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### JACL

The source is the secretary of the local Chapter.

There is something about the name that is a little peculiar. Membership cards read JACL, San Jose Chapter. The Chapter's official News-Bulletin is headed United Citizens League of Santa Clara County. "The JACL Chapter should be of the County, not of San Jose" according to source. She doesn't know why there are two names. Maybe this was done to get away from San Jose designation. Members in other towns may have objected. "Before evacuation, Palo Alto had its own Chapter."

(Maybe too, the UCL is meant to dodge anti-JACL sentiment among Japanese residents. Perhaps also it has some public relations purpose since it does not have "Japanese" in the title. Check.) *The latter is the real reason; later information*

The personnel of JACL leadership has changed a little. *Sam* ~~Sam~~, president before evacuation, turned down the presidency of the reconstituted Chapter. He said, "We need new blood." The present officers include two persons who were not formerly active. In both cases the experiences of evacuation were a factor. These experiences convinced the two that active participation in the affairs of the minority was worth while. They feel it is a public duty, a feeling they did not have before. The other three officers were active leaders before the war. The former president is "consulted on everything." (When cards are to be sent out for cabinet meetings,

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the question is often asked the secretary, "You are sending one to ~~Sam~~<sup>Sam</sup>, of course." "On occasion I have mentioned that he does not belong to the cabinet. This creates a little embarrassment. And even if ~~Sam~~<sup>Sam</sup> is not notified, he always hears about any meetings and shows up.") Other former officers are also consulted informally a good deal.

There are some new points of view in the organization. One man, a veteran, hearing that "JACL is not interested in politics" decided not to join. (He is quite interested in AVC, which most veterans apparently are not.) Later on, he came around, even applied for the position of paid Executive Secretary, which he didn't get. The secretary admits she is a bit prejudiced against some JACL doings. She would prefer more attention to public relations and integration, or at least cooperation with the larger community, and less attention to athletics and strictly minority interests.

Before evacuation, Issei were not members of JACL. The constitution limited membership to citizens. The Issei, however, were approached for, and did make, financial contributions to JACL. Now Issei can be associate members and their membership is being actively sought. They are also touched for contributions. There are some Issei on the membership drive committee whose special duty it is "to explain JACL to the Issei." (Secretary made a slight error on membership status of Issei - they are supporting members.)

There are some hakujin members of the local Chapter. About six attend regularly. They are all "old ladies, mostly from

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the College." "They sit and not approvingly whenever they hear a word or phrase they like. When the Exc-Sec was arguing for sponsoring a lot of Nisei sports, at one point he said, 'We want a well-balanced program.' The ladies bobbed approval and smiled benignly. It was that expression 'well-balanced' that got them. It didn't matter what else he said, or in what context he used the expression."

The Executive Secretary. About May (check) the Chapter decided to employ a paid executive secretary. The question was raised as to what his duties should be. "Oh, there are lots of things -- welfare, public relations, membership," all sort of general. Incidentally, on a previous occasion, it had been decided that he should not have any jobs in connection with membership, that that would be handled in a drive on a volunteer basis.

A notice was published in Pacific Citizen asking for applications for the executive secretary job. The notice specified a deadline date. On the deadline, the president asked the secretary who had applied. She mentioned six or seven. "But they can't have the job, they don't live here," the president objected. "Has <sup>Paul's</sup> application come in?" Sec: "No." Pres: "I'll have to speak to him." Sec: "Today is the deadline you know."

The application from <sup>Paul</sup> arrived that day. <sup>Paul</sup> was appointed. His appointment had been favored all along by the president, the former president, and a few other leaders in the local chapter.

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In view of this, it is a little strange that the notice was put in PC. It was also a bit strange that an Issei advisory committee of five members from different communities in the Valley was appointed to participate in the deliberations. Quite a bit of fuss to make over a choice that was already made.

The Exc-Sec was an active leader in YMBA before the war, especially in athletics.

In a recent meeting the Exc-Sec was telling of his welfare activities. He named the names of the families he had been working with. The secretary, who is a social worker, was shocked and suggested some other people did not think it was the thing to do.

The Exc-Sec does everything on the News-Bulletin. He even folds and addresses it (with his wife's help). The secretary has suggested that he could get volunteer aid for this clerical labor. He says he would rather do it himself. Apparently he thinks that is one thing he is paid to do.

A while back he called the secretary and wanted the minutes of the previous meeting right away to use in the next Bulletin. Sec: "But they are not approved yet." Exc-Sec: "Oh, that's all right." The minutes were turned over to him. They came out in the next Bulletin with some deletions, revisions, and additions. One part where ample additions had been made concerned the discussion of the organization of the sports program. The revisions included making numerous Nisei plurals and other grammatical errors. All of this was reproduced as official minutes, over the name of the secretary, who does happen to be able to write correct English and who is conscientious about trying to make the minutes reflect the meetings accurately.

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The role of the Issei. The drive for Issei membership has been mentioned. A permanent sponsoring committee of Issei is being talked about. It has been under consideration for some time. Frequent reference is made to the advisory committee and advice is asked of such members of the committee as are around. This is contrary to the official Chapter action which created the advisory committee. It was to serve solely to aid in the selection of an executive secretary.

Incidentally, only three of the five members of the advisory committee participated at all. One of them sent word that he worked at night and that he would abide by the decision of the others. Another man couldn't come and sent his son to replace him. This suggests a distinct lack of interest on the part of the Issei. The lack of interest is understandable considering the function the committee was to perform.

(It seems to be assumed by people in JACL that JACL will occupy the center of the stage. Issei will be called in as sponsors or advisors when, as, and if JACL wants them. What the Issei think of this pattern remains to be learned. Also, inquiry should be made into the kind of Issei who are going along with JACL at present. One of them left Ht.Mt. early to teach Japanese in a military language school. Such an act was a very un-Issei act at that time.)

The program of JACL. This is a very informal set of statements on what JACL is doing.

JACL was given a boost when it received \$1400 from the hostel fund when the Council of Civic Unity ceased to operate

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the hostel in March. At the meeting when the money was presented, the most active member of the Council of Civic Unity in providing for the hostel gave a detailed history of the hostel and financial report. It had been started by Mr. ~~Kato~~. He and his family did the buying. Often he didn't charge people unless they offered to pay voluntarily. He had to give up. The Council stepped in, hired a paid manager, kept books, and put it on a business-like basis.

Sometime thereafter during the meeting somebody, speaking in Japanese, explained that JACL should receive most of the credit for the hostel. The chairman made the mistake of translating the statement. The woman who had made the report and who had worked so hard on the hostel, listened and said nothing. The simple fact was that JACL didn't exist at the time the hostel was organized and never made any contribution to its operation. (In some gossip circles it is whispered about that Mr. K. made a lot of money when he was running the hostel on his own.)

When the membership drive was being planned, the question was asked as to the program of JACL so that campaigners would have something definite to say. "JACL is taking over the work of the old Japanese Association" was one statement that was made. Just what this work was was not specified. The whole matter of defining the program was left rather vague. Solicitors found this out when they tried to explain to many doubting would-be members why they should join. One solicitor gave up and quit.

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There was considerable discussion in one meeting of whether a person in charge of sports should be an elective officer and hence a member of the cabinet or whether he should head a standing committee. The Exc-Sec was very urgent in recommending that he be an elective officer. It seemed to be a matter of great importance to him. When the subject was finally put to a vote, the majority favored the standing committee. The president announced the result with, "Sorry, ~~Paul~~." The Exc-Sec says there have been some kick-backs from the action among people he knows. "What the Exc-Sec is interested in is a program that will please the boys who hang around ~~Charles Takami's~~ barber shop. These boys never come to JACL meetings."

Now the Exc-Sec can point with pride to a bowling league of twelve teams. The tournament is on. The sports program seems to follow the pre-evacuation pattern: Nisei teams play against Nisei teams for the Nisei championship.

(The kick-backs the Exc-Sec spoke of are apparently what is referred to in the following item from the News-Bulletin of July 5, 1946:

"There seems to be some misunderstanding as to the policy of the Citizens League on athletic events. The Citizens League is interested in and will sponsor any and all sporting or recreational events that its members requests or desires regardless whether the chairman be a cabinet member or on a standing committee. The draft of the Constitution is in its tentative stages and is subject to change and ratification of all of you members at the forthcoming meeting.")

In one JACL meeting, the president introduced the matter of Japan relief. As he talked along he kept referring to

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"they" and what "they" wanted "us" to do. "They" was the American Friends Service Committee, it eventually came out, rather vaguely. The Caucasians present were asked what they thought of the idea. One said, "Poles in this country help the Poles in Poland; Greeks help Greeks. I don't see why it wouldn't be all right for you to help your people." It had not been explained to the Caucasians or to anybody else that the relief referred to was not UNRRA. There was a bit of confusion on this point. The fact that the president questioned the Caucasians present revealed some concern with the possibility of adverse public reaction to relief for Japan.

Although nobody seems to have objected to the idea of Japan relief, there was a question of another sort raised. The local Buddhist priest wanted Japan relief to be a straight Japanese undertaking, under Buddhist auspices, not associated with the Friends or other non-Japanese. Practically all of the discussion of the relief question went on in Japanese. This meant that some Caucasians who were at the meeting for the purpose of discussing this matter with a body representing the Japanese community were unable to understand much that went on. In fact, one Japanese man got up in the meeting and asked, in Japanese, that the JACL president "tell the Caucasians to go home so we can discuss the matter more freely."

An important plank in the national program of JACL is citizenship for Issei. The local Chapter follows along on this more or less. In one meeting the president reported that some Issei had made application for and received their first

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papers down in Watsonville or somewhere. "Now they can get fishing licenses." The Sec: "He seemed very well satisfied. Apparently he forgot that the real issue was citizenship, not fishing licenses."

The local JACL has been interested in the deportation cases. Representative Jack Anderson was approached (by several community groups after stimulation from the ex-relocation officer) and asked to do something in Congress about getting a stay in the deportation orders. He showed little interest, some resistance. He came around only after he was reminded that there were many voters in his district that wanted action and that if he would not act the Senator would be approached. Anderson saw the point and agreed to take action in Congress. He introduced several private bills. Sec: "Now the president and most others in JACL think Anderson is wonderful." The president was a little put out that the secretary and a Caucasian well-wisher from the College still had some questions about Anderson. He seemed to be unaware of Anderson's consistent anti-Japanese record.

Relations with the larger community. Sec: "We never hear anything about integration around here. It is nothing like it was in Cleveland and other places east."

The YW offered scholarships for summer camp for girls 7-14. The JACL Exc-Sec was given the information and asked to find out if there were some girls who would be interested. Sec: "Phil put a notice in one of the Bulletins but never followed through on it as far as I know."

~~Sam~~ <sup>Sam</sup> is the JACL representative on the Council for Civic

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Unity. He attends the meetings. This seems to be a surface activity. At least he never reports what goes on to the JACL meetings. Some of us would be interested."

"When the military language school was transferred from Snelling to the Presidio of Monterey, the Chairman of the Council of Social Agencies wanted to do something in the way of USO entertainment for any students who should visit San Jose on leave. He called the JACL to see if they could work together on it. Nothing has been done so far. (There is a note in the News-Bulletin of July 5, 1946, suggesting that something is going to be done.)

The secretary noted, with some admiration, that the commanding officer of the Presidio is really working on public relations in Monterey. The language boys were given the job of decorating the city for the recently-celebrated centennial of raising the American flag in Monterey. "They were all over town, climbing poles and hanging bunting where everybody could see them. Monterey has been pretty anti-Japanese, much worse than this place. Maybe things like this will help. These selected boys offer a good opportunity to improve public relations in this whole area, as was done in Minneapolis and St. Paul."

"<sup>Paul</sup> [redacted] has been made registrar for registering voters.

Jim M. was earlier and may be still. Quite a few have registered but it is not being pushed very actively. I don't know how many have voted. There is not much talk in JACL meetings in favor of voting."

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JACL was invited to send a representative (which they did) to a meeting on rent control (7/8) in which many organizations of the community were to discuss and prepare recommendations to the City Council regarding municipal rent control.

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#2

## Relations with the Larger Community

### The Ghost of WRA

The former relocation officer let it be known that he would be willing to help people who needed his help as long as he was around. (His home is in San Jose.) He finally had to tell the Exc-Sec. of the local JACL that he would charge people who could afford to pay; that free service would be given gladly but only to those who could not afford to pay. Fewer people come now, though a well-heeled person with a special request sometimes calls on him and pays the fee without question.

He continues to receive occasional letters asking if he can help families relocate in Santa Clara Valley. He tells them to come on, especially if they are farm families. A family from Marysvale that resettled here to wait until public sentiment improved "back home" wrote him asking if he could help them return to Santa Clara County. They weren't getting along well in Marysvale. He located a place for them.

He took the initiative in organizing pressure on Rep. Anderson to get a stay in the deportation of **Local Issei**.

He has been working for and with people who wanted to get relatives and friends out of Crystal City. About a dozen are parolled to him.

His secretary in the WRA office was elected historian of JACL.

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# 3

JACL

Meeting 7/12/46.

Present: President, Secretary, Exc-Sec., Treasurer,  
and 13 members. Three members were Caucasians.

The small turn-out was alluded to during the course of  
the meeting. It was said that during this season of the  
year not many people would come to meetings as it is such  
a busy time.

(Nobody mentioned one very interesting fact that might  
have accounted for the very low attendance at this particular  
meeting. The "fact" is brought out in two items in the  
official News-Bulletin of the organization for July 5.

(Item 1, page 1: "Regular monthly meeting of the United  
Citizens League will be held on next Thursday evening  
July 11th . . . . starting 8 P.M. . . ."

(Item 2, page 4: "A managers' meeting will be held this  
Thursday evening 8:30 at the Valley Bowl conference room  
upstairs, it was announced by chairman Clark Taketa and all  
managers or captains of each teams are requested to be  
present promptly in order to have ample time for meeting  
before the league play starts."

(That is, the JACL meeting was scheduled for the same  
night that matches were to be held in the tournament of the  
Nisei bowling league, recently organized by the local JACL.  
The play was to start at 9:45. Moreover, a managers'  
meeting was called for 8:30. The caller was the JACL

athletic chairman. An issue at a previous meeting was whether he would be chairman of a standing committee on athletics and recreation or an elected officer and, hence, a member of the JACL cabinet.

(A bowler reported that the bowling alley was crowded with Nisei players and spectators.

(Of course many of the people who are attracted by bowling matches would not be attracted to a JACL meeting. Still, the managers or captains had no choice in the matter.

(A bowler (who hadn't attended the JACL meeting) was asked by his wife (who had attended the meeting) why bowling matches were scheduled for the same night as the meeting. He answered, "We have to take the alley the nights we can get it. The only open nights are Mondays and Thursdays. The day of the meeting should be changed. It can be changed easily."

(She: "But why didn't you bowl on Monday then?"

(He: "Monday night is not good. The day after the week-end the boys are not in as good shape as they are by Thursday."

(This seems to indicate the status of JACL meetings in his mind as compared to the bowling activities JACL provides.)

The minutes were read and approved without comment.

Mimeographed copies of the proposed new constitution were distributed. According to earlier plans, it was to have been discussed and voted on at this meeting. There was no discussion; no mention of when it would be voted on. It was

just passed out to those present. (Incidentally, re the suggestion that JACL meetings could be changed more easily than bowling: An article in the proposed constitution specifies that the meeting shall be on the second Thursday of each month.)

There was some discussion of the desirability of veterans joining AVC. To prove what a fine organization it was, especially as regards the rights of minorities, someone pointed out that it was making a protest to ABC (American Bowling Congress) regarding its rule not to admit bowlers of Japanese ancestry. This was the only specific item in the AVC program that was cited.

The Exc-Sec. spoke of the campaign to register voters. He intends to spend some evenings during August in various towns in the Valley registering Nisei. The registration deadline for voting in the November elections is September 26.

The Exc-Sec. reported on his meeting with the head of the San Jose USO regarding providing something for the Nisei GI's in the language school in Monterey. The USO man had assured him that the facilities of the USO were available; that USO had no money to establish any sort of special Nisei USO, even if space were available; that if JACL had a place, some furnishings could be loaned. Since JACL had no place, nothing of that sort could be done. Maybe a dance or something could be sponsored once in a while, inviting the GI's. Someone suggested a picnic. The response to this was quite

favorable. Plans were left up in the air, with the general idea that the Exc-Sec. would keep his eye on the number of GI's that came to San Jose and see what the needs might be. (Nobody suggested JACL might work with the USO--provide some Nisei hostesses or something similar.)

At the last meeting, nominations were made for the offices of second vice-president and historian. There was just one nominee for second vice-president, who was elected by acclamation. The two candidates for historian were both Caucasians: one, the most active member of the Council for Civic Unity in running the hostel; the other, the secretary of the former relocation officer. The first had let it be known that she would prefer to have a younger person serve; the second was elected.

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After the meeting, two members were discussing what had happened. One of them commented, "That is the first time there has been any discussion. Some of it was not very good, but some of it was all right. Before, everybody has just sat without saying a word. Maybe there is some hope for the meetings after all."

Social Organization with the  
Community

Nisei Culture

Former relocation officer: "One day a Nisei boy came in to see me. We sat and talked for two hours. He really pitched into the Nisei and how they stayed by themselves, depended on the Issei, had a lot of Issei ideas and ways of doing things. It was good. Finally, I happened to ask him about his wife. She is as nice and smart a Nisei girl as you could hope to find. Do you know what he answered? 'She's down in the car.' He had let her sit in the car and wait for him while he talked to me for two hours. I really jumped on him. I told him he was a fine one to lambast the Nisei for being like Issei when he had left his wife sitting in the car for two hours. He said, 'I just didn't think.' When he came in to see me the next time he brought his wife up to the office with him. We all laughed."

A Nisei girl who was present: "That's the way they are; they just don't think. They don't even see that a lot of things they do are really Japanese. They are just used to doing them."

Relocation officer: "Some things do happen though. A Nisei girl working at Stanford flew to Reno and got married without telling her family." (This evidence of Americanization was reported with obvious satisfaction and approval.)

(Comment: "They just don't think." That is the way

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culture is of course. The habits are automatic, the supporting attitudes unquestioned. The life experience of a Nisei does not provide many opportunities for close and repeated observation of middle-class Americans and their behavior in such situations.)

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An item from last March:

A Nisei couple relocated to Cleveland in 1944. They liked it there a lot, especially the wife. They came back because "he is the oldest son."

The wife: "In Cleveland we had a lot of fun. There were several Nisei couples we used to see. We would go to the show together or somewhere to eat or get together and play bridge.

"Here it may be better when more Nisei return from the East and from the Army. Now there is nobody we know where the husband and wife do things together. Some of his friends invite him to play bridge once in awhile. But they don't include wives. Wives are supposed to sit at home. I don't like it that way."

\* \* \* \* \*

Mas is in his late twenties, is a college graduate, is married and has two children, was never in Japan until he went there as an American soldier. He is in Japan now. He is the oldest boy. There is quite a break in age between him and his older sister, the neisan of the family. His

mother tends to dominate his father. At present and for some time the most influential family member in many ways is his neisan.

Mas' wife's sister: "I don't know about Mas. He's a grown-up man and married. My sister gets out of patience with him. He can't make decisions by himself. Even on small things, he has to ask his mother or talk it over with his sister. Especially his sister. He consults her on everything."

Another occasion: Mas' mother apologized for the state of the car, saying it was used to go to the farm. Later on I asked his older sister, the neisan, "Do your parents have a farm now?"

She answered, "No, they have just been picking berries once in a while. They wanted to get a small farm but we (the children) wouldn't let them. They were quite disappointed, but they are too old to work so hard. They will have to live here (in the house of the neisan and her husband) and wait until Mas gets back from Japan and out of the Army. Then he can get a farm and take care of them. He is the oldest son." Mas' wife was present. She is a city girl. There were some kidding questions addressed to her about her living on a farm as a farmer's wife.

(Mas will come out of the Army responsible for his wife, his two children, his parents, and, until they marry, his three grown younger sisters. In the neisan's words and

attitude, there was not the slightest doubt but that Mas would assume these responsibilities without question. "He is the oldest son."

All his life Mas has lived surrounded by people who expected that he would behave as a proper oldest son when he grew up. In college and other places he has had contacts with Americans who have different notions about oldest sons. But these other contacts were relatively casual and intermittent whereas contacts with his family and with members of the Japanese community were intimate and continuous. It may be noted that the neisan is a college graduate too.

In Japanese-American communities on the West Coast, the simple statement "because he is an oldest son" is considered sufficient explanation as to why a man previously relocated elsewhere has returned to the West Coast. In the case of daughters and younger sons longer and more variable explanations are in order. Question: Is the percentage of oldest sons on the West Coast higher than in Chicago? Another solution is to take the parents east. What kind of oldest sons do that? Do they tend to be dominant persons?)

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An inconsequential item of Nisei culture, Nisei culture nevertheless. A Nisei woman: "I eat with a fork when I am out somewhere, but at home I use ohashi (chopsticks). It seems to me--maybe it's just my imagination--but it seems to me that forks sort of smell. I guess I'm just used to the wood."

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#5

Relations with the larger community

Source: Former relocation officer Santa Clara and San Benito Counties.

"I have to admit that I am disappointed with the Nisei. They seem to be settling back in the old pattern of associating almost entirely with other Nisei."

"I had several calls from AVC. They wanted a Nisei veteran who would join the organization and be a delegate, with all expenses paid, to the national convention. You know, I stirred around on this quite a bit, and I never did find anybody who was willing to do it."

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The larger community has shown considerable interest in doing things for Japanese-Americans. When the deportation cases came up, Rep. Anderson was very definitely not concerned and was unwilling to do anything. Edmiston contacted the Council for Civic Unity, the Council of Social Agencies, other civic and religious groups.

The Council of Social Agencies agreed to take the lead. Pretty soon letters, telegrams and petitions were pouring in on Anderson. He didn't do anything because he wanted to or because he thought justice called for it. He just became convinced that so many voters were stirred up about it that he had better act.

\* \* \* \* \*

The same groups would work for other things if the

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Relations with larger community

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Japanese-Americans would start things and show they wanted help. "I am convinced that the Land Law could be repealed. And it would not take long either--the next session of the state legislature or the session after that."

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# 6

Economic Adjustment

Source: former relocation officer of Santa Clara and San Benito Counties.

This year the best thing to raise is strawberries. Vegetable prices are off from last year. Strawberries during most of season have been \$5 per crate. Japanese used to get along and make some money on \$1.25 per crate. (Of course, costs are up.)

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At the time of evacuation, a man from Watsonville was given unqualified "to-whom-it-may-concern" letters by the chief of police and some other leading residents. He had worked in the lettuce market. He left camp to farm in Colorado. He had bad luck--was hailed out several times. When the Coast opened, he loaded his wife, family, and belongings on a truck and headed for Watsonville.

He arrived there late in the afternoon. He went into the police station. His friend, the chief, greeted him with, "What the hell are you back here for. This town doesn't want any Japs. If you take my advice, you'll get right out before you get into trouble."

The man went back to his truck, turned around, and drove over the mountain into Santa Clara Valley that night. The family slept in the truck. When daylight came, they hunted up a Japanese farm owner they heard was back. They were taken in until they could get their bearings.

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He came into the WRA office and told his story. Edmiston urged him to take a share-crop deal; assured him he could get him money for groceries, etc. The man was reluctant and looked around for other possibilities. He finally had to decide to raise strawberries on a share-crop deal.

He settled down in a shack and put in 6 acres in March, 1945.

One Sunday a month or so later, a banker from Watsonville came to Edmiston's home. He said he had heard a friend of his had tried to come back to Watsonville and had been practically chased out of town. He had also heard that he had come over to Santa Clara Counta Counted and he wanted to find him. Edmiston gave him directions for finding the man's farm.

Edmiston learned from the man afterward that the banker visited quite awhile. At one point he pulled out his check book, rested it on the hood of his car, and wrote out a check for \$2500. He handed it to the man saying, "Here, you'll need this until you get your crop in. Pay me when you get around to it next fall." Edmiston explained, "There was no note signed or anything like that."

The next day the man came into town and repaid the grocery loan Edmiston had arranged for him.

During the season he harvested 9000 crates of strawberries.

In the fall, he stopped in to visit Edmiston. Among the things he said:

"America is a good place after all. The first time I saw you last February I wasn't so sure about it."

"I could buy me a little farm now, just with my profits for this year. But I think I'll hold off for another year and go on with this deal."

His wife was with him. She was wearing a new fur coat. All her life she had wanted one. When they went in to buy it, she wanted to back out when she saw the price. He insisted she get it. He thought that since they had decided to continue to live in the shack and to raise strawberries for another year instead of trying to get a farm or a better house, she should afford one luxury.

This year the berries have been running 2000 crates to the acre on the six acres he put in in March 1945. Besides, he has four more acres he planted this year.

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A Nisei girl present asked about the Madrone share-crop deal. She had heard that Mexicans were getting 60%, Japanese only 50%, which looked like "discrimination."

Edmiston: "I can't quite believe it. D. (the Caucasian operator) likes the Japanese very much. He told me he had a hard time trying to get along with Mexican share-croppers during the war. He didn't make much money."

"He doesn't have a very good contract. Even if the

sharecroppers didn't make anything, he would get good profits. He can't lose. He has a pre-cooler and he does the trucking. The charges for this would make it pay him. His contract calls for a division of the net profits. All of the contracts I helped to write gave the sharecropper the option of taking his share of the profits or of the produce itself. It's the only way to be sure the marketing charges are not rigged. But as far as I know, D. is all right. He likes the Japanese so much I don't think he would take advantage of them. And with the price of berries the way it is, there should be profits."

He was asked if Japanese were getting into farming on their own, away from working and sharecropping.

"Quite a few of them have leases ~~on~~ farms already. Just before the office closed, I prepared a list of Japanese farmers who might have produce to sell to the canneries. I was surprised how long it was. Another year will make a lot of difference."

"D. Will keep a lot of sharecroppers though. In the first place he is interested only in Issei. And a lot of Issei will have a hard time coming back into farming on their own. Have you read the 1945 amendments to the California Land Law? It's really tough. According to it, an Issei cannot receive any of the profits from land directly or indirectly. They can work on land and receive wages but that is all they are supposed to do. They can work for wages for their children. The

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amendments make a landlord subject to penalty for entering into a contract that will give an Issei any profits. D.'s attorney worked out his contracts pretty carefully. I suppose he thinks he has it fixed. But D. has some share-crop contracts with 4-or 5-year-old children.

"Another man who has sharecroppers is more careful. He refuses to accept a family unless there is a Nisei member over 21 with whom the contract can be made.

"Santa Clara County is pretty good about the land law. So far we have had no escheat cases. I don't believe public opinion would support an escheat proceeding unless it was awful raw. (A complaint has to be initiated by the County, I think.) There has been just one investigation here by state officials. It happened last March. A Nisei at Heart Mountain applied for resettlement aid and talked around a lot both there and here about how poor he was. Then suddenly he bought a \$100,000 ranch. Everybody knew whose money it was. To make it worse, two or three Caucasians wanted to buy it and the Japanese beat them to it. They were sore and one or more of them sent a complaint into Sacramento.

"The state investigators came into the office as soon as they hit town. Word was sent to the Issei to get in touch with his lawyer and to tell the men on the ranch to keep their mouths shut if anybody came around asking questions. Nothing has happened yet on this case."

(The Issei in question had come back from Utah early

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in 1945, got hold of a few acres, planted celery, and made a killing that season.)

\* \* \* \* \*

Several Nisei are now in the Carpenters Union (AFL).

None have been accepted into the cleaners and dyers union. But the union has given permits even to Issei to work. "Three or four that I know of are working in cleaning establishments here in San Jose."

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#7

### Relations with the Larger Community

Frank, a Nisei, met another Nisei the other day. Said the other Nisei, "I hear they are blaming the Japs again."

Frank: "What now?"

Other Nisei: "The lower prices of vegetables this year. Some of the farmers are saying it is because the Japs are back."

Frank explained that the prices of almost all vegetables are down from last year. It is not because of the Japanese though. Very few of them are producing yet.

He went on to say that before the war Japanese produced most of the vegetables that were grown for the market in the Valley. Then, while the Japanese were away, a lot of people without much experience got into the field. They have been making money only because prices have been high.

He raised an interesting point regarding future adjustment as compared to the past. "Before the war, San Jose was really just a big country town. There were no industries to speak of. The merchants depended for their business on the farmers. Japanese farmers patronized the merchants and were considered good customers. So public relations of Japanese with San Jose itself were generally good. About the only anti's were some of the farmers who competed with us. There wasn't much opposition even from them.

"San Jose is different now. A lot of industries have come in and it is growing fast. It is becoming an industrial

city. Businessmen don't depend so much on the surrounding farmers as they used to. So I don't know how the relations of Japanese farmers to the people of San Jose will work out. The situation is not the same."

(There was one important prewar industry Frank didn't refer to--canning. This industry was dependent on farmers too.)

\* \* \* \* \*

(There was a small Japanese town in San Jose and Japanese did trade there. There were grocery stores, restaurants, a hardware and notion store, drug stores, garages and service stations, barber shops, insurance agents, doctors and dentists (but no lawyers?), seed and fertilizer houses. In general Japanese town furnished many consumers' goods and services. Seed and fertilizer stores, and to some degree, garages, provided a part of the producers' goods farmers needed. Machinery, a large item, was obtained from any San Jose dealers.)

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#8

### Economic Adjustment

Background. Ted is Kibei in his early thirties. Before evacuation his family owned a farm in Cupertino, a few miles from San Jose. The place was sold at or during evacuation.

In the center Ted was secretary of the Community Council for several months. His knowledge of both English and Japanese was useful in the job since most of the Council business was conducted in Japanese. He was quite active in YBA. He also became a devotee of goh; "I spent more time playing goh than anything except sleeping."

During the summer of 1944 he relocated to Buffalo. His wife and the rest of his family remained in the center. He quit his job soon after Christmas, visited the center briefly in early January, and came on to San Jose--one of the very few early returnees.

Resettlement. When he arrived he went to the place of a neighbor and long-time friend in Cupertino. He was welcomed, given a tentative offer of a job on the farm--tentative because the owner wasn't sure what his other workmen might think of his employing a Japanese.

He went out into the orchard. One of the workmen "was a man I had gone through school with and had known all my life. He greeted me and seemed all right. We talked awhile. He asked why I had never been drafted. I explained." (I don't know for sure if Ted was on the Army acceptable list after selective service was reopened.)

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"I went around to see some other people. The next afternoon I came back and went out in the orchard. My school friend didn't speak to me and he and the other two left. It was about quitting time so I didn't think much of it."

"The next day I came back and went out where the men were working about 11 o'clock. I said 'hello' to my school friend. He didn't answer and pretty soon he and the other two left. The foreman came over a little while later and told me that the three men had said they would quit if a Jap was going to be hired. So I went in the house and told the owner that I couldn't work there because the others had threatened to quit."

"I went to another friend who had a ranch. He said he would hire me. But that night he telephoned and said he was awfully sorry. The other men had said they wouldn't work with a Jap."

"I was about to go back to my job in Buffalo. Although I had quit, the man had told me that if I couldn't make a go of it in California that he would take me back. But I decided to go over to the Farm Labor Office and try again. One of the openings listed was with a woman who had an orchard. I knew her but not very well. But I knew that a Japanese family had been on her place for a long time. Two of the boys were born there. She treated the Japanese family just like they were her own family. I went around to see her. She treated me

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fine. She was awfully nice. She needed just one man except during the busy season and said she would be glad to hire me. The wages weren't as good as some others were getting. But I decided to take it. I wanted to stay around and see what happened.

"I worked there until last September. About June I decided to try to find a place I could lease. It was hard. I searched for three months. Finally I located six acres in South Palo Alto that was good for flowers.

"I had a terrible time trying to get materials to build a house so we would have some place to live. And materials for flower-raising were just as hard--cheesecloth and frames and all the things you need. I still don't know how I did it but now I have a little house, my flowers are all in, and I'm just waiting for them to grow.

"I don't know how the market will be. Last year it was high. Production in the east was way down. That is what has the most influence on our prices.

"I'm looking for a place I can buy. But land is so high I don't know. Farming is uncertain. If I was sure prices would hold, I would go ahead and buy anyway. If you can get good prices, you can come out all right even paying out of all proportion for land. A man down near L.A. paid \$17500 for seven acres last year. People thought he was crazy. He put in celery and paid for it with that one crop. But he couldn't do it this year. Celery prices are lower.

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It's really a gamble.

"I've sure regretted we sold our place in Cupertino.

If we had had that to come back to, it would have been easy."

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### Recollections of the War and Evacuation

Pearl Harbor, the months afterwards, evacuation, and life in the assembly centers and relocation centers are continuing topics of conversation. Time is counted B.E. and A.E. One suspects that things will be dated this way for a long time. The experiences the Japanese went through seem to be becoming a body of lore which members of the minority share and which set them off from other people. It is reported that some of those who evacuated voluntarily rather regret now that they did. True, they continued to earn, but they missed something. They are partial outsiders. They were not in the dramatic common experience with the rest. On many occasions in groups, they sit and listen while the others talk over old times in the centers.

(These comments recall a story heard in the center. A Nisei girl had married a Filipino. Her family pretty much rejected her and so did the community. She was quite unhappy about it. When evacuation was ordered, she assumed she would be taken with other persons of Japanese ancestry. But before the actual movement, she was exempted. She felt terrible. It was the final rejection. She was not even to participate in the collective punishment the Government was meteing out to the Japanese.)

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#10

### Social Organization within the Community

Status and activities in the center and on the outside.

In the center two Nisei brothers were quite important. They gave the impression they were rather large operators in Santa Clara Valley. They got on well with the administration-- especially with the "practical" men in administrative management. One of the brothers eventually became chief steward in the camp.

I asked Frank how the brothers were doing. He replied, "I don't know. All right, I guess. They hardly ever come to town. I've seen them only two or three times in more than a year. They stick pretty close to the farm. They are sure quiet for such noisy guys in the center." (The farm is 10 acres or so.)

\* \* \* \* \*

A local Issei was a big farmer before evacuation, a man of some importance in the local community. In the center he was quite active in the movement to resist the draft. It is said that he advised several boys not to report when they were called.

Awhile ago the make-up of the proposed Issei sponsoring committee for JACL was being discussed. Someone suggested the name of the above Issei. Sam, a leader in JACL before and now, objected, "Not after the way he acted in the center on the draft issue. I am surprised that he should have been nominated."

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# 11

Recollections of the War and Evacuation

I asked a local Issei if anybody had ever written a history of the Japanese in Santa Clara Valley. "Yes," he answered, "There was one. I had a copy. But I burned it after Pearl Harbor was bombed. It was written in Japanese. I don't know who would have one now.

"I burned a lot of things. There was nothing in any of them that was bad. I did it because of the children. I thought the FBI would come around and search the house. I didn't want them to be here a long time so I didn't want any things around that would take them a long time to go through. The children might wonder why the FBI came and stayed. They might think I had done something. So everything with many pages I burned to get it out of the way."

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#12

Economic Adjustment--Pre-evacuation

Source: Mr. Ota.

Farming.

The great majority of the Japanese in Santa Clara Valley were farmers. They produced vegetables mostly. Quite a number grew flowers, especially around Sunnyvale and Mountain View. Only a very few raised fruit (i.e., tree fruit). Berries were a more common crop.

Marketing.

At the time of evacuation there were three produce-shipping concerns operated by Japanese. A man in Sunnyvale had been in the business for two or three years. He shipped only a little while each year. Another man in San Jose had been going for three or four years. He handled many kinds of vegetables and was a fair-sized operator. The third and largest was Mr. Ota's own company, a partnership with six partners. It was organized in 1921 and, at the time of evacuation, was the oldest produce house in San Jose.

Mr. Ota's company specialized on peas. Each season about 150 carloads of peas were shipped direct to the eastern markets--New York and Chicago mostly. This was the major share of the peas sent out of Santa Clara Valley. Jewish wholesalers bought most of them. A few other kinds of vegetables were handled--broccoli, celery and peppers--but they were minor. Mr. Ota's was the only shed that specialized in shipping peas, except for one in Oceana, between L.A. and San Luis Obispo.

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The company had an average of 40 Japanese growers who produced peas on consignment. This was the main source of supply, though some peas were bought from other farmers. The company helped finance the farmers, but not to a large extent--\$20,000 to \$30,000 each year. "Other shippers, especially around Los Angeles, finance their growers too much. They sometimes go broke. And they steal from growers to save themselves."

Since the war started, pea production and shipment in the county is much less than it used to be.

Only peas were raised on consignment to the company. Other vegetables the growers produced were sold to any wholesaler or commission house--whichever offered the best price. This was the way most of the vegetables the Japanese farmers produced were disposed of.

Most of the berries were marketed through the Central California Berry Growers Association. Mr. Ota helped organize this in 1915 when he was secretary of the Japanese Association. A meeting was held in the San Jose Chamber of Commerce. It was decided, among other things, that Caucasians and Japanese should have equal representation on the board of directors.

*Maybe in error.* → It remained that way until evacuation. "There is a lot of Japanese money in the Berry Growers Association."

The flower growers were also organized into an association and owned a wholesale market in San Francisco. (I failed to ask if this was all Japanese or mixed.)

The few fruit growers belonged to one of the regular associations, depending on the crop--pears, prunes, apricots, etc.

When the war broke out, the three Japanese vegetable-shippers went out of business. I have no details of just what happened in the case of the first two. The funds of Mr. Ota's company were frozen immediately after Pearl Harbor and all operations stopped instantly. The packing shed had been leased from the Southern Pacific RR and was given up. One of the partners was in Japan when the war broke out. This circumstance has made it impossible to unfreeze the company's account to date. It has been explained to Mr. Ota that he could request and get his own share. But he does not want to do it that way. He would rather wait until the account of the firm can be released.

Mr. Ota's own bank account was either not frozen or funds from it were made available to him quite soon after the war started. In any case, he took care of all of the company's outstanding obligations with his own money before evacuation.

\* \* \* \* \*

Business.

Mr. Ota mentioned just one item connected with business.

A long time ago San Jose had two or three hotels, 10 boarding houses, five or six restaurants--all run by and for Japanese.

A few years before the war there was one small hotel, no

boarding houses, only Chinese restaurants (one run by Japanese, two by Chinese).

Earlier many Japanese were laborers. Then they settled down on farms and had homes. Also, they had automobiles so "there was no use to stay in San Jose; everybody went home."

Now it is something like it was years ago. Japanese are laborers. In the hostel there are 80 people. "It is like a boarding house." (There were 40 in the hostel in March. It is now run by the Buddhist Church.)

The prospects.

"Farmers can re-establish themselves. It will not be too hard for them. In ten years, maybe sooner, they will be all right again. It is harder for people in business."

"Many land owners want to lease to Japanese. They are just waiting until their present leases expire. Then they will offer them to Japanese."

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Relations with the Larger Community

Source: Mr. Ota.

Some Issei belonged to the San Jose Chamber of Commerce--  
not many.

There were Japanese representatives on the Boy Scout  
Committee.

The thing Mr. Ota emphasized was the way they supported  
the Red Cross and the Community Chest. (See note of this  
date on Social Organization within the Community. It is  
notable that in both of these cases, the participation of  
the Japanese was collective through the Japanese Association.  
The community functioned in the larger community as a cate-  
gory.

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#14

Social Organization within the Community

Source: Mr. Ota.

Japanese Associations.

At the time of evacuation there were four Associations-- Gilroy, Mountain View, Palo Alto, and San Jose. The San Jose group was started in 1904. It was meant to be a county-wide organization. About 1907 Palo Alto set up its own Association. That of Mountain View was created about 1925; that of Gilroy a little later.

In 1907 all of the Associations in California, Arizona, Nevada and Utah were unified under the Central Japanese Association with headquarters in San Francisco. Thereafter, all of the local organizations had the same general form of organization and the same name. Oregon and Washington were separate. Later on, L.A. and Southern California became more or less independent of the San Francisco headquarters.

The officers of the San Jose Association were a president, a vice-president, a secretary (the only paid official), two treasurers, four auditors, and a board of directors of seven who had no other office. Meetings were held once a year. The officers reported and new officers were elected. Forty or 50 attended the meeting. If there was "political trouble" (i.e., politicians wanted to make trouble for the Japanese) 250 or 300 would come out. When distinguished visitors from Japan were entertained, there would be a large attendance too.

The dues at first were \$2 a year. Later they were raised

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to \$3, \$4, or \$5; a member could choose which amount he wanted to pay. Contributions were solicited for special expenditures.

Practically all Issei belonged. The only ones who did not were a few who "didn't want to pay the dues and contributions."

The organization was pretty much run by the officers. "San Jose was different from San Francisco and Los Angeles. Here the Japanese were mostly farmers and were not educated. They did what the Association advised." (I.e., what the officers advised.) The advising was done chiefly through the Japanese press.

The same group of men tended to be officers year after year. Mr. Ota and two others sort of took turns being president.

Mr. Ota did not give much detail on the program of the Association. It collected money to help the needy among the Japanese. It took care of the Japanese section of the Oak Hill cemetery. ("We used to clean it up ourselves twice a year. We would decide on a day and put a notice in the papers. Ten years before evacuation we made a contract with the cemetery and collected a special donation each year to pay for the care of the Japanese section. This way it was always kept in good condition.") Two campaigns each year in the larger community were emphasized by the Japanese Association-- Red Cross and Community Chest. ("Almost every Issei belong to the Red Cross and every year we made a big contribution to the

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Community Chest. The Association took charge of collecting the money from the Japanese.")

The Association gave no picnics. These were affairs of the Kenjinkai.

The Association had a building. It was constructed about 1910. The cost then was about \$3000. "It is worth a lot more now."

Soon after the war broke out, the building was given to JACL and the Association was disbanded. The president was arrested and interned. Later on he requested repatriation and went to Japan on the Gripsholm. The vice-president and secretary were also interned and later paroled. Both are back in the county. The other two men who had been president off and on for many years were never picked up, though they expected it for weeks. (Packed suitcases kept handy.) Nor were any other officers arrested. (Another source said arrests in San Jose were less numerous than in many other places. The local head of the FBI, she reports, thought a lot of the arresting that was going on elsewhere was unnecessary. When the Association vice-president was arrested and asked why, the FBI man said he had to arrest somebody or it wouldn't look good.)

Kenjinkai.

There were three of these. The biggest was Kumanoto. "About 50% of the Japanese in the Valley were Kumamoto people." The other two ken organizations were Fukuoka and Hiroshima. One of the men who periodically served as Association president,

a Wakayama man, used to object to the Kenjinkai. "All we need is the Japanese Association; se should not divide into kens," he would say. Mr. Ota agreed with this viewpoint.

Language school. In San Jose, the language school was run by the Buddhist Church. According to Mr. Ota, not many Christian children attended. (In two Christian families having 13 children, just one attended language school.)

In Mountain View and Gilroy there were separate Language School Associations. Christian children could attend without any religious question arising.

Churches.

Most Japanese in the Valley are Buddhists--Nishi Hongwanji. (There is quite a pretentious Japanese-style Buddhist Church in San Jose.) (The priest, now back, was one of three Buddhist priests who split off from the Heart Mountain Community Buddhist Church. The other two went to Tule at segregation and then to Japan. The San Jose priest cam back into the Community Church in the spring of 1944 under orders of the head of the Nishi Hongwanji Church in America.)

In San Jose there was just one Christian Church--Methodist. Mountain View had a branch of this church and a Seventh Day Adventist Church.

San Jose had a Konkokyo group, only about 10 members. The priest is back.

There was also a Salvation Army man. He hasn't come back.

Prospects.

Mr. Ota states that the leadership of the Japanese community should now pass to the Nisei. The Issei are too old to carry on as they used to. He hopes JACL will take hold and "take care of the old people. There is no one else to do it."

He was asked what promising leaders he saw among the Nisei. He thought a long time. He finally named two as possible without a great deal of assurance. At another point in the conversation he said that the most promising leader in the Valley was a young Issei.

Mr. Ota commented that the Nisei were "too young" to assume much leadership. He was asked how old he was when he became secretary of the Japanese Association. He got the point and smiled. "I was 25," he said. He went on with some other items: He was 20 when he came to America; 22 when he leased a 25-acre orchard in the Santa <sup>Crus</sup> Jose mountains; 29 when he helped organize the Berry Growers Association; 33 when he purchased a cannery (but found it impossible to compete with another concern; 35 when he started his vegetable-shipping concern. "Issei were alone when they came from Japan. They had to take care of themselves. Nisei depend on their parents." "I sometimes tell my sons, 'when I was your age, I was doing this and that' but they only laugh."

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#15

Social Organization--within the Minority

Source: Former president of the Japanese Association of Palo Alto.

A meeting was held last Saturday at which the Japanese American Society was formed. At least a decision was made to form such a Society. Another meeting is planned for August 17 at which a constitution is to be presented and officers elected. Membership is open to Issei and Nisei and interested Caucasians.

"I didn't want to get into anything. I thought I would stay away from organizations this time. [He was alluding to his internment.] But at the meeting the others sat and seemed to be waiting for somebody to make some definite suggestions. So I did. I served as temporary chairman.

"We want to get everybody as far up the penninsula as Atherton and maybe to Los Altos the other direction.

"The first thing there will be for us to handle is Japan relief. That is really getting under way now and we need an organization. Later on, other things will come up--Red Cross for instance. We should have a group that will be ready to cooperate with the Red Cross when the next drive comes along."

(This much came up quite casually. I am invited to the meeting on the 17th and will inquire more then. Meanwhile, a few comments:

1. The source was a representative of JACL in Palo Alto in certain ways. An early issue of the News-Bulletin named

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him as one source of tickets to a roller-skating party JACL was sponsoring. He was a member of the Issei Advisory Committee, set up to aid in the selection of an executive secretary for JACL. He participated in no meetings of the committee, saying that he worked evenings and would concur in any decision the others made.

The emerging Japanese American Society will compete with JACL, unless it turns out that its members are predominantly Issei. Even then it will compete in a sense. JACL has been talking of taking over the work of the old Japanese Association and planning to include Issei in JACL as supporting members. The first thing the new Society intends to undertake--Japan relief--JACL has voted to participate in.

2.The source was apparently fully convinced of the desirability of organizing a group to handle Japan relief and cooperate with the Red Cross. He seemed not to think that a group already existed (i.e., JACL) that could or would do these things.

3.He did not allude to JACL in any way while he was talking about the new Society. Later on, he and another Japanese exchanged disparaging remarks about JACL. The theme was that it was run by inexperienced youngsters and not much could be expected from it.

4.The reference to the Red Cross is interesting. The Japanese Associations used to put great emphasis on the Red Cross drive. It was one of their major gestures in public relations.)

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Relations with the Larger Community

The Kuses, who live and work on an estate in Menlo Park, reported on how the children got along in school and how the neighbors treat them generally. They came back early and their children were the first Japanese children in the school. Both parents and children were a little apprehensive.

"Everything was fine from the first day."

The oldest girl: "We would start to walk and somebody would always pick us up in a car and take us to school."

Mrs. Kuse explained that now each child has a bicycle.

Mr. Kuse: "After we had been working here for awhile, the man who lives across the road came and asked me to get a good Japanese family for him. 'It's all right if they have children,' he said, 'we have three boys of our own and there is plenty of room for them to play and plenty of things to play with.' He has a lot of playground equipemtn. He told us to let our kids come over there whenever they wanted to."

(Mr. Kuse found a Japanese family for him after awhile. One man he approached refused to job. He preferred to leave his family in the camp and make more money picking apples. "He didn't think about what he would do when the center closed and he had to find a place for his family to live," Mr. Kuse observed. "And too, fruit picking doesn't last all year.")

Mr. Kuse opined that one reason they are treated so well is because they are in a high-class neighborhood.

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#17

### Economic Adjustment

The Kuse family is composed of Mr. and Mrs. Kuse and four children, ages 5 to 12. Mr. Kuse was born in Hawaii. Mrs. Kuse is a California Kibei. Mr. Kuse went out from the center on seasonal labor occasionally. Most of the time he stayed in the camp, a long-time employee of the Welfare Department. Mrs. Kuse did sewing for other evacuees and for some of the staff.

Before the war Mr. Kuse was a salesman of petroleum products for one of the big oil companies. He did pretty well. His territory shifted from time to time, but always in this general part of California. For a few years before evacuation, he was living in San Jose in a rented house.

He and his family left the center in April 1945. It was the first or about the first instance of a whole family leaving together to go out and take a job that had been arranged through WRA in California. Families who had departed earlier were going back to the coast to take over property they owned.

The job was a gardening job on a six-acre estate in Menlo Park. The pay was \$150 a month with housing, garden truck, and fruit furnished. Mrs. Kuse works two part-days a week for which she is paid separately. The oldest girl runs errands and does odd jobs for additional compensation. When the master of the estate, who lives at a club in San Francisco, makes occasional visits to the estate where his wife stays, he gives each of the children a dollar bill. Or, if he hasn't dollars, he hands the

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oldest girl five dollars saying, "Take this and buy yourself and the others some candy." When rice was hard to get even at \$15 a hundred-pound bag, he brought it to the Kuses for \$7, through some wholesale connections he has.

The house the Kuses occupy on the estate is in excellent condition and ample to their needs.

There is a car for them to use for errands in connection with the work. They are allowed to take it for occasional visits to friends as faraway as San Jose. They used it for a one-week vacation trip this summer.

Said Mr. Kuse, "We are all right. We like it here. The lady sometimes rides me when she gets going on one of her spells. But the next day she is very nice again. I try to overlook it. I know she doesn't mean anything really bad. It is a good place until things settle down and we can find the right kind of opportunity."

The employer appears to treat them with casual goodwill, not observing many of the forms of etiquette between mistress and domestic. Yet the Kuses show a few signs of status sensitivity in their job. A while back the mistress bought fifty good eating chickens. Whenever she asks Mr. Kuse to kill one for her, she instructs him to kill two for his own family. Said Mrs. Kuse, "I had a fight with her about the chickens last week. I told her she didn't need to be giving us chickens all the time. We could buy what we wanted in the stores. I would rather do it that way. Now, we can get meat and things.

Econ.Adj.

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It is not the way it was when meat was rationed and things were hard to get. Chickens are no treat."

This and other allusions in the conversation suggest that the Kuses, Mrs. Kuse especially, has a little difficulty accepting the bounty of the mistress. Mrs. Kuse's ungracious remarks in the "fight" was an instance when her feelings became overt. As the talk flowed, Mrs. Kuse made quite a number of disparaging comments about the mistress--perhaps to bolster her own ego.

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#18

Social Organization--within the Community

Source: JACL secretary.

There was a JACL cabinet meeting last Monday night, 7/22. Much time was spent discussing a picnic. No definite decision was arrived at.

It came out that the president had failed to communicate with the Japan Relief Committee, although a letter requesting that interested people in and around San Jose should proceed with organizing and carrying out a campaign in the near future had been read at the last JACL meeting, 7/11, and something was said at that time about notifying the Committee.

The question of a Public Affairs Committee came up. In the same previous JACL meeting the desirability of forming one to study and report on the issues in the November election had been mentioned in the report of the Exc-Sec. The idea of the Exc.-Sec. was that it should be a temporary committee to disband after it had passed on its information. A member wondered if some Nisei would not be interested in the activities of such a committee on a continuing basis; there would always be issues to inquire into. The suggestion received approval. The Exc.-Sec. thought that JACL should broaden and vary its program to include more interests. This observation led him to something else. "JACL should start a bridge clinic. The Nisei need to be made bridge conscious."

Thereupon, the first bridge session was scheduled for 7/27.

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#119

Social Organization within the Community

Source: JACL Exc.-Sec.

Before the war there were JACL Chapters in San Jose, Mountain View, Palo Alto, and Gilroy. According to the Exc.-Sec., the reason the name, United Citizens League of Santa Clara County, was chosen was because all the former Leagues would be together under the new organization.

There was a total of 400-500 members in the four Chapters.

Now JACL has about 150 active members which includes about a dozen Caucasians. Some 50 Issei are supporting members.

There were no Caucasians in the organization before. The Exc.-Sec. cited their presence now as evidence of how the Japanese were mixing with Caucasians now more than they used to.

Another evidence of mixing referred to by the Exc.-Sec. is the number of meetings he is asked to attend as representative of JACL. This week he went to the United Citizens Council (This is a collection of civic organizations in which one of the main leaders is a local CIO official. It has been busy on price and rent control lately.), the USO to plan for the entertainment of visiting Nisei GI's from Monterey next Sunday, and the International Youth College (An organization that is just getting started in Los Altos. Its objective is to promote the association of many small groups of youths of varying backgrounds to increase interracial and intercultural understanding. The Exc.-Sec. seemed a little vague. Somehow it is going to prevent another war.) Next week he will attend a

meeting of the Fair Play Committee in Palo Alto which plans to sponsor a program to get housing for veterans and minorities, and a meeting of the Japan Relief Committee.

"I get tired of attending meetings," he said. He listed seven for the two-week period. The other two are a bowling meeting of the managers of the Nisei league held this week, and a YBA meeting, to be held next week. He probably doesn't go to the last one as a representative of JAACL.

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# 20

DOMESTICS

Source: JACL, Exc. Sec.

There are not many domestics in San Jose. The wages here are too low. The offers that come in are usually \$65 to \$75 a month. So the only people who take domestic jobs around here are school girls who work part-time and women with families who have to be home every night.

If people want domestic jobs they go to Palo Alto or up the peninsula. The farther they go towards San Francisco the higher the wages are. In Palo Alto girls get from \$100 to \$125 a month with room and board. (I heard of one case from someone else of a girl who had been getting \$100 a month. She wanted to quit and gave notice to her employers. They liked her so much they offered to double her wages. She is still there, working for \$200 a month.)

(In spite of the high wages for domestics in Palo Alto, and up the peninsula, there is a strain away from this type of employment. This is true especially if the rest of the family lives in or near San Jose. Girls find domestic work lonely and sometimes not to their taste in other ways. Often they took such jobs when they first came back and when the family have no place to live. As soon as the family finds a place, the girls often quit their domestic jobs, rejoin their families, and work at whatever jobs come up nearer to home. In one instance a girl gave up a domestic job in Palo Alto that paid \$125, plus room and board, and moved in with her family in San Jose. Her arrival boosted the number of persons living in her home to 12. She is working in a produce packing shed for 80¢ an hour. It is harder work, but she likes it better. As her brother said, "She wanted to come me.")

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# 21

BASEBALL GAME - ZEBRAS vs MONTEREY GI'S

The Zebras for a long time were the YBA basketball team. As a basketball team the name is about 20 year old. At Heart Mountain Santa Clara people organized a baseball team. It took the Zebra name. Since returning the name has continued to refer to a baseball team.

There is some question as to whom the team represents at present. To some degree it is a San Jose Nisei team, a YBA team and a JACL team. The publicity for this game was carried in the JACL News Bulletin. The JACL Exc. Sec. spent a fair amount of his time taking care of the arrangements for the match -- time that was paid for by the local JACL. A sign at the window gave the following rates for admission: "Men, \$1.00; Women, 50¢; Soldiers, 50¢; YBA members, 50¢; Children, 25¢. There was no reduction for JACL members. The financial outcome is as follows: the field 15.00, plus 25% of receipts over \$100; total expenses, \$40; net income \$160. This sum went into YBA treasury.

There were about 15 Caucasians present. Issei numbered 40 to 50. The rest were Nisei. Total attendance was 500 to 600.

One fact was quite remarkable. When the game was over, nobody walked away and nobody took a bus. Everybody left in automobiles.

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# 2 2

#### NISEI LAWYER

Before the war there was no Nisei lawyer in Santa Clara Valley.

All legal business was handled by Caucasians. The present Nisei lawyer has just hung out his shingle. He graduated from Santa Clara University just before evacuation. In fact, he was evacuated before he took his final examinations. Since he had made a good record he was excused from taking them and graduated anyway.

He took his examinations for the State Bar while he was in Santa Anita. He and several other Nisei were escorted to Los Angeles and back each day for 3 days. He passed the examination and was admitted to the Bar on inactive status. When he returned he applied for active status and the document came thru with no trouble or delay.

From Santa Anita he went to Gila, then to the Army, then to India and Burma.

When he heard the coast was open and that so many people were re-settling in Santa Clara Valley, he was a little worried. He was afraid that some other Nisei lawyer might get the idea of setting up in San Jose before he could get out of the Army. For some reason none did. He finds his business very slow. He says that if it does not pick up soon, he will have to find something else to do part-time. (Soon after this conversation he found something else, a very good job. He will work full time in the law school at Santa Clara University. He will be in charge of the Library and of a certain amount of orientation of law students. They have assured him that as long as he does his job and after school gets underway, his hours can be flexible. He expects to continue to handle the small amount of legal work he has on the side.)

He attends the local Bar Association meetings regularly. He says that the other lawyers treat him fine.

He is also an active member of AVC, the only Nisei of the hundreds of Nisei veterans who belong to that organization. He says that others come around to meetings occasionally, but do not show up again.

FARMER

Ham is 32 and is unmarried. His family consists of his parents, his brother, and himself. Before the war they had <sup>farmed</sup> bought 12 acres of berries, mostly raspberries and loganberries. The family had been leasing the same place for more than 20 years. Ham was evacuated with the rest of the family to Heart Mountain. He spent very little time in the center, however. Almost as soon as he landed there, the bean farmers of Powell sent an SOS to the Center for labor. Ham went out on work leave until the end of November 1942. In February 1943 he departed on indefinite leave and worked on a farm in Idaho for a year. Then he went to Detroit. The rest of the family stayed in the Center. He was in Detroit for 16 months. "I made good money there working in a war plant. But after VE-Day I figured the job would not last long. I knew I would be going back to California eventually, so I decided I might as well go right then and get started. I stopped in Heart Mountain for about a week to see the family and came on to San Jose in July 1945."

Ham soon got a caretaker's job on an estate in Los Altos. There is housing there for the whole family. He figures it will be at least 2 years before they get back into farming. "We can't take a chance right now even if we could get a piece of land. Everything costs so much. This would be all right if the price of berries would stay the way it is now. But if the price should slip a little, with production costs the way they are, we could lose \$3000 or \$4000 easily. Then our capital would be gone. So we are going to wait until things are more settled before we risk what we have. We get the place we live in return for my work. My father and brother work out here and there. We are making pretty good, building up our savings so that when things do settle down we will have more capital to start out with."

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# 24

BASEBALL GAME - ZEBRAS vs SAN JOSE ACES

San Jose Aces is a semi-professional Caucasian team. The spectators were about 2/3 Japanese and 1/3 Caucasian. Several Caucasians were vigorous Zebra rooters. One man especially kept up <sup>a</sup>the chatter that reminded one of a Brooklyn fan. No Japanese rooted for the Aces as far as I was able to note.

It was a tight contest. There were several rows with the umpires on both sides. Among the Japanese there seemed to be a feeling that the umpires' decisions were motivated by race prejudice. (My own judgement, as objective as I could make it, is that the umpires were just lousy officials. They made mistakes both ways, maybe a little bit more often against the Zebras. But it certainly wasn't <sup>very</sup>one-sided.)

Following one decision in the 7th inning, some of the Zebras started to walk off the field in disgust. The catcher, who was the one involved in the decision, was really sore. He picked up his mask and headed for the dugout. As he approached the grandstand he heard a Caucasian rooter yell, "Where are you going? Did the 442nd quit when the going was tough? They kept on fighting. What the hell?" In telling this, another Nisei who acts as sort of manager of the team said, "That really got him. He didn't know what to do."

This same Nisei manager reported the next day that the Captain of the Aces had said to the Captain of the Zebras before the game, "It doesn't matter who wins or who loses tonight. The important thing is that you boys are back here again and that we can play ball the way we used to."

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# 25

#### RELATIONS IN THE LARGER COMMUNITY

In February 1946 some of the local Nisei organized an informal golf club. They play at the Hillside Course. Chuck and Jack were telling me about it. "The manager always treated us fine. At first there were some comments and unfriendly glances from other people playing on the course. One Sunday we were having a tournament. There were 20 of us. It took almost a hour for all of us to tee off. One woman was sore. She asked the manager why he let the Japs monopolize the course. The manager told her off."

JACK: "Later on one day we were in the clubhouse having beer after a game. This same woman, who several times had made cracks about the Japanese at the golf course, asked me if this was some special occasion. I told her, 'We are just welcoming home some boys from the service.' 'Oh, were the Japs in the Army?' I told her, 'Sure, that some of them were officers and that a lot of them were killed and that they served both in Europe and the Pacific.' Ever since that day she has been real friendly. Whenever we go out she waves to us, says hello, or chats with us."

CHUCK: "Since June we haven't been playing much golf. Everybody is too busy. Nobody has been out for about 3 weeks. Day before yesterday the manager came to see me. He wanted to know why nobody came out to play golf anymore. He was worried for fear some remark or incident had offended us. I told him that everything was O. K., that we were just too busy at this season."

CHUCK went on: "It is really all right here. It is a lot better than almost anywhere else in California. Every Thursday night the Valley Bowl turns all 12 lanes over to the Nisei for our bowling tournament. There are a few hakujin who gripe because Nisei have taken the place over. But show me another place where a bowling alley would turn the whole thing over to Nisei."

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RELATIONS IN THE LARGER COMMUNITY (continued)

(This is the umpteenth time one Nisei or another had bragged to me about how excellent public relations ~~were~~ <sup>are</sup> in Santa Clara Valley. As public relations go in California, the situation does seem to be somewhat out of the ordinary. But the constant repetition of the point by local Nisei leads me to believe that they may be satisfied with the status of the Nisei. They accept without resistance a lot of discrimination that exists in law and custom. Everything is all right. They recall the situation during most of the first year following the opening of the coast as not all right. During that time there were some new discriminations, some new prejudices and hostilities. Now things are the way they used to be "or maybe a little better," it is often said. Most local Nisei seem to have no active yearning for complete equality. Maybe it would be nice, but since it is impossible, there is no use thinking about it. At least, this seems to be the attitude. As near as I can figure, the majority of the Nisei are dissatisfied with just two aspects of their present situation -- economics and housing. It appears that when everybody who wants to do so is farming again on his own and when people have adequate places to live, things will really be all right. When that happens, Nisei will still not be able to buy homes in certain residential areas, they will still be informally excluded from white collar employment, and participation in the professions of the larger community, they will still be in certain ways a lower cast or an inferior category. But this they seem willing to accept or at least <sup>they</sup> generate very little adrenalin about the matter.)

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#26

JACL

Source: Exc. Sec.

A former WRA official in San Jose is now employed part-time by the Progressive Growers' Association. He is in town about 2 days a week and often drops down to Jap<sup>anese</sup> Town to eat in one of the restaurants and visit with his old friends. He is an active and effective politician with good connections locally, in the State and in Washington.

One day he telephoned the Exc. Sec. As the Exc. Sec. reported the conversation, "He really cussed me out. He said he had read in the News Bulletin that our office had wired the Congressional Committee that was holding hearings on the Evacuation Claims Bill. He asked who else I had got to send wires, what other organizations I had contacted. I told him that the Chairman of the Civic Community Committee was out of town on vacation and that someone else who often does things for us was also out of town. He asked, 'Why didn't you call me? You must not forget your friends. There are half a dozen organizations here who would have been willing to send wires. You must not do that. Don't just depend on one or two people. Get around and make a lot of contacts so that when something like this comes up you will have plenty of resources to call on for support. A wire from JACL doesn't make much difference since you are the people who will benefit from the bill.'"

TEAMSTERS UNION

I was talking to a Nisei who was a member of the Teamsters Union before the war. Now he says they won't admit him or any other Nisei. They won't even give him back ~~the~~ <sup>his</sup> book. He is a veteran. He is working for a produce house in the kind of job that should require his membership in the Union. They haven't bothered him so he doesn't care in a practical way whether he is in the Union or not. "This way I save the Union dues but still I would like to crack the Union. During the war they let in Negroes and everybody else because they needed labor so badly. Now the Nisei are the only ones who are excluded. So I would like to crack it. I have seen a lot of people, but I have gotten anywhere yet."

(As far as I know this is about the only Union that categorically excludes Nisei. The Cleaners and Dyers held them out for a while, but they recently changed. There are both Issei and Nisei in the Carpenters Union. Both of these are AFL. All of the CIO Unions are open to Nisei.)

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#28

### INSURANCE BUSINESS

Source: One of the leading local Japanese insurance agencies.

"The insurance business is all right. I am doing well."

He gave several reasons for his present flourishing business.

"When the war started and evacuation came along, everybody felt uncertain. They didn't know what the insurance companies might do, so many people, Issei especially, took the cash value and gave up their insurance. Many of them thought maybe they would go to Japan or be sent to Japan whether they wanted to go or not. After they got in a center many of them could not keep up the payments and had to take the cash value. Now that they are back they want some protection for their families again. Everybody is buying. Another thing is the kids who were 12 or 13 or 14 at evacuation are now 16 or 17 or 18. None of them took insurance while they were in the centers. Now they are out working and are interested in starting policies. Also, before the war \$100 a year for insurance was a lot of money. Now people are working and making good wages. \$100 a year is practically nothing."

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#29

#### ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT

Source: One of the local druggists.

"I'll bet you are surprised to see how fast the Japanese are coming back and getting on their feet again." I commented that I was and said that many Japanese I had talked to were a little startled at their own economic recovery. He agreed. "Yes, when I came back last year and started my drugstore, I didn't dream that by this time Jackson Street would look the way it does. Things have really moved fast."

I told him that the University of California anticipated making a study about 1951 to see the long-term results of evacuation. He snorted, "That's a crazy idea. By 1951 most people will have almost forgotten they were ever evacuated."

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# 30

### ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT

Oshiro is an Issei bachelor in his early 50's. At Heart Mountain he was a Councilman for a long time and left the center on the last train carrying people to Northern California. His English is limited, but quite explosive and expressive. He talks with great volume and enthusiasm.

"I leave center last train to North, for this way. Take care everybody, everything, close them all up.

"When get Oakland WRA man say everything full, San Jose. No place sleep. Jesus! So we have go place in San Francisco, way over other side San Francisco. Jesus, everybody mad. Tell'em rest, "I go San Jose look around." Next morning I go San Jose. Christ! 300 in hostel. Cots up against each other. Christ! No place sleep, nowhere. I go all over. Afternoon I go back tell people. I tell family man one each family go down look place. Little by little they found place here, there, and bring family.

"Before war I had 20 acres by <sup>y</sup>Berrjesa. Good land. Two good houses, one big. Jesus! 1943 in camp everybody say sell, sell, sell. Maybe lose all. Lawyer write, he say sell. Christ! I sell \$650 acre. Now the same land \$1500 acre. Christ! I lose. Cannot help. All gone. Now I live hostel. Work like first come this country. Pick cherries, pick pears, pick apricots, pick tomatoes. Just like when first come.

"Pretty soon, maybe one year, maybe 2 year find place. Pretty hard now. Now spend \$15,000 just land. No good materials for house. No <sup>gets</sup> farm equipment. Christ!

"No use look back. Go crazy think about all lost. Have to start over again like when come from Japan, but faster this time."

He had some comment about the wage policy the Japanese should follow now that they are laborers. "Japanese must not work cheap. If work cheap then people say Japanese undercut, lower wages for everybody. So I tell all Japanese

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ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT (continued)

must not work less than Hokujin. Now Japanese get more. But when less work, I say the Japanese, better no work than work less Hokujin."

His race attitudes are not too enlightened. "Need 3,000 more Japanese workers here. Then no need Mexicans and others. Christ! Mexicans ruin trees. No take care. Almost like animals. But no place live, no place for more Japanese. Christ! People come from other places every day. Think San Jose good, but can't find place and go back."

He is a tremendous worker and when work is over a quite tremendous drinker. But he has principles on drinking. "I over here Jack's place most every night. Jack, he drink too much. Fifth gone. Another half of fifth gone tonight. He married, has family. He ~~not~~ do too much. I tell him."

In the center he told me of having sold his farm. At that time he was very doubtful of what he would do with the money. One thing he was very clear on; he did not want to relocate before the war was over. If he had to relocate he didn't want to invest his money anywhere. At the time of my longest conversation with him on the subject in the summer of 1944, he seemed not at all certain but that the U. S. might decide to deport all aliens and wanted his capital intact to start somewhere else if he couldn't in this country. I detected that when he first came back to California he would have been hesitant to spend his money for land even if he could have found a suitable piece. I gathered that at first he was afraid of the more vigorous enforcement of the strengthened California Land Law. A year has now passed since VJ-Day. He seems more confident. When the time comes he appears to have no doubt that he can find some way to ~~violate~~ <sup>evade</sup> the Land Law and get away with it.

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### SUCCESSFUL NISEI

Jack was telling me about a really successful Nisei. About 1935 Yanagi went into the produce business in Salinas. He is a man in his early 40's. At the time the war started he owned a large packing shed in Salinas and several hundred acres of choice lettuce land. He also owned sheds in Imperial Valley, in Blythe, and in Phoenix. In each instance he was in partnership with a Caucasian. The Caucasian owned 49%, Yanagi 51%. The contract between them is that Yanagi could buy out his partner, but his partner couldn't buy him out. He was sufficiently successful that in early 1942 the Saturday Evening Post carried an article on him called "The Yellow Octopus." (The name Yanagi is a fake name.) (The Post article thought it was using his real name, but the ignoramus who wrote it, butchered it.)

When he was evacuated he continued to participate in the management of his produce shipping business. He made arrangements with the administration at Poston to allow him to install telephones in his apartment. He had a direct line to each of his 4 packing sheds, i.e. 4 telephones. He employed, strictly against regulations, a secretary or two to take care of his correspondence.

Yanagi stayed in the center until February 1945. When he had to go somewhere he didn't know where to go. Things were hot in Salinas for any Japanese. For Yanagi, "The Yellow Octopus," it was really hot. So he looked around for a more favorable place in which to live. He bought a house and 15 acres of land in Los Gatos, a rather swanky residential village. He paid \$25,000 for the house and \$17,000 for the land. He lives there quietly, still managing his shipping business by telephone. During the season of 1945 he did plant 100 acres of lettuce *in Salinas*. Suddenly it was reported to WRA, but not by Yanagi, that he was discing it up because the local shippers had got together to boycott harvesting <sup>and</sup> shipping. The San Jose Relocation Office started to get steamed up about it and one Press Release was

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SUCCESSFUL NISEI (continued)

issued. Yanagi got wind that WRA intended to make a fuss about it and came around to the office. He said, "Let it go. It is just a deal." Nobody seems to know what the story really was. I suspect Yanagi planted the lettuce as an experiment and maybe as a squeeze play and that he agreed to disc it up for some other concession in connection with his shipping business. Last year he made a half a million dollars. This year, like everybody else in the lettuce game, he has lost money. Jack says, "He can afford to. After all, he is sharing his losses with his partner."

"He doesn't want to go back to Salinas yet. He can make more money living over here and managing his property from here. If he went back it would stir things up. His lettuce land is still leased to Caucasian growers. He would like to operate it himself, but he knows that would create a commotion. He says he is going to stay here until his tenants lose some money raising lettuce. All during the war lettuce has been like gold. Everybody has made a lot of money. The lettuce farmers are taking a beating right now, but Yanagi is not going to press them. They can keep the land and lose some more. He knows that sometime they will be glad to give up the leases. Until then, he will be satisfied to make his money on shipping alone. He can manage that from his house in Los Gatos."

"He has one piece of land in Salinas he paid \$80,000 for a while before the war. Some men have been trying to buy it from him recently for \$190,000. He says, 'If I needed the money I would sell, but I think I would sooner have the land. If I ever get in a tight spot in the shipping game, I will still have that.'"

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# 32

#### EMPLOYMENT

"Before the war most Santa Clara Valley girls were satisfied to work as domestics, in the canneries, or on the farm. They were just putting in the little time until they got married. Now it is about the same as it was. Girls often point out that they can make more money that way than <sup>by</sup> being clerks and secretaries, anyway."

This was from a Nisei girl who works at Moffat Field. She is the only <sup>Nisei</sup> one who works there. She says one of her hopes is that if she makes a good record there will be opportunities there for other Nisei girls, later on. Just at present they are laying off people rather than hiring them.

She thought of all the white collar employment that she knew of in the Valley. Four or five girls are working at the Rosecrucian Press. "The pay there is low, \$25 a week." Two girls have jobs at San Jose State in the office. There may be one or two in State Civil Service. One is employed by County Welfare as a social worker. At Stanford, two or three girls have jobs, she doesn't recall just how many. One girl had a job in the east and returned to be with her family. She tried to get work as a secretary several places without success. Finally, she took a court reporter's examination and passed it with a high grade. The only job she could find then was at the Persidio in San Francisco. She is working there now, CAF-5. It takes her 2 hours to commute from her home in San Jose to her work. Persidio is on the other side of San Francisco from here.

She knew of no boys who have white collar jobs and made the statement that it was easier for girls than for boys. Her brother is in a good setup, which is sort of white collar. He has been accepted under the GI job training program at the Aeronautical Experimental Laboratory operated by CAA, at Moffat Field. He is the only Nisei there. Like his sister, he takes a missionary view of his position. He is working there very hard in the hopes he can open the way for other Nisei.

EMPLOYMENT (continued)

(This girl missed 3 white collar jobs that Nisei boys have that I know of. One is advertising manager for Sears Roebuck, a job he had in Lincoln, Nebraska during the war. The San Jose store was hesitant about hiring him, but said they would if the Union would accept him. They may have thought the Union wouldn't. But it did without any question and he started to work immediately. This was last March. Another Nisei is in charge of the laboratory at the San Jose Hospital where he is making a very good record. A third Nisei is in charge of one of the laboratories at Stanford University.

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#33

### KONKOKYO

Konkokyo is quite a new religion compared with other religions in Japan. It is "something like Christian Science though not so extreme. That is, Konkokyo people think one should both pray and go to a doctor, not just pray."

"The ceremony is Shinto style, but it is not really Shinto. The F. B. I. didn't know this so practically every priest was interned."

The San Jose Konkokyo Church was founded in 1932. The priest was a man from Seattle. He had been quite a successful hardware and electrical appliance dealer, but in 1929 he went broke. The same year his health failed, he almost died. He felt his survival was due to Konkokyo. Thereafter he determined to devote himself to the cult. So he came to San Jose in 1932 and started holding services.

By the time the war came along he had 6200 numbers in his congregation and had acquired a Church. The San Jose Church is one of the few in America. There is one in Los Angeles, one in Sacramento, and one in San Francisco. That is all. At present only the Los Angeles Church and the San Jose Church is functioning again.

The San Jose priest was arrested fairly late as arrests went. He was interned on March 28, 1942, the day before he and his family were going to evacuate voluntarily to Sacramento.

The priest came back to San Jose in October 1945. For a while the Church was a hostel. At the peak, 30 people lived there. They were all Konkokyo except one family of 9 which was Salvation Army. This family was the last one to move out of the Church hostel, June 30.

Even while the Church was serving as a hostel the priest began giving services. Almost nobody attended at first. They were afraid because of the questionable status of the cult with the American authorities during the war. Now, as people have observed services continuing and have seen that nothing happens, more and more people are returning. There are about 50 regular members now.

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### ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT

The Iseri's own a farm southeast of San Jose. It contains about 27 acres. This year they are raising mostly peppers, bell peppers and pickling peppers. The market is way down, but Mr. Iseri says they are still making a little money. His bells get the top market of 7¢ per pound. It is a good crop and he picks them carefully. Any that are defective he throws away. This year he said you can make money only on the very best stuff. The wax peppers are not ready yet. He doesn't expect to make much money on them. But if the market breaks no more, he will come out all right.

The family is also sharecropping 27 acres of field tomatoes. They were raised with the idea of selling them to the cannery. They are ripening so slowly, that Sammy, one of the sons, is considering shipping the tomatoes to the east. This way they can be picked green before they ripen. According to Sammy, unless there is a frost they will come out all right on the venture, but they won't make much.

As we left the Iseri place, Jack commented, "Mr. Iseri has 4 fine boys. There aren't any better. They are good workers and steady. But the old man got mixed up with a widow with 4 or 5 children in the center and the boys didn't like it at all. He owns another place down at Hollister where the other family stays. It is a good thing he has 2 of them or his boys would probably pull out and leave him."

### ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT

Kay is a young Issei who came here to attend school and stayed. Before evacuation he was one of the big farmers -- 200 acres of vegetables. He also was a shipper. He, with four others, owned a shed. All of them were farmers except one who took care of the management. He planted crops in 1942 on the chance that he could harvest them before evacuation. (This was unusual; most farmers in the Valley didn't plant that year.) Earlier he tried to evacuate voluntarily. He and a number of other men went to Utah in March and had lined up land enough for 50 families. But before all the arrangements were made the Army froze voluntary movement.

He turned his lease over to an Italian friend with the crops already in. He had planted a lot of wax peppers. They sold that year at 24¢ a pound. (Present price, 7¢). The Italian friend is rich now and owns 100 acres of good vegetable land. One gathered as Kay talked that he suffered a lot in the center thinking of all those peppers at 24¢ a pound that somebody was benefiting from. According to Jack, a Nisei, it was Kay's sister who was really the farmer. "As long as she was here to manage him, he made pretty good. She returned to Japan two years before the war with quite a bit of money." Jack is skeptical as to how well Kay will do from now on. In the center Kay was one of the bitter-enders. He is reputed to have been involved in the agitation against the draft. He sold his packing shed in February 1945. Perhaps this is an indication of his attitude in the center. The opening of the coast and closing of the center had already been announced. I asked Jack afterward if Kay still thought Japan was still going to win the war at that time. Jack replied, "He was one of the worst soreheads in camp. He was sure the government couldn't close the centers before the war was over and he probably figured it wouldn't be over for a long time." He must have changed his mind fairly rapidly because he left the center at the end of May. Soon after he came back, he made inquiries as to how much it would

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ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT (continued)

cost to regain possession of the shed. The price was five times the selling price in February.

Kay bought a place, 10 acres. His Italian friend also offered to lease him 17 acres. According to Jack, the price was \$3,000 for 3 years, \$1,000 a year, \$67.00 an acre. This is high compared to before the war. Good vegetable land cost no more than \$40.00 an acre. Another Nisei we encountered on our journey was sure Kay's lease was more expensive than that. He was also sure Kay was going to lose money on his <sup>venture</sup> ~~property~~ or do <sup>no</sup> more than break even.

His crop is wax peppers. He delivers them to the canning factory at 7¢ a pound. It costs him 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ just to pick them. The field was badly infested with morning glory, which was all but choking out the peppers. Kay was afraid to use the new fangled hormone <sup>weed</sup> ~~wheat~~ killer. He thought it would injure the pepper plants. After experimenting, he discovered the peppers survived very well while the morning glory died. He is now spraying the whole field and will probably save the crop. In any case, however, he will not make much money.

Kay's attitude now gives little indication of his reputed attitude in the center. He is a good talker and handles English very well. He is full of optimism and good will. WRA treated evacuees fine. This is a fine country. Everything will be all right in a few years.

ISSEI AND NISEI

Sally (which is not her name) is a Nisei in her 30's. She worked for several years before evacuation, always in white collar jobs. After she was evacuated, she found the Center very distasteful and located a job where she could support herself and her two daughters in the East. The job was in connection with a University. Unlike many Nisei whose limited social experience make them a little hesitant and unhappy in Caucasian society, Sally got along fine. For the first time in her life she lived the way she wanted to live and associated with the kind of people she had dreamed of associating with. This dream was not just a question of Japanese and Caucasians. She liked the University atmosphere. There she met the kind of people she would have little opportunity to meet in west coast Nisei society. Everybody in her new environment liked her. After the two month struggle during which time she parked her daughters with her brother, she found an apartment. Many times professors and students were at her place. She lived like other people did in the situation. Her refrigerator was stocked with soda and beer, she took up smoking, she gave and attended cocktail parties, she participated in bridge and gab sessions that went far into the night.

In October 1945 her parents returned to San Jose. It was her older brother's responsibility to join them and care for them, but he had a good job in the middle west. When he spoke to his employer about quitting, his employer raised his wages. He still felt the call of obligation and hunted around for an excuse to quit. He told his employer he was dissatisfied with his living quarters and the part of town he lived in because the children occasionally encountered discrimination with some of the other children. It was a lower class neighborhood. So his employer asked what part of town he wanted to live in and proceeded to buy a house and rent it to him. Faced with all this kindness, the older brother felt he just couldn't leave.

Sally stayed where she was as long as she could and still have

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ISSEI AND NISEI (continued)

her way paid back by WRA. Not long before she left she was offered a permanent job in the University where she <sup>had</sup> had a war-time job. She was also offered a Civil Service job in Dayton at a CAF-7, but by then her arrangements to return to the coast were too far gone to change her mind.

Her journey back meant a return to many things. Said she, "My parents are very old-fashioned. They object to drinking and to smoking. They even object to wearing of earrings, the use of lipstick and fingernail polish. So you see (she held out her hand.) I still have my cigarette case and there are a few cigarettes in it. I had my last one on the train coming across Nevada. I had my last drink before I left the town where I <sup>had</sup> have been working."

Once in a while memories of her happy days of liberation are reinforced. "Last night a 1946 Cadillac coupe stopped in front of our place. I couldn't figure out who in the world it could be. Someone came up and knocked on the door. It was one of the students I had known at the University and his wife. He had just gotten out of the Navy. I attended their wedding when they were married. Many times before and after they were married they would come around to my apartment to play bridge and drink and visit. Several times when I could get away from my work on weekends I went to Cleveland to stay at the home of the girl. She has a wonderful family and I always liked it there very much. When they came in last night the girl put her arms around me, we kissed each other, both cried a little. It was wonderful to see them, but I felt awful to have to bring them into my place. It is so crowded and so awful. The reason I didn't invite you over is because it is really no place to sit and visit or do anything else."

Apparently Sally raises no questions, ~~but~~ she did the only thing there was for her to do. Her parents needed her, period. As she talked along she distinguished a number of types of relationship between Issei parents and

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ISSEI AND NISEI (continued)

Nisei children. "There are families like the O's and the K's and the M's. The parents in these families associate quite a bit with ~~the alien~~<sup>the Japanese</sup>. They themselves are quite Americanized. They do not object if their children behave like American young folks. There is no conflict either within the childrens' own personality in such families or between the children and the parents. Such families among Japanese are very unusual."

(I mentioned this little analysis to one of the K daughters.

Her eyebrows raised. "No conflict?" We discussed it a while and the K daughter did decide that relatively speaking parent-child conflict in her family was at a minimum.)

In the case of Sally, she is much Americanized, but the conflict is only within herself. She avoids behaving in any way that would produce conflict between herself and her parents.

A great many Nisei have conservative parents, but the Nisei are much less Americanized than Sally is. In such families, again there is less conflict. What it seems to amount to in many cases is that Nisei are Americanized or assimilated and quite different from the parents. But they live and participate in the kind of Nisei culture that the parents have come to accept as more or less O. K. Occasionally in this type of relationship there is conflict, especially if the Nisei are a little bit more assimilated than the general run. For instance, Sam. He is a leader in local Nisei society and is much Americanized, in the sense that he plays golf and is a bridge fan. Yet he prefers Nisei society to general American society, or at least he prefers that segment of Nisei society which is a little more assimilated<sup>than the general run,</sup> to the level of golf and bridge.

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#### ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT

The Yokota's are one of the very few families who have re-leased the same farm they had before. They lived on it for a long time.

They evacuated voluntarily to Colorado and farmed there during the war. In January 1945 one of the sons came back with another family that was returning to a place it owned. He went to visit the owner. "He was really glad to see me. He had been having an awful time trying to run the place himself with the kind of labor he could get during the war. First thing he wanted to know, if I could come right back and take the place over so he wouldn't have to think about it anymore. So I went to Colorado and the whole family came back in February."

According to Jack they did very well last year with everything they planted. This year they have 10 acres of strawberries, quite a good patch. This must be paying off very well. One thing they made a killing on last year was tomatoes. They tried it again this year, but the price is way down. They have 2 acres of the most beautiful pole tomatoes I ever saw. They are selling them off, fancy pack. The yield is so heavy they will come out all right.

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ISSEI AND NISEI (continued)

"In Santa Anita Sam fell in love with a beautiful girl from Los Angeles. He wanted to marry her. He had never wanted to do anything so much in his life. I happen to know about it because he came to me to talk about it once or twice. He spoke to his father and tried to persuade his father to approve the marriage. His father had another girl all picked out for him. He wouldn't consider changing his mind. Sam really suffered. I felt sorry for him. But he married the girl his father wanted him to. I don't think he considered doing anything else. Down inside him, he is quite conservative and would not go against his father in anything that is important. He seems to be getting along all right with his wife, but he must remember the other girl once in a while."

(Sam seems to be a case of a Nisei who is superficially American-<sup>Japanese</sup>ized, but who fundamentally is tied thoroughly to his parents and to nihonjin/society. Only something that is as potent as love produces the possibility of a conflict. Even this, in this instance, was resolved in a conservative way.

There is another alternative that Sally didn't mention. There are assimilated Nisei with conservative parents who behave differently than Sally. They are bound by less compelling personal loyalties to their parents. In one way or another they abandon their parents and go their own way. Such abandonment doesn't necessarily mean separation in space. It may involve the development of a policy of agreeing to disagree on some points between parents and children. There may be occasional clashes, but subjects which would produce them are often just ignored.)

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Report for July 8 to July 22

During this period I have been trying to soak myself in the local situation, to get a "feel" for the place. The idea is that the real meaning of facts and opinions can be appreciated only after one has begun to acquire a "feel" for the whole context. Every statement one hears and every item of information one gathers has a background. Taken by itself a remark might seem trivial; the same remark, related to a lot of other things, might be quite significant in helping one understand why the Japanese community is the way it is and what makes it tick.

Getting this thing called "feel" requires talking to many people on many subjects, and just visiting. When one "just visits" one hears accounts of current experiences of the speaker and his acquaintances, comparisons with the past, expressions of approval and disapproval of the conduct of others, and so on. A lot of the stuff one learns is not worth writing down, though some of it obviously is. What is more important is that the investigator is becoming educated so that as time passes he can interpret what he hears and select what he needs to be made a matter of record.

It would be wrong to say that I have now got the "feel" of the local community. That process goes on and on. One "arrives" only when one ceases to be surprised by almost anything one learns. An item may be new but it is not surprising because it is consistent with the background, with the total context. To "arrive" in this sense in a fairly

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small and homogeneous community takes a year or so. But I have started.

\* \* \* \* \*

JACL is organized here again. The name of the local chapter is the United Citizens League of Santa Clara County. Apparently it is called this rather than JACL in order to avoid having "Japanese" in the title; it is a public relations device. The editor of Pacific Citizen is not sure it is a good idea to dodge the JACL label. He says the members of locals do not realize how much stature the national organization gained during the war. If they did, they might be glad to be clearly identified with it, even though it involved using "Japanese" in the title.

Both the Issei and the JACL (or the UCL of SCC) agree that it is up to the JACL to take care of the interests of the whole Japanese community. There appears to be no present intention to revive the Japanese Association or any substitute for it. Public relations and fear of the FBI are the reasons generally given for the Issei not organizing. It is sometimes added that "Now, everybody is too busy anyway." (This remark suggests that maybe when the Issei get less busy they may reconsider their decision.)

The JACL, faced with its new responsibilities, is having some growing pains. The old leadership, most of whom are in again, either as officers or as informal advisers of the officers, tend to place emphasis on the old activities. That

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is, they appear to think more about getting some Nisei sports leagues going than about the Alien Land Law, citizenship for Issei, or strengthening the position of the Japanese through political participation and through developing connections with larger civic and social groups. None of these latter matters are wholly ignored. It is just that the sports program evokes more interest and consumes more of JACL's energy.

Before evacuation Issei were not affiliated with JACL. It was open to citizens only. Issei did, however, make financial contributions. And soon after the war started, the Japanese Association building was legally transferred to JACL. Now, the constitution provides that Issei may be what is called "supporting members" and memberships of this sort are actively sought by JACL. Supporting members cannot vote or hold office. It is largely a device for giving formal recognition to Issei contributions.

There is talk of forming an Issei sponsoring committee for JACL. The committee could be turned to for advice and could line up Issei support when necessary. The project is still in the realm of talk. Meanwhile, Issei are turned to informally for different purposes. For instance, the JACL office needed furniture. A former San Jose Japanese businessman wanted to dispose of his office furniture here preparatory to settling permanently in a mid-western city. So the executive secretary of JACL called on an Issei businessman,

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Mr. Kobata, and asked him if he thought it would be all right for JACL to buy the furniture. Mr. Kobata said he thought it would be all right. The executive secretary explained that JACL did not have enough money. Mr. Kobata said he would speak to some other businessmen (mostly Issei) and see if they would be willing to advance the money as a loan. He did and they were and the furniture was purchased. (The Nisei JACL member who told about this wondered how independent of Issei wishes JACL could remain if Issei did many such financial favors.)

From the Issei side, statements that JACL should take care of the problems of Issei as well as Nisei do not go much beyond expressions of hope. The long standing lack of confidence in the capacity of Nisei to carry important responsibilities is apparent in Issei comments.

The organizational picture in the Valley was confused by something that happened in Palo Alto July 20. A new group, the Japanese American Society, was formed. Membership is open to Issei and Nisei and interested Caucasians. There will be another meeting on August 17 at which a constitution will be presented and officers elected. The prime mover is the former president of the Japanese Association of Palo Alto. The first specific task the organization intends to undertake is Japan relief. What makes this more interesting: (1) The organizer was supposed to be JACL representative in Palo Alto for certain purposes and (2) Japan relief had been previously

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accepted as a part of the local JACL program.

\* \* \* \* \*

A start has been made toward getting systematic information on how things were before evacuation in Santa Clara Valley. I had a long talk with a man who was paid secretary of the Japanese Association from 1912 to 1919, president of the Association intermittently from then on, a leading Issei businessman, and one who has always been concerned with the affairs of the minority in this section. He told me there was a history of the Japanese in the Valley, written in Japanese. He burned his copy at evacuation along with a lot of other stuff and has no idea where another could be obtained. He did present me with a copy of the New World-Sun Year Book for 1941. This is a directory giving the names and addresses of all Japanese family heads, Japanese businesses, and Japanese organizations in America. It is very handy as a check-list for comparison with the present.

The conversation brought out three general points it may be worthwhile to mention here briefly.

(1) The nature of Issei organization.

Practically every Issei belonged to the Japanese Association. The few who failed to belong stayed out usually because they did not want to pay dues (\$3, \$4, or \$5 per year, depending on the member's inclination) and be subject to other drives for contributions. Indifference to the

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organization and its program was not an important factor.  
(This presents a contrast to Nisei membership in JACL.  
Before and now, many Nisei did not and do not belong.  
The major factor seems to be indifference.)

There was just one meeting of the Japanese Association a year. The average attendance was 40 to 50, no more than 10% of the members. Three or four hundred would come to a meeting if a move was on foot to increase the legal discriminations under which Issei lived or if a distinguished visitor from Japan was to be honored. The paid secretary, the officers, and the board of directors took care of the Association's business most of the time. The ordinary member just paid his dues and contributions.

The Association had almost no "social" or recreational program. The famous Japanese picnics were put on by the kenjinkai. There were three of these--Kumamoto (the largest), Hiroshima, and Fukuoka.

(2) Issei and Nisei.

The man asserted that Issei were through assuming leadership, that now it was up to the Nisei. He regretted that they were so young and hence not very capable of leadership. After a question or two, it came out that the speaker: (a) came to the U.S. at the age of 20, (b) leased a 25-acre orchard at 22, (c) became secretary of the Japanese Association at 25, (d) helped organize the county-wide Berry Growers Association, which includes Caucasian and

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Japanese growers, at 29. He saw the point and added, "Nisei depend on their parents. We came here from Japan alone and had to take care of ourselves." The youth of the Nisei is not just in years.

(3) Business organization.

Most of the Japanese residents of the Valley were farmers of leased land. The great majority produced vegetables. Berry raising and flower growing were fairly important. There were very few orchardists.

At the time of evacuation, there were just three produce-marketing businesses operated by Japanese. All handled vegetables only and together they marketed a minor part of the total Japanese production.

Flower growers owned and operated a wholesale market in San Francisco.

Most berry growers belonged to the Santa Clara Berry Growers Association and marketed through that organization, though a few just sold directly to whatever buyer offered the highest price. The Berry Growers Association included Caucasians and Japanese. There was a rule that the board of directors had to have as many Japanese as Caucasian members.

The few orchardists belonged to one or the other (depending on the kind of fruit raised) of the general fruit-growers' associations.

Japanese merchants in San Jose and other towns of the

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Valley supplied only a small part of the needs of Japanese residents for various kinds of merchandise. That is, most buying by Japanese was done at stores run by Caucasians.

The main point of the foregoing is that in the marketing of farm products and in the purchasing of finished goods, the Japanese of the Valley were pretty well integrated into the economy of the larger community. Or, to say it another way, the Japanese had not gone far in developing a self-contained system that functioned in the larger economy as a unit.

This leads to a hypothesis. Local Japanese claim that public relations with the larger community have always been much better in Santa Clara than in most places on the Coast. Almost twice as many resettled here as were evacuated from here. Public relations are still good. An important factor back of these good public relations is the history of economic integration.

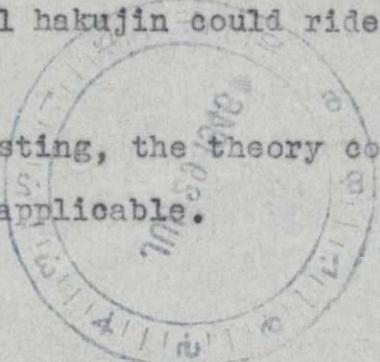
It might be well to keep this hypothesis in mind and test it here and there to see if it holds up. Stated in general terms, it would go something like this: In those areas where the Japanese had developed a rather self-contained minority economy (Japanese farmers selling to Japanese marketers and buying from Japanese merchants) public relations were bad before, and return from the relocation camps stirred up much antagonism, whereas in those places where the Japanese were economically integrated public relations

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were better and return created less hostility.

Of course there are a lot of other factors. In Hood River the Japanese were economically integrated. Apparently, there they were just too well fixed. During the war their orchards were gold mines. The longer they could be scared away, the longer some local hakujin could ride the gravy train.

Perhaps after some testing, the theory could be revised to make it more generally applicable.



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Report for July 23 to 29

I have heard a few things which suggest that the many ex-farmers who relocated as farm laborers are in the second phase of the resettlement process. The first phase was what happened right after such returnees landed here. They came in greatest numbers in August, September, and October, 1945. They went into the hostel or crowded in with friends. The busy season on farms would be over in November. What they wanted most was a place to live and steady employment during the winter months. The amount of the wages was secondary. So they grabbed farm jobs with housing and accepted the wages. For year-round work for a good man, the wages were about \$150 a month.

In haste some men accepted less or later on found other conditions of their jobs were not to their liking. Still, most people "stayed put" until the really busy season started in June. Then they began looking for better jobs or asking for raises in pay or requesting to be put on an hourly pay basis since they had to work overtime anyway to do all of the things that had to be done. A year-round employee, even one who was satisfied all during the winter, was very likely to see himself at a disadvantage compared with seasonal farm laborers. A lot of fruit pickers earn \$250 to \$300 a month. But such work does not afford housing or not housing the worker can continue to occupy.

There has been some shifting of jobs to farmers who

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offer better terms. Many would like to find housing which is independent of a job so that they would be free to sell their services wherever they wished to. Large numbers of resettlers do not feel very settled.

I don't know how widespread the shifting of jobs is nor how much success people are having getting "independent" housing. I received only a general description of the situation with a few random examples. I want to enquire into the matter some more.

I referred to this as the second phase. People have the third phase in their minds--to get back into farming on their own account. Since this last phase may be deferred quite a while for many people, a common cycle may be: (1) Year-round farm laborer, living on the employer's place in housing furnished by him. Some shifting where a better offer of the same kind can be obtained. (2) Independent housing, casual labor and seasonal farm labor. (3) Independent farming and housing.

For many persons share-cropping is an alternative at any point during (1) and (2). There seems to be an aversion to this, however, even though it affords a chance to make more money. I haven't yet heard a Japanese make a good statement on how the Japanese view share-cropping. I have an idea, but I will let it ride until I can find somebody who will go into the question.

I have learned more facts during this period, but none

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of them has led me to any new formulations comparable to the one outlined above. I am beginning to see the shape of things on several points. I shall present them later on when I can state them more definitely and with more assurance.

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Report July 30 to August 5

This will be brief. The week was chopped up a bit by a trip to see the people on the University of California Study of Evacuation and Resettlement. This was reported on by letter.

\* \* \* \* \*

Definite verification has been obtained on stage two of the resettlement cycle of farmers who did not own land, mentioned in last week's report. The next objective of a great many is to obtain "independent" housing while they continue as agricultural wage earners until they can get back into farming on their own account through purchase or lease of land.

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A note was sent in entitled "The Ghost of WRA." The ghost is getting bigger. Hunter, who was chiefly responsible in 1945 for getting 400 prefabricated houses for the county in which resettlers could live, is now an adviser of the Progressive Growers Association. The Association was quite hostile to the return of the Japanese at the outset. Later, the Association was won over and put up the \$150,000 that was needed to swing the 400-house deal. Now Hunter announces through the JACL's News-Bulletin that Japanese farmers are invited to become members of the Progressive Growers.

The former Relocation Supervisor of the Northern California Area (Miller) is house hunting in San Jose. He will be guest speaker at the next JACL meeting (8/8/46).

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This item goes beyond Santa Clara Valley.

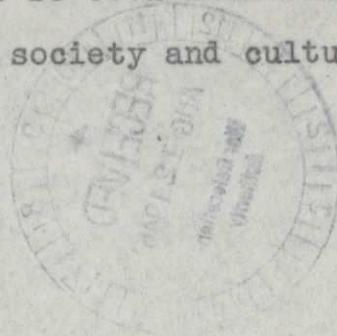
I am looking forward to seeing Tom and L.A. I am bug-eyed by what I read in Rafu Shimpo. The renaissance of the West Coast Japanese-American community seems to be in full swing in L.A. Here we tag along like country folk tend to do. I think an item on the conference agenda should be for Tom and John and Tosh to get together and try to put some meat on the concept of the two centers of J-A culture--Chicago and L.A. (A notion Ned expressed best in our preliminary discussions.) Before the meeting I shall try to set down some questions that have occurred to me recently on the subject. One is this: How much interest and awareness is there in L.A. regarding what goes on in Chicago and the obverse of this? My impression is that people here follow the minority doings in L.A. a lot more than the minority doings in Chicago. Does L.A. have more "glamour"; also, more effective means of communication with the members of the minority than does Chicago? Is there a chance that L.A. will become the center; the place to which J.A.'s look as their "capital," leaving Chicago a place where some J.A.'s live but not a place that functions as an important center of minority culture? Maybe these questions come to me because I'm getting "West Coast myopia."

I'll add one more purely speculative set of questions anyway. Is Chicago becoming or will it become too deviant to be a center of J.A. culture? Will the persons of Japanese ancestry who stay there become "too American" -- just American

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is what I really mean? Will the Angelenos, on the other hand, lead the way toward the re-establishment of a bigger and better Japanese-American society and culture?



RESETTLEMENT IN SANTA CLARA COUNTY  
PRE-EVACUATION BACKGROUND

Population.

Santa Clara County was one of the early areas of Japanese settlement in America. The chief port of entry into this country was San Francisco; and San Jose was just 47 miles away. By 1910 the population was 2,299. Through the next decade the increase was not notable to 2,299. During the 1920's a considerable spurt occurred. The 1930 population was 4,320. By 1940 this had dropped to 4,049.

Economic Adjustment.

The early immigrants were farm laborers for the most part. But soon they began to farm on their own account near Alviso, which is located close to the shore of the lobe of San Francisco bay which extends southward. Gradually farmers spread around the bay in the direction of Palo Alto, inland to Berryessa, and on toward the northern boundary of San Jose. The chief factor in this determining the early distribution was water. The chief crop was strawberries which requires heavy immigration. Forty years ago, from Alviso to the city limits of San Jose there were artesian wells. At that time power pumps were few.

These artesian wells dried up as pumping farther up the Valley became more common and the water table was lowered. By 1910 to 1915 Japanese farmers were spreading out into other parts of the Valley. Occasionally one can find in the life history of a family a record of the settlement of the County. One family that arrived from Hawaii in 1900 farmed for a few years near Alviso. Then they moved over near Berryessa. Finally, in the 1920's they jumped about 20 miles out into the Valley and bought a place between Campbell and Cupertino. There were exceptions to this pattern of movement. One man came to the Valley about 1900, worked for wages here and there for a few years, and in 1908 purchased 12 acres of land south of Sunnyvale. He and his family still live there.

The story of the settlement of the Valley is a familiar to those who know the Japanese in America. In the beginning they tended to take up the kind of land that land owners were not using or were not using fully. They reclaimed swamps, cut down brush, and made unproductive land productive. One valuable pear orchard of today was a willow thicket 40 years ago. An older Nisei commented, "Today when one wants to clear land one gets a bulldozer and goes to work. The Issei did it the hard way--with mattock, axe, and lots of sweat. When you look at this Valley now you don't realize how much hard work went into making it the way it is."

Just before evacuation the distribution of Japanese in the Valley was far from even. They were located mostly between San Jose and the Bay; between San Jose and the eastern hills; northeast of San Jose as far as Madrone; north of Sunnyvale and Mountain View between those towns and the Bay; and around Gilroy some 30 miles up the Valley. There was a scattering in other places, but these were the main concentrations.

Most of the Japanese farmers in the Valley were lease holders. Probably no more than 40 or 50 families owned their farms. A considerably large number owned houses which they had built on leased land. The system was of stable leases, entirely unlike the shifting-lease pattern of Imperial Valley for instance. It was not unusual for a family to rent the same place for 20 or 30 years.

Characteristically the farms were rather small, 5 to 10 acres. Most families needed to hire labor only during harvest. There were a few big operators. One man raised 1200 acres of garden peas one year. Another regularly farmed some 600 acres. A half dozen or so cultivated 200 to 400 acres.

The main crop of the Valley is fruit--prunes, apricots, and pears in that order. The Japanese, however, produced almost no "tree fruit" (as distinguished from "bush-fruit", i. e., berries). There were three Japanese pear growers, three apricot growers, and four prune growers. One of the last was a fairly big producer. The main Japanese crop was vegetables and the Japanese raised about 90 percent of the vegetables grown in the Valley. Next in importance in the Japanese economy was berry growing--strawberries and especially bush berries. The third crop of importance was flowers. Between Sunnyvale and Palo Alto there were 150 to 200 nursery men and flower farmers.

The marketing of vegetables was done mostly through Caucasian Commission Merchant in San Francisco, Oakland, and San Jose. But there were three Japanese vegetable shipping businesses. The Growers Marketing Company was the oldest and biggest. It was founded in 1921, was owned by seven partners, employed 20-30 people. It specialized in fresh peas, shipping some 150 carloads a year, direct to eastern markets. Most of the peas were grown on consignment about 40 growers, all Japanese. When the company was not busy with peas, it did buy and ship some other vegetables, but they were not produced on consignment.

Four or five years before the war, four big vegetable farmers decided to ship their own shift. They formed a partnership that included one non-farmer, a fifth partner, who managed the shipping end.

About the same time a Nisei in Mountain View entered the pea field as a grower-shipper. It was he who raised the 1200 acres one season. He shipped some peas for other people and operated only during the pea season.

To complete this accounting of Japanese who handled Japanese-produced vegetables, it is necessary to add that there was a Nisei - Chinese partnership that specialized in celery and that some of the Los Angeles Japanese Markets made regular purchases in Santa Clara Valley and transported the produce to Los Angeles by truck.

Nevertheless, the first statement above stands, i. e., the major part of the vegetables the Japanese produced were sold to or through Caucasian produce companies.

Berries were marketed mostly through the Central California Berry Growers Association. This was organized in 1915 and included both Japanese and Caucasian producers. At the organization meeting it was decided that the 10 directors should be half Japanese and half Caucasian. At the time the decision was made the number of Japanese and Caucasian producers was substantially even. As time went on, the membership became increasingly Japanese. Moreover, another difference developed. Most of the Japanese remained small growers, operating berry patches of a size a family could pretty well handle. The Caucasian producers, on the other hand, became fewer and bigger. They raised their berries through sharecropping arrangements or by hiring labor. Their main area of operation was in the Watsonville section. I did not obtain a very adequate story of the organization, but I gathered that there was a good deal of internal difficulty, especially in the later years. Perhaps the difference in the economic pattern of the Japanese as contrasted to the Caucasian growers was one element.

The flower growers were organized into a flower growers association which was all Japanese. They owned a wholesale market in San Francisco from which they sold to local wholesalers and retailers and shipped to eastern markets. There were a hundred full members of the association, i. e., they owned a share of the wholesale market. The market was also used by about 25 additional flower growers who paid a fee.

The population and the economy of the Valley was predominantly rural but there was a small Japanese town in San Jose. Just before the war, 102 families lived in that city. Forty two of them owned their homes. About half of these homes were the backs of stores. The condition of the combination store-residences was so bad that about 15 of them were condemned by the city as unfit for business or habitation in February 1945.

The center of Japanese town is the inter-section of North Fifth and Jackson Street. The great majority of the 102 families lived within the three-block radius of this point. In this area of concentration there were some other nationalities, mostly Italians. The area was on "the other side of the railroad tracks," but the section was not badly run down. There are a good many other districts of the city which have poorer residences.

The segregation represented by Japanese town seems to have been largely self imposed. As near as I could learn only two small parts in the city have ever excluded Japanese through restrictive covenants. There were, of course, informal and extra-legal pressures brought to the bear when Japanese sought to buy places elsewhere. One doctor encountered some initial hostility among the neighbors when he purchased a home about a block away from the nearest Japanese. The pressure seems not to have been strong and he stayed there. A few families were living in widely scattered sections where their business took them.

Japanese business in San Jose reflected the state of things in the Valley at different periods. Thirty five years ago, there were three or four hotels, some 10 boarding houses, and about as many restaurants. Two or three of the restaurants were "tea" houses. At that time many Japanese were single men; hence the tea houses. The hotels, boarding houses, and restaurants were for the accommodation of the large proportion of farm laborers and other kinds of laborers among the Japanese immigrants. As men brought wives from Japan and started farming on their own, these establishments closed. Just before the war there was one small hotel, four restaurants, and no boarding houses.

The following is an inventory San Jose businesses in 1941:

Vegetable shippers-two; grocery stores including a meat and fish market - four; fruit and vegetable stores -two; dry goods store - one; furniture store - one; hardware and electric appliances - one; seed and fertilizer - three; druggist - one; candy stores - two; sake store - one; bookstore - one; vegetable shippers - two; laundries - three; art store - one; Japanese food factory - three; sake brewery - one; basket factory - one; printing shop - one; photographic studio - one; radio shops - two; watch repair shop - one; restaurants - four; hotel - one; barber shops - two beauty parlors - two; pool halls - two; insurance agencies - three; doctors - two; dentists - two.

If we count the professionals as businesses, this makes a total of 53 Japanese operated establishments. Forty seven of them were dependent mostly on Japanese trade. Six served the larger community the three laundries, two fruit and vegetable stores, and the art store. With the exception of one laundry all of these were located outside of Japanese town.

In general, the economic states of Japanese in the Valley was modest. There were poorer groups - the Mexicans, the Filipinos, and the Okies. The average level of the North European Caucasians was higher. A Nisei said, "The Japanese worked hard, but they did make much money. They just got along from year to year - always hoping to make a killing the next time. When they did do pretty well, they would re-invest the money and lose it on the next crop. Only a few really got ahead. There were no really rich Japanese. Perhaps a dozen had assets in the hundreds of thousands.

#### Organization of the Community.

The oldest and most important organization within the Japanese community was the Japanese Association. The first one was organized in 1904 in San Jose. It was meant to include all of the Japanese (i. e., Issei) in the Valley. But in 1907 Palo Alto organized a separate Association. Much later, in 1925, Mountain View formed its own and Gilroy did the same little later. At the time of the evacuation then, there were four Japanese Associations in the Valley. The San Jose organization had about 400 members; Gilroy about 150; Mountain View about the same; and Palo Alto about 200. According to one of the founders of the San Jose Group, the reason for the organization of these other Associations was the desire of some of the local men to be leaders of something. They knew that in a county-wide organization they would probably never have a chance to be officers. If they set up smaller local Associations, they could be "big shots."

Most of the Issei in the Valley belonged to one or the other of the Associations. Those who did not belong, according to one source, were those who felt they could not afford the dues and contributions that membership involved or they were saving every penny so that they could return to Japan as soon as possible. At the time of evacuation, dues for the San Jose Association were \$3.00, \$4.00 or \$5.00 a year, depending on the wish of the member. Some people paid more so that the average was about \$5.00. In addition there were more or less frequent requests for further contributions for special purposes. The annual budget around 1940 was about \$4,000 per year.

The Association met just once a year to hear reports and elect officers. Ordinarily only 40 or 50 persons attended these meetings. Since there were 16 officers of various kinds, participation by the rank and file was slight. The organization was pretty

much run by a small group of officers who were consistently reelected. The day-by-day work of the Association was carried on by a paid secretary. The relationship between the members and the officers seems to have been similar to that of some unions or trade associations. The officers are supposed to take care of the collective business of the members and not bother the members with any details.

I did not get a detailed and explicit statement of the program and functions of the Association. But several conversations make it possible to enumerate some of the things the organization did or sought to do:

It was interested in public relations. All members were earnestly urged to join the Red Cross and the results were published in the local press.

The Association collected contributions for the Community Chest and turned over a nice big check in lump sum, again with appropriate publicity. A Japanese Boy Scout troop was supported that won many laurels among the scouts of the region. The San Jose Boy Scout Committee always has a Japanese member.

It attempted to defend the Issei. Whenever some move was on foot to increase the legal discriminations under which Issei lived, attendance at meetings would be larger and contributions easier to collect. Probably most of the dealing with state and national authorities at such times was done by the Central Japanese Association in San Francisco with which all of the local associations in the Valley were affiliated.

It entertained distinguished visitors from Japan, especially Government officials. In a sense this was public relations too--relations of the overseas Japanese to the public in Japan.

It sponsored an educational program. One of the main features of this was to make Japanese farmers of the Valley better farmers. Lectures were arranged at which men from the University of California would explain the latest agricultural techniques or discuss marketing. The Association provided an interpreter and arranged to have particularly interesting parts of such lectures and other published matter on agriculture translated into Japanese and circulated among the farmers.

It tried to regulate competition among Japanese farmers, especially competitive bidding for leases. Farmers were urged to notify the Association office when they were negotiating and other

farmers were supposed to check with the office before they went hunting leases. This program was never very successful.

It provided some entertainment such as sponsoring Japanese movies and arranging for the appearance of Japanese Artists.

It carried on a welfare program. According to one of the county welfare workers it was very rare for a Japanese family to receive relief from the County. Said she, "The Japanese Association took care of them."

It maintained the Japanese section of the Oakhill Cemetery. For many years it was cleaned up once a year, just before Memorial Day on a day announced by the Association. During most of the year, according to one woman, "it looked like a hay ranch". About 1930 the Association made a contract with the Cemetery to landscape and keep up the Japanese part for an annual payment of \$400. Money was also raised to construct a suitable repository for the ashes of people who were cremated. An Issei stated with pride that San Jose had the nicest Japanese cemetery in American, with possible exception of one in San Francisco.

It did other things. A long-time leader in the Association explained that most of the Issei in Santa Clara Valley were not very well educated. They needed to be told what to do and when to do it to make themselves more acceptable residents of the United States. Instructions of many kinds were published in the Japanese press in which the members were told how they should behave. This same leader said the usually followed the suggestions.

Santa Clara Valley had only three kenjinkai. The largest was Kumamoto, followed in order by Fukuoka and Hiroshimo. These organizations engaged in mutual aid activities and provided some welfare. I do not know what connection there was between Japanese Association and the ken organizations. In some places on the coast the Association often referred needy cases to Kenjinkai. It is doubtful that this happened in San Jose because several of the outstanding leaders in the Association were opposed to forming groups on the ken basis. They felt that these provincial organizations would weaken the larger organization.

Except in San Jose, all towns in the Valley, and some rural neighborhoods as well, had Japanese Language School Associations. Maintaining the schools was about their only function. In most cases a real organization enlisted which provided a building and funds and saw to the hiring of an acceptable teacher. In some of the rural neighborhoods, it was the other way around. A person wanted a white collar job with modest income. So he induced a number of parents to

send their children to him for instruction in Japanese. Those who did so became the Association. The San Jose exception was due to the fact that there the Buddhist Church ran the language school. The result was that some Christian kids received no Japanese language training.

In almost every community on the West Coast the above Issei groups existed. San Jose had one unique organization of Issei. It was called Eijū Doshika. My Issei informant had quite a struggle trying to translate this name. It comes out literally about as follows:

"Those who have the same sentiment about settling down (in America)."

It might be called the American Kenjinkai. It was organized about 1930 at a party. Its membership was little vague - 50 or 60 men. Meetings would be held once a month around at different houses. Once a year there was a picnic. It was this group that was the prime mover in getting the Japanese Association to fix up the Japanese cemetery. It seems that since they had decided to die in America they wanted a nice cemetery. There seems to have been no difference in proportion of membership between Christians and Buddhists. It did not include all of the Issei in the Valley who had decided to live out their lives in this country. Most of its members belonged to the vague upper crust of the local Japanese community so that some simple farmers who were of the same mind would hardly have belonged. It may be noted that just one man ever went back on the implied pledge that membership in the organization constituted. During the war this one requested repatriation and returned on the Gripsholm. The man who told me about Eijū Doshikai seemed to feel the defection of this exception was justified. At the time of Pearl Harbor he was president of the San Jose Japanese Association. Concurrently he was president of the Northern California Federation of Associations. His position meant that his name was signed to checks which went to Japan for aid in the China war. He had a large and well-appointed home in Los Gatos where, as a matter of course, he entertained numerous visiting Japanese dignitaries. My source is certain that he was no more pro-Japanese or anti-American than any other member of Eijū Doshikai. But he was arrested within an hour of the bombing of Pearl Harbor. His home in Los Gatos was seized. His funds were frozen. During the course of his interminable hearings, he concluded that he had no future in America and he requested repatriation and transfer to Japan.

As far as I was able to learn there were no other Issei organizations. Los Angeles has its classical drama groups, Utaï groups, Shigin groups, Judo and Kendo groups. There seemed to have been none of these organizations around Japanese cultural interests

in Santa Clara Valley. Perhaps more thorough study would have turned up something of this sort. Again, perhaps, the farmers of the Valley could not take time for such things. Japanese cultural interests existed, but there seem to have been taken care of by the Japanese Association as one of its minor functions.

There were four chapters of JACL in the Valley - San Jose, Mountain View, Palo Alto, and Gilroy, corresponding to the four Japanese Associations. The total membership was around 500 at the time the war broke out. This high number probably does not represent the situation a few years earlier. As the inter-national situation deteriorated in the years before Pearl Harbor and as anti-Japanese sentiment mounted, the JACL carried on more bigorous membership drives and Nisei were more disposed to respond favorably.

The headquarters of JACL in San Jose was in the building owned by the Japanese Association. The Association and individual Issei gave support and guidance in many ways. It appears that the organization was viewed as a sort of Nisei auxiliary to the Japanese Association by the Issei.

The JACL program was predominantly Athletic and Social. A kind of organizational division of labor existed. The Japanese Association handled serious matters - public relations symbolized by cash contributions to the Red Cross and Community Chest, protection of the legal and economic interests of the minority, minority welfare problems. The JACL provided entertainment for the young people. During the three or four years before the war, the JACL program expanded to include a number of more "serious" activities. City councilmen were invited to meetings and reciprocated by arranging programs for Nisei in the Civic Auditorium. JACL sponsored political rallies at which candidates for public office spoke. A JACL officer was made registrar of voters and Nisei were urged to register and vote. In November 1941, a joint banquet and meeting was held with the American Legion in one of the leading hotels. ("The Legion officers were very nice to us locally. But as soon as they got up to the state level, nothing was too bad for them to say about us," said one former JACL officer.)

San Jose had three Japanese churches. The largest was the Buddhist church - Nishi Hongwanji. The church building was in Japanese style one of the better ones in America. A substantial majority of the Japanese residents in the Valley were Buddhists, either active or nominal.

The Y. B. A. group was quite strong. Its social and athletic program kept the members well occupied. The basketball team, the Zebras, represented the Y. B. Z. and to some degree the San Jose Japanese community.

The Christian church was the Japanese Methodist. Its Issei group was active and the church was well supported. The Nisei group, the Epworth League, was always a little feeble. It suffered in competition with the Y. B. A. Y. B. A. could sponsor many kinds of activities which were taboo to the Epworth League, e.g., dancing. Perhaps another Christian group should be added. There was one fervent Salvation Army man who had a few persons interested in his program. There were enough to make music and preach a bit on Jackson Street on Saturday night.

The third religious group was Konkokyo- one of the popular Shinto sects. (Popular Shinto as contrasted with State Shinto.) The San Jose church was founded in 1932 and was one of four such churches in America. It has few members compared to the others religious groups - about a hundred who participated quite regularly. Others come around occasionally to receive the services Konkokyo rendered. It was primarily a health cult, concerned only with taking care of the individuals welfare in this life. All Konkokyo members had funeral services in the Buddhist church as a matter of course.

The churches referred to so far have been those in San Jose. Those in other places will merely be enumerated: Palo Alto, Methodist church and Buddhist church; Mountain View Buddhist Sunday School and Methodist Sunday School (branches of San Jose churches) and 7th Day Adventist; Gilroy, Buddhist Church (Nichiren sect).

The only women's organizations existed in connection with the various churches.

A word on the general question of leadership. The members of Eiju Doshikai were the Issei leaders for the most part. They ran the San Jose Japanese Association and seem to have been the lay pillars of both the christian and the Buddhist church. They composed a sort of "interlocking directorate" of every thing. It was not a group with clear lines. A few were always on committees of many different sorts. Others served less often or were active in just one field.

Nisei leadership showed the same pattern. A many times JACL president was an outstanding figure in the Epworth league. Another man who always had some JACL office was a prime mover in YBA. Again, there were persons whose leadership was limited to just one of the three.

Another aspect of organizational overlapping existed. The Zebra basketball team was, strictly speaking, sponsored by YBA. Yet, it tended also to be the team of the Japanese community. The Boy Scout troop was under the auspices of both the Japanese Associations and the Buddhist Church. The actual headquarters were in the Buddhist church. After Pearl Harbor, official sponsorship was transferred to JACL.

#### Relations with the Larger Community.

The relations which the larger community in Santa Clara seem to have been unusually good as compared to many other places. This peaceful situation did not always prevail. In the early days the prejudice already established with reference to Chinese was carried over readily to the new strangers, the Japanese. Caucasians used to throw rocks at Japanese, chase them out of orchards, and bait them generally. A Nisei who was born in 1900 recalls that, when he was about 10 years old, a man chased him with a horse whip. He was riding along on his bicycle and the man rushed out of his place swearing and managed to land one blow. The Nisei says the lash across his back really hurt; it does yet when he remembers it but in a different way. According to this Nisei, beginning about 1923 or 1924 the attitude changed. The hostility slowly disappeared. There was still some anti-Japanese sentiment, but it did not express itself in overt acts. There was no "trouble". The situation just prior to the war could be described as a condition of peaceful accommodation. The relations were on a sufficiently firm basis that even the outbreak of the war did not undo them completely. According to the present testimony of Nisei, if Santa Clara County had been left to make its own decision, the Japanese would not have been evacuated. It is claimed that the FBI make a smaller percentage of arrests here than elsewhere.

The relatively good position of the Japanese in the county seems to have been due to a number of factors.

(1) The Valley, so near the San Francisco part of entry, was one of the earliest areas of Japanese settlement. Hence, there was a longer time to work out an accommodation than in some other place.

(2) It should be recalled that the main crop of the Valley is tree fruit. The people who raised fruit constituted the dominant social and economic group in the county. Very few Japanese produced fruit. This means that Japanese were not in direct competition with the people whose opinion counted in Santa Clara. Japanese concentrated in vegetables and berries and almost preempted the field. The few

competitors they had were mostly Italians whose voice carried little weight. They used to complain about Japanese competition lowering standards, but no one of importance listened. Meanwhile, the County had a source of wealth and the important people got good cheap vegetables. This situation contrasts with Salinas and Imperial Valley for instance.

(3) The Japanese Santa Clara were mostly small operators, family size farms. They were less noticeable than the lettuce kings of Guadalupe and Santa Maria or the man in Salina who was considered worthy of an article in The Saturday Evening Post entitled "The Yellow Octopus".

(4) There was not an articulated and self-contained Japanese economy. Japanese farmers sold a minor part of their crops to Japanese shippers. The rest were marketed through Caucasian commission men. Marketing produce therefore tended to be individually integrated into the larger community. Individual Japanese were customers of this and that person or company. Japanese bought quite a few of their groceries in Japanese stores but they bought part of them in Caucasian stores. For medical and dental attention they went to Japanese practitioners. Legal services, on the other hand, were obtained from any lawyer in the community. What is more important larger purchases, purchases of producers goods - seeds, fertilizer, and machinery - were made in most any store. There were three Japanese seed and fertilizer houses but they handled a small part of the Japanese business. This presents a marked contrast to Los Angeles for instance. Dr. Bloom characterized the situation there as a nicely articulated system in which Japanese took care of every step of vegetable production and distribution from fertilizer to the shelves of the retailer.

(5) So far only passing reference has been made to urban economic adjustments, except for domestics and gardeners who are concentrated up the Peninsula from Palo Alto. In San Jose about 40 businessmen and professional men are operating and a few more of the former want to establish themselves when they can find space. Numerically more important are workers, predominantly Nisei, in packing sheds and factories. There was a period in 1945 when hire Japanese and quite a few factories accept them. Unskilled and semi-skilled jobs are plentiful. Labor in the packing sheds, of course, follows the pre-evacuation pattern, with the difference that none of the sheds is run by Japanese and few resettlers have attained supervisory positions. Factory employment, in contrast, is a new development. There was very little before the war.

(6) Deliberate efforts to improve public relations were carried on everywhere. But perhaps the fact that the leaders of the Santa Clara Japanese community were men whose sentiments lead to the formation of Eiju Doshikai made them more persistent and effective in their program. Social leaders now look back to it with pride. Perhaps, they exaggerate its importance as compared to the unplanned "happen-stances" of no competition with the dominant agricultural interests and the absence of a self-contained minority economy.

It may be worthwhile to supplement this general discussion with the consideration of what we may call participation in the larger community vs segregated activity in a number of areas of behavior:

As buyers, Japanese divided their contacts between other Japanese and members of the larger community. The larger purchase tended to be made in the uptown stores rather than in the Japanese section. One Japanese seed and fertilizer store was uptown. No Japanese deal in farm machinery or motor vehicles.

As sellers, larger percentage of contacts were with Caucasians rather than with Japanese.

As tenants, contacts were almost wholly with Caucasians.

As employers, most contacts were with members of other minority groups - Filipinos and Mexicans in that order. It was not common for Japanese farmers to hire other Japanese as laborers. Japanese businesses in town notably shippers, did employ other Japanese but this accounted for an extremely small proportion of population and the contacts. Most businesses were family businesses.

As laborers, contacts were with other Japanese in the case of the shippers. Otherwise, most employed Japanese worked for Caucasians - seasonal farm labor, mostly students; domestics; and urban workers.

As neighbors, contacts were divided between the Caucasians and Japanese. Contacts with Japanese neighbors, however, were likely to be more frequent and intimate except in the case of rather isolated farmers and a few residents of San Jose who lived outside the Japanese town. But most people knew some Caucasians on a neighborly basis. Children had more intimate neighborly contacts than did any other age group.

As citizens and residents, it is probably correct to say Japanese were more concerned with the welfare of the minority than with the welfare of the larger community. Citizens, Nisei, were young. But their youth does not fully account for their indifference to participation in public affairs. Efforts of JACL to induce them to register and vote were never very successful. Issei couldn't participate as citizens. Not many of them participated in ways that they could. Almost no business men were members of the Chamber of Commerce or of other Civic groups. When they did participate as in the Community Chest and the Red Cross they did so on the categorical rather than individual basis.

As pupils and students, there was a high degree of participation in general school activities, i. e., with Caucasians. Here again, the children were less segregated than older students. There was a Nisei

group at San Jose state, in high school?, but in the grades there was no organization of this kind. It is likely that all things considered, education provided fuller participation on an individual basis with the larger community than did any other activity.

As worshipers, there was almost no participation in the larger community. All three churches were segregated. It is unlikely that any individual Japanese belonged to other churches.

As recreators, only the kids participated to a considerable degree with non-Japanese on an individual basis. It is interesting to note that the one formally organized childhood group, the Scouts, was segregated. It was organized from above and reflected the condition existing in older age groups. Sports, except for school sports, were segregated. There was contact with a larger community when Nisei teams played non-Japanese teams, but this was similar in character to the participation of the Japanese Association in the Community Chest, i. e., a Japanese group dealt with a non-Japanese group as a category. Groups and circles of friends who entertained themselves together were segregated. There were very few friendship circles which were inter racial. Japanese, of course, participated in commercial recreation. They went to the movies and sat side by side with other members of the public, but they usually went to such entertainments in pairs or larger groups.

Interaction was nil. It is through contact and participation that social bonds are forged. How much in the way of social bonds developed between the Japanese and the larger community in the years before the war? They were evacuated when the crisis of the war came. They were not deeply enough and firmly enough tied into the larger community so that they could go through the crisis with the larger community. There were many voices of protest against the evacuation in the larger community. Some of these protests rested on principle. Many others were based on the kind of experience members of the larger community had had with members of the minority. It may be well to look at what happened in various segments of life in the weeks and months between Pearl Harbor and departure for Santa Anita. In schools from the grades to college, the status of Nisei did not suffer appreciably. Teachers and fellow students sincerely regretted evacuation with few exceptions. They might think it was necessary for the parents of students, enemy aliens they had often never seen, but as for students themselves they could see no sense in removing them from the West Coast for military or any other necessities. Many landlords of tenants who had been on their places for years and years thought the evacuation of their tenants made no sense. Some merchants felt the same way about a few of their customers of long standing. Business contacts are ordinarily quite casual but if they go on long enough a personal relationship develops. Some of the churches objected (some did not) but their objections tended to be on the ground and principle. The neighbors, although they might believe in the evacuation of Japanese generally, thought their own Japanese neighbors were alright. The

larger community as a whole, as represented government, carried out the total evacuation. The nation ordered it. The state worked hard to get it ordered. The County of Santa Clara went along, doing its part of the job, but as political and administrative entity it provided no great push to bring about the decision.