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Dictated by Mr. Hikida on the subject of the formation of the political organization.

*Questions interpolated by Speneer*

The first group meeting to be held was at Mess Hall 72, on about the 27th of August. As one of the representatives of Block 64, appointed by the Block Manager, I attended this meeting.

There were two others from Block 64; Ernest Iwasaki, Hawaiian Nisei, and a Mr. Ikeda, who was an Issei. The meeting was called to order about 8 o'clock, and Mr. Oishi acted as temporary chairman. Mr. Miura spoke a few minutes on behalf of the sponsors of the first meeting of block representatives, stating the motive, and objective of having this meeting. He said there was a definite need of some kind of representation, or organization, at the present time, until such time that a temporary ~~committee~~ committee could be organized, in order that the evacuees would be better organized, <sup>to</sup> and bring about a better understanding between the administration and the evacuees. This committee was also necessary in order to expedite the completion of the facilities of the camp through better negotiations with the administrative staff.

The question came up from the representatives that most of the representatives, in reality, were not official representatives, due to the fact that they were just told by the Block Managers to attend this meeting, and said that they were not elected by the evacuees; therefore, whatever ~~was~~ discussed at this meeting could not be recommended or approved by them, since they had no authority. One of the members suggested that we have the first official meeting at the selected date, at which time each Block ~~XXXXXX~~ would elect their own representatives by having a mass meeting of the block's residents, during which time, two Nisei and two Issei were to be elected. It was agreed upon, and instead of disbanding immediately, ~~the~~ those at the meeting discussed some of the problems which had arisen, and which needed to be considered at that particular

time, so the first meeting was more on an informal/<sup>discussion</sup>basis. Were there any Caucasians present? No, it was conducted in Japanese, and there were no Caucasians present. This first meeting was called purely as an Issei Block representative meeting, and the Nisei were invited as guest to listen to what was going on, therefore, in this respect, Mr. Iwasaki was not an official representative. There were about 25 Nisei present.

In regards to the first official meeting, some expressed the opinion, that because of the language difficulties, why not let the Nisei meet separately. There was an objection to that from other representatives, that it was not a wise plan to have two separate meetings. As long as the evacuees were all living in one camp, it was felt that they should all meet and discuss together to diminish any hard feelings between the two groups, so it was suggested that the next meeting be a combined one.

Q. Did the first meeting have official sanction? A. I don't think so. Who were those people instrumental in formulating the meeting? Mr. Miura and Mr. Oishi. As far as the meeting was concerned, Mr. Miura might and might not be a little hesitant in telling of his part in the first meeting, because of personal reasons. The meeting was about the latter part of August. <sup>Spencer</sup> Shortly after that, Mr. Miura came to me very much disturbed over the agitation of a man called Mr. Otajiro Yamamoto, who he said, had gained considerable following in the community, was using more or less gangster tactics in order to push through a feeling against the Nisei, and to push the Issei into power, and Miura, who was sort of straddling a middle course, was threatened by henchman of this man. At this time, Mrs. Smith was acting as Director of Community Welfare. Mr. Miura submitted a letter in which he stated that Mr. Yamamoto and his group were dangerous to the community, and asked that something

be done about their removal, Mr. Fredericks in the Internal Security had a talk with Mr. Miura, Oishi, Mitsuori, Harry Miyake, Nobu Kawai, and one or two ~~xx~~ others, at which meeting I was present (Mr. Spencer talking) and all of these men denounced Mr. Yamamoto as an agitator, but when it came to pinning them down to definite accusations, it was difficult to do so with the result that Mr. Fredericks let the matter rest, and in a little while it had blown over. Would you consider that to be Mr. Miura's hesitation at discussing the matter?

*was interned*  
] <sup>A.</sup> Well, as long as he has already told you of the situation, I would like to say that what I found out was that it was not Yamamoto himself, but his followers that were agitators. They were so dissatisfied with the leaders in the Tulare Assembly Center, the Yamamoto group tried to keep those who were active out of the activities here. There was such an intense feeling that I think Mr. Miura and Mr. Oishi, and others, thought it very dangerous--that is why they called the first meeting. <sup>Q</sup> Do you think that was the basis for the first meeting? <sup>A</sup> Yes. I was told this was the reason, but how true it is, I do not know, as I was not at the Tulare Assembly Center. It seems to me that the first meeting was held to keep down the agitating of the Yamamoto fellow. Mr. Oishi was the chairman, and Mr. Miura the speaker. The atmosphere was very bad as there was so much dissatisfaction among the Tulare representatives who attended the first meeting.

The things discussed at the first meeting were also discussed at the second meeting. When this question was brought up, I spoke and expressed my opinion that I met Mrs. Smith when I arrived at the Canal Camp August 14, and had had a friendly talk with her, and she told me that Mr. Smith was away and any suggestions from the evacuees would be greatly appreciated. She wanted to set up an advisory board among the Issei since Issei are ~~xxx~~ denied the right/

to hold elective office. I pointed out at this meeting that the WRA already had such ideas, and so it was no use for us to do anything on our own.

The second thing~~s~~ discussed was the incompleteness of the facilities of the camp. They were very distressed over the situation and wanted to do something that would hasten the completion.

The confiscation of the Japanese books at the Assembly Centers was also discussed, and a desire to have their books returned to them was expressed.

Finally, it was decided to have the next meeting about four or five days later, which would be the first official meeting. Whatever proposals they wanted to have discussed could be brought up then. The meeting was then disbanded.

Q You mention the dissatisfaction with the general conditions confronting the community in regards to the physical side, and I wondered how much of that was blamed on Mr. Smith. What was the opinion of him at that time?  
A There was a definite feeling among the people that Mr. Smith was not very active, naturally they blamed him. Mr. Hikida says he can now sympathize with Mr. Smith, but at that time even he felt Mr. Smith to be unsatisfactory.

[ Some of the members wanted to report the incidents to the Spanish Embassy. Did they every report that? Mr. Hikida says the answer to that will come in a later summary.]

The second meeting. (Or the first official meeting)

This meeting was held about August 31 or September 1st at Mess Hall 72. There were about 50 representatives. At that time, there were about 14 blocks occupied. There should have been about 64 but some of the blocks did not send their full representation. There were about 15 or 20 spectators. These people

were seated separately. The question of chairmanship came up, and to my surprise, they tried to keep Mr. Oishi and Mr. Miura out. They nominated Mr. Hikida, who refused, and then after much persuasion, finally accepted. He says that had he known there was such a definite feeling against the other two, he would have definitely refused the offer, as he did not wish to be involved too much in politics.

At the beginning of the meeting, he expressed the opinion that the meeting was called for the betterment of conditions for the evacuees. He asked for any proposals. There were about three written proposals out of those 14 blocks. Among those proposed, one was, of course, to file a petition asking for the privilege for Issei to hold elective office in the Community Council. Secondly, negotiations for immediate completion of all the facilities such as housing conditions, hot water, filling ditches, electric lights, and others. Also immediate arrangements for opening of schools, recreational facilities, hospital, and social welfare. There were also a few more proposals such as transportation facilities between the two camps, and better methods for transportation of food to each mess hall. There was also the report and negotiations to be made to the Spanish Embassy, as to the improvement of conditions in camp. Negotiations with the W.C.C.A. and the Army was discussed, in order to defer the transferring of the Tulare Center, until the camp was more completed. Harry Miyake explained that it was a hard thing to do. The WRA did attempt to withhold the movement of the people here, brought it up with the Regional office, and Dillon Meyer, the director of the WRA, attempted to stop it but could not do anything against the ~~xxxxx~~ Army's decision. Added incentive was provided by the resolution of the meeting.

The meeting was more or less orderly as compared to the first meeting, and it was finally decided that this board of representatives would never work efficiently, so it was proposed to have a committee of 10 people to be the official representatives. <sup>committee</sup> It was to be composed of 5 Nisei, and 5 Issei. The question came up as to how they would be appointed. More than a half hour was spent in order to find a solution, and finally, although I was given the power to choose the 10, I selected three or four that I thought to be qualified, and had them act as a nominating committee. The 10 were chosen at that meeting and approval given by the rest.

#### THE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE 10 REPRESENTATIVES.

About two days later, a committee meeting was held, and although I was not a member, they asked me to come down to sit in. I thought it would be wise since I had acted as chairman, so I attended. Ernest Iwasaki was one of the active members of the committee representing the Nisei, and was a great help to me. Among the Issei, there were two men Mr. Hikida did not approve, of/ because of their attitude. Their interest seemed to be due to some dissatisfaction, and Mr. Otajiro Yamamoto and S. Ando of Turlock were not liked by many people because of their agitative attitude.

It was suggested that in order to negotiate with the Project Director in regards to the facilities and conditions, it would be better to have them in a written form, and with that petition, or resolution, the negotiations could be made simpler. Ernest Iwasaki was asked to draw up a resolution. This constituted most of the meeting. In regards to the negotiations with the Spanish Embassy, I was very careful to stress the importance of the approach. Instead of writing a letter full of complaints and mistreatment by the administration, Mr. Hikida suggested that they must take the attitude of just reporting poor conditions in a sincere manner, and state

that since such conditions existed, we would appreciate their bringing it to the attention of the United States Government.

A few days later, the committee met with Mrs. Smith and presented her with their written resolutions. Mrs. Smith promised that Mr. Smith would attend their next meeting and answer the resolution.

A petition was sent to the Spanish Embassy in regards to negotiations with the evacuees, not in the name of the Block Representatives, but in the name of the Issei alone. Mr. Hikida did not sign the petition as he was planning to retire from the scene.

About Sept. 7 or 10th, Mr. Smith came to the 3rd meeting, and explained every point made in the written resolution. Mr. Hikida acted as interpreter. Although the representatives wished to discuss matters more in detail, there was not sufficient time. Mr. Smith presented a straight explanation, and did not attempt to answer the questions. There were no discussions as the meeting adjourned soon after Mr. Smith left.

Three or four days later, Mr. Smith's speech was typewritten into a 10 paged document, and distributed to each block for the evacuees to read. In this report, Mr. Smith discussed why, in his opinion, the Issei were not allowed to hold elective office. He stated that it was the policy of the WRA in Washington, and no ruling made in the camp itself.

Mr. Hikida brings up the point in regards to the incompleteness of the camp, and says that there was a fear, or worry, on the part of the residents as to the ditches all over the camp grounds. They were quite dangerous since there were no lights, and people often fell into them, injuring themselves.

THE FOURTH MEETING. This meeting was held about Sept. 10 or

11. Before this meeting, we had a few committee meetings. In all of these meetings, the question was raised as to whether we should go further in negotiating for the Issei holding elective office, or drop it. At this meeting, or at any of the committee meetings, Mr. Yamamoto insisted that we should go ahead on the subject of Issei to be given such power. The majority of the committee members agreed to go farther in the negotiations, and Yamamoto and Ando always insisted quite strongly. It was finally decided to file a petition to Washington, directed to Mr. Dillon Meyer asking for a reason and requesting the revision of such a law. Mr. Hikida said that as the Issei could not be given such power, they should cooperate with the election of the Community Council. This 4th meeting was held at Mess 57, and Mr. Hikida acted as chairman once more. The report was made by Ernest Iwasaki at to the committee's negotiations with Mrs. Smith, and of Mr. Smith's attending the 3rd meeting.

In regards to the question of Issei holding office, it was suggested that a petition be filed with Mr. Smith, Mr. Fryer, and Mr. Dillon Meyer. Among the representatives there was a suspicion that such a policy was the result of the Project Director, and not of the WRA in Washington. They claimed that in the Assembly Centers, some promises were made which stated that there would be no distinction between the Issei and Nisei. Q Mr. Miura stated that Mr. Yamamoto arranged that statements were to be mistranslated, thus causing doubt in the minds of the Issei who could not read English. Was that true? A I don't think so. One of the representatives read that part of the regulation, and everyone had the impression that the booklet definitely provided the Issei and Nisei with the same distinction. Mr. Hikida later read the article, and found different interpretations. In the first place, the booklet was for the Nisei,

while secondly, it stated that the Issei could take part in the Relocation Centers, provided it met with the approval of the WRA policies. Thus, Mr. Hikida does not think that Mr. Yamamoto was to blame for the wrong interpretation.

The main discussion of the meeting was the filing of the petition, and it was unanimously decided upon to file it. Also, at that meeting, the committee of 10 be dissolved and a larger committee be ~~xxx~~ formed, because of the fact that at the time of the 4th meeting about 10 new blocks had been added. The 10 also wanted to dissolve in favor of a stronger committee.

How to form the committee was now the question. A suggestion was made that a committee of 20 be formed for future activities, since ~~xx~~ there was no temporary Community Council appointed as yet, and there was a need for an organization to represent the evacuees. It was decided that two men from each block would be candidates, and out of that number, 20 would be chosen as regular committee members.

A few days later, we had a meeting of the two members ~~xxxxx~~ representing each block (about 50 candidates, half of which were Issei) and at that meeting we picked the first 20 as a committee, and the rest who were not chosen, left. The 20 elected their officials; chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, and ~~xx~~ a subdivision of committees (sanitation, community enterprises, community welfare, and the like) and Mr. Hikida acted as chairman again. After the formation and election of the committee, it was decided to have the 20 draw up a petition to be filed in the three aforementioned locations. Ernest Iwasaki and Mr. Hikida worked out the petition. There were two or three committee meetings after that meeting. Mr. Yamamoto and Mr. Ando were also on the committee of 20.

From that time on, Mr. Hikida tried to resign but was not allowed to do so. His wife did not want him to be active in politics which was part of the reason for his trying to withdraw.

Mr. Hikida feels that filing the petition is useless, but if some answer were given, the people might be a little more satisfied. The petition ~~petition~~ was sent to Mr. Dillon Meyer, and since Mr. Smith had already resigned, two copies were given to Mr. Fryer who was at Gila at the time. After the filing of the petition, Mr. Hikida definitely cut his connections with the committee. The petition was signed by about 14 or 15 people, members of the original 20 committee members.

Mr. Fryer came to the 5th meeting as a result of the petition. Mr. Hikida did not attend the meeting. Mr. Jo acted as temporary chairman in his place. Mr. Fryer explained the policies of the WRA in regards to the Issei holding elective office. Then came the question of should they wait for an answer; if the answer did not come, should they dissolve the meetings, or should they stop at that point. Although Mr. Hikida was not active at the time, they came to him for advise. He told them that as long as Mr. Fryer had already explained things clearly, there was no use waiting for an answer, and that they should dissolve the organization and start election of <sup>a</sup>temporary Community Council, giving it their full cooperation. Mr. Yamamoto said that if the Issei were not to be given the privilege of holding office, they should not cooperate with the Administration or the Community Council; he was severely criticized for his statements. The committee disbanded and about a month later a reply came from Washington stating that Issei could not hold office, and explaining why.

Summary: Forty or fifty representatives, or about 75 percent

of the representatives were very sincere in filing the petition. They thought, instead of limiting elective office to the Nisei, if Issei could be given such power, it would be easier for the Nisei to work, because they would not be the target of Issei criticism. It was thought that as long as we were all here together, such distinctions should not be made since it might create a problem within the camp.

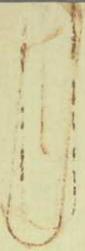
Mr. Yamamoto's activities in the meetings were in most case, nothing more than jealousy of his part towards those who were active in the Tulare Assembly Center, and his dissatisfaction with the contacts of those same people.

Mr. Hikida thinks that the tense atmosphere would have come up at a later date, stating that in the other Relocation Centers' newspapers, the same dissatisfactions ~~show~~ show up, and feels that perhaps it was better for it to come up during the earlier stages of the camp, than at a later date.

The Block Council is still in operation. How does it function in regards to the Community Council? There is no connection between the two, although a Community Council member may attend the Block Council meeting and make a report. If there are any problems to discuss, the reports it to the Community Council. A board, made up of the chairman of each Block Council which will act as an intermediary between Block Council and Community Council, would create a better understanding among the residents of camp.

What are some of the backgrounds of the Community Council? When did it begin to be formulated and under what ~~form~~ conditions was the constitution drafted? A temporary Community Council was elected immediately after the dissolution of the Block Representatives. By whom were the members elected? By the residents of the Block. The Block Council were members elected by each barrack.

The Community Council was elected by petitions and secret ballot, and each Block is represented by one person. This person has to be a Nisei, although the Issei were allowed to vote.



Note:

The following pages were taken from an informal discussion between Mr. Hikida and myself, following up Mr. Hikida's report. It was more or less on a question and answer basis and has been set down as such.

Mr. Hikida read my manuscript on family organization. He had the following emendation to offer: The Kenjin-Kai was a factor in bringing people together in the latter stages of settlement along the Pacific Coast. Originally, in the first stages of immigration, a closer tie was felt by people of the same 'mura'. It was this mura relationship which substituted for the extended families. Individuals from the same town or village banded together and the obligations placed on the extended families in Japan were born by this group, thus in ~~familial~~ funerals, in cases of economic necessity, house building in rural areas, these people of the same mura acted together cooperatively, giving time and money interchangeably for group cooperation. Later as the need for such cooperation became less pronounced, individuals having expressed themselves in different ways and in different professions, the Kenjin-Kai grew up having more of the functions of a social club than of the cooperative organization. Mura relationships were retained by those who had adopted a common profession such as farming, but this died out after the first few years' settlement. It rather happened that the Kenjin-Kai replaced the mura group and with the occurrence the cooperative purpose of the mura group broke down. Kenjin-kai associations existed rather as social clubs, <sup>whose</sup> ~~house~~ cooperative intent was only secondary to the preservation of the sentimental values of such an association. In the early 1920's the Kenjin-Kai was far more active than now. With the formation of the Japanese Association to whom anyone could go for welfare aid, function of the Kenjin-Kai became less pronounced. With the new generation, Kenjin-Kai associations have fallen by the board.

#### MARRIAGE.

In arranging marriages today, the locality or the prefectural association membership is not considered so markedly as in former times.

Such considerations were strong until 1920 or 1925, but there has been a gradual break-down since that time because the Nisei, having been brought in contact with Anglo-American patterns, have taken to choosing their own mates with<sup>out</sup> the investigation on the part of bishaku-nin. Before the formation of social clubs for the Nisei, and before the new generation was sufficiently strong numerically to express itself socially, people from the same ~~Kenjin-kai~~<sup>ken</sup> association were usually obliged by their parents to stay within the Kenjin-kai group in choosing a mate. The position of the Kenjin-kai at this time was that of a number of small restrictive groups in which endogamy was the accepted rule. Such marriages as took place before 1925, were usually arranged by bishaku-nin. In 1925, the first beginnings of Nisei social groups, in the organization which preceded the formation of the JACL, made for greater social contact among the Nisei and increased the desire on the parts of Nisei to choose their own mates. In such cases, bishaku-nin may be retained but their function is purely vestigial. The older people today retain the Japanese idea of patrilocal residence, at least for the eldest son. A good son is expected to bring his bride home to his parents' house. Many young couples, prior to evacuation, attempted to break away from this regimen. Younger sons are free, according to the Japanese pattern, to live away from the family, but are expected to take up residence near it. In many cases in the pre-evacuation days, especially among rural people, this custom was retained and it often happened that an older couple would have two or three sets of married children living with them. The younger people have always consciously or unconsciously attempted to break away from such parental domination. More progressive groups of Nisei did succeed in breaking away from the parents and maintain separate residence. The desire for

privacy in married life is marked among many Nisei, especially those who have been privileged to obtain an American education. Thus in moving from the home to the Assembly Center, and from the Assembly Center to the Relocation Center, many young people thought this an excellent opportunity to break away from the family. In most cases, especially on going to the Relocation Center, they were not successful in doing this because the families were obliged to live together because of the crowded housing conditions. Several cases have come to my and Mr. Hikida's attention which show that <sup>conscious</sup> ~~continuous~~ effort has been made to break away from in-laws, or even from the parents. Issei public opinion is generally against such individuals who are conceived to be flaunting their parents, and openly disobeying the older people and acting out of accord with the established order. The desire on the part of the families to keep the young people together is strong. The Issei generally feel hurt and disappointed when some of the young people choose to live by themselves. The problem of "shuto" (in-laws), is recognized as a difficult problem even in Japan, and has been carried over to an accentuated degree in this country. Many stories and anecdotes are current about the difficulty of getting along with one's in-laws. Japanese mythology is full of tales of this kind, thus family troubles often arise as the result of in-law interference. Such family troubles are usually ascribed by the community to the in-laws, but the bride comes in for her share of the blame. It is said that a good and dutiful wife will go more than half way to meet the demands of her in-laws. In-law pressure on the new bride is recognized by the community, but she too is considered to blame in case of marital difficulties. Oddly enough, the bridegroom is never held blameworthy in cases of domestic strife. Many families, both in Japan and in America, in marrying off their daughter considered

the number of in-laws in the bridegroom's family. This is particularly true of the Relocation Centers where ~~the~~<sup>in</sup> marriage it is usually necessary for the bride to take up residence with the bridegroom's family to accommodate the unsettled housing conditions. Even though partitions have been erected so that individuals may have at least a modicum of privacy, nevertheless, the families are so close together that the in-law problem again becomes more acute than in the pre-evacuation period. In urban Japan today, a young married couple goes to live separately, although they generally choose a house near the groom's parents, thus, the pattern of patrilocal residence is still retained in modern Japan in somewhat modified form. Patrilocal residence which had broken down among the Nisei in the pre-evacuation period, is now, as the result of evacuation, come into force again. Issei pressures are somewhat responsible for these changed conditions. But even in America, where some Nisei managed to live away from their parents after marriage, a passive bride would take into consideration the lack of relatives in her prospective husband's family. Mr. Hikida's ~~xxxxxx~~ wife says of him that she is very happy to be married to a man with no relatives in this country. Mr. Hikida has a brother in the United States, but this man was living in another city. Because Mrs. Hikida has only one sister, also married to a gentlemen in another city, the Hikida's have managed to be independent of any ties of blood, and have managed their own lives and solved their own domestic problems. Respect must be paid to in-laws, but young people are always glad when they are able to avoid the obligations imposed upon them as the result of their marriages. Another consideration in marrying people who do not have many relatives is the fact that a man with relatives is conceived to be poor, since he generally must offer some support to them. Older in-laws must always be appeased. They must be placated with gifts of money. Such appeasement, Mr.

Hikida says, is often pitiful. Even though a man may be well off, he is always obliged to look after his own relatives and those of his wife who may not enjoy the same privileges. <sup>The</sup> \* divorce rate, both in this country and in Japan, is comparatively high. Mr. Hikida blames the in-law problem for this situation. In the Relocation Centers now, marriages are generally entered into on the basis of pre-evacuation associations, thus young people who were engaged prior to evacuation have, in many cases, elected to wait until settlement in the Center before taking the step into married life. Only a few exceptions of this have come to my attention. Recently, a young man whom I know quite well, Masato Inouye, married a girl whom he had met in the Assembly Center of Tulare. The marriage in this case was a Christian one and was performed in the Christian church by a Japanese minister. This marriage had come about as a result of courtship both here, and in Tulare, and the choice of the two individuals was approved by the respective families. In this case, however, the Japanese pattern of bishaku-nin was still followed and go-betweens were selected by each family to represent the principals concerned. The go-betweens arranged the use of the church, the enlisting of the services of the clergyman, and the handling of money pertinent to the ceremony, and the post-wedding celebration. Full dress suits were hired by the groom and groom's men for the occasion. Following the simple Christian ceremony which was conducted in English, a large group of invited friends of both families, including myself and Charlie Kikuchi, attended the reception banquet. Japanese dishes were served at the banquet; in addition to pickles and olives, there were various kinds of o-sushi, pickled daikon, otsukemono, and soda pop. The peculiar dietary mixture of east and west is shown in the presence of sandwiches, soda pop, apples and oranges, served with the Japanese delicacies served above. The Japanese wedding pattern was followed pretty closely in the speeches

which were given before the company was allowed to eat, toasts were drunk with soda pop, and many Issei complained about the lack of "sake". The speeches lasted for about an hour or more, and as nearly as I could judge, all of the friends of the ~~newly~~ newly married couple, Issei and Nisei alike, praised them and their families and would up all saying very much the same thing. The company was not permitted to eat until the speeches were at an end. After the ceremony, the newly married couple were permitted the use of the Honeymoon Cottage in the other camp for one week. At the banquet, a master of ceremonies was appointed, ~~by~~ but the bishaku-nin figured prominently in introducing the speakers, and in leading toasts and the like. The bride and bridegroom were given a place at the head of the table and were flanked on each side by their respective bishaku-nin. The whole wedding pattern chose the curious admixture of eastern and western elements which characterizes so many Nisei marriages. The wedding in this case, was conducted in a lavish scale. All the arrangements in the hiring of clothing for the groom and his men, the purchase of the ring, the food, gifts and the like, was handled by administrative officials on the outside. The Inouye's are rather well to do and were able to afford a rather lavish wedding. Apparently, the agreement was made between the bride and bridegroom's families for joint payment for the ceremony and the celebration banquet. As nearly as can be judged, the following expenses were entailed:

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| 1. Engagement and wedding ring.....   | \$275.00 |
| 2. Hiring of wedding clothes for 5 groom's men and groom.....                       | \$ 30.00 |
| 3. Silks and veils, corsages for the bride and bridesmaids.....                     | \$ 65.00 |
| 4. Payment of mess help.....  | \$ 30.00 |
| 5. Payment of special cook for the making of o-sushi, otsukemono, and sandwiches... | \$ 15.00 |
| 6. Soda Pop (1,000 @ .05).....  | \$ 50.00 |
| 7. Payment for decorations of church and of mess hall.....                          | \$ 10.00 |
| 8. Payment of officiating minister.....   | \$ 25.00 |
| 9. Cost of engraved invitation cards.....   | \$ 22.50 |
| Total.....  | \$522.50 |

There must have been other incidental expenses not mentioned here. This, however, is the general pattern. This is approximately what was spent at the wedding. The information comes from one of the bishaku-nin Mr. Oishi. This is a good example of one of the higher class Christian marriages in the Center. There were about 250 guests present at the wedding. The closer relatives gave gifts of money to the bishaku-nin to help the families defray the costs of the wedding. Everyone invited gave a wedding gift. The traditional Japanese custom also practiced in this country, of the young couples inviting their intimate friends from their own social circle which usually takes place some days after the marriage, was not observed in this case because of the unsettled plans of the young couple with regard to outside employment. In some cases, however, young people's parties have taken place after a formal marriage celebration to which both Issei and Nisei were invited. Returning to Mr. Hikida's discussion, he is correct in stating that most marriages here are the result of pre-evacuation betrothal. Many Issei have tended to discourage their children from forming lasting associations within the Center. The reason for this is, I think, economic. Marriages are discouraged and courtship leading to marriage likewise, because of the unsettled future which the young people will have to face. Many Issei prefer that their children be sure of the plans for the future, and the economic stability offered by resettlement before becoming encumbered with family responsibilities. The normal pattern of behavior in Japan forbids the mixing of the sexes even in social groups before marriage. Socials, dances, and the like, are gaining a slow foothold in modern Japan <sup>but</sup> the general attitude in rural Japan is that young people of opposite sex should not be seen together either in groups or individually. The fact of living in this country has lent some approval to the mixing in of groups of mixed sexes. Christian socials

were a factor which encouraged this, while the Buddhists, in order to retain their hold on the young people, had to emulate the Christians in sponsoring socials. In the same way, the Buddhists, in pre-evacuation times, had to sponsor church services which conformed with the Christian patterns. This is why the Buddhist church services in America differ so markedly from the normal order of services practiced in Japan. The Young Men's and Young Women's Buddhist Associations, were founded in emulation of the YMCA and YWCA, and have a strong Nisei membership not only in the Centers, but also such strength existed in the pre-evacuation days. Church socials, young people's associations, JACL activities, school groups, and other clubs have made ~~their~~ for group mixing and for a social intercourse which, under the sanction of religion or education, met with the approval of the Issei, even though such a pattern was contrary to the Japanese way of doing things with which the Issei were familiar. The first generation has raised no objections to social gatherings of this kind, provided the group is properly chaperoned, but individual associations have, both here and in the pre-evacuation days, called for the strong disapproval from the first generation. Any young woman who associates in public with a young man is regarded by many Issei as immoral. Of course, it is not to be said that this opinion is common to all Issei, or that all Nisei form courtship associations of this kind. Many Issei have broken away from parental domination and are free to carry on such affairs as they choose without parental consent, thus, in the pre-evacuation days, there were many people among the Nisei who "went steady" and who had dates with full parental approval. It is not so much the parents who object to associations of this kind, but rather the Issei, who are not immediately concerned. Individual associations are always ~~x~~ regarded by the gossipy group of Issei as "love affairs".

Most Issei do not recognize platonic friendships, thus in courtship, any association of friendship or intimacy is regarded as a love affair. A Nisei girl who has several boy friends is said to be immoral. The Issei who criticizes her say of her that she is "otemba", a loose woman. When you refer to young girls as otemba, it is implied that they are too vivacious and too socially inclined. Individual courtships which take place in the Center are discouraged even by parents who approve, for fear of gossip. Necking is considered abhorred. Parents want young people at home, and it is the usual desire of the Issei to keep children with them. Even when the younger people are married, the first generation prefers to have children at home, either living with them, or if they do not live with them, to visit with them frequently. This is the direct carrying over of an attitude found in Japan. In order to keep control of the children, the parents like to have marriages arranged in the traditional Japanese manner. In many cases, rural people have been able to retain this pattern of selecting a mate for each child. In the marriage described above, we have seen that even though the young people made their own choice, bishakunin were still employed who had a function in the ceremony. Today, there are two kinds of bishaku-nin. There are: one, those who really arrange the marriage by finding a bride or a groom for a young person, and who are enlisted by that person's family to find the prospective mate and to arrange the marriage with the parents of that individual. They then discharge the functions of taking care of ceremony, banquets, the guests and the like. In this country, Hikida states that such type is very rare. Such bishaku-nin are usually employed by the parents of a girl who is either abnormal, or too old. If a girl wants to get married, and is beyond marriagable age, her parents may employ go-betweens to effect a marriage for her. Similarly, the parents of an abnormal or backward boy may find a wife for him

in this way. Older men widowers who wish to remarry usually employ bishaku-nin to find them another wife. The second type of bishaku-nin <sup>k</sup> is the purely formalized one who functions as agents for the marriage after the choice of the young people have been made, and the betrothal announced. The latter type is most common among the Nisei. When a marriage has been transacted, both kinds of bishaku-nin are responsible for its permanence, and are looked to to settle any disputes which arises as a result of the marriage. In case of divorce, or proposed divorce, the couple involved usually presents the matter to the bishaku-nin for settlement. The sponsor of a marriage remains the sponsor throughout the rest of his life. Nisei generally have their bishaku-nin chosen by their parents. In most Nisei marriages, go-betweens are members of the first generation. I have talked with several Issei friends of mine who have acted as bishaku-nin in various marriages. Mr. Miura has been chosen as bishaku-nin by, he says, 30 families. Recently, a young woman, a waitress in the personnel mess hall went to Mr. Miura saying that she was 26 years old, and that she wanted to get married. She asked Mr. Miura to find her a husband. Mr. Miura kept the matter in mind, and looked about for a husband for her. A Kibei boy came to his attention, who was too shy to have anything to do with girls, expressed the desire to Mr. Miura of wanting a wife. Mr. Miura said that he would introduce him to the girl mentioned above. The boy was so shy, however, that he did not want to meet the girl until he had seen her. Mr. Miura therefore took him one day up to the windows of the Caucasian mess hall. The boy peered in while Mr. Miura went in to talk to the girl. The boy saw the girl and expressed his willingness to meet her. <sup>Accordingly,</sup> ~~When~~ Mr. Miura introduced them, and they started going around together in the presence of Mr. Miura who would call them over to his house in the evenings to tea.

At length the boy got up nerve enough to ask the girl to go to a Buddhist social with him. She went with him, and gradually they became more intimate, going around together to various social functions, and being seen walking together in the cool of the evening. Mr. Miura acted as bishaku-nin in this case without having contacted the parents of either party. It so happens that the Kibel's parents are in Japan, and the girl is an orphan. They, therefore, had direct recourse as individuals to the bishaku-nin. The girl, however, was a Christian, the boy a Buddhist. She attempted to take him around to Christian young people's socials, but he did not wish to go. She, accordingly, went to several socials alone. He followed her and watched her through the windows. He saw that she laughed and talked with other boys, and he decided that she was too much of an otemba for him. He therefore, gave up seeing her and is still looking for another and ore suitable wife. The girl also has not found another boy to replace him and still wishes to get married.

There has been a change in the accepted marriag<sup>e</sup>able age from Japan to this country. In rural and urban Japan, both, a boy is regarded of marriagable age between 20 and 25. It is thought that a girl should get married between 17 and 20. The marriageable age bracket have been somewhat raised in this country and it is thought that a boy should marry between 25 and 30, a girl between 20 and 24. In the more backward parts of rural Japan, marriage is usually younger. Some girls being married at 15 and some boys being married before conscription at the age of 20.

#### FORMALITIES:

Mr. Hikida had some statements to make regarding my discription of attitudes at parting, leaving the house temporarily, politeness of usage and the like. I mention in my manuscript that a man on leaving the house will announce to his wife simply "I am going out". This is

a mere formality similar somewhat to our English statement of "I'll be back shortly". On returning, the person is expected to say "I have returned". Children, on leaving the house, follow ~~the~~ this pattern also of saying, "I'm going out", usually, however, a child will state where he is going and for what purpose. He is expected to do this and trained to do this from infancy. It is regarded as the height of impoliteness to leave a house without first making such a statement to every elder member of the family. A child, on going to school in the morning, pays respect to both father and mother, and states that he is going to school. On returning, he is expected to come directly home, announcing that school is over, after which time he is permitted to go about and play or do whatever is expected of him. Such, however, is followed very closely in the Centers, especially since some concern is expressed by parents over the way children spend their leisure time, how they go to school, and the like. Formalized weepings at parting is common. Japanese mythology has much to do with the fact that parting is cause for great unhappiness. The instances mentioned in the Tales of the Genji, on the Prince's weeping when he departs for his native village, is a good example of this practice shown to be formalized as early as the 10th Century. Japanese philosophers explained such action by saying that Japan is an island, and that the people live close together, any parting, therefore, is cause for insecurity. Not only does it imply crossing water, that is, leaving Japan, but it implies that as the result of this person's going there will be a definite gap in the family group. Communal cooperation supplies a function for every member of a given group. When a member departs, there is a definite gap in the scheme of life. Thus, parting is to be avoided. This parting takes on a sentimental character too. In Japan, Mr. Hikida mentioned, that as a boy at school, the whole class would weep at the end of the semester before going on to a new teacher. When a teacher was transferred to

another school, as sometimes happens, the whole class would weep loudly for most of the last days in which the teacher was there. In this country, there was a break-up in the Stockton Assembly Center. When the group was thus broken up, those who were leaving for Turlock stood aside and all of the Issei present wept vociferously. Mr. Hikida says that in such cases, there is much sadness, not only is the sadness formalized and its expression necessary, but the sentimental feeling of parting is so engineered that it is difficult to refrain from weeping. In the internment camp at Missoula, Montana where Mr. Hikida was interned, a group was sent to an Oklahoma Internment Camp. The entire Japanese population of the camp turned out to see them go. There was vociferous weeping on the part of the grown men who left, and on the part of the men who remained. It was said that they were leaving a gap that could not be filled. Mr. Hikida was mayor of the Missoula Internment Camp. When he left after his parole, he was glad to return, to see his family, but he wept on leaving the people with whom he had worked with for four months. This, he says, is a genuine expression of feeling directly from the heart. Japan today is thus bound by ties of proximity and the sentimental fervor which one individual can work up for his group, and for his home land is extremely strong, strong enough to call forth feelings of patriotic loyalty. This loyalty is not directed to the imperial or to the country at large, but is a sincere expression of feeling on the part of the individual for his own group and for the people with whom he has lived. This, he says, is the basis of what has been called the Japanese patriotic fanaticism. In spite of the troubles in this community, the Issei at least, are bound by the same ~~type~~ ties of proximity and the feeling for national consanguinity. It is the decline of this feeling in the second generation which makes so many Issei ~~heartily~~ heartily resentful of them and causes the disruptions and

conflict in the community which took place recently as in the Tada case. Individual Nisei are incapable of this feeling of solidarity and propinquity. When this feeling is broken down, says Mr. Hikida, group solidarity breaks down as well.

I.  
Addenda to the History of Immigration written by Mr. Hikida.

On page 4, he discusses the origin of the Kenjin-kai, and the Nihonjinkai, and one or two specific examples of such formations may be given.

George Shima, of the Stockton Delta area, built himself up a business in potatoes and other crops, and earned for himself the title "Potato King". Shima came from Fukuoka-ken, and attracted to himself, because of the prestige which he had acquired, a number of individuals from the same locality in Japan. The Stockton delta areas, around which Shima centered his business, became a haven for Japanese from Fukuoka, and it was in this area that the Fukuoka Kenjin-kai had its' stronghold. Similarly, the grape industry was sponsored in the Fresno area by a number of individuals from Hiroshima-ken, a fact that attracted a number of people from that same prefecture, who were to be found there prior to the evacuation.

In this pioneer phase in California, it was possible for aliens to purchase land. On the whole, lands were bought by individuals, although occasionally partnerships of two and three existed. It was common in this period for individuals to work as domestics, laborers and the like, until they had amassed sufficient capital to purchase small plots of workable land. Loans were often floated through the formation of the well-known Tanomoshi-ko.

The beginnings of Kenjin-kais took place between 1910 and 1915. After 1915, and around 1920 the Japanese communities were being ~~welded~~ welded together more firmly, and emerged as established units. During this 1915-1920 period, the Nihonjinkai developed directly, says Mr. Hikida, out of Kenjin-kai establishments. In other words, prefectural associations contributed time, effort, and money towards the formation of the Japanese Associations of America; an organization designed to promote the welfare of the early immigrants, and to act

as intermediary with them and state and local governments. Of the Nihonjinkai, 90-95 percent of the membership were aliens. The remaining 5% drawing its membership from the older ~~Iessei~~ Nisei, usually of Hawaiian antecedent. Between 1915 and 1925, there really were no Nisei, and after 1925 the beginnings of the JACL came into existence. The Japanese American Loyalty League was founded in San Francisco, between 1924 and 1925, under the auspices of the Japanese Association. This formed the first nucleus of the JACL, which was later chartered and constitutionalized as a formal organization. Mr. Hikida says "this much is owed by the Nisei to the Japanese Association of America, because it was under the direction of this latter organization that the JACL was formed." The Japanese Association acted in conjunction with the Japanese Consulate of San Francisco, Seattle, and Los Angeles.

Births, marriages, and deaths recorded with the Japanese Association were frequently turned over to the Consulate for the records in Japan. In recent years, of course, this has given rise to the creation of dual citizenship for some Nisei, and consequently opposition to the Japanese Association. The relation between the Association and the Consulate has always been marked, in fact, one of the reasons for which the Association was formed was to serve in a "go-between" capacity <sup>the</sup> between immigrants and Japanese National Consulate. The common American impression that the Japanese Association was formed by agencies from Japan is erroneous. ~~x~~ It was, rather, the Association which sought out the Consulate as a link to the mother country. Parenthetically, it might be mentioned here, that Mr. Hikida represented the Japanese Association of San Francisco as Executive Secretary.

In an October meeting of 1941 in Oakland, Mr. Hikida and Mr. Hashizumi, the Consulate General, were asked to speak. Mr. Hashizumi

spoke on the Japanese war effort in China, and the desirability of the Japanese in this country for contributing to the Japanese War effort toward Nimambukuro ("bundles for Japan") Hikida then spoke on the necessity of the Japanese buying Defense Bonds. Mr. Hashizumi severely criticized Mr. Hikida for his stand, but Mr. Hikida pointed out that the Japanese Association, being purely American, should condone and recommend actions of this kind by the United States.

On page 5, mention is made that one of the first actions taken by the Japanese Association was that of a formal stand against importation of the "Picture Brides". Many Caucasian groups in the United States devoted marked effort toward censure of the picture bride situation, stating it to be immoral. In order to cement more amicable relations with Caucasians, the Association passed a resolution to abolish the picture bride movement, and to cease relations with the Japanese Consulate directed towards picture brides. Although this step met with considerable opposition on the parts of single men in Japanese communities, who had hoped to obtain wives in this manner, the Association was firm in its stand.

Mr. Hikida mentions that many who came to America did so with the idea of amassing a certain amount of money, and then return to the mother country. Many of those who did return found that conditions had so changed in Japan, that they no longer wished to live there. The results were that most of those who returned, drifted back to America after a short stay. The majority of Japanese immigrants regardless of intent, did stay in America. It is true that those who returned to Japan were accorded considerable prestige and were regarded as rich men. The term ~~Amerikan~~ Kairi has been applied to them in Japan.

On page 8 of Mr. Hikida's manuscript, discussion of the Yobi-Yose, the group as listed here, is well defined by Mr. Hikida. Ensuing conversation elicited the following. Mr. Hikida mentions that many of the Yobi-Yose on their arrival in America, did not take up residence with their immediate relatives, but rather because of their education and background, sought to ~~eliminate~~ <sup>assimilate</sup> to some degree western culture and customs, and to learn the English language. For this reason, many of the Yobi-Yose were content to take jobs of a domestic nature, positions considerably below the social status which they had occupied in the mother country. Some of them, on arrival in America, stayed in various Christian missions along the Pacific Coast, in order to learn English. Many of them, in fact, were converted to Christianity through the efforts of these missions. The mission people also found employment for the members of the Yobi-Yose group.

Mr. Hikida, speaking of his own experience, mentions the fact that a position was found for him in an American family. He did not take up residence with his family (his father and mother came to America when he was one year old) rather, he lived near them and took up residence with Caucasians. He worked for several years as a domestic, during which time he attended High School. Following his graduation from High School, he was then somewhere's in his twenties, he chose to enter the University of California, supporting himself by further menial work. His case is rather typical of the Yobi-Yose class.

It is apparent that the Yobi-Yose are regarded as leaders in the community today, and that it is not they, but rather the pioneer Issei who are thrown into contact and conflict with the greater portion of Nisei. In many regards the Yobi-Yose act as intermediary between Nisei and members of the first generation. In answer to the

question ~~of~~ what of the relations between Yobi-Yose and Kibei Nisei, Mr. Hikida replied that in the main, contact between the two groups has been avoided. The return of Kibei Nisei to America in any large number is a recent development. The result has been that there are few Yobi-Yose in this country who have sent their children to Japan for education, because this group is in the main, younger. The children of such ~~the~~ antecedents are either now in Japan, or have not, as yet, been sent. On the whole, however, the Yobi-Yose group tends to discourage the Nisei generation from returning to Japan for education. It is rather that this group appreciates the value of the adoption of American ways, and those who must spend their lives in America have encouraged in their children American ideals of education. It may possibly be that when the Kibei Nisei are older and better defined as a group, they will take a stand either in accord or in opposition to the Yobi-Yose. The two have a similar cultural background, it is true, but the values of each group are at variance.

II. Q What about the petition in regards to the Issei holding office?

A. A meeting was held, and a petition was gotten under way. The first meeting was held towards the end of August, around the 27th. The first meeting was not well represented. The chairman decided to make it a more informal discussion. At that meeting, they decided to call a formal meeting up with both representatives, Issei and Nisei, ~~xxx~~ from every block. (At that time, there were about 20 blocks in the Butte camp.)

A formal meeting was held early in September, and continued for a period of a month, at which time the meeting was disbanded. This meeting was not under the Block Council, or the Community Council. Two Issei and two Nisei from each block were to attend the meeting, and there was a fairly good representation. The results of the meeting was the petition requesting office-holding by the Issei.

Q What has been the result of the petition? A. A copy was sent to Mr. Smith, the Project Director, Mr. Dillon Meyer, and Mr. Fryer. Around the middle of October a reply was sent from Washington; a copy of which Mr. Hikida will endeavor to secure.

Q Do you think that the general mass of public opinion/<sup>is</sup> directed toward the Issei being allowed to hold active office? What part do the Nisei play?

A. It is hard to say, says Mr. Hikida. In the Assembly Centers, the Councilmen who were Nisei had a lot of difficulty, because of such feeling by the Issei, who felt that they, too, should be allowed to hold office.

Q What stand do the Kibei Nisei take? A. They take a somewhat similar attitude as the Issei.

Q. What would be the general concensus in regard to cotton picking? What is your impression of the community's stand on outside employment?

A. Mr. Hikida thinks that generally the Issei thought it a good opportunity being presented to the evacuees, particularly to the younger people. They welcomed the opportunity because they thought it good for the future as well as ~~the~~ <sup>for</sup> economic reasons.

Q. Have you heard anything about the Government taking part of the earnings earned within the camp?

A. When the ~~Block~~ <sup>Community</sup> Council referred the matter over to the Block Council; each Block Council in turn had a meeting the other night. One chairman states that the WRA, in regards to allowing private industry into the camp, is trying to arrange that those who work in private industries will receive normal wages of the outside. Each worker will not be allowed to keep this wage, as some arrangement will be made so that the money can be deposited in the community fund. This fund would be devoted to the welfare of the community; to be used for recreational equipment and other needed articles. A co-operative started in the community will allow each individual to share in the community.

Q. Do you think public opinion will be in favor of that rather than allowing the money to revert to the community fund?

A. It is kind of hard to say, because people are not aware of the ~~exisix~~ possibilities of the co-operative. There is the opinion that the profits of the co-operative should be set aside as community fund, and used for the general welfare of the community. On the other hand, there are some who express the opinion that those people are not concerned about the distribution of the profits because nothing has been started in Gila.

Q. How do you think the community as a whole will take to the

idea of having their money taken by the <sup>community</sup> government? **A.** The Block Council does not endorse this, because they feel that it creates a problem. The workers will not ~~feel~~ be willing to sacrifice part of their earnings. There are those individuals who will be unable to accept private employment, and should one person make a lot of money, jealousies will arise. There is already a feeling such as that. The feeling that exists about the cotton ~~mixing~~ pickers is that they work awfully hard, and that they really deserve such remuneration. Besides, those who go are not such a large number.

**Q** It has been proposed that a dehydrating plant be started and the workers be paid the regular outside wages. Do you think there will be opposition? **A.** I have not observed anything as yet.

There is definite opposition to private industry because it will create an unequal wage scale. That is the general opinion of the Block Council.

### III. EDUCATION.

**Q** What is the general opinion of the parents in the community regarding the teaching staff here for the elementary and High School? **A.** It is very unfortunate that such feeling exists among certain parents, but they think that teachers should be Caucasians. This opinion that Caucasian teachers are a more superior group has been already formed. The children also share this opinion. The parents do not know if the educational staff is adequate, but are satisfied that there are Caucasian teachers on the staff. (The Caucasian teachers seem to think that the Japanese make good teachers, in fact some think they are better.)

**Q** Do you think that the parents feel that the Caucasians can bring a more cultural understanding to the children? **A.** To a certain extent. They feel that the Japanese teachers are not well trained enough to teach their children. (The parents expect the children

to do very well in school, but when the application is being made in camp, they do not feel that they are up to a certain standard.

Many of those who applied for repatriation stated that the educational system was partly due. This was stated by those families ~~where~~ where the children are rather young. When they are of the ages between 15 and 25, there is no concern about the educational system.

Q Do you think that they are worried for the post-evacuation period? A. They are confused about the future. They do not know what the future holds for them or their children.

Q The need for a Junior College or an extension course is felt by the parents as well as the children. Does the fear exist that those children will lost their interest in education, and when they go on the outside they will cease to continue their education? A. Yes.

#### IV. THE KIBEI ORGANIZATION.

Q How often do they meet? A. Practically every week.

Q Is it primarily social? A. Yes.

Q. Do they conduct their meeting in Japanese? A. Yes. (They meet at the Buddhist church).

[ Mr. Hikida believes that whoever the leader of the organization is, should be very careful because sometimes that organization can really do a lot of good for the members, and the community; and on the other hand it may be bad in other ways. The danger lies in that the Kibei might try to segregate themselves from the rest of the young people. To off-set this, they have stated that some interclub activities will take place, such as with the J.A.C.L. Mr. Hikida will elaborate more on the Kibei-Nisei problem. ]

#### V. TOPIC OF THE DAY.

The postwar resettlement is the foremost topic for discussion.

Q What has been the result about the closing of Warehouses to the evacuees? A There has been the rumor that we will not be allowed to re-enter California. The Issei feel that the WRA is responsible.

#### VI DISCUSSION OF A WEDDING CEREMONY.

Q Do you know the principals involved? A Mr. Hikida says that the bride and groom were residents of the same block. The groom was the son of the Block Manager. The father asked Mr. Hikida to what extent he should invite the people in the block. Since he was a Block Manager, should he invite one person from each apartment? Mr. Hikida advised him to keep the wedding as simple as possible. As to inviting the Block Councilmen, since the father has daily contact with them, if he felt he should, there was no objection to that. The father invited the councilmen and about 14 people in the block, besides a few intimate friends and the respective relatives. There were about 40 or 45 who attended the wedding.

Q Are the guests required to give wedding gifts? A Yes, it is the custom, usually in the form of money. In this particular case, the Block Councilmen who were invited put up One dollar each in a lump sum. Q How is the gift given? A In an envelope and presented before the wedding, to the father of the groom. Q What does he do with it? A Is it used to defray the cost of the wedding or does he give it to the young couple. In pre-evacuation circumstances this money was always applied to defray the expenses of the wedding, but Mr. Hikida did not know what was done with it in the camp wedding.

Q It is the custom of the young couple in Japan to hold open house to which they invite the wedding guests, at which time

they acknowledge the gifts. Is there any parallel here? **A.** That is eliminated in America. The acknowledgement is made at the time of the wedding reception. An elaborate wedding reception is given, and this is the way thanks are expressed. On the outside, before evacuation, little packages ~~xxx~~ <sup>were</sup> given, in which Japanese cookies, baked fish, cakes, and oranges were put for the guests to take home. The significance of the fish was that Carp (which is the kind of fish used) usually goes upstream, never down, which should be parallel to the young couples' life of going forward to attain their goal. The fish is also regarded as a very active thing, which means that the young people too will have an active and successful life together. This is done mostly in Buddhist ceremonies. On the other hand, in a sad ceremony, such as deaths, no fish or animal of any kind is brought forth.

The Buddhist priest is given a gift in the form of money, generally around ten dollars. In the case of prosperous families, a larger amount is given. The wedding discussed occurred around the fourth of October.

**Q** Do you know how the wedding was arranged in regards to the Bai-shakunin? How many were there? **A.** Two couples. **Q** What procedure is followed here in ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> case of such weddings? Do the Bai-shakunin come for the bride or groom? How do they meet? **A.** On the outside, it depended upon who takes the initiative. By this Mr. Hikida means that it depended on whether the bride's parents, or the the groom's felt that their son, or daughter, should get married. A meeting is arranged for the young people, but in the case mentioned by Mr. Hikida in his report, the young people lived in the same city, and knew each other previous to the Bai-shakunin arrangements.

Q What is the procedure in church? <sup>in this case</sup> A. Very simple; when the time came for the ceremony to start, a close friend of the bride, or groom's families acted as a sort of Master of Ceremonies. He stood in the front part of the church, and called the bride and groom forward, who stepped forward, followed by the Buddhist priest. The priest read ~~a sort of bible~~ <sup>Buddhist sutras</sup>, and then went through other formalities. The priest stood near the altar, facing them. Q Is there an exchange of vows? A. Yes, it is somewhat similar to Christian weddings. The spectators were asked to stand twice during the ceremony, once upon the entrance of the bridal party, and again on their departure. The Bai-shakunin stand in the first row. The bride was in western attire, and there was a ring given her, indicating the western trend.

The same guests who attend the wedding also attend the reception. The ~~man~~ who acted as Master of Ceremonies at the wedding, once more heads the wedding reception. He introduces the young couple, the Bai-shakunin, and the relatives. Speeches were given by friends who gave advice to the bride and groom. Refreshments consisted of soda water, cake, jello, and baked chicken Japanese style. There was also a variety of o-sushi, which is various kinds of rice patties decorated with raw fish, vegetables, and sea-weed. (Sake would also have been served in pre-evacuation days). The reception lasted about two hours, and was given in one of the mess halls. Following the wedding, the bride and groom went to live with the groom's father. (The mother was deceased)

VII. THE LACK OF INTEREST ON THE PART OF THE NISEI IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

Mr. Hikida has covered the subject pretty well, and so this subject does not require much of any elaboration.

Q What about the lack of initiative on the part of the Nisei? Does it come as a result of unsettled conditions in the Center?

A The Japanese community on the whole is in such a condition that the Issei usually have controlled the affairs, and the Nisei feel that it is useless to go to the various meetings. The Issei do not feel that the Nisei are capable enough, and consequently they do not consider the suggestions or opinions of the young people.

#### VIII. RUMORS.

Q What about the rumors of Nisei leaders being beaten up? There was no truth in the matter at all, but the story spread quite quickly and was partially believed to be true. Mr. Hikida feels that some of these such rumors are the reason that Nisei do not wish to be too active in political and community affairs.

#### IX. ON THE FARM SITUATION.

Q The Nisei are not particularly interested in farming. Is it true that the population is predominantly rural, and that their background is rural? <sup>here</sup> A. Yes, and the reason for the lack of interest on the part of the children to follow their parents footsteps, is caused by the low standards of living set by the Issei, and the labor conditions under which they worked. Mr. Hikida feels that if parents wish their children to follow in their footsteps, that they should change their standard of living, since their children were educated in this country and know more about modern farming ways, and better living conditions. How many individuals are now employed on the farm? In the beginning, there were around 300 or more, but now there is a decided increase.

X. Family Life.

Many children simply use their homes as sleeping quarters. The family is gradually breaking down as a result of these unsettled house conditions. In spite of advise by parents and pressure to the contrary, the young boys, particularly, go out and form gangs. (Mr. Hikida speaks of a certain case in which the father passed away, and the mother is ill in the hospital.) The oldest child in the family is about 25, right down to a boy about 12. There are two girls around the ages of 15 and 17. The place seems to be a meeting place for boys around 16 or 17.) Q Would you say that such a situation existed in the pre-evactation period? A No, not so very much. Q Did you, when you were working in the Japanese quarters note any? A No, probably because of the location of the residents. They were scattered in different areas of the city, and not many have come to my attention. Mr. Hikida feels that if there had been any such situations, it would have come to his attention.

I have heard of a number of gangs in the community, not only of young boys, but of young men. One of them is called the Hawaiian Sailors. Q Have you heard of any? A Mr. Hikida says he has not heard of many, but will try to find out more about them.

Mr. Hikida says that there is a need for such families without a responsible person to advise them, to be taken care of in some way. Many of the young men spend their time playing cards, and Mr. Hikida feels that there may be other families with the same situation, who would appreciate guidance for these young people. In the adjustment of these children, the attention of the parent is still lacking. Issei tend to be critical of other Nisei, but do not dicipline their own children as they should. If parents were more attentive and watchful, there would not be that tendency for young boys and young men to form groups.

XI. Outside Employment. Inasmuch as we have already touched this subject in a previous discussion, there is no need for further discussion at this time.

XII. Mental Attitudes of the Evacuees.

Q What is the general opinion, in your experiences, on the wages that is being paid under the WRA regulations? That is, the 12, 16 and 19 dollars a month wages. A On the whole, the people think it is too small. We have people working for the monetary returns, and those interested in the welfare of the community. The first group usually finds himself a job in a mess hall in such capacities as dishwashers, assistant cooks, waitresses, servers, etc., because such work is not too hard, and pays the same as other jobs. Q Would those such people be interested in outside employment? A In Mr. Hikida's opinion, such opportunities would be welcomed, as it is a chance to earn more money.

Q Everyone in the community is allowed around \$3.50 a month for clothing. If a person who works at the 16 dollar a month job, who has a family, receives clothing from this arrangement; would he still feel that he was not getting sufficient remuneration? A Clothing allowances may lessen the dissatisfaction of the small wages, but they still think they should get around \$50.00 a month for the work they do. Q Why this desire for spending money? And what would they expect to do with it? A The growing concern of the people in general is the post-war situation. If more money is made, the people will have something to put aside for the future. What are we going to do when the war is over, and we have to start over again, is the main worry of the people. They think that the 16 or 19 dollars they receive for their work, is not enough for the future. Q There are, of course, those members of the community who gamble, who ~~who~~ spend their money in the stores for various things. What do you think the effect would be on such people? A Mr. Hikida thinks that if these people had

more money, they would still spend it on the same things, or gamble it away.

To show to what extent this worry about the future has entered the minds of the people, Mr. Hikida says that he has a friend who is the assistant manager of one of the stores in the Camp. This friend says that he does his best to discourage needless purchases, and tries to advise his customers to buy only what is needed and not spend their money on luxuries; ~~but~~ trying, by this method, to encourage the residents to save their money for future uses.

As to the employment situation, Mr. Hikida points out that although he mentioned only two groups of workers; those, interested only in the pay, and those working towards the welfare of the community; there is another group besides these two. This group is a rather small number; those people who try to find employment by which they may gain experience, to be used in the postwar period. Mr. Hikida feels that the latter two groups should predominate the community, as a predominant number of the first group would add to the degeneration of the group.

Q What about the people who do not work? A Some feel that they were brought here against their ~~we~~ will, and therefore, do not have to work. Others do not work as they are unable to, due to the fact that they are sick, or aged. They, of course, will have to become welfare cases.

Q Do you know of any case where individuals have refused to work?  
A They do not exactly refuse to work, but they are indifferent. Q How do these people pass the time? A In the cases of men around 50-55 years of age, they can spend their leisure time fixing their apartments, going up the mountains looking for various garden decorations, or by going to friends' houses to play cards.

We come now to the recreational problem of the Issei. Those who are unable to work have a great deal of time on their hands, and some provision must be made to take care of them. The beautifying of their homes is more or less complete, their garden are finished, and in time, playing cards will begin to bore them; thus, some kind of recreation should be set up. One of the difficulties for the Issei recreation, is to arouse the interest in certain types of recreation. They have been hard working people with no recreation of any sort, and they do not care so much for it. It creates a problem when people are thrown into a situation where they have a great deal of leisure time. Mr. Hikida feels that some type of work should be set up for these people, as they have practically no other interests other than work. Since Mr. Hikida wrote the report, he has come across people who are tired of their leisure time, and who wish to work. They feel that they have had too much vacation, and wish to get started on something again.

#### XIII. COMPARATIVE AND COMPETITIVE VIEWS OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES.

Q Do people in camp 1 feel that the people in camp 2 are getting more advantages because the administration and Civic Center is located here? A Yes, they feel that because this camp is larger they are being left out, and many people wish to move to camp 2. Have you heard any opinions expressed as to why two camps were put up on the project? No, but I myself felt it was because of some unavoidable circumstances in connection with the farm.

What about the rumor of the man who was stabbed as a result of a gambling game? It happened in the Canal camp, but the rumor went out that it happened in Butte. This competition you mention comes out in the recreational set-up. Since the Canal camp has a better recreational program set up, the people in Butte camp will ~~xx~~ probably demand a similar, if not better, program than that of the Canal camp. As far as rumors go, about a month ago, a rumor spread in the Butte camp, that Typhoid Fever was spreading in the Canal camp,

whereupon another rumor started that there was a ~~fine~~ flu epidemic in the Butte camp. (This was the result of Valley Fever, which was brought in by residents of the Tulare Assembly Center. The Typhoid Fever rumor was supposedly started as a result of death to an old man who was sick with a **similar illness**.)

Q Have you heard the rumors that another camp was to be built?

A No, but this rumor may have started from the fact that Poston has three separate camps, or may be due to the small hill that separates part of camp 2. The other side is considered by a few residents as being camp 3.

Q Is it desirable to live in any certain section of camp? A Yes, it is thought that the section near the administration, post office, and hospital is a desirable arrangement. The edge of camp, and the other side of the camp is not so desirable.

Note:

The following pages were taken from an informal discussion between Mr. Hikida and myself, following up Mr. Hikida's report. It was more or less on a question and answer basis and has been set down as such.