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Photo by WRA

THE TRANSITION

1946: Year of Resettlement

FOR JAPANESE AMERICANS the year 1946 was a year of movement. By the beginning of the year the great majority of the 112,000 persons who had been evacuated from the west coast had been released from the war relocation centers. Only the Tule Lake center was still open, and plans were being made to close that, too, within a matter of months.

The WRA's program of closing the war centers had sent thousands of Nisei and Issei back to the west coast. Most of them returned to the towns from which they were originally evacuated, though some tried anew in areas which they felt were more "friendly." Others hoping to find a new kind of future in the east, had made the long journey east from the dusty camps which had been their homes for so many years. They settled in Chicago, New York City, Cleveland, and other cities in the vast area east of the Mississippi.

A few, without homes to return to on the coast, were moved into housing quarters as impermanent as the barracks they left behind in the centers. They moved into trailer camps and shelters in Winona, Lomita, Hawthorne and El Segundo. The children, pliable and adaptable, were quick to readjust themselves to their new homes, but their parents continued to look for homes. They were tired of coping with insufficient room, inadequate equipment, and inefficiency. For them it was the early relocation center days all over again.

Some of the resettlers in that year 1946 were more fortunate. Some found housing in government projects, like Pat Hagiwara, 28, of Seattle, Washington. Hagiwara, a student at the University of Washington through his GI benefits, found such a housing project apartment for his wife and daughter.

By 1946 many of the Japanese Americans who had moved during the war to new communities had settled down to become part of the city in which they now lived. Like Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Hayashi of New York City they went to the polling booths on November 5 to cast their votes. Those votes were the symbol of their successful resettlement and their intention to set roots within



Photo by Toge Fujihira

the new community. Once a lawyer in Sacramento, Mr. Hayashi this year was one of New York's millions.

Not all of the Japanese American resettlers in 1946 were from the camps, however. Thousands of them were GI's, returning home at last after service in the Pacific as intelligence men or from the European theater.

Hundreds of them came home on July 2 on the Wilson Victory, bringing back with them the proud colors of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. The celebration in honor of the famous Japanese American fighting was a memorable one. Bands played and planes whirled across the sky as the boat came into New York harbor. Tug boats and escort boats blew their whistles. Ticker tape showered down them from New York offices as the city welcomed home the 442.

And within a matter of months, they had gone their separate ways to their homes in almost all the states of the union. They, too, were resettlers, this year of 1946.

There was, too, a strong pull westward, for the onetime evacuees who had made their homes in Chicago, Salt Lake City, in New York and Denver. As war jobs gave out, as their families ached for the familiar California sunshine, they packed their bags and followed the migration westward. They had been traveling for four years, many of them, and another train ride, another movement was of little moment.

For the Nisei, all of them, were looking for "home."



Photo by Bill Hatanaka



Photo by Henry Yamada

Back Home in Santa Clara Valley

"TELL ME," a San Jose Nisei asked last July, "Why Santa Clara Valley is so much better for Japanese than most other parts of California. In many other places, there is a lot of prejudice. Evacuees have a hard time coming back at all. Here it is really all right. It was not so good for awhile after the Coast opened, but now it is about the same as it used to be, maybe even a little better as far as public relations go."

In August an Issei, an agricultural worker who was an independent farmer before the war, spoke with pride, "Every week people come to Santa Clara Valley from other places. They have heard that things are good here. They like it and would stay, but they can find no housing. Everybody has plenty of work. Farmers are glad to hire us. We get a dollar an hour for picking fruit; most other people are paid 85 cents."

The man who had served as Relocation Officer in San Jose contemplated the relocation record with satisfaction. In 1940 persons of Japanese ancestry in Santa Clara County numbered about 4,000. His office estimated returned evacuees at 6,200 in May of this year, a figure he considered conservative. A couple of months later, the situation on the whole seemed to him as good as he had dared to hope. In his opinion public sentiment toward the resettlers was generally friendly and was still improving. Their living conditions left much to be desired, but they were earning and saving in preparation for more adequate adjustments in the future. He, too, thought that Santa Clara Valley presented a distinctly brighter resettlement picture, viewed from every angle, than did most of California.

Reaffirmation of these favorable judgments came on November 5th. On that day almost 70% of the voters of Santa Clara County, as compared to about 60% in the whole state, opposed Proposition 15, thereby withholding their approval of the legislative amendments designed to toughen the Alien Land Law.

1945 and 1946

However it is viewed, what has happened in Santa Clara Valley since the Exclusion Order was rescinded is impressive. The events of 1945 seem incredible in retrospect. At the beginning of that year, the valley was operating economically without any Japanese. Before the year was over, the workers represented in a population of more than 6,000 had found economic niches of one kind or another. Housing was tight and remained tight. Yet, more than 6,000 incoming evacuees obtained shelter of some sort. Public attitudes swung from a rather general opposition to the return even of those who had been removed from the valley to an acceptance of a substantially larger number on the terms sufficiently favorable that no one considered anti-Japanese sentiments to be a critical problem.

The year was dramatic, hectic; a year of arriving and making immediate adjustments. People improvised, seized almost any opportunity that would give them shelter and permit them to earn. Perhaps we could call 1945 the year of relocation and say that 1946 was the first year of resettlement. That is, having landed and gotten their bearings, people began to work toward conditions of earning and living more to their liking. The post-war, post-evacuation Japanese community started to take shape. Relations with the larger community evolved a little further. In short, 1946 witnessed the first steps in the readjusting and settling process. Emphasis should be placed on "first steps." The process has not gone far.

ECONOMICS

"I'll bet you are surprised at how fast the Japanese are getting re-established again. I am even surprised myself." The speaker was a Nisei businessman in San Jose talking in August, 1946. He went on, "When I opened my business last summer, I thought it would be three or four years before Jackson street would look the way it does now." Professionals in the re-emerged Japanese section are more numerous than before the war and there are about three-fourths as many businesses.

"My business is pretty good," a life insurance agent reported. "A lot of people gave up their insurance at the time of evacuation or when they were in camp. They want protection again. Many young fellows grew up while they were away and are old enough to take insurance now. Besides people have more cash money than they used

to have. A hundred dollars a year was quite a bit of cash for a farmer before the war. With wages the way they are, most families working in the country or in town can spare a hundred dollars all right."

The head of a San Jose family: "There are six of us working and it all goes into one kitty. It makes quite a bit—about a \$1,000 a month. All we do is work. We hardly ever go any place or see anybody."

A Nisei ex-farmer turned farm laborer and then sharecropper, five persons in the family over 15: "When we came out of the center we all went out into the fields and orchards. I have done kinds of work I had not done for 20 years before the war. But I can't afford to be proud. We made about \$4,000 the first five months." This year they sharecropped strawberries. The indication in August was that the family would get more than \$6,000 out of this, and it has been possible for some members to work for wages elsewhere part of the time.

A gardener up the Peninsula from Palo Alto: "Everybody I know around here is making money. Most people are earning more than they ever did before. But there is practically no social life. People haven't the heart for it. Everybody is still too unsettled. Not many expect to stay where they are. They are saving so they can get into something else when the chance comes. So everybody just works—evenings Sundays, all of the time."

The mother of six bright-eyed youngsters, all under 11, apologized for her living quarters: "This is an awful place. It is only a shed, not meant for people to live in. I have to carry all the water. We'll just have to find another place before the rains start. This roof is like a sieve. We were in a better house on another farm, but we weren't earning enough there. It is hard with one worker and so many mouths to feed. My husband was paid by the month and we were not getting ahead at all. Here the wages are better. He works by the hour and during this busy season the employer let's him put in a lot of overtime. But I don't know what we'll do if we can't find a house before the rains come."

She continued wearily with her mountainous ironing. It had accumulated while she added to the family income by picking berries for three days.

These tell quite a bit of the story. With the exception of the large families having only one breadwinner and families handicapped by age and illness, most resettlers are earning well and are accumulating savings. Everything is secondary to work. They are driven by insecurity and a sense of urgency. They must make up their losses, prepare for future uncertainties, and get ready to take advantage of opportunities that may come along. And these things must be done now while jobs are abundant and wages high.

The majority of the people are not doing what they intend to continue to do. Farm labor and employment as domestics and gardeners absorbed most of the resettlers as they arrived in the Valley. These lines opened to them earliest and most completely. Often such jobs provided housing and earning could start immediately. But to engage in either type of work involved some important intangible sacrifices for many. Most immigrant Japanese had passed through a farm labor and or domestic labor stage on their way to economic activities that meant a higher status and more independence to them.

Today, they are retracing steps they struggled through before in their adjustment to America. It is ironic that the most lucrative alternative to wage labor in agriculture in 1946 was sharecropping strawberries—a crop Japanese had tended to get away from in the years previous to evacuation, unless they could hire members of other minorities to do the immense amount of stoop labor the product requires.

During 1946 there was a good deal of shifting around from the

An Anthropologist Probes Into Background of California's Best Resettlement Record

BY A. T. HANSEN

positions people landed in when they relocated. Men changed jobs for higher pay. A few took up sharecropping. A family here and there that had been scattered in the beginning by the exigencies of employment or housing succeeded in obtaining living quarters where the family could be re-assembled. The shifts were limited to the fields already occupied for the most part and were motivated by minor and immediate advantages. Few resettlers were able to move very far in the direction indicated by their long-time economic plans.

For people who are interested in agriculture, the plans are quite clear. Step one for those who are hired by the month and who live on the farms where they work is to get independent housing. An older Nisei expressed a widespread sentiment when he said, "My employer pays me pretty well and treats me all right, but it feels as if he is always looking down my neck. If I could just find a house somewhere so that I could work wherever I wanted to, I would like it a lot better. It would be the same kind of work, but I would feel more independent."

Step two represents a return to the prevailing prewar pattern—cash leasing and farming on the lessee's own account. It is recognized that the attainment of this objective by very many people must wait two developments, both of which are beyond the control of resettlers. Reconversion must be further along so that farm equipment will be available, and the price of farm products must decline to a point where those who are now operating on the land will lose money. Many of these operators are landholders who formerly eased out all or part of their land. During and since the war, they have been using it themselves because farming brought in high and almost certain profits. Competition was keen for any tracts that were offered for rent and rentals became excessive.

Some resettlers suggest that losses may have to be heavy and repeated. Their point is that income from agriculture has been so enormous that the present operators will probably absorb reverses for awhile. Not until they have been convinced that chances of bonanza profits are slim will they go back to leasing and leasing at more reasonable rates.

Step three is farm ownership. A widespread desire to own land is a post-war phenomenon. The previous practice was to lease year after year and to store any profits that accrued in easily transferable form. Return to Japan was ever-present possibility in the minds of many Issei. Actual departures were not numerous, but they thought they might go someday—either from choice or because more drastic legal restrictions forced them out.

This uncertainty and sense of continuing temporariness has disappeared. The Issei have concluded once and for all that they are here to stay. They earnestly want to own or have their children own a tangible piece of America—preferably in Santa Clara Valley as far as the people we are considering are concerned. It is more than just a plan. It verges on a passion or a persistent hunger. The desire is strengthened by the observation of the relative facility with which farm owners were able to re-settle. It is seen that ownership provided some measure of security even through the cataclysm of evacuation.

When leases again become available and can be had at reasonable rates, the price of land will also be lower. Many hope to be able to skip step two and move directly to ownership at that time. In fact, already about ten families have purchased farms since their return. The figure may seem too small to be significant. But if it is put alongside ownership at evacuation, it shows up in a different light. After 40 years, Japanese owned

fewer than 50 farms in the Valley. Probably more have been acquired in the past two years than in any prior period of the same length, in spite of the current inflationary land values and all of the other difficulties resettlers have faced.

The economic plans of domestic workers and gardeners fall into no clear pattern. They have varied backgrounds and varied ideas regarding future occupations. Many of the gardeners may remain in that field, especially if they can locate housing so that they will not have to live where they work. Most domestics, on the other hand, are likely to hold to their intention of getting into something, else when and if they are able to do so.

So far only passing reference adjustments, except for domestics has been made to urban economic and gardeners who are concentrated up the Peninsula from Palo Alto. In San Jose about 40 businesses operating and a few more of the former want to establish themselves when they can find space. Numerically more important are workers, predominantly Nisei, in packing sheds and factories. There was a period in 1945 when resettlers found such employment hard to obtain. Now, all packing sheds hire Japanese and quite a few factories accept them. Unskilled and semi-skilled jobs are plentiful. Labor in the packing sheds, of course, follows the pre-evacuation pattern, with the difference that none of the sheds is run by Japanese and few resettlers have attained supervisory positions. Factory employment, in contrast, is a new development. There was very little before the war.

White-collar positions, outside of the Japanese community, used to be and still are rare. There has been an increase but a very slight one—nothing comparable to what is reported from Los Angeles or San Francisco. Probably no more than 20 out of the Valley's 6,000 plus resettlers hold white collar jobs in the offices and stores of the larger community. An extremely competent stenographer finds it necessary to commute from San Jose to San Francisco in order to do secretarial work.

Resettlers have had no great amount of trouble with labor unions since early in the period of return. C. I. O. groups generally opened their doors rather readily. Of the unions that matter to a fair number of persons, only the Teamsters were categorically excluding Japanese late last summer. The situation was not satisfactory with reference to the Cleaners and Dyers, but a working arrangement of a sort has been arrived at.

In terms of earning and saving, the urban picture is similar to the rural, though perhaps not quite so good. Housing, if anything, is more difficult. About 30 homes have been bought or built since the return, almost as many as were owned at the time of evacuation. Plans for home ownership seem to be widespread as are plans for farm ownership among agriculturalists.

This method of presenting rural and then urban economic adjustments obscures the interplay between them. They are aspects of one inclusive situation. Many of the farm workers live in the city, and laborers in packing sheds and factories come in from the country.

There is some age differentiation in where people work. Issei and older Nisei with families tend to be employed on farms; younger Nisei are more likely to seek urban jobs. In many instances families are divided along these lines. This condition is a cause for concern among some Issei parents. Before the war when they operated farms, they could hold their sons in the family enterprise because it was a family enterprise. Now that parents are farm laborers there is no really sound reason for objecting if sons prefer to drive into town to work. In many cases they would be employed on another farm apart from their parents anyway. When

the time comes that Issei parents see their way clear to begin farming on their own account again, they may not be able to pull their sons away from their city jobs. The Land Law, of course, makes the problem more serious if Nisei insist on being urbanites.

THE COMMUNITY

The Japanese community of the Valley is still in a rather amorphous state. Some of the reasons are easily seen; others are harder to fathom. Evacuation disrupted the community. Two years is not much time for it to acquire new organization and direction. People have been too deeply preoccupied with the urgent demands of individual and family economic security to give attention to anything else. Besides, when they do consider how the minority should organize, what its immediate and long-time objectives should be, and what strategy and tactics it should use in seeking these objectives, they often tend to feel that they do not really know the answers. It is common for them to say to themselves and to each other that it is "too early to do much yet." Waiting "to let things work out" is widely recommended. And a lot of resettlers appear simply to dismiss the whole matter with an inward shrug. Or so it seemed last summer.

The most obvious feature of the pre-evacuation community that has disappeared is the Issei Japanese Association. It stood for the total group to a degree that nothing else did, and it carried on most of the minority's collective business. The war seems to have done more than just to disband it. One gathers that it is quite discredited as well in the eyes of the Nisei. They refer to it critically. There is even an element of making it a partial scapegoat for the troubles of the Japanese Association to be re-established. A few go further and say that they hope no Issei organization of any kind is set up. The idea in either is that whatever organization there is should be in the hands of Nisei.

Issei in Santa Clara Valley agree with this last point almost universally. In a sense, their old Association appears to be a little bit discredited in their own minds. They do not blame themselves the way the Nisei blame them. They insist that they tried hard to make the life of the Japanese secure, but some of them admit that maybe they could have done things a little better. No matter what they think of the past or how it might have been, in any discussion of organization today they are likely to suggest that the problems of the present and the future are Nisei problems and that the Nisei should take the initiative in handling them. The role they define for themselves is to stay in the background and help.

THE JACL

Nisei have organized or started to organize. Before the war, there were four chapters of JACL. A single county-wide chapter has been re-activated. Its headquarters are in San Jose, housed in the building that the Japanese Association transferred to the local JACL soon after Pearl Harbor. The change in ownership and occupancy of the building is a sort of symbol of the new order of things; a hoped-for new order at this stage.

Recruiting members has been an uphill task. The majority of the Nisei manifest indifference to the organization. This is partly a hangover of attitudes developed during evacuation when JACL became a popular scapegoat. It is (Continued on page 14)

NOTES ON THE AUTHOR

Dr. Asael T. Hansen, author of this resettlement study, began evacuee work with the War Relocation Authority at Heart Mountain, Wyoming, as a community analyst. He recently concluded a resettlement continuation study on the Santa Clara Valley for the WRA.

He has since resumed his teaching of anthropology at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio.

His good right arm is his wife, Miriam, who has accompanied her husband on field trips that have taken them as far afield as Guatemala.

Nisei Resettlement in Utah

By ELMER R. SMITH

BEFORE WORLD WAR II, persons of Japanese ancestry in the entire State of Utah numbered approximately 2,000. They supported a few stores, mostly dealing in groceries, and a few restaurants, which in the main were characterized by the word "NOODLES" spelled out across their window fronts.

But most of the Japanese Americans were farmers. They had small acreages and they met their yearly needs producing for themselves and for the local markets. Theirs was a self-sufficient life.

In the early spring of 1942, as the evacuation order on the west coast went into effect, a caravan of cars streamed out across the Nevada desert into Utah. It was the vanguard of a large evacuee population which sought wartime homes in the intermountain and middle west areas.

Most of the evacuees stopped at least temporarily in Salt Lake City, coming to a halt in the city's block long "Japanese town" on 1st South between West Temple and 1st West. They dropped into the JACL office for extensions of their travel permits. They had lunch or dinner, stretched their legs and then pushed on. Some went north into Box Elder, Davis and Cache counties. A few went south, settling in Orem, Provo, Springville, Payson and Spanish Fork. Many went on to Denver, where the future seemed more profitable.

But a few stayed on in Salt Lake City, leasing farms to the south or finding homes in the city. They were to be the first of a highly-swollen evacuee population that eventually reached 10,000 exclusive of the 8,000 at Topaz, the WRA center near Delta.

The growth in Utah's Japanese American population was rapid. To the WRA, seeking a gradual distribution of evacuees throughout the country, the growth was alarming. The city was one of the first areas to be considered a "closed area" by the agency. The "saturation point" was considered met early in the war, and theoretically no leaves were issued to center residents wishing to come to the city.

Unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, at least, were plentiful. The Cudahy packing company, on the north-



Over a Third of Utah's Wartime Nisei Population Has Left the State. Will the Rest Remain?

ern outskirts, had a high turnover of Nisei workers, both men and women. Many a draft-age Nisei waited out his enlistment call by working at Cudahy's. Nisei numbered at one time up to 150 workers at the plant. Today hardly half a dozen remain.

Domestic and gardening jobs, too, were to be had for the asking. Other jobs came forth—secretarial, industrial, mechanical. Nisei girls found jobs in the state capitol as

typists and clerks. Two Nisei joined the school system as teachers. Many older Nisei and Issei went into business, and during the war evacuees purchased or operated a dozen new restaurants, established dry cleaning shops and two or three hotels.

They swelled the congregations of the Buddhist and Christian churches, and some of them sent their children to Mormon Sunday schools. Close to 150 attended the University of Utah each semester, and others went to BYU, Logan and other schools in the state.

They bought their homes and farms. It looked like many of them had settled down for a permanent stay.

In 1946 the Japanese American population in Utah numbered 8309 by official count. All Nisei basketball and baseball teams were established. A number of Nisei organizations had been formed. The Salt Lake City Nisei girls' bowling league had a regular Sunday afternoon schedule. And the JACL bowling league, meeting Monday nights at the Temple bowling alley drew 12 teams, or over 72 players, weekly.

Nevertheless, as 1946 drew into its final month, it was clear that the trend at least was away from Utah and back again to the coast.

But a lot of Nisei talk was concerned with: "Who's going back to the coast?" Or more significant yet, the question: "When are you going back?" The question itself indicates that the Nisei's return to the west coast is taken for granted. Speculation concerns not "if" but "when."

RURAL MOVEMENT

Evidences of evacuee movement out of the state is more solidly manifest in certain rural areas where whole Nisei and Issei settlements have, as if by mutual agreement, packed up and gone back. The first Nisei evacuee settlement, established shortly after the war in Keetley, Utah, is now

virtually deserted. It was one of the first evacuee resettlement experiments, and in its time it was one of the most successful. Today most of the houses are empty. The main building, which once carried the sign "Mayor's Office," is now restored to its prewar status as a motel, taking in motorists as it once took in evacuees.

The evidence to date shows that at least 35-45 percent of the resettler population has already left the state. In such areas as Corrine and Garland, over 90 percent of the one-time evacuation population has already returned to the coast, and the remaining 10 percent plans to return by spring. A considerable number left farms in the vicinities of Brigham, Ogden and Layton, though a fairly good sized number still remain. Many of these persons plan to leave for their previous homes within the next few months. As far as the cities along the "Wasatch front" are concerned, it would appear that a larger number of resettlers have tended to stay within the city areas than the rural. This may be due to the fact that job possibilities have been better in the cities and that more closely knit activities have been carried out in the urban communities.

The future of Utah's population of Japanese Americans rests upon a number of specific factors, among which are the industrial development of the state, the expansion of reclamation projects for rural development, the payment or non-payment for economic losses by the federal government, the presence of economic depression or prosperity.

At the present rate of exodus, the resettler population in Utah by 1948 will be about 3500 persons, a number far short of the high mark of 10,000. If negative factors enter into the picture of the above-listed factors, there is reason to believe that within two years the population of Japanese

Top: New Salt Lake residents Mr. and Mrs. Kenny Arita, 694 West 1st South street, go to the polls on November 5th to register their votes. Mr. Arita is a veteran of the army's intelligence forces and served in the Pacific and in Japan. He returned from occupation duty in August. Both he and his wife, the former Chiyo Horiuchi, are from Seattle, Washington.

Below: Miss Shizuka Ikeda, second Nisei teacher in the Salt Lake public schools, watches an arithmetic problem by one of the students in her fourth grade class at Lafayette school.

The Salt Lake JACL Bowling League attracts over 60 bowlers every Monday night to the Temple alleys on North Temple street. It is the third largest Nisei bowling league in the country, with only Chicago and Los Angeles having a larger number of teams.

—Photos on this page by Ben Terashima

NOTES ON THE AUTHOR

Elmer R. Smith, assistant professor in anthropology at the University of Utah, first began his work among Utah's evacuees when he became advisor to Nisei youths on the campus in 1942. He soon found himself embroiled in the problem. As a member of a number of committees of evacuee problems and on the civil rights of minority groups, he found himself giving more and more time to the myriad problems of his students and his friends.

Finally he took a leave of absence from his university work and began working on a full-time basis for the evacuees. His work was first at the Minidoka relocation center, where he acted as community analyst. When the center closed, he went into Seattle on the question of resettlement.

He has published a number of articles on Nisei problems, has spoken innumerable times upon the same subject. He returned to the University of Utah this fall but has "kept his hand in" as a member of the JACL, as a speaker and writer.

Americans in Utah will fall short even of the 3,000 mark.

The resettlers planning on their return to California and other coast states give a number of reasons for leaving this wartime home of theirs.

Even the Nisei who has bought a home in Utah and a business will give one or more of the following reasons for wanting to "go home."

1. Economic security is not adequate in Utah in comparison with the type of security one is able to get on the coast.

2. The climate, they say, is not conducive to well-being.

3. There is a feeling of insecurity, due to "strangeness" of surroundings, and the Caucasians, on the whole, seem to be too conventional and self-centered.

4. Friends on the coast have been able to return and be successful in their economic and social life and are able to make better money than the persons staying in Utah.

Too, the strong emotional pull of the Pacific coast states, to those who spent their growing years there, cannot be denied. The war years—full of insecurity and hysteria and terrorism as they were—have not overcome the Nisei's belief that "home" is California—(or Oregon or Washington.) To the Issei the need to return seems even greater. The Issei waited out the war, confident in their knowledge that at war's end they would go back to the valleys and towns they had always known.

The evacuees who still remain within the State of Utah have given the following reasons for their action:

1. So far, they say, they have done very well economically, even better than they did on the coast. But, they say, if the economic situation gets bad here, they will return to their previous homes.

2. Some have indicated that they intend to stay permanently in Utah because their businesses are thriving and their relationship with both the Nisei and Caucasian communities are excellent. Many also indicated a liking for the outdoor activities in Utah and the climate.

3. Many Nisei stated that they had no where else to go, since their economic security on the coast was not assured.

4. Many parents expressed their belief that their children had a better chance in social and economic activities in Utah than on the coast.

The factors listed in the two above paragraphs have a number of implications that space will not permit to be discussed, but taking all of them, there is, in each case, the suggestion that if certain factors were to change one way or the other, the resettlers would be ready to leave this area, even if they were to move eastward.

THE FUTURE

It is impossible at this stage to make any predictions on the future Nisei population of Utah, except to note that the trend is definitely downward. A study of resettlement and movement is being made at the present time, however, and an analysis of the results will be released within a few months.

The important point appears to be (Continued on page 16)



Washington Newsletter:

WHEN THE NISEI CAME
TO THE NATION'S CAPITAL

BY JOHN KITASAKO

DURING THE YEARS from 1943 to 1945, many relocatees rode out of the West from the WRA stockades to the Nation's capital to get back into the swirling stream of American life. When they came, they saw the cherry blossoms and the stately Capitol building; they were bewildered by the pushing crowds and darting cabs; they were confused by the gyrating and criss-crossing traffic; they were baffled by the shortage of housing and depressed by the soaring cost of living.

Today, in 1946, that state of bewilderment is gone. Both of their feet are solidly on the ground, and they feel that they belong to the community. Washington has been good to them. It has accepted them as individuals and not as members of a distinct racial group. And it has convinced them that this city offers as much if not more than other communities. Miles and months away from the dreariness of the WRA centers, their wounds have healed in the salubrious atmosphere of satisfying work and good wholesome recreation.

Of course, not all who came during the war years have remained. Some pulled up their stakes the moment the West coast was reopened to persons of Japanese extraction. Of these, many had no choice but to return at their parents' bidding. But others, however, left because they just didn't ever feel settled. The pang of loneliness was too great to combat.

Washington's Japanese population totals 350 at the most, and they are scattered all over this city of one million. This is no place for relocatees who have a chronic craving for Nisei companionship. Washington is a city where Nisei have to place a minimum of reliance on other Nisei for social and cultural outlets. In this respect it is the ideal spot for those who want to give the experiment of integration a fair try.

Thus those who comprise Washington Nisei and Issei citizenry of 1946 are those who did not yield to the sentimental pull of the West coast and who want to remain in their new-found world and live as Americans among Americans. They are the ones who appreciate the evacuation-spawned opportunity to escape from the shackles of the pettiness, rivalries, and hates of the tradition-bound Japanese communities of the pre-war era.

Washington is cursed with an acute housing shortage, and living costs are higher here than in most other cities. But it has much to offer in return to the Nisei in the way of good living.

There is no discrimination against the Nisei; there have been no unpleasant incidents, which is not only a tribute to the wholehearted acceptance by the community at large but also a re-

flection on the common sense conduct of the Nisei themselves.

Washington offers a stimulating pattern of living. There are always startling political fireworks being set off; it presents excellent opportunities in the fields of culture and education; and socially, it maintains a proper and sufficient balance.

Washington has given the Nisei a chance to make good if they are willing to put forth the effort. If relocation has proven anything at all it has demonstrated that when given that chance, Nisei have taken superb advantage of it.

The Nisei's rise in the ranks of civil service is a somewhat old story now, but it's worth mentioning in passing for it shows that Nisei have made good in a difficult and restricted field. Many hold positions of high responsibility. And others have made inroads into some of the agencies which previously had barred Nisei. Persistence, diligence, and devotion to duty have won them many staunch supporters.

Although a large percentage of the relocatees here still depend on Uncle Sam for their bread and butter, a fair number have entered the field of small business. In Washington among the Japanese, this means the grocery business. Over 20 groceries are now being operated by Nisei and Issei, most of whom opened their stores during this year, and more are in the offing. These stores are scattered all over the city in colored neighborhoods.

There is no rivalry between the stores. On the contrary there is an admirable spirit of cooperation. For example, the operator of the largest establishment assists newcomers who intend to go into business by letting them serve a period of tutelage in his store. Then when the apprentices have learned the ropes, they locate a store that is up for sale, and go into business for themselves.

The grocery business is booming. It's a seller's market, and all the shops are doing exceptionally well. But traditional Japanese courtesy and alert service, plus business know-how, also play a vital part in keeping things on a thriving basis, and it is these factors which will help prevent the stores from going down under when it

reverts to a buyer's market later on.

Washingtonians have long stressed the need for a suki yaki restaurant, something along the lines of those in successful operation in New York City. Everyone agrees it would be a sure-fire hit, but no one has done anything about it. Here is a wonderful opportunity for some enterprising person to cash in on the diplomatic and international set trade. Washington has many Caucasians who are familiar with Japan and Japanese cooking.

During the war, a Caucasian, who at one time had lived in Japan, offered to put up \$10,000 to finance a suki yaki place. The offer was circulated in Washington and the WRA centers, but there were no takers. The only Japanese-operated restaurant here at present is a small cafe in the colored district.

Living in a city where one-third of the total population is made up of Negroes, the Nisei have had the opportunity to observe at close hand the ugly discrimination against their darker-skinned fellow humans. From a sociological standpoint, this has had a sobering and salutary effect on those Nisei who were inclined to accentuate their predicament as a persecuted minority.

While Jim Crowism is not so flagrant here as it is in Bilbo's solid South, it is shameful enough, and has served to foster sympathy among the Nisei for the down-trodden Negroes. Any Nisei who lives side by side with Jim Crow cannot help but be impressed or affected. Those who are not are those who are still in the adolescent stage of maturity, and who fully deserve the stinging recriminations reserved for selfish, stubborn racial prudes. No minority American can call himself an American in its truest sense until and unless he is sympathetically aware of the grave racial injustices that surround him.

The Nisei penchant for education remains as strong as ever. Washington perhaps can boast of a higher percentage of Nisei who attend night school than any other community. This is a city where fine courses are offered for a minimum of tuition to the great white collar masses. Universities, private schools, and the federal government conduct a wide choice of courses. This adequately takes care of the problem, if there be any, of what to do during after-office hours. For Nisei who want to brush up, or take a course to advance them in their work, or those who missed out on college in their earlier years, this is a haven for part-time study.

Thus, during the past year, Ni-



NISEI IN WASHINGTON

Above: Nisei spent many hours in the Nisei USO and on visits to wounded war veterans. Here Lyn Takeshita plays cards with Pfc. Terry Kato, left, of Honolulu, who was wounded four times in a single day's action in Italy, and Pfc. Wilson Makabe, of Loomis, California, who was injured when his weapons carrier met an accident while driving under blackout conditions in Italy. Photo taken at Walter Reed Hospital, Washington D. C. by Fort Belvoir Signal Corps.

Below: Nisei girls employed in the War Liquidation Unit of the Interior department. Standing: Flora Yasui, Heart Mountain; Shizu Marumoto, Granada;

Hatsuyo Hatanaka, Granada. Seated: Suzie Hirooka, Granada; Helen Ono, Heart Mountain; Yone Mikuriya, Manzanar. —Photo taken by Bob Iki.

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A Christmas Tale:

ANGELS ARE SINGING

A Child Learns of Death and Heroism in Foreign Foxholes

By SACHI L. WADA

A woman and a little boy of five in a room darkened save for the flickering of a single red candle, and the dancing of flames in the hearth . . . There is only the gentle whir of snow in the wind. Tonight is a very special night, the anniversary of Christ's birth, and the anniversary of a love born on a night like this.

The woman's oblique eyes are far away . . . to a time in 1940 when the moon deceived, when all nights were young, when all dreamboats were anchored safely at the homeport. How young they were . . . two kids, infatuated, ambitious, with stars spinning in their eyes. They had stood on a night like this watching soft cotton settling against the spires of a cathedral, and he had said with his voice husky with emotion, "Tonight, angels are singing . . . for us."

But all ships must always sail away . . . and this time, it was to war. She had waved bravely to him smiling behind that curtain of tears, carrying that babe, who had already reached an age of curiosity. Two years wasted behind imprisonment because of certain yellow pigments on a flag which was spangled with white stars. Of course, there had been the letters dated from foxholes across the seas . . . but even these ceased. She looks up now, at the robust form dreaming into the embers

. . . the only living image. Someday, he, too, would anchor his ship at a port, and someday, he, too, would get his hands burned reaching for the stars.

The little boy says, "Mommy, tell me a story about Christmas."

"There are many stories, son that can be found in books . . . but SIX—

I'm going to tell you a story that no one could write, because there's a separate one in every person's heart. Not very long ago, there was a little boy, around your age, who wanted to be a soldier when he grew up."

"Like daddy?"

"Yes, just like daddy. And one Christmas, he wrote a letter to Santa, asking him for a set of tin soldiers. On Christmas morning, Santa had remembered, and all the tin soldiers looked up at him

from their bright painted faces. But later on, the boy grew up, and he became a genuine soldier . . . but he always remembered, that once when he was little, one of his tin musketeers had broken in half, and he had cried very bitterly because he had loved it so . . . and then, he heard angels singing somewhere above. The little tin soldier's okay, because he is singing with them, high above . . ."

"But, mommy, the little boy who grew up, didn't come home did he . . ."

"No son, his ship was sent someplace else. You see, all the tin soldiers can't go home. If they do, the children love them more; and if they don't we miss them very much."

It is silent in the room, where all the cracks and all the shabbiness is dimmed. The tiny stocking wiggles against the mantle . . . and then, chimes from the church beyond playing, "Oh, Come All Ye Faithful."

"Mommy, the angels are singing right inside of me!" The little boy takes the woman's chapped hands, "Look, can you hear . . . and do you think maybe daddy does, too?"

"Of course son, look out the window . . . the star that is brightest is twinkling at us, and pretty soon, the angels will fill the skies."

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A Nisei Veteran Returns



SEATTLE, Wash.—Former Staff Sergeant Davis Hirahara is one of hundreds of Japanese Americans who returned to civilian life after long terms of service with U. S. Army troops in the European theater of war. Hirahara, an insurance agent and broker, lost an eye when struck by German bullets in the Vosges Mountains of France.

Here he counsels another returned veteran in his office in Seattle.

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Back Home in California's Santa Clara Valley

(Continued from page 10)

also partly a result of the fact that people are absorbed by their personal problems. But even taken together, these do not seem to explain the indifference fully. In addition, there appears to be a lack of faith in the effectiveness of group effort of any kind. One hears it said that the collective interests and status of the Japanese will be best served if each individual strives to achieve the maximum economic security for himself. That is, if each individual accumulates a fair-sized pile of money, the whole group will take care of itself automatically somehow. This idea may be a symptom of a sense of collective defeat engendered by evacuation. The Japanese were moved out as a group. No group action could prevent it. A possible conclusion: the best way to get along is each man for himself.

Whatever the cause or causes, JACL had only about 150 members in August as compared to some 500 before the war. In the meantime, the Japanese population had increased by more than 50%. Nisei organization as it stood in the summer consisted of a small core members, 15 to 20 in number. Beyond this was a fringe of perhaps 100 to 150 who believed the organization was "a good thing." They participated little and were not very well informed on what it was trying to do. Their function was chiefly that of well-wishers. Most of them, however, could be counted on for some support. The

rest of the Nisei just lived and worked in Santa Clara Valley. Some of them were glad JACL existed. It might come in handy in a pinch.

Leading Issei, the kind of men who used to participate actively in the Japanese Association, have watched JACL with interest. Occasionally they wonder if they were right in agreeing that the Nisei should handle the affairs of the minority. Last summer they were still staying in the back-ground, but a few of them were showing signs of restlessness and even lack of confidence. They were beginning to look for means by which Issei could offer more effective help to the organization and, at the same time, assure themselves that Issei as well as Nisei concerns were given consideration.

This development was not unwelcome to most of the leaders in JACL. They felt that if a way could be found to tap Issei support it would strengthen the organization and compensate for the widespread indifference of the Nisei. It might be that Nisei would become less indifferent if their Issei parents could be informed through Issei channels regarding certain features of the JACL program. Parents might probe the Nisei a little.

The nature of Issei and Nisei and the kind of relations that have existed between them make the creation of a mutually satisfactory system of cooperation a diffi-

cult undertaking. They live in somewhat distinct worlds and do not understand each other as well as they might. Preliminary steps to work out the problem were taken late in the summer when a joint Issei-JACL meeting was held. This writer had no opportunity to learn the results.

What has been said to this point refers to formal organization. Informal organization hardly needed to develop; most of it was already there. All this means is that the Japanese have ideas and attitudes of how they should live and what their relations with each other and with the larger community should be. These ideas and attitudes have grown out of all of their past experiences and constitute what is called the culture of the group. The larger community has a culture too and certain aspects of it define the status and role of the Japanese.

When the evacuees came back, they brought their culture with them and they re-entered a culture they used to be in. In San Jose they took up residence and established businesses in the former Japanese section. For property owners, there were compelling practical reasons for this. Other people looked to the same area because it was "home" in their minds, or, if they were strangers to the Valley, because they had the idea that they wanted to be near other members of the minority. Besides, everyone understood that this was where the inhabitants of San Jose expected Japanese to live. Only a very small part of the city is "restricted" by actual covenants. Yet, informal and customary restrictions of varying definiteness and vigor exist over much of the residential area. Both the attitudes of the larger community and the attitudes of the Japanese account for the fact that the houses resettlers have purchased are either in the old Japanese section or near to it.

The occupations resettlers have gone into, with few exceptions, are the lines of work they engaged in before. The members of the larger community felt it was appropriate to offer them oppor-

(Continued on page 15)

Message from Italy A CHRISTMAS GREETING To the Men of the 442nd Team By LT. COL. VIRGIL R. MILLER

Infiltrating upon us, like the gleaming light of the guiding star that shone upon wisemen and shepherds alike, CHRISTMAS COMES AGAIN! It sheds anew its message of cheer, hope and "Peace on earth good will toward men" o'er all mankind. Already this day of Christ's birth, which marks the second Christmas since hostilities ceased, is speeding the parting guest of 1946 on its way, the while reaching out in welcome to New Year 1947.

At this particular season, one cannot help but be reflective.



Thoughts flood the mind and there springs from the heart sincere desire to wing o'er the earth, heart felt wishes to all of our former friends. It is therefore in the very essence of the Christmas spirit, with due homage to God, that I a former commander of the 442nd Combat Team, send forth this greeting to the Nisei soldiers who fought under the slogan, "GO FOR BROKE" to their loved ones, to the families whose sons "gave the full measure of their devotion."

The 442nd Regimental Combat Team, will ever be a source of pride and joy to me, for Nisei soldiers in every theater of the war, won the Nation's admiration and respect, thru their deeds

of heroism on the fields of battle.

Today we face not only another period of celebration at this Yuletide season, but we are confronted again with the facts of Christmas, the Philosophy of the Christ; its underlying principles for true understanding, its precepts for love of God and our fellowman, and injunctions to faith in the Infinite. These all present us with the basis for and successful completion of, the tasks before us.

The battle fields have changed, yet the battle for that "peace" Christ came to establish for all, goes on. It is calling for the self same intestinal fortitude, integrity and courage that Nisei soldiers displayed in combat. Each of us, "Americans," some on foreign shores, some in the homeland, regardless of race, creed or color, are not being drafted but requested to put our voluntary service to set an upside-down world, RIGHT-side up.

Divine Providence was pleased to let the light of His smile of approval shine upon us in victory. That self same smile of approval with its light for the present and future, as the Star, can guide us, wise men and shepherds, men and women of high station or low. Now. Like the "wise men," of two thousand years ago, I am sure we shall go forward to the accomplishment of our mission, Wise men still look upward.

The New Year awaits beyond tomorrow's mystic gates. As it dawns upon us in sobriety or celebration, may you be reminded of the Divine promise given years ago to one, General Joshua, "Be strong and of good courage, for I thy Lord and God, am with you wheresoever thou goest." Go forth then and exemplify anew the characteristics of the 442nd Combat Team, in new endeavor, conscious in the fact that this word from the Divine is to you also.

The officers and men of the 442nd Combat Team, join me in wishing you, the former members of the unit, their families and friends, a JOYOUS CHRISTMAS and a VERY HAPPY PROSPEROUS 1947.

Lt. Col. Virgil R. Miller, Infantry

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Back Home in California's Santa Clara Valley

(Continued from page 14)

tunities in these fields. It is true that ex-farmers who perforce became farm laborers slipped down from their previous occupational position, but they are doing work they may have done before. They can, perhaps, gain a little psychological comfort from the assurance that no one is likely to question their right to be so employed. And there is a good chance that after awhile they can step up to independent farming, which is also an approved occupation for them according to Santa Clara culture.

Domestic work, gardening, and labor in packing sheds could be

examined the same way. Expansion into factory work meant some new ideas had to develop and there was some resistance at first. The step to white-collar employment was a bigger jump and required more drastic modification of attitudes. It happened almost exclusively in quite special places—institutions of higher learning, hospitals, the press of a religious denomination, and a Naval installation.

Many other features of the minority culture have emerged rapidly. Three churches are functioning with all Japanese congregations, much as they formerly did. With rare exceptions, members of the minority limit their worship to one or another of them. There is a Nisei bowling league and Nisei athletic teams. People eat familiar food and enjoy the companionship of other Japanese.

The churches of the larger community are open to resettlers. No restaurants exclude them. Good athletes could find places on other teams. (Bowlers, though, are restricted by the American Bowling Congress.) They tend to stay by themselves in these activities because their past experiences have

(Continued on Page 16)

MARYKNOLL, N.Y. — Two generations of Maryknoll sisters study together at the Sisters' Motherhouse in preparation for future service. Left to right: Sister Cora Maria, Sister Mary Ann Teresa, Sister Mary Gemma and Sister Mary Stephanie.

Sister Cora Maria, former Haruko Sakamoto from San Antonio, Texas, belonged to San Jose mission parish and was a member of the Children of Mary Sodality of St. Peter, Prince of Apostles church, San Antonio. She entered the Maryknoll sisters in 1941.

Sister Ann Teresa, formerly Teresa Kamachi of Olympia, Washington, graduated from the Olympia high school. She attended St. Michael's elementary school. She was a member of St. Xavier's parish at Manzanar. She is training for nursing at Providence hospital, Seattle.

Sister Mary Gemma, former Margaret Shea of Melrose, Massachusetts, spent twenty years in the Orient, working among the Japanese in Manchuria. At the outbreak of war she was training girls for a native sisterhood in Tokyo. She repatriated in 1943 and now teaches Japanese at the Motherhouse.

Sister Mary Stephanie, formerly Helen Nakagawa of Seattle, graduated from the Maryknoll school in Seattle and from the Immaculate Conception high school. She joined the Maryknoll community in 1942.

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Back Home in Santa Clara Valley

(Continued from Page 15)

created ideas and attitudes in them that make them more comfortable this way. Buddhists, of course, are separate because of the nature of their religion since it is limited to the minority. This is one of the sources of strength of Buddhism. A Buddhist never has to answer the question of why he belongs to a minority congregation instead of participating in a church of the larger community, a question that is sometimes put to Christians and especially to Nisei Christians. It is probably true that some Nisei are Buddhists partly because the group is separate.

Just as Japanese have ideas and attitudes that cause them to feel more relaxed and more "natural" when they are by themselves, members of the larger community generally favor the separation. It is a feature of the Valley's social scene to which they are accustomed. If behavior does not follow the established pattern fairly closely it seems odd to them. There are comments; eyebrows are raised in surprise. Deviations may even provoke hostile reactions.

The remarks imply that the Japanese accept the cultural arrangements of the Valley. It seems that most of them do. This does not mean that they do not wish to change their present situation. There is plenty of drive to regain what was lost due to evacuation. The objective is primarily to re-establish what used to be. Desire for change beyond this is not urgent. Resettlers express vague hopes that all occupations may someday be open to them and that their distinctive community may disappear or partially fade. But for the present and near future, they want their minority culture. The status in the larger community that goes with it is acceptable too, providing it is approved by the other residents of Santa Clara Valley.

When resettlers boast of the good public relations in the Valley, it is this approval they have in mind. That the majority of other residents is willing to have the Japanese as a group in the larger community under the conditions that exist is abundantly clear. Very few "incidents" occurred during the return period and jobs have become increasingly available. The resounding defeat of Proposition 15 is the last item of evidence that proves it is all right for the resettlers to be back. What we have is a situation of peaceful accommodation between the minority and the majority. And the peace as well as the difference of status seems likely to continue.

Whys and Wherefores

Why are relations as tranquil as they are? A number of different factors probably contributed. The Valley, so near the San Francisco port of entry, was one of the earliest areas of settlement of Japanese immigrants. This in itself is perhaps significant. There was time to work out an accommodation.

The dominant agricultural interest of the Valley has long been raising fruit. The Japanese concentrated on vegetables and berries and produced most of them. This meant that they did not come into direct competition with the most powerful agrarian group. The situation contrasts markedly with that in some other places—Salinas and Imperial Valley, for instance.

It was common for Japanese farmers in Santa Clara Valley to lease the same piece of land year after year for as much as two or three decades. Relations with landlords and neighbors, consequently, were quite stable. Social bonds tended to develop between the Japanese and these other people with whom they had such long

Roosevelt Student Co-op



CLEVELAND, Ohio—House members of the Roosevelt Student Co-op House of Western Reserve take time out from their studies to do a bit of harmonizing. Regardless of their various racial and religious backgrounds, these students work, live and study together, an example of "democracy at work." Playing the ukelele in this picture are Janet Kuwahara, house president, and Anita Langsam of Long Island, N.Y.

—Photo by Toge Fujihira

continued contacts. Imperial Valley, with its shifting lease pattern, again offers a contrast.

There was a Japanese business community, including vegetable shippers. But it handled a relatively small portion of the total business of the minority. A lot of buying and selling went on in the establishments of the larger community. The Japanese seem to have been more fully integrated into the economic life of the Valley on an individual basis than was the case in a good many other areas.

Deliberate efforts to improve public relations were carried on everywhere. Whether more was done here cannot be said, but the matter was very important to the leaders of the Japanese Association. There is one circumstance which suggests that they may have been more deeply concerned with the program than were similar leaders in some other communities. Most of the influential Issei belonged to an organization called Eiju Doshikai. Freely translated, this means, "Society of those who have decided to settle down in America." Only one member ever went back on the implied pledge. The point of this is that it betokens an attitude which would induce these men to strive for the best possible relations with the larger community in which they definitely intended to live permanently. As far as is known, it was the sole organized Issei group of its kind.

For many years before the war, there was nothing in Santa Clara Valley that could be called an anti-Japanese movement or campaign. Most resettlers are convinced that if evacuation had been a matter of county option, they would not have had to move out. The war did stimulate increased hostility toward the local Japanese, but, as resettlers now recall the time, the hue and cry was less strident there than in the rest of California.

Public relations deteriorated while the Japanese were away. When the Coast reopened, the prevailing sentiment in the Valley, at least the vocal sentiment, was against return. Even avowed friends advised the evacuees to wait — and wait. But when they started coming back, there was a past that could be revived. The Relocation Officer and others who labored to aid the return had some-

thing to work with. The Progressive Growers Association, the kind of group that in many places tended to remain opposed to relocation, lent its aid in Santa Clara Valley with housing, jobs, and social influence. Persuasion was needed to bring the group around, but the background helped make the persuasion successful. As soon as attitudes had changed enough so that resettlers would be hired, the Japanese had a chance to do the farmers who hired them a favor. They saved a lot of crops in the summer and fall of 1945 and their efforts were genuinely appreciated.

After that, with several thousand Japanese living and working in the Valley, people grew increasingly accustomed to seeing them around again, found their services useful, and recalled that formerly they were all right. With the war over and with the record of Nisei soldiers widely known, public attitudes could become even better than they used to be. Guilt feelings in the larger community on the score of evacuation may be adding further strength to the favorable sentiments toward the Japanese.

Resettlers readily admit that their existence is pretty difficult. They are working hard, too hard, and having little pleasure out of life. Their losses at evacuation and the gains of others at their expense are referred to with bitterness. They see a long hard road ahead of them. Nevertheless, their present state of morale seems rather high. They think Santa Clara Valley is the best place they could be. In spite of the hazards, known and unknown, they feel they have a future there.

Nisei Resettlement In Utah

(Continued from page 11)

be the fluidity of the Nisei—both physically and mentally. Having moved so much in the past few years, they are not afraid of future movement. Having been insecure, perhaps, they sense insecurity in the future and make large calculations with this factor in mind.

Even prior to the war the trend among Utah Nisei was to the west coast, where Nisei activities and also Nisei money was concentrated. Utah's present Japanese American population, having reached its upward peak, now appears to be repeating that trend.

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