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THE KIKUCHI DIARY

A Personal Record of the Japanese American
Evacuation and Resettlement

Abridged and annotated
by

Donald P. Kent
and
Barbara K. Fitts

Foreword by Dorothy Swaine Thomas

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Foreword

From 1941 to 1947, I served as director of the Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study at the University of California. Our research staff included a number of evacuees who as "participant observers" kept daily records of the impact of events following Pearl Harbor upon the Japanese minority: evacuation from the West Coast, concomitant with the exclusion orders of 1942; detention in government-operated camps; administrative efforts to assess the "loyalty" of the evacuees; segregation of the "disloyal"; planned relocation of the "loyal" outside the areas of exclusion; and closure of the camps following rescission of the exclusion orders in December 1945.

Many of these records were used extensively in the three volumes on Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement that were published by the University of California Press in 1946, 1951, and 1954;* and in a paper published by the American Philosophical Society in 1950.** Others, however, have been relatively unexploited, and, whereas they are available for research purposes in the archives of the University of California at Berkeley, their sheer bulk and lack of explanatory annotations limit their usefulness as source materials. Among these is a 10,000 page diary, which was kept continuously by Charles Kikuchi, a research assistant on the Study, from April 1942, when he and his family were evacuated from Berkeley and San Francisco to an assembly center at the Tanforan Race Track, throughout his period of detention at the Gila River Relocation Project in Arizona and of initial resettlement in the Chicago area to the day, in August 1945, when he was inducted in the United States Army. His well-written, faithfully documented account represents a record unique in the annals of social science. The present abridgment to approximately 10 percent of the original was painstakingly prepared by Professor Donald

needs to be changed

and CK (?)

Kent, of the University of Connecticut, and Mrs. Barbara K. Fitts, of Philadelphia, who, working relatively independently, reached a consensus as to portions of the original which should be published in order to maximize the value of a necessarily short volume. Dr. Kent and Mrs. Fitts jointly prepared the greater part*** of the introduction and all of the annotations.

The Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study was financed, during the 1940's, by the Rockefeller and Columbia Foundations and the University of California. Additional grants to aid in the preparation of the present volume were received in 1951-52 from the American Philosophical Society and the University of Pennsylvania. Assistance from all of these sources is gratefully acknowledged.

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

- * The Spoilage by Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto (1946)
The Salvage by Dorothy Swaine Thomas, with the assistance of Charles Kikuchi and James M. Sakoda (1950)
Prejudice, War, and the Constitution by Jacobus Ten Broek, Edward N. Barnhart, and Floyd W. Matson (1954)
- ** "Some Social Aspects of Japanese-American Demography" by Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 94 (1950), pp. 459-480.
- *** Part I of the Introduction ("The Setting") was prepared by the present writer. It is an ^aover-concise summary of points that are developed in detail in the publications cited in the preceding footnotes.

1. The Setting

During the spring and summer of 1942, the whole of California, the western half of Washington and Oregon, and southern Arizona were cleared of their 110,000 Japanese residents by the Western Defense Command, under authority vested in the Commanding General, John L. De Witt. Sanction for this forced mass migration of a racially-defined segment of the American population was derived from an executive order, signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19th, which authorized delimitation of military areas from which "any or all persons" might be excluded.

Immediately after the outbreak of war, Japanese, German, and Italian nationals had been declared to be "enemy aliens," and the Department of Justice had designated a number of small zones, surrounding strategic installations, from which they would be required to move. When the Army took ~~over~~ control of the situation, General De Witt promptly added as a fourth category for exclusion "Americans of Japanese descent," defined to include "any person who has a Japanese ancestor, regardless of degree." He designated a wide strip of the coastal territory and of southern Arizona as "Military Area Number 1," and issued proclamations and press releases notifying "all Japanese" to prepare to evacuate the area. However, no mass action was ever taken against German and Italian aliens. ✓

For a few weeks, the Japanese were permitted to leave the area voluntarily and to choose destinations anywhere outside of Military Area Number 1, with assistance from a newly formed agency, the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA). It soon became apparent that the vast majority could not meet the deadlines imposed and, on March 27, further voluntary change of residence was prohibited. Exclusion orders, similar to the one shown in Plate I for

San Diego, were issued in rapid succession covering the whole of Military Area Number 1, and Japanese residents of one neighborhood or community after another were moved, en masse, and under military guard, to barbed-wire enclosed "assembly centers" which had been hastily constructed on nearby race tracks, fair grounds, and similar sites. Early in the summer, the eastern half of California--which was known as the "Free Zone" and was the destination ^{of} ~~sought~~ by most of the voluntary evacuees--was added to the exclusion area. With the systematic removal of all ~~of~~ Japanese from this zone the first phase of controlled evacuation was completed. The second phase involved another mass movement from assembly centers to more remote and more extensive camps, called "relocation projects," which were designed for longer occupancy and administered by the War Relocation Authority (WRA). These camps, too, were surrounded by barbed wire and established as military zones from which unauthorized egress was prohibited under penalties of public law.

Forcible detention of the Japanese had not been anticipated in the original plans of the Western Defense Command, whose declared intention was merely to clear the coastal region of "potential enemies," as a matter of "military necessity"; and the primary purpose of forming the War Relocation Authority was to facilitate the resettlement of the involuntarily displaced evacuees. Once detention became a reality, however, and the camps declared to be military zones, WRA found it next to impossible to implement its resettlement program. A small number of bilingually competent young men were recruited from camps for teaching positions in army language schools or for training in military intelligence. A few hundred students obtained permits to enter midwestern and eastern colleges, under arrangements initiated by a private organization, the Student Relocation Committee. Several thousand men and a few women received "seasonal leaves" for work on nearby farms and ranches during the harvest and planting periods, but

they were required to return to camp after the expiration of their contracts. Provisions for "indefinite leave" to take up more or less permanent work in normal communities required not only an individual "loyalty" investigation but also evidence of a valid job offer, of community acceptance, and of ability to support dependents remaining in camp. These provisions were cumbersome and by the end of 1942, only about 1 percent of the adults in the camps had been cleared for "indefinite leave." In an effort to speed up relocation, WRA entered a cooperative arrangement with the War Department for mass clearance, in the spring of 1943, and a plan was drawn up for the simultaneous registration of young men eligible for military service and the execution of lengthy questionnaires, designed to test "loyalty," by all persons 17 years of age or older. The plans for registration were hastily conceived, and ineptly administered, and although most of the evacuees complied with the requirements in most of the camps, there were widely publicized instances of passive resistance, refusals to register, verbal declarations of disloyalty, and in one camp--Tule Lake--open revolt. Following a Senate investigation, WRA undertook forced mass movement of the detained evacuees, by segregating the "disloyal" and members of their families who wished to accompany them in the Tule Lake camp, and moving the "loyal" from Tule Lake to other camps. Inasmuch as the "disloyal" contingent represented only ^{a small minority} ~~about one in six~~ of the evacuees, registration did remove a major impediment to resettlement for the great majority of camp residents, and WRA proceeded to facilitate their movement by setting up offices in many midwestern cities to aid in finding jobs and housing for them. By the end of 1944, approximately one in three had left for the "outside World" to continue their education, enter the armed forces, take up an occupation, or join previously relocated family members.

On December 17, 1944, following a decision of the Supreme Court, the Western Defense Command's order excluding Japanese from the West Coast was rescinded. Simultaneously, the War Relocation Authority announced that all camps under their supervision would be liquidated within a year. One after another of the camps was closed, on schedule, and most of the evacuees who had sat out the war years in camp returned to the West Coast. In the course of the next few years, they were joined by appreciable numbers of the earlier resettlers to the Midwest and East, and by 1950, four out of five of all of the Japanese in the United States had again taken up residence in one or another of the western states. *see question.*

The 110,000 Japanese who experienced the various phases of evacuation, detention, and resettlement were homogeneous in respect to ancestry. Demographically, politically, and culturally, however, the group consisted of many ~~disparate~~ ^{disparate} ~~etc~~ elements. One-third were first generation immigrants, known as Issei. Two-thirds were American born, most of whom were American-educated and known as Nisei or second generation. Within the American-born group a small minority (approximately one in seven) had received some or all of their education in Japan and were called Kibei (literally, "returned to America"). ^(with some few exceptions) Issei were ineligible to American citizenship, in accordance with various judicial interpretations of our Naturalization Act of 1790 and its subsequent revisions; but by virtue of birth on American soil, all Nisei and Kibei held American citizenship.

The majority of the Issei males came to the United States between 1885 and 1908, when the Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan became effective and brought labor immigration to an end. Most of the Issei females came between 1908, under a provision of the Agreement permitting the earlier immigrants to bring in close family members, and 1924, when Oriental Exclusion was incorporated in our

immigration law. As a consequence, there were marked age disparities, the median age of Issei males and females being 55 and 47 years respectively, and that of the American born, only 21 years. Moreover, since the practice of sending young children to Japan for education virtually ceased during the 1930's, the Kibei, with a median age of 26 years, were appreciably older than the Nisei, whose median age was only 17 years.

At the outbreak of war, approximately two in every five of the Japanese in the Pacific Coast states were gainfully occupied in agriculture. The Issei had, in the main, started as seasonal or casual workers, and many of them had progressed to tenancy and even ownership in spite of land laws prohibiting ownership and restricting tenancy among aliens ineligible to citizenship. Most of the farms were operated as family enterprises, dependent in large measure upon the unpaid labor of wives and children. With little capital expenditure and intensive application of labor, they obtained virtual monopolies in the production of many of the important crops, and in California where their farms included less than 3 percent of all the cropland harvested they were producing between 30 and 35 percent by value of all commercial truck crops.

Many Issei entered the urban labor force by way of domestic service: day work on a contract basis, gardening, and what was known as a "schoolboy" job, in which young Japanese immigrants worked and lived in white households and tried to get an education at the same time. Movement into trade and service enterprises and into the ranks of skilled labor was hampered by boycotts and other restrictive measures. Aside from their numerous enterprises devoted to meeting the needs of the ethnic group, they expanded into the wider community in only a few limited branches: hotels, grocery stores, cleaning and dyeing shops, Oriental art goods stores, and the wholesale and retail marketing of agricultural produce. In some of these they attained a considerable measure of

success, and, as in their farming enterprises, they drew heavily upon unpaid family labor.

Occupational outlets for American-born Japanese were, during the depression years when many of them were seeking their first jobs, extremely limited. There were few opportunities in the professions or in other white-collar jobs, except in the ethnic community or in state and federal civil service. Domestic service was the modal occupation for American-born females and was often the only gainful employment obtainable also for appreciable numbers of males in the western cities. In San Francisco, for example, one in every four of the citizen males and three in every five of the citizen females ~~was~~^{were} so occupied in 1940.

In striking contrast to the low occupational status of the second generation was their high educational level. By every available index, American-educated children of Japanese parentage were more thoroughly schooled than even the notably well-educated general population on the Pacific Coast. In number of grades completed, they greatly surpassed any other identifiable minority and approximated native whites of native parentage. Compared with other population groups, Nisei children started school earlier and remained longer through the adolescent period; finished full curricula to a greater extent; obtained better grades and ratings from teachers; and received a quite disproportionate number of scholastic honors. Kibei, too, were well educated. One in four had completed schooling in this country, with a median number of years of formal education only slightly below that of Nisei. Those who had completed their education abroad had, on the average, two years less of formal schooling than Nisei, but they had spent more years in schools in Japan than had the parent generation.

The high value placed on education had far-reaching consequences in developing American habits and attitudes among Nisei and in thus promoting their

rapid assimilation, but also in promoting aggressively nationalistic "pro-Japan" attitudes among the Kibei, many of whom ~~had resided~~ ^{attended school} in Japan during the crucial 1930's.

The cultural-political orientation of the three "generational" groups tended to vary not only with respect to education but also in terms of geographical location, occupation, language, and religion. There was less segregation and discrimination in the Pacific Northwest than in California; and, in general, less in urban than in rural areas. Farming communities tended to be more close-knit and (ethnocentered) than even the Little Tokyos or Japanese Towns of the larger cities. Family enterprise tended to retard integration; while domestic service, in spite of its low status, was one of the few occupations that brought the Japanese minority into more than casual face-to-face contact with the Caucasian majority. ethnocentric?

Although many Japanese had had contact with Christian missionaries prior to immigration, about three-quarters of the Issei settlers adhered to the Buddhist faith; and the proportion of Buddhists among Kibei was appreciably higher than that of the parent generation. Approximately half of the Nisei, however, followed the majority-group preference pattern^s of Christianity or secularism. Acceptance of Christianity did not, in and of itself, imply integration into the larger American community, inasmuch as all of the major West Coast denominations segregated their Japanese members in separate churches or missions; but it did, through various related activities, provide a basis for interracial contact that had no counterpart in Buddhist congregations, which were branches of organizations centered in Japan, and by their very nature, tended to orient their adherents to the mother country. (Didn't Alice
↓ Maria attend
a predominantly
Christian church?
I may be wrong
here.)

Most of the Issei were highly literate in the Japanese language but had very imperfect knowledge of English; whereas the converse was true of most Nisei,

among whom English was considered the "mother tongue," in spite of years of attendance, at the behest of their parents, at privately-organized Japanese language schools. A minority of the Kibei were skilled bilinguals; the majority tended, like their parents, to have greater facility in Japanese, and to be handicapped, compared with Nisei, in the use of English.

During the prewar decades, there was a plethora of immigrant organizations and associations on the West Coast. In most settlements, the Japanese Association, which included in its membership most of the farmers and business from surrounding areas was the focal organization. It received official recognition from the consular offices, and performed a number of semiofficial functions, in addition to many social and meliorative activities. Almost every immigrant belonged also to a prefectural society (kenjinkai), which included persons orientating in the same prefecture in Japan, and served, in many communities, as the center of immigrant social life. Attempts to form "junior auxiliaries" among Nisei had met with limited success, and the only numerically important second-generation association was the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) which, by 1940, had 50 chapters, devoted to exerting political pressure against discriminatory legislation, to promoting public relations with the larger community and to emphasizing "Americanism" to the second generation. After 1939, concomitant with the development of strong anti-Japan sentiment in the United States, JACL officials cooperated perhaps overenthusiastically with American intelligence agencies in evaluating the "loyalty" of members of the immigrant community; and, when evacuation plans were announced, its chapters served as liaison groups with WCCA.

The cultural-generational-political cleavages that existed before the war were aggravated by the conditions of life behind the barbed wire of assembly

centers and relocation projects. The registration crisis of 1943 and the subsequent sifting of the "loyal" from the "disloyal" resulted in a highly selective segregation, with an extraordinary ^{ly high} incidence of "disloyalty" among Kibei and an extremely low proportion among Nisei, with Issei occupying intermediate positions. The ability of second-generation American-educated Japanese to maintain their orientation as Americans under the pressures engendered by evacuation, detention, and registration was noteworthy for all classes, but strongest among those who had resided in the Pacific Northwest, who had been employed in non-agricultural or urban pursuits, who had accepted Christianity or professed no religion, and who had attained the highest level of education. And it was these classes that responded most eagerly and quite disproportionately to their numbers to the opportunities opened up for resettlement from camps to the Middle West and East. The net effect of forced mass migration and selective resettlement was, therefore, the dispersal beyond the bounds of segregated ethnocentered communities into areas of wider opportunity of the most highly assimilated segments of the Japanese American minority.

2. Charles Kikuchi and his Family

Charles Kikuchi, an American citizen of Japanese parentage, was evacuated from Berkeley on April 30, 1942, while a student at the University of California. On that day, he began to keep a diary of what was happening to him and to his fellow-evacuees and of how they reacted to these happenings. The idea of keeping a journal of the evacuation had been conceived some weeks earlier in a discussion with two Berkeley students, James Sakoda and Warren Tsuneishi. Sakoda in particular had urged the historical value of "on-the-spot" documentation, by participant observers, and all three students kept diaries, independently, for varying lengths of time.

Kikuchi had an unusually curious and retentive mind, and he produced what may well be the most complete and revealing day-by-day record of the evacuation and its aftermath. His diary, in its uncut version, covers 10,000 typewritten pages for the period from April 1942 to August 1945.

OK, as he calls himself in his diary and as we shall refer to him, was born in Vallejo, California on January 18, 1916--the second child of Nakajiro and Shizuko Kikuchi. His father had immigrated to America around the turn of the century in the hope of acquiring wealth and returning to Japan. But after several years as a migratory farm worker and a five-year period of service as cook in the United States Navy, he took a course in barbering and settled down in the waterfront district of Vallejo, close to the Mare Island Naval Base. His friends among the sailors patronized his shop and for a time he prospered.

Mrs. Kikuchi--seventeen years younger than her husband--was the well educated, attractive daughter of middle-class Tokyo parents, and the sister of one of Nakajiro's shipmates. The marriage was arranged, in 1913, by a broker, for the sum of \$500, and Mrs. Kikuchi did not meet her husband until the day he arrived in Japan for the wedding. She and her parents accepted in good faith the groom's claim that he was a rich American businessman.

Arriving in America with her husband, Mrs. Kikuchi was hardly prepared for his barber's shack located across the mud flats of Vallejo in the midst of dilapidated stores, saloons and brothels. Her new home had two rooms: in the front, the barber shop; and a fifteen-by-twenty foot back room that served as complete living quarters. Inasmuch as barbering is a trade of low status in Japan, being generally performed by women, Mrs. Kikuchi found it difficult to adjust to her husband's career in America. Domestic discord soon developed and Mr. Kikuchi's addiction to alcohol, already strong before marriage, increased greatly and with it came frequent outbursts of cruelty.

The first child, a girl named Mariko, was born in 1915; and the first son--the author of this diary--a year later. Each of the children was given a Japanese name which--as was customary among Nisei--was anglicized as they grew older: Sutekatsu, born in 1917, became Jack; Haruka, born in 1919, was called Alice; Emiko, born in 1924, was known as Emi or Amy; Yoriko, born in 1926, changed her name to Bette; Takeshi, born in 1929, became Tom; and the youngest, Miyako, born in 1931, called herself Margaret or Margie. CK had a great antipathy to his "screwy Japanese name," and was reluctant even to disclose it. Customers in the barber-shop dubbed him "Charlie," and, from early childhood, this was the name he used.

The Kikuchi pattern of living was a mixture of old and new world customs; but Japanese was the only language spoken at home, and neither CK nor Mariko knew any English when they entered the public schools--a fact that was to set off a chain of nightmarish events for the former.

A few days after CK had been admitted to school his teacher visited his parents to talk over his language difficulties. The purpose of her visit was apparently misunderstood, and as CK recalls it "this incident caught my father in a tender spot and touched off in him something that made things hard for me thereafter." When the teacher left, Mr. Kikuchi worked himself into a violent rage.

"... he hung me by the feet to the two-by-six rafters that cut the ceiling of the room in half, and whipped me with an old razor strop. I hung there, head down, for five or ten minutes."

After this traumatic incident, CK was subjected to frequent accusations, beatings, and even torture. The situation became intolerable, and Mrs. Kikuchi left home, taking CK and the other three children, and they went on public relief. Although the parents became reconciled and the family reunited within a

few months, separation had not lessened Mr. Kikuchi's intense hostility to his oldest son. After several years of unhappiness and tension, Mrs. Kikuchi's brother offered to adopt CK and take him back with him to Japan, but at the last minute Mr. Kikuchi balked at the plan, and, instead, placed the boy in the custody of one of his own friends in San Francisco. This arrangement came to an abrupt end when the custodian was jailed for embezzlement; and CK was committed to a small private orphanage. This, too, turned out to be only a temporary refuge. The orphanage was disbanded following the death of a child under suspicious circumstances, and CK was sent back to his parents in Vallejo. Again the savage beatings began, and Mrs. Kikuchi, in desperation, asked her lawyer to have CK made a ward of the court.

CK was then eight years of age, and for the next ten years he lived in a Salvation Army institution for orphans and children from broken homes, on a seven-hundred acre estate in a nearby farming area. For eight of these years he was a ward of the court; and he stayed on for two additional years, working for his room and board. He was the only Japanese boy in "The Home"--as he called it--and he was quickly accepted by the other children and by the administrative staff. He soon acquired a knowledge of English, completed three grades in school in a single year, and caught up with his age group. He became something of a leader in his "gang," being a good scrapper and full of ideas of adventure.

During most of the time he was at the Home, CK ^{did not communicate} ~~was out of~~ communication with his family. He had never learned to read Japanese, and his mother could not write to him in English. His oldest sister, Mariko, sent him an occasional greeting card; but he did not reciprocate. Three years after his admission, his mother's lawyer visited him to inquire whether he wished to return to Vallejo;

and to tell him that his mother believed that his father's attitude had softened and that it would be safe to return. The lawyer spoke to him at first in Japanese, and CK discovered, to his surprise, that he had almost completely forgotten the language. Only a "faint and distant rumble of meaning came through," and he could not (or would not) answer any questions until the lawyer spoke to him in English. He then replied with loud "no's," but would give no reason for his refusal to return to his family.

During his last four years at the Home CK attended a nearby high school where he was the only Nisei student. He graduated in 1934 "among the first four in scholarship" and left the Home six months later for San Francisco, with a new suit of clothes and twenty dollars in his pocket. His reception in San Francisco surprised, hurt, and infuriated him. For two weeks he walked the streets in fruitless search of a job. In his wanderings he discovered Japanese Town, but he could understand neither the language nor the customs. After a series of rebuffs he sought the assistance of the Director of the Home, and, through him, found a position as athletic instructor in a school for Japanese boys. He managed to collect a month's salary before he was discharged for refusal to bow to his elders and conform to Japanese ways.

After he had been in San Francisco for three months, CK sought out his family in Vallejo:

One day I found myself on a ferryboat going across the bay. Not having seen my home for nearly ten years, I had only a vague idea of its location. But I found it. It looked poor, small and shabby. Through the shop window I saw my father sitting idle in his barber's chair. I did not really recognize him; I just assumed it was he. He looked very old....

I walked around the block. Should I go in?....I decided to enter by the back way.

My mother recognized me at once, with a little gasp. She was very still a few seconds, looking at me. Then she closed her eyes and smiled as though she had been expecting me....My mother had aged, too.

She was so thin, so little. She came scarcely up to my chin. I could not understand what she was saying in Japanese and she knew no English.

There were several youngsters in the room, my brothers and sisters. At first I barely saw them. They all stared at me, and whispered excitedly.

My father shuffled into the back room from the shop....He was only a shadow of the figure he had been ten years before. He was much smaller than I....When informed who I was, he folded his arms and his head dropped on his sunken chest, and he began to talk in a jumble of Japanese and English. I gathered that he thought I hated him. Finally he sat on the edge of one of the three beds that crowded the room, and clutching a brass knob, asked me to forgive him for his mistreatment of me....he had ceased drinking. I felt dreadful over this, but managed to pat him on the shoulder and take his hand, which was weak and small and cold....

My mother tried desperately to make me feel welcome. She was distressed over my inability to understand her....I began to notice my brothers and sisters whose eyes continued to be fixed on me. Every move I made caused a stir among them. By-and-by I counted them. Four; all born after I had left home. One was only three, a tiny fellow sitting in the middle of one of the huge beds. They made me uneasy....On that first visit the other three members of the family were not home. The two senior children in the house acted as interpreters between my mother and me. She said she hoped my feelings about my father really were not bitter any longer. I found it difficult to say anything, but said they were not: I bore him no grudge. She asked me to come to live with them; they would make room for me. This caused a flutter among the interpreters. One whispered to another in English, "Where will he sleep?" I declined the invitation. I said I would crowd them too much. But my real reason was that I did not belong.

During the fall and winter of 1934-35, CK visited Vallejo several more times, and gradually became acquainted with his family. Mariko, who was working as a domestic servant in San Francisco, and had been the chief support of the family for several years, was the only one of the siblings who really remembered him. She received him with warmth and affection, and offered to help him find a job. There were, however, few openings, except in domestic service, and the idea of becoming a servant was extremely distasteful to him. For weeks, he lived at a bare subsistence level, doing odd jobs and occasional

"day work" in Japanese Town. As a last resort, and still against his will, he took a job as houseboy for a prominent business man and his wife.

To say that I was difficult is putting it mildly, and I still marvel at their patience with me. Now and then, during my first two years with them, they would put me in my place, which pushed me to the brink of quitting; but they also made frequent concessions. For example, the previous houseboy had worn a white coat while serving them. I rebelled against this so much they let me have my way, except when they had special guests.

His employers encouraged CK to continue his education, and so arranged his hours that he was able to enter San Francisco State College in the fall of 1935. In spite of their kindness he was sensitive and stand-offish. He did his work so well they could not find fault, but he answered as many questions as possible with a curt "yes" or "no."

At college CK did not reveal the fact that he was working as a houseboy, and he deliberately avoided contact with his fellow students--especially with other Nisei. Early in his junior year a Caucasian member of the Student Council challenged him for the obvious chip on his shoulder, and he began to associate more freely with other students. He became interested in the history and status of Japanese Americans, read widely, and discussed Nisei problems with his "boss." He was elected president of the International Club, and graduated in May 1939 at the head of his class. "The boss" and his wife gave him a used Model A car and five twenty-dollar bills as a graduation present.

CK had majored in history, hoping to teach in the public schools; but, in 1939, there were few openings for teachers, and no Japanese were then being employed in California schools. During the summer, he earned his living as a farm laborer, travelling from place to place in his car. Returning to San Francisco in the fall, he sought advice from former professors; he applied to numerous business firms and agencies; and he was interviewed by employment

and personnel managers, but he could find no permanent job. During the entire fall and most of the winter of 1939 he was unemployed, finally obtaining help from the National Youth Administration--a government agency established under the Works Progress Administration. Under NYA, he began a study of the economic problems of Nisei in the San Francisco Bay Area. The following summer he again joined a group of agricultural laborers along with his brother Jack, and worked ten hours a day for twenty-five cents an hour.

In the autumn of 1940, CK resumed work for NYA, and in this connection drifted into "Japanese Town," and became associated with a group of Nisei "rowdies," none of whom knew of his research activities. He describes this as his "disorganized period." He spent much of his time drinking, gambling, and visiting houses of prostitution; and he seldom saw his family.

In the spring of 1941, CK acted as chauffeur for a physician (Alice's former employer) and drove him and his family through the Pacific Northwest and Canada. Returning, he spent the summer in "hand-to-mouth" living, working at the San Francisco Fair, on the railroads and in the Reno gambling houses. In August he entered the University of California at Berkeley, on a scholarship, to work for a one-year certificate in the graduate school of Social Work; and on Pearl Harbor Day he was midway in his year of graduate study. He recalls the events of that day as follows:

On Sunday, December 7, a couple of Nisei friends and I had gotten together for a bull session and the conversation turned to the subject of possible war. Right in the midst of this conversation, another Nisei boy rushed in to announce that Pearl Harbor had been bombed by the Japanese air force. We all took it as a joke and we continued our discussion. The boy tried to convince us but we just ignored him. Finally one of us turned on the radio and the news flash came over. We still did not believe it until several other friends came running in to announce the news. Our group quietly broke up and I suppose we were all pretty shocked. My first reaction was one of vague fear because I somehow felt that

I would be identified with the enemy. In order to reassure myself that this would not happen, I walked up to the college library and mixed in with other students who were trying to study for their finals....

The next day I quietly went over to the Civic Center in San Francisco and asked to be inducted into the service. I was refused for the second time because the officer said that a policy had to be set for the Nisei first. I did not press the matter but returned to the campus, and I did not tell any of my friends what I had tried to do.

Under Department of Justice orders, Mr. and Mrs. Kikuchi, being "enemy aliens," were subject to exclusion from their home in Vallejo, which was in the vicinity of the Mare Island Naval Base. Caucasian friends petitioned Washington unsuccessfully, in their behalf. In February the family was forced to move, and they chose San Francisco as a destination. Mariko, who was working in Los Angeles as a domestic servant, and Jack, a student at San Francisco State College, returned to Vallejo to assist in the moving, but the main burden fell upon Alice who had taken over the major share of responsibility for the family from Mariko. Upon graduating at the head of her class at Vallejo High School, Alice had completed a course in secretarial work but--like Mariko--she had been forced into domestic service to earn a living and help support her parents and younger brothers and sisters.

Mr. Kikuchi completely reversed his attitude toward CK and looked to him, as the oldest son, for leadership in this period of crisis. Through CK's efforts, assistance was obtained from federal relief agencies and the financial burden on his sisters was eased. However, his vigorous entrance into family affairs marked the emergence of conflict between him and his older sisters. Alice and Mariko welcomed his aid but resented his exercise of authority, and the struggle between them was to mount in intensity over the next three years.

Two months after the move from Vallejo the family was uprooted again when all persons of Japanese ancestry were ordered to leave Military Area I, which, of course, included San Francisco, Berkeley, and Los Angeles. Mariko alone decided to resettle to the East during the period of "voluntary evacuation" and she left for Chicago just before the orders prohibiting change of address were enforced on March 27.

Mr. and Mrs. Kikuchi and six of their children were evacuated, early in April, to an Assembly Center at the Tanforan Race Track. Orders had not yet been issued for Berkeley, but CK registered for evacuation under the "family number" so that he would be assigned to the same barracks at Tanforan. He continued his studies at the University and managed to complete the exams just before he was evacuated on April 30th. His grades---all A's---were sent to him in the Assembly Center, accompanied by a certificate in Social Work and, ironically, an invitation to attend graduation ceremonies.

? At Tanforan, CK was united with his family for the first time in eighteen years. Here he and his parents and six of his brothers and sisters lived for five months in a barrack-like apartment of two rooms, converted from horse stalls; and here CK had his first close association, since early childhood, with Japanese immigrant culture. Here, too, he began his diary, which he kept daily (with only three or four exceptions) throughout the entire war period.

while in the assembly center
~~At Tanforan,~~ CK accepted a part-time research assistantship on the University of California Evacuation and Resettlement Study; and he agreed to turn over his diary as source material for the Study.

CK's connection with the California Study gave him some choice in his subsequent moves to a WRA "relocation project," for the Western Defense Command had approved a request from the Director of the Study to move evacuee

assistants to selected relocation projects which would serve as centers for observational research. The Kikuchis, therefore, had to choose between going to Tule Lake or Gila River, or to remain at Tanforan and take their chances with the evacuees in this camp, who were eventually sent to Topaz. CK selected Gila both because it was outside California and because he could be independent of the other members of the Study, all of whom had selected Tule Lake. The rest of the family agreed to go with him, and in September 1942 they were all transferred to Gila.

This was another turbulent period for the Kikuchis. Mr. Kikuchi had a stroke on the way to Gila and was removed from the train at San Luis Obispo. He never fully recovered, although he was able to be transferred to the hospital at Gila where he remained until his death in July 1943. Jack stayed at Gila only long enough to help the family get settled, and then left to take a scholarship at Drew University in New Jersey; and shortly afterward Alice joined Mariko in Chicago.

For several months, CK functioned as a participant observer at Gila, obtaining a job in the housing and welfare division of the WRA project and becoming secretary of the leading Nisei organizations in camp--the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). Possibly because of his close involvement in community affairs and his association with administrative personnel, he was attacked and beaten by unidentified assailants on December 23. After this painful experience, he became increasingly anxious to leave camp, and eagerly accepted an offer to continue work on the California Study, as a full-time research assistant in the midwestern area of resettlement. In April, 1943, he left camp for Chicago, taking Emiko and Bette with him. CK and his sisters were thus in the vanguard of the evacuees resettling from camps to "the outside world."

CK worked in the Chicago office of the California Study for two and a half years. Here he prepared resettler life histories--meticulously detailed and vivid retrospective accounts of evacuation and early resettlement--many of which are included in The Salvage. Here too he continued, unremittingly, his own daily record of events and personal reactions.

With CK's induction into the army in August 1945, his story of the evacuation, detention and resettlement of the Japanese minority group comes to a close. Corresponding to these phases is the division of the Kikuchi Diary into three sections--Tanforan, Gila, and Chicago.

The diary has been extensively cut, ~~the present version amounting to scarcely more than 10 percent of the original~~. The editors have, however, neither rewritten nor altered it; the only "corrections" are for obvious typing errors. But in the interest of smooth reading the dots of elipses have been omitted.

In general the material eliminated from this abridgment has been of three types: 1) information which is of no importance either as a history of the evacuation or as the reactions of the Kikuchis and their associates (e.g., weather reports, minor illnesses, etc.); 2) repetitious details of camp living (e.g., menus, block meetings, etc.) and minutes, official announcements, and similar items which were incorporated as documents; 3) information about the camps that is adequately or better presented in other sources (e.g., administrative organization and reorganization). ~~The annotations give some indication of the material omitted.~~ A copy of the unabridged diary is included in the Thomas Collection of the University of California Library at Berkeley.

Version I - DK
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INTRODUCTION

With the attack on Pearl Harbor and American entrance into World War II, Americans, as a nation and as individuals, were compelled to make quickly innumerable decisions with far reaching consequences. One such decision made by our government was to remove all persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast and resettle them into the interior states. Ninety days after this decision had been made almost 110,000 Japanese Americans - citizens and aliens treated alike - had been uprooted from their homes, occupations, and communities and placed in detention camps pending their resettlement many months later. This unprecedented treatment of an American minority group brought with it great suffering and anxiety, an enormous waste of human and economic resources, social and personal disorganization, and a "soul searching" by both the minority involved and the larger society. It stands as a unique chapter in American history with lessons that can neither be ignored nor forgotten.

This diary was kept by one of the evacuees, Charles Kikuchi. It is a day by day account of his and his family's experiences during this time of change and personal crisis; and it is a uniquely detailed record of the evacuation and resettlement of Japanese Americans. This journal candidly describes from the viewpoint of an evacuee the forced removal, the course of life behind barbed wire, the personal and social adjustments of evacuees to crises, and the struggle after leaving camp to reintegrate into American society.

At the outbreak of war the Japanese American population was heavily

concentrated along the West Coast. Of some 127,000 persons of Japanese ancestry in the United States almost 94,000 lived in California, and an additional 19,000 lived in the states of Washington, Oregon, and Arizona.¹ The great majority (about 80,000) had been born in America and had American citizenship as a birth right. The remaining 47,000 had immigrated from Japan and, with few exceptions, were ineligible for American citizenship.² The first generation Japanese immigrants are known as Issei, and their American born children as Nisei (literally first and second generation). CK* is a Nisei having been born in San Francisco of Japanese immigrant parents.

The diarist's father, Nakajiro Kikuchi, like most Issei, had immigrated to America around the turn of the century in hopes of acquiring wealth and returning to Japan. For several years he wandered up and down California as an agricultural laborer in one of the many Japanese "labor gangs." In 1904 he enlisted as cook in the United States Navy from which he received an honorable discharge ~~four~~^{five} years later. After leaving the Navy he held a series of "typical" Issei jobs: working as a railroad section hand, as an agricultural laborer, in California lumber mills, and on Japanese fishing boats. Eventually he opened a barber shop nearby the Naval base at Mare Island.

In 1913 after seeing a picture of the sister of an Issei friend and paying five hundred dollars to a "go between" in Japan to arrange the marriage, Mr. Kikuchi journeyed to Japan for his "picture bride." The bride, some seventeen years younger than he, came from an ~~upper~~ middle class Tokio family and had received a ~~much~~ better than average education. Her marriage had been arranged by her father and the marriage broker; and, as she often

*In the diary Kikuchi usually refers to himself in this manner; and following him, initials will be used throughout the introduction and annotations when referring to him.

recounted later to her amazed American born children, she did not see her husband to be until the day of the wedding. She and her family assumed the groom was a "rich American businessman", a claim made by the groom and accepted in good faith.

This illusion of wealth was brutally dispelled upon arriving in America. As they walked along the streets of San Francisco, the new bride dressed in her Japanese kimono looked wonderingly at high buildings and large houses and inquired if their home was to be as large. Her husband's reply that his was smaller hardly prepared her for the shack located across the mud flats of Vallejo in the midst of dilapidated stores, hovels, and houses of prostitution. Her shock was compounded by the discovery that he was merely a barber, a trade of low status in Japan. Her new home had two rooms. In the front room was the barber shop. The fifteen by twenty foot back room was to serve as complete living quarters. In this setting the bride who had been accustomed to servants and the amenities of high status learned to keep house.

So intense was her longing for her parental family and homeland that she was never to forget her first loneliness in America: a loneliness made greater by the fact that her husband, jealously guarding his Japanese beauty from his countrymen whom he distrusted, forbade her to have any contact with other Japanese and her inability to speak English barred her from Caucasians.

Domestic discord soon developed. Mr. Kikuchi resented his wife's higher status, was irked by her dissatisfaction with her position in America, and rightly or wrongly imagined that she "looked down" on him because of his occupation. His addiction to alcohol, strong before marriage, increased greatly, and with it came frequent burst of violence and cruelty.

The first child, a girl, was born in 1915 and named Mariko. A year

later the first son, the author of this diary, was born. ~~Just prior to his birth violent quarrels forced a separation and Mrs. Kikuchi entered a San Francisco institution which cared for unwed mothers. Here CK was born. He and his mother give the year as 1917, however his birth certificate is dated 1916.~~ He was given what he describes as "a screwy Japanese name." So great is his block toward this name that it is one bit of his personal life which he steadfastly refuses to disclose. Customers in the barber shop later gave him the name "Charlie" which he continued to use throughout his life. Each of the children was given a Japanese name which in most cases they Anglicized as they grew older - a common practice among the Nisei. ~~Shortly after the birth of C K the Kikuchis were reconciled, and Mrs. Kikuchi returned to Vallejo.~~ Six more children were born ~~here~~ during the next decade. A son ~~Jiso~~, or Jack, in 1917; Haruka or Alice in 1919; Emiko or Amy in 1924; Yuriko or Bette in 1926; Takeshi or Tom in 1929; and Myako or Marjorie in 1931.

As among most immigrant families, the pattern of living in the Kikuchi home was a mixture of old and new world traits. Both Japanese and American dishes were served but eaten with chop sticks. American dress was the rule except for Japanese house slippers. Just before entering San Francisco harbor, Mr. Kikuchi had his bride throw overboard all of her Japanese clothing except for her bridal kimono and the one she was wearing. Japanese bathing customs were followed with the family bathing together in two large wooden tubs. The home language was entirely Japanese, and neither C K nor his older sister knew any English at the time they entered school - a fact that was to set off a chain of nightmarish events for C K. He recalls his language handicap and its immediate consequences in these words:

The second or third day in my educational career, the teacher came home with me and tried to discuss my language problem with my mother, who could not understand what she wanted. My mother called my father, who was working on a customer in the shop. The teacher tried to explain to my father what had brought her to the house, but he, too, had difficulty in understanding her. Finally he nodded a few times and bowed Japanese-like, and she left.

For some reason, this incident caught my father in a tender spot and touched off in him something that made things hard for me thereafter.

My oldest sister, also, had known no English when she started school the year before, but had, somehow, gotten by. So now, finishing with his customer, the old man poured himself a tall drink of bootleg and, after a long silence during which he kept looking at me, demanded to know why the school woman had not come with my sister but had had to bring me home. Of what worth was I anyhow?

My mother coming to my defense only made matters worse. I was no good, he declared, because she sheltered and pampered me; and he wondered what one could expect from her kind, anyhow. He drank some more, and tried to talk English, then continued in Japanese, for, as he explained, we were too dumb to understand him in English, which he implied was superior language. He raved about how humiliating the incident was. That an American teacher should come to his house to complain about the stupidity of his son - and his first son, at that! How could he ever live this down!..Another swig from the gallon...Then, flying into high rage, he kicked me across the floor between the beds.

As I whimpered picking myself up, his rage turned into sadistic passion, and he seized me. I was a disgrace to the race of Nippon! I was not his son, but only my mother's; and she was from the good-for-nothing upper classes. I was unfit to be his heir. I had no manly Japanese virtue of any sort! In an attempt to remedy this lack, he hung me by the feet to the two-by-six rafters that cut the ceiling of the room in half, and whipped me with an old razor strap. I hung there, head down, for five or ten minutes; it seemed ages. My mother could do nothing. Huddling in a corner with the other children, she probably prayed to her ancestors.³

This incident touched off a latent hostility of the father towards the son, and following it C K was subjected almost daily to contrived tortures. To see if C K had "Japanese fortitude" Mr. Kikuchi would pinch his arms with pliers. The louder C K yelled, the harder he would pinch. A series of similar trials prompted Mrs. Kikuchi to seek a divorce. However, after

a short separation she returned home partly because of her aversion to living on relief and partly because of her husband's promises to reform. His hatred of his son had not lessened however, and he soon resumed brutal treatment. The seven year old child was completely terrorized and withdrew only to find the fury of the attacks increase. ~~Neither he nor the other members of the family understood the reason for this hatred. Many years later C K was to learn the reason from his father: Mr. Kikuchi imagined that C K was not really his own son.~~

Fearing for C K's life, Mrs. Kikuchi suggested sending him to Japan to be adopted by her brother; but Mr. Kikuchi refused feeling that this would reflect unfavorably upon him. However, the idea of getting rid of C K appealed to him, and he persuaded a friend in America to adopt him. C K was taken to his new home, duly adopted, and his name legally changed to that of his adopted parent. This proved to be only temporary security, for in less than six months his new father was arrested and imprisoned for embezzlement. Mr. Kikuchi refused to take C K back and he became a ward of the court. By court order C K then was placed in a small privately owned orphanage, but his stay here was even shorter than in his adopted home. The orphanage was run for profit rather than service, and the children were treated in a manner reminiscent of pages from Dickens. After a small child died from maltreatment, public authorities closed the orphanage, and C K found himself deposited at his home in Vallejo. Again the savage beatings began and again to protect him Mrs. Kikuchi fled - this time seeking the advice of a Japanese lawyer in San Francisco. On his recommendation C K was placed in an orphanage in northern California, and Mrs. Kikuchi with the other children returned to Vallejo. When C K entered "the home" as he

was to call it, he was eight years old. He was to remain here for the next ten years. During these years he did not see or hear directly from any member of his family.

C K was the only "Japanese" in the home and was quickly accepted by the other children and a kind administrative staff. He soon acquired a knowledge of English and was able to complete three grades in one year catching up with his age group. Either because of his previous family experiences or his immersion into a non-Japanese environment, he completely forgot the Japanese language.

Three years after his entrance into the home, C K's mother had the Japanese lawyer visit him to inquire if he wanted to return to Vallejo. The lawyer began to speak in Japanese. C K could not understand a ~~word~~ and asked him to speak English. The lawyer, who could not believe that he had forgotten Japanese, upbraided him for his "lack of Japanese spirit" but was compelled to speak English to make his point. His message was to the effect that his father had somewhat softened and his mother thought it safe for him to return if he wanted to. C K answered with a loud "no." He could not be persuaded to change and kept shouting "no." When the lawyer left, C K locked himself in his room and cried.

In 1934 he graduated from high school ranking fourth in his class. Six months later he left the home with a new suit of clothes and twenty dollars. Arriving in San Francisco he was for the first time since his early childhood ~~away~~ from the ~~tolerant~~ ^{protective} environment of the home. ~~And for the first time he~~ ^{became} ~~became~~ painfully aware of the meaning of minority group status. Discrimination surprised, hurt, and infuriated him. Up until then he had not realized that a difference in appearance made so much difference in treatment.

I needed a haircut, and went to a barbershop. The barber glowered at me. What did I want? I told him. "Nothin' doin'; get out!" In the town I had come from I never had a hint of anything like this, so I asked for an explanation. He sneered and said, "We don't cut any Jap's hair here, see? This is an American establishment!" I said I was not a "Jap" but an American. He said, "Aw, go tell it to the marines!" I said I was born in this country, right here in California, and that made me an American. "To me it don't" he shot back. For a moment I saw red, and I wanted terribly to sail into him. That would have been the thing to do at the Home; hence, something told me, it was not. I walked out hurt and bewildered. Goddammit, I was an American, not a "jap"!4

A series of similar rebuffs caused him to go to the Japanese section of San Francisco. While he felt quite alien here and could understand neither the language nor the customs, he was, if not accepted, at least not rejected.

After he had been in San Francisco for three months, C K visited his family in Vallejo. Some time later he described this visit:

One day I found myself on a ferryboat going across the bay. Not having seen my home for nearly ten years, I had only a vague idea of its location. But I found it. It looked poor, small and shabby.

Through the shop window I saw my father sitting idle in his barber's chair. I did not really recognize him; I just assumed it was he. He looked very old. As I learned later, he had just come out of a hospital but a few days previously. In the window was the same sign "Closed for Business" we used to put out years before when he was too drunk to work.

I walked around the block. Should I go in? Would the old man recognize me?

I decided to enter by the back way.

My mother recognized me at once, with a little gasp. She was very still a few seconds, looking at me. Then she closed her eyes and smiled as though she had been expecting me. Three months before she had received a notice from the institution that I had left for San Francisco.

My mother had aged, too. She was so thin, so little. She came scarcely up to my chin. I could not understand what she was saying in Japanese and she knew no English.

There were several youngsters in the room, my brothers and sisters. At first I barely saw them. They all stared at me, and whispered excitedly.

My father shuffled into the backroom from the shop. He said something in Japanese, perhaps inquiring what was going on, who I was, and what I wanted. He did not recognize me, partly because his eyes did not immediately become adjusted to the darkness of the room. I saw him clearly. He wore Japanese slippers over bare feet. He was only a shadow of the figure he had been ten years before. He was much smaller than I. Like a gnome.

When informed who I was, he folded his arms and his head dropped on his sunken chest, and he began to talk in a jumble of Japanese and English. I gathered that he thought I hated him. Finally he sat on the edge of one of the three beds that crowded the room, and clutching a brass knob, asked me to forgive him for his mistreatment of me. He said "the booze.. the booze...the booze" (repeating the words) had made him brutal and vicious. But that was all over now, he said; he had ceased drinking.

I felt dreadful over this, but managed to pat him on the shoulder and take his hand, which was weak and small and cold. Then he folded up on the bed and cried. After a while he picked himself up and shuffled back into his shop, perhaps to have words with the little Buddha on the shelf behind the water heater.

My mother tried desperately to make me feel welcome. She was distressed over my inability to understand her. She put food before me, but it had no reference to anything I had ever tasted: or was this only my imagination? Every swallow nearly gagged me.

I began to notice my brothers and sisters whose eyes continued to be fixed on me. Every move I made caused a stir among them. By-and-by I counted them. Four; all born after I had left home. One was only three, a tiny fellow sitting in the middle of one of the huge beds. They made me uneasy...

On that first visit the other three members of the family were not home. The two senior children in the house acted as interpreters between my mother and me. She said she hoped my feelings about my father really were not bitter any longer. I found it difficult to say anything, but said they were not: I bore him no grudge.

She asked me to come to live with them; they would make room for me. This caused a flutter among the interpreters. One whispered to another in English, "Where will he sleep?" I declined the invitation. I said I would crowd them too much. But my real reason was that I did not belong.

I stayed only about an hour. I said I had to get back to San Francisco, to see someone about a job. I promised to come again soon.⁵

During the next few months (fall and winter of 1934-35) C K visited home about every ten days and gradually became acquainted with his family. His older sister, Mariko, remembered him and extended the warmest greeting. She tried to make him feel at home and offered to help him find a job. She was working as a domestic and during the past few years has been the chief support of the family not only in the sense of contributing financially but also in assuming responsibility for making major decisions and guiding the younger children.

His second sister, Alice, had graduated from high school at the head of her class and taken a secretarial course in a business college. Unable to find secretarial work she too was forced into domestic service. At this time Alice was beginning to relieve Mariko of the responsibility for family support. In the months to come she was to become head of the family.

His younger brother Jack (18 at this time) had graduated from high school and already had held a series of jobs including work as a migratory farm laborer, houseboy, and in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).

The other four children were as yet either in school or of a pre-school age.

The immediate problem facing C K was finding employment. This proved very difficult. After weeks of job hunting without success, he obtained,

through the assistance of the director of "the home", a position as athletic instructor in a school for Japanese boys. However, his inability to speak or understand Japanese, his intense dislike of Japanese food, and his ignorance of Japanese customs followed at the school so handicapped him that he soon was discharged.

Following this he held a series of day laboring jobs in the "little Tokio" section of San Francisco. These barely provided him with enough money to survive. While domestic service jobs were plentiful, they were extremely distasteful to him, but in desperation he became a houseboy for a Caucasian family. ^{sa} His employers proved to be very generous and sympathetic. Realizing his aversion to servant status, they permitted him to work sans the customary white coat of the houseboy and urged him to consider himself a part of the family. They encouraged him to attend college, and so arranged his hours that he was able to enter San Francisco State College in the fall of 1935. Once again he was able to immerse himself in a tolerant world. He made friends chiefly with Caucasians, deliberately avoiding other Japanese Americans. In May of 1939 he graduated with highest honors.

Following graduation C K left his houseboy job and again encountered difficulty in finding employment. Looking back on this period, Kikuchi recalls that:

There were times when I actually wished that I weren't a Jap. It wasn't because of any shame of my background, but I felt that economically I would be better off if I did not have a Japanese face...Several times I talked to my professor at college and she suggested jokingly that the problem might be solved by having an operation on my eyelids to eliminate the slant-eye effect. She said that I could pass as a southern European if that were done. I took this quite seriously and even investigated several plastic surgeons to see if it could be done, but I gave up the idea when I was told that it would cost around \$50.

Jobs were scarce, for the country was just beginning to climb from the depths of the depression, and C K felt the added handicap of minority status. At college he had majored in history hoping to teach in the public schools, but even experienced Caucasian teachers were without work. Once again C K drifted into the Japanese section again to lead a hand-to-mouth existence.

During the next few years he had a variety of small paying jobs. He was employed as a research worker by the N Y A (National Youth Administration) during the fall and winter of 1939. In the following spring he, together with his brother Jack, joined a Japanese gang of agricultural workers doing "stoop labor" ten hours a day for twenty five cents an hour. He and Jack tried to organize a strike for thirty cents, but it failed miserably and the brothers Kikuchi were run out of camp as "agitators." With considerably reduced enthusiasm for inspiring reforms, they joined another gang picking fruit.

In autumn C K returned to San Francisco. He became associated with a group of Nisei "rowdies" known informally as the Yamamata^{o o} Garage Gang. He spent his time drinking, gambling, visiting houses of prostitution, and leading the disorganized life of the gang member. When he hit it lucky, he loafed; when not, he temporarily reverted to houseboy. During this period he seldom visited his family.

In the spring of 1941 he obtained a job as chauffeur driving a family through the Pacific Northwest and Canada. On this trip he resolved to continue his education although he had not decided upon a career objective. On his return to San Francisco he worked briefly for a firm at the San Francisco Fair, but quarrels with his "Jap bosses" ended in his being fired.

After another stint as an agricultural worker, he went to Reno where he worked in the cribs. Gambling losses forced him to return to San Francisco where he again joined his "rowdy gang."

It was about this time that he decided to become a social worker feeling that he would encounter least discrimination in a field governed by Civil Service examinations. He applied to several schools and in the fall of 1941 received notice from the graduate school of the University of California at Berkely that he had been accepted to work for a certificate in social work (a one year course of study).

While attending graduate school he held living expenses to a minimum by sharing a small room in a tenement house with two other Nisei and living on an austerity diet. He was able to live on ten to fifteen dollars a month earned by part time work as houseboy. The attack of December 7th came as he was midway in his graduate study.

Even the most trivial events that occur on days that prove crucial to us are vividly remembered; and C K like most Japanese-Americans poignantly recalls the early days of the war.

On Sunday, December 7, a couple of Nisei friends and I had gotten together for a bull session and the conversation turned to the subject of possible war. Right in the midst of this conversation, another Nisei boy rushed in to announce that Pearl Harbor had been bombed by the Japanese air force. We all took it as a joke and we continued our discussion. The boy tried to convince us but we just ignored him. Finally one of us turned on the radio and the news flashes came over. We still did not believe it until several other friends came running in to announce the news. Our group quietly broke up and I suppose we were all pretty shocked. My first reaction was one of vague fear because I somehow felt that I would be identified with the enemy. In order to reassure myself that this would not happen, I walked up to the college library and mixed in with other students who were trying to study for their finals.

When I returned to the house I attempted to put on a cheerful front in order to reassure my roommates that things were not so bad, I suggested that we all volunteer into the Army and organize an expeditionary force to Japan. They felt it was not the time for joking but I felt that I really should do something direct about it. I didn't see much sense in continuing school. I lost all interest in my final examinations but fortunately that did not affect my grades at all.

When I was declared the next day, I felt more strongly than ever that I should volunteer into the Army. I talked it over with my roommates and they believed that it was a foolish move to make, particularly in view of the fact that I had only three or four more months of school to complete. I did not have any family responsibility at all so I felt no obligation pulling me back. The next day I quietly went over to the Civic Center in San Francisco and asked to be inducted into the service. I was refused for the second time because the officer said that a policy had to be set for the Nisei first.⁶ I did not press the matter but returned to the campus, and I did not tell any of my friends what I had tried to do.

Following the attack on Pearl Harbor events moved swiftly for Japanese Americans on the West Coast. Issei aliens immediately were declared "enemy aliens" and subjected to many restrictions. They were excluded from areas near vital installations; possession of certain contraband articles was prohibited; and travel was restricted. Those suspected of subversive activities or inclination were promptly arrested. By February 16, 1942 more than twelve hundred West Coast Japanese-Americans had been placed in internment camps⁷

The Kikuchi family living close to the Mare Island Naval Station was forced to move in February to San Francisco. Several prominent citizens of Vallejo sent a petition to Washington asking that the Kikuchis be permitted to remain, but to no avail. Mariko, who had been working as a domestic in Los Angeles, returned home to assist, but the burden of moving fell upon Alice. At this time C K began to take part in family affairs, and through his efforts the family received financial assistance from

federal agencies. However, his entrance into family affairs marked the beginning of a conflict between him and his sisters (Alice and Mariko) for "control" of the family.

During the preceding few years Alice and Mariko had shared in supporting the family and making major decisions. Jack and C K were attending college and living away from home, and the other children were still very young. Following a Japanese custom, and perhaps partially in expiation, Mr. Kikuchi felt that C K as the oldest son had the privilege and obligation of assuming leadership. Alice and Mariko welcomed his aid, but resented his exercising authority. This struggle was to mount in intensity in the months to come.

Two months after moving to San Francisco the family was to be uprooted again. On March 12, 1942 the four states of California, Washington, Oregon and Arizona were divided into two military areas. Military Area I included the western third of Washington and Oregon, the western half of California, and the southern quarter of Arizona. The balance of these states comprised Military Area II. On the same day it was announced by public proclamation that all persons of Japanese ancestry were to be excluded from Military Area I. By this time the press, public, and government made little distinction between Japanese Americans who were citizen and those who were aliens. Both were lumped together as "Japs" and accorded the same treatment.

Emigration from the restricted zone (Military Area I) at this time was "voluntary" in that individuals were free to select their destination provided it was outside the restricted area. With the exception of a few zones nearby military installations, they were to be permitted to settle

and enjoy free movement in any other part of the country including the parts of the West Coast states in Military Area II.

The exclusion orders were issued and were to be enforced by the Army. To assist the Western Defense Command in this assignment the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA) was created. The W C C A offered C K a position as social worker, but he declined feeling that his inability to speak and understand Japanese would prevent his doing the necessary interviewing.

Voluntary evacuation did not proceed as rapidly as anticipated. To the economic and personal difficulties connected with moving was added marked hostility of communities toward incoming Japanese Americans. "This group considered too dangerous to remain on the West Coast was similarly regarded by State and local authorities, and by the population of the interior."⁸ By the time voluntary evacuation was ended and forced removal substituted, about nine thousand Japanese Americans had left Military Area I - a large portion of these having moved into Military Area II.

The Kikuchi family, like all Japanese American families, debated the pros and cons of moving: faced on the one hand with forced removal and internment pending later resettlement and on the other hand with the hazards of voluntary resettlement in new and reportedly hostile communities. Mariko alone decided to resettle to avoid forced removal and detention, and late in March she went to Chicago.

C K considered avoiding evacuation by posing as a Chinese. He had already circumvented travel and curfew restrictions by using a counterfeit Chinese identification card under the name Char Lee.⁹ He also played with the idea of refusing to be evacuated and making a test case of it in the courts; and he of course, considered voluntary resettlement. He later wrote

that his ultimate decision to remain and be forcibly evacuated was prompted by "feelings of family responsibility."

When it became apparent to the government (early in March) that voluntary emigration would not rapidly accomplish the objective, procedures quickly were instituted for controlled mass evacuation under the Army and the WCCA. It was decided that evacuation and resettlement could not be accomplished simultaneously, and Army authorities set about establishing temporary Assembly Centers near each concentration of Japanese American population.

These Assembly Centers were intended to be used only for a short period. Their sole purpose was to serve as points of concentration and confinement pending the construction of more permanent camps to be located further inland. The choice of sites for Assembly Centers was limited chiefly by the necessity of finding nearby pre-existing facilities for the housing and maintenance of more than one hundred thousand persons. Ten Assembly Centers were established. Except at Portland, Oregon; Pinedale and Sacramento, California; and Mayer, Arizona, large fair grounds or race tracks were selected. In the latter stables could be converted into living quarters.

Evacuation to Assembly Centers began on March 21st and by June 6th Military Area I had been cleared.¹⁰

On April 30th the Kikuchi family was evacuated to the Assembly Center established at the Tanforan Race Track just outside San Francisco. C K was not yet living with his family but had registered for the evacuation under the family number so that he would be assigned living quarters with them at Tanforan. He was within six weeks of completing his work at the

University of California and received special permission to take examinations before leaving for camp. In camp he was to receive his grades (all A's), a certificate in social work, and an invitation to attend graduation!

When it became evident that there was to be controlled evacuation and detention, the Attorney General of the United States and the Secretary of State thought it desirable to create a separate civilian agency "to undertake the post-evacuation phase of relocation." On March 18, 1942, by presidential order, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) was created, and Mr. Milton Eisenhower named director. It was agreed that the WCCA under Army direction would assume control of the evacuation and operation of the Assembly Centers. The tasks of the WRA, under civilian control and direction, would include the construction and operation of Relocation Centers. These camps were to be located in the interior states and of a less temporary nature than the Assembly Centers. At the same time the WRA was to devise and implement a program for the reintroduction of Japanese Americans into the general population outside the West Coast areas.

In carrying out its first assignment the WRA established ten Relocation Centers. Two were located in Arizona (Colorado River Center and Gila River Center), one in Colorado (Granada Relocation Center), one in Wyoming (Heart Mountain Center), two in California (Manzanar and Tule Lake Centers), and one in Utah (Central Utah Relocation Center). By the end of October 1942 all evacuees had been transferred from control of the WCCA to the WRA.

At the same time the WRA was working toward its other objective: the resettlement of the evacuees. In the early months of its operation the procedures for obtaining clearance to leave camp, involving a check by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and assurance of a job outside camp, were so complicated that relatively few persons resettled. As time went on the WRA succeeded in having resettlement procedures liberalized and the number leaving camp rapidly increased. By March 20, 1946 when the last camp was closed, almost 31,000 evacuees had voluntarily resettled from the relocation centers.¹¹

C K began this journal on the day of his evacuation from San Francisco. With the exception of only three or four days, daily entries were made for the next several years. This volume includes entries from April of 1942 to the closing days of World War II. During this period C K and his family went through the three phase cycle: evacuation to an Assembly Center, detention in a Relocation Center, and resettlement east of the Rockies. The division of the diary into three sections - Tanforan, Gila, Chicago - responds to these phases.

Shortly after his arrival at the Tanforan Assembly Center C K was offered part-time employment by a group studying the evacuation. This study, officially known as the Evacuation and Resettlement Study and referred to throughout the diary as "the study" or "the California Study", was undertaken by a group of social scientists at the University of California. The study was an interdisciplinary one with Professors Dorothy S. Thomas, Robert H. Lowie, Charles Aiken, Milton Chernin, Frank L. Kidner participating at one time or other. The chief intent of the study was to record and analyze the changes in behavior and attitudes

and patterns of social adjustment and interaction of the evacuees. Most of the staff observers were evacuees. The director of this study, Dr. Dorothy Thomas, saw parts of C K's diary. Realizing its interest and value as a personal document, she urged him to continue it, and eventually she received his consent to use parts of it in publications of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study. Since only isolated fragments were used, it was thought desirable to publish it as a separate entity.

The fact that C K was writing partly for purposes of this study makes it somewhat less personal than many diaries. An added pressure in the same direction was the lack of privacy in camp. C K recognized that family members might read it; and anticipating this, pasted this note in the front of his note book:

NOTICE

If any member of the family ever reads the following junk I have set down, please do not take it personally.

It only represents personal views and thoughts and there is no meaning of belittling anyone. Perhaps Mariko should not read any of this as she may misunderstand. I know that Bette and Emilko can take it easier. Remember, please, that these items were jotted down at the moment and every person has his daily moods.

Natcherly, the little hero of all this is one C K, your loving brother, and some accounts may be subjective and not true to the situation as existed that day.

The original diary runs to more than three million words. In this abridgment the editors sought to present it in a form greatly shortened but faithful to the original in style, tone, and content. The annotations throughout the diary give some indication of the material deleted, and the complete diary is on file in the University of California Library. Certain blocks of material were omitted as noted below.

In the original diary C K included minutes of camp meetings, community councils, and other camp organizations which were deleted. Detailed discussions of camp politics with the views of various evacuees, descriptions and analyses of "back stage" struggles, accounts of the camp campaigns and elections were also omitted. Descriptions of recurring camp events and happenings are repeated in the original diary but appear only once in this volume. For example, the camp menu is given nearly every day in the uncut version. In the edited one, a few sample menus appear showing the "range" and "average" menu. The innumerable minutiae of living - time of rising, apparel worn, reactions to climate - generally are omitted. In the original the experiences of his many friends and acquaintances are traced in great detail. While these were invariably interesting and often socially significant, pressure to keep the diary to a "readable size" forced deletion of most and abridgment of others. The personal life of each family member, other than the diarist, recounted extensively in the original, is also considerably shortened here.

Deletions have been so numerous that in the interest of smooth reading the dots of ellipsis have not been used. Editorial insertions, of course, have been bracketed. For Japanese words scattered throughout the diary, the approximate English translation is given in brackets with

the first appearance of the word and is also listed in an appended glossary.

The editors endeavored to have the journal "speak for itself" by presenting those aspects which seemed by space, emphasis, and phrasing to be most significant to the diarist. It is probably unnecessary to state that no analysis of the diary is made. The editors believed that it would serve its greatest usefulness in being presented as an annotated personal document which specialists in several disciplines might find amenable to analysis and which the lay reader might find interesting and informative.

ANNOTATIONS

1. Statistics cited here are from the Sixteenth Census of the United States 1940. The figures have been rounded and no attempt made to adjust to December, 1941.
2. Acquisition of citizenship by naturalization was limited by the Naturalization Act of 1790 to "free white persons," and decisions by the Supreme Court have held that this act excludes Orientals. In 1935 by an act of Congress aliens otherwise ineligible to citizenship were made eligible if (a) they had served in the United States Armed Forces between April 6, 1917 and November 11, 1918, and had been honorably discharged, and (b) they were permanent residents of the United States. A small number of Issei obtained citizenship under this act before the deadline, which was set at January 1, 1937.
3. In the late thirties C K wrote a brief autobiography which Professor Louis Adamic edited and published in From Many Lands (Harper and Brothers, 1939). The school incident is taken from this book, pp. 190-91.

The biographical material presented in this introduction was collected chiefly from a series of interviews with C K during the summers of 1952 and 53, and augmented with incidents described in letters to the editors. The account C K wrote for Adamic differs in some details from that presented here. These differences are not crucial to an understanding of the diary, and may be due partly to a differing perspective at a later date and - partly to the fact that one enjoys greater freedom in speaking than writing.

4. From Many Lands, pp. 199
5. Ibid., pp. 201-2
6. In 1939 C K tried to enlist in the Marine Corps but was rejected on "racial grounds."
7. The Internment Camps were occupied only by persons whose loyalty was suspect and are not to be confused with the assembly and relocation centers in which the great majority of Japanese Americans were detained.
8. U.S. Army, Western Defense Command and Fourth Army,
Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942.
Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943. p. 43. (Hereafter referred to as Final Report.)
9. Many of the restrictions that applied only to the Issei as enemy aliens in the early days of the war were extended to Nisei citizens.
10. For a detailed description of the evacuation see: Morton Grodzins, Americans Betrayed, the University of Chicago Press, 1949. Alexander H. Leighton, The Governing of Men, Princeton University Press, 1946. Jacobus ten Brock, Edward N. Barnhart, and Floyd W. Matson, Prejudice, War, and the Constitution, University of California Press, 1954. Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard Nishimoto, The Spoilage, University of California Press, 1946. *The ~~USA~~ War Relocation Authority of the Dept. of Interior has issued the following publication: describing link*
11. Throughout the annotations statistics cited with reference to the evacuation and Assembly centers have been taken from the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, Bulletin 12, March 15, 1943. Those describing the relocation camps and the resettlement are from:

11. (continued)

United States Department of the Interior (War Relocation Authority),
 The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description, U.S. Government
 Printing Office, 1946.

[for Japanese Americans
 in San Francisco]

5a. " Before evacuation, obtaining employment outside of
 Japanese operated businesses was always difficult... It
 was estimated that 20 percent of the Japanese adult
 population in 1940 were full time domestic workers
 and another 20 percent were part time domestics."

People in Motion: The Postwar Adjustment of the
 Evacuated Japanese Americans, p. 112.

The Annals of the
American Academy
of Political &
Social Science

MAR -- 1952

THOMAS, DOROTHY SWAINE, with the assistance of CHARLES KIKUCHI and JAMES SAKODA. *The Salvage: Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement*. Pp. xii, 637. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952. \$7.50.

This volume is about the acme of scholarship, meaningful analysis, diction, format, typography. Part I tells the story of Japanese immigration to this country; the events which, over four decades, generated the evacuation crisis of 1942, if they did not in part precipitate the war in the Pacific; the evacuation itself, summarized from the companion volume, *The Spoilage* (1946); and the evacuees' attempts to return to "normal" life.

Part II, four-fifths of the text, is a human document of the first order: it recounts in masterful details and in such terms as age-sex-familial-economic status ("social demography frame of reference") what happened to fifteen evacuees, and those related to them, in their struggle to salvage what was left of their lives. What a story that is—of suffering, bewilderment, subdued acceptance of the inevitable, and endurance!

It is to be regretted that, as far as I am able to discover, no account is given of what is happening in regard to compensation for economic damage done to the evacuees. Official sources disclose that governmental servants tend to regard the whole evacuation affair as something to shrug the shoulders about; and they look upon the evacuees' losses, often representing the labors and privations of lifetimes, as of little or no consequence, or as they call them "pots and pans accounts."

This and the companion volume constitute a striking commentary on a civilization. On the one hand, it is of no small significance that a scholar of the attainment of the present senior author should have thought of and undertaken such a study; that she should have been permitted to make it; that three great foundations should have furnished the funds; that a reputable university should have housed the investigation and its press published the findings; and that there was no censor to snoop around and nip the investigation and the book in the bud. Probably nowhere else, except in England and possibly in Scandinavia, could or would such a study have been made or the findings seen the light of day.

On the other hand, it is startling, to say the least, to realize that the events recorded in these two volumes actually took place here, in the United States, one of the more advanced democracies; that all the efforts of scholars, social workers, reformers, religious people, publicists, writers, and even statesmen, over half a century, to prevent anti-Japanese agitation should have had so little influence; and that a powerful government should have permitted the frenzy of the mob to disrupt the lives of some 100,000 persons, many of whom were American born when, as was known at the time and as subsequent events clearly showed, there was so little valid reason for doing so. And surprise turns into terror when one realizes that the forces at work in these events have dealt savagely with other masses of human beings (with the Indians, the Negroes, the Chinese, and to a less extent with other minorities); and that they are likely to

Review in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,
March 1953

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Review in The Annals (continued)

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It is a tragedy that very few persons will read this book and that an infinitesimal number will perceive its deeper significance and be inclined, or be in a position, or be able, to do anything toward forestalling similar catastrophes. And yet anyone who has any hope left in him, and who reads this book, will be profoundly grateful to the senior author for her devotion to truth which led her to undertake the study and sustained her in the arduous, prolonged labors which went into the making of "Spoilage" and "Salvage."

Constantine Panunzio

From: Pacific Historical Review, Mary, 1953

The Salvage [Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement]. By DOROTHY SWAINE THOMAS. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1952. xii + 637 pp. \$7.50)

The Salvage is a companion volume to *The Spoilage* which was published in 1946 by Dorothy Swaine Thomas and her associates under the same foundation support. This book maintains the high level of social history based upon demographic analysis that characterizes the earlier work. The problems of handling the material and the presentation are somewhat different in the two studies.

Part I of *The Salvage* might well have been the groundwork for both volumes had it been included in the 1946 study. It is a review of the history of Japanese immigration to the United States over the last fifty years or more and a statistical analysis of the data provided by 24,000 case studies of Japanese immigrants and their children. The case studies were made by James Sakoda at the Minidoka War Relocation Camp over a three-year period. This section of 128 pages has no counterpart in the descriptive literature relating to the Japanese element in American society.

Part II of *The Salvage* looks at first glance to be merely a printing of fifteen abridged personal histories of second-generation Japanese Americans. It is just that—511 pages of it; but the sampling is made from a large number of personal accounts and represents fifteen types of people. The interviewing is so well done that a reading of the autobiographies gives one a vivid picture of the process of cultural change that took place in the families of these young people over a period of thirty years. "Original narratives in cultural history" would be a good title for this assemblage of material.

Each person who tells his life story begins with the days of his youth and with what he knew of his parents. The struggle to get established in America, the nature of the family as an institution among these migrant people, the tug of the new America at the loyalties of those who had been brought up in Japan and may have wanted to return there, and the influence of the children in the changing pattern of thought—all of these themes run through the several personal histories. When war came in 1941 the fears of the young people seemed to reveal those of their families, and, when the evacuation was a reality, the despairs of all are shown through these testimonies. But the focus of the book is upon the resettlement of those Japanese Americans who were loyal to the United States and able to move back into society during the war years.

The Salvage is a heartening story because it reveals young Americans who caught the vision of opportunity and implemented it with the vigor of youth. The techniques of the interviewers by which the expression of intimate feelings were drawn forth are to be noted with commendation. The book has many graphs and tables that elucidate the story and there is a good index.

W. HENRY COOKE

Claremont Graduate School

Review in San Francisco Chronicle, February 22, 1953

THE SALVAGE, By Dorothy Swaine Thomas, with the assistance of Charles Kikuchi and James Sakoda. Berkeley : University of California Press; 637 pp.; \$7.50.

In 1946, the University of California Press published "The Spoilage," by Dorothy Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto. "The Salvage" completes the plan for the study of social aspects of the wartime evacuation, detention, segregation and resettlement of the Japanese-American minority. The present volume tells the story of the one in three of the evacuees who accepted the loyalty clearance and left the WRA camps in 1943 and 1944 to resettle in the Middle West and East.

Dr. Thomas (the widow of the pioneer American sociologist, W. I. Thomas) taught sociology at the University of California and is president of the American Sociological Society. The first part of her book gives the background necessary for understanding both spoilage and salvage in the way of life of Japanese-Americans. The rest of the book synthesizes the historical and institutional data and provides background for the detailed life histories of 15 Nisei. These include, among others, a journalist, school boy, mechanic, domestic servant, businessman, agricultural student, commercial artist and civil servant.

This study, which is a careful, scholarly work, should be of great interest and value to sociologists, social workers, public officials and policy makers and as a reference work on the subject. It would be extremely worthwhile if the University of California Press could publish in a smaller and less expensive form the findings and dramatic material in "The Spoilage" and "The Salvage." Citizens - civilian and military - and especially opinion leaders and legislators can find in Dr. Thomas' work a powerful reminder of the social effects and the social waste of surrendering democratic practices in times of stress. -I.B.

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John F. Embree - The Japanese Nation

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Unifor
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p. no.
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numbered
p. 15

GILA NOTES

omit

1. They were accompanied to Gila by "a guard and an escort." A member of the Tanforan internal security force served as guard, and Mr. Gunder, a member of the Tanforan administrative staff, as the escort in charge of travel arrangements.

omit

2. Robert Spencer, a Caucasian, was ^{a staff worker} ~~a director of field work~~ for the ^{Evacuation and Resettlement Study.} ~~University of California study of the evacuation.~~ While he traveled from center to center, much of his work was at Gila where he worked closely with C K.

3. The Gila River Center was divided into two camps: one called Canal or Camp I and the other Butte or Camp II; ^{Relocation} From an administrative viewpoint they ~~united~~ ^{ed} to form a single center.

4. The first evacuees arrived at Gila on July 20, 1942. By September 2nd, when C K arrived, there were slightly more than 10,000 evacuees in

U.S. Department of the Interior, War Relocation Authority,

camp. It reached its peak population of 13,348 by the end of 1942.

^{The Evacuated People, A Quantitative Description, p. 17.} The great majority of Gila River evacuees came from Tulare and Turlock

^{(75 percent) which drew from the} Assembly Centers. Evacuees from Tulare originated chiefly from Ventura, ^{rural farming districts of} Sacramento and Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo Counties and the vicinity of Los Angeles.

^{Stockton and the outlying counties around} Of the 4,988 Tulare evacuees sent to WRA Centers 4,942 were sent to Gila.

The Turlock Japanese Americans originated in the Sacramento - Oakland -

Stockton area. More than thirty five hundred Turlock evacuees were sent to Gila out 3,587 persons in the assembly center. Another 1,200 evacuees

at Gila came from Santa Anita Assembly Centers originating in the Los Angeles, Santa Clara, and San Diego areas. ^{U.S. Army, Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, WCCA, Bulletin 12}

San Francisco, March 15, 1943, p. 95, 107, 110.

Washington, 1946. Santa Anita

Los Angeles, Cal.

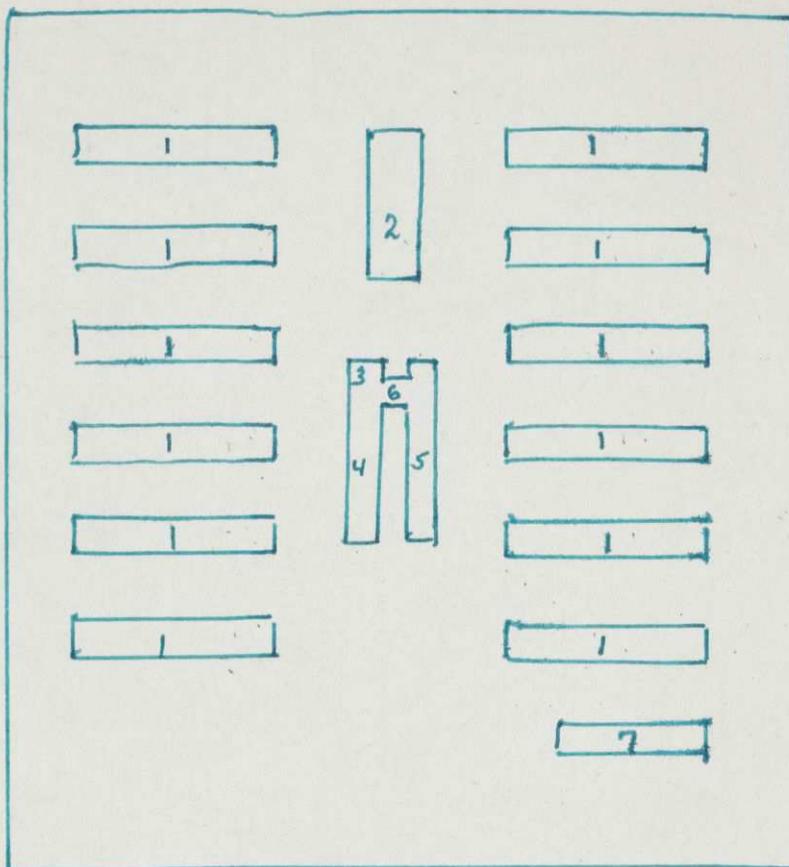
4,942
3,573
1,289
9,804
13,329

3500 3573

89

5. Letters written by Bette and Emiko during the first two weeks ~~do~~ not support this. In fact, ~~their letters~~ present a more favorable picture of Gila than those of C K.

✓ 6. A "typical" housing block in the Relocation Centers:



Copy in India into being made.

- 1. Barracks 20 x 120
- 2. Mess Hall 40 x 120
- 3. Women's Latrine
- 4. Men's Latrine
- 5. Laundry Room
- 6. Heater Room
- 7. Recreation Hall

Final Report, p. 267

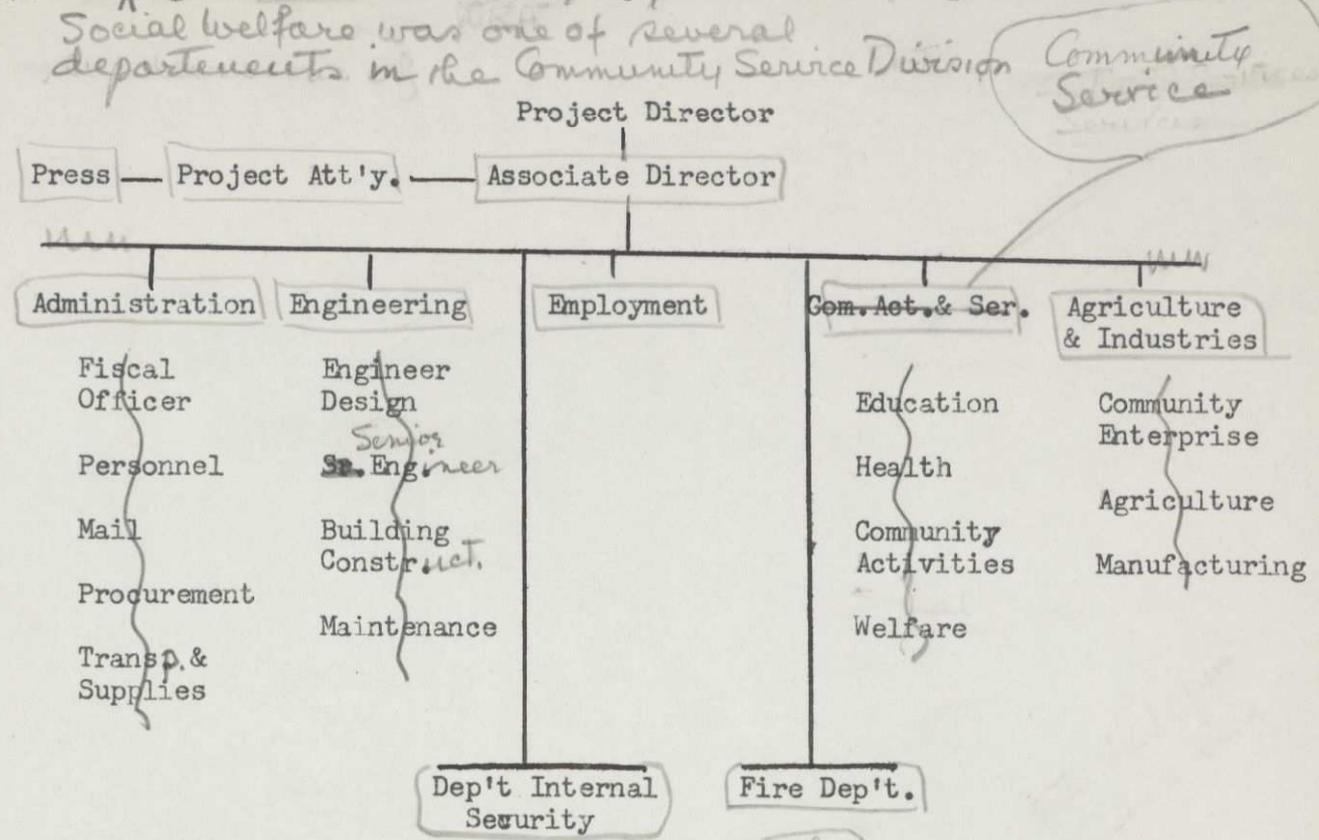
Warehouses were grouped in separate blocks, each containing about twenty storage buildings. Firebreaks separated each block.

7. The movement of evacuees from Tanforan to the WRA camp ^{at Topog, Central} in Utah began on September 9th and by the end of the month was very nearly completed. (WCCA, ^{U.S. Army} Bulletin 12, ~~March 15, 1953~~, p. 102.)

8. Mr. Smith was director of the Gila River Camp, Mrs. Smith was assistant manager.

The Social Welfare was one of several departments of the projected WRA ⁵ ~~of the projected WRA~~

9. The organization of the W.R.A. Camp Administration is given below:

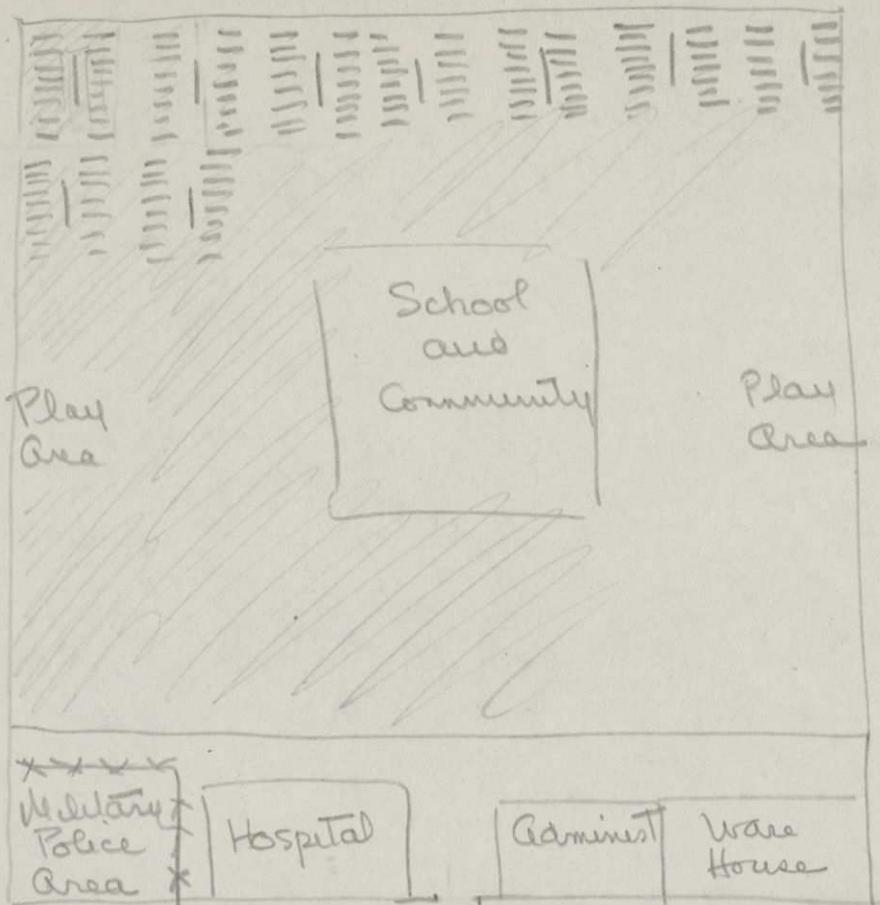


Alexander
Adapted from Leighton, THE GOVERNING OF MEN, p.115, Princeton, 1946, ^{et al}

10. On February 23, 1942, a submarine shelled Goleta, near Santa Barbara, California in an attempt to destroy oil installations.

11. Mr. Henderson was head of the housing and employment divisions, in charge of ^C It was anticipated that social work would come under the, as yet, un-organized community activities and service department. ^{Service Section}

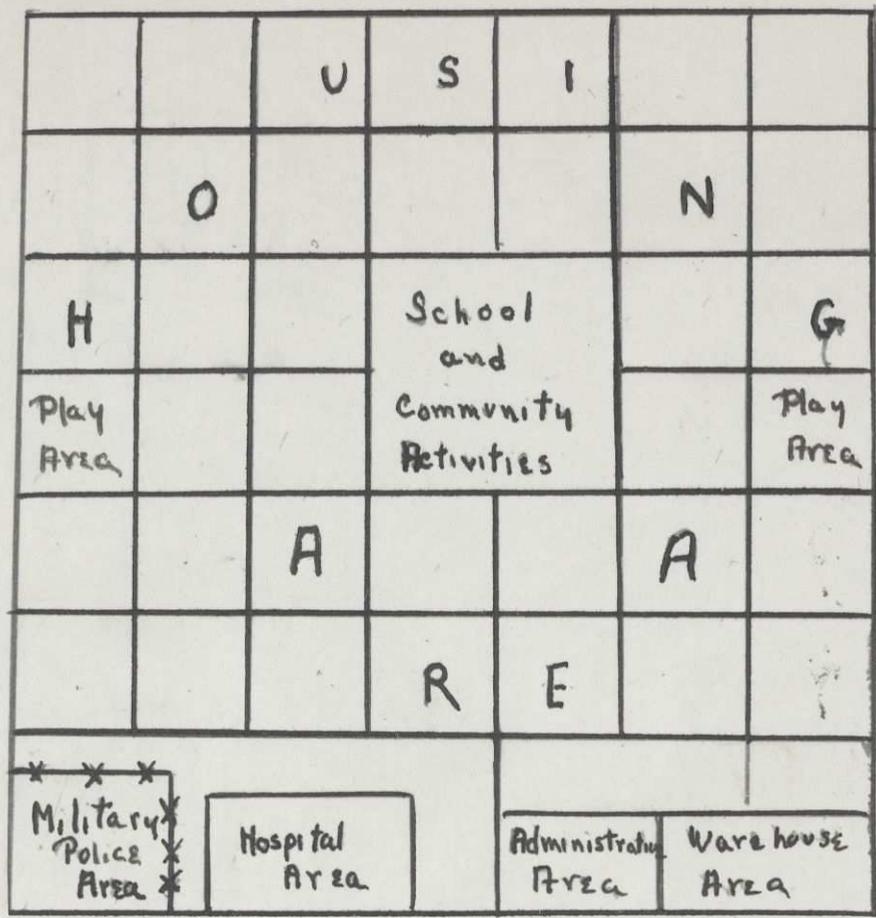
DST



planning the layout of the
WRA -4-

a fixed pattern:

12. In building camps the W.R.A. followed the following "typical plan":



DST - This diagram is for layout of pastes or

India ink sketch being made.

Each WRA Center varied somewhat in details from the above depending upon the size and location. FINAL REPORT, p.266.

underlined - drop caps.

DST - Text says April 13, 1942

13. Immediately following the Pearl Harbor attack, the War Department ruled that all persons of Japanese ancestry were unacceptable for service in the armed forces, and discharged many of the more than 5000 Nisei already serving. In 1943 the Army began to accept Nisei volunteers and in the following year the draft of Nisei was reinstated. ^{Jacobus} ten Broek, et al., War, Prejudice, and the Constitution, pp. 166-170.

14. Mr. Hughes was in charge of the employment section of the housing and employment division.

15. The Japanese Americans elected to the several camp governing bodies constituted the chief means through which evacuees could express their

Note in text
States?

15. (continued)

grievances and petition for redress. Consequently the character of these elected bodies became a matter of great concern. Office holders had considerable prestige and intense campaigns were held prior to each election. The Block was the unit of representation. In the original Kikuchi diary hundreds of pages are devoted to descriptions of camp politics. ~~One of the recurring issues was related to the Issei - Nisei conflict.~~ Only American citizens (Nisei) were eligible for election to the ~~most~~ important governing body, the Community Council. (Most important theoretically. In practice the Block Managers sometimes exercised more power.) While the Issei were ineligible for membership, they were permitted to vote and, of course, voted for those candidates whom they felt shared their views. Some Nisei - CK among them - felt that Issei influence dominated the Community Council.

16. One Issei was to be elected from each block. The function of the Issei Advisory Board was limited to "advising" the Community Council.

17. The stated purposes of the Community Council included:

- a. "Prescribe regulations and provide penalties for their violation in all matters, except felonies, affecting the internal peace and order and the welfare of the evacuee residents . . ."
- b. "Present resolutions to the WRA on questions affecting the welfare of residents"
- c. "Solicit, receive, and administer funds and property for community purposes."
- d. "License and require reasonable license fees from evacuee-operated enterprises . . ."
" Legal and Constitutional Phases of the WRA Program, 1946, p. 30.

18. The Wartime Civil Control Administration Bulletin, No. 12 (p.147) indicates that at the Gila Center the median family size was 4. Slightly more than a quarter (25.7 per cent) of the families consisted of only one person, 11.4 per cent of 2, 13.3 per cent of 3, 14.3 per cent of 4, 13.6 per cent of 5, 9 per cent of 6, and 12.7 per cent had 7 or more persons. Family size here refers to the number of persons registering as a household unit for purposes of evacuation. Family members in the armed forces, in the non-evacuated or free zone areas, and in internment camps would not be included in the above figure. Persons suspected of subversive acts were sent to internment centers which were more closely guarded than the evacuation centers and in which many privileges granted the evacuees were denied. C K's figure of the number in internment camps is high. By February 16, 1942, 2,192 Japanese aliens had been interned and of these only 1,266 came from the Pacific Coast areas. The Spoilage, p. 5.

19. In order to demonstrate the loyalty of the Nisei the JACL had followed a policy of cooperation with Army, ~~WCCP~~^{WCCP}, and the ~~WRIT~~^{WRIT}. See Tanforan Note 31. Despite considerable criticism of the JACL, its membership and influence was larger than in pre-evacuation days.

20. C K is not making allowance for those family members not in Relocation Centers.

21. "At the peak of center operations, the Gila Center farmed approximately 7,000 acres, with almost 3,000 of this in intensive cultivation of vegetable crops. Because of the early and long growing season, several crops a year were raised, and vegetables were shipped from Gila to other relocation centers to reduce feeding costs and reduce purchasing requirements from an already overburdened market. There were over 2,000 head of cattle at Gila raised for beef purposes and center consumption.

21. (continued)

Between 2,500 and 3,000 head of hogs were constantly in the pens, plus, fed principally from the garbage disposal from the messhalls. . . . A total of 25,000 chickens and 110 dairy cows completed the livestock program at Gila." Administrative Highlights of the WRA Program, p. 9.

22. Although Nisei greatly outnumbered Issei, most Nisei were young and few had previous experience in exercising authority or assuming responsibility. Less than 23,000 of the approximate 72,000 Nisei in camp were over 21 years of age. The adult population at this time was preponderantly Issei. Administrative Highlights of the WRA Program, p. 15 Cf. also The Salvage, 17-19.

Community
Government in
San Relocation
Centers

23. The difference in conception of family was basic to much conflict between the WRA and the evacuees. The government had promised not to split families - thinking of the family in terms of husband, wife, and dependent children. The traditional Japanese family is much larger including many members of the extended family or kin group. For a description of traditional Japanese family patterns which many Japanese Americans attempted to follow see John F. Embree's The Japanese Nation, New York, Farrar and Rinehard, 1945, or Kizaemon Ariga "The Family in Japan," Marriage and Family Living, Vol. XVI, No. 4, pp. 362-68, 1954

24. Almost/all of the evacuees in Tanforan were sent to the Central Utah Relocation Center.

25. In the latter part of August Alice had made application to leave camp. She planned to go to Chicago where she would meet and marry Angelo. In a letter dated August 26, 1942 she asked Mariko to assist her in getting the guaranteed employment necessary for leave clearance. She writes:

25. (continued)

I think the folks can do without me, and it would be better if I left now, if possible, because once I get to the Relocation Center, things will come up, and I shall feel indispensable once again, and the folks will be reluctant to see me leave. It isn't that I do too much work around or am needed that badly, but Mom and Pop depend on me because I am the oldest girl.

26. After July 1942 repatriation (of aliens) and expatriation (of American citizens) to Japan was possible. Applications were made to the State Department. By October 15, 19~~42~~⁴⁴, 19,000 applications had been received. (See War Relocation Authority, Community Analysis Section, "An Analysis of Requests for Repatriation and Expatriation," manuscript, November 18, 1944). The Spoilage, pp. 58n-59n.

27. Japan followed the rule of jus sanguinis by which a child takes the citizenship of his parents regardless of place of birth. The United States follows the rule of jus soli in which place of birth (with some few exceptions) is the basis for determining citizenship. This lead to the Nisei having "dual citizenship" in the sense that each nation legally claimed them. To avoid this confusion the Japanese government in 1924 modified its law providing that children born to its nationals outside of Japan would automatically loose Japanese citizenship unless a parent or legal representative went to the Japanese consulate within two weeks after the birth of the child and signified a desire for the child to have Japanese citizenship. Japan also provided an opportunity for Japanese Americans born prior to December 1, 1924 to renounce their Japanese citizenship. at ten B... et al., Prejudice, War, and the Constitution, pp. 271-73.

28. Harry Miura, who was employed with C K in the social service section. Mr. Miura was in charge of insurance and ~~attendant~~^{related} problems.

29. War industries were established in the relocation centers. One that operated in several centers was the manufacturing of camouflage nets.

30. While the social changes to which CK refers here et passim are *and elsewhere* accurately described, evacuees - like most other groups - were not homogenous. It is difficult to label any pattern of behavior as "universal" and certainly not those described above. The monomorphic picture of camp life that is sometimes given in the diary often results from editorial deletions rather than the diarists lack of insight. His journal contains excerpts from letters to the editor of the camp paper and other expressions of opinion that reveal the differences in attitude which existed in camp. Two letters that are included in this days entries are quoted below as samples:

Dear Editor:

into diary
I have been reading the interesting letters in your letter column. The last few have been quite interesting, since I am a mess hall waitress.

Being a mess hall waitress is no fun for anyone I'm sure. We, as waitresses, try our best to serve everyone, but in return we get all sorts of remarks from our people who come to eat in mess halls.

Trying to be kind to everyone is very hard, if, in return, we do not receive kindness.

There are people who come in mess halls and pound on tables and take a knife and bang on the pitcher. That is very rude. We waitresses try our best to serve everyone and if a waitress should miss or overlook your table, ask her politely to refill your bowl or pitcher. There are some who shout at us "Hey Waitress" even though we are waitresses, we hate to be shouted at. If you know her name, call her; if you don't, just stop a waitress going by and ask her politely.

Some people with high offices, such as office workers, consider we waitresses low and try to order us around in a rude way. They are no better than the others. They, too, have to eat with everyone else, so if they speak to us kindly, we are all willing to do our share.

In camp life like this, no one is better than the other. Some girls think they are debutantes. You may have been when you were back home, but here just think you're one of us. So please when coming to eat don't think you are the only one eating but think of the 300 other people. Then they will think of you in return.

We waitresses are hoping that everyone will be kind to us from now on as we will to them in return. Remember: "the kindest thing to do and say

Is the kindest thing in the kindest way."

MESS HALL WAITRESS

29. WRA efforts to establish "war industries" at the centers were not very successful. The only major industrial project was the manufacturing of camouflage nets at Gila, Poston, and Manzanar. The Spoilage, p. 36.

30. (continued)

Dear Editor:

I have recently noticed that the lumber stealers are becoming very numerous.

It seems that those who are guilty of such acts are very selfish. Not only does it slow up completion of our camp, but it is giving the public a very unlikable picture of us. We used to be known as a trustworthy race before the war. Since the war, the picture has changed, but even in here we are giving the public a worse picture.

You, lumber stealers, don't be so damned selfish. Everybody doesn't have good wood.

Please give them hell, editor.

Yours,

J.K.

31. Aversion to public assistance was characteristic of Japanese Americans. One of many undesirable consequences of the evacuation was a change in this respect. "Before the war, the number of Japanese Americans receiving public assistance was so negligible as to be cause of widespread comment. . . The feeling of stigma attached to acceptance of public assistance has been greatly weakened by the evacuation experience; ill fortune was caused by public action they believe, and many have come to accept the idea that assistance is a public responsibility properly to be accepted." War Agency Liquidation Unit: People in Motion: the Postwar Adjustment of the Evacuated Japanese Americans, 1947, pp. 46, 50.
32. On October 12, 1942 President Roosevelt declared that Italian aliens were no longer to be considered "enemy aliens" and a week later all restrictions on them were lifted. At this time some officials went on record that German aliens also be freed from the enemy alien stigma.
33. See note 58 in Tanforan. C K's analysis of adjustment to the relocation center closely parallels that made later by social scientists.

33. "The length of time that people spent in the assembly centers had important influences on this adjustment in the relocation centers. In general the longer the stay in the assembly center, the more the relocation centers seemed at first like something of a release. There was a little more freedom of movement within the new places and a little less obvious restrictions in the forms of fences and guarding soldiers. Moreover those who spend two to five months in assembly centers learned much about living together" Impounded People: Japanese Americans in the Relocation Centers, p. 39.
34. The Empire Hotel had been purchased by the Navy and its furniture bought by the WRA.
35. The Japanese Association of America -- An Issei organization which, prior to evacuation, exerted great influence in Japanese American communities. cf. ~~to [redacted]~~, Prejudice, War and the Constitution. p. 275.
36. The WRA was so occupied with problems of detention that not until the summer of 1942 did it set up procedures to effect its second objective - resettlement of evacuees outside areas proscribed by the military. After July 20, 1942 evacuees upon application might receive permission to leave camp "permanently." Obtaining "indefinite leave," as it was called, was dependent upon receiving WRA "clearance" (assurance that the resettler would not be "dangerous to national security") and approval of the resettlement plan. "Indefinite leave" was granted to evacuees going out to school, to gainful employment, to enter the armed forces, or to rejoin family members. In the early days of the program it was difficult to obtain "indefinite leave" but as time went on the procedures were liberalized in order to encourage resettlement. cf. ~~to [redacted]~~, Prejudice, War, and the Constitution. pp. 146-54.
37. CK's figures approximate those of the WRA on November 1, 1942 the total population of Gila was 13,233. The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description. p. 19

omit

For diary in italics?

38. ~~A~~ Unique features of Gila Center ^{were} ~~was~~ the organization of a Block Council Council and regular meetings of block residents. The Block Council was composed of the block manager, the head chef, and one representative elected from each of the 12 to 14 barracks in the block. C K is referring here to a meeting of residents of his block.
39. Poston or the Colorado River Relocation Center occupied 72,000 acres of the Colorado River Indian Reservation at Poston, Arizona. At the time C K visit was made, its population was nearly 18,000.
40. Emiko describes C K's reactions in more detail in a letter to Mariko:

Out of

The funniest thing happened the other night, but don't you dare write back and tell Chas that I told you about it. Then he will have a fit. Anyhoo, the other night C. was sort of sick, so Bette felt his head, and said he had a little net-su (fever). Jokingly I said, "why Bette, how can you say such a thing about Chas?" So in fun, M^eyako, Tom, Alice and mom joined in. He got curious and asked what "net-su" was, but we said "ask Oho Sakaguchi, he said that about him." (Chas doesn't particularly care for Ohi) Then Chas got mad and said all these damn Japs - words - etc". Gads, he was really sore. (We didn't think he'd get mad cause he usually doesn't at such a small matter, so we told him that it was "fever", and he didn't quite believe us, so mom got mad and said he couldn't take a joke. Then he turns to Bette and said that she was speaking too much Japanese since she got here, and she'd better watch her step. He went into the front room, got into bed and swore his head off! -- all the time, muttering Japs - dirty Japs - etc. Alice and I left for a meeting, and Bette went to apologize to Chas, but she told him that it was meant as a joke and that he was acting like a child. (Imagine Bette talking to Chas like a mother!) Then he put on the Suffering Hero act and said it was on account of his being an orphan as a child and so forth. Before Bette went in, he threw all his books, etc on the floor and when M^eyako innocently walked in to get her sewing, he said "Damn you - hurry up and go to bed." Poor M^eyako didn't know what was what. When we came home from Fellowship, after listening to Bob Spencer speak before the group, he was back to normal -- so -- now, we don't bring up that word, "Netsu" anymore.

41. C K's account is not quite accurate. The individual beaten as well as the two men held were Kibei. The strike and conditions at Poston are described by ~~Professor~~ Alexander Leighton in The Governing of Men, Princeton University Press, 1946. Also ~~W~~: Community Government in War Relocation Centers, pp. 26-37.
42. Poston was divided into 3 camps, Units I, II, III. The strike started in Unit I.
43. On June 17, 1942 the War Department discontinued the induction of Japanese Americans, and Nisei received a IV-C classification (not acceptable because of ancestry). As the war progressed a need developed in the armed services for persons who knew the Japanese language. In the fall of 1942 the June Order was modified and Nisei were recruited from the ⁿRelocation ^cCenters for this purpose. l. e.
44. A large proportion of Nisei had attended Japanese language schools which met after regular school hours and on Saturdays. "The language schools were considered important [by the Issei] as a means of teaching Japanese cultural values, and for providing a sufficient proficiency in the Japanese language to permit easy social intercourse between the first generation and the Nisei..."
People in Motion: The Postwar Adjustment of the Evacuated Japanese Americans, pp. 190-91. Many ^{Americans}Caucasians, particularly the ^aAnti-Orientalists, were alarmed by these schools. Their forebodings seemed unnecessary since the schools were apparently unsuccessful in their mission. "During the war, Army Military Intelligence estimated that not more than 15 percent of the Nisei spoke and less than five percent wrote the Japanese language sufficiently l. e.

44. (continued)

well to be useful to that organization without further general training." Ibid, p. 191.

45. On November 6, 1942, the WRA issued new instructions for obtaining indefinite leave. It was hoped that by liberalizing the procedure, resettlement would be encouraged. Up until the first of November 1942, only 39 out of more than 13,000 evacuees at Gila had obtained indefinite leave. By November of 1943, almost 2,000 had. Many evacuees feared resettlement. This fear stemmed in part from the frequent appearances of anti-evacuee stories in newspapers and from accounts of hostile receptions which resettlers occasionally encountered. The Evacuated People A Quantitative Description. p.33.

*JST asks
Ten Brothers*

46. The Japanese government had requested that the ~~Spanish~~ ^{Spain a} (as neutrals) investigate conditions of ~~its nationals~~ ^{Japanese nationals} in ~~W.R.A.~~ ^{WRA} Camps. ^{country}

47. Emiko gives her version in a letter to Jack:

It all started when he went into the other room to turn the radio off and mom said to leave it on. Then he turned the light out while mom was knitting, so she jokingly said "G___d___you, turn it on -- what's wrong with you?" Then the first thing he says to me or Bette when he comes in the door is, "And not a word out of you two either!" Gee, we didn't know what was going on. He turned the radio on full blast (it was 11:30 by then) and wouldn't turn it low, so we didn't say anything..we knew he'd get sore. Then finally I couldn't stand it anymore so I went into the next room. Boy! did it sound loud. We thought that any minute the house manager would bang on the wall again. Alice went in to ask him to turn it off, but he had that gleam in his eyes that looked like he was going to hit her, so after turning it off and on and off and on, she gave up. He told her to tell mom not to swear at him. After 5 minutes had passed, I went in to ask him to turn it off because Miyako was crying cuz she couldn't sleep. He told me to mind my own business, so I turned it off, he turned it on, and so on, so finally I pulled the wire out. He jumped and socked me then. Tom came running out of the other room and said "You'd better watch out see!" Then

47. (continued)

Chas. said shut up, so Tom said, "Shut up yourself," and ran back into the other room and jumped into bed. Gee, if I wasn't so mad I would have died laughing at Tom. He though Chas. would hit him too, so he said in a small voice, "Shut up yourself," and ran back in his bare feet and nightgown. After sitting there for about 15 minutes (at his desk) he went into the other room and told mom that he hit me again, (she was at the lavatory at the time) and then he started crying like anything, stating that some kids nearly beat him up on the way home for belonging to the J.A.C.L. I know he was scared but he should have told it to us when he came home, instead of picking on everybody. Then he says that he still feels like an outsider because everyone goes against him when we have arguments. Oh well, I guess when pop gets here everything will be changed Chas. has already started his transfer.

A few days latter in a letter to Mariko Emiko writes of the aftermath of the quarrel.

What a bruise I had on my cheek. That was just a day before Xmas too! I ignored him after that, but it spoiled the holiday spirit so I told him to forget it. Then just before New Years he makes Bette get mad at him so there was that funny air around us again. Today he hits Tom because he was slow in getting dressed for breakfast. That was the second time he hit me, and he hit Alice once in Tanfo and nearly knocked her glasses off....I guess you heard about that. Gee, now I know why you can't get along with him so well. I never have good times at dances or parties etc. cause he practically cross examines me when I get home. Then when he gets mad at me he says I don't do enough work, but when he's not mad at me, he says to take it easy and let Bette do some of it. That puts Bette in an awkward spot. We have more fights when he's around cuz he goes to Bette, Alice, mom, and me and tells us all something about each other to make us mad. Oh, well, I guess he means well ---

48. On January 28, 1943 the War Department announced that an all Nisei combat unit would be created, the 442 Combat Team. This was to be a volunteer unit open to Nisei in the relocation centers as well as those not in camp. To determine eligibility of volunteers it was decided that a special registration be held at all relocation centers. All male Nisei 17 years of age or older were to be

48. (continued)

registered. The WRA was anxious to obtain similar information for certifying individuals for work in defense industries or resettlement (ie. indefinite leave) from camp. It was decided to extend the registration to all persons (male and female, citizens and aliens) above 17. While the registration was to be a joint WRA and Army project, the registration forms bore only the War Department heading. This was to be one source of the great confusion that attended registration. See ~~_____~~ The Spoilage, Chap. III. ⁴ Nisei were divided in their reactions to the formation of an "all Nisei unit." ~~Some favored it feeling that Nisei contributions would be more readily perceived; others disapproved of it as undemocratic.~~ The Nisei combat team joined the 100th Infantry Battalion and won wide acclaim. It participated in the landing at Salerno and in every major action in Italy after the landing. "On July 27, 1944 for its 'outstanding performance of duty in action" Lt. General Mark W. Clark, Commander of the Fifth Army, conferred in it the War Department's Distinguished Unit Citation. At that time individual members of the batallion had received "Distinguished Service Crosses, 44 Silver Stars, 31 Bronze Stars, and 3 Legion of Merit Decorations." Nisei in Uniform, Issued by the Department of the Interior, WRA in collaboration with the War Department. ^(No date or pagination) cf. The Salvage, ppl06-7.

59. The registration was conducted by the War Department. A team consisting of a commissioned officer, two sergeants, and one Japanese American Technician or sergeant was sent to each center. Each team was given a short training course in Washington before proceedings to the Centers. Representatives from each camp also came to Washington for briefing. The Spoilage, p. 57

*Halves
in
quote
Spoilage*

50. The questionnaire contained some thirty questions. Two questions (Numbers 27 and 28) caused consternation. Male citizens were to answer "yes" or "no" to the following:

Question 27. Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?

Question 28. Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any for of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?

The questions were slightly modified for female citizens. They were to give a "yes" or "no" answer to the following:

Question 27: If the opportunity presents itself and you are found qualified, would you be willing to volunteer for the Army Nurse Corps or the WAAC?

Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and forswear any for of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?

A substitute question for No. 28 was soon ^sinerted for Issei aliens since it was unreasonable to ask Japanese ineligible for American citizenship to forswear their Japanese citizenship and become "stateless" persons. The substitute question read: "Will you swear to abide by the laws of the United States and to take no action which would in any way interfere with the war effort of the United States?" The registration aroused enormous excitement in camps. The emotional response of the evacuees was quite unexpected by WRA officials and difficult for persons outside of camp to appreciate. The exaggerated reaction to questions 27 and 28 indicate that the issues involved for the evacuees went far beyond the questions asked. C K devotes slightly more than one hundred typewritten pages to the registration. Cf. The Spoilage, Chapter III.

Include
Italics
above

51. Events preceding the registration and the failure of the Army teams and WRA officials (who presided over registration) to explain the questions, created a great deal of misunderstanding among the evacuees. JACL leaders had given the WRA to understand that the evacuees were anxious to enlist in the army to prove their loyalty to the United States, and the Army and WRA proceeded on that assumption. The Army even announced in some camps ~~that it "expected" a specific number of volunteers~~ from that camp.

quotas
expected

The WRA, meanwhile, had decided to include a "leave clearance" questionnaire with the Army's registration forms so as to process the entire group of evacuees together for resettlement and avoid the endless holdups of individual leave clearances in Washington. The Army registration forms for Nisei were printed under a Selective Service letterhead and attached to leave clearance forms printed on WRA letterheads - both forms included the ~~ambiguous~~ loyalty questions. The misunderstanding was increased by the wording of Question 27. The object of the question "Are you willing to serve in armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever order?" was to determine loyalty. However, many Nisei assumed that if they answered "Yes", they were volunteering for armed service. ~~Most Nisei, like most other Americans, were willing to be drafted but were not anxious to volunteer.~~ It appeared to the evacuees, therefore, that if they answered "yes" to the loyalty question they would either be forced to enlist or forced to leave camp and resettle, ~~and that all members of a family must answer alike to avoid being separated.~~ There were a number of variations on this misinterpretation but they all stemmed from a sense of compulsion and a belief that the three questions were related. The registration and its aftermath is ~~best~~ described in The Spillage.

Nisei declared disloyal & would
resettle to indict
Issai decl. loyal after
reversion quest.

52. A heavily guarded isolation center was established at Moab, Utah ^(center moved to Leupp, Arizona)
 Project directors could send here all persons "addicted to trouble-
 making and beyond the capacity of regular processes within the
 relocation centers to keep under control." The isolation center and
 internment camps provided many of those repatriated to Japan. Cf.
~~ten Brock, et al.~~ Prejudice, War, and the Constitution, pp. 164-65.
 All internment camps were under the jurisdiction of the Department
 of Justice rather than the Army as C K indicates.

check

53. By January 20, 1944, 84 evacuees acceptable for service volunteered
 from Gila. The total number of volunteers accepted from all WRA
 Camps was 805. The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description
 pp. 128.

54. C K's figures here and in the succeeding paragraph are in error.
 The number of male citizens registering at Gila was 2,659. Of these
 1,961 answered "Yes" to the loyalty question (No. 28) and 698
 answered "No." Male aliens (Issei) registering numbered 2,775 of
 which 2,773 answered their loyalty question "Yes." The Evacuated
People: A Quantitative Description, p. 165. These figures exclude
 those who were removed from Gila during the registration.

Jale's

copy: Gila slightly below average sp. 62

Comparable figures for all residents of WRA centers:

Sex and Citizenship	Eligible to Register	Did not Register	Answered Yes	Qualified Answer	Un- swered No	Did not Answer
Male Citizen-	20,982	654	15,037	715	4414	128
Female "	19,212	732	15,749	586	1919	226
Male Alien	22,275	1,280	20,254	567	137	37
Female "	15,373	588	14,272	215	263	35

Ibid: p. 164.

55. CK's letters to Dr. Thomas regarding the possibility of going to a city other than Chicago have ~~been deleted~~. ^{not been included} ^{study director} ^{she} The ~~study group~~ wanted him to go to Chicago since this was the destination of a large portion of the resettlers. By the end of 1946 from 15 to 20 thousand evacuees had resettled in Chicago. (People in Motion: The Postwar Adjustment of the Evacuated Japanese Americans, p. 146) (C)

56. Since this letter presents a picture slightly different from that of the journal and foreshadows events in Chicago, it is reproduced here:

Dear Mariko and Alice,

In the diary

It is not a physical impossibility for me to write a letter as you can see. I've been so busy, as Alice knows, that I just haven't written any letter at all in the past few months so forgive my silence. The reason I am writing now is to discuss some plans for resettlement that I have in mind. Recently Dr. Thomas wrote me a letter offering me a full time job on the Evacuation and Resettlement Study for U.C. (Wage, confidentially, would be between \$125 and \$150 a month.) I have a Choice of several places, Chicago, St. Paul, Denver, Salt Lake, etc.)

I have been debating in my mind as to what I should do. After many consultations with the family, we decided to try resettlement now. The recent Army registration has advanced the necessity for this plan in the near future. I don't know when I will be drafted so I felt that I should attempt to get Emiko and Bette out as soon as possible, with the family to follow when Pop is better. But we have to be realistic and practical about the whole thing. Mom feels that there is a certain security within this camp so that she is fearful of going out at the present time. I have contacted the medical staff to find out how Pop is progressing, but they are most indefinite.

I would not like you to be too optimistic about Pop since he has suffered a severe Cerebral stroke. The speech area of his brain has been affected and the doctor is not too optimistic about his speaking again or even being able to walk. But they are wary and the Doctor feels unable to advance a positive prognosis. With this in mind, you can see that the outlook is not too bright. Now don't get all excited and rush out here as there is nothing that can be done. Pop appears to be coming along slowly. His mind is alert and he understands everything we say. In his present state, I doubt whether we could move him for at least a year -- this is only my opinion.

Thus the decision to resettle has been a most difficult one. Mom and Pop have given me consent to take out Emiko and Bette since this will be the best procedure when you view the things from a long term perspective. Naturally, you will understand that this decision was not

56. (continued)

arrived at overnight. I have been trying to build up the family reception to it for a considerable time.

Emiko and Bette are most desirous to go out with me, and although Mom has been rather reluctant due to her own inherent fears of the "outside" she has come to the conclusion that we should take the step. She, Tom, Miyako and Pop will remain behind until we can set up a place for them to come. The latter point is very hazy at present. Perhaps you are wondering why I took the liberty to make tentative plans without corresponding with you first. In many ways, this is the most difficult letter that I have ever had to write.

As we see it, we feel that both of you should not have to assume further economic responsibilities for the family as you have both sacrificed and contributed so much in the past. We feel that you should have your chance now. Naturally Mom is most anxious for both of you to get married and have a chance to build up your personal security.

For this reason, Mom does not want Emiko and Bette to become a burden for you and she does not want them to live with you. Frankly, she is a little worried about the extreme "social" life which you both live. This is your business and I don't think you will suffer from it.

The point is this: Emiko and Bette are both young and their minds are flexible. It would be to their advantage if they were allowed to develop their own lives. Again being practical, you can well see that they would not be able to do this if we all lived together. I have been trying to encourage Emiko to think of college. Bette definitely will go to school. The educational system here is very inferior and the outlook for next term is even worse with all the Caucasian teachers quitting and the more capable Nisei leaving.

In order to keep both of their interests in school alive, I think you will agree with me that it would not be a wise idea to live together. Invariably your influences would be felt and there would be a tendency to plunge them into the limited Nisei social world that exists in Chicago. It would be practically impossible to control a situation like that. If Emiko and Bette had the same immediate objectives as you two, it would be "OK" but I only have to remind you that they are young. I can honestly say that I did not coerce Emiko and Bette into thinking this way, but they do recognize that this influence would exist.

The resettlement program is more than an individual family problem. It all fits into a general pattern. The only solution seems to be assimilation for the evacuee group into the larger American stream of life. But, the Nisei are not acting towards this goal. The trend has been towards a voluntary segregation into a few large cities. It is easier to seek a Nisei level of society rather than to expand out into a seemingly "hostile" Caucasian group. As one gets older, it gets even harder.

56. (continued)

So you can see that it is the student groups which will have the greatest opportunity to initiate this assimilation process and break away from the Little Tokyo Ghetto. Thus, you can see my viewpoint, namely, that Emiko and Bette would be able to adjust easier into Caucasian group if they continued on to school. But, it would become almost an impossibility if there were a constant tug of the Nisei society, expressed chiefly as endless "socials."

I know that both of you would like Emiko and Bette to develop their own individuality. If you do, you will also agree that the less influence upon them the better. At the same time, I realize that the endless round of night clubs, soldiers visiting, etc., are getting on your nerves. If one is rational, one would soon recognize that it is not satisfactory. But in seeking escape from it, you would not seek the same channels as Emiko and Bette since they would be thinking ~~in the same channels as Emiko and Bette since they would be thinking~~ in terms of a school approach whereas you would find other avenues. Inevitably, a conflict would arise if we all lived together. (Perhaps I am stupid to even think that you would even consider having us!) Regardless, for the best interests of all we have arrived at the conclusion that it would be best for all concerned if we resettled apart. We will have to discuss the rest of the family at another time, since the future is so unpredictable.

I am fairly certain of getting Emiko a job through my U.C. contacts -- in fact, it is part of the job proposed that I have received. In the event that Emiko works a while before starting school, you can see that the tug of a Nisei social life would be exceedingly strong upon her. Once she plunges in, the idea of school will fade fast. This is not undue pessimism, but actual facts as it has been proven over and over again. I know that you will think that this is unnecessary alarm, Alice, but Emiko is in a very unsettled position at present and unfortunately she sometimes feels that she is a domestic type. I can hardly agree with this as Emiko has many latent potentialities -- art, music, dress designing, business, etc. -- which she has to work out herself. For her own good, I am sure that it would be most unwise to be led into a "drifting" type of life, marking time until marriage. Don't you both agree with this?

For Bette, there are future possibilities with greater certainty. She has her mind set upon a college education for a long time and I feel that this desire should definitely be encouraged. In doing this, we must not divert her to other pursuits which has an immediate, but not lasting, satisfaction in such things as dates with Nisei soldiers, nightclubs, debut into an exclusive Nisei society, etc.

Perhaps all this may sound like a behind the back slap at you two. Nothing could be further from the truth. I am saying all this in the hopes that you will recognize that it is for Emiko's and Bette's best interest. If this were not the case, I would not even bother to seek your advice. As you know, I do feel a deep responsibility for both of them as I will be their guardian once we leave camp. We have talked this all over for the past two weeks and I have not written until now because I wanted to be certain as to how they feel. On the other hand, it would be unfair to both of you to have to assume further family

56. (continued)

responsibility unless absolutely necessary. Both of you, too, need your chance to work towards your individual future. The very presence of Emiko and Bette in the same house with you would deny you this. I am trying to explain this to you objectively, but I am not certain that the temper of this letter expresses what I really mean. I do hope that it is not misinterpreted.

Now to get down to the issue: Where should we go to resettle out of the possible list? The chances for St. Paul are excellent thru contacts with Mrs. Sickels the National Director of the International Institute. There are also other possibilities through Louis Adamic. The U. C. offer gives several alternatives, including St. Paul and Chicago. I had planned on trying to get a defense job, but the U.C. Study in the long run will be of greater value both to myself and for the evacuees. My part in it will necessarily be small, but it is a little contribution, I think. I don't know how soon we will leave -- it probably will take a couple of months to get the WRA clearance. Once out, my salary, plus Emiko's, would be sufficient for us to get a place of our own. Dr. Thomas has some good contacts there in Chicago who will help settle us, if we decide to go to Chicago.

Now, much will depend upon you two. Would you be willing to let the three of us live apart without feeling a resentful antagonism? In view of what I have said previously, I believe that you will be rational enough to see that this is the best solution. Briefly, the outline of what I have said is this:

- (1) We live apart, out of the Japanese area of influence.
- (2) Bette and Emiko plan for school and leave the Nisei society alone, according to their wish.
- (3) No fixing up dates with Nisei soldiers, etc., let them start the assimilation process on their own.
- (4) That you do not sponsor their debut. It will be more difficult for them to make contacts, but in the long run it will be of greater advantage to them.
- (5) The rest of the family resettlement is indefinite due to Pop's condition and Mom's reluctance.
- (6) For myself, I will depend on both of you to help me in the Study.

From what I have said, you can see that my primary concern is that Emiko and Bette should not be "led." The best way to do this is not to have the temptation placed before them. Neither of them desire to be established as a U.S.O. for lonely Nisei. (This will be a more difficult adjustment for Emiko than Bette as she has not decided on a definite vocation yet.)

56. (continued)

I would like to hear of your ideas on this matter. If agreeable to you (my proposals) we will go to Chicago. If you think that it would not work out, we may try St. Paul or Cleveland. In any event I would feel appreciably better if you both gave me a vote of confidence. Lest you think that this is entirely my plan without agreement by Emiko & Bette, I will have them sign after reading this.

Love,

/s/ Charlie & Bette & Emi

P.S. I would like your promise never to consider moving in on us once we are there and to respect my decision on important issues. This will avoid future possible conflicts.

P.P.S. Answer immediately if possible. Please excuse my seemingly formality. I wanted to be clear on everything. But if Emiko and Bette remain in camp, it will ruin them. Ask Alice. This may be sudden, but the draft possibility necessitates it. If drafted on the outside, Bette can get dependents allowance and Emiko will be set. She also is considering the WAAC's.

Yeh man! - Emi.

Alice

57. A total of 2,432 female citizens registered at Gila of whom 2,212 answered "Yes" to the loyalty questions; 1,880 female aliens registered of whom 1,877 answered "Yes", and ~~2,000 failed to make no reply.~~ The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description, p. 165.

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58. Mrs. Kikuchi and C.K. misunderstood the loyalty questions. Answering "yes" did not mean that Japanese citizens were renouncing Japanese citizenship but only that in America they would abide by the laws of the United States and would not hamper the war effort. Mrs. K's added statement that she would like American citizenship would not stand as a formal renunciation of Japanese citizenship.

59. Heart Mountain Relocation Center was located in Northwestern Wyoming. Persons in this camp presumably would not know of Nobu's ^{JACL} ~~JACL~~ activities and of his volunteering.

60. Many references to the "family fund" have been ~~deleted~~^{omitted}. Each member of the family contributed to ~~it~~^{the family fund}. Dispersals from the fund were dependent upon decisions of the family council and were made to any member in dire need. In this the Kikuchis are following a Japanese cultural pattern. Kizaemon Ariga writes: "In the Japanese family as a peculiarly idealized institution, each member finds his raison d'etre by contributing toward the maintenance and continuance of the family ...all family members have been expected to contribute to the perpetuation of the family, which is held to be the highest duty of the member...The Japanese family holds its own property ...It (property) belongs to the family as an identity in itself." "The Family in Japan," Marriage and Family Living, Vol. XVI, No. 4 (November, 1954), p. 362.
61. Since dental services were free to evacuees only while they were camp residents, the Kikuchis were anxious to obtain needed dental treatment before leaving camp.