

Evacuation and Resettlement Study,  
June 3, 1943. DST.

SCHEDULE FOR INDIVIDUAL RESETTLERS

Date of interview Oct. 21, 1943 Interviewer Charles Kikuchi

1. Name George Takigawa 2. Sex, M F 3. Married stat. M S D W O  
4. Present address 513 Arlington Aug., 1943  
5. Later addresses \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
6. Birthplace Bellingham, Wash. 7. Birthdate Feb. 27, 1915  
8. Alien or citizen citizen 9. Nisei, Kibei or Issei nisei  
10. Addresses between Dec. 1, 1941 and evacuation  
(a) On boat in South American port Date In Seattle 23 yrs.  
(b) (home town in Seattle) "  
(c) "  
(d) "  
(e) "  
11. Assembly Center Puyallup Date May 10, 1942  
12. Relocation Center Minidoka Date Aug. 13, 1942  
13. Addresses between time of leaving Relocation Center and present  
(a) Friends Hostel Date Apr. 15, 1943  
(b) Chicago river boat (working) "  
(c) U.S. Steel Corp. boat (working) "  
14. Persons living in household on Dec. 1, 1941. Relationship to Re-settler June, 1943  
(a) Hostel  
(b) \_\_\_\_\_  
(c) lived in 2 or 3 hotels on north side  
(d) \_\_\_\_\_  
(e) \_\_\_\_\_  
(f) By myself with ship in So. America  
(g) \_\_\_\_\_  
(h) \_\_\_\_\_  
(i) \_\_\_\_\_  
(j) \_\_\_\_\_  
(k) \_\_\_\_\_  
(l) \_\_\_\_\_  
(m) \_\_\_\_\_  
15. Persons living in household on evac. day (If same as 14, enter symbol, e.g. 14(a).)  
(a) Self  
(b) Kay Takigawa  
(c) Shizue  
(d) William  
(e) \_\_\_\_\_  
(f) \_\_\_\_\_  
(g) \_\_\_\_\_  
(h) \_\_\_\_\_  
(i) \_\_\_\_\_  
(j) \_\_\_\_\_  
(k) \_\_\_\_\_  
(l) \_\_\_\_\_  
(m) \_\_\_\_\_

Relationship to Re-settler

Father

Mother

Brother

CH-17



SCHEDULE FOR INDIVIDUAL RESETTLERS, page 2.

15. continued	Age	Sex	M.S.	Birthplace	Grade compl. Amer.school	Educ.in Japan	Occupation Dec. 1, 1941	Relig. Affil.
(a)	29	M	6	Bellingham	U.W. 16th		seaman	Congre.
(b)	62	M	M	Japan	night school	13	janitor	none
(c)	50	F	M	"		H.S.	housewife	"
(d)	22	M	S	Seattle	H.S. trade school		seaman	Congre.
(e)								
(f)								
(g)								
(h)								
(i)								
(j)								
(k)								
(l)								
(m)								

16. If immediate family (parents, siblings, children or spouse) were not included in household group in 15, because of different residence or because deceased, give details regarding them)

	Name	Relationship to resettler	Residence (if deceased write "dec.")	Age (if dec. age at death)	Sex	Mar. Stat.
(a)						
(b)						
(c)						
(d)						
(e)						
(f)						

16, continued -

	Birthplace	Grade compl. Amer.school	Educ. in Japan	Occupation Dec. 1, 1941 (for dec. last occupation)	Religion
(a)					
(b)					
(c)					
(d)					
(e)					
(f)					

17. What members of household and immediate family evacuated together to Assembly Center or Free Zone (give symbols used in 15 and 16).

a - d

18. Composition of household in Assembly Center or Free Zone (Give symbols from 15 and 16; if others, give sex, age, relationship) Upon arrival:

a - d



SCHEDULE FOR INDIVIDUAL RESETTLERS, page 3.

18. continued -

Just before departure to Assembly Center or Free Zone \_\_\_\_\_

a - d

19. Composition of household in Relocation Project (Give symbols; if others, give sex, age, relationship).  
Upon arrival: \_\_\_\_\_

a - d

Just before leaving Project: \_\_\_\_\_

a - c (brother left first)

20. Composition of household in Chicago at date of interview:  
(Give symbols; if others, give details)

Name	Relationship to resettler	Residence (if deceased write "dec.")	Age (if dec. age at death)	Sex	Mar. Stat.
(a) George living	by self	Chicago			
(b) Kay	father	Div. & Clark			
(c) Shigue	mother	"			
(d) William	brother	2728 Hampton Court			
(e)					
(f)					

20. continued -

Birthplace	Grade completed American school	Educ. in Japan	Occupation Dec.1, 1941 (for dec.last occupation)	Religion
(a)				
(b)				
(c)				
(d)				
(e)				
(f)				

21. Changes in composition of Household in Chicago: Note departures by symbol and dates. Give details for new households or entries:

Date	Name	Relation-ship to resettler	Residence (if deceased write "dec.")	Age (if dec. age at death)	Sex	Mar. Stat.
(a)						
(b)						
(c)						
(d)						
(e)						
(f)						



SCHEDULE FOR INDIVIDUAL RESETTLERS, page 4.

21. continued -

Date	Name	Relation- ship to resettler	Residence (if deceased write "dec.")	Age (if dec. age at death)	Sex	Mar. Stat.
(g)						
(h)						
(i)						
(j)						
(k)						
(l)						
(m)						

21. continued -

Birthplace	Grade compl. Amer.school	Educ. in Japan	Occupation Dec. 1, 1941 (for dec. last occupation)	Religion
(a)				
(b)				
(c)				
(d)				
(e)				
(f)				
(g)				
(h)				
(i)				
(j)				
(k)				
(l)				
(m)				

22. Educational history of resettler

Educational history of resettler			
Elementary schools (name and location)	Dates	Grade completed	
Central, Seattle	1921-29	8th	
Grammar schools (name and location)	Dates	Grade completed	
High schools (name and location)	Dates	Grade completed	
Broadway High, Seattle	1929-33	12th	
Colleges, universities and vocational schools (name and location)	Dates	Grade completed	Degree
U. of Washington, Seattle	1935-40	16th	A.B.
Attendance at Japanese language school, location			
none	Dates		



SCHEDULE FOR INDIVIDUAL RESETTLERS, page 5.

22. Occupational history (begin with first job). Note periods of unemployment by entering dates continuously and writing "unemp" in Job column to cover such periods. Include employment in Assembly Center and Relocation Project and continue with employment since resettling.

Dates		Nature of job	Type of industry	Location	Av. mo. wages	Reason for termination
From	To					
1933	1934	cleaner	helped dad	Seattle		
1934	summer	worker	cannery	Alaska	\$60 rm & bd.	
	every summer to 1940	worked in cannery		"	\$350	
1935		helped mother	in grocery store	& helped	to organize	
		cannery union.	was first vice-president	of union		
1940	1941	seaman			\$115	
1/42-2/42		unemployed	was in San Francisco and	Los Angeles		
2/42-5/42		unemployed	was in Seattle			
5/42-8/42		operations mgr.	WCCA center	Puyallup	\$16	
9/42-10/42		housing chief	WRA Center	Minidoka	\$19	
10/42-4/43		Ex-sec. Fair Practice Bd.		"	\$19	resettled
4/43-6/43		deck hand	Federal Barge Line	Chicago	\$125	better job
6/43-7/43		deck hand	steamship line	Gt. Lakes	\$160	protest
8/43(7 da.)		freight handler	carloading co.	Chicago	75¢ hr.	better job
8/7/43		receiving clerk	Bakery Co.	"	90¢ hr.	
		Plan to quit Oct. 17, 1943	- tired of job; no interest;			
		non-stimulating; getting in rut				

23. Religious connections (begin with first, include assembly center and Relocation project and status after resettlement)

Dates	Attended what church	Where attended	What Sunday sch.
1924-30	Congregational Church	Seattle	

24. Political activities

Dates	Voted in what elections	For what party
1936	Presidential	Democratic
1938	State	"
1940	Presidential	"
1942	State	"



2. Minidoka 8/16/42
3. Puyallup, Wash. 5/10/42
4. 603 Cherry Street, Seattle, Wash.
5. Takigawa, Kiichi Japan  
Nishibura, Sano Japan
- 5a. U.S. Cleaner Abroad none
7. Grammar school, Central, Seattle, 1922 to 1929  
High school, Broadway, Seattle, 1930 to 1934  
College, Univ. of Washington, 1936 to 1940
- 7a. Bachelor of Arts Degree (Liberal Arts)  
Economics
8. None
12. 58 160 lbs.
13. Wears glasses
18. Single
19. Head
20. 2/27/16
23. No
24. College 4
25. Speaks Japanese
27. Foreman, Cannery
- 27a. Economist
28. 1936 to 1942 Nakat Packing Corp. Foreman \$300  
1942 Grace Line Stewards Dept. \$200  
1937 to 1942 U.C.A.P.A.W.A. #7 First Vice Pres.
29. Organizing, fishing, baseball, basketball, tennis
30. Protestant (Congregational)

George's father, Kiichi Samuel Takigawa

2. same
3. same
4. same
5. Takigawa, Yoshijiro Aichi-Ken, Japan  
Harase, Fusa Aichi-Ken, Japan
- 5a. Abroad farming
7. Grammar school, Sinshiro, Aichiken, Japan 4/1889 to 4/1897  
High school, Junten, Tokyo Japan 4/1897 to 4/02  
College, Senshu (law) Tokyo, Japan 1/03 to 1/04
- 7a. ---
8. Minami-Shitara-Gun, Aichiken, Japan 1882 to 6/04
12. 65 145 lbs.
13. Wears spectacles. No major defect
18. Married
19. Father
20. 11/23/82
23. No
24. College 1 yr. Japan
27. Dye Works
- 27a. Interpreter



George's father, Kiichi Samuel Takigawa, continued

28. 2/41 to 2/42 Rehan Hotel, Seattle, Wash. Janitor (Boiler Watch) \$105  
5/39 to 9/40 Kadiac Fishery, Alaska Can Top Clincher \$90 mo.  
2/22 to 4/39 Bellevue Dyework, Seattle Proprietor self  
6/06 to 1/20 Bellingham Dye Work Proprietor self  
29. Sewing (machine) Dyework, Interpreter, Translator  
Boiler Operation Engineer, Fishing, Sight Seeing  
O.P. Interpreter, Translator  
30. Buddhist (Nichiren)

George's mother, Sono Takigawa

2. same  
3. same  
4. same  
5. Nishimura, Naosaku, Shizuoka, Japan  
Sasaki, Setsu, Chiba-ken, Japan  
5a. Abroad Tea Exporter  
7. Grammar school, Eiwa, Yokohama, Japan 4/1898 4/07  
High school, Eiwa, Yokohama, Japan 4/07 to 4/11  
7a. Asst. Teacher (kindergarten)  
8. Yokohama, Japan 9/1892 9/11  
12. 62 135 lbs.  
13. No major defects  
18. Married  
19. Mother  
20. 9/5/1892  
23. No  
24. High 4 yrs.  
25. Speaks English  
27. Grocery Mgr.  
27a. Flower arrangement  
28. 12/30 to 5/42 Your Grocery, Seattle, Wash. Proprietor self  
4/20 to 11/30 6th & Cherry Housekeeping Proprietor "  
9/11 to 1/20 Bellingham Dye Work Husband (proprietor)  
29. Management of Grocery, housekeeping, flower arrangement, reading  
O.P. Interpreter  
30. Buddhist (Nichiren)

George's brother, William Takigawa

2. same  
3. same  
4. same  
5. Kiichi Takigawa Japan  
Sono Nishimura Japan  
5a. same  
7. Grammar school, Central, Seattle, Wn. 1928 to 1936  
High school, Broadway, Seattle, 1936 to 1940  
College--- Postgraduate Broadway, Seattle 1940 to 1940  
7a. Major in History, Debate Club  
8. Japan tourist 1929 6 mos.



George's brother, William Takigawa, *contd.*

- 12.  $69\frac{1}{2}$  168 lbs.
- 13. No major defect
- 18. Single
- 19. Brother
- 20. 2/17/21
- 23. No
- 24. High 5
- 25. No Japanese
- 27. Seaman
- 27a. ---
- 28. 1940 to 1942 American President Line Seaman, Messman, butcher  
S.F. baker, scullion \$200
- 1940 to 1942 Alaska Steamship Co. Seaman, day utility,  
Seattle bell boy \$200 mo.
- 1940-1942 Nakat Pkg. Corp. Union Delegate \$300 season  
Seattle, Wash. " "
- 1940 to 1941 Same as above
- 1937 to 1941 Alaska Salmon Canneries during summers
- 29. Cannery foreman, union delegate, boys' club leader
- 30. Christian ? (sic)



Charles Kikuchi  
Evacuation & Resettlement Study  
University of California  
Nov. 3, 1943

CH-17  
George "Yani" Yanigawa(Pseud)

George "Yani" Yanigawa, 28, is at present unemployed altho he has been working as a receiving clerk up until Oct. 17. He was employed as a seaman prior to the war. George also was one of the active nisei in organizing the Japanese Alaska Cannery Workers' into the CIO Union.

George is quite an individualistic and aggressive person, thoroughly Americanized in his mannerisms, yet his in spite of this he is reserved in many ways due to the social and economic conditions it is not a racial characteristic which makes him this way as he believes. He is cynical about life in general and yet quite hopeful for the future. He has a definite objective which he wishes to achieve, but the direction is not clear cut to him. He differs from many nisei in this respect altho he has a few of their conservative traits. He is inclined to be slightly opportunistic in his economic life. In his thinkin he is rather liberal, altho there were tendencies of bitterness which he projected to be the fault of racial discrimination.

The interviews were foura number and they covered approximately 20 hours. George has become a very good acquaintance of the writer. During the past four or five months so that it was not difficult to establish rapport. Subsequent events of this individual's life will be follow as closely as possible.



George Yani, formerly Yanigawa (psued.)

George Yani was born on February 27, 1915 in Bellingham, Washington. He is unemployed at the present time altho his usual occupation is a seaman and cannery worker. George has shortened his name in order to "make it easier for the hakujin to pronounce it." George lived in Seattle for 23 years prior to the evacuation. He was on the high seas as a seaman at the time the war broke out. George returned to his family and he was evacuated with them to the Puyallup Assembly Center on May 10, 1942. On Aug. 13, 1942, he was relocated to the Minidoka center in Idaho. George arrived at the Friends hostel on April 10, 1943. He lived on a Chicago river boat where he worked for the next month. In June he worked on a U.S. Steel Corporation boat on the Great Lakes. He returned to the hostel for a few days. Between June 7, 1943 and August, 1943, George lived in various hotels, chiefly on the near northside. He was finally successful in finding an apartment at 513 Arlington which is about two blocks north of the Friends hostel, on the north side.

At the present time George is paying \$8 a week for his apartment. The landlord is a German alien and very sympathetic. George's apartment is completely furnished and rather comfortable. It includes a large living room, bedroom, closet and kitchenette. The apartment is located on the second floor of a fairly old building and it has a front view of the street. The furnishings include a modernized davenport, arm-chair, bureau, three small chairs, table and heater. There is also a large fireplace in the living room. George's brother is maintaining a separate apartment and his parents are living on the near northside in a hotel where the father is a time keeper. From the magazines laying about his



apartment, it would indicate that George only does light reading at the present time: Life, Saturday Evening Post, Coronet, Collier's, Willkie's "One World" and a few newspapers. There are no other books in the apartment.

George is 5 ft. 8 in. in height and he weighs 150 pounds. He is well proportioned and quite healthy in appearance. He wears glasses but he does not have any physical disabilities otherwise. In appearance George is rather occidental. There is some question as to whether his mother is half-Caucasian or not, altho the writer believes that this is the case. George's father is pure Japanese. There is one other brother in the family, four in the whole family, but the writer has not met any of the other members of the family to date. George's father was born in Japan 62 years ago. He attended high school in Japan and night school in the United States during his younger days. At the time the war broke out, George's father was employed as a maintenance man and janitor in a hotel. He does not have any religious affiliations. George's mother is 50 and she was also born in Japan. She graduated from the mission high school before coming to this country. She operated a small grocery store in Seattle at the time the war began. She does not have any religious preference either. A young brother, William, 22, was born in Seattle. His education consists of high school and some training in a trade school. He was employed as a seaman at the time the war broke out. Both George and his brother are affiliated with the Congregational Church, but they have not been regular church goers for the past four or five years. George stated that the church has had some influence on his life altho he has completely rejected the religious philosophy of Christianity since he feels that it is not suited to the harsh realities of life.



George Yani has had a complete education. He attended the Central elementary school in Seattle from 1921 to 1929. He then went to the Broadway high school in Seattle where he graduated in 1933. For the next year or so George remained out of school in order to help his father and because he was interested in cannery work. He enrolled at the University of Washington in 1935. In 1940 he received his A.B. degree. George took a liberal arts major. He has never attended the Japanese language schools in Seattle.

George has had a wide variety of work experience altho it was not until 1940, after his graduation from college, that he began to work full time. His first job was helping his father in the cleaning shop during 1933 and 1934 in the aftern school hours and during the time he remained out of school after graduating from high school. He did not get paid for this work, "because it was a family affair and you know how it is." During the summer of 1934 George went to Alaska to work as a cannery worker for the first time. He received \$60 a month plus room and board at this time. During 1935 he helped his mother in the grocery store, however, he became intensely interested in labor unions because of his cannery work and he and Dyke Miyagawa were instrumental in organizing the Issei and Nisei into the cannery union. He held the position of first vice-president of the Union. During the summers George continued to go to the Alaska canneries in order to defray his college education. By 1940 he was making approximately \$350 in the cannery work as a shed foreman and for his activities in the Union.

After graduating from college in 1940, George went to Alaska once more. In the fall he took a job as a seaman in the merchant marine since his connection with the labor unions made him eligible. He was on a boat which went to South America at the time the war



broke out. For this he received \$115 a month plus his keep. During January and February, 1942, George was in San Francisco and Los Angeles, "taking a vacation" after my sea trip". From February until the time of evacuation George was unemployed altho he helped out his mother at the grocery store. He held a job as the operations manager for the Operations department in Puyallup from May until August, 1942. After he was relocated to Minidoka, George was the housing chief for a month. He then transferred to organize the Fair Employment Practice Board for Minidoka and he was classified as the executive secretary of this organization. Upon release and resettling, George worked as a deck hand for the Federal Barge Lines on the Chicago River for about a month, receiving \$125 plus his keep. He quit this in order to take a better job of the same nature with the Pittsburgh Steamship Company of the United States Steel Corporation which operated on the Great Lakes. Thru some difficulties with the Coast Guard, which will be related at greater length later, George was forced to resign. During July 1943, he was unemployed. From Aug. 1 to 7, he worked as a freight handler for the Universal Carloading Corporation of Chicago. He received 75 cents an hour. After a week he quit to become a receiving clerk for a bakery company here in Chicago at 90 cents an hour. On Oct. 23 George quit this job because he was tired of it. He felt that he had no interest in this work because it was non-stimulating and he was getting into a rut. At the time of these interviews George was unemployed.

George has a great interest in labor organizations and it has influenced his personal philosophy to a great extent. He has voted in every state and national elections since 1936 as a Democrat. However, George has adopted a rather cynical and skeptical attitude



towards political philosophy. He feels that his knowledge of politics thru the labor unions has exposed to him that the political situation is one of corruption and therefore he has no interest in it. Thruout his story he indicated that he was rather cynical about life in general due to some frustrations which he apparently has had. At one time in his life he made definite attempts to break away from the Japanese community but he was forced more and more to revert back to it due to the prevailing economic conditions on the coast in the period prior to the war.

George is rather intelligent and he has quite a pride of his family, whom he feels are different from the other Japanese. He feels that his parents are much more liberal in attitudes than the average issei immigrant. George believes that his skeptical attitudes in no way reflects upon his life as an American. He is of the opinion that all Americans are more or less like him, but the "heat is on the nisei now so that they try to make us look different". George is quite frank to admit that the whole evacuation process has enbittered him to a certain degree but he does not rant that he is persecuted. He feels that democracy is only a ideal anyway and that it never would be practiced against the Japanese very much. He was rather disappointed that the "special interests" were able to swing the public emotions for the evacuation idea because it interfered with his personal independence.

George speaks very good English altho the influence of working among the cannery workers is revealed in some of the rough terms of expressions which he uses occasionally. He also uses certain Japanese terms, which is rather common among a great deal of the nisei, e.g., "hakujin", "nihon-machi", "nihon", etc. He does not use any derogatory terms to describe the Caucasians. In many ways



George continues to identify himself closely to this country altho he states that "flag waving" does not appeal to him at all. He is a rather capable individual as shown from his work record. There are some claims that he was rather an opportunist and therefore greatly disliked in the Seattle area. Miyamoto may be able to enlarge further upon this aspect as well as others since he had some slight acquaintance with Yani during the pre-war period.

It appears that George's cynical attitudes is derived from a much wider perspective and philosophy than that which the usual nisei depends upon. He seems to have grasped his situation rather objectively, but unfortunately, he has arrived at a pessimistic conclusion. It may be that he is more bitter at the present time due to the fact that he is unemployed now and he has some conflicts about his future vocational adjustments. However, what he said in the interviews is his definition of the situation and the writer made no attempt to contradict or argue with him, but accepted his statements at face value. There is no doubt that George is a very independent individual and he is relying upon his own resources to solve his present problems.

The interviews covered a period of two or three weeks. Prior to that time the writer has had frequent contacts with George in order to establish rapport and gain his confidence. George was most cooperative in the interviews and quite frank in expressing many of his true feelings altho the writer suspects that he may be covering up on some points. He was quite friendly during the interviews and he served frequent drinks. The following account is George's story as he tells it himself and it may throw some further light upon his personality and character. It also indicates some of the underlying reasons for his reactions to the evacuation and resettlement. George told his story in a very objective manner



and there were attempts made by him to understand why he reacted as he did in certain situations:

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"I suppose the way to tell you my life story is to start at the beginning and describe all of my important ~~ex~~periences. I don't know whether I'll be able to remember all of this since I have not made any special effort to remember my past. I don't know too much about my parents' background because I never did think to ask much about it. We are just two brothers in the family besides our parents, and I suppose we were rather close as a family.

"I think that dad came to the United States around 1900. He came from the Aichi ken near Nagoya which is located in central Japan. My father came from a farm family but they were of the landlord class. They were never too wealthy or anything like that but they were a little better off than the average Japanese farmer.

*distinguishing feature of*  
The reason my dad came over to this country was not for economic opportunities. He came over as a student in order to get more education. He was a sort of a gay young blade but I don't know what he did from the time that he came over until 1913. He just worked all around the Seattle and Bellingham areas and he did all kinds of work. He was in the cleaning business in Bellingham until he moved to Seattle. That was a couple of years after I was born. Dad was in the cleaning business from 1913 until 1940. Before that I can't tell you exactly altho he roved around and he probably did mostly domestic work and other menial jobs like that.

"Dad was married around 1910. I am not positive of this altho I overheard my parents say one time that they had been married for five years before I was born. It was an arranged marriage but I don't know how the details were worked out. I think that his family



back in Aichi ken took care of all of the details. They married my parents by proxy and then sent my mother over on the boat. After she got here there was another marriage service. That was the way all of the old timer Japanese got married because there were not very many Japanese women over here at that time. Dad gradually lost hope in completing his education over here because he had to work for a living. I suppose that after he was here for 10 years he decided that he had better settle down and raise a family. He liked it around Seattle a great deal and he thought he might just as well live there permanently. I suppose that he had some idea that she would go back to Japan some time but he kept putting it off and <sup>as</sup> the years went by, this desire to go live in the old country faded out more and more altho he never did lose his sentimental attachments for Nihon. I think that he had some idea that he wanted to go back to Japan to retire. That's one of the reasons why my parents always tried hard to save some money. They never accumulated a great pile of money because my father's cleaning job barely kept the family going. My mother had to supplement this earning with her small grocery store. I suppose my mother had more of a business sense than my father. She was more conscious of financial status.

"Mother came from a rather well-to-do family in Japan. Her dad was some kind of a tea merchant and he used to export tea to the United States and other countries. Mother was the youngest of five children and women did not have a place in Japanese society so that she was not in line to inherit very much. Her best chance was to marry a successful Japanese in order to elevate her position. I don't think that my mother did too well economically in her marriage but she got a lot more out of it by marrying my dad. At least he did not treat her the way that many Japanese husbands treated their



wives. My dad recognized that mother was an individual so he treated her with respect and he never did try to grind her into the ground so that she would lose all of her spirit and become submissive like the other Japanese wives.

*note*  
"I would say that in all of the years that they have been over here, I don't think that they had bettered their former economic scale of living. I was over in Japan in 1930 and I got to see how my parents' relatives lived. I think that judging from what I saw, I would say that both of them have gone down in the economic scale. But as I said before, they gained in many other ways.

*note  
downward  
trend  
FF*  
"After my father went into the cleaning business, he stuck to it. It fluctuated in business and he never made too much money. Around 1939 the chain cleaning business idea got a hold in Seattle so that business got worse than it had ever been. Finally he decided that he was not getting enough out of it for all the effort he put in so that he sold out to the chain cleaning string. He then went to work as a maintenance man in a Caucasian hotel which was out of the Japanese district. He did this work until almost the time of evacuation.

*source of  
F-M  
conflict*  
"My mother is really the boss of the family. Besides her grocery store she ran an apartment house from 1930 on. It was located just outside of the Japanese section. She is rather aggressive and she has a business head. She is the one who urged my father to come out to resettlement. Dad is now a hotel clerk in the near northside in Chicago and mother sort of helped him out.

"If dad ever had any great faults, it was his easy going attitude towards life. He was a swell fellow. I think that he let everyone take advantage of him because he did not know when to get hard boiled. He worked hard but it did not seem to pay off too much. I would say that he was a plugger who never got anywhere in



particular. He was very honest in his business life and he would never consider doing anything which he thought was cheating. He To me, as a child, my dad was just an easy going, rather cheerful, Japanese ~~a~~ dad who took us out riding on Sundays. He was not dominating at all so that we did not grow up in fear of him. Mother was more of the one to wear the pants in the family. She made most of the real important family decisions and my father did not object too much. She had to develop some dominating characteristics in order to counteract some of dad's easy going ways of living.

*note acceptance  
rehabilitation  
adjustment*

"My mother reads, writes and speaks English and she can pass as a Caucasian because she does not look like a Japanese at all. She has a very strong character. She brought us up with what I would call a firm, tolerant hand, if there is such a thing as that. My mother never did attempt to restrict my brother and me too much. I've always respected her authority because she was never unreasonable with me. She is the actual family head.

"My parents' marriage worked out fairly well in spite of the fact that they never made a fortune. Mother came from a well-to-do family and if I think that dad had any serious faults, it was the fact that he could not meet her needs as he should have done. On the whole, it is a very smooth marriage and my parents have never had any major rifts between them. I don't say that there weren't other Japanese families like this, but it was unusual if you knew how some of the fathers, especially acted in their family circle. They thought that they were superior and they tried to act like it. That is why so many of the nisei rebelled as they grew up and they began to resent it very much when the parents tried to mold every important issue in their children's minds. That isn't quite natural in the American pattern of living and therefore these conflicts were bound to spring up. Another thing is that many of

*potentiality for  
own family  
pattern*



the husbands were frustrated in reaching the goal which they had set up for themselves. As these goals became more and more impossible, to reach, the fathers took it out on the family because that was the one place where they would be king. I suppose they had to do some of it in self defense so that their wives and children would not blame him as a failure and therefore lose respect for him. It is very important to most issei parents that they have the respect and the obedience also of their children. It was a situation which was inevitable in developing due to their history of the Japanese over here. Most of the issei were hard workers but they never got a chance to really show the ability that they had. They just had to plug along like my dad. However, my dad had a cheerful disposition and he was able to take these things in stride without becoming overwhelmingly bitter about life. He got a great deal of pleasure just from living and he was fairly contented with things as they were.

"My mother was liberal in her attitudes in general but she insisted that we speak Japanese at home. She said that we should do it in order to preserve the cultural heritage. It was not because she could not understand English, altho it is easier for her to use Japanese. My mother did not long for Japan too much because she is quite Caucasian in most of her characteristics. My parents have had more education than the average issei worker. They were not living in the Japanese town and in the grocery and cleaning business they had more opportunities to make Caucasian contacts even tho most of it was in relation to the business life. They got used to the non-orientals so that they did not feel lost if they did not live right in the midst of a large group of Japanese. In fact, they preferred to be away from the Japanese, my mother more

made dominant  
more relaxed  
in Am. than  
in Japan

note  
choice of  
superior  
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from Japan  
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note  
reference



than dad. I couldn't explain it in psychological terms but I do know that my mother did not like to live with a large group of Japanese. Maybe, part of the reason was because she looked Caucasian and she felt that she did not have common interest with the other Japanese. Because of their wider Caucasian contacts, my parents were not as backward as the average issei who lived completely in the Japanese section and who did not have the opportunity or the desire to be exposed more to the American life. My parents were sort of Republican in their political philosophy. I suppose they considered themselves to be the middle class capitalistic group. In 1940 my mother was very strongly for Willkie even tho she could not vote. This reflected the conservative spirit of most of the Japanese. I know that she got sore as Hell at me when I voted for Roosevelt instead.

"However, there was a great deal of cultural sympathies toward Japan by my parants. After all, they were brought up in it and it is something that you don't shake off easily. Then there is also the fact that they can't be citizens. Therefore, they did not have any other choice. On the whole, they are a little better than passively loyal to the American political life.

"I don't want to give you the impression that we were poor because we lived fairly well in the apartment house which my mother ran. All of the people who stayed in it were non-Japanese. Dad would come home at night from his work at the cleaning establishment which was quite a ways from the apartment house. Thus, we did not see him too much as children. In most of the Japanese families, the father usually had his small business in the front of the house and the family lived in the rear so that the fathers were around their children quite a bit. It was not that way with

self  
conscious?

anti  
critical  
attitude



us. We rather enjoyed having him around because he was inclined to be gay most of the time. On Sundays he would take us to the beach for picnics.

"We lived in a Caucasian community while I was a boy altho some other Japanese began to move up that way more and more. I played sports with all of the neighborhood fellows and we got along fine. I was big for a nisei so that I could always hold my own with the other fellows in the gang. Since they were used to many racial groups in the near neighborhood, they got to know some of these people and therefore they were not so full of prejudice. Our gang always accepted fellows on the basis of what ability he had, usually whether he could fight or play sports on an equal par with the rest of us. We did not want any sissies in our gang.

"For these reasons I did not have too much of a Japanese atmosphere in my childhood life. We had Japanese food in the evenings only as dad came home then and he liked his 'ochazuke' (rice with tea poured over it) to finish up his meals and he also liked other Japanese food. I liked Japanese food too so that we never had any difficulty over this. The other two meals were the regular American food. In most of the Japanese families the food custom was handled in this way. I can take Japanese food or leave it. I don't miss rice at all any more.

"Because of the life my parents were living, they did not have too much time to mix with the other Japanese very much. Dad was the only one to belong to a definite Japanese group. He was a member of the Japanese Cleaning Association in Seattle. He held offices in this organization. It was mostly a social organization and it gave the Japanese members an opportunity to get together for weekly parties and socials so that they could sit around a gab about



things in general. They were too busy to have any social life otherwise, so that they got a great deal of pleasure in getting together to gossip or to discuss the community affairs. It was a sort of social institution for them. My mother didn't have any definite Japanese organization to which she belonged. In her apartment house there were only Caucasian boarders living there and mother did not have any time to run around with the other Japanese women down in Nihon-machi. (Japanese town)

"My whole childhood life, right on up thru was fairly smooth. I did not have any big conflicts with my parents altho I used to get spanked occasionally if I misbehaved. My parents had education so that they were broad minded about most things. In that respect it was not like the other Japanese families where the father kept a strict control over the children even after they started going to college. I asked my mother once why she did not send me to the Japanese language schools where most of the nisei were going. She said that she was opposed to the idea because it would mean that I would have to spend too many hours in school. She said that she could teach me just as much by herself.

note  
unusually  
to culture  
as well as  
to people

"We've always had an extremely strong family solidarity and that is why we all came out of camp. My dad sort of wanted to stay with his issei friends in camp but mother wanted to be near us so they came out. She doesn't disturb my private life at all because she is satisfied to be near us and I pay my parents occasional visits during the week.

I suppose that some of the reason why we had a strong family feeling was that our family did not have too much contact with the general Japanese community. My dad had his Japanese cleaning friends all right, but mother hardly had any Japanese friends ex-



cept for a very few close ones. We were removed from Nihon machi and there was the problem of distance. It was not so easy or convenient to look up the Japanese only all the time. Another~~t~~ thing was that my mother had a personality which prevented her from getting along too well with the other Japanese. She was too dominant and too independent to fit into their idea of what a Japanese woman should be like. She just didn't have much in common with all of the other Nihonjin because she doesn't care for them. Yet, she is not completely American. She is pro-Japanese in many ways. I suppose that she is sort of in the middle like many of the nisei are right now. It was just that she did not have anything in common with the other issei.

*note strength of identification with country*

"My mother was also interested in politics and other things which most of the issei knew very little about. They were concerned more with their little community problems. That is why she was misunderstood a great deal altho my mother didn't give a darn. It just didn't bother her at all because it was unimportant and she was too busy otherwise. Her interests was more than sufficient to fill in the rest of her time. My mother had a business sense and she invested in American stocks and bonds. She felt that there was more security in doing this. Her cultural sympathies for Japan had nothing to do with it since it was purely a business move. My parents were very much concerned about saving money so that they would have enough for their retirement and old age. I don't ever remember them saying that they definitely planned to retire in Japan. I think that they were too used to the life in Seattle and it would have been too hard for them to go back to Japan after 30 or 40 years and expect to be happy over there. I don't think they ever thought about it in that way, though, but they must have un-



consciously felt this way inside. They were near a Japanese community and I would say that the great majority of the Issei felt similarly altho maybe not to such an intense degree in some cases. Most of the Japanese were living in the Japanese town so that they had some contacts with the Japanese customs and ways of living. I don't think that it was more than a vague dream for them to want to go back to the old country. As long as they kept their place, they did not <sup>run</sup> smack up against too much discrimination. I don't say that this makes things right but that's the way it was.

"My parents had some contacts with the old country because they sent occasional gifts back to their relatives in the Aichi ken. Most of their relatives thought that we were pretty wealthy just like most of the American. They got distorted ideas about America and I suppose a lot of this came thru the moving pictures which always painted a rather sophisticated picture of the American life, which certainly did not reflect the real life of the common man. My parents never did attempt to tell them too much of the real facts. I don't suppose they knew too much about it anyway. They could mention casually that ~~th~~ we owned a car and to their relatives in Japan, this really was a sign of great wealth. The same thing for radios and refrigerators. We just accepted them as a part of our lives. My parents were fairly contented and they continued their contacts with the Caucasian community mostly thru business. They had no social contacts with hakujin groups. My parents did not go to church at all. They don't have a definite religion because they were always busy making a living and they did not have time for religion. However, they were not opposed to it and they rather liked it when I started to go to the Caucasian churches. I also went to the Japanese churches later on.

note isolated  
nature of  
family



"Since there were only two boys in the family, we were treated equally well and none of us was the favorite. They brought us up in the same way. They were firm at times but they usually managed to give us as much lee-way as possible. If we stepped out of bounds, my folks warned us and that was usually enough. They tried to give us a reason for everything and I suppose that this is the best way to keep up good family relations.

"I started to attend the Central elementary school in Seattle in 1921. I was just like the other kids because there were only a few nisei in the school then. I began to get conscious of the fact that I was of Japanese ancestry because there were so many nisei going to the Broadway high school when I started to attend there in 1929. The nisei segregated themselves and they were ear-marked. I then became very conscious of my black hair and oriental features and I felt that I was ear-marked also. The truth of the matter was that after I started in high school I lost my real intimate contacts with the Caucasian fellows. I did not have intimate contacts with the nisei then because I had never known them too much. For this reason I did not belong to either group. Altho I lived out of the Japanese district, our high school zone included the Japanese section and that is why so many nisei were there. I continued to make friends as much as possible and I would say that I had an equal number of Caucasian and nisei friends after I went to the high school for a couple of years. I got into a sort of a gang again and we played sports together and went to the shows occasionally. The Caucasian fellows in the group would come and visit me at my home and I would go to their home. In the summer time I had more Caucasian contact because I went around with the fellows in our neighborhood and we would go swimming together.

change with  
higher  
school.

isolate

back in



"In spite of the fact that I knew quite a few Caucasian fellows, I began to drift more and more in with the nisei group as I became acquainted more with them. I didn't want this to happen but that was the way it developed. At that time I was not too conscious of any 'nisei problem', but I did have some feeling that we weren't completely accepted among the Caucasians. I noticed that more of this existed whenever more nisei appeared on the scene.

"I was not very aggressive while I was in high school. When I was a child, I was reserved and sensitive altho not to an extreme degree. My teacher said that I was quiet and tactful. What I mean is that I never went out of my way to do anything special. I don't recall any incident of race discrimination which happened to me while I was in high school. I knew that I was reserved tho and possibly that was the reason why no incident happened to me. I always felt that I knew where I stood and if I felt that there might be a possible incident, I refrained from going into that activity. There is quite a bit of this reserve in the nisei of the Pacific northwest. That is why there is a saying that the nisei are sort of inhibited. While I was in high school w I was just like them, altho I did develop myself to a point much beyond this later on.

"I did not enjoy my high school life very much. I didn't know the nisei intimately altho they said hello to me. They were rather clannish and they stuck to their own group. I had some Caucasian friends but because the nisei were in such large numbers, I felt marked off. I did not go in for many school activities for this reason. I just did not enjoy my high school life very much and I don't remember it in an enjoyable way like most of the nisei say they do. Another thing was that I was helping my father after



school so that I did not have too much time for after school activities.

"When I was younger, I was a sort of a book worm and I gave a vicarious thrill out of these dreams. I would imagine all sorts of accomplishments that I was going to do in the dreams. I was happy enough just to have this vicarious experience and I did not assert my personality too much out of the dream level. I just imagined that I was the hero of a lot of situations and there was nothing abnormal about it because all young kids go thru that stage. I think that I had some kind of inferiority complex at times while I was in high school. It was that I was a little afraid that somebody would step on me. It almost merged into an inferiority complex but it wasn't completely that. I didn't feel that I was at any disadvantage because I was just as big as the next fellow and pretty handy with my fists if it came down to an actual fight. I didn't feel that it was because of my skin but I did feel that there was a sort of a line, and I did not want to go too far beyond it for fear that something unpleasant would happen.

*note  
excessive  
preoccupation*

"My personality has changed completely since then. I live in an entirely new world now and I have come a long way from that quiet person that I was in high school. I was just mediocre in my grades at school. I was interested in sports but I did not turn out for the school teams. I enjoyed reading and stamp collecting more altho I was a pretty good physical specimen. I think that one of the unfortunate things that happened to me which caused this slight feeling of inferiority complex was that ~~I was~~ one of my first contacts with the Japanese community was when I joined the nisei Boy Scout troop. They are the ones who made me feel uneasy because they were definitely conscious of it. I didn't feel it at

*actual  
attitude*



first but they made me aware of it.

"I finished up high school having about half and half nisei and Caucasian friends, but very few of these were intimate friends. I did not have a regular girl friend in high school because I was rather shy around girls then or else I was too interested in other things. They did not enter my consciousness until later. I did not know what I was going to do after high school and since my father needed my help, I decided to take a post-graduate course in the high school for one more year.

*parental push* "It was during this time that I began to think more about going to college. My mother strongly desired that I should go to college because she felt that it would offer me more advantages. Like in all the Japanese communities and among all of the issei and even the nisei, it was considered the thing to do for a nisei to go to college. I had to keep up appearances along with the rest and this was my motive for going to college rather than any lust for knowledge. It was just the thing to do for the nisei and I just followed the crowd and went along. It also pleased my mother and dad and I felt I owed it to them. All the American families seemed to have the aim to send their children to college if it were possible. I suppose it was even more emphasized with the issei because they had been denied this privilege for many reasons, and they wanted to see that their children at least got the advantage. It gave the issei parents a sort of reflected glory and a feeling that they too could have achieved the same goals if they had had a chance. Another reason was that the issei felt that the Japanese would have a harder time in getting jobs and they kept telling their children that the only way to get an equal chance with the hakujin was to get ~~twice~~ as good grades or else they would not be considered. I

*need for extra effort*



think it true not only for the Japanese but for any minority group who has discrimination against them.

"I took a liberal arts course at the University of Washington with an emphasis on economics. I never did have a definite ambition all the time I was in college. I just drifted along just like the rest of the 10,000 students. Even now I don't have anything definite in mind as my future occupation, and that makes ~~me~~ <sup>me</sup> unhappy. I think that I am acquiring a political philosophy which is definite but I can't say as much for my occupational goal. One of my strongest conflicts now is that I do not have any definite aim for a certain career. I don't know what I really want.

*note through  
identification  
with Japanese  
college.*  
"The college life did not get me to thinking much at all. The only time we did any thinking was for social activities and sports. The nisei were just like the rest of the students in this respect. We had a pretty strong Japanese Students Club at the University and I joined it. This meant that I segregated myself more or less from the rest of the student body. The fact that I joined the Japanese Students Club meant that it set the pattern for my whole college life. The University of Washington is very large and it is pretty difficult to ~~get~~ to know the Caucasian students when there is such a mass production system. Most of the student relationships ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> very impersonal and there ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup> no special inducements to the nisei to cultivate other acquaintanceship except among the 300 nisei who were on the campus.

*not  
wholly  
critical*  
"My whole social life on the campus was restricted to this nisei society. I thought that it was good in a way because the nisei would have been out of everything otherwise. It did fill a sort of need because it was difficult for the nisei to get accepted into the other college activities. She-Kaneke-(- Shig Kawasaki (Ch-11)



was opposed to the idea of the Students Club and he belonged to the 'Y' group, however, he had a certain art talent which helped him to get into the other group while most of the other nisei did not have anything special to offer. I felt uneasy about the fact that all the nisei stuck together but I did make many contacts thru the Japanese Students Club. I suppose that I should have left them alone but I didn't see any particular reason why I should. It was rather enjoyable while it lasted altho I now admit that it did not help me to make any contacts which are important when you start looking for a job. I had to finance my own way thru college so that I had quite a bit of time during the school year since most of my money was made in the Alaska canneries during the summer. The Japanese Students Club were interested primarily in social life and I did not object to that at that time because I was like many other nisei in many respects. Even now there is very little social consciousness among the nisei and I am disappointed that they have not grown up past the social stage.

"I was sort of late in starting to go around steady with girls. However, at the University I did have a girl friend whom I got to know and like very well. It was during my second year in college when a mutual friend introduced me to Lily. I started to go around with her right away. Lily was only going to high school then. I did not care because it did not make any difference to me whether I went around with a high school or college nisei then. I was sort of young myself at that time in my thinking and social development. I took this girl to the Japanese Students Club picnic and this was my first date with her. After that I started to take her to other place like the usual dates of the nisei. I did not go to dances very much since I had only learned how to dance relatively recently.



I did turn out for some extra-curricular activities at college. I was on the intra-mural boxing and volleyball teams, but I did not go out for many other things because I did not feel like it and I also did not have the time as I was still ~~helping~~ helping my dad a little in his cleaning business.

*C. contact.* "There is still another thing that influenced me. I went to the Congregational Church right thru high school. During my first year at college I was a Sunday School teacher. It was almost all Caucasian who came to that Sunday School and I was elected to be the club president. This gave me a lot of confidence and I got courage to develop it more and more after that.

*somebody?* "Occasionally I would ~~thing~~ think about what I was going to do after college but I did not get down to it seriously. I couldn't seem to find any definite interests to go into and I suppose I felt that many fields were close to me. I had started college just to be going so that I never did develop a serious aim. I like promotional work but I did not get into the proper groups at that time. I became more and more of a socialist by conviction but I suppose that this was due to the economic insecurity which we faced. It was quite a problem for all of the nisei since they did not know what they could do after they got out of college. The problem had not really come out into the open yet since the large mass of nisei were still in college. We thought about it a lot but it was one of those unanswerable questions and it was much easier not to think about it. We always put it off and said that we would find the answer when the time for it came. This was not a very good way of looking at things and I was not satisfied with it myself. I felt a little rebellious but I didn't know exactly what to do.

"By this time I was developing a social consciousness but it



was not thru college that I got it. My real life starts from the time I got into the trade union movement. I began to live after that. I never thought that it would be possible to broaden myself as much as I have. I was a model kid before that and I was not even dry behind the ears. I had not even lived at all. I graduated from college in 1940 but I did not even go to the graduation exercises because I felt that my union activities was the more vital thing in my life by then. I was quite apathetic about my college education.

"I got into the cannery and union movement with the help of my dad, that is to say I got my start in the canneries from him and from then on I was on my own. While my dad was operating a cleaning establishment in Bellingham before moving to Seattle, he used to work as a court interpreter at times. For this reason he was commonly acknowledged as a sort of leader among the Japanese down there. He helped one Japanese fisherman out in some kind of a minor court case once and this man felt that he would repay dad in some way at some future time. This man later on began to run an employment agency to supply Japanese labor for the Alaska cannery work. He got quite successful doing this and he made a lot of money. He was one of the persons who could decide who would go up to work in the cannery. In a way it was quite a racket because usually they took a big cut from the earnings of the workers they sent up as part of their commission. Jobs were rather scarce during the depression so that many of the Japanese were anxious to get these cannery jobs for several months of the year. That is why many of the Japanese contractors could ask for such a big cut. Anyway, my father got me a job in the cannery thru the Japanese fisherman he had befriended many years before. This was in 1934 that I went up for the first time.



"At that time the cannery workers were all non-union. I did not protest at the low wages the first year I went up because I did not know how it could be done. After the second summer I went up, the Japanese foreman got too dominating and I could not take it at all. He expected us to crawl to him and I began to see that the workers ~~could~~ were being exploited too much. Another fellow and I began to fight back. It happened that they had promised me a wage of \$60 a month plus my room and board, but they would only give me \$55. They said the other \$5 had been taken for some kind of fee but they would not explain exactly what it was. I really got sore at that and I decided that I was going to make a fight out of it even if the Japanese black-balled me.

*note difference*

"When I got back from Alaska to Seattle I thought more and more of it and I saw the injustice of the whole thing. I felt that something should be done so that the Japanese workers would not be exploited by these Japanese contractors. I decided to bring a complaint to the union which was just starting out. I was the first Japanese to do this. All the rest of the Japanese cannery workers would not have anything to do with the union since they felt that it would not benefit them at all and all they would ~~be~~ do would be to pay large dues.

*lack of sympathy for Japanese community*

"The union became interested in my case and they got my extra \$5 a month for me. I was on the outs with the Japanese contractor after that and he said that he would see that I would never have a opportunity to do cannery work again. Therefore I began to take an interest in the union. I felt that this was the only way to fight these contractors. This was against the thinking of the Japanese community who had the opinion that all unions were radical but I did not care. I became one of the nucleus of the Japanese Cannery



*notebook  
misc. off.*  
Workers' Union which later developed. The business men among the nisei and issei really got excited at this at first. They thought that we were all communists. It was in the A.F. of L. at that time and compared to the C.I.O. that union is rather mild. The other nisei soon began to see that they would profit by being in the union so they began to fall in. There were also many kibeï and issei workers who saw the point and they came in.

"From that time on I became socially conscious more and more. During most of 1935 I spent a lot of my time in getting the union organized. I didn't get paid for that but I felt that it was necessary in order to protect the Japanese cannery workers. When I first got into the trade union movement, I did not have any political consciousness or any idea of what the economic set-up was. I had gone in simply to get my \$5 a month back. As I went to the union meetings I got interested and I began to learn a great deal. There were socialists and communists in the organization and I began to learn all about the inside of politics. The Japanese cannery workers' group were in the general union which we organized. It included Mexicans, Filipinos, Chinese and the Japanese. At first we were affiliated with the A.F. of L.

"The A.F. of L. would only give us a Federal charter. We paid the same dues as the regular members but we did not have any representation in the central labor council of Seattle. It was a sort of Jim Crow set-up.

"As I took more and more of an active part in the union meetings I soon became elected to the various committees. Most of the union members were uneducated and quite a few of them had difficulty in expressing themselves fully in English. This included many of the left wing issei and kibeï who were in with us. Later on I was



elected to the negotiation and executive committees. It was our function to keep the organization smoothly and to ~~contract~~ make better contracts for the workers. We had quite a struggle with the old Japanese contractors who formerly controlled the situation.

"The struggle went on for a couple of years but it was a losing battle for them. They began to blackball me more and more but by that time the union were getting too powerful so I rode in on the crest of it. It happened that our union was affiliated with the Maritime Union and they had some jurisdiction over our union. The Alaska contractors could not do anything if we threw a picket line around the ship because the Maritime Union was with us and it was in no ships that all of the cannery workers went to Alaska. The Japanese contractors did not like my activities but the Union backed me 100 per cent. Because of my union activities I began to get offers for some of the better cannery jobs and my salary rose accordingly. By 1940 I was making about \$350 a month in the cannery work because I held one of the key positions. The season usually lasted three or four months so that we had to make our money in a hurry.

"In the mean time I stuck along with the Union and we gradually dominated the situation. I was elected finally to the first executive council and then on to becoming the first vice-president of the Union. By 1938 the C.I.O. was getting stronger and stronger and we thought of joining them with our Union because they offered more equality than the A.F. of L. The cannery contractors wanted to have us in a company union. In the dispute that followed we held an election to decide. I was very active by then and a few of us managed to swing our union from the A.F. of L. to the C.I.O.

"By the time also the Filipinos began to hold the majority in



the union. Many of the older Japanese workers were dropping out because they were getting too old. The Filipinos were coming into town in larger numbers and the cannery work was one of the better jobs for them so that they began to come into this work in much larger numbers than the nisei. The cannery workers did all of the processing of the fish while it was canned. It was chiefly the orientals and Mexican workers who did all of this work and there were only a few white workers in it. They did the better paying job in this industry.

*note  
on  
status* "At that time (1938) the Japanese community regarded me as a communist and some of those Republican leaders were always red-baiting me. It was this fact which killed my first romance. I had been going steady with Lily for a couple of years and she wanted me to marry her. I liked her a great deal but I was still going to college in spite of my union activity so that I figured I was not settled enough yet to get married. Then all of these red-baiting rumors began to go around and her folks put a lot of pressure on her to break it up because they did not want her to associate with a Red. She finally had to give in to this pressure. I think I should have married her then and there.

"I don't know why the Nihonjin cannery workers were so conservative when we first got the trade union idea rolling. They were almost all with the Japanese contractors at first and it was a hard struggle to get them into the union. On top of that they voted for a company union because they felt that it was not as radical as the C.I.O. It was a good thing that the Filipinos were in the majority and able to swing us to the C.I.O. This was one of the reasons why many of the Japanese cannery workers quit going to Alaska. They did not come into the C.I.O. when they had the chance



but later on they changed their mind and then they began to come around to ask me to help them get into the C.I.O. I did this as much as I could. After that I was regarded more highly in the Japanese community. There were about 500 Japanese going up to Alaska before so that I helped to organize the Japanese Cannery Workers Association within the general cannery workers' union. It was a sort of a political bloc within the union.

"It was after 1938 that I began to take more and more of an interest in the Seattle politics. Our union fought the teamsters and Dave Beck. I got to know a lot about local politics by then and I began to see how corrupt it really was. I realized that you had to play ball in order to get anything done and not trust to any naive belief in the general term called democracy. I was on the political welfare committee of our union and we donated to the campaign fund of city and state candidates who we thought would be more favorable to Labor.

"I suppose that this impetus given to my political development was one of the reasons why I joined the JACL. I thought that it could also be a political group to fight for the interests of the nisei, however, it was unfortunate that there was an Old Guard in control and they were not too receptive to liberal movements. They were just plain conservative Republicans who felt that they were of the middle class and they had no identify or interest with the laboring man.

*Good  
act.* ↓  
"The JACL leaders accepted me when my esteem and prestige rose in the Japanese community because of the power I held in the union. The Old Guard was so far behind the times that they were still talking about linking the bridge between the United States and Japan. They had no concept of the economic situation of the nisei and it



was rather disgusting when they passed off the economic situation of the nisei by saying that they could get jobs easily. They believed in rugged individualism without realizing that it did not apply to the nisei. The professional nisei were in power over most of the Japanese community and they were strongly aligned with the more pro-Japan organization. They had to be that way because they were getting support and money from them. That is why the Old Guard wasted their efforts instead of tackling the immediate problem which faced the nisei who were beginning to come out of college in large numbers. The professional nisei thought that it would be easy to get placed just because they had fitted into the Japanese community. They were lucky because some of the issei professional men were dying off just about the time they came on the scene. The Old Guard did not realize that the younger nisei coming up would have a much harder time. They were even against the union at first until we got more and more power. We were never able to gain power over the JACL because there were not too many liberal nisei in it willing to overthrow the old group. Our policy did not carry much weight and the JACL continued along their middle of the road policy, playing what they thought was the safe road. They thought that we were just upstarts.

"At one time we thought of taking over the JACL and kicking the old group out but I did not think it would be advisable to raise hell in the JACL then because there were not enough liberal nisei around to take over. I was too occupied with the union movement so that I did not have much time to take an active role in the JACL.

"By 1940 the union was very strong and we managed to organize 100 per cent. However, by the early part of 1941 I got into some personal trouble. I said before that the Filipinos were getting to



be the majority in the union by then and they wanted to take over. I was anxious to see that the Japanese workers kept control as they always have done. It happened that by that time I was one of the dispatchers who determined the workers who could go to the Alaska canneries. I recommended therefore, to the Japanese Cannery Workers Association within the union that about the only way we could send more Japanese to Alaska was that we had to show our appreciation to the dispatcher by giving them \$10 or \$15 per person. This was plain politics but you had to play politics to get results. Of course this practice was against the C.I.O. principles and it was considered as graft. The whole thing gave me a lot of grief. Since the Japanese workers became a minority group in the union, it had to be done.

*integrity* "It got me into so much trouble that the left-wingers among the Japanese workers forced me to resign as chairman of the Japanese Cannery Workers' Association. I still retained my position in the union. In politics you have to expect to make enemies and some of the Japanese had it in for me. There was a bunch of nisei who wanted to go to Alaska and also a lot of Filipinos. Since a quota had been set up, there was naturally a lot of guys who were sore when they were selected even after they had slipped the various dispatchers \$10 or \$15. I was in a position to send them and I pulled some boners because I tried to stick to the quota and let some more nisei go up at the same time. I should have let the other dispatchers break the quota instead doing it myself. Either way I got the blame. I got involved in the business because I really wanted to get more Japanese into the Union and yet I could not satisfy all of them. This trouble gradually was settled up in time and the anger gradually died down against me altho I was called all sorts of names. I really did not graft myself ~~but-people~~ but



many Japanese thought I did. I did make a mistake in taking some money because of my position as a dispatcher and that got me into the most trouble. However, it was greatly exaggerated; you know vicious the rumors can be among the nisei, especially if they have an axe to grind.

*note investigation*  
"The Seattle nisei were not strong for unions at first. In fact, I would say that they were most apathetic. We almost had to drag them in for their own good. There were only about three or four of us who actively worked for the union organization and we took quite a beating, but I didn't mind because it was for a good cause and I thought it would benefit the Japanese. In the cannery work alone, we manage to raise the average wage level from \$35 a month in 1933 to over \$115 a month plus room and board by 1940. Of course, the depression days had a lot to do with the extremely low wages for the cannery workers around 1933 but the wages only climb slowly after that, and it did not go up rapidly until the union got in. We also managed to get the working hours lowered from 10 hours a day to 8 hours. This was more of the American standards. Another thing was that the union improved the payment for overtime work from 20 cents an hour to 60 cents. There were many benefits for the Nihonjin by being associated with the workers of the union. The improvements were in living, working and wage conditions, and we also managed to get bargaining power.

"It was quite a struggle to get the Nihonjin to accept the idea of a union. When we first started out, the damn Republican nisei in town felt that they were middle class business men and they were actively opposed to us for the longest time even tho it was for the benefit of the Japanese. They thought that we



*also  
Republican*

were trying to convert the Japanese workers into Communists. You know why they felt that way? Japan had a great fear of Communism and the Japanese community leaders in Seattle reflected their attitudes. The nisei business men in turn reflected these ~~ess~~ attitudes from the issei. It was supported by the general American attitudes in the middle class against any liberal movement which would help the workers. The way I looked at it was that we were not trying to put over any political philosophy, but we were primarily interested in improving the workers' conditions.

"There were quite a few alien Japanese in the cannery work. The proportion of the nisei going into that rapidly rose after 1937. In 1933 there were only 40% nisei and 60% issei among the Japanese cannery workers; but five years later, it was 75% nisei and only 25% issei. The issei were getting old and the nisei were growing up and that is the reason for that.

"As the chairman of the Japanese Cannery Workers' Ass'n., I got paid my expenses and \$5 a week to take care of incidental needs. I did not get paid for being the first vice-president of the Cannery Workers Union in the CIO but I did get 60 cents an hour when I had to meet for committee meetings. I got per diem and some other expenses when the Union sent me to the conventions held in San Francisco, Milwaukee and other places. Most of my money was made because of my jobs which I got thru the Union.

- "After the Union got well started, I had much better jobs. The company contractors naturally offered me better jobs because they wanted me, as a Union representative, to be more favorable to them. I was the time-keeper for the company when I went to Alaska and I made about \$350 a month. It was a very choice job and I only got it because of my Union connections. The cannery



company tried to bribe us to their way of thinking by offering the Union leaders the better jobs in the cannery. We took the jobs, of course, but did not change our convictions any. This is confidential and it is not entirely in accordance with the CIO principles.

"More and more the cannery workers were nisei in the Japanese group. The reason for this was that it was a good way to make about \$300 for the season and this would finance their way thru the university for the rest of the year. The issei were usually agricultural workers during the rest of the year. A lot of them lived very frugally in the Japanese community when they were not in the Alaska canneries and they only did part time work. That is why so many of them gambled because they were always in hopes of making a big haul and then going back to Japan to retire. That's what they said anyway, but I don't think that they actually would have gone. They would have gotten more greedy and thrown away their earnings in the hopes of getting a larger pile. The Alaska canneries benefited the nisei the most because a large percentage of this group were going to the University of Washington and it was only a means to an end. For the others, it was a lifetime job. I think that the reason that we had so many college graduates from Seattle was that many nisei had an opportunity to make a pretty good sum of money during the summer to finance them. Their parents certainly could not have sent them with the meagre businesses they had. Most of the nisei were recent college graduates and they did not get a chance to get started in other work because the war broke out. It was getting to be quite a problem tho, because the nisei didn't want to continue doing cannery work after being trained in college for something



else. Some of the nisei who graduated from the University got jobs with the big Japanese companies like Mitsui and Mitsubishi but there was not much future for them. All of the good jobs were held by Japanese sent over from Japan. Some of the nisei did not know what to do so that they went to Japan in the hopes of getting a job on the same level as their education. A few of them got pretty good jobs and I suppose they are still doing this.

"On the whole, the nisei were just starting out when the war broke out and I don't know what they would be doing now if the evacuation did not come along. I think that the great majority of them might have been doomed to disappointment and be forced to work at menial jobs in the Japanese community. There just was not any employment opportunities for the bulk of the nisei after they got out of college. It was quite difficult for the nisei to get decent jobs with the Caucasian companies in Seattle because these companies would not hire orientals. That is why quite a few of the nisei migrated on down to Los Angeles in order to make a go of it. Most of them eventually had to work in the Japanese community and the future did not look too promising. It was quite a thing for even many issei to go down to Los Angeles, especially those who went broke in business. That is why the Japanese population was decreasing so much in Seattle.

"I knew that these things existed even then, but I did not think too much of this because I had confidence in myself. After I graduated from college in the spring of 1941, I had no definite plans at all. It happened that our Union was associated with the Maritime Federation. I had been sent several times by the Union as a delegate to the Maritime Federation meetings. In the course of doing this I met some of the Maritime Federation officials and



*accidental nature  
of job placement*

I got to be friendly with them. Once I was discussing about getting some sort of a steady job. I didn't know what I wanted. The official suggested that why couldn't I be a seaman in the winter. I was ~~ae~~ out of college so I thought that this would be a good opportunity and I could knock around a bit. I took several trips out to sea. My biggest trip was a three months one down the Pacific Coast and to South America. This trip started in early November, 1941.

*aimlessness  
indicated  
also shortcoming  
of general  
edu.*

"I was rather restless at that time because I had no definite occupational plans for the future. I was still feeling around. I wanted to get into some business, but I really did not know. I thought about it a lot but it only cause me to worry so I put it out of my mind. I figured I was getting along fairly well at the time and my salary as a seaman was not bad since I was getting \$115 a month plus room and board on the boat. I was finished with college as I had my A.B. degree and I was not thinking of any further education. I figured that college gave me a cultural balance and also some poise and confidence so that it did not benefit me very much in an economic way because I took a liberal arts course and I was not trained for anything special.

*motivation  
for migration*

"I was mixed in my feelings and I did not know that Seattle would ever offer me economic opportunities. I had vague ideas of going east for a try. My development was late and I still am developing. The Union movement woke me up to life and it also gave me conflicts. I was more politically conscious after I started to get interested in politics. But at the same time I realized that the economic system was not right when it exploited the workers. I became socialistic in my thinking and



convictions, but there was still a capitalistic tendency within me due to expediency (of making a livelihood). What I wanted to see was some sort of socialism established. A lot of this may also have been due to the influence of my father's life. He is not economically aggressive and he does not like to exploit people but because of this, he did not get far in his dream of making a lot of money. I felt that the church should press more for social equality of all people. I got so dissatisfied with the church that I finally broke away. I felt that it was not Christian for the church to talk of equality and yet compromise itself to all of its social and economic injustices which existed. I just could not reconcile these two things.

*Identification with racial minorities*

"I suppose that I became more interested in racial problems because of my own dissatisfaction. I felt that the racial groups were treated unjustly in this country. Partly because of that, I felt a certain sympathy for the Japanese in Japan and the democratic principle did not strike much of a response when I saw how the minority people of the world were being exploited. I had a dispute with the JACL once because of my feelings for minority groups.

*note conflict of Sakamoto as minority group member*

"Our union had actively entered into the fight against the State bill which wanted to refuse Filipinos from owning land. I went to Sakamoto of the JACL in order to get him to make a stand against this stand also. However, he refused because he said that the Japanese were on a higher level than the Filipinos and the Negroes and he felt that the Japanese could not afford identify themselves to the Negroes and Filipinos because it would hurt our own position. I didn't see why the JACL was so blind in this matter. They were always afraid to make a stand



on anything definite before the war. Our union was much more progressive and it was against all forms of Jim Crowism regardless of whether it affected the Negro, Filipino or Japanese. The JACL was concerned only with the Japanese and they could not get any enthusiasm to fight injustices against other minority group. I just could not get the JACL to take a stand on anything. They played the middle of the road course all the way down to the outbreak of the war.

"Among the nisei at that time there were only a few who were on the left wing. Confidentially Dyke Miygawa was a communist was I wouldn't spread that around because you know how the nisei are. The liberal nisei just did not get any place in the Japanese community. There were a small group of professional nisei who played golf and who were Republicans. They controlled the nisei. The great mass of the nisei did not know anything about politics and they voted on the Republic ticket just because they identified themselves more with the successful nisei business men in the Japanese community and they thought they were middle class and not of the workers' group. The old guard nisei with conservative Republican ideas had the ear of most of the nisei and they considered themselves as big shots. The funny thing was that the whole Japanese community wanted to see Harry Bridges deported to Australia just because they believed he was a Communist. They didn't realize that Harry Bridges had done a lot for the working man, which included most of the nisei. Another thing that a lot of the nisei around Seattle were saying during the 1940 elections was that Roosevelt was a Jew and therefore they could not vote for him. They were against the CIO because they thought it was Communist. However, they forgot that



the cannery industry was the biggest single field of employment for the Japanese in Seattle and that the CIO had many a beginning for these Japanese cannery workers. Dyke and I wrote for the Japanese newspapers and we began to get more and more of a following of the liberal democratic political view, even among the non-cannery nisei.

"The issei naturally were very, very pro-Japanese altho I would say that they were passively loyal to the United States. Most of their sympathies were for Japan because they felt that they were not accepted here. Strangely enough, we had many leftists among the kibe. They were Marxists and they could not tolerate militarism in Japan. That is why they came back to this country. We did not have so many violent pro-Japan kibe up around Seattle. There was a kibe club there who fought the JACL a lot. Our union relations with this kibe group were very good and we tried to win all the nisei over to the liberal way of thinking. I believe that we could have swung the nisei over if we had had a couple of years more to educate them.

"With all of my problems about getting life work, I could not think of marriage at all. I did not have a steady girl friend when I started out on my trip to South America, late in 1941, I went around with some girls mostly for social purposes but I could not even consider marriage. Another thing was that I was too absorbed in my union work and I was trying to find some occupation that I would be happy in. I also wanted to develop my philosophy of living a little more. I did not feel mature or settled enough to think of marriage and raising a family at that time.

"I had some vague ideas of breaking away from the Japanese



*not many  
nature of  
adjustment*

community because of my dissatisfactions. But, at the same time, I was absorbed in the Japanese community with my union work. I suppose I took the Japanese community for granted and I found it sort of self-sufficient. I really didn't think that I wanted to break away from it definitely. It was just a vague idea in my mind.

"This was the way I was thinking when I started out with my seaman job in November, 1941. I took the trip mostly as a lark. We left Seattle and we hit some of the northwest ports first in order to load dynamite and lumber. We went into San Francisco and then down along the coast. We discharged our lumber all the way down the west coast of South America. We picked up nitrate in Peru and Chile in exchange for our lumber. It was a rather uneventful trip and I did not dream that the world was speeding so fast toward the war.

"I was aware of the war situation, however, because of my political activities. I suspected that war was eventually coming on but not that soon. I did not think that Japan would strike the first blow. On December 7th, our ship was tied up at Callao, Peru. I had the day off so that I took a street car to go to the movies in Lima, which was about 9 miles away. It was towards evening when I came out of the show and I did not know about the war even then. I came out into the large public square of San Martin and the first thing that I noticed that there was an air of excitement all around. I saw a lot of newspapers with black headlines but I could not read Spanish. However, I managed to get the idea when I read 'Japanese Bombardero Pearl Harbor'. I thought that maybe this was some sort of state department propaganda because the United States was lending a



lot of money to South America and it did not want these countries to swing towards the Axis. However, I had a queer feeling as I walked around in the great crowd which was gathering in the public square. Nobody paid any attention to me because I do not have the Japanese facial expressions too much. I still did not fully realize that it was war, but I was greatly puzzled as to what had happened. I could not ask anybody because they all spoke Spanish or the native Indian tongues. The full realization hit me when I got back to the ship. The crew was already blocking out the main of the ship and they had started to paint it grey so that it would not be subject to submarine attacks so easily.

"I was sick then, and I felt very hollow when the truth hit home. It was sort of buzzing numbness in my head. I guess that I felt it even more at that minute because I was such a long way from home and I did not know if we would get back safely. I was also worried about my folks and it was quite a while before I found out what had been happening along the coast while I was gone. Nothing was said to me by my shipmates because they had long before accepted me as one of them. The fellows were pretty good and they all kidded around with me as before, once the shock was over. Nobody questioned me at all about my stand because it was taken for granted that I was an American just like them. The sea-faring men have traveled widely over the world and they are broad-minded anyway because they have seen the common man of many countries. I guess a lot of my thinking was like them. I felt more easy when I realized that the seaman on my boat were not going to turn against me. I didn't exactly know what was going to happen to me but I was not full of fear or anything

*defensive*



like that. I didn't suspect then that there was such a thing as evacuation.

"The ship went on down to Chile and then we headed back for California. We landed in San Francisco and that was on January 18. I quit the ship there as there was some questioning about my being on the boat by the immigration officials. It was all straightened out but I wanted to go to Los Angeles first anyway before returning to Seattle. I phoned my folks and they said that things were okay so I did not see any need to rush back. Things were pretty settled by then so that the people were not so emotional. I spent about a week in San Francisco visiting friends and then I decided to go to Los Angeles for two weeks. I looked up my friends and I had a good time. I did not worry too much because I had missed out on all of the initial excitement in the Japanese community and I did not realize at that time how excited the people had been.

"I've been thru so much since then that I can't remember all of the details. Things happened pretty fast and it was hard to keep up. I think that once I got back into port I felt greatly relieved and also partly full of anxiety. I noticed in San Francisco and Los Angeles that some of the Japanese hotels were shut down and the community were rather quiet. I could feel the general anxiety in the air but life seemed to go on as usual. I went to Los Angeles to fool around and I was not too alarmed. I wasn't in any thinking mood anyway as I just played around and went out on dates. I also visited some of the Alaskan foremen who usually stay in Los Angeles during the off-season. I also met Shuji Fujii down there and he was very excited. He was high strung and sore as hell at the JACL. The



guy printed the Doho newspaper, a Communist paper, and Shuji Fujii had been trying to get the nisei down there to take a more definite stand before the war. He said that the JACL was not doing enough for the nisei and that they should watch out for their future or else things would go very badly with them. Carl Yoneda was another leftist and I dropped in on him in San Francisco. He was connected with the longshoremen and he was very worried about the future because he did not think that the Japanese fishermen or cannery workers could go to Alaska any more. Carl had been trying to get the JACL to take a stand against Japan's aggression in China, but the old guard in the Bay area would not listen. Just before I had gone to South America, I went to a meeting of the leftist nisei in San Francisco and they were working on the JACL at that time to make a definite stand, but nothing came out of it. It was the same way all over. The majority of the nisei were too blind to see a war coming on and the old guard were so smug that they thought that nothing would ever happen to them.

"After I got back to Seattle, I did not worry much about myself, although I had a big worry about what was going to happen in the war. I just went home and sat around. There wasn't much chance for me to get another seaman's job then and there wasn't much other work around. I helped my mother in the grocery store. My parents were much more concerned about the war than I was. They followed the war development very closely and they listened to all of the radio reports coming in. There was a sort of general anxiety in the air in Seattle also. In Seattle, the JACL was quite strong and all of the Japanese looked upon it for leadership. The issei realized that it would be up to the



citizen nisei to speak for them. And the JACL was the only organization in a position to do that. It took a policy of cooperation with the FBI, the Army and the government. It helped to register the Japanese aliens and it passed out a lot of government information. When the Tolson committee came up there, the members and leaders of the JACL testified before it. That is why all of the Japanese looked to the JACL to be their spokesman.

"Altho there was no great public outcry against the Japanese on the coast in late January and early February, the situation was getting very pressing already because many of the nisei were being discharged from their jobs. The issei were also losing their jobs. Because of this there was a drop in the business of the Japanese community. All of the people strongly connected with the businesses which had had offices in Japan were closed and the nisei workers from them were unemployed. It was getting to be almost a relief problem. It was pretty hard especially when an issei father was fired from his janitor job since he did not have much savings for his family to go back on. There were many hardship cases in families where the fathers were interned. For the first time some of the Japanese in the communities had to seek relief from the city relief department. This was pretty hard for them to do because of their pride. Up to that time the Japanese community was able to take care of most of the needy but they could not do it when all the businesses were shot.

"Many of the nisei who had been thrown out of jobs sought unemployment compensation with the USES, but they were ruled ineligible because they were told that they were not available



for work. This made it pretty tough for them. All of this showed that the Japanese community was never entirely self-sufficient. With all of the foreign trade offices and other businesses closed down a general fear and worry was in the air.

"We had a few incidents where gangs of Filipino beat up nisei but it did not get out of hand. The talk about evacuation got pretty strong. The first movement of any Japanese from the coast was from Bainbridge Island. It was a little island where the Japanese engaged in truck gardening. It was near the naval base of Bremerton so that the Army suddenly decided to move them. The people were not given much notice so that they had to get out in a great hurry and lose most of their property. They had to sell cheaply to the Filipinos who wanted their truck gardens. I realized then that evacuation was coming. The thing that hit me the hardest was that the nisei were forced out from Bainbridge also. I was very disillusioned as I had been brought up with the teachings of justice and equality. All of the nisei felt the same way that I did. It just seemed that there wasn't any hope at all. Many of the nisei went out on drunks or else they drew out all of their limited savings from the bank and ah had a wild time. The issei parents were not able to control them anymore because they were even in a tougher situation.

"I had to assume more and more responsibility with my family. My mother was quite capable in business but I had to take care of some of the technical matters. My dad was unemployed since he had been fired from his job in the Caucasian hotel. He knew it was coming sooner or later so that he was resigned to it. Things went along at a very indefinite way and we didn't know what was going to happen. More and more stories



about general evacuation began to appear. At first I thought only the issei would be taken but I was not sure because the nisei had been moved from Bainbridge Island and I ~~ak~~knew that pressure could be put on the Army to move nisei from all Japanese communities.

*family solidarity*

"When the evacuation was announced, my mother ~~urged~~ urged my brother and me to go east. I could not have gotten a job in Seattle from January on anyway because of the way things were. I didn't go because I felt I was sort of obligated to look after the folks. I felt then that if my folks had to be evacuated, I should be with them since I did not know how conditions in camp would be. Therefore, I was not too surprised when the general evacuation was announced as I was prepared for it. You couldn't have any other feelings if you had lived up in Seattle when all of the nisei were taken from Bainbridge Island too. Of course, I was very disillusioned by I could not do anything. *more rather than most others?* I am skeptical anyways but I did feel quite bitter. However, I didn't think that I lost my balance as there was not use of doing that. Those couple of months before the evacuation was a sort of a void and none of us could act definitely on anything because of the uncertainty in the air. For a while I helped the JACL while they were registering the people. I also volunteered my services in helping people move things because I felt that the people needed the help. *not settling of diff's. close identification with am group.*

"Evacuation really did not hurt my future because I didn't have any definite personal plans at that time altho I did have some vague ideas of doing some union work. I was only one year out of college so that I was still looking around for my future. The evacuation did not disrupt my life work at all except that I



could not go to sea anymore. It did not disrupt any plans for marriage since I did not have any idea for that then and I was not going steady.

"My family did not have to prepare too much for the evacuation. The grocery store was just closed up and all of the stock that was not sold was left on the shelves. We could not sell it in time for evacuation but it was not too great a loss as my mother only had a small store. We didn't have much of an investment in it anyway. I had a 1937 Ford and I left it in storage at our house which had been leased to us. I sold the car while I was in camp. The government helped me to sell it to a private party by acting as a middle man. We left all of our bank accounts behind in the Seattle banks.

"I expected that we would be gone for a long time but my mother said that this was impossible and that we would be allowed to come back after a short time. My mother was more or less the manager of everything and I did not try to interfere too much. If I had been the one in charge, I would have disposed of everything. As it was, we left all of our furniture behind in our leased house. It is still there as far as I know, but there isn't much use of shipping it all the way out here since we don't have a house anyway.

"I never believed that the evacuation was such a military necessity as all that. I knew from my experiences in politics how pressures worked. I knew that special interests had the controlling powers of things. The activities of the Associated Farmers and the American Legion were not unknown to me. I did not have the vague nisei idea that the government was a definite entity by itself. The nisei just did not have the concept-



ion that government was divided into many agencies which were subjected to ~~treach~~ pressures from various interest groups. I knew that it was these pressures which had caused the evacuation so that I was able to ~~amaintain~~ my stability and not be completely disillusioned. The wide terms like democracy never did mean a goddam thing to me. Democracy is just a flowery term to me. It is the strong guys in politics who run things and they won out when they evacuated me, along with the other thousands of nisei. I feel that democracy is an altruistic aim of our government but not very realistic. I never thought of it in terms of being capital in the United States because the people would not let it. It is a term that politicians dragged out for public speeches or when they are giving election talks. It is also a term used when essays on Americanism are written. I was hard-boiled about it and sore that these pressures from special interests had gotten control. In my work in the unions, I had an opportunity to see how crooked many officeholders were. They certainly were not representative and full of spirit of justice like they are pictured. They only act when they are paid off by groups who want something. Even the unions strive to buy them off. That is how democracy works.

"However, I have to admit that I was awfully bitter that the people would tolerate such a raw deal as the evacuation. I felt that the public could stop things before it got that far. However, the public just got too emotional over the war and the pressure groups scared them out so that they followed these groups all the way down. These special groups had economic motives primarily in wanting to get the Japanese out, especially in California where the Japanese owned land. There were also



political reasons since various politicians knew that they could get publicity by ~~suff~~ persecuting a minority. I believe that it was a sadistic appeal to the people. There must be something about human beings that causes them to like to see other people suffer. That is why the public likes slapstick comedy. It helps them to bear their troubles when they know that somebody else is worth off than they are. I suppose that many people also wanted to take it out on the Japanese after what happened at Pearl Harbor. It gave them some satisfaction to do this. It is the same thing as <sup>mod</sup> psychology, when a gang goes out to lynch a man. They act emotionally and they lose all reason.

"I couldn't help but identify myself with the other nisei and Japanese. In times like that you get closer to your people because you have a kindred spirit. The Japanese were all being persecuted and we had common interests which was linked with a common ancestry. I just dropped all of my political interests when I saw that it was hopeless to do anything about it. I thought that it was not time to be out in a vulnerable position. There was too much hysteria, and it was not the discreet thing to do to try and stem the public emotions. That is why all of the nisei kept quiet even tho they were even more bitter about the evacuation than I was. They talked a lot among themselves tho because all of us had time on our hands while waiting for the orders to move.

"I had a mixed feeling for Japan. I didn't like their bombarding China like they did, but I felt in a large degree that they were justified in many ways. Japan was living among the capitalistic nations of the world and the Japanese had to keep up in their economy or ~~else~~ they would have become a fifth



rate nation. Japan was a crowded and ambitious nation and it wanted to do something about it. Yet, it was thwarted on every move, especially by the English. I still don't care for the English because they are essentially imperialistic in this war. I've got to confess that the Americans and English had a very patronizing attitude toward the rest of the world in which they thought they were guardians of all nations. All of this goes against my grain. I don't like militarism or fascism but it was a democratic nation which forced it. I knew that Japan had to expand in China and I can see that the pressure was on her. It was just as much England's fault that Japan went that way, altho I did not think that it was right for Japan to bombard the civilians.

"Even after Pearl Harbor I couldn't get very passionate or emotional. It was just war. Japan wanted to get something and you have to admit that it was a good strategic stab. A lot of people yell about stab in the back but what the hell, there is no morals about war. International politics or unmoral, there is no such thing as international morality. In fact, everything goes during war. If you kill people in your own country during peace time, that is murder and you are electrocuted. But, if you go to war, the more people you kill, the more medals you will get. The U.S. is just like the rest of the nations in this respect. I felt that the war was here and we had to make the best of it. Under capitalism there are too many stresses and strain and wars are inevitable. All of the people suffer then. I just don't go out for all of this flag waving stuff. The way I feel about it is that if I were in Japan I would go to war and fight for her, and if they draft me here, I will go too. It



doesn't make one<sup>bit of</sup> difference if you <sup>have</sup> ~~fight~~ to fight, that is all to it and there isn't any high ideals involved. What the hell, I am very apathetic about the whole goddam thing. In camp most of my friends pushed the volunteering into the Army and they got the impression that I would be one of the first to volunteer. I am too goddam cynical for that. That's one of the reasons why I came out of camp.

"Going back to the evacuation period, I didn't get disorganized at all. I guess I drank a little more because many of my friends did. We just went to taverns or to private homes and drank because we had time on our hands. I didn't gamble because I don't know how to. A lot of the fellows started to gamble like anything. People have a hard time sizing me up because I drink and I play around with women a little but, I don't gamble. Life is too much of a gamble anyway and poker games do not give me a thrill. There is nothing religious about it; it is being practical. If I had the money I would gamble but I have never had that much dough to throw away. One of the stages of my life as I said before was to teach Sunday School but I never got any deep religious convictions out of it.

"I never did indulge in sex too much. I went with a bunch sometimes when they made the rounds of the whore houses after coming back from a summer's work in Alaska. However, I had my share of girl friends so I did not need this kind of extra curricula activity. Many of the nisei had some last splurges with the prostitutes just before the evacuation. They also indulged in drinking a lot more because a little more or less felt that camp would cut us off from all of that. More nisei went to the whore houses just before evacuation than they had

typical?  
could be.



before in the history of Jap town. I did not have to take part in a lot of this because I took a lot of nisei girls out for last dates. They were not working so that they were very willing to go out.

"Previous to the war I had been conditioned to associations with prostitutes so that I did not like it at all. It was just like going to a toilet. It gave me a momentary sense of relief but I did not enjoy it. I used to frequent a Chinese hangout which was the hangout for a lot of gamblers, radicals and prostitutes. I felt sorry for the prostitutes because they had such a useless life. I have gone out with Caucasian girls and I could take them or leave them. Most of the nisei are proud to take out even a Caucasian prostitute because they think that this raises their prestige. I don't think that way at all as I feel as good as the next guy and not a member of an inferior race.

*note native attachment conditional*  
"I felt that my life would be frozen for the duration and there would be no use in thinking of economic opportunities until the war was over. I felt that I would like to stay in this country but if things got too bad I might have to go to Japan. Further than that, I forced myself not to think as it was futile and it would only cause me to lose my morale. We didn't have too much time to do a lot of deep thinking anyway.

"The day for evacuation came and we just got on the busses and started out. I felt rather miserable, like an animal. We were herded into the busses. I felt much as tho I were a goddam cow being put into a barn to be guarded. When I saw Puyallup I felt more drab and lousy. It was a rather disheartening thing.



I thought to myself, "So it has come to this, at last." The future looked even darker when I saw the fences and the barbed wire. I was looking at it purely from an emotional view. I didn't let myself think too much about it after that. I thought that life in camp would be more regimented than it actually was so that this was some consolation. I had heard some rumors that the camp was muddy and the food bad. This did not raise my anticipation any. The first group who went to Puyallup said that it wasn't so bad in order to cushion the shock but we heard many rumors about how bad it was after that. My mother packed everything she thought would be useful ~~and~~ she thought that it would be best to prepare for anything. I told my mother not to pack my suits or dress shirts as I had the attitude that we would only wear rough clothes and boots for a long time. I just resigned myself, that's all. It was a hell of an experience to suddenly come to this. It was a bitter pill to take, if I may say so. I just didn't care about anything. My mother had more foresight and she took everything that she thought we would possibly need.

*non-  
conformity  
again*

"Our family didn't ~~go~~ a goddam thing about fixing up the barracks after we arrived in camp. We were just antagonistic to camp life and we didn't make any effort at all. Some people ~~went thru~~ a lot of trouble to make furniture and I thought they were fools. I was cynical at that time. I just wanted to rebel at anything. I just could not accept the idea that I had to accept this without some show against it. That was too much to ask after the Life I had led previously. However, I could not stay out of anything because I was ~~given-the-job~~ sort of compromised since I had been given the job of operations manager by the



JACL before I got there. Up in Seattle the Army told the JACL to organize the evacuee government in Puyallup and it appointed all of the personnel heads. I don't think that this happened in any other center. There was quite a bit of resentment about it but the feeling against the JACL was not so great as it was in Los Angeles, San Francisco and other California cities. The JACL leaders did play a very prominent part during the evacuation period and the Japanese community did look up to them to be their spokesmen. Altho we had our old guard JACLers, I don't think that they were as reactionary as in California. They were not disliked as intensely by the nisei as in other centers like Manzanar where a riot broke out, because the people felt that the JACL leaders sold them down the river.

"The JACL just appointed the main evacuee administrative heads and it was up to each one of us to get our department organized and to appoint the personnel. I took over the operations department because I had had experience in organization work in the labor unions and the JACL heads felt that I was the one to organize the works division after we got in camp. My department took charge of all the maintenance work that had to be done in camp. We did everything except make the general policy for the camp. Our job was to make the people as comfortable as possible.

"I had three assistants in my administrative staff and five girls in the office staff. We took charge of the plumbing, heating, signs painters, carpentry, electrical work, gardeners, grounds, roads and street work, gate checkers, shower checkers labor utility, tool sheds, trucking, mechanics, sanitation, and all of the work necessary in the mess hall of my section which was area D (attached is the personnel chart):



A R E A    D  
O P E R A T I O N S    D E P A R T M E N T  
P E R S O N N E L    O F    T H E    W O R K S    D I V I S I O N

June 25, 1942

ADMINISTRATION & OFFICE/STAFF:

Administrative Staff:

George Takigawa,	General Mgr.	(P)
Tad Kuniyuki	Asst. Mgr.	(P)
Akio Hoshino	Asst. Mgr.	(P)
Tom Kinomoto	Asst. Mgr.	(P)

Office Staff:

Kiyoka Kumagai	Secretary	(P)
Kazuko Fujii	Sr. Clerk	(S)
Sumiye Tada	" "	(S)
Michiko Matsushima	" "	(S)
Marjori Yamamura	" "	(S)

Messengers:

Toshiko Kawako	(U)
Nobuko Kodama	(U)

PLUMBING:

1 Foreman	Kawasaki, Yasuki	(S)
6 Workers		(S)

HEATING ENGINEERS:

1 Foreman	Yasunaga, Edward	(P)
9 workers		(S)

SIGN PAINTERS:

1 Foreman	Naito, Matoi	(P)
8 Painters		(S)

CARPENTRY:

1 Foreman	Yamada, Kenjiro	(P)
17 Carpenters		(S)
5 Helpers		(U)

ELECTRICAL:

1 Foreman	Tsunebara, Paul	(P)
6 Electricians		(S)
1 Stenographer		(S)

GROUNDS, ROADS AND STREETS:

Workers Crews (5)	(S)
5 Foremen	(S)
48 Workers	(U)

Gardeners:

1 Foreman	Osako, K.	(U)
10 Gardeners		(U)



(55)

Gate Checkers:

1 Foreman	Sugiura, Roberta	(S)
6 Workers		(U)

Shower Checker:

1 Foreman	Masuda, Yoichi	(S)
7 Workers		(U)

Labor Utility:

1 Workers	Kibe, Joseph	(U)
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Tool Shed:

1 Foreman	Takigawa, William	(P)
2 Stock Clerk		(S)
1 Tool Repairman		(U)

Trucking:

4 drivers		(U)
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Mechanics:

2 Mechanics		(S)
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PROFESSIONAL:

DRAFT ENGINEER:

2 Engineers		(P)
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WORKS DIVISION: SECRETARY

1 secretary		(P)
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SANITATION:

1 Gen. Foreman	Hino, Frank	(P)
1 Asst. Mgr.	Tsubahara, Haruo	(S)
1 Stenographer		(S)

Women's San. Crew:

1 Foreman	Nishitani, May	(S)
11 Workers		(U)

Three Sanitation Crew:

3 Foremen		(S)
16 Laborers		(U)

Two Gen. Clean-up:

2 Foremen		(S)
19 Laborers		(U)

Garbage Disposal:

1 Foreman		(S)
1 Laborer		(U)

WORKS DIV.	TOTAL	218
GENERAL MESS	"	450
CHILDREN MESS	"	54
Grand Total		<u>722</u>



PERSONNEL OF THE MESS DIVISION

June 26, 1942

BAKERS:

1 Foreman	(S)
23 Bakers	(S)

COOKS:

1 Foreman	(S)
29. Cooks	(S)

COOK'S HELPERS:

1 Foreman	(S)
22 Helpers	(S)

GIRL'S HELPERS:

1 Foreman	(S)
17 Helpers	(U)

DISHWASHERS: Morning

1 Foreman	(S)
38 Dishwashers	(U)

DISHWASHERS: Afternoon

1 Foreman	(S)
31 Dishwashers	(U)

ISOLATION DISHWASHERS:

2 Dishwashers	(U)
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ISOLATION MOP-UP

1 Foreman	(S)
5 workers	(U)

ISOLATION KITCHEN HELP:

1 Foreman	(S)
5 Workers	(U)

MESS CHECKERS:

14 Checkers	(S)
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MESS KITCHEN SCRUBBERS:

1 Foreman	(S)
5 Workers	(U)

MESS HALL MONITORS:

1 Foreman	(S)
4 Monitors	(U)

MESS HALL STAFF:

5 Foremen	(P)
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MESS HALL SUPPLY CREW:

1 Foreman	(S)
38 Workers	(U)



(57)

MOP-UP CREW:

1 Foreman  
30 Workers

(S)  
(U)

POT WASHERS:

9 Workers

(U)

SALVAGE CREW:

4 Workers

(U)

SICK BED CREW:

1 Foreman  
14 Workers

(S)  
(U)

VEG. MORNING CREW: & Afternoon

2 Foremen  
27 Workers  
7 Women Workers

(S)  
(U)  
(U)

WAITRESSES:

2 Foremen  
100 Waitresses

(P)  
(U)

TOTAL WORKERS

450

PERSONNEL OF THE CHILDREN'S MESS

June 26, 1942

COOKS:

1 Chef  
13 Cooks

(S)  
(S)

DISHWASHERS:

1 Foreman  
8 Dishwashers

(S)  
(U)

VEGETABLES:

7 Workers

(U)

WAITRESSES:

1 Foreman  
22 Waitresses

(S)  
(U)

DIETICIAN:

1 Dietician

(S)

CHILDREN MESS	TOTAL	54
GENERAL MESS	"	450
WORKS DIVISION	"	218
Grand Total		<u>522</u>



"There was a total of 722 workers under my direction. There was only one Caucasian directly above me and he left things largely in my hands. His name was Mr. Pitcher. I believe that he was one of the few competent and cooperative men among the personnel in our camp. I had a low opinion of the rest of the WCCA personnel. They were really dumb and they were foisted on us just because they could not make good in the WPA. They did not know how to run things at all and the camp was really have been a mess if the evacuees had not taken over. I don't mean that the JACL should get all of the credit since most of the workers were non-JACL members. We had the JACL organization right above us and it made policies. James Sakamoto, who used to edit the Seattle Courier, was the high muckamuck in the organization. He had become blinded after some years of professional boxing. He was a fighter, in every way, but he had developed a less liberal philosophy than he should have. I suppose that his high council in the JACL was responsible for that.

"My office in the operations division got all of the gripes from the people. I would then take these gripes to Jimmy Sakamoto and tell him to go to the WCCA officials and ask them to make changes. Jimmy thus became a sort of an apologist for the WCCA and I got sore as hell at that. He was always taking the WCCA point of view because they used him as a stooge and he was not willing to seriously oppose them for the sake of the people. I suppose he was in a tough spot because he got the gripes from all around. I think that the position of the JACL in camp was largely responsible for some of the growing resentment against it. These resentments have not been voice so much



before evacuation.

"The people began to get pretty sore at the JACL in camp and they started to say that the JACL had compromised the Japanese a little too much. They were sore because the JACL was the ones who passed out all of the good camp jobs. I did not get along too well with the JACL myself. When I finally left Puyallup though I think that my department left a good impression because we ran things pretty well and for this work I was recommended for one of the key jobs at Minidoka as a result.

"When I started out in my job of organizing the operations division, I began to take more of an interest in the camp life. It helped me to forget some of my bitterness. I was given quite a free hand by the WCCA and my immediate staff assigned all of the workers and gave them their classifications. We ran the employment agency for our division and we would send the WCCA extra workers when they requested them for other departments. I got along well with my workers and we never had any serious troubles. I confined myself mostly to the organization work and I left the details up to my assistants. Even in the work crew, I let the guy more or less select their own leader. A few times the workers ousted their leaders and I would hear the case and if I felt that they were justified, I would ask the offending leader to resign. I don't believe too much in democracy anyway and I felt that we had to keep a firm control in order to keep things functioning right in camp. Whenever we had labor problems, it was mostly due to the fact that a fellow was too bossy. Then there were many issei and kibe who resented working under the nisei and they made trouble. When they threatened strikes, we had to get rid of them. The camp was



divided into four areas and I was in charge of Area D, which was the largest.

"I did not give a damn about pleasing the administration at all. I told my workers that we had to live in camp and wherever the concern our own welfare, we had to work hard in order that all of the people in camp could benefit. I made it plain that they were only working for pin money and this was not the most important thing. Most of them worked pretty hard but you can't expect them to put all of their energies into the work when they were getting \$9 or \$12 a month. In spite of that the morale of my workers was good. I think they dug into their jobs and did their share. It did not take too long to get the department functioning smoothly and it was mostly routine after a couple of months.

"We had a very good program of social activities in camp and that helped the people from going nuts. There were a lot of sport activities going on, and we had many dance in camp. Sometimes I thought that the main thing about camp was having social activities. It was okay tho because it helped the people to forget the hard times and the uncertain future facing them. I went to most of the dances myself and I had a good time. I met quite a few girls there, but I did not go steady with any single one. There were seven nisei girls in my office staff and I took them all to dances in order to create better labor relations. I think that I made quite a few new friends in camp because I had more time for that and people were living pretty close together. Before evacuation I had sort of broken away from my old nisei friends, Once I got into the union movement. I did not have too much in common with them when I was doing this.

Back in  
Nisei  
camp



That is why I did not have too many old friends. It wasn't hard to make new friends in camp anyway because most of the nisei were pretty friendly.

"I played baseball and badminton mostly for recreation. In spite of all this, Puyallup wasn't too full of life for me. It was not satisfying to me because it was so restricted. There was always that in the back of my mind and I could never eliminate it completely. However, I had many problems to think about in handling over 700 workers so this sort of took other things off of my mind. I did not take part in any political activities at all in camp. I just wasn't interested in camp politics then as camp was too restricted for that. I felt that I was too far removed from everything and I even lost interest in the developments on the outside. There was not a single serious discussion meeting there for the nisei on world problems during the whole time I was in camp as far as I know. We felt too much like prisoners and there was a restriction to our freedom of expression. Another thing was that I guess we were all too concerned with maintaining our personal stability to think much of the greater issues of this country at that time.

"I felt much closer to the other Japanese than I ever did before after I became a little accustomed to the camp life. In fact, I think that since evacuation, I had become more Japanese. I feel more that I am of a minority group. What I mean to say is that I was made more conscious of being a Japanese because of what had happened. I think camp definitely did that to me. I did not blame the nisei at all for the evacuation. It was a sort of a bad among many of the nisei to say that if they had been assimilated more, we would never had been evacuated. I

stronger  
identification

less  
critical  
of nisei



don't think that this would have helped a damn bit. In fact, I hardly think that the nisei would have been able to break away from the Japanese community completely anyway. The economic standards which existed forced all of the Japanese to live in a segregated community. The social necessity forced it even more. The Japanese community therefore just developed and the nisei could not get out of it very easily. Besides the hold of the Japanese community, the fact also existed that the hakujin did not want the nisei to mix in more with them.

"I know of many cases of nisei where they could not have gotten out of the Japanese community even if they had the financial means because of the complicated factors like I said. When the WRA tells us to break up and become all dispersed, I don't know if that is the right thing. The nisei have common interests and it will be hard for them to start a new life all over again among strangers, especially at a time like this. I admit that it might be more desirable to mix in and become integrated but I don't think that it can be done. I think that I began to feel much more conscious that I was a Japanese than I ever did before once the war had started. I had sort of been losing that identification with the other Japanese right up to the time of the war, which was the turning point and I began to go the other way after that. It has nothing to do with the political motives and all of this stuff they call loyalty.

"There was a great deal of unrest in Puyallup and I felt that this was mostly due to the war situation. The people felt that they had to resign themselves to the camp life but there still was that resentment which they kept hidden. I think that the Japanese took it out on the JACL leaders a little too much



when they said that they had sold them down the river. They gave the JACL more blame than it deserved because the Japanese were afraid to speak against the government then. They had to have somebody to blame and the JACL was the most obvious object.

"It was difficult to have an optimistic attitude when all of these things were happening to us. I felt that we were being segregated from the rest of the <sup>American</sup> Japanese society and that embittered me quite a bit. That is why most of us felt that we could only be cooperative enough to maintain ourselves and to hell with everything else. We felt that we were not strong enough to do anything else about it so that this was the reason there was no great strikes or vigorous talk going on at Puyallup.

"I have to admit that Puyallup drove me closer to Japan and I felt a little good when she took Corregidor. That is a hell of a thing to say ~~th~~ but it is true. I think most of the nisei felt the same way only they won't admit it at all. The conditions forced us to think this way. At that time there was no talk of resettlement and all of us had to have something to cling to. It did not look like the government considered us as citizens anymore. We were evacuated on a nationalistic basis and we had to have something to believe in or else we would have gone to pieces. That is why I say most of the nisei swung a little towards Japan at that time.

"I had a mixed feeling about Japan America. It was a little thing which showed me that I belong in this country. My American friends came to visit me occasionally and that was a great reassurance to my morale. I didn't analyze my own feelings too much. I just don't feel anything definite toward the whole group. There are good men and bad men in every group. I



was sort of mixed up and that is why I began to feel sympathy toward Japan as fundamentally she has been pushed around by the rest of the world also. On the whole, I tried to remain as objective as possible and I realized that this line of thinking was harmful for me because it was based upon emotions and not rational. The only other alternative I had was to become more conscious of the outside and I began to think in this line more and more. I constantly wished that I could be on the outside and not cooped up. That longing was very intense within me all the time. I was deprived from the life I was living before and I really missed my independence. That is why I sort of missed out on what was happening on the outside. We were just isolated. I think that I tried to cut myself away from the outside as a sort of an escape. I never read the war news and I still don't. I just didn't give a damn about the war.

"I did not have any changes in my plans for the future during the time I was in Puyallup because I still did not know what was going to happen to us. When I first heard of the relocation camps, I felt that it would be the same life under a little better condition. It was not too much to look forward to altho I was glad to be moving again because I was getting bored with life at Puyallup. I thought that the WRA camps would relieve this monotony for a little while. I did not know what camp we were going to be sent to and there was a lot of rumor floating around as to the exact location. For a while we all thought that we were going to be sent to Tule Lake. Some of the advanced crew actually went there and they sent back a favorable report so I rather looked forward to going there. I knew that there would be less restriction in the WRAcamp and



I heard the WRA administration was much better than the WCCA.

"My family did not make any special preparations to go to the WRA camp. Up in the Pacific northwest, all of the people were kept together and we were moved as a group so that we did not have the fears and anxiety that we would all be split up. For a while the rumor went around that we were going to be split up and that caused ~~ed~~ a lot of worries but it was soon announced that Minidoka was where we would all be sent so that we all got ready to go there.

"I went to Minidoka with an open mind as I really did not know what to expect. I did not have any preconceived notions at all and I determined to take things as they came. After being in Puyallup for 3 or 4 months, nothing would have been too shocking for me. We left for Minidoka by train on Aug. 10, 1942. It was a very cramped trip because we were all stuck into old coaches and the train moved very slowly. It took us 2 days to get there and the only thing we had to do was to look at the scenery which fortunately was very good. We went down by Portland and then went along the Columbia River for quite a ways so that we had very good scenery to look at. I began to anticipate that perhaps Minidoka would be located in some sort of an ever-green forest preserve surrounded by scenic mountains and beautiful river. That was a good dream.

"I think that all of our hearts fell when we saw Minidoka. It was a desert in the middle of a God forsaken country. My first reaction was 'who in the hell ever conceived the idea to build a camp in such a desolated place like this?' It was a very discouraging way to start out our relocation life but people become adjusted to anything and they set to work to make



improvements right away.

"We had much more room to roam around in at Minidoka and there were more facilities provided us. I soon found out that the administration was of a much better calibre than at Puyallup. The first thing I did was to fix up our house a little bit. We didn't try to make a permanent home as I had some hazy knowledge that resettlement would eventually come and I did not want to become too strongly attached to my 20 x 24 GI bafrack. I wanted to get out of there as soon as possible. I started to work almost immediately and this occupied most of my time so that I could not seriously think about resettlement or anything resembling it for some ~~menthe~~ weeks.

"I got a recommendation from some of my friends who had arrived earlier and gotten in good with the administration. Thru their pull I got the position of housing reassignment chief. It was my work to make adjustments on all of the housing grievances. It was a helluva job because there were too many complaints from all of the people. I had to hear most of their personal troubles besides their housing troubles. It was especially hard on young couples who could not get along in a small cramped room with their mother-in-law since there was no privacy. They would come to me and tell me to boot her out. I had all kinds of these goddam complaints and I was running around like a chicken with my head cut off in order to satisfy everybody. I thought I was being a great humanitarian at first but after a while I didn't enjoy the job at all because everybody passed the buck to me. It was a halluva situation because camp was crowded and we had to double the families up in many cases. The WRA never should have pushed people in like this.



"This housing work was hard for me because I knew so many families from Seattle and they expected me to give them special privileges. I couldn't do that and this made them mad. There was a lot of professional jealousy in the jobs and it was hard for some of the people to take. For example, some of the more successful issei kept thinking of their former position in Seattle where they were business men and it hurt their pride when they had to work under nisei guys whom they used to boss around before. The idea of prestige is very important to the Japanese and they think a lot of their social status. This is shown in their pride for their family line and of their admiration for the professional people. They didn't have much else besides prestige to look forward to. That is why so many of the issei slaved to get their children through college. Naturally it was hard for them to be suddenly put into an inferior position with evacuation. Then they had to be bossed around by the nisei.

"I didn't care to work too hard at Minidoka as there was no future in it. Another thing was that I didn't have much respect for my boss so I could not put my full heart into it. That is why I quit the job after a month. This was in October, 1942.

"In the meantime the project director had asked me to set up a Fair Labor committee for the camp so I began to work on that as the executive secretary. Some of us worked pretty hard on this in order to set up the organization. There was a board of directors and since Dyke Miyagawa and I had set up the organization we were elected to administer it. We had a seven-man board which determined all of the labor policies for the



camp and to judge all of the labor disputes.

"This was the most interesting job I had ever held in camp so I served in that capacity until I resettled in April, 1943. We managed to kick the chief steward and his assistant out of the mess division after making an investigation and recommending it to the project director. We intervened in all sorts of camp labor disputes. Once they had too many boiler men working on the project and the administration ordered that this staff be cut down. After investigating it, we decided that it was justified to cut the crew down. However, the administration discharged all of the boiler men whom they considered as agitators. There was a strike threatened on account of this so that we reviewed the case. We managed to reinstate these men and then we set up a seniority basis for future dismissals in case there were too many on the crew. We had a lot of trivial problems like this, but they seemed very important to the people at the time. We had the most labor problems with the mess halls and several times we narrowly missed a camp-wide strike. The people made mountains out of mole hills and they wanted to make an issue out of everything. If we did not have the labor committee in camp, there would have been a lot more strikes.

"I'll tell you about one of the threatened strikes that we had in the mess hall which was made a big issue. The chief steward had called all the chefs together and he told them to elect a chief supervisor. This was done but the steward did not like him so that he fired him. Naturally the evacuee chefs got pretty sore about this and they threatened to strike. Our labor commission heard the case and we decided that it was not



consistent with the democratic process for the steward to do this so that we reinstated the fired chef. After that we did not get along with the chief steward at all and he was finally ousted.

"We also had some trouble in getting the people to put in a full day's work. By that time the evacuees did not work so hard in camp and they were more inclined to take things easy. The reason was that many of the people from camp went to the sugar beet fields and they got used to working for a salary. The other people left in camp did not feel that they should not put all their efforts in the work for \$16.00. Also by the time resettlement was in the air so that the people became more and more apathetic to the camp life. It was not much use putting all of your efforts into making a perfect community when you knew that you would not be there long.

"I made many new friends at Minidoka but none of them were intimate. The Portland group had come in to camp with the Seattle people so I got to know some of them. I used my influence in my job in order to get permits to go to town twice a month. I brought liquor in with me and I got drunk pretty often, even more than I had ever done in Seattle. There wasn't anything else to do. I went to the dances quite often and I tried to forget everything. I was getting pretty restless again by that time, and my work could not push this feeling aside anymore. I got to know quite a few girls there but I still did not go steady. I felt that it was useless anyway since the prospects for marriage was very slim with such an uncertain future before us. I did not believe in getting married out of desperation because you would regret that later on in case you



did not know your mate well enough. It was easy enough for me to get to know the girls but I did not want to get seriously involved with any of them.

"I did not enter into the political activities of the camp life at all. However, I was on the Yasui Defense committee and we collected money to support his case in the courts. We got a good response and we managed to collect about \$1000. Even the issei donated. There wasn't much camp politics anyway. We didn't have any community government and the JACL was smart enough by then not to interfere too much. We did not have too much bickering about the top positions because the workers were selected on the basis of competence. That is one of the reasons why Minidoka had such a fine reputation as a smooth functioning camp. The people voted against the community government idea as they realized it was not worth it to have a lot of bickering about who was going to be the boss. They did not not any democracy in the running of the camp government anyway.

"I thought that the administration at Minidoka was very good. That explains why Minidoka was such a success. The project director had a minimum of Caucasian staff workers. In proportion to our population, we had less Caucasian personnel than any other center. That is why the nisei go to hold many of the more important positions. The other camps did not have so much of an opportunity like this and that is why they had trouble.

"The months went by pretty fast and the life began to get monotonous. In February the Army registration came along. I was one of the guys who did not volunteer altho I answered



'yes' to questions 27 and 28. Minidoka had the best record for volunteers of any camp. In spite of this there was a lot of antagonism against registration by some of the issei <sup>but</sup> by they all registered. We never had any of that beating up stuff that went on in other camps. Registration was peaceful and nobody sneered at nisei who volunteered into the Army. But there was a great deal of conflict between some of the parents and the kids who wanted to volunteer.

"The issei were still pro-Japan because they had never been accepted by this country. The only way I can describe them was that they were passively loyal to the United States. They certainly would never have done any sabotage. It was natural for them to have quite a bit of sentimental attachment to Japan because of the things that had worked out for them out here. However, many of the issei told the nisei to decide for themselves, altho there were many also who said that the nisei would be ~~crazy~~ to volunteer for the Army after being pushed around and being treated like aliens.

"I was apathetic to the idea of volunteering and I rationalized that I had contributed my services already by joining the merchant marine. There was a lot of pressure to get the nisei to volunteer because some of the nisei had organized to push this movement. Our camp paper also supported it very strongly and there were many nisei meetings held to get more recruits. The camp administration also pushed it by giving those who enlisted the privilege of going to town any time they wished, without going thru a lot of red tape.

"If I had volunteered, it would only have been because it



was a matter of convenience. I figured that it might help me to get out of the monotony of camp life. I wavered for a while about joining the Army but it was not because of patriotic reasons. I thought that it would help my chances after the war if I had army service to my credit. I finally decided against volunteering definitely as I had been rather set against it right along. I thought that it was adding insult to injury to ask us to fight for the democratic principles when it was denied to us in camp. I was in no mood for it at all. I felt that I would go by the draft just like all the other Americans when they call me. There will be no other choice then and I would go just as willingly as the other Americans go. The flag waving stuff just does not impress me at all because I am skeptical about it.

"However, I was not against the volunteering of the other nisei. I realized that if we had a good record for volunteering, it would help to shift the public sentiment a little bit. But I felt that if I volunteered for that reason alone, it would be a definite compromising of my convictions. The young nisei volunteered in quite large numbers because it got to be a sort of fever when their friends went. They didn't have much else to look forward to anyways. I was surprised when some of the older nisei with families volunteered. Maybe through they thought that it would help their children and that a military record would help them to get their families established later on. Many nisei joined because they were frustrated with the camp life and this was a good escape for them. They saw the future as very dark and they felt that they would not have to



if they went into the Army.

"My attitudes towards America did not change at all while I was in camp. I had thought it out pretty clearly before and I did not find anything that would convince me that I should change my opinion. I did not feel that the Army service was going to decrease the prejudice against the Japanese in any way. I felt that democracy would still continue ~~as~~ to be a political ideal but in reality it would not work out even if we won the war. The public forgets too easily and they are only concerned about their own little selfish lives. The prejudices that have been developed over a long period of years and the war is certainly is not going to change them any. In fact, there may be even greater prejudices against the nisei after the war because everybody is busy hating the Japanese Army now and they don't know anything about the nisei problem. It is only a very insignificant thing anyway. My parents did not say anything to me about the registration. They answered 'yes' because they figured that they did not care about going to Japan. There was no other choice open to them.

"After the beginning of this year my sole object has been to get out of camp as soon as possible and I took definite steps after the registration because I felt that I could not stand the restricted life much longer. I began to wonder more and more what I could do if I resettled. That is the reason why I got another nisei friend to break into my position on the labor commission so that he could take over when I left. I was losing interest in my job fairly rapidly once the seed of resettlement got into my mind and began to grow. I went to see the leave officer and the project director right after the re-



gistration.

"I was one of the first to put in my application for an indefinite leave but it had been pigeon-holed or lost in the Washington office. I had been waiting for it for quite a while. Then about the end of March or early in April I heard that the project director could grant the leaves at his own discretion. So I went to see him immediately. I didn't have any job plan or anything lined up but I was willing to do anything. I had been working on the ships before the war so I figured that I could get into something like this and I got out here.

"Most of the nisei seem to remember the camp life in a pleasurable way bordering on the nostalgia but I have consciously put the whole thing out of my mind as much as possible so that it is not longer very vivid to me. I wanted to put all of my energies to getting away from the restrictions which had been put upon our lives and to be productive again. Also to some degree, I wanted to think more about my personal future. I just had to get away from the camp monotony because I was getting into a serious rut there and I felt it. I did not have any definite ambitions when I came out tho. The only thing I was sure of was that I was glad to get away from camp at last and be on my own responsibility.

"Just before I left camp, I had written to the CIO Maritime Union here in Chicago and they wrote back and gave me strong assurance that the chances for getting a job were pretty good. I showed this letter to the project director and that was the reason why he released me on April 10. I did not leave for 5 days after that because I had a few last minute business to clear up.



"My brother had left camp about two months before I did on a job offer to a Chicago hospital. He has quit that job since then. There were no definite plans about my parents' coming out at that time but I was thinking of resettlement possibilities for them. I wanted to go to a big city so that is the reason why I came to Chicago. The job opportunities were much better for me here. Being quite sensitive about my Japanese ancestry by that time, I felt that the people out here would be less provincial and more cosmopolitan in a large metropolitan area. Out here the relations with other people are very impersonal so I figured that it would be much easier for me to lose myself and not be so conspicuous as a "Japanese".

"I did not worry too much about getting a job as I figured that I could look up the CIO and they would back me up on getting a job. I thought that the chances were pretty good to get a job on a ship on the Great Lakes. I had written my brother that I was coming out so he arranged for me to stay at the Friends' hostel. I had to pay my own transportation because I missed the WRA grant by about three days.

"The first day I got into Chicago I went directly to the Union office. The official there was very friendly and that night I went out on a big drunk with him and the business agent of the Union. The business agent told me that if I waited around for a couple of days he could put me on a boat so I did not have any worries at all. At that time there was a river barge that needed a crew member and the Union thought that this was the chance for me so they sent me down the next day. I got the job and I worked on the Chicago River for about a month. I slipped into this work very easily and I did not feel like I had



been evacuated at all. I was working for the Federal Barge Lines and I got \$125 a month plus my room and board on the barge. I got along very well with the fellows I worked with but the work was rather hard since I had been taking it easy for such a long time.

"I wanted to look over the city a little bit and I did not have a chance to do this while I was on the barge so I decided to quit. After you work for 30 days on a boat, you are entitled to one week's vacation with pay so I took advantage of that. The only thing was that I did not go back to the boat after the week was over. I heard about the Great Lakes Carriers Association from the fellows I worked with and they said that a job was easy to get on the lakes. I figured that I would like this better because that was more like seaman's work. I phoned the association up and made an appointment. After I had talked with them and told them about my Union connections, they gave me a job on one of the iron ore ships. It was the Pittsburgh Steamship Company, a subsidiary of the U.S. Steel Corporation and my job was as a deckhand. I got \$150 a month plus room and board on the ship. We went all over the Great Lakes loading and dumping iron ore. The job was okay and I did not have to work too hard. I got along with the other seamen very well and every time we hit a Great Lakes port we all went out and got drunk or fooled around. The other seamen were not even curious about me and they did not ask me if I was a Japanese and all that stuff. Seamen are very cosmopolitan anyway and they mind their own business. They judge a fellow by what he is and how he acts, and not by the color of his skin or the slant of his eye. I liked the job pretty well.



"About July, when I had been working for a month, the Coast Guard intelligence officer came aboard one day to check up on my record. When I showed them my papers they were very suspicious because all of my seamen papers were under my name 'Yani'. It happened that my release from the WRA camp had been under the name Yanigawa. This meant that the Coast Guard could find no record of me so that they requested me to stay ashore until they had checked up some more. They said that they would inform me when they got a definite decision. So I was out of a job.

"I felt it was a trivial thing, but I realized I should have straightened the business of my name all out. I had taken the shorter form of my name for working purposes because it was much more convenient. I did not blame the Coast Guard because it had to be on the vigilance, that is why I did not take it too hard. However, I did feel that I had been cut off from quite a satisfactory job and the association with the fellows on the ship who had been very friendly. I was making about \$160 a month by then, because they gave me a small raise before the month was over. It was a very easy job even if ~~yes~~ I did not have an opportunity to go ashore very much.

"I wrote back to the WRA right away and they changed my name to the abbreviated form and issued me a new release under that name, but this new release did not come for about three more months. I expected it to come back in a week or so and that is why I loafed around the rest of July. I had my month's salary and I moved around from hotel to hotel. However, I was on the lookout for other work because I did have some idea that perhaps I would not be able to get on the Great Lakes again for some time.



"I was down by the railroad yards one day and I saw a sign saying 'Men Wanted' so I went in and got a job with the Universal Carloading Corporation. My job was as a freight handler and I got 75 cents an hour. I only worked a week at this. I had been going to the USES but I was very dissatisfied with them. That is why I started looking for my own jobs. The Universal Carloading Company did not even ask questions at all because they needed work men. I never sought out the WRA at all after my initial experience with them because they did not give me any satisfaction at all.

"My impression of the WRA was that they had a funny attitude about people coming in there looking for work. They told me that they were primarily interested in getting people out of camp and thereafter we were on our own. My impression was that they were quite reluctant to help me so that is why I didn't go down there after the first time. They told me that they only got the initial jobs for the resettlers. I went to see Mr. Shirrell that same day after having a hard time getting the appointment and his attitude was that he had to draw the line somewhere. I didn't like the way he told me because he talked down to me as if I was some kind of bum. I was rather angry then as I thought it was a rather cold way of looking at things. Now that I think back on it I guess the WRA is right in doing that. They can't be looking at a guy all his life just because he comes out of a camp. On the other hand, we have to stand on our own feet but I think that the WRA could help a lot if they had a more helping attitude so that we would be encouraged.

"The reason I did not push this at all was that I felt that most of the WRA and the Friends Service job offers were marginal



anyway so that is why I decided to go out on my own. I went to the USES more because I figured that this was their job. However, they discouraged me very much. Maybe it is good in some ways but I could not agree with their approach. When they had a job offer, they would inform the employers that I was a Japanese-American and then they would ask 'would you object to hiring a Japanese American?' That put the employer on his guard and naturally he reacted against it. He was put on the spot and he made up his mind before I even had a chance to look at him. I asked the USES interviewer not to approach it in this way because I figured that it hurt my chances of getting a job. However, I know how these government agencies operate so that it was not much use trying to get them to change their approach.

"I only worked a week as a freight handler for the Universal Carloading Corporation because it was a manual labor job and there was absolutely no future to it. I started to pound the pavements to look for a better job. I was not sure of what I wanted altho I thought I wanted to get some sort of clerical job. I am not a member of the National Maritime Union so that the Union here could not help me here anymore until the Coast Guard Intelligence cleared me. They were suspicious of me because I was using two names. I felt that the head of the Coast Guard Intelligence was one of those rather stupid officer and he was over-suspicious of me. I was feeling a little low about that time because I did not like the unskilled carloading job which consisted of wrestling freight all day long. It didn't appeal to me at all so that is why I was anxious to land something else.

"I got a lead at last on a bakery company from the Want-Ad section so I went up there and made my application. The super-



intendent told me that he needed a man in the receiving department as a clerk so I was hired. He was very favorably disposed towards the nisei since he was already employing two other nisei on his farm. That is why he was so understanding. The job paid 90 cents an hour plus time and a half overtime. I started work on ~~October-17~~ August 7 and did it until October 17. Now I am unemployed again. The reason I quit the job was because I was tired of it and I did not have any interest in the work. It was non-stimulating and I felt that I was getting into a rut. I was making about \$190 a month in that job.

"The work consisted of receiving and shipping things out from the stockroom. The bakery company had nine retail bakeries connected with it and I worked in the main shipping plant. I did not have anything to do with the pastries except on Saturday when I packed them. I usually got overtime for this so I would say that I made a little over \$200 a month instead of \$190. There were two other fellows working with me but there were no other nisei in the plant. It was a good paying job for meone who would be contented to do physical labor and who wasn't very ambitious.

"About the end of September I began to get very bored with the job and that is when I decided to quit after a few more weeks. After I caught on to the routine of the work, it was the same thing day after day. I had no other plans for work when I quit but I figured that jobs were fairly easy to get and I wanted to get something with more future to it even if it took me longer to find. I wanted to keep away from jobs that would get me into a rut and start stagnating.

"I did not leave my employers in the lurch as I talked it



over with the boss. He agreed with me that the work was not so suitable and he said that I was taking the best steps for the advancement of my own career. However, he offered me a better job in his company supervising the pan-washing machine work over a colored crew at a higher wage. I did not take this offer because I felt that I could not take a job over the crew since they had been working there a long time and I did not think it would be right for me to step in and start bossing them. I was the newest man in the whole plant and I knew that they would resent it if I took over. The only reason the boss offered me the job was that he felt that he could put me in a position like this because the crew was colored. I did not think this was a good thing.

"I have been unemployed now for two weeks. I took it easy the first week or so and I did not do a thing except to visit some friends. I wanted to get rested up a little bit. I am planning my next step now. What I am doing is to line up some possible job offer. I am doing this on my own and I have not seen any of the WRA people or Friends' office at all. I might go down next week and fill out some applications for work at firms like Marshall Fields. I went to the Stevens Hotel the other day and they offered me a houseman job but I wasn't interested in it at all. I thought that they might have a clerical opening. The Army has been running the Stevens Hotel for quite a while but now it is being reopened for civilian use and there is quite a demand for workers there, but most of the jobs are of the houseman sort.

"I understand that the CIO is planning to have an organizational drive among the plastic workers. I heard indirectly that



the CIO is interested in getting the nisei into this plastic union and I plan to find out if that is true as I would like to get an organizational work with the union. I don't know what the set-up yet but that sort of work is right up my alley. I also read in the Want-Ads that there is a Japanese employment agency in Chicago now and I may go down to see what it is all about but I don't think that they can offer me the types of jobs I am interested in.

"I still don't know what my ambition really is. I would like to get into some business of my own. I feel that I will have to get started into a business of my own eventually in order to get anyplace since the prospects for working for other people does not hold too much promise for the nisei. This is war time and I don't know the full possibilities of Chicago yet. There is still the uncertainty of the draft, so that going into my own business now is definitely out of the question. I have some money which I have left in the bank in Seattle which I plan to use some day for something like this.

"If the draft comes in for the nisei, I will get back into the maritime service. I went down there the other day to put in my application since I have heard that the nisei are getting into the maritime service more right now. My case is still pending with the Coast Guard and they told me that it was up before the Washington, D.C. office yet. I don't know if I will go to sea right away even if my clearance does come through. It depends upon how much success I have in landing a job on shore. I don't make too definite plans for the future because I may be too disappointed. I'm sort of living casually right now. I figure that the main thing is to keep going as best as I can and not be



too worried that I can't work on a long range plan. It is not only the fact that I am Japanese that makes it difficult to do this. All of the young guys now in this country are in the Army and their plans are all shot too. You just can't plan too much on your personal future during such times like this. The only thing to do is to keep going and to keep your morale up as much as possible. I know that I can get a job easily enough right now, but the big question is whether I can get a job that I can really be interested in and that it holds some future for me.

"I live alone right now because I like it better that way. My folks came out here to Chicago about 2 1/2 months ago thru a job offer that I got for them. I heard of it thru a friend so I passed it on to my folks. Then I sent for them and told them to come out because they could find something to do. I said that I would be willing to support them in case they had it a little hard. My mother was more willing to come out than dad because she was very restless in the camp life. My dad wanted to stay because he had many old friends there but he decided to stick with his family and come out because he realized that it was for the best of all of us not to stay in camp permanently. It was a houseman job in a hotel that he got at first. The place was located on the southside near Hyde Park. My mother also helped a little. They did not stay at that job very long. It seemed that the hotel expected a lot of work for the job and my dad could not handle it all. My dad worked hard but he had aged since evacuation. He had worried a lot in camp about the future and that took a lot out of him. Most of the parents worry more about the future of the nisei than they do about themselves. I would say that they worry more about the future than the nisei



do also.

"Anyway, the place where my folks worked was a 150-room hotel and my father had aged too much to handle the cleaning work necessary. The wear and tear of evacuation had taken more out of him than I thought and he could not keep up. Another thing was that he was getting older and he could not do this hard manual labor. They quit the job after a month and they got a job in another hotel on the near northside. The hours are 12 hours a day but physically it is not so hard. My father does the maintenance work for 12 hours at work and my mother does clerical work for 12 hours a day. I think it's a helluva work because they have to work seven days a week. They only get \$135 a month together plus the room. They are thinking of getting something else. Dad would like to go back into the cleaning business is some way. Every time he goes to apply they think he is joking. They want young men anyway. I feel obligated to help as much as possible.

"I don't like with my family at all because I prefer to live alone since I move around a lot. I stayed at the hostel when I first came and then I moved around to various hotels when I got my job at the bakery. I moved into my present apartment in August and I pay \$8.00 a week, for it. My brother lives a couple of blocks from me but I have been over there only once. He is doing a bar-tender job now. I see him about once a week over at my parents' place. He rarely comes over here altho I had him over for dinner last week.

"Right now I am not too worried about a job. I mean to say that I am concerned but I don't lose any sleep over it as I am pretty confident of myself. I know that I can get something if



it's only a job I want. I want to get something more with promise to it though. I saved enough to tide myself over a little for a while as I always try to look ahead for emergency such as this. I feel pretty well rested up now so that I can really start to work on job hunting from now on. I would say that I have already started to look in earnest since I have attempted to follow thru on want-ads and from what some of the other nisei tell me. I don't want to go down to the WRA at all because the further away I am from them, the better I would like it. They do not have any suitable jobs to offer anyway. Maybe you think I am too fussy about a job, but I have a definite point of view in fixing up a criteria for what I want to do.

"First, I want to get an interesting job where I can be productive. Then I inquire about how the hours and wages are. Then I ask myself if I would be learning anything there. I also investigate the working conditions and take into consideration of how far away from my apartment the job is located. I also want to know if the job has any future to it and if I can make good contacts while I am on that job. Therefore, I would say that it is a combination of things that I am looking for in my job but I am willing to take less if that is not available. You see, I figured it out and it is not the way that is the most important thing altho it is a strong determining factor. Another thing is that I don't care to work too many hours either as I would like to have some leisure time for myself. It's not use taking a job way on the other side of town that would take about three hours a day to commute to it. What I really want is to get into some kind of job where I can use my head. I think I am ambitious and not too lazy. I will look around for another week



or so and not be too hasty. I have enough money to last out that long anyway.

"Actually \$200 a month isn't a helluva lot of money altho it ~~looks~~ pretty good for me when I started on my last job. But it costs quite a bit more to live out here. I'll tell you how I budgeted my money. I usually budget myself when I am working. On my last job I netted about \$40 a week after my taxes were deducted. I allow \$8 for my room rent. I eat in most of the time so I estimate that my food bill runs around \$8 a week also. I eat breakfast and dinner in usually and I eat my lunches out. Anyway, it costs about \$3 a week for carfare and lunches. Entertainment and dates costs me about \$6 a week. My laundry bill runs about \$3 a week and \$3 for miscellaneous items. I save about \$10 a week on the average so that is my week's wages. Fortunately I have enough clothes for the present so that I don't have to have much expense for this. This is my liberal budget. Other times I skimp a little and I save from \$12.50 and \$15 a week. Let's say that I average about \$12.50 for a week's savings for the time I have worked here. You might say that I am even frugal, but the way I look at it is that I have to save because nobody is going to look after me when I have such emergencies as my present unemployment. That is the trouble with most guys. They spend what little money they have and then they can't quit their job to look for another so they have to plug along with it all the time. Any nisei who doesn't save a little bit each week is a nut because you can't tell what will happen. It's not bad now because wages are good but after the way the nisei are going to have a tough time and they should save a little reserve for it.



"I usually offer my mother a little money if she needs it but she never asks for it because they are pretty self-sufficient. I've only given my mother \$10 since I have brought them out here but occasionally I bring food and stuff when I visit them. My parents know that they can depend on me in case of trouble. I do have some resources from my savings in the past as I've told you. I left it with my parents and I figure that I am starting out all fresh here. Some day I may need the other money to start a business of my own. You can't start out on nothing and it is a pretty comfortable feeling to know that you have some reserve to fall back on. At the same time I like to live on a fairly good standard and I don't lower my living conditions too much just to save an extra dollar.

"I don't like to loan money at all and I never borrow it. It's too hard to collect money back once you loan it out because people forget too easily. I had to develop that policy after I got to know a lot of fellows who blew their money in after they came back from the Alaska cannery. In a way I am being tight fisted about it. But I know how I feel when debts are paid back so I don't borrow myself. I don't expect the other guy to borrow from me either.

"I have had my share of social life out here. My social and recreation life is motly ates, movies and dinners. I go around pretty steady with Miyako now. I met her thru some friends a little while after I came to Chicago and now she is the only one I go around steady with. Miyako is different because she has a straightforward personality and she is not backward like so many nisei. She is extremely Americanized. It hasn't got to any serious stage as I am not looking forward to marriage yet. If



it comes, it comes. There are many nisei out here who go out on dates just so that they can get married. I go out more for the companionship and mutual interest. I will let nature take its course and not get married just to get married. I figure that I have plenty of chances anyway. There is an economic advantage to marriage right now and the companionship is not the only thing you should consider. If something happens to my parents I will have to look after them and I won't be in such a good position to get married. I'm not even settled in a job anyway. I am just casual about women right now and I don't have any definite plans.

"Most of my friends out here are nisei. There are quite a few that I know now altho I don't see them. I know most of the people from the northwest who have come out here, but I don't have an intimate association with them. I only have very few intimate friends and I don't particularly pride myself in having a large circle of friends. I can take them or leave them and I stick to the few close ones. I suppose it is because I still feel that I don't have common interests with a lot of nisei and I don't like to sit down and talk to them and force myself to do all the conversation. It is too artificial and I feel that I can get along just as well without it.

"I would like to resume my reading habit. The loan library said that I would have to get an endorsement from a resident of Chicago before I could draw out any books but I haven't done that yet. I haven't done much reading since coming out here. I don't care for the heavy intellectual stuff right now. I feel that it would be bad for me because if I am doing a menial job and I start to read and think seriously, I will get dissatisfied



and begin straining at the leash. By this I mean: because of the unsuitable and unstable circumstances which I am confronted with now, I find that reading would not be congenial with me right now, and it might possibly disorganize me instead of raising my morale. I take my vicarious capsule thru the movies and I read light magazines and the Chicago Sun. All of this light reading is served with syrup and it is diluted. I take it this way because it is less frustrating.

"While I was working I went out on about three social visits a week. The rest of the evenings I spent home and I was pretty busy just keeping my apartment up. By the time I had shopped and done my housekeeping and eaten dinner, I was tired and it was time to go to bed and read the papers and then dream about the next day's work. I suppose the reason why I like to live alone is that nobody bothers me then and I don't have to listen to other people's problem or tolerate all of their friends. I could live with my brother easily enough but I am older by five years and there is a tendency for me to sort of criticize and to attempt to be the guiding light for him. Naturally he resents that and he feels that I am lording it over him. I used to do that when he was a kid but he is an adult now and I am afraid that I would drop back to my old habits if he came to live with me. It is better for him to lead his own life without having my influence around. My brother is much more Americanized than I am. I think that if he were a hakuji fellow, he would never see any nisei at all. I don't want to be with a nisei all the time because there are certain common problems which exist and there would be a tendency to talk about it all the time. I have a phobia about the camp life and I don't like to be reminded about



it anymore than I have to. If I had a hakuji fellow for a room mate it would be all right.

"I correspond with a couple of girls in camp fairly regularly now and they ask me all sorts of questions about how life is out here. I try to encourage them to come out by telling them that they will rot in camp. I think that it is largely thru my influence that they are getting the courage to come out even if their parents object to it. I am not responsible for them at all; I'm only trying to keep up their morale. I think that a lot of people don't come out to Chicago because most of the nisei write back to camp and tell about the bad things and they forget to mention the more favorable aspects of living out here. Since most of the nisei have never been from the coast before evacuation, they are naturally a little hesitant to come way out to the middle of the continent alone.

"I don't belong to any clubs or anything now because I am happy enough and I really don't have the time for it. I wish they would quit sending me all those invitations to join the YMCA. If I want to join, I would go down there to do it and I don't have to have people remind me all the time. I'm much happier if they let me alone. I know that they mean well by it but it just doesn't register right with me.

"I don't want to give the impression that I think I am completely happy because I do have certain problems. One of the my big problems is my personal philosophy of life. I am trying to decide how I am going to think about life but there is always the problem of reconciling it with what I am going to be. I haven't been able to describe just what I do think. I sort of envy those fellows who know exactly what they think and concen-



centrate on it.

"One of my sensitive spot is that I hate these shilly shally people and yet I am that myself. If I could only decide definitely what my political and religious philosophy is going to be, then I could decide on what work I want to do. I wish to God that I could decide that pretty soon because I can't go along aimlessly all of my life. I am rather skeptical about things and it doesn't help me to accept the facts of life too easily. I am not gullible and I don't swallow a lot of stuff that is given out to ambitious young men. I believe that if a person really believes in something, it is a good characteristic of his personality regardless whether he believes in God or an ideal or not. It is something to cling to and you have to have some kind of thing which helps out your philosophy of life and makes you a more balanced personality. The trouble with me is that I haven't developed my social and political philosophy fully yet. When I was in Seattle some of the fellows tried to get me into the Communist party because of my union work, but I was doubtful about it. I didn't want to commit myself then because I didn't know about political philosophy. I think that I am now socialistically inclined in my thinking, but thru the extringency sake I'm not active in working for that ideal. I sort of despise people who have a definite political philosophy and yet will not work for it. If I felt my political convictions strongly enough, I will fight for it. But this is the thing what distresses me. I feel that a job like being a receiving clerk does not have any social or political interest for me so I get apathetic. I guess I am sort of domineering and I like to control a large group altho I tend to suppress this feeling. I am very egotistic and



I have a good opinion of myself, my own line of thinking, and my own ambition which are still not clear cut yet. This economic problem is a puzzler. If I didnot have any social or political philosophy, then I could take any kind of job and be happy in it. But as long as I am a little confused on these issues, I cannot do that. I have to work at something more definite and with more purpose.

"My attitude toward the war is the same as it was while I was in camp. I think that the whole war is very silly and it is beneath my intelligence to get very emotional about it. At the same time the war is a tremendous thing as far as the people of the world are concerned. I realize that and yet I can't get excited about it. Would you call that a cynical attitude?

"I think that the political and social consciousness of the nisei is quite undeveloped and very crude. It is that way because most nisei haven't had the opportunity to develop themselves yet. They feel very emotionally, but they don't see any mental solutions in an objective way. Many of them read newspapers like Hearst and they are so inconsistent that they feel discriminated against on the one hand, and yet, they look down and sneer at the Negroes, Filipinos and Jews. I've noticed that most of those who come to Chicago are quite backward. This is not all of them, but I would say that it is the majority. I think that their personalities are definitely undeveloped and most of them have inferiority complexes because their associations are limited to their own group.

"It is not exactly their own fault because they were raised in Japanese communities and the only work that they had done previously was for Japanese bosses. Coming to Chicago is the



first opportunity that they have had to work with hakujins. I'm not condemning the WRA too much but I think that they paint too rosy a picture of resettlement. They are like a Chamber of Commerce and they emphasize only the good things. Working for 60 cents an hour sounds good to most of the nisei in camp because it is much more than what they made in the pre-war Japanese community and much more than the WRA wages. However, the WRA does not tell them about the high cost of living so that the nisei coming out here are disappointed and they have a tough time getting along on 60 cents an hour because most of them are single and they have to live out. Another thing is that the WRA did not advise the nisei enough of the problems of adjustment and the nisei are too young to take this consideration by themselves. That's why so many of them came out here to have a helluva good time. They think they are having it now but they think so now because they are dissatisfied and have no future to look forward to.

"The jobs that most of the nisei have now are pretty sad and it is mostly manual labor. The girls are primarily in house work and secretarial jobs. The fellows are all in jobs where they won't be advanced very much and naturally they can't put their full effort into it. That is why they are looking for different jobs so much. In order to live decently most of the nisei have to work 10 hours a day at their jobs in order to get by. Most of the nisei out here are living just to work. By the time they go home, they are too tired to do anything. They have to sleep most of Sunday to catch up. That is not any kind of life to live. A few social parties is not going to make them any happier but it



may be necessary.

"The nisei can't expect much more than this because they are newcomers to the city. They have to start at the bottom like everybody else. The only thing is that the nisei are in an unfavorable position due to the war situation. They are unskilled because they worked in markets and farms before the war. Only a small percentage really got experience and training before the war. Considering all this, Chicago has been pretty fair to the nisei. I feel that despite these handicaps, it is worth it to be free. The nisei have an handicapped opportunity for jobs but it is much better than living the restricted life of camps which is absolutely hopeless. Theoretically, we have the opportunity of entering into the main stream of American life. It might be the best thing in the long run. Right now the nisei are too close to judge yet.

"I feel pro and con on this matter of segregation versus integration. Theoretically it is best for the nisei to scatter and be absorbed into the main stream of American life along with the other racial groups and not to re-enter the life where they will be segregated. But right now, it is pretty tough in practice. Take my case, for instance, I would like to be assimilated, but most of the jobs I get are not on the level that other hakujin college graduates get. The people I usually work with are not even high school graduates. Intellectually we don't have the same interests. It is difficult to meet people with the same common level of interest because there is no chance for this in the jobs I have to take. Consequently, I have to seek out my old nisei friends more and more. I think that this is true for a lot of the nisei. They want to be assimilated but the hakujin



will not let them enter their group or else they don't have an opportunity to even meet them.

"I think that it will be better if the nisei went to small towns because they can get in with the community then and fit into the general activities. In such a large city as Chicago, it is not possible because most of the nisei are barely eking out a living. The result of this is that they are naturally forced backed into the nisei group. They feel that they have things in common and the nisei don't feel inferior in their own group.

"Even with Caucasian contacts, I find that I occasionally miss hearing Nihongo talk once in a while. I think that I would miss seeing Nihonjin if I cut myself off completely. The funny thing is that I was not conscious of that up to the time I went thru high school. Right now I begin to feel more and more the Japanese characteristics coming out. It doesn't make me any less an American to have a sort of yearning for things Japanese. Its largely a matter of association and habits. Due to some of my Japanese training in the past, altho it was absorbed unconsciously, I can feel things that hakujin don't feel. Many times here I have felt that feeling which is hard to describe. The Japanese seem to have a more sensitive and refined appreciation of little things like the color of the sky or the shape of autumn leaves. It is mostly esthetic and the Japanese have had a long history of feeling and appreciating these things of nature. I've gone out with hakujin girls and they seem to have a crude esthetic sense. It is not like that with the nisei. It must be some sort of cultural heritage because it is much more marked in the issei than the nisei. The nisei fellows don't feel this so much as the nisei girls. The fellows, I find, are drab and they



don't have much of a personality. They are neither Americans or Japanese. I think that they have taken on the worst parts of both cultures. Maybe it is better to say that they have not been exposed to the best parts of Japanese or American culture. The girls get more of this because they were nearer to their parents while they were young, whereas the fellows ran around in the slum district with all the rest of the children of immigrants.

"I think that there will be more and more of a tendency for the formation of a Japanese community here. It's a natural thing. There will be guys who will start an icea cream parlor or a pool hall around which nisei can gather. Then some guy will start an apartment house for nisei. Pretty soon somebody else will start a hardware store for Japanese. Then you won't be able to stop it at all. I've been thinking a lot about this and I wonder if it would be desirable to stop it. It's hard to do in the first place. Then there's also the matter of social relationships. The nisei fellows can go around with the most naive nisei girl but rarely will he ever attempt to knock her up. But if she went out with a hakujin fellow, they would take advantage of her right away and the result for them would be much more disastrous.

"I'm not saying that all of the nisei are like this because some of them will be able to make the break. However, I figure that there would be over 5000 Japanese here eventually and only the most advanced ones will actually make the breaks. The majority of the nisei will not be able to become assimilated because they are too inhibited and they can't meet hakujin on a common ground. It will not be a Little Tokyo like before, in one slum section so I don't think that the results is going to



be that disastrous. It will only be a social segregation. I think that it will be a transition for them there and much would depend upon how they are treated if they will be encouraged to go any further. I think that you can't stop them from going into this social pattern even if President Roosevelt insisted upon it. I know that it is undesirable because it will decrease their desire to be integrated with the other groups of the community. But I don't see how else it is going to turn out, knowing how the nisei are. The thing that I am concerned about is that all of them will be labeled as 'Japs' if they stick only to their own group. But even myself, I feel a sort of sentimental attachment to a Japanese group. Altho I would like to break away, I still refrain from doing so. It is quite a problem.

"Take the single nisei fellows, for instance. Each night they only have a couple of hours free. They can't go out much because they need their sleep for work. They don't have time to make hakujin contacts because of the lack of common interest. That is why they don't go out and belong to 'Y' clubs. It is much more convenient for them to look up friends among the nisei and make friends with their friend's friends.

"I've got to confess that I sort of look forward to the nisei dance coming up on November 20th. I would like to see my friends there and ask them how they are getting along. It is convenient to meet them at a dance or say at a Japanese barber shop. On the other hand, I have an idea that this nisei dance is not going to turn out too well. All of the fellows will come and cut in on my date and I won't like that. For this reason, I may not go to that dance.

"Like I said, I don't think there will ever be an economic



Japanese town any more, altho some of my friends tell me that Denver and Salt Lake are getting to be like the old Japanese community. I don't see how that can happen out here. It will be mostly on a social basis. Most of the nisei are not very far out of the stage of the 'zoot suiters' and they can't even finish out a conversation in pure English. That's a strike against them right away. It's a tough problem and the more I think of it, the more confusing it gets.

"Most of the fault of the nisei grow out of an inferiority complex. They expect discrimination and that is why they think there is so much of it. They don't like it, yet they take it. They have a lack of spontaneity and you can't blame the hakujin for being suspicious of many nisei because the nisei have such frozen pusses. They don't have any originality about them. They all dress alike and they use the same slang expression like 'Man', 'sharp', 'oh boy', etc. This is about the only way they know how to express their feelings. They don't use correct grammar most of the time. In camp I had about seven girls in my office and they always make a mistake of using plural words instead of singular words like 'this piece of pie is mines'. That's due mostly to a lack of background in English. I had to correct so many <sup>letters</sup> ~~paper~~ while I was in camp. Even the college nisei make these mistakes altho they are rather sophisticated in many other ways. The trouble is that the nisei have not developed their personalities and they are not going to do it if they live in a limited nisei group.

"You know what I think of the nisei? They all fall into a general mode or types. They think and act alike about sex, boys,



girls, morals, food, conventions, conversations, etc. That is why I feel ill at ease in talking to them. They all say the same thing. I feel very bored when they start out a conversation by saying the most obvious things with relish as if it is something original. They take most of their ideas from the newspapers without attempting to digest it. The JACL leadership is the best example of this. The leaders got their positions by virtue of the fact that they were successful dentists, doctors and merchants. There is a sad lack of leadership among the nisei and nobody likes to take the lead because they are afraid of being different from other nisei. That is why they all flock to such rages as bowling and everyone does the same thing. They lack initiative and ambition. They lack the spirit of adventure. Not many of the nisei before the war had an adventuresome spirit. They would not even dream of getting on a boat to go see the world. They were satisfied with their former life in the Japanese community. That is why they are getting into a rut out here. It is the same way about jobs. A few nisei get some prestige as dentists or in export and import work, then all of the other nisei flock to do the same thing.

"That is what is happening out here right now. They all flock to Chicago because they know all the other nisei are out here. They all try to live at the 'Y' or in places where there are other nisei. Then they go look for a job in places like Cunios where there are many other nisei working. I think that I am different in this respect because I have made it a policy not to take a job where there are other nisei employed in the same place. Time will only tell if the nisei will develop more initiative and aggressiveness. It doesn't look like a very



bright picture but you can never tell.

"I doubt if there are very many nisei here who plan to live and work here permanently. Most of them are thinking of either moving on or going back to the Pacific Coast. I would like to go back to the coast myself but I don't think that this is practical because the attitudes out there won't have changed too much. One thing I like about Chicago is that I feel I am a part of the main stream of life. If the people on the Pacific Coast do not change in their attitudes, I will not go back to Seattle even tho I like the climate out there much better.

"The determining thing of where I am finally going to live will be the economic and social opportunities which are open to me. My pride and self respect is more important to me than living in a place which is not acceptable in attitude. Even tho that place is blessed in a climatic way, I could not hold my head up if the people attempted to put me into an inferior position.

"It is going to be interesting to see what is going to happen to the nisei after the war. Most of the nisei right now are ~~now~~ taking roots here at all, and I don't know what they will do in the future. They don't know themselves and they would rather not think about it. They are still in the first phase of adjustment here so that it is too early to judge about how their sentiments toward Chicago is really going to be after they are here a year or so. I think most of the nisei would like to go back to the coast but it will depend upon many circumstances.

"About the future of the camp, I really don't know. There will be a certain percentage of people who will never leave camp. From now on there will only be a dribble coming out. Those who are anxious to come out have already done so. Even most of the



border line cases have come out altho I am not sure of that. It is hard to say just how many there are left of the border line cases who may be encouraged to settle. If you count the issei and all the school kids out, that will include the majority percentage of people left in camp. Some of the families may come out if the adjustments of the few who have come out are good and they hear about it. However, I think that most of the issei who remain in the camp. When the issei first came to the United States, they came over in labor gangs as coolies. They didn't have an education at all. They were good pioneers and good workers, but culturally they have not assimilated themselves. It would be undesirable for most of this group to come out because they will be completely lost. Even my folks who have had a good education find that it is tough on them because they are getting old and therefore their adjustments are hard.

"I don't know what the government will do for the people left in camp. The most if anything about the evacuation was the way it has given the issei a feeling of insecurity. It is not so bad with the nisei because in many ways resettlement has been an advancement for them. I have an idea that there will be an increase of intermarriage from now on because the nisei have less of the community feeling against them. However, I don't see how some of these nisei who have come out are ever going to become integrated into the community life here.

"About three weeks ago I was walking down Clark St. and I met a little timid nisei girl that I had known in Seattle. She didn't even know what the score was and she had a deprived look about her. She has no personality at all; she is just a blank. I almost fell over when she introduced me to a little guy that



was with her who was her husband. He was an even more pathetic looking guy. When I said hello to him, he was embarrassed and speechless. He didn't even know enough to shake hands. I felt just as sorry for that couple as for some of those Okies who came out to California. They are living in a cheap hotel room and they work for the lowest wages. What chance have they for social adjustment unless it is in a nisei society? I think that they would even have a hard time in a nisei group. This couple is not an isolated case because there are so many nisei like them. Sometimes I wonder whether I should not make a definite break or not.

"I almost married a hakujin girl once but I think that the thing that stopped me was that I thought 'suppose I want gohan (rice) sometimes or suppose I spoke Nihongo, what would she feel and what would happen?' I felt that there was a definite barrier between us and that was what stopped us. Now I feel that there would be much more to live in if I married a nisei girl. I feel coldly and very unbiased towards hakujin girls. I can lay them and leave them but I could not do that to a nisei girl. I don't know what the reasons for this is. That is what I mean when I say that I feel closer to the nisei. It is because we have much more in common.

"I think my brother will end up by marrying a hakujin girl. He prefers the hakujin society and he is gradually getting in with them more and more. But on the whole, the nisei will have one helluva time to become integrated because of personality limitations and I don't see how this can be completely done.

"It's a funny thing because I am very cosmopolitan myself due to my experiences among the union workers and the seamen.



I think that I feel a little superior to the nisei, yet I like them--that is, my friends. Perhaps I am harsh on those I don't know. I think mostly this is due to the fact that conversation in a non-nisei group is much more wholesome and wider in scope. This is because the average hakujin have had much more experience in life and they have been around. They have done more varied work than the nisei who mostly work on farms or in markets. The hakujin have traveled much more widely than the nisei who live in a restricted Japanese community. The nisei haven't lived yet and their economic level is all about the same. They come from the same geographical areas and their background is almost all the same. They also know only their own groups. That is why the nisei conversation is not very diversified. The hakujin are different because in any group that you meet you will find much more interesting personality and they certainly have a lot more to talk about, and it sound interesting.

"I don't know what my hopes for life are exactly. I've already been a big shot in a Japanese community. I don't think that that is what I want. Perhaps what I want more than anything is economic security. I would like to have some way where I won't have to exploit anybody else. The only way to do this is to have my own business because in our society, exploitation of the worker is accepted. But if I do that, I won't get too much economic security so you run around in a circle and try to figure out what is best.

"I feel that my life will not be full unless I do something constructive, something for the welfare of the people. In a capitalistic system, it is hard to have a decent income without exploiting. I wouldn't want to ever feel that I am merely



existing. I want to put out and give some of myself. I've been hard pressed myself at times so I feel that I would like to lighten the load of some other guy. It's hard for me to get a philosophy of life that would not be compromising. You have to sacrifice too goddam much to be in the labor movement entirely. I'm rather militant and I like to get my teeth into something, but not to step all over other people to get that goal.

"One thing that appeals to me, altho I have not preparation for it, is that I would like to be some sort of pyschologist. I see so much mental maladjustments while I walk down the street. You can see it all over their faces. I have some sort of a feeling how people think and I think that I could straighten a lot of them out, but you have to have a helluva lot of experience to do that. I feel that so little has been done in the realm of mental illnesses. As I walk down the street everyday I see a great deal of expression of fear and insecurity in the types offaces and it makes me sick. It is much more noticeable among the nisei, and they don't know how to be really happy. It is so pathetic to see some of the twisted personalities among the nisei. That is because they haven't any kind of philosophy for living.

"Suppose that this increased mental maladjustment among the nisei is due to the fact that they have not put things in their proper places and fitted into the times. Things are abnormal now and I fear that the war will last a lot longer yet. It won't end simply in a military victory. We don't know what the hell we are fighting for. We have no war aims at all. Stalin and the labor party in Britain are the only ones that have any kind of war aim. The rest are all imperialistically inclined but that is the wrong kind of war aim and it will solve nothing. The



common people have a lack of conception of the war. Most people think we are out to lick Hitler, Tojo and Mussolini, and their thinking stops right there. This is too superficial and I'm afraid that there may be a terrific reaction when the common people find that they have been left holding the sack after the war. It gets a guy all mixed up just to think about that.

"My immediate worries is finding a suitable job right now. I have been thinking that I may take a variety of jobs just to get the experience. I am rather doubtful about getting a well paying job with a future and all of the other things that I want.

"I really don't want to go into the merchant marine as a career altho it is a good and interesting life. But, after all, I am a college graduate and I would like to eventually settle down and have a family. The merchant marine is a sort of a secondary occupation with me. The sooner I can get away from this, the better off I will be altho it is rather lucrative at present.

"One thing I dread is just being a simple, white-collar man and rotting away at a desk doing a routine job which has no meaning, no purpose, no goal. It's tough on a guy like me. Even to get into a clerical job, I'm not an accountant and I can't take shorthand so that I can't really get much in the way of a good clerical job with all of the things attached to it that I desire. I like promotional work but Jesus, I am not trained to undertake anything big along this line. I am not mechanically inclined so that I could not go into anything like this. That's what makes it tough and complex. There are too many conflicting sides to me. I suppose I will look upon it later and be very pleased at the struggles that I went thru but it is rather distasteful right now. I will just have to let the future take care of itself.



The following are excerpts from CH-307, Frank Miyamoto's document in which CH-307 mentions something about CH-17:

"I knew George Kani too, and Keith and I went around with him too. Keith and I wanted to organize a basketball team down at the Plymouth Congregational Church once, and we went down there ~~fer~~ to find out about using their basketball gym. We found that George was quite a big shot in the young people's group there; he was president of a large young people's organization. He was teaching a Sunday School class and all that sort of thing. I got to know George pretty well, and when the union trouble started, and George was one of the few nisei who were willing to stick their necks out for the CIO, Keith and I were about the only friends that stuck by him. George always knew how to look after his own interest, and ~~he~~ had a paper route that was really a paying business. When ~~he~~ got mixed up with the union work, he couldn't carry the route any longer, so he offered it to my kid brother. George had to teach my kid brother the route, and since it was a big job, I was helping for a while too. One morning George showed up in a big car, and there was a hakujin driver and a Filipino guard on each side of George. Gee, when I looked, I noticed that both the hakujin and Filipino each had a gun stuck under his belt on the hip. I was pretty scared. The AFL union guys were really after George, and it was pretty dangerous for him for a while. I admired his courage in sticking up for what he thought in spite of all that."

"I think George was a good kid until power and money went



to his head. He was pretty straightforward, and he was really interested in trying to improve the conditions of the workers in the cannery when he started out in union activity. When he got in solid with the union leaders, and the Companies gave him a soft job as dispatcher in order to maintain good relations with the union, he started to go to the dogs. He started taking money for getting jobs for guys that wanted to go to Alaska. I know because I had actual evidence that he was doing this. My kid brother Sat wanted to go to college, and he needed a summer job, so I asked George to see if he couldn't get a work permit from the union for Sat. Sat wanted to go to Waterfall, and I thought that would be a good thing because Keith was there and he could look after Sat. He got to go all right, but a couple of weeks later we heard from our friends that George's mother was going around saying that we should pay an 'orei' (repayment gift) for George's getting a job for Sat in Alaska. That burned me up. I used to know Mrs. Kani pretty well because I visited George quite often in the old days. I went over to her place, and asked her if she thought that we should pay George for having gotten a job for Sat. She said she thought we should. I told her off then. I asked her who it was that stuck by George when no one else in the Japanese community would have anything to do with George. I've never talked to that woman since. The trouble with her is that she's just a greedy old woman; she's always been money mad. When Keith and I found out that George was taking money for getting guys jobs in Alaska, we dropped him and quit seeing him. We heard afterwards that George told some people that Keith and I had changed. We weren't the ones who had changed; it was he who changed, but he didn't realize that."



From C.K. Diary  
Nov. 22, 1943

"Mariko and George went to the nisei dance last Saturday night. George (CH-17) was very disgusted at the whole thing and I was rather surprised at this. Mariko was also quite disgusted. She now feels that these large gatherings are bad for the nisei and that is a change on her part. The thing which disappointed them was the general atmosphere of the dance and the attitude of the nisei. Following is what they had to say about the dance:

"George: I've been to many Filipino dances back in Seattle where I was engaged in the union work among the cannery workers and I used to think that the Filipinos were the worst drunks I've ever seen. But now, I have changed my mind after seeing the conduct of those nisei last Saturday night. I kept thinkin all the time that I was dancing that I would get beaten up because I refused to let them cut in on Mariko all the time. Those fellows got very ugly about this and it was an experience that I never want to go through again. I think there would have been a lot of trouble there if they did not have those cops around. I know that I'll never go to one of those things again.

"Mariko cuts in: It was really something that amazed me because I have never seen the nisei act that way before. They used to get drunk on the coast, but it was because they wanted to be loud and they were fun. The attitudes of those nisei at the dance was so different. It's hard to say exactly what it was, but I could just feel that the nisei had changed. They had no manners at all. One boy was so drunk that he fell flat on his face.

"George: I tried to find out who sponsored the dance but nobody seemed to know for sure. One fellow told me that it was the Esquire



Club who sponsored it. He said that it was a bunch of San Pedro zoot suit boys and they had been working on this dance for a long time. I rather think that it might have been this group.

"Mariko: Some people there thought the American Friends Service Committee sponsored that dance and I had to convince them that this was not so. There is also talk that Mr. Fujimoto sponsored the dance, but I really do not know.

"George: I've never seen such a disreputable bunch of Nihonjin in all my life. Such things like that never did happen in the northwest. Some of those nisei fellows at the dance stood around with cigarettes drooping out of their mouth and they actually sneered at you. God, I don't know what's wrong with them.

"Mariko: It was just like the Denver dance that I went to while I was on my vacation. The fellows acted the same way. I think that the camp life did that to them because I went to one dance when I was in camp and the fellows acted the same way. There were about 150 or 200 people there. I don't know for sure how many girls there were but I would say around 50. It's hard to say for sure. The girls were mostly okay but the stags just didn't fit. Some of them brought cheap looking Caucasian women. I don't know where they picked them up. There were some Mexicans there and they made a great play over Maudie Yamazaki. Maudie looks cheap now. She has dyed her hair red. The popular girls at the dance were Maudie and Jean Yamazaki, Martha Yamada, Eileen, Yuki and a few others. Most of the girls got around because the stag line was so big that they all got cut out a lot. (These girls mentioned above are all under 21 years of age and they have always been the social butterfly type since I have known them.)



"It was the stags who hung around and tried to show off. I didn't enjoy the dance at all. I only know about 10 people there as all the rest were young. The atmosphere was very cheap and the hall was small and smoky.

"George: You shouldn't criticize too much because you want there yourself. You were too critical at the dance. I didn't enjoy it either. I only went there to see some of my old friends. I was curious too. After the dance we went with some of our friends to a bar and we stayed out for quite a while. It wasn't an all night party though. I think that those dances like they had Saturday night doesn't solve any of the nisei ~~pregr~~ problem. The fellows act like that because they are all frustrated and they make it too obvious that they are after something. It no longer means social recreation to them.

"Mariko: The next time they have a dance like this, I'm sure that a lot of people won't go. A lot went on Saturday just out of curiosity like we did. Some of my friends were pretty sore and disgusted at the way the nisei were acting at the dance. Of course, Maudie and girls like her thought it was a wonderful dance. That's because she was so popular with the Mexican boys. There were too many yogores at the dance. Their dressing was grotesque, but the worst thing was that they had such sneering attitudes. They tried to act important.

"George: I would go to the can and there would always be a lot of fellows there passing the bottle around and you should have heard some of the dirty talk going on there. They made comments on what girls they could feel up at the dance. They were just perverted, that's all. They were worse than any Filipino groups I have seen



and I can't make any digs at the Filipinos any more. I think the Filipinos conduct themselves in a much more gentlemanly fashion. It was disgusting to see the nisei fellows keeping themselves. I wonder what kind of background they had?

"Mariko: In the dressing room for girls, I overheard many comments. The girls were really disappointed about the dance but they tried to make off that they were having a wonderful time. They were all saying, 'Where did all those awful things come from?' They were annoyed at the zoot suiters and other fellows cutting in all the time. I don't think the girls had such a good time. They had been waiting for such a long time for an event like this that they had to say that they were enjoying it. I don't think I'll go to these kind of events again. It's too bad that so many of the nisei fellows are turning out this way. It must have been the camp that did this. The girls were much better behaved and only a few of them at the dance looked like the wild type. This sort of thing spoils it for all the decent nisei who want normal social recreation. It is too bad that the dance was held under such a bad atmosphere."