sectarianism was favored by life at the centers. Indications are that it is getting further stimulus from the relocation of young Buddhists outside the centers, for they tend to favor non-sectarianism in planning new services. Though the young group is financially weak, its experiences in organization are greater than before evacuation. It was the young Buddhists who, after evacuation had disorganized Buddhism, took the initiative in establishing the Buddhist church at the centers. At first many evacuees hesitated to admit being Buddhists for fear of being thought "foreign", but reassurances from the War Relocation Authority of the freedom of religion soon drew Buddhists together again and The United Buddhist Church was organized. Later as the old people became more secure, they took control of the church administration as formerly, but the position of the young Buddhists was stronger.

The non-sectarian Buddhist Brotherhood of America, an organization led by Rev. Julius Goldwater of Los Angeles, has offered to absorb the Young Buddhist Association. Although the Association has been unwilling to accept affiliation with the Brotherhood, it has a closer informal relationship with the non-sectarian Brotherhood since evacuation.

The future for sectarian Buddhism in the United States seems uncertain at present. It faces threats to its continuance not only from the inclination of young Buddhists to favor non-sectarianism or greatly modified sectarianism but from the preference of an increasing number for Christianity. Besides the loss of young members, the Issei Buddhists have another problem, a dilemma immediately involving themselves. Until they begin to relocate, the center of Buddhism in the United States will continue to be the relocation centers, and yet one of the reasons for their hesitation to relocate is the lack of Buddhist churches "outside". Another problem is to fill the ranks of the priests. Before evacuation most sectarian priests were born and educated in Japan, the priesthood did not attract

Nisei before the war, and now there is a marked trend among the Nisei to follow less sectarian lines or to leave Buddhism altogether.

Life at the centers profited the sectarian Buddhists in some respects. Whereas the four sects, the Shin, Shingon, Zen, and Nichiren, had maintained almost no contact with each other before evacuation, project life has brought members of different denominations into contact with each other and created some cooperation among them in religious matters. Because most Buddhists in America are of Japanese ancestry and most are at the centers, they know they cannot depend on "outside" financial aid as do the Christian congregations at the center to maintain their religious existence. This realization makes the members of the different sects more aware of the need for cooperation. Center life also accelerated the trend, which until Pearl Harbor had been gradual, of modifying the sects to compete with Christianity and to adapt themselves to the culture of the United States.

The following percentages indicate the relative place of those in the relocation centers claiming Buddhism, Christianity, other religions, or no religion, and the proportion of Issei and Nisei in each group. The figures are based on approximately 25% of the individual records from each of the ten relocation centers.

Religious Membership in Relocation Centers

Buddhism	55.3%
Shinto	0.4
Catholic	2.0
Protestant	28.8
Mormon	0.1
None or not answered	13.4
N = 27, 180	100 %

Relationship of Nativity and
Religious Membership in Relocation Centers

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Nativity</u> <u>American born</u>	<u>Foreign born</u>
Buddhism	48.5%	68.5%
Shinto	0.2	0.7
Seicho-no-Iye	*	0.1
Catholic	2.4	1.2
Protestant	32.4	21.8
Mormon	0.2	0.1
None or not answered	16.3	7.6
	100%	100%

N = 18,064

N = 9,116

*Less than 0.5%

BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Especially as regards young, unmarried people, the Buddhist Church has faced competition with the Christian Church from the early days of Japanese immigration to the present and has undergone many changes under the influence of its contacts with Christianity and American life. The effect of the adjustments of Buddhism to occidental culture and competition with Christianity was to make it a strong force in assimilating the Japanese into American life. After losing ground in the early days of immigration, Buddhism firmly established itself and increased its congregations. Now the Buddhists are again losing ground to the Christians. Old people are today more likely to cling to Buddhism than are the young; and residents of rural areas seem to maintain Buddhist membership more than do those of city areas.

During the first years of immigration, young unmarried males turned to Christianity instead of to Buddhism because the Christian churches offered opportunities for Americanization, which, together with the employment bureaus that the churches set up, gave the immigrants hopes for better jobs and a quicker return to Japan. Also, the Christian churches undertook to meet the needs of these men for social life, even setting up marriage bureaus. Later when the immigrants began to raise families, the kindergartens which the churches organized for children of working parents gave both children and parents opportunities to familiarize themselves with American customs and language.

Because in Japan social opportunities of the kind offered in the United States by Christian churches had been a function of the family system and not of religious organizations, the Buddhist churches, when first established in the United States, did not offer their members the attractions and benefits that the Christian churches did. To the immigrant, therefore, the Christian church, not his traditional native religion, was doing for him some of the things his family would have done in the homeland.

However, as Buddhist churches were built and the men married and had families, some returned to their former religion, drawn by sentimental attachment to memories of their youth, familiarity with Buddhist rites, a desire to have Buddhist birth ceremonies for their children, and the satisfaction of hearing services in Japanese.

This early experience of the Issei with the Christian churches left its mark, for they later used it to good effect in fitting American social techniques into the Buddhist Church. Though the major purpose in doing this was to draw the second generation to Buddhism and thus insure its survival in America, parents made relatively little objection when the children, as many still do, attended both Buddhist and Christian churches, or under the influence of friends would become Christians while their brothers and sisters or parents remained Buddhists. Since American public schools usually do not give religious instruction, parents of Japanese ancestry were eager that their children have organized training in ethics, whether on a Buddhist or Christian doctrinal foundation.

Adaptability to other cultures and religions is a trait that Buddhism has shown since it spread from India through Asia to Japan and then to the United States. Just as it competed in Japan with Shintoism, so it competed

in the United States with Christianity to hold its members and gain converts. American Buddhist churches and Christian churches in Japanese American communities have adopted ideas and customs from each other as popular Shintoism and Buddhism did in Japan.

A new sect, which became popular among older people in California in the 1930's, is the Seicho-no-Iye. It combines Christianity and Buddhism around the faith that health and happiness can be attained by the proper mental attitude. The literature of the sect refers to both Gautama Buddha and Mary Baker Eddy. This sect is represented in the relocation centers by a negligible percentage.

The principal change which American Buddhists made under the influence of Christianity was to add to the original religious purpose of their church the functions of providing recreation and education for its younger members. The American Buddhist societies carrying out these functions were patterned after those in the Christian churches.

Buddhist children had Sunday Schools established for them, and in 1936 The Buddhist Mission of North America, the organization of the Nishi subsect of the Shin, had 6332 children enrolled in Sunday Schools. Young people had the Young Men's Buddhist Association and the Young Women's Buddhist Association, comparable in organization and function to the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association. In 1926 these associations united into the Young Buddhists Association, which was to become an important force after evacuation in reuniting both old and young Buddhists. Older Buddhist women had the Women's Buddhist Association, corresponding to the Ladies Aid, which sponsored church socials and bazaars with other church societies, fostered work in social service, and conducted study groups on domestic subjects.

Buddhist church calendars took over American and Christian holidays and adapted them to their congregations. Programs were held for Mother's Day and Father's Day. On Memorial Day, Buddhists held services at graveyards similar to Christian services. At some relocation centers, Buddhists and Christians have held joint Memorial Day services at the graves of those who have died since evacuation. On Christmas eve, Buddhists usually hold an "End of the Year" celebration with features taken from the Christian one, such as children receiving gifts and the Sunday School classes presenting plays. Besides these new holidays, the Buddhists observed some of their former holidays, such as, for example, the birthday of Buddha, (which comes at about Easter time), and Bon celebrations at which the dead are honored and the living exchange gifts.

Under the influence of Christianity, Buddhists modified several aspects of their religious activities. They adopted Sunday as a special day for religious observances, and took over the singing of hymns (and even adapted Christian hymns), choirs, choir robes, congregational responses, and the program arrangements followed in Christian churches. Most of the Buddhist buildings became known as churches instead of temples, the term temple being reserved for the principal structure in a diocese headquarters.

A function which Buddhists added to their American organization was the teaching of Japanese language and culture to the younger generation in schools conducted by priests or by laymen.

However, despite the many efforts of the Buddhist Church to attract children into their congregations, less than half of the Nisei have become members. Many Nisei, despite the language schools, do not know enough Japanese to follow the services led by priests so unfamiliar with English as to be unable to translate from Japanese for the benefit of the younger members of the congregation. Then too as the young people marry, they tend to withdraw from the church societies, thus breaking the social and recreational tie which had been stronger than the religious bond in holding them to the Buddhist Church.

Many Buddhists wished to accelerate the Americanization process in their church, but the change was gradual until Pearl Harbor. Then many changes came rapidly as a reaction to the hysteria which swept the West Coast. The Buddhist Mission of North America made up of Nishi members of the Shin sect changed its name to The Buddhist Mission of America and incorporated under the laws of California. The Mission urged its members to "Americanize your organizations and all its activities," and issued statements declaring, "United we stand for democracy." Services, especially for young people, were conducted in English. Members of the Mission were urged to buy bonds and to join the Red Cross and other patriotic organizations. Churches sponsored dances to raise money for patriotic purposes and gave parties for draftees.

Progressive Buddhists hailed this move, which had led young Buddhists to assume a more dominant role in the church. However, the Issei still retained actual control until the church organization collapsed upon the evacuation of the West Coast members and the internment of some of the Issei churchmen. After arrival in the relocation centers, the young Buddhists assumed control until the older generation recovered from the shock of evacuation. The younger members reestablished not only the church but the program of social activities which, in the United States, had become such an integral part of the Buddhist Church.

Those who had formerly attended both Christian and Buddhist services continued to do so in the centers, but the trend among some of them has been toward more complete identification with the Christian denominations due to the concentrated community life in the centers. Among others, the pull has been toward Buddhism for the sake of family solidarity.

The members of the Young Buddhist Association feel that if Buddhism is to continue to exist in this country the burden rests with them. In May, 1943, an inter-project meeting of members of the Association was held in Salt Lake City for the first time since evacuation. Although the local associations and the central organization have been able to maintain their existence, the members feel they are in a difficult position. Because of the war they hesitate to become too prominent and conspicuous. Many are being dispersed throughout the country into areas where there are no Buddhist churches. Four of the only six Nisei ministers of Buddhism are in the army; there is no American seminary to train lay Buddhist ministers. The Young Buddhists are divided among themselves. Some wish to cling to the sects of their parents and, though recognizing the need for change, do not want it to come quickly. Others wish to reject the remaining Japanese influence in the Buddhist church in the United States and establish an American Buddhist Church completely divorced from Japan. It is only in this way, they feel, that the present drift of young Buddhists to Christianity can be halted.

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

The Japanese language press in the United States.

Two Japanese daily newspapers in Seattle, excuding the weekly paper published by a second-generation Japanese. The function of these in creating community solidarity lies not so much in any leadership which they show as in their function as agencies of publicity for the other organizations of the community, and in particular for the two main socio-political bodies, the Japanese consulate and the Japanese Association. It is primarily in the work of publicizing such organizations, and in thus keeping the eyes of the community turned inward, that the newspaper is a significant factor in strengthening solidarity. Because only a minimum of first-generation Japanese read the American newspapers the Japanese newspapers are significant, for here, then, is an important organ for the formation of public opinion which has an almost uncontested supremacy.

No better illustration of the kindx of influence which the Japanese newspapers have in making for the solidarity of the community is to be had than in the type of news which these two papers have published over the recent Sino-Japanese conflict. Since the beginning of warfare in July, 1937, the papers have covered with unabated avidity all the important news to be had about the Oriental crisis, and there has not been a day since that time when the war news was not the most important item on the front page. Not alone in the fact that they give so much space to this event do we have the significance of this news in furthering the solidarity of the people, but rather in their consistent and vigorous defense of the Japanese cause in this war do we see the peculiar influence which it has. That their news is weighted heavily

in that direction is not surprising when we consider that all their news items from Japan are direct transcripts of daily wireless dispatches taken through their own receiving stations directly from Japan, and when we note that this news is censored by the Japanese government before it leaves the nation.

The powerful effect of this publicity is apparent in the solid attitude of the community in support of the program to which the Japanese government has committed itself in China, and the vigorous and bitter attacks that the people make against the American newspapers which, they claim, deliberately falsify their reports in favor of China. In this regard, it is interesting to note that the Japanese newspapers, in conjunction with the Japanese consulate, have sponsored a program of educating the second-generation Japanese concerning the "true" conditions behind this conflict, as a counterbalance against the evil influences of the American dailies published here in Seattle. Thus, in their news and editorial columns, one finds admonitions to parents to interpret the Japanese newspapers to their English-speaking sons and daughters so that the latter may correctly state the case to the larger American public.

The function of the Japanese press in the community is clearly that of articulating those sentiments which are latent and oriented towards Japan, particularly in ~~xxxxxx~~ crises such as the present. There have been occasions when these papers have assumed for themselves the function of Americanizing their public, but by the very nature of the papers, written as they are entirely in Japanese, except in relatively recent years when it became necessary to give over one of their daily eight pages to an English section to attract the growing second-gener-

eration population, the newspapers have a natural bent towards directing the public's mind toward Japanese interests.

Not the least important is the use which the Japanese Association or the Japanese consulate makes of the columns to guide the Japanese community in channels which they desire...

(Miyamoto, Social Solidarity, 1939)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Japanese language schools.

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

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

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

(Manzanar report 229, April 14, 1944)

See Lang report in Wash. report files.

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS: RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Frustrated Nisei - effects of discrimination.

Nisei expatriate. It isn't exvacuation alone, though that brought it to a head. I stood for plenty in the way of race discrimination before that. I am a trained mechanic. I know I am a good mechanic. But I was working as a gardener in West Los Angeles. I tried to take care of myself by education. I studied hard and had a good record. I started in at UCLA. Then I looked around and saw my college educated friends running fruit stands or working in produce markets. I said "to hell with it," and I quit. Do you know why I couldn't carry on my trade as a mechanic? I couldn't get a union card; they don't let Orientals in the union. The only way I could cash in on my mechanical ability was to start a concern of my own; to save money and invest it. I started a shears manufacturing concern shortly before evacuation, but it folded up. I thought of trying the midget auto game. I was going to design the car and give someone 30% for running it. You can make about 50-75 dollars a week on this if you get it going. A few rich fellows go in for this as a hobby, but it's a business for most of them. But all that is over. I'm getting out of this country. I'm going where I get a 50/50 break and not a 10/90 break. Even if that 10 % break in this country is worth more in actual money than the 50% elsewhere, I don't want it. Where I'm going maybe the clothes won't be as good or the food so plentiful. But when everyone else lives poorly it doesn't matter so much. Living like a human being is what counts....I've seen what the white man can do to you when he doesn't like you. You have no security or peace of mind at all. I've had stones thrown at me because I was Japanese.

I've seen them drive children out of the public schools and forced them into separate schools. There's a place called Walnut Grove. They put up a new school and made the Japanese children continue on in the old school....I've seen them make things so uncomfortable for Japanese farmers in the San Joaquin valley that they have left. Who wants to see signs saying "No Japs wanted " and "Jap~~m~~ trade not wanted here" all the time?...Even in los angeles where the prejudice is not so noticeable, it catches up with you. I thought I had Caucasian friends, but you can go just so far and so long with them. As soon as you are beginning to grow up; as soon as you reach the age at which you begin to step out, they drop you pretty fast. You can't get past that social barrier. It doesn't matter how educated or well behaved you are. Look at the Okies and Arkies. Half of them have had no schooling and can't even read and write. But in no time at all they are in places where Orientals can't go and are lording it over us. I used to be an idealist; I used to believe in democracy. But I no longer think that democracy can work....You can see how much of it there is in the United States if a labor union can keep you from earning a living because of your race. I don't care any more about the form of government a country has. If I go to Japan I'll accept whatever is there and live within that system. At least I will be accepted as a person and not treated as an animal. I can speak the language and I look like the rest of the people. When our ship landed in 1934 at the place where the biggest steelworks in Japan is situated, I was allowed to go ashore. British and Canadian seamen were not. I traveled around Japan. No one asked me for my papers or bothered me. But when I was trying to land in the United States

I was detained for days becaus I didn't have my birth certificate.
I and friends of mine have had hell bawled out of us because we didn't
carry our birth certificates with us when we were on a trip to
Imperial valley.

(Manzanar report 50, Aug 30, 1943)

PRE-EVACUATION TRENDS IN JAPANESE AMERICAN LIFE
RELATIONSHIPS TO JAPAN

Frustrated Nisei:: Effects of discrimination.

Immediately after Pearl Harbor the Nisei were dismayed to find that there was a decided tendency to ignore their claims to citizenship and treat them like enemy aliens. Many at once lost their jobs, as though they were somehow connected with the enemy. Many were denied admission to trains and other public conveyances. A little later such travel was allowed, but only upon producing a birth certificate to prove citizenship. At first no one of Japanese ancestry, citizen or non citizen, was allowed to cross the Golden Gate bridge. This lack of discrimination or refusal to recognize citizenship status extended to many other matters, large and small. Some companies cancelled the automobile insurance of all those with Japanese names initially. Only sometime afterward were those reinstated who could prove they were citizens. Business licenses, such as liquor licenses, were taken away from all those of Japanese ancestry, including the Nisei. When the children of alien fishermen found that their fathers were not allowed to fish, they prepared to take up the work for the support of the family. It was a shock to them to learn that, despite their citizen status, they could not fish either. In other ways, too, the Nisei felt crowded toward an enemy alien status. If there was an alien in the building, whether he shared an apartment with others who were affected or not, no one, not even a citizen, could retain short-wave radios, cameras, signalling devices, including flashlights, or any knife with a blade more than three inches long. Thus citizens underwent the humiliation of surrendering boy scout knives and kitchen utensils. Later the slight distinction that had been made was erased entirely

and the ban was made applicable to non-citizens and citizens alike. By that time the press and radio attacks were beginning and the Nisei learned that no distinctions were made between them and enemy aliens, all persons of Japanese ancestry were "Japs" and thereby suspect.... At the time of Pearl Harbor many Nisei and even Issei tried to volunteer for the American army in protest and indignation over the Japanese attack. They were rejected, and at Manzanar these were among the ones who answered "no" to what has been miscalled the "loyalty" questions... It was a considerable shock to the Nisei to learn that the officials, newspapers, and people of inland sections paid not the slightest attention to their citizenship, but railed against the "Japs" who had invaded their districts...

(Manzanar Report No. 5,, May 18, 1943))