

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
Robert Spencer

Case History I

(Note: Our study will endeavor to cooperate with the WRA administration in every way possible. When, therefore, I was asked if I would accompany as escort a young man who had been given permission to leave the center to attend his mother's funeral in Fresno, I accepted with alacrity, realizing that I would not only be of help to the young man in question but also that he would be helpful to me as a means of providing an entry into his own social group. Our trip to Fresno was a long one; it is roughly a journey of some 700 miles. Since the boy was anxious to be in Fresno as soon as possible, we traveled by bus, riding through the night to Los Angeles and then taking another bus to Fresno. We remained in Fresno for some time to dispose of various arrangements and problems and returned by train to Phoenix and thence by bus back to the center. On the way I had ample opportunity to converse with the young man and was able to elicit a life history. I shall present this case in two parts: 1. life before evacuation, 2. evacuation and after.)

Harry Osaka is a Nisei. He comes from a rural community and has been engaged in farming nearly all his life. He represents a type of second generation Japanese which we, living in cities, do not usually encounter. It will be noted that his educational background is poor, that he is attracted to the American way of life but that he follows many obsolete Japanese patterns. His life is lived in the American way but it is tinged with and overlaid by Japanese precepts handed down from the Issei father and mother. Harry is 28. He is the third of five children, one of whom is dead, his elder brother, the second child. Harry is married and the father of two small girls, one 2, the other 6. He has been married for $7\frac{1}{2}$ years.

Life History - 2

Physically, Harry is of the coarse or peasant Japanese type. Although fairly tall for a Japanese, Harry has the long torso and bowed legs of the Japanese peasant. His skin is most dark, with very high cheek bones. The eye fold is hardly perceptible with the result that he could pass for a member of the neighboring Pima tribe. In the towns which we visited and along the route, it was obvious that the majority of people thought him an Indian or Mexican rather than a Japanese. Our permit to travel was never once questioned.

Harry was born in Penryn, California, a small town in Placer County where his father had come some years before. The elder Osaka has been in the United States for some 48 years. I met him later in Fresno, a small sedate Japanese who speaks no English. A word about the family background would be in order. Both father and mother came from Yamaguchi-ken, from a small village, the name of which Harry has forgotten, on the borders of Hiroshima-ken. Father and mother were very nearly of the same age and were married in their native village in Japan before the father came to the United States. In Japan the father had been a younger son of a rather wealthy landowner and independent rice farmer. He believed that as a younger son his future lay in the New World. He married the daughter of a neighboring land owner of equal rank. The families apparently, were rather well-to-do, small landed farmers. Possibly, from the Japanese standard they were wealthy although they had no social rank. From the description they were like the Ne-oi haiyashuko as described in Simmons and Wigmore's paper on Japanese land tenure. (TASJ XIX:37-270, 1891) That is to say, they were independent mura farmers. The father came to San Francisco in 1894 where he worked as a laborer. He saved his money and in five years was able to send for his wife from Japan. Their first child was a daughter, born in 1900. This, Harry said, was highly pleasing to the Issei couple because

where
did he
work,
wages,
savings

it meant that a daughter could aid her younger brothers which were now expected. This is a direct carry-over of the Japanese pattern. In the meantime he had bought a small farm in Penryn where he became an orchardist, raising Loomis apples. The family lived here for some years and four sons were born, the second of them the lad in question. Other relatives also came to live in California, some cousins settling in Watsonville. The extended family has always kept in close contact with one another and have always been in correspondence with the members in Japan. The father's brother also came to Watsonville. Family friends from Japan also settled in this area. The father sold his farm in Penryn and bought another in Santa Cruz County in the name of his eldest son, a Nisei. Before 1900 the old man was able to buy land in his own name but this was no longer possible after 1914 with the passage of the alien land laws. At this time Harry was 13.

Harry's early years had been spent in learning the Japanese way. At the age of five he had been sent to the Buddhist Sunday Schools and after kindergarten went to the Japanese Language School sponsored by the Buddhist Association in the Penryn-Loomis District of Placer County. At the age of 7 he went to the public school. He speaks of himself as a poor scholar, more interested in motors and machines and fishing than in his school work. His father and sister, and his elder brother were sorry that he had not done better in school. The sister was 14 years older than he, while the brother was 8 years older. This brother was being groomed to take the responsibilities as head of the family. At an early age he was brought to meetings of the Kenjinkai (Prefectural association) and made to study harder than the rest so Harry says. His schooling did not last long. Being farmers and expected to take over the management of the farm, this older brother was allowed to finish high school.

with
a co. or
by himself

raising
what
marketing?

how?
money?
why?

why?

At this time the family moved to Santa Cruz County near Watsonville. Harry was then 13 as I mentioned. He was in the 6th grade at school and was still attending the language school. The father had never planned to return to Japan and apparently he foresaw the difficulties of dual citizenship. Then Harry was 11, and the younger brothers, both of them born in Penryn, were 6 and 5, the father took the whole family to San Francisco to the Japanese consulate and renounced Japanese citizenship for them all. Harry remarked that the consul in charge called the father a traitor to Japan and considerable pressure was put on him to prevent his denial of citizenship for his sons. Shortly after the family moved to Santa Cruz County, the elder brother died of typhoid. Harry says that he does not remember much of what happened at this time but that the Kenjinkai of Yamaguchi contributed money to the funeral and there were feasts. Harry was taken out of school and made to take his brother's place at the farm. I was naturally interested in the type of "feasts" that were held in honor of the death of an eldest son. Harry told me in all sincerity that he did not know. I asked him what the normal pattern would be in such a case but again he did not know. All he remembers is that the Kenjinkai help out with gifts of money, that the funeral was held in an undertaking parlor, flowers as gifts were given to the bereaved family and placed around the European type casket in the American manner. Later in this report I shall describe in some detail the funeral service I witnessed in Fresno. I hope to show in this paper the utter indifference to things religious which Harry manifests. Why this should be I have no way of knowing but it comes out more clearly in the discussion on religion.

So then, at the age of 13 we find that Harry has replaced his elder brother as potential head of the family. He was taken out of school by his

father and put to work helping on the farm, working with apples and grapes. He worked in this way for some years, no longer interested in schooling or in learning the Buddhist precepts through the Japanese Language School. His hobbies consisted of tinkering with motors, of fishing, and of going to town occasionally to see a motion picture. At the age of 17 his father told him he should learn more about farming so that he went to a labor camp in Lodi for the grape picking season. It was here that he was persuaded to visit a prostitute for the first time. This had a rather profound effect on him and when he returned home he consulted his father about the good or evil of this. The older man offered this advice: It is both natural and normal to seek out women and it is good for you to do so. His father thus persuaded him that to visit a prostitute was a normal procedure but that to drink alcohol in any form was a wrong. This advice has seemingly stayed with Harry. Indeed, I should guess that his strongest belief is directed against alcohol. I asked him if this was in accord with the tenets of the Buddhist sect to which he belonged but he said that he did not think the Buddhists were against drinking. He thought that this idea was his father's personal opinion as indeed, it is his own. He mentioned an item that I had heard before: a man who wishes to reform from drinking becomes a Christian. Christianity to the Issei mind is correlative with non-drinking, non-gambling, etc. Harry, however, a rather poor Buddhist and certainly not a Christian does not drink nor gamble. He believes that these are good things "to stay away from".

When he returned from the labor camp he continued to work in the father's ranch. The father had meanwhile saved a good deal of money and now bought a grape ranch of 40 acres in Fresno County at Pellier in Harry's name. By now Harry was nearly 20 and the father had reached his 60th birthday. At this time, true to the Japanese custom, he renounced his position as head of

the family, turned the farm over to the management of his sons and settled down to the enjoyment of his tobacco, his go-shogi and hana games. He now considered himself an old man, his sons were bound to support him and he felt free to do as he pleased. He turned the new ranch over to his sons and the ranch has been since run under Harry's direction.

The old man persisted in giving Harry advice as to how he should conduct himself. He kept urging him to spend less time fishing and tinkering with motors. Harry has always regretted that he did not have a formal education in mechanics. The old man demanded that Harry attend meetings of the Kenjinkai of Yamaguchi, that he enter the kumi-ai, or tanomashi similar to those the old man had participated in in Placer County, and that he attend the Buddhist services more frequently. But Harry always answered him with the question: This is a free country, ain't it? So Harry did more or less as he pleased with his social life.

In Pellier, Harry stated, the Yamaguchi Kenjinkai was not strong. It found its main occupation in the mutual functions of funeral services. It usually met when someone from the ken had died and then to agree on the amount of money to be paid the bereaved family for the funeral. Dues were \$1.00 a year but there were always many more assessments in times of funerals, for picnics, etc. About twice a year a Kenjinkai picnic was held and the members were assessed to cover the costs of prizes for racing, games, food and soft drinks. These picnics apparently, were very much like our own type of group picnic such as a church, or lodge might give. There were comic races, prizes, some rowdyism and drunkenness, usually lots to eat, although the food was of Japanese origin. Coffee, rather than tea, was the favorite beverage. Of course, everyone drank soda-pop in the heat of the day. The picnic was usually climaxed by a baseball game with the unmarried men playing the married, etc.

The Kenjinkai also sponsored at Pellier a kumi-ai or tanomoshi. The former term is preferred by the Yamaguchi people, although the latter is more common in this country. Harry, as a matter of fact, did not know the word tanomoshi. When I described the process he said that was Kumi-ai. Incidentally, Harry's speech habits in English are of the poorest. He realizes it and is rather ashamed of it. He says that all the Japanese he knows he learned at home and that he finds it difficult to understand anyone who has come from Japan, such as the Kibei and some of the Issei. Particularly hard to understand, he says are the priests, whose normal speech is flowery and rather bombastic. Most Kibei adopt this type of speech according to this informant. The Issei are more plain-spoken and therefore more easily understood. Harry says he is like many of the Nisei; he cannot speak either Japanese or English. Embree in his Suye-Mura and again in his Hawaiian paper goes into some detail as to the various forms of tanomoshi. I refer the reader to these descriptive passages for an understanding of this cooperative, money lending system. ~~XXX~~ The elder Osaka got his first farm through the kumi-ai system and he firmly believes in it as sound husbandry. Harry said it might be all right but that it was too small in the Pellier district and that it had a bad reputation here. In other words, a man might receive the money after organizing a tanomoshi, and then back out or move away and not meet his obligations of repayment. He said that this sort of thing might be all right in his father's day here in the United States but that there were too many Japanese here now to make this sort of thing practical. He said that he preferred to borrow from the bank directly in the American Way. Harry observed that these things were all right in Japan or among the very Nipponized Japanese but that they did not work where people understood the value of money and were dealing in money and not in rice.

Harry said that he did not like to go to the Buddhist services. His wife, he said, was a regular worshipper and went frequently to the church. He said that he preferred to take his Sunday as a day of rest and to fish if he could. His wife sometimes upbraided him for not attending the services but he does not like to go. He is even against having his eldest daughter attend the Buddhist Sunday and language school. I asked him what were his beliefs. He said that he didn't know but that he never thought about it. Churches, he said, are no good and all they do is take people's money. He said that he does things in the Japanese way to keep from offending his father and besides, he points out that this is the way he was taught to follow. It is my belief that Harry follows the lines of least resistance in these matters. He does what his wife and father suggest without question. He does not go to the Buddhist services because he says they bore him and he would rather spend his weekends at fishing. He has worked out a kind of religion all his own. He holds to some kind of Buddhistic, impersonal deity which doesn't particularly concern him very much. He does believe that if a man does the proper thing in honoring his parents, he will get whatever reward is coming to him. This is a definite Japanese concept but there seem certain Christian elements mixed in it. At any rate, it doesn't concern Harry at all. He simply doesn't care and is indifferent to religion. One peculiar thing about his own family is that they seem to have lost any regard for Shintoism which they might have had. Harry's family do not keep pictures of the dead, there is no kamidana in the house, although the mother of the family before her death did keep a butsudan, and no regard is given the Shinto deities. There was apparently no family belief in Daikoky or Ebisu, no harvest gods were kept and no ofuta placed in the garden or the bathroom. I wondered if I was getting the truth about this and in pinning him down as to why not got this answer: Lots of old people go for that stuff, but my father never did and

and we weren't brought up that way. - Harry did say that people in the camp did have the Shinto paraphernalia but that he thought that this was just a way of keeping up with the old Japanese practices. I just don't see how people can believe that stuff, he said.

At the age of 21 Harry decided he was old enough to marry. It was mentioned that he had relatives in Watsonville. He had become acquainted with a girl living there through his family. In fact, he says of his wife, we are sort of cousins. It turned out that his wife, that is to say, the girl he later married was indeed a relative by marriage. Harry's mother's sister had married his wife's father's brother in Japan, in Yamaguchi-ken some time previously. A close tie between the two families was felt in this country for this reason and the most friendly and cordial relations were always maintained between them. The girl in question had become acquainted with Harry during his residence at Watsonville. Harry was advised by his father and it was suggested that he agree to marry this girl. He had seen her periodically during fishing visits to Watsonville and the coast when he visited his cousins but he had rarely spoken to her and never seen her alone. Harry's father was ill at this time as indeed he has been ever since with a cardiac affliction so that he did not feel equal to making the arrangements himself. It would normally have been up to the father to select the baishakunin (go-betweens). Harry's father suggested that Harry himself arrange matters with the baishakunin. A married couple in Watsonville were selected. They were mutual friends of both families and also were from Yamaguchi-ken. Harry took a trip to Watsonville to see them and after a day or two they went over to interview the girl's parents. During this time Harry remained at their house as a guest. Since the two families came from the same district in Japan and were already related by marriage, a further union was more or less expected. Hence the family of the prospective bride was not at all surprised to see the baishakunin. In

Japan the normal pattern would have been for them to feign surprise at seeing the go-betweens, to delay for some time in getting down to business, and to run the gamut of polite gestures and phrases expected at this time. Here, however, it was quite different. The father of the girl received the baishakumin and after some time he excused himself saying that he had business to attend to, and suggesting that the go-betweens take the matter up with the girl herself. The girl accepted the suit brought by the baishakumin and the betrothal was announced in the Watsonville Buddhist Church. It was also announced in the Yamaguchi Kenjinkai in Watsonville, the girl's father being an active member of that organization. Harry meanwhile returned to his home in Fresno County. Three months after this the wedding date was set. Harry and his family prepared their house in Pellier for the coming of the bride. Meanwhile in Watsonville a party was held for the Issei of the Kenjinkai at the bride's home. Harry and his family did not attend this but waited for the bride and her family to come to Pellier. The bride's party in Watsonville was not very significant. All the older Japanese came to pay their respects and to give the girl a small gift of some kind. Her young friends from high school and the neighborhood did give her a shower in the American manner. Harry said: They gave her lots of underwear and nightgowns and stuff. After the reception of the Issei in Watsonville the bride's family started out in their car to Pellier. They brought with them a trousseau for the bride, as well as a kind of dowry of sheets, bedding, and certain articles for the household. This seems to be a good example of the carry-over of the Japanese wedding customs in the United States. The Japanese pattern is retained but the gifts and the means of travel are distinctly American. The bride's family brought gifts also for the bridegroom's family: a set of chessmen for the old man and a tea set for the bridegroom's mother. The wedding was held as soon as the bride's family had got settled on the same

day of their arrival. Festivities began on the stroke of five in the afternoon.

A Buddhist priest arrived from Fresno. Five days before Harry had gone down to get the marriage license alone in Fresno. There were two separate parts to the marriage receptions. First, there were the witnesses to the marriage itself and there was a party for them. These were all Issei, older family friends. The only young people present were the bride and groom. On the second day after the marriage a party was held for the Nisei friends of the newly married couple. After the announcement of the betrothal Harry had been lectured to by his father on the subject of responsibility in marriage. Up until the wedding he said that he had been expected to behave most decorously as befits one about to assume the state of marriage. On this, the wedding day, the Buddhist priest had been waiting in an anteroom until all the guests assembled. When all the guests, and these were only Issei, were present, the priest came in and bowed to the company. All the guests rose at his entrance and bowed. Here again the Japanese pattern was followed because every guest was sitting stiffly, in a more or less fixed position until after the marriage ceremony. Decorum demands that the guests, in fact, all those present, remain silent until the priest finishes the ceremony after which time they may relax and enjoy themselves. The betrothed couple sat at the head of the room. The guests sat around on chairs. The priest blessed all present, ringing his little bell and chanting a sutra, although Harry did not know which one. He says he never can understand the sutras, nor can any of his friends. The priest was dressed in his black robe and wore a golden stole at the end of which hung a Buddhist rosary. The same costume will be noted for the funeral service described later. The American Buddhist rituals closely parallel an American Christian service. There is a vow concept, which, as Embree points out in his Kona paper, has been taken over to satisfy the American authorities that a legal marriage has been performed. The ceremony is patterned as follows: a blessing of all by the priest, a blessing of the bridal pair by the priest, vows, the san-san-ku-do.

The latter is the ceremonial drinking of sake from small cups of different sizes. This ceremony is fully described by Miss Ikeda in her manuscript on Japanese-American ceremonial life. Harry said that this was the only time he had ever tasted alcohol. After the ceremony the older people are free to relax and enjoy themselves. There was a big dinner with roast pork, American vegetables, rice and coffee. There was tea for those who wanted it, but the more favorite drink among the Japanese in America today seems to be coffee, served with cream and sugar in the American way. The older people now were free to dance and sing. They told obscene stories and sang bawdy songs in the Japanese wedding manner. After dinner they hustled the couple to the bedroom with a great deal of levity and joking. The old people continued with their party for some time after the bridal pair had retired.

On the next day Harry gave a party for his younger friends. These are all Nisei. He also invited some of his Caucasian friends from neighboring ranches. They had a big dinner in a banquet hall in Fresno. Harry said that he had a much better time at this party. They danced and played games in the accepted American fashion. It was simply a "party" in the American sense of the word. This was a real American party but nevertheless, it was required by Japanese etiquette in this country. Wedding presents were given in the accepted American fashion. The Issei also gave gifts. I asked Harry if he had to return any gifts following the wedding and he said that his mother baked some little cookies and gave them to everyone who had given a wedding gift. Grapes, the produce of his ranch, were also given to everyone who had made a gift later in the year when the grapes were ripe. The idea of returning cakes is distinctly Japanese. Cf. Suze-Mure, where gifts are acknowledged by rice cakes.

One rather interesting sidelight with regard to Americanization is the fact that as soon as they were able, Harry and his wife visited a birth-control clinic. Harry and his wife have been using contra-ceptives since marriage.

After being married for a year and one-half the first child was born. Harry gave a small dinner party at his home after his wife had returned from the hospital. This was about a month after the birth of the child. It was a daughter...I asked Harry if he brought the child around the priest at this time but he said no. Followers of Shinto do this in America as well as in Japan but I pointed out that Harry and his family observe no Shinto festivals or practices. There was seemingly little ado about this first child. Nor did the second daughter come in for any more attention. I asked Harry if the children were boys would there have been any difference in his attitude, or any more of a celebration. He said he didn't think so; boys or girls, it was all the same to him. He and his wife do not want too many children although the fathers of both Harry and his wife are always after them to have more children and to produce sons. His elder sister is always held up as an example. She now has seven children, although this is an unusually large family even for an American Japanese. Harry thinks that he and his wife will possibly have one more child but not more than that. I get the impression that he would like to have had boys rather than girls. He spoke quite proudly of his sister's sons but did not mention his daughters very much. He wants to be American in his ideas and behavior and for that reason he pretends to be glad that his children are girls. In actuality, however, his father's arguments as to the advantages of having sons seems to carry some weight.

Harry and his family lived in Pellier in Fresno County as I stated above. Before evacuation the household consisted of the following: ^{Harry,} ~~Sam,~~ his wife and two daughters, his father and mother and his ~~two~~ two younger unmarried brothers. A year ago his younger brother was drafted and is now in the army at Fort Sam Houston where he is a chauffeur for the officers there. He is relegated to a non-combatant status. The other ~~brother~~ brother, his youngest, finished high school and was working with Harry on the ranch. Last summer Harry's wife's

brother rented a peice of land nearby in Pellier. He too is married and has children. The two families met frequently for dinner and other social amusements. The land that Harry's brother-in-law rented was a temporary arrangement. He hoped to buy other land in the Pellier district with FSA and FHA loans.

The property at Pellier was in Harry's name although it had been purchased by Harry's father. It consists of 40 acres of excellent vine land. Harry said that he and his family weathered the depression but that after the first years of the New Deal Administration his market and tonnage price for green grapes was quite satisfactory. On the 40 acres is Harry's ranch house which is surrounded by fruit trees. He raises some apricots, prunes, and peaches but he does not market these. He raises various types of grapes on his 40 acres. He says that grapes do not require much care so that he has ample leisure time for his favorite pastime of fishing. His produce is marketed through the Frankenthal Co. at Pellier and sent to the eastern market. His yield averages about a yearly 10 tons per acre. Last year, being a boom year for the grape market, he says that he cleared \$5,600. This would have been a better year for him. His methods of pruning, grafting, vine training do not differ from those employed by his neighbors. In the harvesting season he employs itinerant white or Filipino labor as pickers. He raises green grapes and does not engage in any raisin drying.

The yearly round of activity of the family does not vary to any great degree. The grapes need watering and tending most of the year but Harry is pretty free to do as he pleases except that he must remain at the ranch. With his brother-in-law he usually makes extended fishing trips to the coast, to the mountains, or to the Bay Region. He makes his own fishing equipment and has invested a considerable sum of money in it. He drives his whole family once a year to visit his parents-in-law in Watsonville. Being somewhat well-to-do, he has

been able to buy a new car every year up to the war. He also owns a tractor, and a truck. He helps to cart his produce over to the Frankenthal warehouses in Pellier and thus saves something on freight charges. He and his family observe the following holidays: New Years' Day. This is observed in the ideal Japanese manner. His wife and mother prepare a big dinner and begin their preparations several days ahead of time. They put up Japanese pickles and radishes, they make roasts, chickens and the like. The whole family stays together on New Years' eve and the brother-in-law came over with his family this year. The wives roasted chickens, made Japanese cakes of rice flour and bean curd, they put up fish and prepared a very large meal. This was eaten at noon on New Years' Day although the family had stayed up all the previous night in celebration. They danced and played games. Some of the neighbors came over and Harry was taught to play poker. He won and had to send out for a large case of Coca-Cola since the refreshments were to be paid by the winner. After January 1 there is a time of leisure in typical Japanese style which lasts until the 7th. A final and less elaborate dinner is held at this time with members of the family attending. This is the real Japanese vacation time and I see that it is observed in this country as well as in Japan. Harry said that even as a child he had always looked forward to New Years' Day and the gifts that he would get at this time. The members of the family exchange gifts at this time. This year, Harry's father and mother were both ill and Harry said that this somewhat put a damper on the festivities but they did have a good time with a large crowd of people in attendance at the house.

Another holiday observed is Girls' Day or Doll Day. Because he has two daughters his wife does bring out her old Japanese dolls and he has some heirlooms from his mother. All of these are placed on exhibit in his house for his little girls. Harry bought a glass case so that the dolls might be exhibited at this time. He says they are pretty dolls dressed in the kimono, and obe of classical Japan. He does not allow his daughters to play with them although they may offer them cakes and candies which are their portion on Dolls' Day. He says that this is silly and too Japanese but his wife wants them to see the dolls. He usually gives them a doll of their own on this day. If he had boys he would observe Boys' Day by putting up a carp of paper on a pole in front of his house. He said that his father had always done that for his sons and Harry would do the same. On Boys's Day as a youngster Harry had always played with a kite which the father gave to each son.

A large family pionic is always celebrated on July 4. Firecrackers are bought and they play with fireworks. He says he always wants to be home to please his family.

They observe Thanksgiving. At this time they take the day off and have a big dinner with turkey a dish of which they are as fond as any American family.

The Buddhists, in emulation of the Christians, usually have church services on this day.

They observe Christmas and give gifts to the children. They have a Xmas tree with colored lights and usually decorated with little Japanese parasols. This holiday, Harry says, is for the children and is a kind of preparation for the New Year festival. Harry likes to buy gifts for New Years' before Christmas so he can get "good bargains". They have a Christmas dinner just as the Americans do with turkey.

Throughout the year the Buddhist Association in Fresno sponsors social events. These include pionics, baseball games and track meets for the younger people.

Harry does not like to go to these functions but his wife does. He always feels that people criticize him for not attending the church services more. Sometimes, in order not to be criticized for not going to church, Harry will drive his wife there and wait for her to come out. Then, he says, people think he has been in the church. I did not realize that such pressure was brought on the individual to attend the Buddhist church. I have mentioned the Kenjinkai picnics which Harry does attend. He says he has a feeling that these people are more his own and not so critical as the members of the church whose attendance cuts across Kenjinkai membership.

During my trip with Harry I wondered a number of times about his various attitudes. He seemed so American in some ways but in others he was perfectly Japanese. Although a Nisei he seemed more Japanese than many Issei I have met. I think that his desires, his way of life, his attitudes are purely Japanese. Yet he considers himself an American, his loyalties are with this country, and his greatest fear is that he and his family will be sent to Japan when the war is over. He lives in an American house, he eats American food, he does his business in an American way. Yet at the same time his behavior pattern, his thoughts and actions are dependent on and related to the Japanese way of life instilled in him by his father and mother. By way of example, one trait that is very marked in him is his filial piety and devotion to his parents. His marriage was arranged at his father's suggestion and is seemingly a real Japanese marriage. To him his wife is something of a chattel. On our trip together he mentioned the things he bought for himself and his family prior to evacuation. He bought clothing, an electric cooling system, canned goods, and other conveniences for all his family. For himself he bought in addition a Hamilton wristwatch, fishing gear of various kinds, a complete suit of tropical clothes, which he had tailor-made and other things

for himself. For his wife he bought a small cheap locket. For his daughters nothing. His is not a romantic marriage although he is most considerate of his wife's interests. He believes however, that the woman belongs at home to cook, sew, and to bear children. On our trip he bought gifts for all his male friends, shoes for himself, books and magazines for his own interest. I asked him if he was going to get his wife anything but he said no, he had already bought her a locket. We had some time to spend in Phoenix before our bus took us back to camp. During this time he bought himself some Navajo jewelry at an Indian store. I asked him if he should not get a small gift for his wife out of the assortment of jewelry but he said she would have no place to wear it. I have never seen anyone spend more money on selfish trivialities but Harry is anything but selfish. The question is one for more of a psychologist than I. I do know however, that this is rather typical of the average Japanese male. While waiting for the bus in Phoenix Harry insisted on visiting a brothel. He offered to take me with him and said he would pay for everything. He was a little put out when I declined with thanks. The woman in charge of the brothel refused him admittance thinking him an Indian. He was quite put out saying that he would not have another opportunity to visit a prostitute now that he would have to remain at camp. He found another bagnio where he was admitted. After some time he returned, quite pleased with himself and proceeded to tell me in great detail all the pleasures that I had missed. I asked him what his wife would think if she knew where he had been. He replied: Well, she's got nothing to say about it. He told me that he and his brother-in-law were in the habit of going to Fresno periodically, shooting a game of pool, and then visiting a brothel. The consorting with prostitutes seems pretty well engrained. He spoke of it as naturally as if he were referring to dinner. He seemed rather surprised that someone should turn down an offer such as he made me and was apparently under the impression that all men visited prostitutes.

After all, he said, we're all human. I asked him what he would think if his wife were to consort with other men. He seemed most annoyed at the very idea, he told me that he would divorce her if she did such a thing. In other words, Harry follows exactly the pattern of behavior to which Japanese men in Japan adhere.

PART II - EVACUATION

Harry was living in Pellier in Fresno County. This was located in the so-called "White Zone", i.e. Military Area No. 2 from which, according to the original evacuation order no one was to be removed. His district is east of the main highways and it was not necessary for him to go to an assembly center. He and his family were shocked at the declaration of war and immediately began to buy war bonds and to subscribe to other patriotic endeavors. When curfew and evacuation orders were put into effect for Military Area No. 1, Harry's in-laws moved from Watsonville and came to Pellier, living with Harry and thinking thereby to escape evacuation. Soon, however, it became evident that 2,300 people in the San Joaquin Valley area of Zone #2 would be evacuated to assembly and relocation centers with the rest. Then it was agreed that those living in the "White Zone" would be sent directly to a relocation center and that they might remain in their homes until evacuation, being required, of course, to observe the curfew and the travel restrictions.

The people were instructed to close their businesses by August 1 and to prepare to travel to a relocation center. Those who lived just across the highway at Pellier were previously taken to the Fresno and Pinedale Assembly Centers, the latter of which has already been removed en masse to Tule Lake. Harry being east of the highway, could not cross it, but was allowed to come directly from his home. His produce agent, the Frankenthal Company, agreed to lease out his farm for the duration. This was done on a basis of 40 and 60 per cent. The lessee of the farm was to do all the work, to pay for the labor and to pay the taxes for the county. Harry would clear the remaining 40% and would have to pay the federal taxes. The lessee of course took 60%. Thus, in evacuation, Harry is still making money, especially if this is a boom year for grapes as it well appears. He sold his car, tractor, and truck, since the Frankenthal agent would provide equipment for the lessee. Harry stored his furniture with the Federal Reserve Bank and was free to travel.

But Harry's mother had been ill of cancer for several years and now she was desperately ill. Harry's father, too, had a cardiac ailment and extremely high blood pressure with the result that neither father nor mother could travel. Permission was given them to remain in hospitals in Fresno. The father was sent to a rest home for old people at army expense and the mother to the Fresno County Hospital. With the exception of these two elderly people, Harry's brother, sister and her family, his in-laws and their families all met at Pellier to be moved. By August 1 they still did not know where they were going. Harry had thought Tule Lake and had bought all kinds of warm clothes for his family for the cold winter. They were brought by bus to Fresno and thence to Casa Grande, Arizona, by train. The train trip was long and hot. There were about 1,500 on the train so Harry says. It took 36 hours to make the train trip from Fresno. At Casa Grande they were herded into busses and brought to the Gila center only to find the rather deplorable conditions which I have already described. On the train the ride was most hot and uncomfortable. They were fed at 8:00 in the morning of the first day of the ride and again not until 6:00 at night. Nor was there any way to buy food on the train. Babies were hungry and everyone was miserable. Gila, with its crowded conditions, its unfinished barracks, and its dusty roads and open ditches, its rather unpleasant location, served to depress everyone who came in. Harry's in-laws and his family were all crowded in together into one small barrack. The food was bad at first, and now that it is better, it is beginning to pall. Through his brother-in-law, Harry got a job in the warehouse, moving stored goods and loading the food trucks. Harry says there are 2,300 people from the White Zone at Gila. I do not think that is quite an accurate figure and shall attempt to verify it. At this writing, there are about 8,000 people at Gila, 7,000 in one camp, 1,000 in another. The latter group are new evacuees from the Tulare Center, while the former is made up of people from the White Zone

and those from the Turlock Center. Turlock people got here first, with the result that they have taken the virtual control of the political situation. This I have already described in my own report. Harry says that this is to the definite disadvantage of the people in the White Zone Group. They are not organized, while the people from Turlock had the advantage of being able to organize while in the Assembly Center. This, Harry says, works to the detriment of those from the White Zone. The Turlock people have already chosen their leaders and representatives and the favors are granted to their own friends and associates from the assembly center. Harry says that there is little organization among the block managers which were appointed by the administration on a pro tempore basis. These individuals are concerned with serving those whom they know while the assistant block managers are continually at variance with them. Harry deplores this lack of equality (he says "democracy") and this political favoritism. Harry is afraid that when Camp II is better prepared to receive evacuees than it is now, he and his family will be moved from Camp I and their now rather comfortable quarters and made to go to Camp II by the political conniving of the Turlock people. This is probably not true; it does show, however, the amount of local favoritism that exists. Social class as observed in Japan has fallen out in this country and except for a few who call themselves samurai and a few who are known to be eta there is pretty much of a social equality. Group solidarity existed in the Kenjinkai. Harry points out that a new type of group solidarity is growing up. The kenjinkai is now subordinated to an "Assembly Center-jinkai". At this stage, the assembly center from which the various groups came is carrying more weight than pre-evacuation associations.

Harry got a wire that his mother had died in the Fresno County Hospital of the cancer from which she had been suffering. His father I had mentioned as being in Fresno in a convalescent home. Because the father is now very old and very ill, it is virtually impossible for him to get around or to make the

arrangements as to the funeral. Harry, as head of the family, was expected to go back to Fresno to care for the details of the funeral. He was to go back at his own expense and to pay for the escort of a Caucasian. I was asked to accompany him and did so at his expense. We arrived in Fresno just in time for the funeral. Because of the red tape of getting the permission to visit the city of Fresno and to attend the funeral arranged, we did not leave the center until two days after the lady's death. While on the bus to Los Angeles a couple sat in front of us who were rather amorously engaged. It is interesting to note that Harry was horribly shocked and mentioned time and again the immorality of some people. We arrived in Fresno without difficulty and were met by a representative of the Frankenthal Co. The father was asked what he wanted done with the remains. He stated that he wanted cremation in the Buddhist way. It is necessary to ask him because Harry was not yet in Fresno and Harry should have been asked as head of the family. The WCCA (ARMY) arranged the funeral services, and paid for the undertaker and the cremation. We were driven to the convalescent home to pick up Harry's father, a little old Japanese gentleman, with an extremely high voice, the result of his illness. He spoke no English. Having picked him up, there was no one else but Harry, him, and myself at the funeral.

The funeral was held at an American funeral parlor with a Caucasian director. He is the man who handles the funerals for all the Japanese in the area. He has been retained by the WCCA for the purpose of disposing of the remains of Japanese who die in the nearby centers. After we had been at the parlor for some minutes, a WCCA employee drove over with the Buddhist priest from the Fresno Assembly Center. This priest was a young Kibei of about 26 years old. He had been active in Fresno Buddhist circles and a teacher of the Japanese language school in pre-evacuation days. He met father and son and both bowed very deeply, far more deeply than the priest. After a moment of whispered,

rapid conversation in Japanese, the priest excused himself to return later dressed in a robe of black, not unlike ministerial robes in many Christian sects. The sleeves were long and flowing and arranged so that he could carry various articles in them. He wore a golden stole at the end of which was attached a Buddhist rosary. The stole was quite narrow, I should guess about two inches in width, and came down to his thighs. The attached rosary was held in the hands which were clasped together, the right over the left. The stole was very ornate, being embroidered with conventional Japanese designs in black and gold. After he appeared, father, son, and priest went to view the remains. He wore no headdress.

While we were engaged in waiting for the priest to change into his robes, the WCCA man and I went to see the body. It was lying at the front of one of the rooms of the undertaking parlor in a rather simple but costly grey casket. The army having paid for it, it does show that they do have some consideration for the relatives of the dead. The dead woman lay in state as in any western funeral parlor. Her casket was surrounded with flowers, the gifts of friends, exactly in the American manner. She was dressed in a black, silk western dress and her coiffure was arranged in western style of some twenty years ago. In fact, the only Japanese touch was the fact that the hands were folded over the Buddhist rosary, this being entwined in the fingers and the hands were folded from left to right. I later asked the undertaker about this. He stated that he had received specific instructions from the Buddhist priests of the neighborhood to fold the hands "wrong". This feature and the rosary were the two distinctive Japanese features. The rosary and folded hands lent a definite Roman Catholic effect.

The father and son then took seats near the body. The priest advanced up the aisle and went to the corpse and bowed low to it. Father and son then rose and bowed to the corpse. They then went back to their seats. The priest bowed again and continued to face the coffin. From the pocket of his sleeve he took a little silver bell and began the service by ringing it. The service began at 3:12 P.M. and ended at 4:48 P.M. First he rang the bell once, then after a pause, twice, another pause, and then fourteen rapid rings of the bell. This he repeated three times. He rang the bell 17 times in each series and I recall that any number ending in 7 has to do with mourning. This is just a guess on my part and Harry didn't know. Then the priest began with his incantation of sutras. He began in a very low voice to intone a rather monotonous chant. The voice would become louder and then end on a very definite hiss. During this recital, from memory, lasting over an hour, the sutras were punctuated with strokes of the bell. After the first ten minutes the priest turned to face the father and son sitting there in the front row and began to recite other sutras with definitely different sounds. After turning from the body, his voice became louder. The close of the sutra was always marked with a very sibilant hissing sound.

The first repeated phrases of the sutra over the corpse began in this way:

O - on-de-wa-u-hi-wo-no-me

To-ma-shi-ra-zu

O-ya-ra-na-ko

- hiss

In each case the last syllable of the line was heavily accented. I do not know what the words mean. Neither does Harry. I think that this is just a formula and so I was told by a man better versed in Japanese lore than Harry. After the recital of the sutras the priest delivered a eulogy. I was able to follow some of the words. Although it went on for half an hour, and was read by the priest from his own notes, the general gist of it may be summed up in a few words. I later checked with Harry on this. The priest

said:

She came to America when she was young because she was a dutiful wife and she followed her husband. She was a good wife and mother. Yours is a hard burden to be without one so blessed in this time of stress.

After the eulogy the priest bowed to the corpse, then to the two witnesses. He then went away and was taken back to the camp. The witnesses, father and son, had remained impassive during the service. As soon as the priest had gone, however, the old man began to weep violently, bowing to the coffin as he did so. The son began to weep also and after a while both turned away. They took the flowers with them to the old man's convalescent home, being careful to preserve the cards, because as Harry says, each gift of flowers must be acknowledged. Harry is merely going to send out cards of thanks in the American way. Under normal circumstances, he said, he should have given a small gift to his mother's close friends. The mortician arranged to have the body brought to the crematorium. It would be cremated at the expense of the WCCA. Before the evacuation the Fresno Buddhist Association got together and bought a columbarium in a nearby cemetery. This will be used for the preservation of ashes during the evacuation period. I was surprised that no picture was taken of the coffin with the relatives around it. This is rather a Shinto practise but I know that the Japanese Christians also do it to some extent. Harry said that his family did not do that but that his in-laws were rather upset because he was not going to have a picture taken. Harry said that the people at Gila to some extent keep mementos of the dead, the ancestral tablets, and even the ashes of the dead with their butsudan or kimidana. His in-laws keep the butsudan as I mentioned but the Osakas do not hold to the Shinto practises. They do not observe memorial services and they have no regard for the O-bon-dori, or all-Souls' Day. They do not observe the 49 day rule of continence imposed on adherents of Shinto.

We returned to camp after a short stop-over in Phoenix and a night's delay in Los Angeles. Upon his return to the center Harry was greeted by his wife. He walked up to her very gravely and bowed, shaking hands. Then he shook hands with all the older people and then the youngest.

Harry and I became good friends on our trip. He appreciates the fact that I was able to travel with him. I think that Harry's general social group is most interesting and it is certainly one of the most Nipponized. I should now have an entry into that group.

Harry considers himself an American. He likes to be a Nisei. He would not like to go Japan and he does not like Kibei. These, he says, are stuck-up and think that they are better than everyone else. Most Nisei are all right.

Robert Spencer
June 5, 1943

The individual to be described here is a Nisei, at the present writing age 18, female. The individual to be described here is typical in many respects of that group of Japanese American citizens known as Nisei. This life history ~~which is described here~~ has been elicited from a series of conversations with the individual, who was not aware during these conversations that the life history was under discussion. For this reason, not a great deal can be told of the family background.

The individual is the third child by the father's second marriage. The father came from a family of some means in Japan and was a chu-gakko or Middle School graduate. Following his return from Army service, he had married a woman in Japan by whom he had had three children, one of whom died. While still a young man, his first wife apparently died with the result that he decided to emigrate to America. He arrived in California along about 1908 or 1910. He spent three or four years in attempting to adjust himself to the needs of the new country, trying his hand at farming, storekeeping, and the hotel business. After a time, he had made a considerable sum of money through gambling. He decided to send for his two children, both daughters, from Japan. His relatives in Japan elected to send him only the youngest, with the result that one daughter came to California to join him. He felt the need of a wife again in order to take care of his young daughter, who at this time was seven years old. Accordingly, in 1913 or 1914, he arranged for a "picture bride" from Japan. He met this woman in San Francisco, married her, and went to live in Modesto, California, where he had rented a rooming house which he was running and in which he sponsored a gambling room which provided him with the bulk of his income. The fact that he was concerned with gambling made him, from the standards of the Japanese in California that existed at that time, a fairly wealthy man. He was, thus, able to take care of his daughter and his new wife with some degree of comfort.

The first child by his new wife was a daughter, now age 21. The second,

a son Noboru, age 20 at this writing, and the third, a daughter Mariko, the individual in question who is now 18 years old. A year later, another son was born. After two years, during the pregnancy of his wife for the fifth time, he took the whole family back with him to Japan. Here the fifth child and third daughter was born. After six months in Japan, the father returned to Modesto alone, leaving the rest of the family in the motherland. The father then, as he made money, sent for each child individually. After three years, the eldest daughter of his second wife, Miyako, returned to California followed by the brother. Mariko, the individual in question, however, remained in Japan from the age of four until the age of nine, returning to America with her mother and her younger brother after five years. The daughter who was born in Japan, that is to say, the fifth child, was not allowed to return to California. The reason for this was the fact that the Exclusion Act had been made law and, therefore, being an alien, the child was not permitted to return to America. Before the mother left for California, she arranged with her wealthy brother that he and his wife should adopt the child. Apparently, this brother in the years that followed became very devoted to the child, much to the resentment of her other brothers and sisters who sometimes wished they had remained in Japan. This daughter, now about 14, was planning in the last letter which they had from her to study medicine and was being encouraged by her foster-parent, the uncle who had adopted her. After the mother had returned with the two youngest children to Modesto, she gave birth to another son Mamoru, now age 12, who has never been in Japan.

Mariko's first recollections are not of this country, but rather of Japan where she went as a very small child, and where she attended the first years of primary school. She recalls that she had been dressed as an American child and this caused considerable resentment among her schoolmates when she went to school. On her first day at school at the age of $5\frac{1}{2}$, she had not, as yet, been provided with a school uniform and had been dressed in a silk dress which had been brought from the United States. The other little girls were so outraged by her wearing

apparel that they attacked her and tore her dress. She wept bitterly and returned to her uncle's house where her mother and the rest of the family were living, vowing that she would never go to school again. The next day, she was provided with a school uniform, but she says that she never had any friends at this school after her first day there. In fact, she says she hated those little girls and has hated little Japanese girls ever since.

The family was living in the Shiba Park district of Tokyo during their stay in Japan. Mariko does not recall much of what happened during her first years in Japan. She spoke no English during that time and started out to learn how to read the Japanese alphabet and various characters. The course of instruction in the school also included elementary art work and sewing from the very first. Even at this time, she says, the girls were subject to a military regimen. In the schools which she attended in Tokyo, there was no mixing with little boys. She attended, primarily, private girls' schools which although owned and operated by the State required a small tuition fee as against the schools for the poorer people which required no such fee. School was from early morning until quite late in the afternoon. After school, she would run home quickly so that she would not have to talk to any of the other little girls. There was one teacher of whom she was exceptionally fond, and she remembers that when this woman was transferred to another school, as often happens in Japan, she wept bitterly and did not want to go back to that school ever after. After coming home from school, she was obliged by her mother to do some studying and sewing, then dinner and bed. This pattern was followed during all of her five years in Japan. It was particularly difficult to elicit this information from the case in question. This girl has never thought much of her life in Japan and has only fleeting memories of it.

She remembers national holidays at which shouts of approval and songs were sung for various Japanese national heroes, and she remembers occasions as the Emperor's birthday, which while not a holiday from the school was a day of considerable festivity there. She remembers that she hated the school uniform and the

funny hat which she had to wear, and she recalls fighting with other little girls on various occasions and pulling their pigtails.

Apparently, the family was not of a particularly religious inclination. Mariko recalls several visits to a Shinto temple or shrine with her mother. The mother, apparently, was not Buddhist although the father was. None of the members of the family recall being made to attend any kind of religious service while in residence in Japan. She and her mother and her brother were the last to leave. At the time of her departure, she had apparently got to a point in school where she was beginning to take an interest in her school matters and in her classes. She was, thus, very reluctant to go back to America to see her older sister and brother and her half-sister who was now nearly grown. Her uncle, aunt, and mother shed bitter tears on parting, and the mother was also very reluctant to leave the daughter whom she had arranged to have the uncle adopt. There is some recollection in the members of the family of the uncle's wishing to adopt the son rather than the daughter, but the father in America refused absolutely to have his son adopted. The uncle and aunt, therefore, although not childless themselves, were willing to take the youngest daughter who was then about five years old. It was with some misgiving that Mariko returned to America. She remembers that on the trip over in one of the Japanese boats to San Francisco she was sick most of the way and so has a very unpleasant recollection of the voyage.

At the age of nine, on returning to America, she was put in the primary school in Modesto. She did not speak any English and because she was so much older, she felt very sad and ashamed that she had to associate with the younger Caucasian children. There were a number of Japanese in the school who helped her, and by speaking English with her older brother and sister, she quickly was advanced to the third grade. She does not remember any difficulty over learning to read and speak English. She, apparently, made an adjustment in the high third grade at the age of nine and was able to carry on from there, mixing more

and more with Caucasian children in the Modesto community.

The reason for the return of the whole family to America was the fact that the father's business in Modesto had failed. It was necessary for him to go to some other town inasmuch as his gambling activities in Modesto were suspect by the authorities. Since he had a small amount of money saved, it was decided that he would go elsewhere and attempt to open another hotel. After Mariko had lived about a year-and-a-half in Modesto, the family moved to Tracy where the father rented a ramshackle hotel building near the railroad yards, a hotel which he attempted to make use of as a front for bootlegging activities. He made whiskey and beer in the basement of the hotel building which he rented in Tracy and, apparently, he managed with some degree of success. His place of business was several times raided by so-called "prohi's" but he either had sufficient political protection and was thus forewarned or else he managed to destroy the evidence in time. At any rate, he was never caught. Mariko remembers the fear which her father instilled in her of the so-called "prohi's". Whenever she or her brothers and sisters were playing outside, one of them would always run into the house to tell the father if they saw a Caucasian wearing a business suit coming anywhere near their property.

A year after the family returned from Japan, the sixth and last child was born. The family continued to follow a Japanese pattern of social living, being subject to the will of the father and the somewhat milder influence of the mother for the next three years. Since they lived in the bad section of Tracy near the railroad yards, their playmates and associates were poor Caucasian, Negro, and Filipino children. Although they played with these children, they were forbidden by their father from associating with Mexican children. The father, apparently, had an unexplained hatred for Mexicans. There were very few Japanese in Tracy and, thus, the family kept pretty much to itself, the father having business associates among the Caucasians who visited there to buy liquor and an occasional visitor in the person of a ^{transient} ~~transient~~ Japanese who stayed at the hotel.

There was no Buddhist Church in Tracy, and since the father felt that some kind of religious education was necessary, he elected to send the children to a Christian Sunday School. They attended Sunday School in a Presbyterian Church not too far from their home and were, thus, made nominally Christian. They remained nominally Christian today although none of the family has been baptised. The father, a Buddhist, and the mother, a Shintoist, never, as mentioned above, made much over religion. They seem to be contented that the children be inculcated with some kind of religious doctrine and, so, were satisfied on seeing them go to the Christian Sunday School.

The fifth son who had been with Mariko to Japan and was a year younger than she died of typhoid fever when she was about twelve. Inasmuch as this brother was her own special playmate, she was extremely bereaved at his death. She does not recall any specific details about it although her sister mentioned that the boy was sick two weeks before a doctor was called in and then it was too late to save his life. Since there was neither a Buddhist or Shinto priest in Tracy at this time, no religious service was held at the funeral. An American undertaker prepared the ^{body}~~boy~~, which was then cremated after the family alone went to view it in the chapel and mourned over it. The father became somewhat morose after this and started to drink rather heavily, especially since prohibition had been repealed and his source of income from bootlegging and gambling had been virtually cut off. He was, thus, obliged to support his family through the meager income which the hotel gave. The mother's health began to fail, and it was found after examination by a county physician that she was suffering from an internal cancer.

The eldest ^{half-sister}~~son~~, in the meantime, had been married off by the father to an older Issei by the name of Hirose. This marriage was arranged; beyond this, however, the family does not recall any of the extenuating circumstances. He did not allow any of the children to attend the marriage of their

step-sister. The sister went to live with her husband in Berkeley, California, after her marriage which followed the death of the next to the youngest son. After this, the mother began to suffer a great deal from her disease and was no longer able to work about the hotel doing such work as cleaning the rooms and making the beds. This work now fell upon Miyako and Mariko. Every day, after school, they would have to come home and clean the house, prepare dinner for their father, and do other tasks which he demanded of them. They also had to take care of their mother who was lying sick in bed. After a year of suffering, when Mariko was about fourteen, the mother died. Here, again, the body was prepared for cremation by an undertaker in Tracy and the whole family went alone to the funeral parlor to see the mother lying in state for the last time. The father would permit little demonstration of grief; so, following the mother's cremation and the interment of her ashes in a columbarium, the family returned home to continue life as before. The father became more morose than ever and left his children to run about more or less as they pleased. The result was that the death of their mother constituted a turning point in the life of every member of the family.

For a time, the sister from Berkeley came to look after the father and to direct the activities of the younger children. At this time, they became very resentful of her domineering influence and a feud developed which has been going on ever since this occurrence. After a time, the sister left for Berkeley to rejoin her husband, and Mariko, now in the eighth grade, was able to change her life, breaking away from the Japanese cultural restrictions which the mother had imposed upon the children and being free to accept a more Americanized type of life. The next year, she entered high school and was, thus, able to break away pretty much from the family restrictions. All of the children, in fact, have, since the death of the mother, been successful in becoming assimilated and are completely Anglo-American in cultural pattern, thus, rejecting Japanese ways as completely as they could. The degree of this Americanization will be touched

upon later. Mariko was now free to enter upon a social life of her own which has been successful in molding her into what she is today.

Both Mariko and her older sister were now free of any influences which might somewhat have checked their tendencies to emphasize a fully social life. The older sister, Miyako, however, was obliged because of her position as eldest child to act to some extent as the guardian of her two younger brothers and her younger sister. To Miyako was intrusted the care of the hotel. Still in high school, she was obliged to rise very early in the morning to prepare the rooms for guests, to make the beds, and to make breakfast for her father. After this, she was free to go on to school. Mariko was not intrusted with such responsibility and was, more or less, free except that she was more subject to the will of her older sister in that she was obliged to render aid in the disposition of various household tasks. Because there is only three years difference between the two girls, Mariko has been extremely resentful of her older sister's attempts to dominate her. The result is that the two have not gotten along and continually are at outs with one another. The youngest brother sides with the older sister, while Mariko enlists the aid of the brother who is nearest to her own age. A family dispute between these four has arisen over the period of years since the mother's death. In this dispute, the father has played, more or less, a pacifying role, although the fact that he sides with the eldest sister has been a cause of resentment of the other children.

Mariko is particularly attractive from the point of view of both Caucasian and Japanese standards. The result is that her years in high school in Tracy were happy ones for her. She was the center of attraction for all of the Japanese boys as yet unmarried in Tracy and she, furthermore, found some associates in the Caucasian community. The father refused to permit either of the girls to go out on dates, but this did not prevent Mariko from making use of the high school as a center for a full social life. Immediately upon the death of the mother, both girls began to use cosmetics, to pay particular attention to their

appearance, and to attempt to dress somewhat flashily according to a "Hollywood" pattern. The father, at first, gave vent to some mild objections, but these were quickly overcome. The result is that throughout the years since the mother's death and even today in the relocation center, both Mariko and her sister spend considerable time in caring for their appearance.

When Miyako was in her last years of high school, she took a job in a laundry in order to have spending money and to help the family over its rather impoverished period. Miyako soon persuaded Mariko to take a position in the laundry as well, and both girls worked there for more than a year. This made it necessary for Mariko to go to work after school and often to work late at night. Neither girl could, therefore, afford to devote much time to school work. Both took such courses as art and home economics and did not specialize with the idea of going on for higher education. At the same time, Mariko continued to find her social life in the high school and was particularly keen on the high school dances, an outlet which really provided her only contact with boys. During these high school years she had several boyfriends, all of which she considered very serious affairs. Miyako, obliged to work at home and in the laundry and to attend school, had little time for social life. Upon Miyako's graduation from high school in June of 1941, she went to San Francisco and obtained employment as a domestic. She sent the money she earned to her father and her brother so that he could prepare himself for the university. Both Miyako and her younger brother Noboru graduated together from the high school at the same time. Noboru went on to study engineering at the University of California and was given financial help by his older sister. To Mariko then fell all the tasks which her sister left. She was obliged to look after the hotel and to take care of her father and her younger brother. She was then entering her junior year in high school.

Her first serious affair with another Japanese boy took place at this time, and she would often go out on dates with him, going to Stockton and to

Livermore in his car to shows, pretending to her father that she was working in the laundry when she went out on such dates. The boy in question was a Nisei of about 22, who was working in a defense plant in Tracy. He had graduated from Livermore High School and now, because he was independant, he had managed to own his own car. This, says Mariko, was what made him particularly attractive to her. After going to a show and, perhaps, stopping by for some refreshment afterward, Mariko and her boyfriend would drive out somewhere in the country to park. She says that she went out with this boy, her first really ardent admirer, on "necking parties" without actually realizing what she was doing. At this time, she had a rather naive view of men and of the relationships between the sexes generally. She suddenly discovered that her boyfriend desired more of her than she was prepared to give. Tremendously shocked, she rushed home and for days was unable to talk to anyone. She attempted to talk to Miyako on one of the latter's visits from San Francisco about this, but she was only scolded for being a silly little fool. Miyako, now that she worked in San Francisco, considered herself quite sophisticated. Mariko, at any rate, broke off with this boy and reverted back to her high school associates.

Because of the fact that she was working and dating with other boys, her grades suffered considerably, and she barely managed to pass from semester to semester. Her father was resentful of the fact that both she and Miyako were obliged to spend so many hours a day in the high school. He did not believe that education was desirable for his daughters although he was firmly convinced that his elder son should go on to the university.

During these high school years, the father was not well. He, too, had contracted an intestinal cancer, with the result that he was continually obliged to seek medical advice, thus causing further drain on the family finances. Mariko was not left alone for very long to manage the family's domestic matters. Shortly after December 7, 1941, her sister, restricted by travel and curfew regulations, returned home to Tracy to manage once again the family affairs. During

the fall of 1941, Mariko had met the son of a neighboring family, a Chinese by the name of Wang. This Chinese boy was a graduate of Columbia University. He had been married and divorced, and when Mariko met him, he was managing a Chinese lottery in San Francisco. At that time, from all reports, he must have been about 28 years old. Mariko's father approved of him since he knew him to be well educated and to have a good deal of money. He did not discourage either Mariko or Miyako from seeing this Chinese boy since he considered any association which might arise as being purely of a friendly nature. This Chinese made a play for Miyako, but he was rebuffed. He then turned his attention to Mariko with the result that she was considerably taken. On several occasions he took her to dinner in San Francisco and would take her out on dates after December 7 in defiance of the curfew law. He, in taking her anywhere, let it be known that she was Chinese. Beyond suggestive conversation, Wang never in any way forced himself upon Mariko. She, therefore, considered him very gentlemanly and highly desirable. She had, during her high school course, expressed an interest in studying to be a beautician. Wang, having considerable money, put three hundred dollars in the bank for her so that she could go on to realize her ambitions. This money is still in the bank in her name and Wang adds to it from time to time.

Mariko, at the present writing, wants to use this money to resettle and to go to some Eastern college to study cosmetology. Her father does not know that this money is in her name, and she is very reluctant to tell him about it. Her brothers and sisters have objected strenuously to her allowing Wang to put this money in her name and accuse him of underhanded motives. Mariko, however, refuses to listen to them and her affection for Wang remains steadfast. However, she says, just as a friend.

Following December 7, the father was very ill and continued to suffer from his disease, with the result that he needed constant care and attention. Both daughters were obliged to look after him continually and although Mariko

continued in high school, her social life outside of the school was, up until the time of evacuation, pretty much limited to Wang. In April, the notice for evacuation appeared. Up until this time, the family could never believe that evacuation would be a reality or even that the curfew or travel restrictions would be seriously enforced. It was with terrific shock that they first heard about the need for evacuation, and the end result was that a rather severe economical setback faced the family since they had made no preparation for departure. The owner of the building which they had rented for several years as a hotel refused to cooperate with them. The building had been unfurnished and the family had bought all of the furnishings for each room. These they left, and they have been taken over by the owner of the building. The family does not expect to return to Tracy with the result that they have taken all their personal belongings with them to the relocation center. Electrical fixtures, furniture, and electric ice-box, sewing machine, and other conveniences were left behind at the hotel when they evacuated. No arrangement was made with the owner of the building for storing them or for selling them. The father had owned a Ford car which he sold, and when he drew his last one hundred-odd dollars from the Tracy bank, the family severed their ties completely with the town of Tracy and with California. No real property had been owned by the family.

Mariko was tremendously upset by the call for evacuation. She was fearful of losing her friend Wang, who had guaranteed her her future, and she regreted bitterly having to leave her high school friends and the position which she occupied in the Tracy High School as a popular low senior. The family was evacuated to the Turlock Assembly Center. Mariko had not completed her low senior semester but the school authorities gave her credit as having completed it. She was, therefore, obliged to plan on one more semester of high school before graduation. Facilities for this were not available in the Turlock Assembly Center, with the result that she took a job as salesgirl in the Turlock canteen. At this time, she was going with a boy from Tracy High School, who took her to dances in the center

and who provided her with an entrance into a round of social events which made her quite happy. Coming back, however, into the Turlock Assembly Center, she was thrown into contact again with Japanese. Although she had been acquainted with most of the Japanese families in Tracy, she had always played around with the children and had not concerned herself with their Issei parents. Of course, at home she had always spoke Japanese with her father and with the Issei friend who lived with the father and who was considered to be a member of the family. This old man, oddly enough, a Japanese bachelor had been living in the hotel for some time and had been doing odd jobs there in order to earn his living. He was evacuated with the family as a member of the family. The fact that she spoke Japanese to these two old men did not seem to her particularly significant. With them, she had not been obliged to observe the Japanese social amenities. When they went into the center, however, the father again became very strict. He devoted most of his time to poker playing and would occasionally have a group of his friends into his barrack at Turlock for a game. Both Miyako and Mariko were obliged to speak Japanese, to bow, and to prepare tea for these old men, and to otherwise act fully in accord with the Japanese cultural pattern. They both manifested considerable resentment over this since they had not been obliged to follow this pattern since they were small. Other than this resentment, the situation for Mariko was too novel a one to cause her any particular unhappiness. At times, she says she wished she could go to San Francisco or to Stockton for a visit, to see a movie, or to go shopping, but she was never particularly concerned with these wishes inasmuch as the well organized recreational program in the assembly center offered her considerable of a social outlet.

After a month in the assembly center, she broke up with the boy from Tracy since because ^{she was} attractive, ~~and~~ other boys courted her. She then met a boy of 21 by the name of Tomio. I was fortunate enough to secure in her own words the story of her affair with Tomio. Her description of the affair follows here:

"It was one Sunday in the Turlock Assembly Center, at the Y.P. Fellowship; Had folk dancing. I was there with another fellow, not Tomio. I danced with Tomio, the Virginia Reel. He arranged it so he can become my partner. He was aware of me and I was aware of him for some time. I didn't know he was aware of me; I found out later. We danced and had a swell time.

"Before this happened, I used to work in the mess hall. I met a girl who knew me from my home town. I asked her if she can arrange it so I can meet him and she said surely. She asked me to come over that certain morning because he usually is there at that time. I was there that morning. (Monday) Monday morning after the night of the dance. I met him.

"Terry is the name of the girl who introduced us. About a day or two passed. Tomio came to the canteen where I was working. I am now working in the canteen. I quit the mess hall. He came around the canteen and asked for a date to a Vaudville show. So with another fellow and Terry, Tomio and I went to the Vaudville show. I think that was Wednesday night. The Vaudville was our first official date. After that I had many dates with him. And during the first of the week, he talked a lot of himself and his girls and he told me how he used to date this girl and that girl. Naturally I didn't like anything like that. No girl would like that. He told me how he had his way, etc. He asked if I liked him. I said yes. I liked him. I didn't say much to him; I listened to him intently. I used to have lunch with him all the time.

"He asked me if I still felt the same about him; that I still loved him. He told me I was infatuated that I'll change later. Ever since we met, we discussed about this and that; about our love. Whether or not I liked him. I can't remember so much.

"Anyhow we went around from the time I met him; from June 1st until he had to evacuate with the first voluntary group for Arizona. He left Turlock July 16th. Well, my sister and brother didn't have any objections to my going around with Tomio, but my father objected because old Isseis don't like the

idea of holding hands in public, making kiss faces. I told him I wasn't going out with a rough neck.

"One afternoon, in my barrack, my father found Tomio and me kissing, but he didn't bring up the matter in Tomio's presence; however later on he gave me holy, holy, holy. That was about all that happened; that was about the worst in Turlock.

"During July 18 until August 14 we corresponded and he used to write to me about the average of one letter a day, and when I arrived here August 16th Tomio met me and naturally we went around together again. After a week we decided to break up; not that I didn't like him but because he didn't seem to have changed very much. I expected him to be changed a lot from the way he wrote his letters. I wanted to break up because I was disappointed in him; he didn't change very much. He came to the conclusion that I didn't like him because of my sudden decision to break up. He seems to be fickle. He said there's nothing he can do to show that he loved me. He said he really loved me. I told him I didn't believe. He said if that was the way I wanted it it was okay with me.

"Anyhow he said he'd make a date with me Saturday to the dance and he asked me to think it over, whether I loved him or not. Well, we met Saturday night. We went to the dance Saturday night.

"We began all over again because I guess that's really the way I wanted it. Then I moved to this camp; camp 2, and Tomio was working in this camp. He was in the Housing Department. He used to commute to this camp from Camp 1.

"Anyway, we used to have lunch together and I'd always ask if he was coming to this camp; to move into this camp; Camp #2. A few days later my wish came true. He came to this camp, moved in. And we went around together from the time we came to this camp.

"We broke up before Christmas. When he was here between December we discussed about breaking up several times because we didn't believe in each other. I didn't believe he loved me. His ideas are different from mine. We talked about

[a class]
marriage and we used to attend marriage problem, and we intended to get married about five years from now.

"We came down to the point whether we like this person or not. I more or less studied him and came to the conclusion that his love wasn't exactly sound. Because he was fickle and he'd sort of pay attention to other girls and also he seemed to me he wanted to go out with other girls. I felt that he wanted to go around with other girls instead of being tied up with me. That's why we broke up.

"He insisted that he loved me, but I still insisted that he didn't love me. He didn't try to fight back that he loved me, like most boys do; he did to some extent, but not like some other boys might if they were in love."

Mariko says that the affair which she describes above was the most important one which she had ever experienced and that she went around with Tomio more than any other man. She broke up with him, she says, because "he was such a wolf."

In August, the family came from Turlock to Gila and lived for a while with the Turlock group in Canal Camp. They had been assigned quarters in the school block in Canal and with the opening up of the Butte Camp, those living in the school block were asked to go live in Butte. The family, therefore, moved into Butte and have been settled there ever since. The four younger children including Miyako shared an apartment with the father and with the old man to whom they never speak and to whom they refer secretly among themselves as the "grey ghost."

Mariko, as she mentions above, was most concerned with Tomio. He was the center of her life from August to December, the orbit around which her whole social attention was centered. During the summer months, Mariko took a job in the Mess Operations Department since she had learned both shorthand and typing in high school and was able to qualify as a clerk. She worked for most of that time except for one week when she was stricken down with valley fever. The fever and the heat made her hate Gila and she has never been as happy here as she was at Turlock. She could not have stood it, according to her admission, if it were not for Tomio. In October, the high school got underway, and she enrolled for her senior year.

At this same time, her father had become so ill that he was taken to the hospital and has not been able to be up for several months. He is, in fact, expected to die shortly because of his sickness. This leaves the family more or less under the leadership of Miyako. The eldest brother is anxious to get out to school and will do so shortly. The two girls, however, are obliged to remain here as long as the father is in so critical a condition. Mariko, when she broke with Tomio, somewhat lost out in the social circle in which he moved, and for the past two months, she has been attempting to adjust herself in a new circle of friends. Since breaking up with Tomio, any attraction that the Gila Relocation Center might have had for her is gone. Recently, she graduated from high school and is now free to go out for resettlement except that she is obliged to remain because of her father. The result is that she has become most mal-adjusted. She is anxious to go to Chicago to enter a beauty school and to make use of the funds which were given to her by Wang. Her sister and brother alike say that this would be not only dishonest, but that she would be placing herself in debt to what they believed to be a rather unscrupulous Chinese. Mariko's relations with her sister have, therefore, become the more strained, and she accuses her sister of attempting to hold her down and to prevent her from going out to live her own life. Of course, in order to go out, she would have to get the permission of her father, who is entirely ignorant of her situation. The father is still demanding of complete obedience from his children, and it is most unlikely that he would permit the girl to resettle in view of the fact that she is only eighteen and quite irresponsible.

Mariko realizes that she will have to wait before her father dies before she can resettle, and this conclusion is of a considerable blow to her. The father's situation is sufficiently critical that Mrs. Hirose, Mariko's half-sister, came from Topaz with her son in order to see the father before he died. Since that time, the father has rallied somewhat, and it seems unlikely that his death will occur in the immediate future. In the meantime, each day is hard on Mariko, who plans and hopes to go to Chicago. It is the only subject of conversation on

which she is at all coherent, and it is her only interest at the moment. If anyone, whether it be a stranger or one of her brothers or her sister, mentions to her the difficulties involved in the present situation, she will burst into tears. She is becoming more and more mal-adjusted in this center and her problem continues to be difficult. Apparently, it can only be solved by the death of her father something for which she is almost eagerly waiting. It will be significant to follow up the adjustment made by this girl and to note how she manages to fare in the relocation center and, if she is successful, in resettlement. Her plans may be considered to be actually wild and of a purely impractical nature. She is addicted to day-dreaming and thinking about her future in the Middle West. Although her sister has suggested that she work in the camouflage factory so as to save enough money to go out, she is reluctant to do so inasmuch as she feels that she can depend on her friend Wang. Now that she has recently graduated from the high school, she may be obliged to work in the camouflage factory if only to keep peace with her sister. The family relations are considerably strained, but Mariko seems to be the only member of the family who might be considered mal-adjusted.

It is a bit difficult to elicit a full life story on this girl because of her rather vague memory of the things that happened to her. There seems little doubt, however, that her life was marked by the significant change which took place after the death of her mother. It is doubtful that her life would have been very different had evacuation not taken place. Then, as now, she gave evidence of the desire to break away from what she considers to be the attempts at domination by her sister. After the father dies, it will be of interest to note the circumstances in which each member of the family will find himself.