

DOCUMENT TL-35

THE NAKANISHI FAMILY

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Sources of Information:

1. Case record on the Nakanishi family in the files of the Social Welfare Department in Tule Lake. Permission to use this data was granted by supervisor Miss Naoko Hoshino. Record face sheet included in Appendix I.
2. Brief discussion with Mr. Obayashi, case worker, who made one home call in the latter part of the case.
3. Individual Record Forms, WRA-26, for both Mr. and Mrs. Nakanishi. This data was made available through the cooperation of Miss Dorothy Montgomery of Social Welfare and Miss Hannah Uyeno of Housing Department.

Evacuation and Resettlement Study
The Evacuee Family in Tule Lake
Tule Lake Project
Shibutani, 3/23/43

THE NAKANISHI FAMILY

1. Introduction

The Nakanishi family consists of Mr. Saimatsu Nakanishi (44), his wife Masano (38), and their three children--Bob (17), Ida (15) and Jun (9). The family is from Sacramento, where Mr. Nakanishi operated a grocery store.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Nakanishi are young Issei; both were educated in Japan. Mr. Nakanishi can understand English, but his wife cannot. The children are bilingual; they speak to their parents in Japanese and to each other in English. The family is Christian.¹

The status of the Nakanishi in the Japanese community in Sacramento is not clear. A retain grocer may or may not have high status in a Japanese community, depending upon his personal traits.² In all probability, he enjoyed a much higher status in the social structure than did the common migratory laborer and did not have a position as respected as a professional man.

2. The Individuals in the Family

Saimatsu Nakanishi

Saimatsu "Sam"³ Nakanishi was born on July 15, 1899, in Nakagishi, Waka-

1. WRA-26 and CWD files. Family composition from Housing Department.

2. The "leaders" of the Japanese community were of many varieties. On the one hand, there were the truly educated men, the "elders" who rarely expressed their views in public but who were often consulted before an important decision. On the other hand, there were the yushika who wished to be the community leaders and took the initiative in the community. Almost anyone in the Japanese community in America could be a yushika. The yushika usually had the traits of

yama ken, Japan, where his father was a farmer. He attended the Nakagishi grammar school in Wakayama ken from April, 1906, to March, 1913. Soon afterwards his family migrated to America. Saimatsu came to the United States with his parents in June, 1913, when he was 14 years of age.

His father settled in Sacramento where he operated a truck farm. Young Saimatsu attended the Lincoln Grammar School in Sacramento from September, 1913, to June, 1918. He experienced some difficulty because he was in his adolescence and had to attend school with children. He managed to finish five years, however, and learned enough English to carry him onward from that point.

Following this he helped his father on his farm. He handled the marketing because he knew enough English for the negotiations whereas his father did not. He worked there until in 1924, just before the Oriental Exclusion Act went into effect, his parents arranged for a marriage with a girl in the same ken in Japan. Saimatsu married at the age of 25.

On the following year, he visited Japan briefly from April to July, 1925. Immediately after his return to the United States, he continued to work for his father. However in July, 1927, he decided to strike out on his own. He started an orchard in Perkins, California. There he remained with his wife and children until October, 1933, when he moved to Sacramento where he opened a grocery store. He continued to operate his grocery store until the time of evacuation.

Saimatsu is 5'1" tall and weighs 135 pounds. He is diabetic and has weak eyes. He can read, write, and speak both Japanese and English. His hobbies are fishing, goh, shogi, and music. His religion is Methodist.⁴

a parvenue. They tried to show off. They engaged in "conspicuous consumption" to have things to symbolize their "higher" status in society. The term yushika actually means "Community minded", but the Japanese in America use it in a derogatory sense to refer to the social climbers.

It is said that Nakanishi was a yushika, but there is no proof of this.

3. Names such as "Sam" and "George" were given by Caucasian customers and the Japanese proudly kept them. They were probably applied in much the same manner as when a Negro is referred to as "boy" but the names remained with the person as his "America name" or "America namae".

Masano Nakanishi

Masano Yano was born on February 18, 1904, in Tsukatsuki mura, Wakayama ken, Japan, where her father was a farmer. She attended the Tsukatsuki grammar school in Wakayama ken from April, 1911 to March, 1917. After finishing grammar school, she stayed with her parents until 1924, when she went as a "picture bride" to marry Saimatsu Nakanishi in America. She was 20 years of age at the time. She was considered a "good" bride because she had had training at the Tsukatsuki Sewing school and at Mrs. Tanaka's (private) sewing school in Wakayama.⁵ She had been "trained" for two years.

After her arrival in California, she went with her husband to work in the fields. She had her first child soon after her marriage, but she continued to help her husband. When he moved into Sacramento to operate his grocery store, she did housework and helped her husband tend the store.

Mrs. Nakanishi is 5'2" tall and weighs 120 pounds. She has weak eyes and wears glasses. She can read, write, and speak Japanese but has little understanding of English other than the terminology common in grocery stores. Her hobby is still sewing. Her religion is Methodist.⁶

3. History of the Family

It was sometime in 1936 that Mr. Nakanishi's interests began to wander from his family. He began to hold rendezvous with another woman, at first only now and then and gradually as he became more infatuated for long periods of time. He would leave the grocery store in the care of his wife and children

4. WRA-26

5. Marriage to the Japanese is more a "business proposition". Naturally any skill that the bride can bring was a bargaining point for the baishakunin. See J.F. Embree, Suyemura, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1939.

6. WRA-26

and virtually "live" with the "other woman." At first his wife complained bitterly but her pleas were of no avail. Finally she gave up home and continued to stay with him "for the sake of the children."⁷

By the time of evacuation, when the oldest child was 17, the relations between the two became very strained. They talked the matter over and decided to take steps toward some sort of agreement. They sold the grocery store just before the evacuation and divided the proceeds fifty-fifty.⁸ On May 14, 1942, the family evacuated to the Walerga Assembly Center.

Mrs. Nakanishi did not wish to split the family. She thought that upon evacuation her husband would change his ways and would look after his family. She therefore stayed with him. On June 18, they were transferred to the Tule Lake Project.

In Tule Lake, the Nakanishi family was assigned to room 3015-A, in the middle of the Sacramento area in Ward III. In Tule Lake, where there were more opportunities for Mr. Nakanishi to see the "other woman" than in the Assembly Center, the family situation became worse. He continually neglected his family and stayed with his mistress all the time. When Mrs. Nakanishi protested to him, he beat her and used abusive language before the children.

One morning, early in August, he went home at 5:00 a.m. in the morning and demanded that his breakfast be brought to him. This led to a violent quarrel, and Mrs. Nakanishi brought the matter to the Social Welfare Department. She stated that for the sake of the children she wanted to get a divorce. The Social Welfare Department was not yet organized at the time and the matter was simply referred to the Legal Aid Department where Mr. Tsukamoto was consulted. No immediate action was taken by either department since the W.R.A. procedures

7. Testimony of Mrs. Nakanishi on August 17, 1942. The story is all one-sided since Mr. Nakanishi was not contacted at the time. It is quite possible that there are some discrepancies and that the husband's story might reveal a great deal. Furthermore, the recording is done in terrible English. CWD files.

8. It seems that by this time the family "we" attitude had become more individualized.

on such matters was not yet set. The case was allowed to drift along until December. At this time, when the Social Welfare Department was reorganized, a case worker was sent to call on the Nakanishis. Mrs. Nakanishi told the worker at this time that her domestic troubles had been settled. It seems that some intermediaries had stepped in and settled the matter for them.⁹

4. Tentative Conclusions

Unfortunately, we have here only one side of the story. No doubt Mr. Nakanishi's story would have thrown much light on the actual situation. Assuming that Mrs. Nakanishi's story had some element of truth in it, the story that she tells is not unbelievable. The type of relationship that she claims existed between her husband and the "other woman" was not uncommon among the Japanese in America.¹⁰ There may have been any number of reasons why he found his family life unsatisfying and sought pleasure elsewhere.¹¹

It is also conceivable that Mr. Nakanishi's behavior became "worse" after his arrival in Tule Lake. In a situation where the government provides for all his legal responsibilities, where he does not have to work, he would have considerable opportunities for philandering. Unlike Walerga, Tule Lake is a large center where his activities would not be quite so noticeable.

9. Home call was made by Mr. Obayashi on December 28, 1942. Many family problems were settled within the family with the aid of the baishakunin. It was only the extremely difficult cases and problems arising among the Nisei who were somewhat emancipated from their parents that usually came to the attention of the Social Welfare Department. Social Welfare was in a sense a last appeal to which problems were taken if they could not be settled by intermediaries and by ministers.

10. See for example Document TL-41.

11. In Japan wives were for the purpose of raising children and for caring for the household. Women for pleasure were to be sought in the geisha houses and in houses of prostitution. Mr. Nakanishi's definition of the situation may have been fundamentally Japanese.

Surname	Man's name Saimatsu	Cross reference	File CWD	Case #
NAKANISHI	Woman's name Masano	Other names used "Sam" Nakanishi		Family # 27422
Present address	3015-A, Tule Lake Project Newell, California			Classification Internal-Domestic
Previous addresses	517 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, Calif.			Referred by Mrs. Nakanishi
1. Evacuated from	Sacramento on May 14, 1942			Date August 17, 1942
2. Relocated from	Walerga Assembly Center on June 18, 1942			

FAMILY COMPOSITION

Name	Birth date	Birthplace	Citizenship status	Occupation		
				Past	In project	Registered
Saimatsu	7/15/99	Japan	Alien	Grocer	?	?
Masano	2/18/04	Japan	Alien	House- wife	?	?
Bob	17 years	U.S.	Citizen	School	School	?
Ida	15 years	U.S.	Citizen	School	School	No
Jun	9 years	U.S.	Citizen	School	School	No

Legally responsible and other relatives	Relationship	Address	Number dependents

Others in household	Relationship	Address

Visited Japan	Who	When	Period
Yes	Mr. Nakanishi	4/25 - 7/25	three months
Religion	Methodist		

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Sources of Information:

1. Case record on the Nakanishi family in the files of the Social Welfare Department in Tule Lake. Permission for the use of this data given by supervisor Naoko Hoshino. Record face sheet in Appendix I.
2. Brief interview with Mrs. Sada Murayama, case worker, who did the field investigation.
3. WRA-26, Individual Record Forms, for both Mr. and Mrs. Nakanishi. This data was made available through the cooperation of Miss Dorothy Montgomery of Social Welfare and Miss Hannah Uyeno of the Housing Department.

Evacuation and Resettlement Study
The Evacuee Family in Tule Lake
Tule Lake Project
Shibutani, 4/21/43

THE NAKANISHI FAMILY1. Introduction

The Nakanishi family consists of Tetsuzo (40), his wife Sumiko (29), and their two children--Flora (9) and Eugene (7). Mr. Nakanishi is a younger Issei; while his wife was born and reared in the United States. Mr. Nakanishi can only speak English; whereas his wife cannot understand Japanese at all. The children were both educated in the United States and can understand only the English language.

Prior to evacuation the couple worked together in nurseries and in a meat market. According to friends of the family, the Nakanishis were neither prominent nor were they looked down upon either in Los Angeles or Sacramento, where they had made their home.¹

Both husband and wife are in fairly good health, although both have poor eyes. Neither profess any religious faith.²

2. The Individuals in the FamilyGene Tetsuzo Nakanishi

Tetsuzo Nakanishi was born on August 12, 1902, in Hanemura, Kochi ken, Japan, where his father was a farmer. He spent his early childhood in the

1. Interview with Mrs. Sada Murayama on October 4, 1942. Within the Japanese community, their social status might approximate Lloyd Warner's "lower middle" class, although this is rather difficult to determine.

2. WRA-26 forms and CWD files, September 11, 1942.

family farm and in 1910, at the age of 8, he began his formal education. He attended the Hanemura grammar school from April, 1910, to March, 1916. He then went to the Akimachi high school from April, 1916, to March, 1918. After two years of high school, he left to help his father on his farm. A few years later, he migrated to the United States.

It was in January, 1923, that he arrived in California. He went to work near Redwood City at the nursery of a friend as a laborer at \$40 a month. The work was hard and the wages low, but he served as an apprentice there until October, 1926, when he was made one of the responsible employees at the nursery. He remained with the Kitagawa nursery until March, 1936, and worked at the salary of \$125 a month.³ In the meantime, he had taken a wife.

In June, 1936, the Nakanishis went to Los Angeles and started a nursery of their own. They worked for two years, but somehow could not make ends meet. In June, 1938, Mrs. Nakanishi returned to her home in Sacramento and started a meat and grocery store. Here the couple remained and cared for their children until the time of the evacuation.

Tetsuzo is 5' 7" tall and weighs 145 pounds. He is rheumatic at times and wears glasses. He has no religious faith.⁴ While he can read, write, and speak Japanese, he can only speak English and has no reading or writing knowledge.⁵

Sumiko Jane Nakanishi

Sumiko Jane Kawada was born on November 25, 1912, in Sacramento, California,

3. There were many Japanese nurseries in the Redwood City area. This salary is a very high one in comparison to that paid to many of the Japanese help by the operators. It is impossible to tell whether Nakanishi was an exceptionally good worker or whether he exaggerated at the census interview.

4. WRA-26, supplemented by material from CWD files.

5. WRA-26.

where her father was a farmer. He had also farmed in Japan. Her early childhood had been spent on her father's farm, and at the age of 5 she began to go to school.

From September, 1917, to June, 1925, she attended the El Dorado grammar school in the city of Sacramento. From September, 1925, to June, 1926, she attended the David Lubin junior high school; and from September, 1926, to June, 1928, to Sacramento High School. Most of her contacts in school were with Caucasians, since at that time there were so few Oriental children of age to attend school. She had no opportunity to attend a Japanese Language school; consequently, she has very little understanding of Japanese.

Two years after her graduation, in 1930, she married Tetsuzo Nakanishi and went to Redwood City where he worked. She helped at the Kitagawa nursery and earned \$40 a month. While she was working there, she gave birth to her two children. In June, 1936, the Nakanishis went to Los Angeles, where they started their own nursery. Failing in this enterprise, they returned to Sacramento. From June, 1938, to June, 1942, Mrs. Nakanishi operated her own meat and grocery store in Sacramento. Her husband helped her now and then, but it was largely her work that kept up the family.

Mrs. Nakanishi is 5'1" tall and weighs 120 pounds. She has no physical defects, although she does wear corrective glasses. She has never been outside the United States and can read, write, and speak English only. Her main skill is cutting flowers. She has no religious faith.⁶

3. The History of the Family

The Nakanishis were married in January, 1930. Minor differences began to

appear soon afterwards, but there was no major break. The couple worked together at the Kitagawa nursery, and had two children in Redwood City. Things went along fairly well in Los Angeles when Mrs. Nakanishi was helping her husband at his nursery. However, their relations went from bad to worse when he began helping her when she opened her own meat and grocery store. He often stayed away from home and mistreated her. Somehow or another, however, they managed to get along.

Just prior to evacuation the family moved from the city of Sacramento to the surrounding area. In June 6, 1942, they were evacuated directly to the Tule Lake Relocation Center along with the Courtland and Clarksburg area.⁷

Once in the center, the relations between husband and wife went from bad to worse. Mr. Nakanishi stayed away from home quite often and at least once a week remained out all night. He was quite frank in his criticisms of their neighbors and often embarrassed her when she met them later.⁸

In August, she was asked by the chief cook of the mess hall where both she and her husband were employed to stop working because her strained relations with her and his attitude toward her was disturbing some of the other workers. She resigned even though this would work a hardship upon her since she had the responsibility of clothing her two children.

Finally, on September 11, the two had a severe argument in which all the unpleasantness that had been accumulating was brought to focus. Mrs. Nakanishi went with tears to the Social Welfare Department and told her story:

"I want to have separate housing for myself and the children-- away from my husband. He is just like a bachelor and he will not assume the family responsibilities. He was that way on the outside too. He goes out a great deal and at least once a week he stays out all night. He is critical of our neighbors and often tells them what he thinks directly so that I am

6. WRA-26, supplemented by material from CWD files.

7. WRA-26, supplemented by data provided by Mrs. Murayama, October 4, 1942.

8. CWD files, September 11, 1942. Testimony by Mrs. Nakanishi.

embarrassed when I meet them later on. Our marriage has reached a point where I am much happier when he is away from home.

"Both my husband and I were working in the same mess hall, but I was asked by the chief cook to stop working because my strained relations with my husband was shown in his attitude toward me. This was supposed to be disturbing to the other workers in the mess. I quit because it was so disagreeable there."⁹

Unfortunately, however, the Social Welfare Department was at that time undergoing a crisis of its own, and it was unable to make a thorough investigation or to take any action. The case worker sympathized with Mrs. Nakanishi and advised her to go home and think things over until at least the next day and to return if she still wished to have something done. Although her husband had told her to get out of his house, she returned and never went back to the Social Welfare Department again.¹⁰

4. Comments on the Family

It is obviously impossible to draw any conclusions from such a brief and inadequate record. We can at best guess.

The fact that Mr. Nakanishi was an Issei and Mrs. Nakanishi a Nisei with very little contact with the Japanese probably had much to do with the domestic discord. It is not so much the fact that they could probably not communicate their thoughts freely (because of the difference in language), but the fact that they probably had different conceptions of marriage and individual roles in marriage.

Although we have no data to indicate that this is true, it would not be

9. Not a verbatim report. Adapted from record in CWD files, Sept. 11, 1942.

10. This case came up just as the Social Welfare Department was having its difficulties with Mrs. Halle. It is difficult to tell how much effect the disorganization within the department had upon the families asking for help of some kind or another. See "Social Welfare" in Structure Report.

surprising if Mr. Nakanishi held the Japanese conception of patriarchal authority and of the responsibility of the head of the family for the support of all the members of the family. If Mrs. Nakanishi held the American conception of more democratic control within the family and the rights and prerogatives of women, there would naturally be a serious clash. Considering the fact that there were difficulties from the very beginning, this is what may have happened.

If our assumption is true, it is easy to understand why Mr. Nakanishi became more "like a bachelor" when his wife began to support the family after he had failed. According to the Japanese definition of the situation, he was merely "sponging" from his wife; he was not living up to his responsibility. As he conceived of himself as not living up to the status that he had set up for himself, he might have felt resentful toward his wife who had been responsible for his difficulty or feeling of inferiority.

Once this feeling had developed and crystallized there was no reason why it should have changed when he entered the center. The situation probably became more difficult for Mrs. Nakanishi because of her larger number of contacts with neighbors who lived so close and who had nothing in particular to talk about other than gossip about private lives. Because of this, Mrs. Nakanishi may have become much more upset about something that she had previously grown accustomed to. Mr. Nakanishi may have become more adamant in his stand when his ideas were reinforced by constant contact with other Issei who thought as he did.

We have, of course, no data to check the accuracy of these guesses. It is indeed unfortunate that more data was not available.

Surname	Man's name	Cross reference	File	Case #
NAKANISHI	Gene Tetsuzo		CWD	
	Woman's name	Other names used		Family #
	Sumiko Jane			37220
Present address	1402-C, Tule Lake Project, Newell, California			Classification Internal-Domestic
Previous addresses	1631 18th Street, Sacramento, California			Referred by Self
	1. Evacuated from Rt. 8, Box 4357, Sacramento, California			Date Sept. 11, 1942
	2. Relocated from			

FAMILY COMPOSITION

Name	Birthdate	Birthplace	Citizenship status	Occupation		
				Past	In project	Registered
Gene Tetsuzo	8/12/02	Japan	Alien	Gardener Grocer	Mess Hall	Yes
Sumiko Jane	11/25/12	California	Alien	Gardener Grocer	Mess hall	Yes
Flora	9 Years	California	Citizen	School	School	No
Eugene	7 Years	California	Citizen	School	School	No

Legally responsible and other relatives	Relationship	Address	Number dependents

Others in household	Relationship	Address

Visited Japan	Who	When	Period

Religion	None
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DOCUMENT TL-37

THE TAKAKI FAMILY

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Sources of Information:

1. Case record on Fumiko Takaki in the files of the Social Welfare Department in Tule Lake. Permission for the use of this data given by Miss Dorothy Montgomery, supervisor. Record face sheet included in Appendix I.
2. Brief discussion with Mrs. Yasuko Akamatsu, case worker, who took the interview.
3. Individual Record Form, WRA-26, for Mrs. Takaki. This data made available through the cooperation of Miss Montgomery of Social Welfare and Miss Hannah Uyeno of the Housing Department.

Evacuation and Resettlement Study
Family Organization and Disorganization
Tule Lake Project
Shibutani, 3/22/43

THE TAKAKI FAMILY1. Introduction

The Takaki family consisted of Mr. Itaro Takaki, his wife Fumiko (29), and their daughter Masaye (3). Mr. and Mrs. Takaki have been separated for over two years and Mrs. Takaki is living with her parents. Mr. Takaki is living in the Heart Mountain Relocation Center in Wyoming.

Although Mrs. Takaki is a Nisei and has a reasonably good command of English, her husband is an Issei and used Japanese almost exclusively. He was educated in Japan, whereas her education was in the United States.

The Takakis had farmed in Yakima Valley in Oregon. They had done rather well and were relatively well-to-do.¹

2. Fumiko Takaki's Background

Fumiko Ito was born on January 21, 1914 in Hood River, Oregon, where her father was a farmer. She attendd the Oak Grove Grammar School in Oak Grove, Oregon from September, 1921 to June, 1929. She then went to the Hood River High School (junior and senior high schools) from September, 1929 to June, 1933. She took a general course. She also attended the Hood River Japanese language school for four years.

Following her graduation, she helped on her father's farm. After her

1. All data in this document presents only one side. It is all based on the testimony of Mrs. Takaki on January 27, 1943. CWD files.

marriage to Itaro Takaki, she worked at home doing housework and also helped when she was needed in the farm.

Fumiko is five feet tall and weighs 105 pounds. She has no physical defects. She can read, write, and speak both Japanese and English. Her one skill and hobby is sewing. Her religion is Buddhism.

She has been out of the United States just once, when she visited Japan as a child from December, 1925, to May, 1926.²

3. History of the Family

The two were never happily married. There were constant quarrels because of the fundamental differences in point of view between Mr. Takaki and Mrs. Takaki. Finally, early in 1941, there was a big quarrel. At that time, Mr. Takaki told his wife to return to her parents and she did so.³ She has been separated from him ever since. She took back with her her year-old daughter and the four have lived together ever since. In the meantime, Mr. Takaki continued to farm in Yakima Valley.

On May 14, 1942, Mrs. Takaki, her daughter, and her parents--Mr. and Mrs. F. Ito were evacuated to the Pinedale Assembly Center. Mr. Takaki was evacuated to the Portland Assembly Center, although his wife did not know of it. On July 20, 1942, the Pinedale group was relocated in Tule Lake. Mr. Takaki was sent to Heart Mountain.

In Tule Lake, the four settled in room 5904-E. It was soon discovered that the four baishakunin for the marriage--Mr. and Mrs. Kiyono and Mrs. and Mrs. Kaneko--

2. WRA-26

3. In rural Japan, asking a wife to return to her parents was tantamount to getting a divorce. The only other step necessary was striking her name from the koseki.

and one of Mr. Takaki's cousins was present on the project. One day, Mrs. Takaki met the cousin, Mr. George Takagi of block 69, who told her of the whereabouts of her husband. This was the first time that Fumiko knew that her husband was at Heart Mountain.

It was not long before Mr. Takagi and the baishakunin began seeking a reconciliation. When Mrs. Takaki declared that this was impossible, they told her that there must be some way to get the two together. Mrs. Takaki apparently feared that the five were planning to have her husband transferred to Tule Lake and appealed to the Social Welfare Department for help.

She went to the office on January 27, 1943, and stated that she did not wish to see her husband again and made arrangements so that she would know ahead of time if her husband did make an application to join her.⁴ She stated that she feared that if her husband returned grave difficulties would arise again. She stated that she was satisfied with the present arrangement of living with her parents and her baby without interference from her husband.

She was assured that her husband's application would be rejected if it came.

4. Tentative Conclusions

In this brief case, we can see the difficulties that arise when there is a sharp difference in values between the generations. In all probability this fundamental difference did cause the initial difficulties of adjustment and it seems that the baishakunin likewise had different ideas from Mrs. Takaki. Her opposing reconciliation after being in a center is quite understandable. Economically she does not need him; she can also find many new friends.

4. Approval by both parties is required before a transfer application is even considered. It would be difficult for him to transfer without her approval.

Surname	Man's name Itaro	Cross reference	File CWD	Case #
TAKAKI	Woman's name Fumiko	Other names used		Family # 16308
Present address	5904-E, Tule Lake Project, Newell, California			Classification Domestic-Transfer
Referred by				Herself
Previous addresses	Route 3, Box 170, Hood River, Oregon			Date January 27, 1943
1. Evacuated from	Hood River, Oregon, on May 14, 1942			
2. Relocated from	Pinedale Assembly Center on July 20, 1942			

FAMILY COMPOSITION

Name	Birthdate	Birthplace	Citizenship status	Occupation		
				Past	In project	Registered
Fumiko	1/21/14	Hood River	Citizen	House- wife	?	?
Masaye	3 years	Oregon	Citizen	---	-----	-----

Legally responsible and other relatives	Relationship	Address	Number dependents
Itaro Takaki	husband	Heart Mountain	0

Others in household	Relationship	Address	Number dependents
Mr. and Mrs. F. Ito	Parents	5904-E	0

Visited Japan	Who	When	Period
	Fumiko	12/25-5/26	five months

Religion
Buddhist

DOCUMENT TL-38

THE TAHARA FAMILY

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Sources of Information:

1. Files of the Community Welfare Department in the Tule Lake Project, Case number 326.
2. WRA-26, Individual Record Forms, for the three major parties concerned.

Evacuation and Resettlement Study
The Evacuee Family in Tule Lake
Chicago, Illinois
Shibutani, 7/28/43

THE TAHARA FAMILY1. Introduction

The Tahara family consists of Mrs. Haru Tahara (69), her son Kazuo (40), his wife Yoshiko (33), and the younger couple's five children. There had long been in-law trouble in this family, and the difficulties led to much rumor and gossip in Tule Lake. Mrs. Tahara and her daughter-in-law never did get along, and after the evacuation she refused to live with her.

Tahara, a Hawaiian-born Nisei, and his wife were both educated in the Territory of Hawaii. They speak English to each other and to their children, but address Mrs. Tahara in Japanese. Tahara was formerly a butcher in Sacramento.

Mrs. Tahara is Buddhist, but the younger couple have no religious preferences.

2. The Individuals in the FamilyHaru Tahara

Haruko Matsuoka was born on March 26, 1873 in Wakashima mura, Kumamoto ken, Japan, where her father was a farmer. She spent her early days in her mura, performing the duties expected of a girl and helping about the house. She married when she was a little over twenty and in November, 1899, she migrated to Hawaii with her hus-

band. She worked in a private home as a domestic while her husband worked in the plantations. Kazuo was born in 1902, and in 1904, her husband deserted her and left for the mainland. She continued to work in private homes to support her son until the time of his marriage. She did not retire until 1939.¹

About 1933, Mr. Tahara returned to Hawaii destitute, but since he had deserted her in time of need and since it now seemed that Kazuo would be responsible for supporting him, she sent him away again. She has not heard from him since.²

Mrs. Tahara is four feet nine inches tall and weighs 103 pounds. She has no physical defects. Having had no formal education, she speaks Japanese, but can neither read nor write. Her one skill is sewing; her religion is Shinshu Buddhism.³

Kazuo Tahara

Kazuo Tahara was born on April 5, 1902, in Aiea, Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii. At the time of his birth, his father was working as a contractor on a plantation, but when he was two his father disappeared. He attended the Royal Grammar School in Honolulu from September, 1910 to June, 1918, and then went to the McKinley High School until June, 1922, majoring in commerce. In the meantime he also attended the Honolulu Japanese language

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1. WRA-26 for Mrs. Tahara
 2. Testimony of Mrs. Tahara on February 8, 1943. Taken from the case record in the Community Welfare Department, case 326.
 2. WRA-26 for Mrs. Tahara

school from September, 1910, to June, 1920. Following his graduation from high school, Kazuo attended the Y.M.C.A. night school in Honolulu from September, 1922, to June, 1924.

He did odd jobs here and there in Honolulu and with his mother managed to earn subsistence. Early in the thirties, he married Yoshiko and had to go to work to support her and their children. In December, 1937, the young couple migrated to the United States.

From December, 1937, to March, 1940, Kazuo worked in the Funahashi Market in Sacramento as a butcher. Here he earned \$88. a month. He then went to work for Kay's Market as a butcher and earned \$150.00 a month.

Kazuo is 5 feet 4 inches tall and weighs 122 pounds. He is physically weak and cannot do heavy labor. He can read, write, and speak English, but has only a speaking knowledge of Japanese. He has no hobbies and no religion.⁴

Yoshiko Tahara

Yoshiko Tanaka was born on October 24, 1908, in Puuneme, Maui, Territory of Hawaii. She attended the Puuneme Grammar School from September, 1915, to June, 1922. She also attended the Honolulu Japanese Language School from September, 1915, to June, 1923. She was unable to continue her education, however, due to lack of finances. It was not her fortune to return to school again.

After working in Honolulu for several years, Yoshiko married Kazuo and settled down. In 1937, she migrated to the continent with him and all but one of her children.

4. WRA-26 for Mr. Tahara

Mrs. Tahara is five feet two inches tall and weighs 108 pounds. She wears glasses, but is otherwise in good health. Her skill is cooking and her hobby is reading. She can read, write, and speak English, but has only a speaking knowledge of Japanese. Since her marriage, she has spent much of her time taking care of her children, but in Sacramento she did help Kazuo at the butcher shop.⁵

3. The History of the Family

Mrs. Tahara and her daughter-in-law could never get along. Even in Hawaii they were constantly quarreling over one thing after another. When the younger family decided to migrate to the continent, Kazuo and Yoshiko decided to separate from Mrs. Tahara and left her behind in Hawaii. They also left their oldest daughter there to take care of her, but it was not long before the oldest daughter began pleading that she be allowed to join the rest of the family. Kazuo finally decided to send for both his daughter and mother.

A year after the arrival of the mother the family trouble stated all over again. Kazuo then decided to send his mother to a friend's home about five miles away, and he paid for her room and board. Mrs. Tahara made frequent visits to the family without causing any trouble. Several different versions were given of the source of the difficulty.

According to Kazuo, he has been trying to unite his family

5. WRA-26, for Mrs. Tahara

into a congenial group for the past 15 years. However, he has been unsuccessful. His mother continually makes demands upon his family that they cannot meet without experiencing considerable discomfort. He could see ~~was~~ no reason why his whole family had to suffer on account of his mother.

According to Yoshiko, her mother-in-law is very talkative and often discussed with friends matters which were considered confidential to the family. She also objected to her Japanese ideas. She stated that Mrs. Tahara makes friends very easily but because of her excessive talking they all drift away from her.

According to Mrs. Tahara, on the other hand, it was her daughter-in-law who was the source of the difficulty. She felt that Yoshiko never liked her and had always argued with her about everything. She felt that she would still like to live with her son's family in spite of the unpleasantness of it all.⁶

On May 18, 1942, the family was evacuated to the Walerga Assembly Center and for the first time in a year or so everyone had to live together. Immediately difficulties arose and Yoshiko refused to have the old lady living with the family. She moved to an apartment with her friends, Mr. and Mrs. Tanahashi.

On June 18, 1942, the group was relocated to the Tule Lake Project. For the first two weeks, Mrs. Tahara continued to live with the Tanahashis and then she tried to move in with her son. Once again, trouble broke out, and this time the matter was referred to the Social Welfare Department. The Housing Department finally moved her into another apartment at 2818-F. Mrs. Tahara was disturbed about this and also the fact that her son had refused to allow her to ~~evacuate~~ evacuate under the same family number.

Mrs. Tahara continued to live separately from her son's family. She stopped over frequently to visit her grandchildren and no serious difficulties arose. Inasmuch as Kazuo was having a difficult time supporting his family on the meagre income from his mess hall job, he could not give much money to his mother. She became destitute and on February 8, 1943, had to apply for relief. She was given a Public Assistance Grant for February.⁷

4. Comments

The Tahara family is quite interesting in spite of the scarcity of data. Here we have the sharp clash of definitions of the situation, which are generally referred to as "culture conflicts." All parties in the struggle probably felt very justified in their stands, and their positions are understandable only if we consider the manner in which each individual conceived of his or her role and responsibility.

From Mrs. Tahara's point of view, her son and daughter-in-law were committing acts only a little short of criminal. She probably felt much like a martyr, thinking that she would agree to their demands only to save them (her children) from disgrace in the community. To a woman who gained her conceptions of her roles in old rural Japan, such filial impiety was unheard of. Here she had worked as a domestic for so many years to send her son to school,

6. Case Record in Social Welfare, June 18, 1942.

7. Case Record in Social Welfare, February 8, 1943.

and he throws her out of his house just for a woman! She had sacrificed everything in the expectation that he would care for her in her old age (as was the custom in Japan), but he was allowing her to go on relief. No doubt what was referred to as "Japanese ideas" by Yoshiko consisted of lectures by Mrs. Tahara explaining her position to her children and justifying her stand.

To two American-born and American-trained people, such a view might seem objectionable, and certainly the constant repeating of Mrs. Tahara's stand might be enough to irritate anyone. In American society, a child is emancipated (supposedly) when he is 21 years of age and is supposed to be free to live his own life. Naturally they would resent the interference of an older person who enters the family scene with the assumption that she knows everything.

Whereas Mrs. Tahara would consider herself and her children and grandchildren as members of one large family, her children would probably define the family more narrowly to exclude in-laws. What is considered confidential in America (such as matter pertaining to sex) are not tabu in Japan. Thus, each individual may be convinced that he or she is doing the "right" thing in all sincerity, but the differences in the definitions of the situation bring about misunderstandings and conflict.

Surname	Man's name	Cross reference	File	Case #
TAHARA	Kazuo		CWD	326
	Woman's name	Other names used		Family # 28151
	Yoshiko			27680
Present address	2818-F, and 2916-D, Tuhe Lake			Classification
	Newell, California			Internal-Domestic
Previous addresses	1323 6th Street, Sacramento, Calif.			Referred by
				Block Manager
				Date
				June 18, 1942
1. Evacuated from	Sacramento, California on May 18, 1942			
2. Relocated from	Walerga Assembly Center on June 18, 1942			

FAMILY COMPOSITION

Name	Birthdate	Birthplace	Citizenship status	Occupation		
				Past	In project	Registered
Kazuo	4/5/02	Hawaii	Citizen	Butcher	Mess	Yes
Yoshiko	10/24/08	Hawaii	Citizen	Wife	None	No
Five Children		U.S.	Citizens	None	None	No

Legally responsible and other relatives	Relationship	Address	Number dependents
Mrs. Haru Tahara	Mother	2818-F	0

Others in household	Relationship	Address

Visited Japan	Who	When	Period

Religion
Buddhist

THE MATSUOKA FAMILY

CONFIDENTIAL

This document contains no disguises other than names. All dates and events are accurate to the best knowledge of the investigator. No part of this document may be used for any purpose whatsoever without further disguises to conceal the identity of the persons involved and without the consent of the director of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study.

Sources of Information:

1. Case record of the Matsuoka family in the files of the Community Welfare Department in Tule Lake Project.
2. Interviews by Mrs. Grace Hashiguchi, Mrs. Niwa, Miss Naoko Hoshino, **all** staff members of the Social Welfare Department.
3. Interview with Miss Hideko Nakazawa, medical social worker.
4. WRA-26, Individual Record Form for Mr. and Mrs. Matsuoka and Fumiye Matsuoka.

Evacuation and Resettlement Study
Chicago, Illinois
Shibutani, August 27, 1943

DOCUMENT TL-40

THE MATSUOKA FAMILY1. Introduction

The Matsuoka family consists of Matsutaro Matsuoka, 60; his wife, Sekiyo, 44, and their 10 children: Fumiye, 19; Masayuki, 15; George, 21; Ben, 13; Toshiko, 11; Yaeko, 9; Joe, 7; Takara, 5; Kay, 3; and Tome, born in Tule Lake. The family originally lived in Auburn, Washington and came to Tule Lake from Pinedale. Matsutaro was formerly a farmer.

2. Individuals in Family1. Matsutaro Matsuoka

Matsutaro Matsuoka was born on December 15, 1881 in Hiura-mura, Hiroshima Ken, Japan where his father was a farmer. He attended Hiura-mura grammar school from April, 1888 to March, 1892 and then worked for his father until 1900. In March, 1900 he migrated to the United States and did odd jobs on various farms up and down the Pacific Coast. In October, 1918, his wife, a picture bride, joined him but he continued as a farm laborer. In 1918 he went to Japan for a few months but returned with all his children.

In October, 1931 he started a truck farm in Renton, Washington and supported his family until November, 1941. At that time he moved to Auburn and opened another truck farm. His wife and children helped him and the family group worked for subsistence.

Matsutaro is 5 ft. 4 in. tall and weighs 145 pounds. He has no physical defects. He can read, write and speak Japanese only. His hobby is reading fiction in Japanese magazines. His religion is Buddhist.¹

2. Sekiyo Matsuka

Sekiyo Nishimoto was born on March 8, 1897 in Kuchimura, Hiroshima Ken, Japan. She attended Kuchimura grammar school from April, 1904 to March, 1910. In October, 1918 she migrated to America as a picture bride and married Matsutaro. From the time of her arrival she has cared for the children and worked on the farm helping whenever she could.

Sekiyo is 4 ft. 8 in. tall and weighs 135 pounds. She claims she has no physical defects except "female trouble after the birth of ~~my~~ last baby." She can read, write and speak Japanese only. Her hobbies are knitting, sewing and cooking. Her religion is Buddhist.²

3. Fumiye Matsuka

Fumiye Matsuka was born on June 20, 1922 in Kent, Washington. In July, 1929 she was sent to Japan by her parents and attended Hiura-mura grammar school from April, 1930 to March, 1938. She continued to live with her grandmother until June, 1938 when she returned to America. She attended Renton grammar school in Washington for two years and then began helping her mother at home.

Fumiye is 5 ft. tall and weighs 130 pounds. She has no physical defects. She can read and write English and can read, write

1. WRA-26.
2. WRA-26.

and speak Japanese. Her hobby is flower arrangement. Her religion is Buddhist.³

3. Family in Tule Lake

The Matsuoka family evacuated to Pinedale Assembly Center on May 15, 1942. They were relocated to Tule Lake on July 24. They were given four adjoining apartments in Ward 7, apartments 1715-C, D, E, and F.

The family was the center of resentment on the part of the neighbors partly because Fumiye was always forced to work so hard. Mr. Matsuoka claimed he was too old to work and stayed home most of the time. His wife, who was pregnant, went to work as a domestic while Fumiye stayed home doing house work. Neighbors said that a girl her age should be given an opportunity to play with girls her age and criticized the family.

More serious difficulties broke out in the fall when on October 1 Fumiye gave birth to an illegitimate boy at the base hospital. Dr. Akamatsu, who attended her at the time of birth, questioned her regarding the baby's father but could get no information. She stated that she did not know who the father was and added that she did not know of her condition until the midwife in the center examined her. She seemed to be suspicious of everyone and the only person she trusted was Kumajiro Takeda of 7403. On October, 14 she was discharged from the hospital.

On October 20 a social worker called on Miss Matsuoka and questioned her regarding the child's parentage. Her reply was "I

don't know who it is. I don't know how it happened."⁴ During the course of the interview Mr. Matsuoka claimed that he had sent Fumiye to Japan at the age of 7 and did not return until she was 15. He stated that after 8 years separation his wife lost all interest in her and had no affection for her. His wife created an unpleasant atmosphere nagging, scolding and threatening and he said that he was very unhappy because of his wife's ill-temper. He added that Fumiye was patient and a hard worker and just prior to evacuation worked in an American family.

Mr. and Mrs. Masutaro Nitta, close friends of the family, agreed to become Fumiye's guardian and started to make arrangements to have the child adopted. The social worker, not knowing what was meant by the term "having the child adopted", agreed and dropped the investigation.⁵

On October 26 Mr. Matsuoka applied for public assistance grant from another social worker who did not know of the other difficulties of the family or of the activities of her colleague in the department. At this time Matsuoka claimed that his wife was the only member of the large family who was working, stating that Fumiye managed the household, therefore, was unemployable, that another son had been hospitalized for some time and could not find what was wrong. He stated that two more children had been sent to the hospital. After Matsuoka made his application he left the building.

4. According to the social worker Fumiye did not seem to understand relationship between sexual intercourse conception and childbirth and consequently did not understand why she had a baby.

5. By having a "child adopted" was meant to find a suitable husband for Fumiye who would adopt the child. This meant the 19 year old girl would probably marry an issei or kibe perhaps twice or three times her age. GWD files of October 20, 1942.

Mr. Iseri spoke to the social worker about the family. He told her he could not understand why Mrs. Matsuoka was working while she had a four months old baby. She claimed that Fumiye was treated "like a slave" going no place for amusement and no having contact with people her age.⁶

The family was given a grant for November because of its size and small income. Matsuoka had stated shortly before evacuation the family sold everything they owned but spent all the money they got. The status of the family dropped in the eyes of the community not only were they on relief but with the birth of an illegitimate child people began wondering what was happening. Fumiye was taking care of her baby sister as well as her own baby while her mother was working all day. The fact that three children in a row were confined in the hospital from an ailment doctors were unable to diagnose raised suspicion in the minds of neighbors.⁷

On November 25 Mrs. Matsuoka had to quit work because of cold weather and the following day was given an emergency operation at the base hospital for appendicitis.

In the meantime it was announced that Fumiye was engaged to be married to Mr. Umio Nomura, 40, a man who formerly worked as a saw mill hand in Washington. The couple applied for a marriage license and planned to be married when Mrs. Matsuoka regained her strength. Nomura agreed to accept the baby, named Kenji. The baishakunin were

6. Mrs. Hashiguchi who took the application for relief stated that Matsuoka did not mention anything about Fumiye's baby and was quite surprised to learn this when she checked the previous record.

7. All three children were confined in the hospital within a period of three months. Doctors were unable to find anything wrong with them although it was obvious they were in ill health. Statement of the medical social worker, Miss Nakazawa.

listed as Mr. and Mrs. Nitta and Mr. and Mrs. G. Marutani, both of Block 70.⁸

4. Comments

Further details of this case is forthcoming from Tule Lake. Mrs. Lucy Suzuki, medical social worker, who interviewed Fumiye on several occasions, got two stories about the parentage of her child. On one hand heavy suspicion of incest prevails. Mr. Matsuoka's reaction at the time of the first interview would seem to indicate something of this nature and perhaps his wife's attitude could also substantiate this suspicion. On the other hand the girl admitted that while she was working in a family she had been attacked by one of the men there. She was not certain whether the conception took place from her father when she was attacked.

The disposal of young girls with illegitimate children is very similar to the action dictated by unwritten codes of Japan. In rural Japan when a girl has an illegitimate child she generally marries not the man who is the father of the child but another man, a widower, a person of lower class status or someone else considered less desirable for a husband.⁹ In this case as well as in cases described in Documents TL-47, TL-108 some friend of the family was consulted who in turn became a baishakunin and contacted some issei who wanted a wife who wanted a wife. The issei would agree to adopt the child.

8. Mrs. Miwa's recording of last interview said Fumiye looked very happy and that the whole problem seemed to have been solved. Mrs. Niwa concluded everything was all right because Fumiye was living like a child. CWD files of November 5, 1942.

9. See chapter on "Family" in J.M. Embree's "Suyemura", Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939.

Appendix I

Surname	Man's name	Cross reference	File	Case #
MATSUOKA	Matsutaro		CWD	93
	Woman's name	Other names used		Family #
	Sakiyo			33054
Present address	7015-CDEF, Tule Lake Project			Classification
				Med. Soc. Serv.
				Referred by
Previous addresses				Date
	C St., S.W., Auburn, Wash.			Oct. 16, 1942
1. Evacuated from	Auburn, Washington on May 15, 1942			
2. Relocated from	Pinedale, California on July 24, 1942			

FAMILY COMPOSITION

Name	Birthdate	Birthplace	Citizenship status	Occupation		
				Past	In project	Registered
Matsutaro	12/15/82	Japan	Alien	Farm.	None	No
Sekiyo	3/15/98	Japan	Alien	Farm.	Housekeeper	Yes
Masayuki	2/15/27	Kent	Citizen	Farm.	Fram.	Yes
Fumiye	6/20/23	Auburn	Citizen	Farm.	None	No
George	10/14/21	Kent	Citizen		None	
Ben	1/29/29	Kent	Citizen			
Toshiko	12/29/31	Seattle	Citizen			
Yaeko	10/20/33	Renton	Citizen			
Joe	4/1/35	Renton	Citizen			
Takara	5/15/37	Renton	Citizen			
Kay	3/15/39	Renton	Citizen			
Tome	6/18/42	Auburn	Citizen			

Legally responsible and other relatives	Relationship	Address	Number dependents
George	Son	Vallejo, Ore.	

Others in household	Relationship	Address

Visited Japan	Who	When	Period
	Fumiye	7/29 - 6/38	9 yrs.
Religion	Buddhist		

DOCUMENT TL-41

THE IWASAKI FAMILY

CONFIDENTIAL

This document contains no disguises. All names, dates, places, and events are accurate to the best knowledge of the investigator. No part of this document may be used for any purpose whatsoever without sufficient disguise to conceal the true identity of the persons involved.

Sources of Information:

1. Case record on the Iwasaki family in the files of the Social Welfare Department in Tule Lake. Permission for the use of this data given by supervisor Naoko Hoshino. Record Face Sheet included in Appendix I.
2. Interview with the case worker, Mrs. Yasuko Akamatsu, who handled the case.
3. Individual Record Forms: WRA-26 for both Mr. and Mrs. Iwasaki. This data made available through cooperation of Miss Montgomery of Social Welfare and Miss Hannah Uyeno of Housing Department.

Evacuation and Resettlement Study
Family Organization and Disorganization
Tule Lake Project, Newell, California
Shibutani, 3/7/43

THE IWASAKI FAMILY1. Composition and Characteristics of the Family

The Iwasaki family consists of Mr. Eijiro Iwasaki (59), his wife Masaye (42), and four children--Minoru (23), Yoshio (20), Kaname (17), and Yaeko (15). Mr. Iwasaki was released from the Santa Fe Internment Camp to Tule Lake on parole on July 18, 1942. The rest of the family came from Sacramento through Walerga Assembly Center.

Mr. Iwasaki is a well-educated man and has a fluent command of both English and Japanese. His wife can read, write, and speak Japanese, but has little understanding of English. The four children are all bilingual.

The Iwasaki family is well-to-do and well respected in Sacramento. They were considered one of the wealthier families in the area. Mr. Iwasaki was considered one of the leaders of the Japanese community--as were most men with "white-collar" jobs.

The family is Buddhist.¹

2. The Individuals in the FamilyEijiro Iwasaki

"Frank" Eijiro Iwasaki was born on May 19, 1884, in Tokyo, Japan, where his father was a building contractor. He attended the Kanda grammar school in Tokyo

1. Data from Individual Record forms, WRA-26, and from the files of the Social Welfare Department, hereafter referred to as CWD files, case #10018.

from April, 1890, to March, 1896. He then went on to the Knada high school and graduated there in January, 1901. In the meantime, he had been attending the Seisoku English School in Tokyo from April, 1898, to March, 1901. It was at this time that he, at the age of 17, migrated to the United States.

He reached San Francisco in August, 1901, and got a job in a private home there, working as a cook and waiter for \$40. a month, plus room and board. For four months in 1902 he attended the Technical High School in San Francisco and then attended Stanford University from 1902 to 1904. After completing two years at Stanford, he transferred to the University of Indiana and studied there for six months in 1904.

He returned to San Francisco and went to work at the private home where he had first found employment as a "school-boy". He remained there until January, 1926, when he returned to Japan for a visit. He returned to the United States in April of that year and started a wholesale fruit and vegetable company in Sacramento. In March, 1927, he gave up this business and received a position as a court interpreter in Sacramento. He then opened a real estate office and earned his livelihood in that manner until he was interned as a "dangerous alien."

Eijiro is 5'6" tall and weighs 120 pounds. Aside from the fact that he has to wear glasses, there is nothing wrong with him physically.² He is rather pleasant in personality.³ He has a fluent command of both English and Japanese, although he seems to prefer Japanese. His hobbies are playing go⁴ and watching baseball games. His faith is Buddhist.⁵

2. WRA-26.

3. Interview with Mrs. Akamatsu, the case worker.

4. Go is a game played by Japanese (possibly by Chinese too) which somewhat resembles checkers. Shogi is a similar game. The rigid class structure of feudal and modern Japan are reflected in the playing of these games. Go is supposed to be the game of the "upper" classes. Those who consider themselves to be in the higher classes insist on playing go; whereas the others do not seem to care particularly what they play.

5. WRA-26.

Masaye Iwasaki

Masaye Nakayama was born on November 1, 1898, in Tsuyuki mura, Fukuoka ken, Japan, where her father was a farmer. She attended the Tsuyuki grammar school in Fukuoka from April, 1906, to March, 1912, and the Kiyushu high school, also in Fukuoka, from April, 1912, to March, 1916.

One year after her graduation, her family decided to migrate to America. Masaye came to the United States with her parents in August, 1917. Her father opened a restaurant here. She then married Eijiro and did housework and reared her four children in Sacramento.

Masaye is 4'8" tall and weighs 122 pounds. She looks much older than she is. Physically, she is in good health--except for weak eyes. She can read, write, and speak Japanese, but has little understanding of English. Her faith is Buddhist.⁶

3. The History of the Family

Mr. and Mrs. Iwasaki were married soon after her arrival in the United States. At that time, he was working as a cook in a private home. Their first son, Minoru, was born in 1919. After Mr. Iwasaki returned from Japan in 1926, the family moved to Sacramento. The last child was born there in 1927. It was about this time that Mr. Iwasaki went to work as a court interpreter.⁷

All went well until about 1934 or 1935 when Mr. Iwasaki began having relations with another woman in Sacramento. In spite of his wife's pleas, he continued his relations until the time when her was interned.⁸ A few months before evacuation, Mr. Iwasaki was arrested by the F.B.I. and was sent to the

6. WRA-26.

7. WRA-26's and the case record, CWD files, case #10018.

8. There is some suspicion that the "other woman" might be Mrs. Mitsuko Nomura, who is discussed in Document TL-110. No confirmation of this suspicion.

Santa Fe Internment Camp in New Mexico.

The rest of the family was evacuated to the Walerga Assembly Center on May 16, 1942, and transferred to Tule Lake on June 16. The "other woman", whose name both Mr. and Mrs. Iwasaki refuse to divulge, also relocated to the same center with her three children.⁹

4. Developmental Account of the Family in Tule Lake

The Iwasaki family arrived in Tule Lake on June 16, 1942. The eldest son, Minoru, became the block manager of 27 and the family managed to get along quite well. Mr. Iwasaki was released from the Santa Fe camp on July 18 and arrived on the project soon after.

All was well for a month. By the middle of August, however, Mrs. Iwasaki began having suspicions that her husband was untrue to her and began nagging him. He denied that he had seen the "other woman" but she would not believe him and insisted upon following him around wherever he went. Finally they agreed that the best solution to the problem would be to have him sent to another project, and they went to the Social Welfare Department to ask for a transfer.

The first request for Mr. Iwasaki's transfer was made on August 27, but because of the disorganized state of the Social Welfare Office the request was not sent to the W.R.A. regional office until September 8. No action was taken. By the first of October the situation had become grave and Mr. Iwasaki was desperate. He was reluctant to give the name of the woman with whom he had been associated, but he told the social worker that the situation was becoming so acute that he felt his life to be in danger if he were not transferred immediately.

9. CWD files, case #10018.

Mrs. Halle, the supervisor of the Social Welfare Department, felt, however, that the case was "obviously" not one on which the department would ordinarily request for transfer. She felt that there was nothing in the previous record to indicate just why Mr. Iwasaki should be made an exception to the general rule, and she therefore did not take any action other than ask Dr. Jacoby, Chief of Internal Security, to ask his wardens to get further information.¹⁰

By October 17, the situation had come to a head. Mr. Iwasaki was desperate and stated that he would violate his parole so that he could be sent back to the internment camp if that were the only way in which he could get out of the project. He stated that there might be a murder of two or three persons, although he did not say who would be murdered and who would do it. Mrs. Iwasaki stated, however, that the feeling in the family had become so intense that neither she nor her husband could stand it any longer. Since Mrs. Halle had left the project¹¹, the matter was taken up with Mr. Fleming, Chief of Community Services.¹²

Mr. and Mrs. Iwasaki also went to the administration building to see Mr. Fleming and finally it was decided that Mr. Shirrell would phone San Francisco. Unfortunately, Mr. Petrie was not available in the regional office, and the matter had to be put off until Monday, October 19.

On the way back from the administration building, Mr. and Mrs. Iwasaki stopped at the Social Welfare office and asked that when his permit came, he was not to be called at his home. He said that he would call at the office for it.¹³

The travel permit arrived by wire Monday afternoon, but Mr. Iwasaki stated that he would be unable to leave that night, in spite of the fact that all

10. CWD files, case #10018, October 17, 1942.

11. See section on "Social Welfare" in Structural Report on Mrs. Halle.

12. CWD files, case #10018, October 17, 1942.

13. It became obvious later that Mr. and Mrs. Iwasaki were trying to keep the news from their children.

arrangements had been made for escorts, because he had to be chairman of the block meeting. It was decided that Mr. Iwasaki would leave the following night.

On October 20, the date of Mr. Iwasaki's departure, his eldest son went to see Mr. Shirrell to stop his father's transfer. He had not known anything of it until his mother told him that they had made the arrangements.¹⁴ There was some disturbance and finally Mr. Fleming and Mr. Shirrell gave Minoru the whole story, which he had apparently not known.

A signed statement was made concerning the transfer¹⁵ and on the morning of October 21, 1942, Mr. Iwasaki left Tule Lake for Minidoka Relocation Center.¹⁶

5. Conflicting Accounts

Mr. Iwasaki's statement:

"I was associated with a woman in Sacramento for about 7 years. Since I came here I never visit her but my wife claims I have been visiting her. My wife will not believe me. I think it best for me to go to another center and I believe if I stay here there will be trouble in my family. Therefore, I wish the W.R.A. to transfer me to Minidoka Project in Idaho. If I cannot be transferred by the W.R.A. I will ask Washington, D.C., for my violation of parole. Then, I think I will be able to transfer to some internment camp."¹⁷

Mrs. Iwasaki's statement:

"My husband been associated a woman in Sacramento last 8 years. All that

14. She had apparently thought her husband was leaving at 10 a.m. instead of 10 p.m.

15. See Appendix II.

16. CWD files, case #10018, October 21, 1942.

17. Statement of Mr. Iwasaki on August 27, 1942, taken by Mr. Kubo. Grammatical errors may have been made by Mr. Iwasaki or Mr. Kubo. Copied with errors.

time I been asking him to be back to normal family life.

"This woman is here with three children.

"After my husband came here from Santa Fe, New Mexico as parole he promise me he will not visit this woman but he do not keep his promise. Therefore, I wish my husband to be transfer to some other relocation center."¹⁸

6. Summary, Analysis, and Tentative Conclusions

The data available in this case is entirely too scanty for any analysis. We have no information on the exact nature of the conflict situation in the family, no information on the threats or whose life was in danger. We have no more than a "hunch" of the identity of the "other woman." The clandestine affair was ~~kept~~ unusually quiet, for the children knew nothing of it.

Although there is no evidence to support such a contention, it is quite possible that Eijiro Iwasaki was leading a life of frustration. He had come to the United States to study, probably to return to Japan to become a great man. He had worked hard and although he was working out a rather successful business career in Sacramento, it probably fell short of his original aspirations.¹⁹ This may possibly account for his "wayward behavior."

As for Mrs. Iwasaki, the question arises: why did she make things so disagreeable for her husband after coming to Tule Lake, when she could have done the same thing before? She had known of the relations before in Sacramento and yet she had taken no drastic steps. What is peculiar to the situation in Tule Lake that caused this change in her behavior?

18. Translated from Japanese by Mr. Kubo. Grammatical errors probably his.

19. Most of the Issei who came to the United States ^{to study} had hopes of returning to Japan with their American education and becoming successes there. A few notable exceptions, such as Yosuke Matsuoka, former foreign minister of Japan, succeeded, but it seems that by and large they could not make the grade and settled in America. Many of the Kibei now in centers had similar aspirations when they first came to America but could not keep up with the pace in American schools.

Mrs. Iwasaki could not have been prompted by community opinion since very few people seemed to know of the relations--although it is quite possible that this may have been a factor. It is possible that she had been insanely jealous of the other woman before and had never had an opportunity to keep her husband away from her such as she had when she came here. She must have realized that if her husband is a philanderer, he would find plenty of women in Minidoka where she could not watch.

There is no way in which we can do any more than guess on the basis of the inadequate information available. With Mr. Iwasaki gone and with Mrs. Iwasaki no longer interested in saying anything now that her aims had been accomplished there seems to be no way in which we can get further data. The children seem to know nothing of the matter.

Surname IWASAKI	Man's name Eijiro	Cross reference Nomura (?)	File CWD	Case # 10,018
	Woman's name Masaye	Other names used "Frank" Iwasaki		Family # 27687
Present address 2707-C, Tule Lake Project, Newell, California				Classification Domestic-transfer Referred by Self
Previous addresses 614 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento				Date 10-20-42
1. Evacuated from Sacramento, California				
2. Relocated from Mrs.: Walerga Assembly Center on 6/16/42 Mr. : Santa Fe Internment Camp on 7/18/42				

FAMILY COMPOSITION

Name	Birthdate	Birthplace	Citizenship status	Occupation		Registered
				Past	In project	
Eijiro	5/19/84	Japan	Alien	Real Estate	None	No
Masaye	11/1/98	Japan	Alien	Housewife	Same	No
Minoru	23 years	San Francisco	Citizen	?	Block mgr.	Yes
Yoshio	20 years	San Francisco	Citizen	?	?	?
Kaname	17 years	San Francisco	Citizen	School	School	No
Yaeko	15 years	Sacramento	Citizen	School	School	No

Legally responsible and other relatives	Relationship	Address	Number dependents

Others in household	Relationship	Address

Visited Japan	Who Mr. Iwasaki	When 1-26 to 4-26	Period 3 months
Religion	Buddhist		

Appendix II: AgreementC
O
P
Y

October 20, 1942

To Whom it may concern:

We, the undersigned, are responsible for the transfer of Eijiro Iwasaki from Tule Lake War Relocation Authority Project to Minikoka War Relocation Authority Project on Tuesday, October 20, 1942. The application for the request for transfer was initiated by us, and transfer is being made with our approval.

/s/ Eijiro Iwasaki

/s/ Masaye Iwasaki

Taken from files of the Social Welfare Department, Tule Lake Project. CWD files, case #10018.

Appendix III: Official LetterC O P Y

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

In reply please refer
to: IS

Tule Lake Project
Newell, California

September 8, 1942

Memorandum to: Mr. E.R. Fryer, Regional Director

Attention: Mr. Robert A. Petrie
Executive Assistant

Subject: Transfer of Mr. Eijiro Iwasaki

Mr. Eijiro Iwasaki is requesting permission to be transferred from this project to the Minidoka Project in Idaho.

According to the information we have received and verified, Mr. Iwasaki who is married and has four grown children has been keeping company with another woman for a number of years prior to the evacuation process. Mr. Iwasaki was first interned at Santa Fe, New Mexico but was returned here July 18 to join his family. The difficulty however is that the other woman also is here.

Although Mr. Iwasaki states he has not been to see her, Mrs. Iwasaki is accusing him of visiting her regularly to such an extent that life here is quite difficult for both persons. Both feel that a physical separation is necessary, Mr. Iwasaki to the extent that he has expressed an intention of violating his parole in order to be returned to an internment camp should his application for transfer to another relocation center be denied.

In view of this fact and Mr. Iwasaki's statement that he has friends at Minidoka we believe it would be advisable to grant his request for transfer.

/s/ Elmer L. Shirrell
Project Director

9-5-42
HSJacoby:iy
cc: DESK COPY
CHRON.

Taken from the files of the Social Welfare Department. CWD files, case #10018.

THE UYEHARA FAMILY

CONFIDENTIAL

This document contains no disguises other than names. All dates, places and events are accurate to the best knowledge of the investigator. No part of this document may be used for any purpose whatsoever without further disguises to conceal the identity of the persons involved and without the consent of the director of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study.

Sources of Information:

1. Case record of the Uyehara family in the files of the Community Welfare Department in Tule Lake Project.
2. Interview with Miss Naoko Hoshino, Mrs. Louise Halle, Miss Dorothy Montgomery, all of the Social Welfare Department.
3. Interview with Mr. Shigeo Yamane, block manager of 45.
4. Interview with Mrs. Tomi Shibutani.
5. Discussion with Dr. Harold J. Jacoby, chief Internal Security, and Frank Miyamoto.
6. WRA-26 for Mr. and Mrs. Uyehara.

Evacuation and Resettlement Study
Chicago, Illinois
Shibutani, 8/23/43

DOCUMENT TL-42

THE UYEHARA FAMILY1. Introduction

The Uyehara family, which is also known as the Yoshino family consists of Sueki Uyehara, 37, his wife, Ritsuko Ioka Uyehara, 30, and their two children, John, 6, and May 7. Mr. Uyehara was born and educated in Japan but has an able command of the English language. His wife, a nisei, has only a limited command of the Japanese language. Uyehara, prior to evacuation, worked in various restaurants in Los Angeles, San Francisco and northern California. The family is Buddhist.

The couple always had difficulties and separated several times before evacuation. In Arboga Mrs. Uyehara had an affair with a soldier and her husband was constantly accusing her of having illicit relations with other men. On the other hand, Mrs. Uyehara charged her husband flirted with other women. Many friends referred to Mrs. Uyehara as a crazy woman while others felt that her husband was too severe.

The family had moved from time to time from one community to another and as a consequence was not deeply identified in any particular locale. It may be said that the family did not enjoy any prestige in any community since both adult members had questionable reputations. Mrs. Uyehara was reputed as being insane while Mr. Uyehara was notorious for his gambling.

2. Individuals in Family

1. Sueki Uyehara

Suyeki Yoshino was born on February 10, 1905 in Kujoi-zumei mura, Kumamoto ken, Japan. His father was a farmer. Sueki generally used the name Uyemura which was his mother's maiden name but was also known by his father's name. He attended the grammar school of the mura from April, 1912 to March, 1918 and went on to junior high school where he graduated in March, 1920. He attended Waifu high school in Kumamoto from March, 1920 to March, 1924 and majored in agricultural training.¹

In June, 1924 the family migrated to the United States and Sueki's father went to work in a copper mine. Sueki continued to live with his parents.

In January, 1930 Sueki began working part time in two concerns in Los Angeles. He worked part of the day in a drive-in market as a clerk and part of the day as a cook in a Japanese restaurant. His total income was \$140 per month. It was while working at these two jobs that he met Ritsuko Iola and married her. In February, 1936 the young couple migrated to San Francisco and Sueki began working at Goto restaurant as a cook. Some difficulties arose however, between Ritsuko and Mrs. Goto and in April, 1937, Sueki went to work in a private home in San Francisco as a cook. He remained here until January, 1939 when he began working as a baker at the Eagle Home Bakery in San Francisco, receiving \$110 per month. There again he had difficulties with his wife and in May, 1941 they

1. WRA-26. In the educational system in Japan all students were required to take same course throughout high school. It seems, therefore, the high school Uyemura claims to have attended is a vocational training school since he studied in a specialized field.

moved to Penryn, California where Uyehara worked as a cook at Hill Top Cafe for \$100 per month. While working here he separated from his wife and the two lived apart for over a year.

Sueki is 5 ft. 5 in. tall and weighs 140 pounds. He has no physical defects. He can read, write and speak both Japanese and English. His hobby is outdoor sports and card games. He is a Buddhist.²

2. Ritsuko Uyehara

Ritsuko Iola Sekimoto was born on December 27, 1912 in Auburn, California. She is also known as Iola Uyehara and Ritsuko Kimura. Her father was a tree surgeon. While she was still a child her family moved to Oregon and Ritsuko attended Hood River grammar school from September, 1920 to June, 1928. While still in grammar school she had an affair with some men. She claims to have had her first sex experience at the age of 14. One of the instructors of a Japanese language school became involved in an illicit affair with her and her parents became so disturbed they sent her to high school in Nashville, Tennessee where she attended a private school from September, 1928 to June, 1932. After she returned to the Pacific Coast she went to work as a waitress in Los Angeles and married Uyehara in 1933.

Ritsuko is 4 ft. 10 in. tall and weighs 95 pounds. She has no physical defects. Although she looks much older than she is, it is quite apparent that at one time she was a very attractive woman. She can read, write and speak English but has only a poor speaking

2. WRA-26, supplemented from data from Case Record.

knowledge of Japanese in spite of five years spent at the Hood River Japanese language school. She has no particular hobbies other than reading magazines and professes faith in no religion.³

3. History of Family

The Uyeharas were married in Los Angeles in 1933.⁴ In 1936 the family moved to San Francisco with their child and Uyehara began working in various restaurants. His wife accused him of having affairs with the proprietor's wife where he worked and as a consequence he had to change jobs, in more than two occasions. Their second child was born in San Francisco and some time after the birth of this child Uyehara became so disturbed by his wife's behavior that he had her confined in a hospital for observation. During her stay in the hospital Mrs. Uyehara tried to have an affair with some doctor and she was discharged after a few months. Soon after the family moved to Penryn the two separated and Ritsuko lived alone with her two children. It is not quite clear how she managed to get enough money for subsistence but she did not see her husband for over a year. On May 13, 1942 when Marysville area was evacuated to Arboga Assembly Center, the couple reconciled and decided to live together.

It was not long before they started fighting again and Uyehara quite often left his wife in disgust and went gambling with

3. It is difficult to determine precisely what Mrs. Uyehara's past was because differed every time she told them. What has been listed above is taken from the WRA-26 and Case Record and only items which has consistency included. For more detailed account in her own words, see section below.

4. There are conflicting account of how the marriage took place. In one account Ritsuko claims the marriage was arranged by baishakunin and another she said that the two met and fell in love.

friends. Ritsuko left her children at home and went about flirting with soldiers guarding the area. On one occasion the two were caught embracing each other and drastic repercussions followed. News of Mrs. Uyehara's escapade spread rapidly through the camp and the soldier involved was court martialed.⁵

On June 29th the family moved to Tule Lake and trouble began immediately.

4. Family in Tule Lake

On July 1 Mrs. Uyehara applied for aid at the Social Welfare Department. She arrived with her two children and stated that her husband had just beaten her. She stated she wished to make arrangements for an immediate divorce and wished to be moved away from her husband. When questioned, she gave the following story:

"Before we came to Tule Lake my husband and I went under the name of Yoshino and did not use the name Uyehara until we came here. I think we are known to other people in this camp by both names. Uyehara is my husband's mother's name and Yoshino is his father's name. My marriage was arranged by my mother and some baishakunin when we were both in Los Angeles in 1933. It wasn't a love marriage and that's why we had many quarrels and he has beaten me many times. All though the last ten years he has beaten me many times. I ran away from my husband lots of times but I usually went back after a while.

5. There seems to be no disagreement as to details of the affair. Mr. Yamane, block manager, also substantiated the story and news of the court martial came from Dr. Jacoby.

"I don't know why my husband is so hot tempered. Just I left a suit case open in front of the door and some underwear happened to be showing where the neighbors could look in and see it, he got made and started fighting. Once before all I did was to move the furniture around and he beat me. I don't know why he is mean to me. He's always flirting with other women and is doing the same thing here in Tule Lake.

"When I went to Marysville Center with him I was unhappy and I lost my head. I met a Caucasian soldier patrolling the Assembly Center and we both fell in love with each other. My husband knows about this and became very jealous. I don't know why he has to be always playing around with other girls. My parents are not in Tule Lake and even if they were I don't think I would care to live with them because they think my husband is always right.

"My husband was born in Japan and that's why he dominates the family, but I am American born and I don't like this type of bossing around. He wants to be master of everything.

"I have no close friends here in Tule Lake and the people who heard about what happened in Marysville don't like me. I wish to live away from here. I don't want to move in with anyone. I want to keep my six year old boy and my husband can keep the seven year old girl. I think my daughter is more like her father and I have a bad time keeping her in control. My son though, really belongs to me."⁶

6. This statement is not verbatim but of what Mrs. Uyehara said has been paraphrased in many places and the core of it was taken from the Case Record of July 1, 1942.

At that time Mrs. Halle and Dr. Jacoby were the only two working in the Social Welfare and Mrs. Halle was at a loss at what to do. She suggested that Mrs. Uyehara go home and visit friends for a few days and stated that in the meantime she would contact the husband.

Mr. Uyehara was contacted by Mrs. Halle and an appointment was made for 10 o'clock the following morning. He arrived at the office much earlier and departed leaving word that he would be home if wanted. Mrs. Halle called at his home but found him extremely reluctant to discuss the quarrel of the previous day. He admitted that he had lost his temper and assured her that the difficulties had been settled in a manner satisfactory to both sides. Later in the day Mrs. Halle met Ritsuko at the postoffice and she seemed very embarrassed and made no mention of the interview of the day before. Since everything seemed settle Mrs. Halle closed the case.⁷

On July 13 trouble broke out once again and Mrs. Uyehara again insisted on being sepagated from her husband. She went to the Social Welfare office and cried hysterically and refused to return under any circumstances. She was moved to 3819-A, an isolated section of the camp and a colonist was called in to assist her in making adjustments. On the following morning the colonist, a young nisei woman of 22, spent the morning discussing various problems with her. Ritsuko explained details of her life and told her of many interests. Some of the statements follows:

"I don't know why I married my husband because he is always flirting with other women. When we first came here he beat me because I opened a suit case and underwear was

7. CWD files of July 2, 1942.

showing. I guess he thought if anyone saw my underwear that was bad. That's how particular he is of me. But he never trusts me. My family was the same way. They always take my husband's side and gang up on me. I think it's because I'm American and he is Japanese."

She went on to say that she was reared on a farm in Oregon. Her mother got a divorce while quite young. Life on the farm was not a happy one and she did not know many Japanese in her early childhood.

After she grew to adolescence she had some affairs. She admits that she had her first sex experience when she was about 14. At that time she became involved with a Japanese language school teacher. She claimed they loved each other very much but he would not marry her because she was too young and because she was engaged to someone else. As a result of the affair her parents sent her to a girl's school in Tennessee. She said life in Tennessee was a happy one and she often dreams of going back to such a world.⁸

She stated further that after her return from Tennessee she went to work as a waitress and it was there she met her husband. Contrary to previous statements she claims the two fell in love and were married. After their marriage the couple went to San Francisco where her husband found jobs in various restaurants. She claimed that in every case the wife of the restaurant owner fell madely in love with her husband and she had to ask him to change jobs. They moved several times while in the Bay region. She went on:

8. The colonist to whom Ritsuko was telling this story stated that her mind wandered a great deal and sometimes she seems to be living in a dream world of her own. She flits from one subject to another and the conversation as a whole had no coherence or consistency. Statements were put down as complete as possible in spite of repetitions so contradictions become more apparent.

"When we were in San Francisco my husband made me go to a hospital. I don't know why I had to go but I had a very good time. One doctor was especially nice and I used to like to be in his arms. I like Caucasian men because they are so big and handsome. When I go to the Social Welfare I like to be interviewed by Dr. Jacoby because he's so nice and handsome. I think Mrs. Halle is kind of crazy, don't you? I just like to be in someone's arms, to be squeezed, hugged and kissed. When we were in Marysville I fell in love with a soldier. He was awfully nice to me and I thought since my husband was flirting around I ought to get even with him but it was so romantic, I don't feel sorry at all. I don't see why my husband should kick because he lived in the bachelor quarters and I had an apartment of my own. He wasn't supporting me any way. I just want a man's arms around me."9

After a long talk with the colonist Ritsuko decided she wanted to send for her mother in Pinedale Assembly Center. Although she said previously that her mother did not like her but now she wanted her badly. Since ~~ment~~ movement in Pinedale had started, part going to Gila and part to Tule Lake, telegrams were sent immediately asking that her mother be sent to Tule Lake. Nothing happened, however, when the authorities were unable to find her mother in the center.

On July 15 she moved from 3819-A to 4505-C and took both her children with her. After a few weeks neighbors and the block manager began complaining that the children ran about un~~superv~~visibly and behaved like little pigs. The mess hall claimed that no one

9. Field notes on July 14, 1942.

could eat at the same table because the children stuck their dirty hands into the serving plate and then it became impossible for the other colonists to serve themselves from the same plate.¹⁰ Others complaints were that Mrs. Uyehara always picked fights with her neighbors for no reason at all and often became hysterical.

On July 29 Mrs. Uyehara returned to the Social Welfare office and asked for funds to repair her child's shoes. She was given credit at the shoe shop.¹¹

On August 1, without any explanation, Mrs. Uyehara brought her daughter to her husband's barrack in his absence her there for a few days. Later she met her husband and a big fight ensued. Neighbors were able to stop the brawl and the two children once again re-joined the mother.¹²

On August 11 Mrs. Uyehara, once again, appeared at the Social Welfare Department and asked that she be sent to join her mother, Mrs. K. Kimura, whose address she did not know. She stated that her mother formerly resided at Rt. 8, Box 238, Fresno and believed her mother went to the Fresno Assembly Center. She also said she had a sister, Mrs. Kate Ogata, formerly of Rt. 1, Box 12, Parlier. She requested that a search be made for these two and that arrangements be made for her transfer.¹³

In spite of complaints by neighbors Ritsuko continued her acti-

10. In Tule Lake all mess halls served food family style, large platters were placed in the middle of the table from which everyone took as much as he pleased. The actions of the children disturbed all other residents. Testimony of Mr. Shig Yamane, block manager.

11. CWD files of July 29, 1942.

12. Field notes of August 14, 1942.

13. SWD files of August 11, 1942.

vities and on September 24 Rev. Daisuke Kitagawa became so disturbed that he asked the Social Welfare Department to investigate since the mother neglected her children and that Mrs. Uyehara was definitely a psychopathic case. On September Mrs. Uyehara went to the Administration Building to see Mrs. Halle where she was told by the information clerk that she had to make an appointment for a later date as her schedule was full. She immediately disturbed all in the room by weeping loudly and making such statements as: "You can't send me back to them, I'd rather be shot here," and "They always persecute me, you can't understand how they're cruel to me or you wouldn't make me go back to them now." Since nothing else could be done Mrs. Halle interviewed the woman. Her statement at this time follows:

"The mess hall people are discriminating against me and giving me less to eat than they are giving my children. Isn't it logical to give more food to adults than children only 6 or 7? I don't know why they always persecute me. The head waiter says my children's table manners are bad but it's not their fault because my children don't have forks to eat with, that's why they eat with their fingers. I can't help it if they won't give us knives and forks and scold me, it's not my fault, even if the children are mine. If they have bad manners they take after my husband, he has bad manners. They are like my husband in many ways.

"I don't see why everybody jumps on me. Everybody gossips about me behind my back. They say I'm not fit to be a mother. They give candy to my children. They act in a way that I know they're trying to tell me they're sorry for my children. When

I invite them into my house they always hesitate. I don't know why they have to act that way. Since I get jealous. Everybody is jealous. Sometimes I think I hate my children. Other people are intentionally cruel to me and taking advantage of me. I don't know, maybe they're right. Since they are my children as a mother I ought to stay with my children but everybody makes me feel it's my duty to leave them. I want to join my mother in another center.

"I was always this way. When I was 14 I had some sex trouble with a man about 40 years old. He was the Japanese school teacher and I was his secretary. We kept going for four years then all of a sudden he told me I was no longer to go to him. Don't you think that was cruel? I think any mother who saw her immature daughter in a position like that would help her. But I think my mother just encouraged me to keep up my relationship.

"When I was 20 I was forced to marry a man I did ~~not~~ know or love. He was always cruel to me and he forced me to have relationship with a soldier in Arboga. That's why I think I was justified and then he refused to stay with me. I'm living at 5013-A now and my husband stays at 4505-C. He won't live with me anymore.

"I think I have to apologize to my mother for what I used to say to her. My mother left my father so that she could be with her lover. When my mother left she took all her children with her. I always thought mother did the wrong thing but now I understand and I want to apologize to her. But I think my mother was weak because she wasn't able to give up her

children.¹⁴

"Everyone is trying to persecute me. Even my sister is that way because when I asked her for clothes she sent lots of things for my children but sent an old red dress to me. She knows I can't wear red."¹⁵

Mrs. Halle noted that the woman was confused and upset throughout the interview and wept when Mrs. Halle said anything Ritsuko did not like and accused Mrs. Halle of being like the rest in persecuting her. At other times she said that Mrs. Halle was the only person who understood her. She claimed further:

"Everyone thinks they are better than I am especially those who work in the Administration Building. Do you think they are better than the evacuees? Lots of people think so but I don't. I think all who are in the Administration Building and my husband too think they're hakujin because they think they're better than I am. They must think they are hakujin. They must because they think they're better than me but they're not better than me, are they? Are they?"

Mrs. Uyehara was very reluctant to leave and did so only when Mrs. Halle stated that she was as good as anyone else and seek employment and keep busy.¹⁶

¹⁴. In the case Mrs. Halle inserts the remark that Mrs. Uyehara seemed to be using this excuse to arrange transportation to another center and leave her children and husband. CWD files of September 4, 1942.

¹⁵. On the previous occasion Mrs. Uyehara claimed she did not know the whereabouts of her sister, contradicting this statement.

¹⁶. CWD Files of September 24, 1942.

On the same day the block manager of 45 and 50 registered complaints at the Social Welfare office claiming that Mrs. Uyehara was a big problem in the mess hall as the cooks threatened to quit because of her children's bad table manners. The block manager felt that the people would put up with the children eating with their fingers if they did not touch the food left on the table for everyone else.¹⁷

On October 19 the Social Welfare department had more difficulties since the emergency shoe repair bill of 95 cents to be paid to the Community Enterprise was never paid. Mrs. Halle apparently gave authorization without realizing that no funds were available for such a relief. Inasmuch as Mr. Uyehara was employed and still responsible for the family it was suggested that he be made to pay for the bill.¹⁸

On November 20 Mrs. Uyehara again went to the Social Welfare Department and filed an application to transfer to Gila River Relocation Center to join her sister, Mrs. Kate Ogata. She claimed she was separated from her husband and making this move for the sake of the children. She also claimed that she was dependent financially upon her sister and Mrs. Ogata sent her money from time to time. She said that her husband was employed in mess hall 46 but never contributed anything to the family. No action was taken for the time being.¹⁹

On December 30 Mrs. Uyehara caused some commotion in the clothing division in 802-D. Some misunderstanding arose since her husband was employed and presumably received clothing allowance for the whole family. After a long argument arrangements were made for separate

17. CWD files of September 24, 1942.

18. CWD files of October 19, 1942.

19. CWD files for November 20, 1942. Also field notes for the same day.

payments.²⁰

On the following day Mr. Yamane, block manager of 45, went to the Social Welfare office to request public assistance grant for Mrs. Uyehara. Although no longer a resident of his block he claimed responsibility for the welfare of this family since the block manager of 50 was not interested in her problems. Mr. Yamane felt that although Mrs. Uyehara received some money from her sister he had seen her children without shoes and knows that the husband is not contributing to their support.

Mr. Yamane indicated that the feeling in his block was one of condemnation against Mr. Uyehara since the block people felt that his attitude and activities were responsible for his wife's present condition. He described him as being a wild, handsome kibeï who had little trouble getting along with lady friends. Yamane declared that Uyehara was at one time involved in a trinagle which had been existing for some time prior to evacuation and also at Arboga Yamane stated that the other person involved was Mrs. Ota.

Mr. Ota is in his 60's while Mrs. Ota is 37 and quite attractive. A few days before Christmas the extra-marital relationship going for some time between Mrs. Ota and Uyehara became known to the public when Uyehara became drunk and visited the Ota apartment in a drunken stupor. When Uyehara attempted to make love to Mrs. Ota her husband objected and a brawl followed. Uyehara took a bucket of hot water from the stove and tried to throw it on Mr. Ota but Mrs. Ota intervened and the bucket fell on her. She was severely burned and was in the hospital for treatment for several weeks. A warden en-

20. CWD files on December 30, 1942.

tered the apartment and stopped the fight. According to Yamane, Ota was making preparations to sue Uyehara.²¹

A few days later a social worker called at the home of Mrs. Uyehara to discuss problems, especially financial assistance. Mrs. Uyehara claimed at this time that she did not need money since her sister was sending her all she wanted. She claimed that her sister had real estate ^{from} ~~for~~ which a small income was derived, consequently she could support her for some time.

When asked about transferring to Gila River center, Mrs. Uyehara stated that she no longer wanted to go and she now planned to go to Japan after the war and believed it her duty to her children to remain in the project. She said she had given up plans for transfer and although she receives money from her sister their relationship had changed and they would not get along together now that both had changed and did not want to be tied down.

The apartment in which Mrs. Uyehara and her two children were living was virtually barren. It had four cots, one table and one screen. The walls had crayon scribbling as high as her older child could reach. May was away at school at the time of the interview but John was heard continually begging for omochi on the stove. When she gave it to him he threw it on the floor and left it there. Then he took a tablet which his mother had just purchased from the

21. Testimony of Shigeo Yamane on December 31, 1942, supplemented by statements by Mrs. Keiko Hisatomi who lived a few barracks away and saw the fight. According to Mrs. Hisatomi, Mrs. Ota had been carrying on an affair with several men and openly stated she was dissatisfied with her married life. It is interesting to note the change the attack had on Mrs. Uyehara by the block people. They condemned her husband for his clandestine affair. In all probability Mr. Yamane was sincerely interested in Mrs. Uyehara's welfare but he probably would not have interfered if the block people had not prodded him. Now their attitude changed completely.

store and tore out all the pages. He swore and hit her and continued to whine for a long time. Mrs. Uyehara stated that she generally ignored him when he had his temper tantrums.

Mrs. Uyehara felt that John should not go to school in this country. She planned to wait, even if for 10 years, and have the boy go to a good school in Japan. She said the project schools were no good. Blaming the teachers as being inadequate she said they learned to disobey their mother after going to school.

She said, "They must have learned to disobey in school, where else could they learn it? John is very slow, not like the other children, you know."

A few moments later May returned from school. Mrs. Uyehara said that May taught John everything she learned in school. She said that John was so intelligent he picked it up immediately. She had nothing to occupy herself if John went to school. She felt he might like school but her own welfare was important too.

She said, "I say I hate him but I can't hate my own child. No mother can ever if he is a problem child. Don't you think no one knows what is good for her child than his mother?"

When Mrs. Uyehara gave May one of the tablets she said, "Papa said he was going to bring me some crayons next time." The woman then admitted that her husband came to stay frequently since there was an extra bed in the room. She said, "As long as I love him he can come here and I'll always love him, after all I'm married to him." When she was asked why she left him, Mrs. Uyehara stated she left him before he could leave her and she would divorce him before he would divorce her. Later she claimed she would let him have a divorce but never initiate divorce proceedings herself. She claimed

she was too good for him and that her early experience with the Japanese language school teacher made her "sour" to all men.

Mrs. Uyehara stated that a few days ago a man came to see her and said her husband was in jail, that the man who came was burned. She stated that she gathered from what he said 'there had been a fight, didn't know the details but was curious to know now.'²²

On January 13 Mr. Uyehara went to the Social Welfare office to request a transfer for herself and family to Minidoka. He said that he had no relatives in the center and that was the reason why his wife selected it. He said she wanted to go somewhere she was not known because she was very much ashamed. When questioned further Uyehara revealed that a petition had been circulated in Ward 5 to oust Uyehara from the project. He admitted that on December 27 he had caused someone to be burned in a state of intoxication. He said that Mr. Ota declared he would forgive him if he left the project and that at that time he promised to leave. He said that a week before Mr. Ota had questioned Uyehara's neglect to keep the promise. Under these circumstances Uyehara felt obligatory to show sincerity and at least try for a transfer although he admitted he didn't care to move. He said that after this trouble he moved to his wife's apartment although he had another bed in Block 45. He said he visited her previously and that it was his sincere intentions to live together after the war. He said at present his wife was agreeable to have him with her but now and then she gets "ill" and it was impossible to reason with her. Mr. Uyehara appeared very apologetic and accepted his wife's illness with resignation. Application was made for a

transfer and arrangements made for his wife to sign it when he was absent as he was afraid she might create a scene. When questioned about the past he stated that he was separated from his wife for one year before evacuation and the family joined the husband on on December 19 because of difficulties occurring after the war.²³

5. Comments

Mrs. Uyehara seems to have a tremendous desire for mutual response, for example, she stated openly she wants to be loved, cuddled and in someone's arms. She has a tendency to see everything romantically. She claimed, for example, that Abalone Hill reminded her of the beauty of Shangri-La. She reads Love Story and True Adventure and movie magazines almost exclusively and seems to believe everything she reads. She states repeatedly she longs for the type of life "these people live". She always longs for the love she had in the past.

Her mind wanders a great deal and can't concentrate on one thing. She says she want to play golf, baseball, basketball and wants to go hiking or skiing. She is not consistent and changes the topic of conversation before ending a sentence.²⁴

She disregards social standards on some occasions and is not entirely unconscious of the ~~dis~~approval brought about by her actions. She is extremely sensitive and interprets any undesirable thing as a further effort to persecute her. It seems that in her quest for mutual response she has so far disregarded not only social sanctum

23. CWD files for January 20, 1943. Few days later when transfer application to be signed Uyehara appeared and requested that matter be delayed because his wife was upset. He stated he would return when his wife made up her mind but never returned to the office.

24. Field notes on July 14, 1942.

of the community but the welfare of her own children. Whenever she ran into social disapproval she tried to protect herself by lying and by developing a persecution complex. On the basis of evidence available it is difficult to make any analysis of Mrs. Uyehara's personality or factors leading to the strained relations between her and her husband, somewhere early in the history of the marriage if not before the seed of difference was probably set.

Repercussions of Mrs. Uyehara's affairs was rather interesting. The fact that the affair, which probably must have been talked about even before Christmas was brought to the open by the accidental burning of Mrs. Ota. It changed the definition of the situation with reference to the Uyehara family in the eyes of the community almost entirely. It is not surprising there was a sudden change in Mr. Uyehara since for the first time he found himself in disfavor of the community.

Appendix I

Surname	Man's name Sueki	Cross reference	File CWD	Case #
UYEHARA	Woman's name Ritsuko Iola	Other names used Yoshida		Family # 24488
Present address	4505-C, Tule Lake			Classification Service
	5013-A, Tule Lake			Referred by Self
Previous addresses				Date 7/2/42
1. Evacuated from Penryn, California on May 13, 1942				
2. Relocated from Arboga Assembly Center on June 28, 1942				

FAMILY COMPOSITION

Name	Birthdate	Birthplace	Citizenship status	Occupation		Registered
				Past	In project	
Sueki	37	Japan	alien	cook	mess	yes
Ritsuko Iola	30	U.S.	citizen	hswfe	none	no
May	7	U.S.	citizen	school	school	no
John	6	U.S.	citizen	school	school	no

Legally responsible and other relatives	Relationship	Address	Number dependents
Mrs. K. Kimura	mother	Fresno	?
Mrs. K. Ogata	sister	Gila River R.C.	?

Others in household	Relationship	Address

Visited Japan	Who	When	Period

Religion	Buddhist
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DOCUMENT TL-44

THE TSUTSUI FAMILY

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Sources of Information:

1. Case record of the Tsutsui family in the files of the Community Welfare Department in the Tule Lake Project.
2. WRA-26, Individual Record Form, for Mr. Tsutsui.

Evacuation and Resettlement Study
Chicago, Illinois.
Shibutani, 7/28/43

THE TSUTSUI FAMILY

1. Introduction

The Tsutsui family consists of Otokichi Tsutsui, 79, and his wife, Mito, 71. This elderly couple lived with their daughter, son-in-law and his parents. Inasmuch as they had not lived together prior to evacuation found adjustment extremely difficult. Finally Mrs. Tsutsui had to make several frantic efforts a change because of WRA regulations, however, was unable to do anything.

2. Life of Mito Tsutsui

Mito Taniguchi was born on October 20, 1871 at Miyauchi-mura, Hiroshima-ken, Japan. Her father operated a grocery store in the mura and she spent her early childhood in and near the store, helping whenever she could and learning the traditions of the community. Since there was no school in the mura at that time, she consequently had no formal education and she cannot read or write any language, although she speaks both English and Japanese.

In December, 1901, at the age of 30 she migrated with her husband to the United States and settled in Centerville where Mr. Tsutsui operated his farm.

Mrs. Tsutsui is 4 ft. 11 in. tall and weighs 90 pounds. She has been in poor health since 1912 when she had ulcer trouble. Her hobby is gardening. Her religion is Buddhist.¹

3. History of Family

When Mr. Tsutsui became too old to operate his farm, his son-in-law, Bob Asakawa, took over. The older couple lived with the Asakawas and helped them whenever they could.

On March, 1942, when it became known that the area around the Pacific Coast had to be evacuated, the Asakawas decided to spare the elderly couple the discom-

1. WRA-26.

forts of a center and therefore took their parents to Penryn where another daughter and her husband, Tom Mayeda, were living. They were quite sure at that time that Zone 2 would not be evacuated. The Asakawas remained in Centerville until the end and after making arrangements for disposal of their holdings, evacuated to Tanforan Assembly Center.

It was not long thereafter that Zone 2 was unexpectedly evacuated. On May 13, 1942 the Tsutsuis were sent to Arboga Assembly Center with their daughter and son-in-law and his parents. There they had to share an apartment for $1\frac{1}{2}$ months. Conflicts arose, especially between the Tsutsuis and the elder Mayedas. On June 28, they were all transferred to Tule Lake Project but here again the Mayedas and Tsutsuis were housed together. There were conflicts again as the elder Mayedas disapproved of Mrs. Tsutsui visiting friends. Since the younger Mayedas did not pay much attention to the parents the old couple felt extremely lonely and unhappy. Finally on October 14 Mrs. Tsutsui applied at the Social Welfare Department to have the Asakawas transferred to Tule Lake.

When the Tsutsuis related their difficulties to the social workers, a suggestion was made that they take separate apartments. Mrs. Tsutsui stated that she did not want to do this because such an action would create some difficulty between her daughter and the in-laws. She said she was willing to suffer anything rather than to cause their daughter any hardships. Because of the difficulty in getting transportation, however, no action was taken at this time.²

In the meantime Mr. Tsutsui's health became progressively worse. He had stomach and intestinal trouble and had to be treated at the hospital frequently, furthermore, it was not very long before they had no money. Finally on March, 22, 1943 Mrs. Tsutsui applied for aid to the block manager and stated that she had no property and that no one was providing them with funds. The block manager brought her to the Social Welfare Department and arrangements were made for the payment of

2. Files of Social Welfare Department, October 14, 1942.

public assistance grants. Late in March they made an application for transfer to Topaz Relocation Center and this was approved.³

3. Comments

It is rather difficult to analyze the actions taken by various members of the family on the basis of such incomplete information. For example, we have no idea why one daughter was so completely devoted to her parents while the other virtually neglected them. Of course the difference in temperament of the husband and in-laws may have had something to do with this but in no way is it possible to check this.

Mrs. Tsutsui reflects the traditional attitude of parents in her great devotion to her children, even to her daughter who had not provided for her. In all probability under her definition of the situation, her daughter now being a member of another family was therefore absolved of the responsibility of caring for the parents, nonetheless the conception of blood ties is still present.

3. Files of Social Welfare Department, March 22, 1943.

Appendix I

Surname	Man's name Otokichi	Cross reference	File CWD	Case #
TSUTSUI	Woman's name Mito	Other names used		Family # 24434
Present address	4516-C, Tule Lake, Newell, Calif.			Classification Transfer
Previous addresses	Box 2, Centerville, Calif.			Referred by Self
1. Evacuated from	Penryn, Calif. on May 13, 1942			Date Oct. 14, 1942
2. Relocated from	Arboga Assembly Center on June 28, 1942			

FAMILY COMPOSITION

Name	Birthdate	Birthplace	Citizenship status	Occupation		
				Past	In project	Registered
Otokichi	79	Japan	alien	none	none	?
Mito	71	Japan	alien	none	none	?

Legally responsible and other relatives	Relationship	Address	Number dependents
Mr. & Mrs. Tom Mayeda	daughter	4516	2
Mr. & Mrs. Bob Asakawa	daughter	Topaz	

Others in household	Relationship	Address
Mr. & Mrs. Yoichi Mayeda	daughter	4516-C

Visited Japan	Who	When	Period

Religion
Buddhist

THE SUZUKI FAMILY

CONFIDENTIAL

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Sources of Information:

1. Case Record of the Suzuki family in the files of the Community Welfare Department in Tule Lake Project.
2. Interview with Mr. Fukuzo Obayashi, social worker.
3. Interview with both Mr. and Mrs. Suzuki.
4. WRA-26, Individual Record Form, for Mr. and Mrs. Suzuki.

Evacuation and Resettlement Study
Chicago, Illinois
Shibutani, Sept. 8, 1943

THE SUZUKI FAMILY1. Introduction

The Suzuki family consists of Joseph Joe Suzuki, 24, and his wife, Dorothea Tamiko, 20. The couple were married a few months before evacuation but had difficulties soon after their arrival in camp. Both Joe and Dorothea are nisei and both have little understanding of the Japanese language. They were married in April, 1942 and separated in August.

2. Individuals in Family1. Joe Joseph Suzuki

Joe Suzuki was born on July 21, 1918 in Sacramento, California. He attended the Lincoln grammar school in Sacramento from September 1924 to June, 1930 and then went to Lincoln Junior High School until June, 1933. He graduated from Sacramento high school in June, 1936, majored in academic. From February, 1937 to June, 1938 he attended Sacramento junior college.

Soon after his graduation from high school Joe went to work as a farm contractor with his father, managing and harvesting crop during the summer month for \$100 a month. He continued this work throughout his years in junior college. In November, 1938 he went to work for the State of California in the Department of Employment of Sacramento as an accounting clerk for \$110 a month.

Joe is 5 ft. 5 in. tall and weighs 135 pounds and has no physical defects. He is relatively handsome in appearance, is sometimes very sullen and loses his temper very quickly. He can read, write and speak English but has only a poor speaking knowledge of Japanese. He is a skilled accountant and is working as a senior order clerk on the project. His hobby is reading novels, his religion is Buddhist.¹

2. Tamiko Dorothea Suzuki

Tamiko Dorothea Nakao was born on April 18, 1922 in Sacramento where her father operated a cleaning shop. She attended the Lincoln grammar school and Lincoln junior high school from September, 1928 to June, 1935 and then went on to Sacramento high school where she graduated in June, 1938. She majored in commercial subjects. She attended Sacramento junior college from September, 1938 to February, 1939.

In July, 1940 she went to work as an NYA apprentice as a filing clerk on a Federal project for \$18 a month. In October, 1940 she began working in a celery farm in Sacramento as a secretary for \$55 a month. In the meantime during the summer season she had been working at the Libby McNeil Cannery in Sacramento for 40 cents an hour. She did this seasonal work during the summers from 1939 to 1941. In January, 1942, she began working at the California State Department of Motor Vehicles as a junior clerk for \$80 a month. She resigned from this position in April, 1942 when she was married.

Dorothea is 5 ft. 1 in. tall, weighs 110 pounds and has no physical defects. She is a very attractive and easy going

1. WRA-26.

girl and is generally in good spirits. On the whole she takes things very lightly and is constantly joking. She can read, write and speak English and has a fairly good command of Japanese which she claims that she learned at the Sakura Japanese Language school which she attended from 1928 to 1936. She is a good athlete, especially in basketball and baseball. She also likes poetry. Her religion is Buddhist.²

3. History of Family

Dorothea and Joe had known each other for a long time. They both lived in the Japanese community and both attended the same school. They were engaged for a long time and Dorothea was a bit hesitant about marrying Joe because she realized that she and Joe were so different in temperament. However, Joe was very persistent and insisted upon their marriage as the deadline for evacuation approached. On April 19, 1942 they were married and on May 6 they evacuated to Valerger Assembly Center. Difficulties immediately arose. On June 23 they were relocated to Tule Lake. The difficulties continued and during the middle of August Dorothea became so upset that she attempted to commit suicide. On August 23 Dorothea went home to her mother who was also in the project.

Dorothea was pregnant at the time of separation. Joe was very concerned about the expected child and wished to have custody of the baby as soon as it was born because he felt that his estranged wife was not a fit mother for the child. He consulted his attorney, Henry Takeda, of the legal aid department but was referred to the social welfare department because of the WRA

regulations.

On February 8 Joe went to the Social Welfare department and demanded that a social worker visit his wife who was expecting a child any day to determine who is to have custody of the baby before its birth. He said that it was very urgent because his wife was at least 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ month pregnant and was expecting a baby almost any day. The worker to whom he made this demand was busy at the time and he therefore laid the case to another member of the staff. Since the new worker did not know anything about the case he asked Mr. Suzuki to appear at the office for an interview. Joe shouted over the telephone that he had given all the information cared to give to the first man who interviewed him and demanded that action be taken immediately. When he was informed that nothing would be done until all the information was given, he reluctantly agreed to appear at the office after he had failed in his demand that the social worker go to his office in the Administration building.³

On the following morning Joe appeared at the office and gave the following story:

"I want to know where my baby is going and I want to know before the baby is born so that there will be no question in my wife's mind as to what's going to happen while she's going through the pains of childbirth. I'm going to get a divorce and I have already talked about it with my lawyer. We have an agreement already because our baishakunin has fixed everything up. My wife is not going to contest the divorce and when she talked to Takeda she

3. Field notes, February 8, 1943.

told him that I could have the baby but my friends tell me that she thinks differently now. I guess that now that the baby is about to come she has changed her mind. For all I care if she's going to raise a fuss about it she can have the baby.

"We are going to wait until August before filing suit the charges will probably be mental cruelty, faithlessness and incompatibility. So far as I know there is no other man involved definitely but I know that she has not been faithful to me.

"Before we were married we went around steady for about five or six years but after we were married we had disagreements from the first month. I can't understand it. We did have a few squabbles before our marriage but after we just couldn't get along.

"I want you to ask her about the baby. Ask her if she wants it or whether she wants me to have it. If I am to take the child ask her if she would prefer not to see the baby at all after it is born. I think that there is a danger that if she does see the baby she may want to keep it. So far as I know her parents don't give a damn and my parents say that is okay.

"I don't know what's the matter with her but she talks a helluva lot and she's so damn nonki⁴ that sometimes she just talks and talks even when others are in a very serious mood. There's a lot of talk going around this camp and some of the guys say that the baby is somebody else's. There's

4. Japanese word meaning extremely carefree.

some talk that she was pregnant before we were married."⁵

On the following day the social worker called upon Mrs. Suzuki and she told the following story:

"I can't understand why Joe feels the way he does. We have had a lot of trouble since we got married but Joe should have known better when he married me. After all, we were going steady for a long time and he knew all my faults.

"I think the trouble started, I mean serious trouble when I tried to commit suicide in August. We just went on and on and I couldn't stand it anymore so I took some poison. I thought that if I tried to commit suicide I could either end it all or else buy doing that get their sympathy and better understanding. But I guess I was mistaken. When I got back from the hospital his parents wouldn't even speak to me and Joe was meaner than ever. That's why I left and went home to my god damn father.

"As far as the baby is concerned, I don't see why there is such a hurry at all because I'm not expecting it until the first of March. As far as I am concerned, I thought the whole matter was settled. He said he wanted the baby and that he was going to take it.

"There is nothing in the world that I want more than reconciliation. I guess that I'm still very fond of him. I've pleaded with him over and over again but it's no use. He should have known better than to marry me. He knew what kind of girl I was. He knew me long enough. I guess he

5. Taken from CWD files and field notes, February 9, 1943.

expected me to change when we got married but you know, I can't do that. I've been the way that I am all my life and nobody can expect me to change over night. He just wanted too much that's all.

"I think both of us are controlled by our parents too much but because I'm more carefree than he is I just laugh off some of the things that my parents tell me. But Joe is different. He's so curious that he'll do just about anything that his mother and father want him to do. I know that his parents don't like me and when they told him to get rid of me he just kicked me out. After we got married we had to live with his folks. They're always serious and gloomy and they're not at all like my folks are. I just couldn't understand how people could live and be so unhappy like they are. Since I was so happy-go-lucky, I guess I just didn't fit into their family. I asked Joe to move but he just wouldn't do it.

"I guess all I could hope for now is to get through this thing and to forget all about it. I want to forget. I hope that the baby makes Joe happy and I hope that the baby will change him, at least a little. I know that it won't do anything for his parents because they are too strict in their ways. I think getting together again is just impossible."⁶

After a brief discussion Dorothea did change her mind about the baby. She told the worker that she would wait until the baby was born and then make up her mind whether she wanted to keep it

6. Field notes, February 10, 1945.

or whether she would let her husband have the child.

Mr. Suzuki was notified through a memorandum of his wife's decision to wait until the child was born. About a week later he phoned the social welfare department and registered a vociferous protest. He objected that his wife was being unfair to him and that it was selfish of her to want to wait until the child was born to make up her mind. He added further that he wanted a written agreement and that if he were not satisfied he would file a suit in court at once.⁷

Before anything could be done, however, the registration crisis stopped most activities in the center. The social welfare department was closed since many of the workers could not come to work and before the office was open the baby was born. Suzuki was furious but there was nothing he could do about it. He went to the hospital but was refused permission to see his baby. He called in a social worker to his home but since the office was closed and since the child was born already, there was nothing more that could be done. He was unable to take any legal action because almost all of the legal aid department staff had resigned.

7. CWD files, February 19, 1943.

Appendix I

Surname	Man's name	Cross reference	File	Case #
SUZUKI	Joseph			
	Woman's name	Other names used		Family #
	Dorothea			6412
Present address	905-D (Mr.) and 2303-B (Mrs.)			Classification
				Domestic
				Referred by
				Legal Aid
Previous addresses	1626 - 4th St., Sacramento, Calif.			Date
				2-8-43
1. Evacuated from	Sacramento on May 6, 1942			
2. Relocated from	Walerga Assembly Center on June 23, 1942			

FAMILY COMPOSITION

Name	Birth	Birthplace	Citizenship status	Occupation		
				Past	In project	Registered
Joseph	7/21/18	Sacramento	Citizen	Civil Service	Clerk	Yes
Dorothea	4/18/22	Sacramento	Citizen	Civil Service	--	No

Legally responsible and other relatives	Relationship	Address	Number dependents
Kanjiro Nakao	Father	2303-B	3
Renichi Suzuki	Father	905-D	4

Others in household	Relationship	Address

Visited Japan	Who	When	Period

Religion	Buddhist
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