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COLORADO FARMING CONDITIONS
via Mr. S. Kobayashi, isseii

While being taken around from farm to farm by my guide and chauffeur, Mr. S. Kobayashi, some pertinent facts about farming conditions were learned from him.

Sugar Beets:

Mr. Kobayashi is an experienced sugar beet raiser, as he had grown them for many years in Stockton, California prior to the war, and even during the current war here in Colorado. Mr. K. stated that here in Colorado the sugar beet price paid the farmer is $13. per ton, providing there is a minimum of 16.5 sugar content in the beets. The price is lower with lower sugar content. Mr. K. stated that some farmers here have had as low as 7 or 8 point sugar content. Mr. K. stated that out in California the sugar content is usually much higher than Colorado. Then, too, in California an acre yields more tonnage than in Colorado. Roughly, in Colorado an acre yields about 10 to 20 tons of sugar beets.

War years and current year:

Mr. K. stated that during the war years up through 1945, more farmers in Colorado made money than lost, while this year (1946), more farmers lost money than made. This year's loss is attributed not only to bad weather but to overproduction of most farm crops which caused a drop in prices and a poor market in general.

Max Advice to Farm Laborers:

Mr. K. stated that those who are interested in working merely as farm laborer should not remain here in Colorado but should go to California, as one can work year around in California while here there is no work during the winter months.
Small scale family farms advisable for Colorado:

Mr. K. stated that his advice to Japanese farmers in Colorado, especially evacuee farmers from Colorado, is to farm on a small family scale, using mostly family labor and little hired labor. This is to insure the farmer from incurring any big loss, especially here in Colorado where farming is comparatively always risky with weather so unpredictable and the market not very good. If one engaged in big scale farming and hired many paid laborers, his loss will be proportionately bigger if the hail hits his farm or if the market is so poor that it is unprofitable to sell his crops. In these family farms operated mainly by labor of the family members, the only thing the family loses when farming is poor is the labor put into the farm by the family.
In company with Mr. Kobayashi and Mr. Horie, my two guides, I visited the Mayeda family at their home this evening. The whole family was home and the visit was very enjoyable.

Family:

Father: issei, about 63 years,
Mother: issei, about 54 years
Children: Son, Roy, married, about 29 years.
Daughter, Martha, about 22 years.

There are six in this household, which includes Mr. Roy's wife and their young child.

Roy was recently discharged from the army and saw service in Japan following the war. He attained the rank of captain upon his discharge. He is a graduate of the Colorado Aggies, and was connected with the Federal Ag. Dept. as a chemical analyst. During war service he did chemical research and in Japan was attached to some medical detachment in Kyoto. At present he is torn between farming and accepting a Federal job with the Ag. Dept. as a chemical analyst. He is being offered a P-2 job, and it is believed he doesn't feel this is adequate. Mr. Horie informed me privately that Roy is going to open up a private business in Brighton making soil analysis for farmers desiring this service and recommending measures to improve the soil. Mr. Horie stated he is going to occupy a space in the Horiuchi warehouse in town.

Father Mayeda had a rather interesting life history, as follows:

1905-1918: railroad work and farming in Colorado.
1918-1924: Operated an apartment in Seattle.
1924-1938: farmed in Colorado.
1938-1942: Operated an apartment house in Los Angeles.
Family:

Mr. M. stated laughingly:

"All my life I have been trying to get away from the farm and invariably I find myself back on the farm. When I was in Los Angeles between 1938 and 1942 I thought 'At last I have a successful business and can live happily without doing farm work,' but the war and evacuation came, and I find myself back in Colorado farming. I don't know, but gosh it seems like fate is just against me somehow."

Additional data on son Roy: He was for 2½ yrs with the Federal Ag. Dept. prior to war. He served for 5 years with the army, working himself from private to Captain. He majored in bacteriology and chemistry at Colorado Aggies. Discharged from army in January 1946.

Evacuation:

The family voluntarily evacuated from Los Angeles in 1942 and came to Brighton, Colorado to farm. They sold their apartment house which they had been operating. Mr. M. was very disappointed about having to sell his business, as he stated it was a very good business and he had hoped to continue on indefinitely in it. He still show traces of disappointment in having to sell his L.S. business and return to farming. He suffered some losses in the sale of his apt. house. He stated "Now if I wanted to buy back my the same apartment house I would have to pay 4 or 5 times more than the original price I paid."

Family farm:

The family bought 28 acres of farm land when they came here in 1942. They live in a very nice house which is located on the farm.
Family farm:

They grow mainly celery, onions, and cabbage. The price of celery has been 50 cents and 75 cents this year. Mr. M. stated he thought 50 cents per crate was unprofitable to the farmer and was ready to give up harvesting the celery he had grown over the past several months. However, he proceeded with the harvesting, doing most of the work himself and hiring little labor. He stated to his surprise he made a fairly good profit, making about $500 on a shipment just a few days ago. This surprised even Mr. Kobayashi, my guide, who has been farming for many years in California and few years in Colorado. Mr. Mayeda was somewhat peeved at the Col. Jap. Growers Coop Assn. for lowering the price from 75 cents to 50 cents. Mr. Horie, executive-secretary of the Coop Assn., explained that the price was 75 cents for a while, but as there was little demand for it after a while, many of the Japanese farmers advised the Assn. to go ahead and sell the celery for 50 cents per crate if they couldn't be sold for 75 cents. This seemed to have clarified the matter for Mr. Mayeda.

Mr. Mayeda related with great excitement how this year's weather was bad. He told of how Ft. Lupton farmers were hit three times by hail and were wiped out. He stated he went out to Ft. Lupton to view the results of the hail, and to his amazement the hail was the size of chicken eggs. He seemed terribly dissatisfied with Colorado's climatic conditions, and seem to indicate that he would prefer to quit farming and enter some kind of business again. Half-jokingly he turned to Mr.
Family farm: (Continued)

Mr. Kobayashi and stated:

"If I had Mr. Kobayashi's wealth I would pack up and leave for Los Angeles where I will establish some kind of business."

When speaking with Roy in private, he stated if the next year weather is like this year's, he's going to quit farming altogether. He seemed rather perturbed over this year's bad weather.

In general the Mayeda family has done fairly well farming in Colorado since the evacuation. This year wasn't very good, but Mr. M. has been able to make something. The past few years have been very good.

Return to California & Future:

Mr. M. is far from satisfied farming in Colorado. Asked about his plans regarding returning to Calif, he stated:

"It just can't be helped ('shikata ga nai') now. I guess I have to continue farming here in Brighton for a while anyway."

Since they have bought their farm and house, it appears they are forced to remain for a while. But deep down in his heart, Mr. M. is very anxious to return to Los Angeles and start some kind of business, probably operating an apartment house again. His whole attitude is one of resignation, that it can't be helped ("shikata ga nai").

General economic conditions:

Mr. Mayeda and Mr. Kobayashi got into a long winded discussion about general economic conditions here and out in California. Mr. Kobayashi stated:

"This is no time to buy farm land here in Colorado. Two or
General economic conditions: (continued)

"three years ago, the price was relatively low. I remember that one could have bought land in Keenesburg in 1945 for about $30. an acre. Now the same land is being priced at $200. to $250. per acre. Anyone who buys land now is foolish, for it is bound to go down before too long."

Mr. Mayeda was in complete sympathy with Mr. Kobayashi in this respect.

Speaking about the condition in California, both agreed that property value and prices in general have skyrocketted so high, much more than Colorado, that it was inadvisable to return. Mr. Kobayashi related a story of a Japanese friend, who sold his apartment house, which was originally valued at $10,000, for $3,000 at the time of evacuation. Now this same apartment house is valued at $30,000. Both were stunned by the unbelievable high prices in California. The discussion on property value indicated that both Mr. M. and Mr. K. were very conscious of land speculation and inflation.

Mr. Mayeda and Mr. Kobayashi went into another long discussion about the economic condition following the first World War. They recollected that prices and property value skyrocketted then just as they are now. They recollected that this didn't last very long and that it was followed by a loud crash of prices and value of property. Mr. Mayeda stated:

"When I think of this, I am scared of buying any land or property anywhere at present."
Return to California--additional notes:

Both Mr. Mayeda and Mr. Kobayashi agreed that this was not time to return to California, as prices are much higher than here. Housing is terrible also.

Both stated many of the evacuees remaining in Colorado now are just sweating it out and watching for a break in the upsurging inflationary trend in California. As soon as prices begin a downswing and some business begin selling out, some of the evacuees are thinking of returning to Los Angeles and buy up the declining businesses.

Mr. Mayeda asked Mr. Kobayashi what his plans for returning, and the latter stated:

"My plans are all indefinite. I don't feel like most of the evacuees do that they must return to California. Whether I remain here or not will all depend on my children's desire. If my children finish school here and want to go out east, I will follow them out to the east."

In speaking about those evacuees who have returned to California already, both Mr. M. and Mr. K. agreed that many are having a hard time economically. Mr. M., however, related the story of the successful return of two evacuee friends who are now in Los Angeles. They are Mr. Wada and Mr. Ampo, who were owners and operators of a big clothes cleaning establishment on a partnership basis, before the war. Mr. Mayeda stated that these two rented or leased the cleaning establishment during the war but have resumed operation of the same since their return several months ago. Mr. Mayeda stated they are doing very well.
Public Sentiment toward Japanese:

Both Mr. Mayeda and Mr. Kobayashi were very pleased with the public sentiment toward the Japanese in America which seems to be getting increasingly better. They seem to have complete trust in the American government and the American people in treating the Japanese population squarely. Even during the war, Mr. Kobayashi stated that he never experienced any unpleasantness during his travels throughout the country. He related the story of how a wife of a Army major (caucasians) befriended him once while he was riding on a train. Mr. K. was deeply moved by the friendliness of this caucasian woman.

Both agreed that many American GIs who have visited Japan following the war have come to understand the Japanese people. Mr. Mayeda stated that his son Roy who served as an occupation troop in Japan told him that American GIs in Japan have expressed amazement at the friendliness of the Japanese people and have wondered by U.S. and Japan ever went to war with each other.

Both spoke glowingly of the record of the 100th Bn. and the 442nd Inf. Reg. They felt that these units did so much to help the cause of the Japanese in the U.S. and to establish favorable public sentiment.

Speaking about the local public sentiment, both agreed that it was good. Mr. Kobayashi stated that the Mayor, Dr. Wells, is a really nice man, although he campaigned vigorously for the land bill which would have discriminated against the alien Japanese. Mr. K. stated he sees the mayor at the barber shop and he never fails to say hello.
ISSEI EVACUÉE FARMER
M. Mayeda family

Issel and Nisei:

Both strongly believed that the issei's reign is over now and that the nisei must now take over. They were emphatic about this. Mr. Mayeda stated:

"It is nisei like you that must take the lead from now on. We issei are old now and it won't be too long before we'll have passed from this world. The issei is definitely over now. We must follow the nisei and take their advice."

Social Organization:

The absence of any discussion on Japanese or community organization, plus other evidences, seem to point out the fact that among the evacuees there is not too much concern about Japanese or community organizations.

There was considerable concern and discussion on the economic loss survey being conducted by the JACL. Mr. Kobayashi stated that he is planning to fill out the form he received. Mr. Mayeda was indifferent about the survey, but was very concerned about the prospects of the evacuee claims bill passing the Congress early next year.

There was also some discussion on taking out of the first naturalization papers. Both are very much interested in getting their first papers. Both felt that as the issei are now old it is foolish to be thinking about returning to Japan now. Furthermore, those who have children as they did, owe it to their children to continue residence in U.S. If they were to live in U.S. then taking out the first papers was the most sensible thing to do. However, both are very dubious that the gov't will amend the constitution to permit alien Japanese to become naturalized in the very near future.
A visit was made with Hideo Murata, nisei farmer of about 24 years of age. None of his family relatives were visited.

**Family:**

Father: issei, died several years ago.  
Mother: issei  
Children: 3 boys (all grown-up), 3 girls

Hideo informed that one of his older brothers just had some marital difficulties. This older brother and his wife were divorced recently. Hideo informed that Mrs. John Horie persuaded his brother's wife to secure the divorce. It was apparent that the John Hories and the Murata family are not on the best of terms. Mr. Horie told me privately that the Muratas were "a peculiar family." He continued: "They are rather secluded, and they don't seem to get along with the other Japanese in the community."

Hideo is a good looking young man. He is very quiet spoken and not very articulate. He was very friendly. Mr. Horie stated: "Hideo is still rather immature." He is still single.

**Farm:**

The family operates three separate farm lands which cover about 300 acres. Each of the three brothers looks after one farm. Hideo stated he is in charge of the smallest farm which covers 40 acres. They grow mostly sugar beets and hay, but they also have some cabbage, onions, etc.

Of farming conditions in Colorado Hideo stated:

"You can't make much money farming in Colorado. This year for instance the market is terrible. Onions are selling for 50 cents per 50 pound sack. You barely make expenses for this price. Now last year it was good. Onions sold for $2.00 per 50 pound sack. The only thing good this year is sugar beets. The price is $1.50 per ton, including government subsidy of about $3.00. This is the highest price ever paid for sugar beets."
Farm: (continued)
"The farmers around here get along, but none of them have made much money."

Hideo is rather disinterested in farming, and is thinking seriously about going East possibly and taking up some kind of machine shop job. He is very interested in machine work. He inquired about prospects in Chicago.

When asked whether he thought the native nisei farmers would continue farming he said he thought so, especially the oldest son in the family. His oldest brother is definitely planning to continue farming indefinitely.

The family is farming on a share crop basis. He stated there are various kinds of share cropping. His is an 80%-20% basis with the landlord getting 20% of the crops. The family does everything on the farm up until harvest time.

Evacuee farmers:

Hideo stated that the reason so many of the evacuate farmers didn't make good in Colorado and left for California is that they got the worst land. The best land was already in possession of the local farmers.

He stated that his brother-in-law has been farming in Colorado (in Brighton) for the past few years but is thinking of quitting pretty soon. The reason is that the brother-in-law feels he has poor farm land, and consequently has not been able to make any kind of success out of farming. This bro-in-law is a nisei, Mr. Nishimura, who evacuated from California. He is one of the six partners who are operating the big sake factory in Denver. The firm is worth over $200,000 it is reported.
Additional Data on Family:

Hideo has been born and raised in Colorado and so have his brothers and sisters. His father first came to Colorado over 40 years ago. The family first farmed for many years in Sterling, northeastern Colorado. About 15 years they moved to the Brighton area.

Social Organization:

Hideo stated that there is a strong Buddhist group here. They have a temple in town.

He thought the Christian group here was relatively weak. He himself is a Christian, but admitted he isn't a strong member. His family is Christian also.

About recreation, Hideo informed that there is a dance for nisei held about once a month.

He stated, in general, most of the nisei go to Denver for most of their recreation, as Denver is only 20 miles away.
Had a short visit with Mr. T. Doizaki, as he was rather busy on his farm. Introduction by Mr. John Horie, my part-time guide.

**Family:**

Father: Mr. T., issei, about 65 years
Mother: Mrs. T., nisei (Hawaiian-born), about 52 yrs.
Children: 9 in all age ranging from 27 to 4.

Two sons were in the army, but both discharged now. One is still in Japan as a U.S. civil service worker.

Mr. T., issei, looks very old, much older than his actual age. He is toothless, and as he is always smiling, this becomes very noticeable. His wrinkled face and hands not only shows his age but the years of farming and general labor that he has done. He has the most easy-going way about him, being very goodnatured and laughing or smiling continuously. When I asked him how many children he had, he laughed and said "Too many". What is amusing is that he has a four-year old child, and he could easily pass for the child's grandfather.

**Background notes:**

Mr. D. hails from Fukuoka ken, Japan, and has been living in the U.S. for over 40 years.

For about 20 years he worked as a railroad laborer in and out of Colorado state. For the past 20 years he has been farming in Brighton, Colorado.

He and his family are Buddhists. He informed that there is a Buddhist temple in Brighton, and that services and meetings are conducted twice a month.
Native and Evacuee Farmers:

Mr. T. probably typifies the Colorado Japanese farmer. He operates a relatively small farm of about 30 acres, and most of the work is done by the family. He has been farming for the past 20 years but has never made any immense fortune. He has been able to provide a living for his family, and this seems to be his primary concern. As stated in some earlier report, he is a conservative farmer, not only in terms of acreage cultivated but in terms of success.

When I asked him how farming conditions were in this area he stated:

"I'm a poor man. You should ask Mr. Horie that question."

Talking about the differences between the California and Colorado farmers (Japanese) this is what he stated:

"The Colorado Japanese farmer, in general, farms on a small scale and takes his farming easily. You might say he is easy-going in nature. He doesn't think of making millions. All he is interested in is providing a livelihood for himself and his family.

"Now you take the California farmer. He is different. He is aggressive and goes in for large-scale farming. If he can he wants to make a fortune as soon as possible. He goes into farming which is considered risky by local farmers, as growing lettuce, tomatoes, etc. The natives prefer to go into more secure farming as the growing of sugar beets, hay, etc., which cannot easily be destroyed by hail.

"Another difference is this. The Californians put in a lot of fertilizer in their farms, whereas the Colorado farmers put in only a little. I suppose the Californians want to hasten the crops growth. But it isn't necessary to put in as much as the Californians do. It is only added expense.

"Farm conditions here are fair only. The weather is the greatest problem. This year it was really bad, the worst in years. The summer hail wiped out a lot of farmers. But I guess we Coloradans have gotten used to it and don't mind it so much."
Native and Evacuee Farmers: (continued)

"The Californians just can't stand the Colorado weather, especially the unpredictable summer hail. They also dislike the severe winter, which prevents them from farming. I guess you can't blame them for feeling this way, as I hear California's weather is ideal for farming, and that one can farm a year round."
Mr. John Horie, my guide, took me to the Kobayashi residence as my first family visit in the Brighton area. The family's address is 965 Bridge Street. They have a phone. Mr. Horie introduced me to Mr. and Mrs. Kobayashi and I left me with the family as he was busy with his work. I visited for about 3 hours which included lunch. Most of the visit was spent with Mr. K. issei who is one of the most articulate persons I've met. He spoke Japanese exclusively, and I reciprocated in my limited Japanese. Mrs. K. speaks fluent English and Japanese. Both are issei, but Mrs. K. came to America at the age of 2 and has lived here right along attending American school. The visit was a most enjoyable one, the family being most friendly.

Family:

Father: Mr. K., issei, about 45 years, farmer
Mother: Mrs. K., issei, about 50 years of age.
          Iris, daughter, about 21, last year at Greeley State Teachers College; wants to do library work or journalism.
          Frances, daughter, about 17 years, now a junior in high school.
          Richard, son, about 15, going to school.

Family Relations:

Mr. K. is definitely head of this family, as his oldest son is only 19 and now in the Navy. Mr. K. comes from Fukuoka ken, Kurume shi, Japan. John Horie informed that he comes from a Samurai family and therefore has an aristocratic air about him. There is a strong trace of this aristocracy, but Mr. K. was most cordial and friendly that one forgets he has a Samurai heritage. He speaks Japanese exclusively in the family and outside.

From all indications there seemed to be very close and amiable
Family Relations:

relationship among the members. Mr. and Mrs. K. are very proud of their son, Nelson, who they claim was the first Nisei Navy enlistee in Colorado. Mr. Nelson enlisted immediately as Navy opened its doors to nisei enlistees early this year. He is a communication man on a warship now patrolling the Japanese waters. Nelson, 19 years, enrolled at U. of Colorado at Boulder in the fall of 1945 and completed one semester work, when he left school to enlist in the Navy early this year.

Daughter Iris is a senior at the Colorado State Teachers' College located in Greeley, which is about 35 miles from Brighton. She lives in the dormitory located on the school campus. She is expected to graduate in June of 1947. She is interested in studying to be a librarian, and is at present thinking of getting an overseas job in Japan as a civil service librarian following her graduation. Iris was a school mate of my wife Lily at the Rohwer center High School in Arkansas. They also worked on the newspaper staff of the Rohwer Outpost. Mr. and Mrs. K. were very much tickled over this tie between us, and increased rapport immensely.

Both Mr. and Mrs. K. are tremendously interested in the development of their children. From various indications they seem to feel that seeing their children get all the education possible and get jobs they like is their main concern for the rest of their lives. They feel, especially Mr. K., that the issei era is now over, and that the nisei era is now at hand and consequently the nisei ought to take over the leadership, with some advice and guidance by the issei.
Background notes on family:

Mr. K. hails from Kurume-shi, Fukuoka ken, Japan. He came to America as a young man. He attended a few years of grade school in America. Consequently he understands English fairly well, but he speaks Japanese almost exclusively. For many years up until about 1927, he worked as business manager for Mr. Ushijima, the famous potato king from Stockton, California. From 1927 on until the outbreak of the war, he went into farming on his own. He is really one of the big-time Japanese farmers of northern Colorado, operating two separate farms which covered 1700 acres. He farmed on a cash rent and share crop basis. His landlord was a landlord in whom he has had complete trust and of whom he speaks very very highly now. The landlord and Mr. K. were on such intimate terms that each leaned on the other for business and personal advice. Mr. K. grew various farm crops as sugar beets, grain, lettuce, celery, potatoes, tomatoes, etc. From all indications it seems that he was a very successful farmer in Stockton.

Mr. K. is very intelligent, likable, and a good conversationalist. His whole life has been devoted to farming and consequently he is an authority on farming methods and techniques. Mr. Horie told me privately that Mr. K. is quite a philosopher when it comes to farming. However, Mr. K. has the unique distinction among issei to be an enthusiast of all kinds of American sport, as football, basketball, baseball, tennis, swimming, etc. He likes football immensely. He used to attend all the big conference football games on the West Coast. He could name famous coaches and players of the various West Coast teams, and accurately state when certain teams were great. In talking about current football, he
Background notes on family:

He was able to name most of the famous players on the Army team which is considered tops in America. He knows as much about national sports and national team rankings as well as star players as any sports-minded Nisei. In this respect one might say he is thoroughly Americanized. It is very unusual for an Issei to know as much as he does about American sports. In the American grade school he stated he played football one year.

Mr. K. impresses one as being born a conversationalist. He loves to visit friends, to meet strangers, and sit and chat about old times and current interests for hours without end. Mrs. K. told me privately that before the war when they were in California, friends would visit her husband and talk on until so late in the night that she would usually tell her husband in the very beginning that she "would feed them and tea them and sit up with them until midnight" but that after that they would have to feed and tea themselves, as she was going to retire.

Mr. K. has the unusual gift of getting along with people, and he has many many friends. But most of his friends are from the better economic and social class.

Mrs. K. is practically Nisei, except for the fact that she was born in Japan. Her father was an Episcopalian minister in America for many years. He died several years ago; so did Mrs. K.'s mother. From the age of two Mrs. K. has resided in America and has gone through high school here and has had some higher education. Mrs. K.'s mother was a gifted linguist being able to speak Japanese, English, German, French and few other languages. Mrs. K. has inherited some of her traits for she
ISSEI EVACUEE FARMER
S. Kobayashi & family

speaks Japanese and English fluently. Mr. Horie, who is a highly educated nisei issei, spoke very highly of Mrs. K's ability to speak both Japanese and English. She speaks English exclusively when speaking to her children, but speaks Japanese exclusively when speaking to her husband. She is very charming, very intelligent, and very able to express her ideas in the most effective manner.

The children all speak English among themselves and to their parents, including their father. They understand Japanese but prefer to speak English.

Evacuation & Center Life:

The family was first evacuated from Stockton to the Stockton Assembly Center in the spring of 1942. On September 25, 1942 they re-evacuated to Rohwer Relocation Center in Arkansas. The family stayed in Rohwer until mid-1943, when they resettled in Brighton. During the family's stay in Rohwer, Mr. K. stated he actually lived in Rohwer for about a month. Most of his time during this period was spent in travelling about the country in the East, mid-West, North and South trying to survey farming prospects in these various areas. He finally selected Colorado as the best farming ground. During his short stay in Rohwer he was very active in encouraging evacuees, both issei and nisei, to relocate out of the camps. He gave many talks to block and camps groups. He was in complete sympathy with WRA's policy that continued residence was an unhealthy thing for the Japanese from all respects, and that resettling and dispersal of the Japanese throughout the country was the wisest step the Japanese could take, especially when the future is taken into consideration.
Evacuation & Center Life:

One might say that Mr. K. belonged to that pack of "radical" issei who felt that its future was so rooted in America that it was senseless to be dreaming about the "glory of old Japan", and the "greatness of present Japan."

Although his economic and social ties were completely with America, he did not hold in contempt those issei and kibei who still looked to Japan as the "land of paradise" and who placed and hope their faith in Japan winning the war. To verify this, Mr. K. related an interesting story about Rowher center. He stated that upon his return to camp from visiting various parts of the country, Rev. Yamazaki, Sr., (issei Episcopalian minister), was assaulted by a bunch of issei and kibei fanatics who resented certain remarks made by the Rev. with regard to the famed registration, questions 27 and 28, and also to WRA's resettlement policy. Mr. K. came to the rescue of Rev. Yamazaki and at various group meetings attended by issei and kibei, he stated the following:

"It is no secret that many issei and kibei are resentful of America, especially because of the evacuation and confinement in camps. Many of you are looking toward the day when you can return to Japan and live the rest of your lives there. Now, it is the perfect right of any individual to feel this way. It seems to me that for those of you who are thinking of returning to Japan it would be the wisest thing for you to leave the camp and resettle on the outside. Get all the experience you can—in farming, in machinery, etc. After the war is over your experience will be to the interest of Japan. What farm and machine knowledge you would have gained while working outside the camp can be taken to Japan where it can be used to build an even greater Japan."

Mr. K. stated that in these meetings there were always a few radical hot-heads who can never be convinced, but in general most of the issei and kibei came to view resettlement in a different light.
Evacuation & Center Life: (continued)

Mr. K. stated Rev. Yamazaki was again assaulted when he made a speech of similar nature to that he made in Roy. Mr. K. stated he went to Jerome to try to clarify the various issues to the issei and kibei.

From all respects a government official cannot help but view Mr. K's behavior in camp as being admirable. Amidst the confused and restless evacuee community, Mr. K's thinking about what is best for the present and the future of the Japanese was unmistakably clear. He felt that one was simply "rotting" away his life by living in the camp, that resettling in various parts of the country was the wisest step the evacuees can take. His convictions were bolstered by his own actions.

Resettlement & Farming:

Where he was to live and where he was to farm was largely dependent on his children's education. He thought of taking up residence in Boulder, as his daughter Iris and son Nelson were both interested in attending U. of Colorado. He found a beautiful home, which was priced at $13,000. He decided to buy it, but a few families objected to his moving in that district, and consequently he gave up the idea of living in Boulder. (Mr. K. drove me to Boulder and showed me this home, which was situated in the best residential district of Boulder.) Mr. K. philosophy with regard to housing was that if there was one caucasian family in the neighborhood who resented his family moving in he didn't want to create any incident and preferred not moving in.

With the help of some native Japanese he was able to secure his present house for which he paid about $7,000. It is guessed.
Resettlement & Farming: (continued)

Daughter Iris enrolled at Greeley State Teachers College which is located only about 35 miles north of Brighton. Son Nelson went to Boulder for a while, but as stated previously enlisted in the Navy.

Mr. K. operated about 350 acres of farm land in the Keenesburg, on a share crop basis, which is about 18 miles northeast of Brighton. He grew largely sugar beets, but various other farm crops. He selected Keenesburg because it had possibilities in the sugar beet field.

Mr. K's initiated a very ambitious plan in Keenesburg. He encouraged and was able to persuade many evacuees from Rohwer Center as well as other centers to come out to farm in Keenesburg. Mr. K's Keenesburg was a relatively new farm area, with no Japanese farmers operating in the district prior to the evacuees' settlement there. His idea was to develop Keenesburg into a thriving farm community with the evacuee farmers laying the groundwork. On his own farm he hired over 40 to 50 evacuee workers, most of whom were young single men. In 1943 and 1944 there were close to 500 Japanese farmers or farm hands working in Keenesburg, Mr. K. estimated. He thought there were close to 60 or so family units. In 1943, 1944, and 1945 the evacuee farmers in Keenesburg fared pretty well with their farming. However, beginning late 1945 and early 1946, most of the evacuees left Keenesburg to flock back to California.

From early this year, Mr. K. has quit farming entirely, largely because of his health, but partially because of the evacuees leaving for California in such large numbers, which left him short of farm labor.
Mr. K estimated that there were less than 20 family units, all evacuees, now farming in the Keenesburg district. He thought a good number of them will be leaving for California.

Return to California:

Mr. K is very adamant in his belief that there is little sense in rushing back to California blindly, without any house, business, or farm to return to. Even with property to go back to he believes that too many are not faring well, and that too many are paying outrageous prices for property. This is a question which has plagued him also, but he has discussed it with his family, with friends, and with himself and has made a firm decision in this regard. This is what he stated in general:

"Human beings are funny. They like to return to the place where they have lived most of their life. Any place appears not as good as their former place of abode. This is simply human nature.

Late last year and early this year when California was opened to the evacuees, so many of them just scrambled back as fast as possible. It was pitiful because so many of them were returning just because California was opened and they wanted to get back. It was purely for sentimental reasons. So many of them are having a hard time now. Sure there are some who are making good, but the number of those who are making good are relatively few.

"Now, I think those who are returning to California with the idea of working on farms or as labor in other respects, may be it's all right, for wages out there are much higher than here. For instance, California farm hands get $1.00 an hour; here they get 60 cents an hour.

Those who thinking of farming out in California it is unwise to return now. Not only is it difficult to get good land now, but farm expense, especially labor, is very high. Here in Colorado one may not make millions by farming, but one is able to farm and earn an adequate livelihood, as his expenses are not as great as California's."
Return to California: (continued)

"The reason so many of the evacuees returned to California is largely due to sentimentalism. Another thing is that the weather in Colorado is not as good as California's. There is the summer hail which was really bad this year and ruined many farms in northern Colorado. This year it was exceptionally bad.

"The market here is bad also, but this is largely so due to the fact that the produce and shipping business is controlled by a few caucasian shippers and produce firms.

"Housing is bad in California, much worse than Colorado, and I've heard many families are living in bad and cramped houses.

"When the depression comes, as it will surely come, the people in California will be hit harder than people of Colorado. As prosperity may be greater in California so when depression comes around it will be hit that much harder.

"There are many advantages farming in California, but there are many disadvantages also. Now, California has a warmer climate, and as human beings like warmer climate, even worms like warm climate and are found in abundance in California. Here in Colorado, the severe winter kills off all living worms.

"I've always contended that native Japanese farmers have been able to farm in Colorado for over a period of many years, and that if they can do it, so can the evacuee farmers.

"Farming anywhere is about the same. You find successful farmers and unsuccessful farmers. I haven't heard very many evacuee farmers who have returned to California making any big success out there. I've heard a number of cases where the evacuee farmer has regretted returning and wished he had remained in Colorado.

"I've been advising evacuee farmers who intend to farm in Colorado to go into small scale farm which can be operated largely by the family members. In cases of hail wiping out the farm crops, what the family loses is largely their labor. I feel also that evacuees ought to go into livestock and poultry, which they can operate during the winter months when their farm is idle. I don't know why but the Japanese farmers dislike very much working in the cold winter."
Return to California (continued):

"I believe that many of the evacuees who are still in Colorado are waiting for a good opportunity to return to Colorado. Some of them are waiting until prices begin dropping or until some businesses begin selling out for some small price."

**Colorado farming and produce-shipping:**

Mr. K. definitely feels that farming in Colorado is way behind compared to California type farming. California farms are definitely bigger and operated on a big scale.

Mr. K. was most critical of the produce-shipping system in Colorado. He stated the produce sheds and their methods of packing vegetables are far behind California's system, possibly 40 to 50 years behind. He pointed out the packing of celery for instance. The evacuee farmers not only raised better celery but packed them so much better that there was such a market for it since the evacuees came. He believes that farming is greatly dependent on shipping, and that it is not properly done the market can be very poor.

He thinks the control of the produce firms and shipping by a few caucasians deplorable, as the farmers are at the mercy of the few packers and shippers. He thinks something can be done along this line to improve the lot of the farmer.

**Religion:**

Mr. K. does not attend or belong to any church, Christian or Buddhist. Mrs. K. and the children all attend the Presbyterian church in town. Mrs. K. teaches Sunday school. Occasionally the parents attend some Buddhist functions. However, Mr. K prefers his children to attend the Christian church rather than the Buddhist.
ISSEI EVACUEE FARMER
S. Kobayashi & family

24 Oct 46
T. Yatsushiro

Additional data on family's economic status:

When the family evacuated from Stockton, they left much farm implements behind. As they were share-cropping and cash renting their farms, there was no property left behind. The family worked on the farm until the day before evacuation. When harvest time came, the caucasian landlord sent Mr. K. a check for his share of the farm proceeds. Mr. K. spoke very highly of the honesty of his landlord, whom he considers one of his few truly intimate caucasian friends.

It is difficult to assess Mr. K's wealth, but a guess can be made. Mr. Horie told me privately that Mr. K. was a wealthy man and that he can retire for the rest of his life easily. Mr. K. is actually retired now, and although he may return to farming if his health permits and if a good opportunity arises. It is guessed from his past record as a big farm operator and from the purchase of his present home, that Mr. K. probably has a cool $50,000 salted away, if not more.

Mr. K. dresses very nicely and has a 38 Buick sedan. His house is very nicely furnished. It is a two-story frame building with a garage attached on the side and a nice big lawn in front.

Mr. K. had most of his farm implements sent over from California. He has given or sold most of his farm implements to various farmers. He still has some in California. He doesn't seem too concerned over these implements, which may indicate that he does not plan to return to farming.
**Issei-Nisei Relationship:**

Mr. K. firmly believes that the issei era is now over and that the nisei must take over the leadership. He sincerely believes this, although he thinks the issei can assist in this transition by giving pertinent advice and counsel. He stated:

"The issei era is now over. It won't be long now, maybe 10 or 15 years, before all the issei will have died off. The nisei, like you yourself, must take the initiative and leadership. .... We issei are not able to speak English, but you nisei can and therefore ought to have an easier time from now on.

**Integration:**

"You know, the evacuation was a good thing in this respect. It scattered the Japanese all over the country, although there are still some concentrated areas, like Chicago, Denver, and Chicago. The Japanese cannot go back to the pre-war Little Tokyo. They cannot continue to live off each other. They must mix in with the rest of the Caucasian and become part of the larger community.

"I was sorry that the WRA gave transportation money to the evacuees who had resettled in the East and who wanted to return to California. Too many of the evacuees, who were happily resettled in the East, took advantage of this WRA offer just because it was a way of getting back to California free.

"As I said before the issei are no problem now. Their days are gone and over. It is the nisei's future that is important. And the nisei future must mix in with the rest of the Caucasian and become part of the larger American society and not congregate in Little Tokyo like they did before the war."

**Attitude toward U.S. Gov't:**

Mr. K. thought that the U.S. Gov't had treated the Japanese in this country most fairly. He pointed to the study being conducted now. He sincerely felt that such a thing as this study could never have happened in Japan, and that it is so only because it is America.
General Comment:

There is much more data on this family, but the foregoing will suffice for the present. This certainly can be used as a family case study.
This morning at 8 o'clock I left Denver and arrived in young Brighton at 8:45 by regular bus. Mr. John Horie, Issei and my guide-to-be during my stay in Brighton, was at the bus stop waiting to take me to his home. Met Mrs. Horie, who is a Caucasian of mixed 58 years of age. Mr. H. is about 41 years of age. They have been married for over 20 years now. They have no children. Mrs. H. served as a missionary school teacher in Tokyo, Japan over 20 years ago, and there met Mr. H. who was a young student then. Mrs. H. was actually in Japan for less than a year and they both returned to the U.S. where they have been residing ever since.

Mr. H. has his A.B. degree in literature, and was interested in studying for his doctor's. (His work history is in another report).

Mrs. H. is a devout Christian and constantly refers to bible passages when in conversation. No smoking is permitted in the home, and consequently Mr. H. and I would sneak off into the basement or go for a walk when in need for a smoker. All the meals at the home is preceded by grace and bible reading. She is the Sunday School teacher for the group between 40 and 65 years of age at the First Baptist Church located near the H. residence. She is the author of a little booklet titled "Songs of the Night" which consists of numerous short religious verses. (I secured a copy of this.)

Mr. H. is the executive-secretary for the Colorado Japanese Growers Cooperative Association. He holds this job during the farming season (summer-fall), but during the winter months he works as business manager for K. Horiuchu (Issei) who is a shipper of
farm produce, as well as being a farmer himself, and who operates a farm implement store and a warehouse for storing farm produce.

Pre-War

Brighton/Japanese Population:

Japanese

Mr. H. provided me with population statistics for Adams County, excluding East Lake and Welby towns. The population is concentrated in Brighton area, therefore the statistics which follow really cover only Brighton.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Issei, Male</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issei, Female</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisei, Male, dual citizenship</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisei, Female, dual citizenship</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisei, Male, U.S. citizenship only</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisei, Female, U.S. citizenship only</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL POPULATION</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above statistics were obtained from the records of the Brighton Japanese Association of which Mr. John Horie was secretary. The data was all in Japanese, and Mr. H. read off the figures to me. The Association has been inactive ever since the start of the war.

Mr. H. estimated that as of December 1941, the Japanese population for all of Adams County, including East Lake and Welby towns, was 500 (all natives).

In March of 1942 when it was still possible for West Coast Japanese to evacuate inland, Mr. H. informed that hundreds of evacuees flocked into Adams County, especially the Brighton region. In the summer of 1942, Mr. H. estimated the following to be in the Brighton region:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary evacuees</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Japanese</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the fall and winter of 1942 many hundreds of seasonal evacuee workers left the various camps to work on the farms in Adams county, especially Brighton. These were mainly single men.

Beginning early in the summer of 1943 many evacuee families left the various camps and resettled in the Brighton area and began farming.

Mr. H. was very reluctant to make an estimate of the Japanese population in Brighton at its peak. He thought possibly there may have been close to 4,000 Japanese at the peak, which may be sometime between the summer of 1943 and the fall of 1945.

He was very uncertain as to the number of evacuees still remaining in the Brighton region. He said so many have left, that probably only a few remain. It is safe to say at this time that there are about 600 Japanese in the Brighton area, of whom about one-third are evacuees. This is believed to be a conservative estimate.

Community Sentiment:

In December 1941, immediately following the outbreak of war between U.S. and Japan, the Mayor of Brighton, Dr. Wells, called the Japanese to a meeting. At that meeting, which was attended by practically every Japanese family, the Mayor made a very friendly speech advising the Japanese that they had nothing to fear. In return the Japanese farmers pledged their loyalty to the U.S.

Things were relatively quiet with respect to Japanese-community relationship, until 1943 when the Mayor campaigned vigorously for the passage of the famed anti-alien land bill, which would have denied Japanese aliens from owning land in Colorado.
Community Sentiment: (continued):

Dr. Wells was one of the most ardent supporters of the discriminatory bill. Both Mr. and Mrs. H. believed that the Mayor was paid handsomely for his efforts by the sugar beet companies and Italian farmers, who were fearful of competition by the Japanese farmers. Mr. H. stated: "As a man Dr. Wells is a very nice man. I've met him several times during the war, and he was always friendly."

The bill, which was put to a state-wide referendum, was defeated by a healthy majority.

Other than this, there were only two other major incidents during the war and nearby Brighton. One was the breaking of the window of a Japanese store in Brighton. The other was the famed Ft. Lupton incident in which an evacuee farmer was assaulted by a U.S. Attorney. The Attorney admitted his guilt and the case was decided in favor of the evacuee farmer, with the Attorney paying for all hospital expenses incurred by the evacuee.

Since the conclusion of the war community sentiment has been relatively good, there being no minor or major incidents involving the Japanese residents.

Native Japanese and Evacuee Relationship:

At the height of the relocation program during which time hundreds of evacuees flocked into the Brighton area, the relationship between the Native Japanese farmer and the incoming evacuee farmers was far from good. The natives resented the evacuees for various reasons. The evacuees "carried a chip on their shoulders" and looked down on the native as inferior, backwood farmers.
Native Japanese and Evacuee Relationship:

Mr. Horie listed the various reasons for the native disliking the evacuee:

1. "The evacuees displayed a very arrogant attitude, and carried a chip on their shoulders. They acted like they were superior beings to the natives. The natives disliked this. The white people disliked the evacuees for this too.

2. "They dressed in the best clothes and drove big fancy cars and paraded the town very often. I know one evacuee who once drove around the town in his big fancy car practically all day. The native Japanese and the hakujin resented this very much. The evacuees were just showing off.

3. "When the evacuees to the Brighton area, they paid high rental to hakujin landowners for use of farm land. They paid rent as high as $45 to $50 per acre. Now, the local Japanese farm tenants never paid higher than $25 per acre. Naturally, the caucasian landowners raised the rent on native Japanese farmers, as they could get higher rent from evacuees. This infuriated the native Japanese farmers.

4. "During the war the native Japanese tried to make their presence in the community as inconspicuous as possible. The local Japanese Association became inactive. Now, when the evacuees came in they made their presence as conspicuous as possible. In the town they would bunch together in big groups and talked very loudly in Japanese. The native Japanese would try to whisper if they had to speak in Japanese, but no—not the evacuees. The natives refrained from having meetings, but the evacuees conducted meetings for various purposes.

5. "The Adams County war bond committee asked the Japanese in Brighton to subscribe to a certain quota of war bonds. The quota was rather high, as the Adams County officials had discovered that there were numerous evacuees in the community with big bank accounts. Well, the native Japanese bought as much war bonds as they can, but the evacuees hardly bought any. They said they had lost so much due to evacuation, they didn't feel they were able to afford buying bonds. Some stated they were buying bonds in California. Because of the attitude of the evacuees, we weren't able to meet our quota. Consequently, the Adams County officials were quite peeved at us."
Native Japanese and Evacuee Relationship:

6. "From before the war the Italian farmers in this area grew lettuce, celery, carrots, turnips, beets, green onions, broccoli, and radishes in general. Now, the Japanese in general grew cabbage, dry onions, beans, peas, and tomatoes. There was an informal unwritten agreement between the Italian farmers and the native Japanese as to what farm crops they were to specialize in. When the evacuee farmer came to Brighton he began to grow the same crops and specialize in the farms crops grown by the Italians. The Italians got very mad over this. This antagonized the native Japanese too, as it caused the heretofore pleasant relationship between the Italian and native Japanese farmers to become strained somewhat."

Aside from the above reasons for the strained relations between the native and the evacuee is the unstated reason that the coming of the evacuees caused greater economic competition in the farm community.

The presence of hundreds of evacuees in the community made the relatively small populace exceedingly self-conscious and sensitive to community attitude toward all of the Japanese. This sensitivity was accentuated by the fact that U.S. was at war with Japan.

For many years Mr. and Mrs. John Horie were the only Japanese family who resided in town. There were as many as 20 Japanese families living in town during the war. Now, the number has dwindled to about 3 families.

With about 70% of the evacuees having left Brighton area to return to California, the Native-Evacuee relationship has improved very favorably. Both have come to understand each other much better, and there is a good deal of visiting between evacuee and native families.
Japanese business:

There are actually only two Japanese operated businesses in Brighton. One is a grocery operated by Mr. Murakami, an evacuee, located at 12 S. 1st Avenue. The clientele is largely Mexicans and a number of caucasians and Japanese. The store changed ownership once during the war. There never was any Japanese operated grocery before the war.

The other business is operated by Mr. Horiuchu, a native issei. He operates a produce and shipping firm as well as a farm implement store. Mr. Horie, informant, works for Mr. Horiuchu during the winter months, when the former is freed of his work as executive-secretary of the Col. Jap. Growers Coop. Assn. Mr. Horie stated that Horiuchu had an opportunity to expand his business during the war but didn't, as the latter felt it unwise in terms of community sentiment. Mr. Horie stated he was glad that Horiuchu didn't decide against expanding during the war.

Comment:

More data was gained from Mr. and Mrs. H. during various other visits with them, and they will be reported separately.
In company with Mr. John Horie and Mr. Kobayashi, my two guides, I visited the Hatasaka family this evening. Mr. Hatasaka was rather cold and it was difficult to start any kind of conversation. Usually my guide, either Horie or Kobayashi, would start some conversation of local interest as farm conditions, but tonight neither one of them said anything, both of them sitting inconspicuously and reading papers. Not too much was learned about the family, consequently, but a discussion on social problems was very enlightening.

**Family:**

- Father: issei, 55 years
- Mother: issei, about 48 years
- Children: 6 in all
  - oldest is son about 25 yrs, youngest 2 yrs.

The oldest son was recently discharged from the army, having seen service in Europe. An Italian sword was proudly displayed in the living room.

**Farming:**

Mr. H. informed that he has been farming in Colorado for almost 40 years now. At present he operates 160 acres, with sugar beets as his main crop. It is not known whether he owns his land or farms on a share crop or cash rent basis. At one time during the war he had several evacuee families, numbering about 30 individuals, working on his farm. All of them have left except one family that still works for him. Asked about present farm conditions, Mr. H. stated:

"This year's weather has been really bad. It's been so bad I feel like quit farming. But my son doesn't want to quit and so I guess I'll continue. If I were to retire, I'd like to retire in California as the weather there is definitely better."
Farming: (continued)

"The evacuees left my farm to return to California because of Colorado's bad weather."

It is interesting to note that even some native farmers complain bitterly about the severe Colorado weather. However, it must be understood that this year's weather was one of the worst in many years. (This was learned from many old timers here.)

From all indications it appears that Mr. H. has been farming fairly successfully here in Colorado. It seems that he is economically off a little better than most of the native Japanese farmers.

Japanese Association:

For many years prior to the war Brighton had a fairly active Japanese Association, which was composed of practically all of the Japanese families. One of its main functions was the operation of the Japanese language school. Dues were collected from the members. The Association has owned a large building in town, which was used as the Japanese school and for meetings. Aside from the school the Assn. looked after the welfare of the Japanese in the community, as tending to funeral services, sponsoring activities, etc. Since the start of the war the Assn. has voluntarily remained inactive. Nothing has been done to reactivate the organization, and among some members there is some concern about the future of the Assn.

Stated Horie:

"The members must decide very soon what course they want to take, whether they want to continue it, or to disband. Something must be done, as the Assn. still has a good deal of money. We must decide what should be done with the money if the members decide to disband. What do you think about Mr. Hatasaka?"
Japanese Association;

Stated Mr. Hatasaka:

"Somehow, I feel there is a need for an organization for the Japanese here. We don't have to call it the 'Japanese' Association. We can even leave out the word 'Japanese' if that sounds objectionable. But whatever we call the organization, I believe we ought to have it, for who is going to look after the welfare of the Japanese here. "The JACL is doing good work, but it is largely for the nisei. There must be an organization for issei, who don't speak English, and who can understand each other better."

"I believe in the case of the JACL, and they ought to leave out the word 'Japanese'. Just call it the Citizens League. I think we ought not to emphasize 'Japanese' so much from now on."

Both Mr. Hatasaka and Mr. Horie, natives here, agreed that there was a need for an organization. Mr. Kobayashi, an evacuee, remained silent, indicating disinterest. When I asked Mr. Horie what was the general feeling among the membership, he stated:

"I think most of the members are indifferent."

It is felt that this indifference is the aftermath of the war time fear harbored by the local Japanese. It is a feeling of continuing to be as inconspicuous as possible in the eyes of the larger community. However, if there exists a worthy need, which has no political motives, for an organization among the issei it appears to me that there is no justification for continuing to be remain inconspicuous. It seems that taking the ostrich attitude of sticking one's head in the sand in the hope that problems will solve themselves if let alone. Especially because the issei do not speak English well enough and have depended on each other for help for the past many years. The organization will necessarily be temporary, for the age of the issei is so advanced that by the end of 10 or 15 years there will be no issei problem."
Japanese Association: (continued)

The organization will not serve a useful community purpose as looking after some of the welfare needs of the Japanese, but it will assist in fulfilling one of the basic human needs, that of companionship.

At another occasion Mr. Horie informed me that at the beginning of the war when the Japanese Assn. decided to remain inactive, the members voted to give to the Young Men’s Association, nisei organization, of Brighton all the money in issei Assn. treasury as well as the building that it owned. The nisei group refused to accept this offer. Asked why the nisei refused, Mr. Horie stated he didn’t know. It is guessed that the nisei probably felt at that time that such a transaction might look bad in the eyes of the larger community, especially as the issei were aliens.

Buddhist versus Christians:

A number of years prior to the war, Mr. Hatasaka and Mr. Horie (both of whom are Christians) related that Rev. Tamai, issei Buddhist priest in Denver and Colorado, came to Brighton and in very strong terms told his Buddhist following that the Buddhist ought to have their own Japanese language school and not attend the school conducted by the Japanese Association. Following this the Buddhist started their own school. They own a fairly large nice stone building in town. Due to this, only non-Buddhist and Christians attended the language school sponsored by the Association. This was the beginning of a wide split between the Buddhist and the Christians. Both Mr. Hatasaka and Mr. Horie spoke in bitter criticism of Rev. Tamai and his action. They termed Rev. Tamai a “trouble maker”.

Buddhist versus Christians: (continued)

This caused serious rift in the Japanese Association. Both Hatasaka and Horie thought that such a thing as language school ought to be conducted along non-religious lines.

Mr. Kobayashi, my other guide, chimed in to say that the same thing happened in Stockton, California, that the Buddhist formed their own language school and forced the non-Buddhist and Christians to form their own, thereby causing ill-feeling among the Japanese community in general.

Mr. Horie informed that Buddhist and the Christians had a serious rift in the early 1930s. The Colorado Times, edited by Mr. Kaihara, an issei Christian, began publishing strongly pro-American articles and played up the Christian churches. Rocky Shimpo, which was edited by Mr. Toda, began playing up the Buddhist church.

Mr. Horie stated that the editorials and many articles on Buddhism was actually written by Rev. Tamai. Mr. Horie informed that there was no connection between Mr. Kaihara of the Colorado Times and Rev. Uemura, issei pastor of the Japanese Methodist Church; in fact they were not very friendly terms. Apparently this split between the papers and the two religious groups was very serious, creating ill-feeling among the respective religious following. This does not prevail now, as the Rocky Shimpo prints both Buddhist and Christian news without discrimination, and the Colorado Times has the same policy. However, among the more religious minded of the old timers, there are deep scars of this rift among the two religious groups.
Issei versus Nisei:

Mr. Hatasaka feels that the nisei ought to form an organization of their own. He thinks that the nisei ought to take the initiative and lead now, like many other Issei have felt. He feels possibly the Issei can remain in the background and provide whatever guidance and assistance necessary. He feels that the Issei can begin to lean more and more on the nisei.

In his own family, Mr. Hatasaka seem to rely on his oldest son who just returned from army service a good deal. As previously stated he wanted to quit farming because of such bad weather this year, but his son has insisted on continuing and he gave in to his son's wishes.

JACL:

Mr. Horie reported that there has been opposition to the JACL among the Japanese in this area. He stated that among the incoming evacuees there was greater antagonism, as they felt the JACL was responsible for the evacuation. Some of the opposition was due to antagonism toward certain JACL leaders and some to the belief that JACL didn't accomplish anything prior to the war.

Among the natives the opposition is believed to be based largely on the fact that there has been a nisei organization and an Issei organization here, and JACL was probably looked upon as outsider that is trying to break up the status quo of the local community. Of course, a good deal of the grudge borne by the evacuees were transmitted to the natives.
Pioneer issei

Mr. Hatasaka related the story of the most famous of the pioneer issei who lived in the Brighton area. He stated there is in his honor a modest memorial built in the Riverside cemetery of Brighton. (His name is not remembered just now.) This issei came to Colorado in the 1890s and directed the construction of the first irrigation ditches in the Brighton region. He also is known for other community achievements.

Community Sentiment:

Mr. Hatasaka thought that community sentiment was very good at present, and that from now it will be even better.

Dispersal & Integration:

Mr. Kobayashi stated:

"I sincerely believed in the WRA dispersal policy, for I still think that by dispersing and mixing in with the larger caucasian community the future of the nisei will be much brighter. However, look at the situation now. There are still some form of Little Tokyos in Los Angeles, Chicago, and Denver.

"Of course, it's only natural for the Japanese to congregate, especially the issei. Well, look at the Chinese, Italians, and other immigrant groups. They've been in America longer than the Japanese, and they still have a tendency to congregate in their group. I don't think it's fair to expect the Japanese to scatter themselves all over and break up their tight Japanese communities overnight. It will take up some time."
ISSEI EVACUEE FARMER
Thomas Sonoda

After some difficulty in locating the Sonoda farm residence, we finally located it. The Sonodas live in Henderson, which is about 12 miles south of Brighton, and 10 miles north of Denver. On the main road going from Denver to Brighton, you turn right east on the road near "Shamrock Tavern and Gas Station" for 200 yards and turn south for 50 yards where there is the "Irondale School", on the left hand side. The Sonodas live just in the rear of the school. Mr. Sonoda was outside repairing shipping crates. Mrs. Sonoda was inside entertaining an aged Mexican woman friend. As I had met Mr. Sonoda before in Poston camp, where we both were incarcerated, I had every effort to visit him. Mr. S. did not recognize me immediately, but after before long he remembered me. Mr. Kobayashi, my guide, and I were invited into his home where we met Mrs. S. The visitor made her exit soon after.

Family:

Father: Thomas S; issei, about 56 years.
Mother: Mrs. S.; issei; about 50 years.
Children: 3 daughters—all living and working in Chicago.
1 working as secretary at Field Museum.
1 working as secretary at Roosevelt High School.
1 married.
Another daughter is married to Dave Yamaka, both whom were residing in Philippines at the outbreak of the war. Believed to be in Japan now.

Mr. and Mrs. S. live constitute the present household.

Background:

Mr. Sonoda has been a farmer all his life. Prior to the war he operated a farm 550 acre farm for many years in Imperial, Imperial Valley, California. He grew largely asparagus, but had other crops like beets, rice, etc. He was regarded as one of the successful big farm operators. He owned his farm land, although he had a few more payments to make on part of the land.
Internment:

Immediately following the outbreak of the war he was picked up by the FBI and interned. He gave a detailed account of his internment, and remains still is very bitter about it. He stated how the FBI agent came one day and stated "You better pack up, Tom, you're coming with me." He stated he just didn't have time to get his farm and other personal and business matters in order, as he had to leave the very same day. He was most bitter about this. He stated he had some big plans in the making about what crops to grow the coming year, and he had been making definite arrangements. Some of the plans were things he had been thinking about over a period of years. He was very optimistic about his future farm prospects at that time, and internment dashed all his hopes and aspirations to pieces.

He told how he was treated like a regular prisoner, confined in camp surrounded by barbed wire fence, search lights, and machine guns. He didn't like this one bit. He couldn't understand why he was picked up as a suspicious character. He was confined for about 6 months, after which he joined his family members who were evacuated to Poston relocation center.

Evacuation & Center Life:

The family was evacuated from Imperial Valley to Poston camp in May 1942. Mr. Sonoda joined them later in the same year. Very soon after his arrival in Poston, Mr. S. was made the evacuee chief of the Agricultural Department, succeeding Frank Mizusawa, a nisei. The Ag. Dept. in Poston at that time was undergoing an internal conflict with various factions trying to gain power in the Dept.
Evacuation & Center Life: (continued)

So it is especially significant that Mr. Sonoda was picked to head the Dept. He had the personality and the knowledge to cope with the various personnel and farm problems. As a member of the Bureau of Sociological Research in Fosston, I conducted an opinion poll among the adult population with regard to various farm problems. Mr. Sonoda was very cooperative in this respect.

Late in 1943 he left Fosston camp and resettled in Colorado on his present farm.

Evacuation losses:

Mr. Sonoda is quite bitter about the losses suffered through evacuation. His 350 acre farm land has been rented out to tenants through the war years up to the present, and he states that the farm land has been ruined now due to the inexperience of the tenants.

On part of his farm land on which he had a few more payments to make, the original owner had threatened to take it back. He was quite perturbed over this.

He is quite concerned over the indemnification bill which he hopes will pass in Congress. He and Mr. Kobayashi, my issei guide, went into a discussion about the present economic loss survey being conducted by the JACL. Mr. S. stated he didn't receive any forms. He didn't seem to think it was necessary to cooperate in the survey if he had to do this all over again if and when the indemnification bill becomes law.
Present Farm: & Return to California:

Mr. S. owns and operates a very small farm, 7 acres in size. He and his wife live on the farm in a very small two-room house, which appear to be more like a shack. We visited in the bedroom, and felt cramped for space.

He has been growing celery for the most part. He has been getting along fairly satisfactorily the past three years. For one thing he does not hope to make any sizable fortune on his present farm. His philosophy has been "doing some farming which will provide them a livelihood." He doesn't expect more than this.

He likes Colorado's climate so much so that he doesn't want to leave. He stated he hated Imperial Valley as it was so hot there. He prefers the cool and even cold climate.

Status of his Imperial Farm:

Mr. S. informed that he has been approached a number of times by the Kaiser-Frazer automobile firm with regard to the sale of his farm land. There was discovered some mineral or metal substance which is essential to the manufacture of automobiles, in his farm neighborhood. Mr. S. stated that the agents of the Kaiser-Frazer firm and the auto firms opposed to the Kaiser-Frazer firm have been fighting to purchase the land in his area. Mr. S. is not sure what he wants to do. If he does return to Imperial, which is very problematical, he would probably want to retain possession of his farm. However, if he decides against returning in all probability he will want to sell the farm for all he can get.
The Koda Case of Fresno, Calif.

Mr. S. and Mr. Kobayashi began talking about the recent Koda court case, in which the State of Calif. won $75,000 from Mr. Koda, an issei, on a land valued at present at $300,000, on the contention that Mr. Koda was the actually owner of a farm corporation and used illegal means to by-pass the State law prohibiting the ownership of land by an issei.

Mr. S. stated he knew Mr. Koda and about the case fairly well. I believe Mr. S. stated that Mr. Koda is a rice grower. In any case he made his caucasian farm employee, an auto mechanic, president of his farm corporation, giving him about 20 shares in the corporation. This was strictly a maneuver to circumvent the State law which prohibits issei from owning land. Apparently everything went along smoothly, until the "puppet" caucasian president recently decided to betray Mr. Koda by informing the State of Calif. that the corporation was all a phony and that he was merely a "dummy".

Naturalization:

Mr. S. was much interested in taking out first papers for naturalization. He wasn't sure whether he will ever get it, but if the law is amended so issei can become naturalized citizens, he is strongly in favor of taking out first papers. He has no intention of returning to Japan to retire or to work. He feels his future is staked in the U.S., especially so because of his nisei children who are now grown-up.
Social Adjustment:

Mr. and Mrs. S. are quite isolated from either the Japanese or the larger community. They don't have any passenger car at present, although they have a huge farm truck, and consequently visiting of friends is curtailed a great deal. Mr. S. stated that he has put in an order for a '47 model automobile, and expects to get it sometime early next year.

Mr. S. likes Go (Japanese checkers) very much, so much so that he cuts out all the newspaper articles which give pointers on how to improve one's Go game (like Culbertson's Bridge instructions) and has them pasted in a scrap book. Mr. S. stated that he has been dying to play go with someone, but that he hasn't run into any one yet who plays the game, and consequently he goes to bed every night with his Go scrapbook and spends hours studying the fine pointers of the game. When Mr. Kobayashi stated he likes the game, Mr. S. was so delighted to have found some one, that they immediately made arrangements to play together some time in the future.

Mr. S. related how he learned to play Go just as he was leaving Japan for the U.S., and how he used to play the game with his farm employees. He laughingly related how his wife threatened to throw the Go table into the furnace as he sometimes got so involved in playing the game that he neglected his farm.

Mr. S. stated he also likes trout fishing, and that he has gone fishing with friends on a number of occasions. However, Mrs. S. is opposed to Mr. S. going fishing, as he stays out overnight and she feels very lonesome staying home by herself.
Social Adjustment: (continued)

The Sonodas stated that their 3 daughters in Chicago usually visit them during the summer. Whenever they come, they have urged Mr. and Mrs. S. to go with them to Chicago to live. The Ss so far have refused. The Ss have a number of friends in Chicago. One of them is the Marvel Maeda family whose father told me when I was in Chicago 3 months ago to urge the Sonodas to come out to Chicago.

Mr. S. mentioned that they visit with the Uchizonos who farm nearby their farm. The Uchizonos are also evacuees.

The Sonodas seemed quite isolated and lonesome, and it is a wonder they continue to live and farm where they are. However, since they like the Colorado weather and since they expect a passenger car early next year, they seem fairly contented.

Comment:

Mr. Kobayashi, my guide, stated:

"It's simply a pity that a big farmer like Mr. S. is now farming in such a small way and living like he is. I found him to be very interesting. I can tell he's had a lot of education. He speaks very intelligently. I like him a lot, and hope to visit with him more often."

Mr. S. was rather sensitive about investigations, and asked me before I left whether my work was tied up with the FBI. I assured him that it wasn't, and that all we were interested in was getting a general economic and social picture of the Japanese population in Colorado."
In company with Mr. Kobayashi, my guide, a visit was paid to the Sakata family. The family had just finished lunch and were just about to harvest and market onions. However, they kindly consented to talk to us for a few minutes. We didn't feel we ought to keep them from their farm work, so we made the visit as short as possible. As two nisei were in the family I talked to them while Mr. Kobayashi talked with Mr. Sakata.

Family:

Father: issei, about 60 years.
Mother: issei, died several years ago.
Children: Son, Harry, 27 years
Son, Bob, 25 years.

Background:

The family formerly lived and farmed in San Jose. There they farmed on a moderate scale, on a cash rent basis.

Evacuation:

The family voluntarily evacuated to Brighton, Colorado early in 1942. They left no property back in California, and their losses have been slight.

Present Farms & Return to California:

At present they are farming 80 acres, 40 acres of which they own and 40 acres of which they cash rent. Their main crops are onions, sugar beets, and cabbage.

Both sons, Harry and Bob, like Colorado very much and have found farming here to be very good. Consequently they plan to stay here permanently. They don't seem to be particularly concerned about Colorado's weather. For one thing, they haven't been bothered by the hail.
Social Adjustment:

Harry is quite a leader in the community among the nisei. He is an active leader of the Buddhist group, and is also active in JACL. He is quite community conscious.

He thought that the evacuees and the native Japanese farmers get along very well.

When asked what the nisei did in the way of recreation, Harry stated they play baseball, basketball, and other sports during the various seasons. There are a number of nisei athletic teams who play among themselves as well as against Denver teams.

Many of the nisei go into Denver for other types of recreation as dancing, bowling, movies, etc.

From all respects the family seems quite happily adjusted in the community. They feel the Caucasians are all very friendly.
Together with Mr. Kobayashi, my guide, I visited the Nishimura family. When we got there they were just on their way to work on their farm. Consequently we talked outside. I had a few minutes with the nisei boys and a few minutes with Mr. N.

Family:

Father: issei, around 60 years
Mother: issei
Children: George, about 26 years.
Yoshio, about 24 years.
Daughter, married and living in Denver.

Background:

The family has moved about the country farming in various places during the last 35 years or so. Rough history:

1910-1922—Farmed in Stockton, Calif.
1922-1927—Farmed in San Luis Valley, Colorado
1927-1942—Farmed in Guadalupe, California
1942-1946—Farming in Brighton, Colo.

Prior to the evacuation they operated a 400 acre farm, growing lettuce and various farm crops. They were regarded as big farm operators, and farmed very successfully.

Evacuation:

Early in 1942 they voluntarily evacuated from California to Colorado and has been ever since. They didn’t seem to harbor any strong bitterness over the evacuation, and it is not believed that they have suffered any huge loss in the way of properties. They do not own any property in California now.
Farm conditions:

At present the family is farming 60 acres on a cash rent basis. They grow the usual line of crops—sugar beets, cabbage, and onions. When I asked George how farming has been, he stated:

"Oh, we're just gardening out here, compared to the farm we operated out in Guadalupe, California. .... But it hasn't been bad farming out here. The biggest problem is hail here. .... Oh, you can make expect to make a huge profit farming in Colorado, but one can get along."

Mr. Nishimura expressed the same opinion as his nisei sons. The family seemed to be in a fairly secure economic footing, although as George stated they certainly are not making a fortune out here. They seemed fairly contented.

Return to California:

When asked what his feelings were with regard to return to California, Mr. Nishimura stated:

"Mr. Minami, who used to be a big farmer in Guadalupe and who is now farming in Rocky Ford, recently visited Guadalupe and other places in California. I had a chance to talk to him upon his return to Colorado, and he advised against returning to California, especially to Guadalupe. He stated the community sentiment is bad, and that farming conditions are not very good.

"I hope to remain in Colorado. It's not so bad farming out here. The weather isn't ideal here, but one can make a go of farming if he wants to."

The nisei boys also seem to prefer to continue farming in Colorado, at least for a while, if not permanently.

Mr. Nishimura and Mr. Minami, regarded by many as one of the big farm operators in California prior to the war, are very good friends.
Issei and Nisei:

Like a good number of other Issei who have Nisei children, Mr. Nishimura feels that the Issei era is over and that the Nisei must take the initiative from now on. He was exceedingly pleased to know that a Nisei was doing this study for the gov't.

He stated in Japanese, "Nisei ga/shikkari shinakere ba",/which he meant that the Nisei must now bear down and advance themselves in the American society.

Social Adjustment:

Mr. N. related that the caucasians in the community have in general been very friendly. There are only a few farmers who resent the competition provided by the Japanese farmers.

The family is Buddhist, but they are not very active members.

Most of their leisure time is spent visiting friends in the community, or visiting Denver.
In company with Mr. Kobayashi, my guide, I visited the Inadomi family. Mr. I. was busy working out in the fields but he kindly consented to visit with us.

**Family:**
- Father: issei, about 56 years.
- Mother: issei, about 53 years.
- Children: 6 in all, ages ranging from 27 to 9

The oldest boy is married and is now in the army serving in San Francisco, California. A daughter is a senior at Grinnell College in Iowa.

**Background:**
Mr. Inadomi and his younger issei brother operated four general merchandise stores in Oxnard, Santa Paula, and surrounding central districts in California. Mr. Kobayashi informed me privately that they were very successful in business and were quite well-to-do. They operated the stores over a period of many years, expanding their business as they went along.

When evacuation came they sold practically all of their merchandise, but retained possession of most of their stores and properties. These stores are being rented out at present.

**Evacuation:**

The family was first evacuated to the Tule Assembly Center. In July 1943 they relocated to the Gila Center in Arizona. In early 1944 they left camp to resettle in their present location.

Mr. and Mrs. Inadomi went into a long story of how they suffered economically due to evacuation. Mrs. I. related how they had to sell 3,000 pairs of shoes for 25 cents a pair, as they had so little time to get rid of them. Many other merchandise and
and food stuff were sold at ridiculously low prices and at a loss. They appeared rather bitter about having suffered such losses as they did.

In speaking about losses, Mr. Inadomi informed that he is not planning to fill out the economic loss survey form sent him by the JACL as his books are all in California. There appears a feeling, among many issei, that filling out the survey form now may not be of any value to them so just a waste of time. Furthermore, unless the figures are accurate which will involve much bookkeeping, filling the forms out now might jeopardize their chances of getting a fair return for their actual losses. Practically all evacuees, issei and nisei, are vitally interested in the indemnification of losses suffered by them through evacuation, but most of them are prone to do nothing about this until the government passes the evacuee claims bill.

Farming Condition:

Mr. I. has been farming in Brighton for over two years now. He bought 21 acres of farm land when he resettled here, and has been growing celery, green onions, and turnips mainly. He stated this year farming was bad, largely because of the poor market. However, as he uses very little outside paid labor he and his family have been doing fairly well for themselves.

Mr. I. stated he had been a businessman most of his life and had never done farming before until he resettled here.
Farming Conditions:

Mr. I. complained that farming is the most difficult of the various occupations. He stated he isn't a qualified farmer and never will make a success of it. He went into a long winded discussion about the qualifications required to be a farmer which included: 1) He must a veterinarian, as he must be able to treat horses, cattle, and other livestock and poultry animals when the need arises; 2) He must be a thoroughly experienced mechanic, for when the farm equipment or machinery breaks down he must be ready to repair it; 3) He must be thoroughly acquainted with all aspects of farming, about the soil, about the climatic conditions, about irrigation, about fertilizing, etc. etc. and 4) he must be thoroughly familiar with marketing and shipping, for he must be able to sell his farm products at the highest possible price. He enumerated many other qualifications required of a farmer, but the above were the most important ones. This discussion brought out the fact that Mr. I. is quite an experienced businessman, for he looks at farming prospects from practically every aspect. It indicated intelligence as well as shrewdness.

Mr. Kobayashi, my guide and an experienced farmer, told me privately that all the qualifications enumerated by Mr. I. were not necessary in one man, that a farmer can operate a farm and hire skilled men for the various jobs if this is necessary.

Mr. I. stated that since he didn’t feel he had all the various qualifications, he wasn't suited to be a farmer. However, this is pure modesty on the part of Mr. I., for he has done as well as, if not better than, most of the farmers in the region.
Mr. Kobayashi indicated to me privately that Mr. I. is quite a wealthy man and that he is very shrewd and money-conscious. Mr. Kobayashi stated Mr. I. even has his 7 year old daughter, youngest in family, stand on street corners to peddle farm produce. Mr. K. thought this was going too far in an attempt to make money, especially with Mr. I.'s financial resources.

Mr. I. is not completely contented with his farm, but in all probability he will continue farming for a while. However, because of his long business background, it seems almost certain that he will return to business and it will probably be on the Coast.

Issei and Nisei:

Like Mr. Kobayashi, Mr. I. felt very strongly that issei era must is over and that the nisei/now step in the issei shoes and take over. He was elated to know that the government was making a study of the Japanese, and that they had selected some nisei for the job. He thought the nisei understand the issei much better than any non-Japanese. He feels that the issei are now aged and it won't be long before they will pass from the scene. He feels that the issei can assist the nisei in whatever is necessary, but take that the nisei himself must/over leadership and responsibility that goes with it.

Mr. I. and wife are very much devoted to their children, like Mr. Kobayashi. They seem to feel that their primary concern from now is to see that their children get all the education possible and get into jobs that they like. They want to do what their children wants them to do. They are extremely proud of their children,
ISSEI EVACUEE FARMER
Inadomi family

Issei and Nisei: (continued)

and spoke at great length about them.

Mr. I. represents the progressive issei who has abandoned all attachment with Japan and is determined that their future lies with U.S., in spite of the fact that they are still legally Japanese citizens.

Both Mr. I. and Mr. Kobayashi pointed out the fact that there lies the difference between the issei who has nisei children and the issei who has no children or who is a bachelor. The issei with nisei children now feel their future is staked to the U.S., while some of the issei who are single or have no nisei children might not feel the same way. Both stated that this division among the issei was clearly evident in the relocation center during the war years.

Mr. I. feels very grateful to the American Gov't and to be living in the U.S. He feels the gov't has been very fair to the Japanese in the U.S. He believes that the bulk of the American people has been fair, and he is optimistic about the future.

Additional notes on Evacuation:

He feels that the good that came out of evacuation was that it opened the eyes of the evacuees to the rest of the country, other than California. Then, too, it made many the American people more of understanding and sympathetic to the Japanese in the U.S. He feels the dispersal was a good thing, that it opened up various opportunities heretofore closed to the Japanese on the West Coast. He feels that the nisei ought to take advantage of the situation and begin mixing in with the Caucasians and the larger society.
Additional notes on Evacuation: (continued)

He feels that the nisei ought to go into professions and businesses which cater to the caucasian public and not exclusively to the Japanese as before the war.

Return to California:

Mr. I's younger brother, business partner prior to the war, is now back on the Coast surveying business prospects. Since they still own various properties on the Coast, sooner or later it is guessed that Mr. I' and family will return. However, Mr. I. does not feel it advisable to return just now. He operates his own farm and he seems fairly satisfied where he is now.

Mr. I. expressed uncertainty as to what he will do in the next few years. He wants to do what his children wants to do. It is very likely that Mr. I. may remain in Colorado indefinitely, or even stake out for the East.

Social Adjustment:

The Inadomi seem to be happily adjusted in the larger community as well as the Japanese community. There are no Japanese big organizations, other than Buddhist and Christian groups, in the community. It is believed that the family is Christian.

Most of their leisure time is taken up in visiting friends in the community. They are on very good terms with their caucasian neighbors, and they spoke very highly of them. I met Mrs. I. on the street on Oct 26 and she stated they were planning to hold a big Halloween party at their house, and a large number of caucasian children are expected to come. Their children and the caucasian neighbor children get along very well, being playmates.
Social Adjustment (continued)

They feel the caucasians in Brighton are very friendly to the Japanese, and they have not experienced any unpleasantness.
Evening with Evacuee family
S. Kobayashi

Together, Mr. and Mrs. John Horie, I was invited to dinner tonight at the S. Kobayashi home. Apparently just about this time of the year it has become an annual tradition for the Kobayashis to invite the Hories over for dinner. This is in remembrance of the warm hospitality shown the Kobayashis when they first came to Brighton in 1943 by the Hories. The Kobayashis, Mr. and Mrs., lived for a month with the Hories in 1943, while they were looking for a home of their own.

Following dinner the group split into a men and women’s group, with Mr. Kobayashi, Mr. Horie, and I retiring to the living room. Mr. Kobayashi and Mr. Horie carried on a long discussion about various subjects, old and new. Mr. K. told a long story of a Masatsuue Kobayashi, an issei who came to the U.S. from Japan about 1919 and was actively connected with the Salvation Army and a campaign to stop gambling among the Japanese in California. In his attempt to stop gambling a few of his workers were murdered by the gamblers. He collected money from the Japanese and financed his work this way. Many shady aspects of Masatsuue’s life were related by both Mr. K. and Mr. H. One was that he used most of the money he collected from Japanese in California in maintaining a luxurious livelihood for himself. Another was that he was extremely pro-Japan and attempted to influence the issei.

A noted poem he wrote, according to Mr. K., began:

"Open your eyes...
Open your eyes...
For the sake of your country
...........

Rev. Tamai and Buddhist group:

Mr. Horie repeated what he had stated previously about Rev. Tamai, namely that he was largely responsible for kindling ill-feeling among the Buddhists and the Christian in Brighton as well as Denver. This resulted in the break up of the Japanese Association’s sponsored language school, and the establishing
Evening with Evacuee family
S. Kobayashi

Rev. Tamai and Buddhist group;
of a separate Buddhist sponsored language school. This happened several years
prior to the war.

Mr. H. was very critical of Rev. Tamai, issei priest, saying that he
is very limited in education and training but that he goes around telling
people that he received the best education and training in Japan. However,
Mr. H. thought that Rev. Tamai was a fairly good speaker.

Mr. H. revealed that the Buddhist group is planning on building a
huge Buddhist temple on Lawrence Street, between 19th and 20th sts., in
Denver. The land was purchased years ago and much of the money has been
raised.

(In talking with Rev. Tsunoda, nisei Buddhist priest, several weeks ago,
it was learned that the building is to cost $90,000, that $50,000 cash has
been raised, and that $60,000 have been pledged by the Buddhist members. I saw
the blue print of the building, and it is going to be quite an elaborate bldg.
with many rooms and a huge gymnasium. They are trying to get priority to
begin laying the foundation for the bldg. At that time Rev. Tsunoda told me
that he was going to see former governor Ralph Carr, to see if the latter
could "pull some strings" to get the priority necessary.)

Paul Osumi, Issei "Mayor" of Denver:

Mr. Horie went into a long account the shady character of Paul Osumi.
He related how a few years ago he took his at watch to Osumi to be repaired
and never got it returned to him although he went to see him a number of times
for a year. Horie stated a number of other friends of his got stung similarly.
Osumi's connections with the FBI, the local police, and the court were related.
Evening with Evacuee family
S. Kobayashi

Iseesi Leaders in Denver:

When Mr. Kobayashi asked Mr. Horie who were regarded as issei leaders in Denver, Mr. Horie named the following:

- Mr. Kaibara, editor of the Colorado Times
- Mr. Takamine, proprietor of the American Potatoe Company.
- Dr. Miyamoto, dentist
- Mr. Kawano, Buddhist church treasurer
- Mr. Osumi, jeweler, owner of restaurant, self-designated "mayor" of Larimer district.

Mr. Horie spoke highly of Dr. Miyamoto, that "he was a very learned man who can converse on practically any subject."

Dr. John Foote, Baptist minister:

During the war years, Dr. Foote worked among the Japanese colorado.

Mr. Horie had little praise for Dr. Foote and the work he did in Colorado.

He thought Dr. Foote was not too intelligent, especially with respect to his command of his love language. Prior to the war Dr. Foote was a missionary in Japan for about 30 years. During the war Dr. Foote came to Mr. Horie frequently to have various sermons and papers translated into Japanese. Mr. Horie stated often he refused as Dr. Foote's sermons or articles were so poorly written even in English.

General comment:

The foregoing was largely written to illustrate what two intellectual issei talked about during an evening's visit. Some of the information obtained are very pertinent to the study.
In company with Mr. and Mrs. John Horie I visited the Masunaga family. The family lives in a nice home located on their farm, which is in Henderson, 12 miles south of Brighton. When we arrived we noticed many visitors were being entertained at the home, and we decided not to visit with them. However, one of the boys came out and insisted we drop in to at least say "hello" to all the family, so we visited with the family for a few minutes. The house was crammmad with people. Mr. and Mrs. Kosuge, whose daughter is married to one of the Masunaga boys, were present. A report on them will be made separately.

Family:

Father: issei, about 60 years.
Mother: issei, about 55 years.
Children: Jessie, son, about 28 years, married.
          Jessie's wife and week old baby.
          John, son, about 26 years, married.
          John's wife and week old baby.

Actually three immediate families live in this household. I believe I saw a detached house, and probably this is used as living quarters by this household.

The two married boys and their wives became parents about a week ago, the same day. Most of the visitors that came had come to see the two babies.

Farm:

Mr. M. farms about 160 acres, 30 acres of which is his own, and the rest he farms on a share crops basis. He raises sugar beets, cabbage, and onions largely. From all indications he has been fairly successful at farming.
Japanese Association:

Mr. Masunaga was elected president of the Japanese Association during the war years. The Assn. was inactive during this period.

Mr. M. feels there is a need for the revival of the Assn. and feels that the membership must decide soon what they want to do. The Assn. still has the building and money in the treasury, and at least this must be disposed off if the group decides to disband. Early in the war the nisei group was offered the building and the money in the Assn’s treasury, but the nisei rejected this offer for some reason.

Mr. M. thought that if it helped any the Assn. could eliminate the word "Japanese" from its name. He thought this might eliminate some objection that may come from the larger community.

Kenjin Kai:

Mr. M. informed that the Kumamoto ken and the Fukuoka ken people had active organizations prior to the war. These along with the Japanese Association were inactive during the war years up till the present. It was learned that most of the people in the Brighton area, if not the rest of Colorado, are from either Kumamoto ken or Fukuoka ken in Japan. Mr. Masunaga is from Kumamoto ken, and explained that his ken organization was opened to any interested individual even though he may not be from the same ken. There doesn’t seem to be any great interest in reviving these ken organizations. These will probably become extinct, at least here in this part of the country.
At the Masunaga residence in Henderson, 12 miles south of Brighton, I met Mr. and Mrs. Kosuge. Mr. and Mrs. John Horie accompanied me. Some pertinent information was gained from Mr. Kosuge, not so much about himself as to general information.

For many years until early during the war, Mr. Kosuge farmed in Sterling, northeastern Colorado. He did general farming and had some milking cows. He stated the Caucasians in Sterling were very nice, especially the church people.

Probably in quest of better farm land, he moved from Sterling to Greeley in early 1942 and farmed in Greeley until the spring of 1946.

He then moved to Denver where he is now living. It was not learned what he is doing in Denver, but possibly he has gone into some business.

Sterling Japanese population (Logan County)

Before the war: there were about 12 families, a total of about 115 to 120 individuals.

At present: about 9 native families and 1 evacuee families.

Not many evacuees resettled in this region.

Sedgewick population (Northeastern Colorado)

About the same as Sterling at present.

Evacuee versus Natives:

In a discussion about evacuees and natives, the point was made that there existed a conflict between the two groups. Mr. Kosuge stated the natives resented the evacuees because of several reasons. The main reason was that the evacuees paid high rental to Caucasian landowners for use of farm land and caused the normal rent paid by native Japanese farmers to be increased greatly. It was admitted
Evacuees versus Natives:

by the group, which included Mr. Horie, Mr. Masunaga, and Mr. Kosuge, that the evacuees had paid relatively high rental on land in California and consequently didn't think much about paying the high rent in Colorado.

Mr. Kosuge also pointed out that one of the worst sins the evacuee farmers committed was to outbid local Japanese farmers in an effort to get possession or use of farm lands. This infuriated the local farmers, who were usually outbid by the evacuees.

Personal notes:

Mr. Kosuge, issei, appeared to be about 57 years. Mrs. K. appeared to be about 53 years.

Kenjinkai:

It was learned that the Kumamoto ken and the Fukuoka ken were active prior to the war. Most of the people in the Brighton area, if not the rest of Colorado, are from either Kumamoto ken or Fukuoka ken in Japan.
Visit with Sanada family

Planning on going with Mr. and Mrs. John Horie were visiting the Sanada family in Denver and asked me to along, which I did. The Sanadas live at 2415 Champa St., phone 9175, in one of the numerous apartments. Most of the apartment tenants are Japanese. Mr. Sanada was not home when we made the call. The daughter informed that he probably was at the Larimer Pool Hall, so Mr. Horie and I dashed over there and found him watching a pool game very intently. The Larimer Pool Hall is strictly an issei gathering place. I counted about 50 issei.

Mr. Sanada tried to get Mr. Horie to play pool with him but the latter refused. Mr. Sanada informed that a Mr. Kojima, who was playing pool at the nearest table to us, was one of the best issei pool players. Horie finally persuaded Sanada to return home as the Hories were paying them a visit.

Mr. Horie and Mr. Sanada are bosom fishing pals. All night afternoon long each kidded the other about how good a fisherman he was and what a lousy fisherman the other was. It was apparent that the Hories and the Sanadas were on the best of terms.

Family:

Father: issei, about 55 years, unemployed at present.
Mother: issei, about 44 years, working at factory
Children: Son, in army serving in Europe at present
          Daughter, Yuki, about 22 years, factory worker at present.

Mr. Sanada is a very small man, but is a very good-natured soul. He loves to kid Horie and vice versa. Both mother and daughter are good-looking and were very friendly. Relationship among the members seemed to be most congenial.

Present housing:

The Sanadas have been living in their two-room apartment for the past month or so. There is no bath or refrigerator. The parents/kim in the only bedroom, while the daughter sleeps on the couch in the living room-kitchen combination. They are Brighton residents who have recently moved to Denver for the winter.
EVACUEE FAMILY
Visit with Sanada family

Present Housing:
Perishable food are stored in the neighbor's (Japanese) refrigerator. There is no sink, consequently water has to be brought into the room in zk pots and pans. From various aspects the family's housing is far from adequate. However, the family doesn't seem to zmm be too perturbed over it.

Background:
Prior to the war the family lived and farmed in Compton, California. They operated a small farm on a cash rent basis, raising strawberries. They own no property in California at present. Prior to living in Compton they lived and farmed in Fresno, California.

They voluntarily evacuated California in early 1942 and settled in Brighton, where the family operated a small farm. They have been farming for the past four years now.

Farming in Summer, and private work in Winter:
During the summer months the family operate their small farm in Brighton. They grow onion, cabbage, and other general farm crops and have a small poultry beside. Their farming provides them an income which is sufficient to meet all their needs plus a little more.

About four months ago they locked their farm house, declared the farming season over, and came to Denver to live and work.

All three members of the present household are working or about to work. Both mother and daughter are employed by the Denver Bottling Company, which manufactures and bottles "ketchup". The father expects beginning working at a drug store in a week. When Mr. Horie inquired as to the nature of his work at the drug store, Mr. Sanada smilingly replied "porter". When Horie protested that there was no "porter" working in a drug store, Mr. Sanada laughingly confessed that it was a janitor's job. Horie kidded Sanada without end about becoming a janitor, and he advised that Sanada begin practicing sweeping
EVACUDE FAMILY
Visit with Sanada family

Farming .... Private Work... (continued)

and mopping the floors of the apartment.

Denver Bottling Company:

Daughter, Yuki, informed that there are now about 15 Japanese working at the Denver Bottling Company, mostly issei women. She stated she has been working for about 3 weeks now, and the same is true of her mother. About four weeks ago, Yuki informed that no Japanese were working there, but in a few days all the Caucasian workers who were working there formerly were discharged and replaced by an all-Japanese crew.

Both daughter and mother stated that they liked their work. Mother gets about $31 per week, and the daughter possibly more. Their employer is very nice.

Denver Japanese in various jobs:

It was learned that a number of Japanese are employed by a large bakery, which was believed to be the Puritan Bakery Company.

A number of nisei girls have been hired by the May Company, which is still undergoing a union strike, recently and are engaged in the dress alteration department.

Return to California:

The family is very indifferent about returning to California at present. They appear to be fairly happy here. They have no property to return to in California. From all appearance the family is doing just as good if not better here in Colorado at present, than they did in California prior to the war.

Issei Recreation:

Mr. Sanada likes fishing immensely and goes on fishing trips with Mr. Horie and other issei friends quite frequently during the season. He likes pool somewhat and spends his leisure moments in town at the pool hall.
Evans Family
Visit with Sanada Family

Social Adjustment:

Daughter, Yuki, is a Christian and attends the Salvation California St. Methodist Church generally. She stated this a.m. she attended the Buddhist church due to insistence of one of her girl friends.

It was not learned what the parents' religion is, but it seems they are neither strong Christians or strong Buddhists.

This family poses an interesting problem in that they live in two separate communities successively in the year, farming in Brighton during the summer and working and living in Denver during the winter. However, they have a number of friends in both communities, and from all indications the family seems happy. Usually most of their associations are with Japanese.

Fishing is the main recreation for Mr. S. during the summer. He belongs to a fishing clique which goes on weekend fishing trips during the summer quite frequently. In the winter now he seems to be interested in pool playing and goes to the Larimer Pool Hall with his issei friends.

Impressions and comments:

Mr. S. seems to be interested in getting into some good private employment, as working for the government. He asked me if there was any chance for an issei like him to get a job, say as a translator or interpreter. He seems to be disinterested in continuing farming.

It is highly possible that this family may settle in Denver city permanently and work in private firms. With three of them working and no children, it seems they can earn a sizable income, and the work in town will be much easier than farm work. and

Mr. S's married brother and family is resettled in Idaho and operating a farm. He showed me pictures of his brother holding several huge trouts that he had caught in Idaho.

Mr. S speaks a little English and understands more. Mrs. S. hardly speak or understand English. Japanese is spoken in the family.
Mr. S. Kobayashi, issei who was my guide in Brighton just a few days previously, was visiting in Denver and called me over the phone to say that he would like to have me meet Mr. J. Kanegaye, evacuee businessman and a good friend of his. After spending about an hour trying to locate Mr. K. in the Larimer district and his work place, we finally drove over his home. The K. home address is: 3900 Wyandott Street; phone GL 4861. No one was home except Mrs. Kanegaye. Before too long the rest of the family came home, and as it was nearing dinner time we were asked to join the family in dinner. The dinner was completely Japanese, consisting of mainly fried shrimp, fried fish, raw fish, greens cooked in shoyu sauce, pickled vegetables, “kama-buko” (fished processed fish meat formed into an oval shape with the top colored red), rice and tea. I ate so much fish that I broke out in rash. I had a chance to talk to Mr. K., who was in and out of the house constantly (mostly out), and the two daughters at some length, and briefly with Mrs. K. The various chats I had took place in the whole group, as well as privately with individual members of the family. The group chat was interesting in that Mr. and Mrs. Kanegaye and Mr. Kobayashi spoke Japanese exclusively, while Mrs. Kobayashi, the two daughters and myself spoke half-English half-Japanese.

**Family:**

**Father:** issei, about 64 years.

**Mother:** issei, about 54 years.

**Children:**
- Daughter, Betty, about 25 years
- Daughter, Dorothy, about 24 years
- Son, Jackie, about 20 years; Army serving in Japan.

Mr. K. looks very old and impressed me as the unquestioned authority in the family, very much in the tradition of the Japanese family. Mr. and Mrs. K. are very much attached to their children and talked a lot about their son now serving in the Army as an occupation troop in Japan. In fact the whole family seemed to be very proud of the fact that a member is in the Armed Forces.
Like most of the Japanese families, the parents speak Japanese to each and to their children, but the children speak English to each other and half-English and half-Japanese to their parents. From all indications the relationship among the family members of the family seemed to be very amicable.

Housing:

The K.s are living in a very nice two-bedroom house, which is located in the better Japanese residential district. They bought the house when they first came out to Denver in 1945. They paid less than $4,000 for the house, which is probably worth twice that much now with prices at their highest. Some time ago, Dorothy informed that they tried to buy a bigger house in the neighborhood, but due to opposition from one of the caucasian neighbors they were not able to do so. At present with the son Jackie in the Army and not living with the family, the present two-bedroom house seems to fit their needs perfectly. There is a basement room, which has been used as a bedroom when necessary.

Background:

Prior to the war, Mr. Kanegaye was a farmer for many years in Stockton, California. He was fairly successful. Not much was learned about his farm record.

Evacuation & Resettlement:

The family was evacuated to the Rohwer center in 1942. About mid-1943 the family left camp and resettled in Denver.
After months of preparation, Mr. Kanegaye finally established the Denver Brewing Company in November 1945. The firm manufactures Japanese "wine" or sake. Realizing that it would be difficult for an issei to get a liquor license, Mr. K. selected a nisei from friend of his to become the president of the firm, giving him a number of shares. Mr. K. designated himself as an employee of the firm drawing a salary which is much bigger than the nisei president. Daughter Dorothy is also employed at the firm and owns a considerable share of the business. Dorothy informed that they are quite concerned about operating their business under this set-up. They want to incorporate the business, as they think there are more advantageous in this a corporation in terms of income tax returns and business security.

There are now two sake manufacturing firms in Denver. The other is reported to be a much bigger outfit than Kanegaye's.

From all indications Mr. K. is making a financial success out of his business, and he will probably continue to do so for some time to come. Only when a number of sake manufacturers become established and provide stiff competition will Mr. K. face a downward trend in his business. At present his volume of business is increasing, and it will probably continue to do so for some time.

Daughter Betty:

For the past two years Betty has been employed at the Hartner Produce Co. as a secretary. Her is a year-round job for when the produce firm closes down in the winter, she transfers to the Hartner seed company. She seems to enjoy her work. She is apparently a competent secretary, having completed a business college prior to evacuation. She informed that two years ago, there were hundreds of nisei employed by the various produce firms, although she couldn't estimate the number. This year the number of nisei produce workers
EVACUEE FAMILY
J. Kanezay family

Daughter Betty:

was very small, as so many of them quit and left for California. She stated she thought Hartner was the biggest produce operator. Most of the produce workers are men, usually young single men, with women hired for office work. She is very please with the attitude of her employer.

Daughter Dorothy:

As stated previously, is now working at her dad's Brewing Company. She is being groomed by her dad to own the majority of the shares when their firm is incorporated. About a year or so ago, she graduated from a college in Minneapolis. She majored in economics and biology. She stated last summer she took a course in sociology at the Denver U. At present she is acting as the treasurer of the company. Both she and Betty visited Japan for about a year prior to the war. She speaks beautiful English and indicates that she has had college education, as in contrast to her sister who had only business college training.

Return to California:

The whole family seems to be opposed to returning to California at present or in the future. They feel that economically Denver is a much better to be in at present than California. They feel there is nothing they can return to in California, except a critical housing shortage and relatively high cost of living, plus high prices for everything.

Issei and Nisei:

Mr. K. sincerely believes like other issei I've met that the age of the issei is about over and that the nisei must now take the lead in most everything. Mr. K. believes that the nisei must get into business or professions which will cater to the caucasian public and not exclusively to the Japanese. He believes that in the WRA dispersal policy and that the future of the nisei will be much brighter if they didn't congregate as they did in California prior to the war.
Issei and Nisei: (continued)

Both he and Mr. Kobayashi spoke very highly of the performance of the Nisei army units, 100th Bn. and the 442nd Reg. He stated:

"At first issei and nisei in camp objected strenuously to the formation of an segregated nisei army unit. But because they formed such a segregated unit the record of the nisei soldiers became known. Just think, if they had scattered the nisei soldiers throughout the various Caucasian army units, no one would know about the achievements of the nisei today. I'm sure grateful to the 100th Bn. which was the first nisei unit and which was made up of Hawaiian-nisei. It was due to the 100th that the 442nd was formed. If it weren't for the 100th and the 442nd our resettlement in Denver and elsewhere wouldn't have been as easy."

Both Mr. K. and Mr. Kobayashi are very proud of the nisei soldiers. This is certainly contrary to the attitude among the evacuees, issei, kibei and nisei, in camp during the early part of the war, when there was great opposition to having the nisei volunteer or inducted in the army. Of course, the opposition was largely due to their bitterness over the evacuation and the confinement in camps.

Remaining Evacuee Population in Colorado:

Mr. K. felt that most of the evacuees now residing in Denver and Colorado will continue to live here permanently, instead of returning to the West Coast. He felt that the evacuees in general are making a good economic and social adjustment here in Colorado. He felt those who were desirous of returning to California have already left, and those remaining are either planning to stay here permanently or are indifferent about returning.

Mr. Kobayashi stated that 70% of the evacuees who lived in Colorado have left, bulk of the and that the remaining 30% will probably remain here.
Talking to the two daughters the subject of JACL came up. Dorothy informed that there was considerable opposition to JACL in Denver. She stated once assisted in a membership drive and so many people told her that they were opposed to the JACL. Both Betty and Dorothy are JACL supporters, but are not too active in the organization.

Nisei Recreation:

The two girls informed that the nisei usually participate in various recreation as baseball, basketball, bowling, skating, dancing at the YWCA, and general recreation at the YMCA. Also they added a number of the nisei gambled at the Cathay Post.

Impression of Evacuee by Caucasian publics:

Betty told an interesting story of an incident that occurred while they were in Rohwer center, Arkansas. Many of the evacuees visited the nearby hick town quite frequently and usually bought huge quantities of various merchandise. Betty stated that one day, a Caucasian woman resident of the nearby town asked her, “Is it true that all the Japanese are millionaires?” Betty laughed at this as the town had probably never seen business activity as great when the evacuees came to town.

This is interesting in that Mrs. John Horie related to me about the same story. She told me while I was visiting her a few days previously that about 3 years ago, during the war, an evacuee farmer paid $15,000 in Brighton cash for the purchase of a good size farm and house that was owned by a Caucasian. Mrs. Horie stated the whole town soon began talking about this huge transaction, and thought that the evacuees were “millionaires.”
Mrs. S. Kobayashi was visiting Denver with her husband who had a dental appointment in town and I had an occasion to talk to her. There is a long report on the Kobayashi family, evacuee family now living in Brighton, so her background will be eliminated in this report. She is legally an issei, having been born in Japan, but in every other respect she appears to be a nisei. She can be classed a "Yobi-yose", which is anyone born in Japan, therefore an issei, who came to U.S. at a very early age and received some American education. One of the things Mrs. Kobayashi stated, I felt, was important to have a record of. She stated her ideas on evacuation voluntarily.

"I feel that the evacuation had some good points. It broke up the tight Japanese community on the West Coast. It made them throughout the Country. The Japanese got to see the rest of the country, beside California, and America got to know the Japanese..."

"It also made the nisei more independent. Before the war the nisei wasn't too concerned about advancing himself economically. Many of the nisei college grades in electrical engineering or some other profession took jobs as fruit stand clerks upon their graduation. The Japanese were living off each other. The nisei resigned themselves to the fact that they couldn't get good jobs......"

"Now, the nisei and in the East and elsewhere are in professions and jobs which they previously thought were impossible to secure."
Tonight, between 7 and 10:30 p.m., Mr. and Mrs. Umezawa, owners and operators of the Manchu Grill on Larimer St., gave a big party for a number of nisei and Caucasian leaders in the community. Invited and attending were 16 whites (including a woman married to an issei, Mrs. Paul Osumi), 14 nisei, and 2 issei, and one Chinese-American. In all there were about 33 people. The names of the people are listed, as some are important people in the community:

1. Mr. Jack Foster, editor of the Rocky Mt. News.
2. Mr. Robert Fenwick, staff editor of Denver Post.
5. Mr. L. T. Boyer, cattle rancher
6. Mrs. L. T. Boyer
7. Mr. John Boyer, cattle rancher
8. Mrs. John Boyer
9. Miss Louise Evans, exec-sec. of Denver Unity Council
10. Mr. Gifford Phillips, publisher
11. Mr. WilliHansen, with Veterans Adm., formerly with WRA in Amache.
12. Mrs. WilliHansen
13. Mr. George Davis, of North Carolina, now a law student at Denver U.
14. Mr. J. Chalmer Ewing, influential Denver realtor, also with Republican State Committee.
15. Mrs. J. Chalmer Ewing
16. Mr. "Bike" Umezawa, owner-operator of Manchu Grill, host.
17. Mrs. Amy Umezawa, hostess
18. Mr. Min Yasui, JACL
20. Mrs. Paul Osumi, Caucasian.
21. Dr. K. K. Miyamoto, native issei, dentist, influential issei.
22. Mr. Taki Domoto, Jr., formerly operator of big export-import firm on West Coast; currently retired; nisei.
23. Mrs. George Furuta, wife of big businessman in Denver, nisei.
24. Mr. George Kanegaye, evacuee, veteran.
25. Mr. Hank Tsuchiya, evacuee, veteran with Cathay Post.
26. Mr. William Chinn, Chinese-American, commander Cathay Post.
27. Mr. Tom Iwahashi, nisei.
28. Mrs. Frank Torizawa, nisei, wife of owner of Granada Fish Mkt. evacuees.
NISEI-CAUCASIAN Get-TOGETHER
Party given by Umezawa of Manchu Grill

29. Mr. Saburo Tani, kibei, commercial artist, evacuee
30. Mrs. Merijane Yokoe, nisei evacuee, with Modern Foods
31. Mr. Bill Hosakawa, nisei evacuee, with Denver Post.
32. Mr. Toshio Ando, nisei evacuee, lawyer.
33. Mr. Toshio Yatsushiro, nisei traveller

Purpose of the Get-Together:

Very few of the nisei attending the party knew exactly what the purpose was, as I noticed a number of them asking each other the question as well as the host and hostess. Actually it had two purposes: 1) establishing friendly relations between the Japanese and the Caucasian community; and 2) Publicizing Manchu Grill. The first was probably more important than the latter. Over a week or so ago I overheard "Bike" Umezawa and Min Yasui talking about the dinner.

With regard to publicity, it was an attempt to publicize the Japanese as well as the Manchu Grill. The Umezawas have been very concerned about their business future here in Denver. On innumerable occasions they have talked about closing up business in Denver and leaving for Los Angeles, as they sense that the Japanese population in the city, especially in the Larimer District, will not remain in any significant number for very long.

General Comment:

It was a really big party with all the various Chinese dishes, drinks galore, coffee, soda pops, ice cream, and even cigars. The nisei and the Caucasians scattered themselves about so that each got to know the other. In general the party was a big success as far as "selling" the "Japanese" to the Caucasian leaders present.
General Comment:

Everyone, especially the Caucasians seemed to have enjoyed the party immensely. Aside from a few wobbly legs following the party, the whole affair went along very orderly and in a congenial atmosphere.

I got to meet with practically everyone present. A few of them are interesting enough to write a brief note on.

Denver Post:

Mr. Robert "Red" Fenwick, Rocky Mt. section editor of the Denver Post, sat next to me for most part of the evening. He was eating gluttonously and drinking merrily and having one grand time. In between all this he was talking and kidding people around the table. There were brief moments when I caught him fairly sober and learned some interesting facts about the Post and other things. He stated:

"You know I've been with the Denver Post for five years now. I used to live in Wyoming. That's my home state. During the war my boss at the Post used to ask me quite frequently to write some dirty story about the 'Japs' in town. Hell, each time I didn't know what to write about, so I used to go see Taki Domoto over there (pointing to him) and he used to tell me 'Oh, just write about anything.'"

"Well, I guess you've noticed the big change that has come about in the Denver Post. You see the owner of the paper (a Mrs. somebody) is really a nice person. God, there are two Japanese fellows now working on our staff. There is one of them over there (pointing to Bill Hosakawa). He is the one that edits the stuff we write.

"You know, Japan can do a lot more for the Asiatic nations than America can. I don't know why the hell we're out there in the East.

"I visited the Minidoka (relocation) camp in Idaho during the war and I don't how the hell anyone can call that 'pampering of the Japanese by the government'."
Party at Man chu Grill

"You know, a meeting like this actually does more toward establishing understanding among different peoples and peace than can the United Nations. You know, when you sit down with people, eat with them, drink with them, and talk with them, you get to know the other person much better."

There has been a definite change of attitude in Mr. Fenwick, from one of hostility to the Japanese in U.S. during the war to one of better understanding and friendliness. There is a bit of "riding with the tide" trait in Fenwick, that is during the war with hysteria against people of enemy countries at its height he was engulfed in the mass, but with the war now over he seems to feel that there is no particular need for holding war time grudges.

There was, now doubt, a good deal of appeasement in Fenwick's expressed attitude. He probably typifies a good segment of the larger community in his changed attitude.
Cathay American Legion Post:

Met Mr. Bill Chin, commander of Cathay Post, as well as Mr. Hank Tsuchiya, also of the Cathay Post. Chin is a rather young good-looking Chinese-American of about 28 years. He informed that at the end of 1945 the Post had a membership of over 100 nisei and Chinese-Americans, mostly nisei. As of June, 1946, they had a membership of about 50, Chin informed. The drop was largely due to nisei leaving Denver for elsewhere.

The Cathay Post is seriously planning on purchasing their own property and building where they can meet and stage various activities. Their present lease building is being leased to them, and expires in a year or so.

Nisei Veterans Organization of America:

Met briefly with Mr. George Kanegai, nisei ex-GI, who is about 30 years of age or so. He is married, and is an evacuee from California, I believe. He is very closely allied with the Cathay Post members, and is probably a member of the Post. He told me that he is planning to organize all the nisei throughout America veterans in one organization. No time didn't permit me to probe him a little deeper on this subject.

Speaking to Min Yasui following the affair regarding Kanegai's plan for a nisei organization, Yasui stated that he thought that Kanegai was probably talking "through his hat", and that his plan will not materialize.
Former WRA official:

Mr. and Mrs. Willis Hansen, former WRA and Amache center administration man, were present. Mr. Hansen at the outset of the party was introduced to me, and when I told him my mission in Colorado, he stated he was deeply interested and that he had done a lot of work in Amache. He invited me to visit him at his home.

Following the evening's party, Mr. Hansen invited a number of nisei to his home and I tagged along. Mr. Hansen is at present working for the Veterans Administration. He lives at 3237 Alcott Street; phone OR 6767. Office phone: KE 4151, extension 51.

Mr. George Kanegas and wife, Hank Tsuchiya, another nisei veteran, and Mr. and Mrs. Paul Osumi, plus myself were the guests. Most of the evening was spent with the three nisei veterans telling of their war and combat experiences. Mr. Hansen had a little too much to drink and before we left the home, he had already gone to bed. The same thing was true of Mr. Paul Osumi, who with his wife left early.

Mr. and Mrs. Hansen were very friendly, especially because of their previous experience at Amache center.

After we left the Hansen home, Mr. Hank Tsuchiya related that Hansen described Senator Brooks as "hypocrite", as Brooks was outwardly very friendly to the nisei but inwardly was not so.
Paul Osumi:

Mr. and Mrs. Paul Osumi sat across the table from me. Mr. Osumi is generally regarded by the Japanese community as the "self-designated Mayor of Japanese town". He is a short plump issei of about 56 years or more, and his appearance and actions are typical of a politician. He operates a jewelry shop as well as the Ichiyo Restaurant. His wife, who is a caucasian, assists him in the jewelry shop which they have had for many years. I chatted for Mr. Osumi and overheard much of his conversation with Fenwick of the Denver Post. Mr. O. speaks both English and Japanese, but his English is very broken. He makes no secret of the fact that he is the "Mayor of Japanese town". He proudly related to Fenwick of his connections with the FBI, the local police dept., and the local court. Mrs. Osumi informed privately that her husband has never been paid by any of the gov't agencies, but that he has been called a number of times to act as interpreter. But speaking to issei and nisei in and out of town, the story is that Mr. Osumi was actually employed by the FBI and other gov't agencies making investigations. Min Yasui and others reported that Mr. O. is a big racketeer with respect to court and police cases involving Japanese. The report is that ties with the police dept. and court permits him to get any Japanese released from arrest. He then turns around and collects a certain fee from the released Japanese, and this fee he splits with the police or court. It is also reported that he has some connection with the Cathay Post gambling house. He proudly admits that whenever the police dept. arrests any Japanese, they immediately calls him up and he attempts to secure the release of the Japanese.

Mr. John Horie and other issei have reported to me that Mr. Osumi is the most "crooked" jeweler. Mr. Horie stated a few years ago he brought his watch to Osumi to have it repaired, but that Osumi never repaired it or returned it to him over a period of a year, although he had inquired sometimes to...
obtain it a number of times. In disgust, Mr. Horie stated he simply gave up trying to get his watch. He thought that Osumi had sold his watch to some customer. Horie reported that the same thing happened to a number of his issei friends.

Osumi proudly boasted to Fenwick that he has been living in Denver for the past 43 years now. He claims that he is the oldest living Japanese in town, that is having resided in Denver continuously.

He is very friendly, but he impressed me as one who is trying to make himself look important in the Japanese community. It is not believed that he is too popular among the Japanese.

He thought the party was a good idea and stated:

"I'm gonna make a party too. I wanna invite all the people to my restaurant one night for a big party!"

He began giving out to as many people as possible his call card, and took down names and addresses of as many people.
Only a brief chat was had with Goro Sakaguchi, a native nisei of about 26 years of age, as he was with friends. He and his family have been farming in Brighton for many years now.

Farming in Brighton:

Goro felt quite happy and stated that this was because they had just completed harvesting their sugar beets, which means the end of the farming season for this year for them. He also stated, "Some of the other farmers, mainly evacuees, have just begun to harvest their sugar beets; I sure feel sorrow for them."

Goro stated that sugar beets market has been very good this year with the price at its highest, $13.00 per ton.

Brighton's Young Men's Association:

It was learned that Goro's brother, Kay, was the president of the Y.M.A. of Brighton until the outbreak of the war, when the organization became inactive. The Y.M.A. is strictly a nisei organization and is a counterpart to the Japanese Association which is mainly an issei organization that existed actively in California as well as Colorado. I attempted to get some data on the Y.M.A. of Brighton but Goro stated that he didn't know much about it, saying his brother was very active. He did say that the organization was very active prior to the war. They sponsored dances, parties, and other activities. From what could be gathered it was largely a social club.

Tie between Brighton and Denver:

Beside Goro there were many other nisei from Brighton, as well as Littleton and other nearby farm areas. To visit Denver especially on an occasion like this is a common occurrence for the Japanese farmers farming nearby Denver.
Met Miss Annie Takamatsu, whom I had met briefly before and wrote a report on, at the YWCA dance tonight. She is a single nisei of about 25 years. She and her family, which consists of her mother and a sister, live here in Denver. Prior to evacuation they lived in the Sacramento Valley region. I believe she stated she and her family evacuated to Granada. (Other data on her background is found in a report written earlier.)

Occupation:

For the past year or so she and her sister have been working as housemaids. It is not known what she earns, but it is believed to be between $50. and $100. Annie has been fairly happy in her housemaid job, but she has been looking for some other kind of private employment. She informed that beginning next week she is going to work for Dr. Miyamoto, a native nisei dentist of Denver. She stated her job will be as secretary-receptionist. She is quite thrilled about taking on this new job. She bashfully stated, "I don't know what kind of a receptionist I'll make, probably a poor one."

She also informed that her sister is planning to quit her job as a domestic, and that she might go to school or accept some other kind of work.

Although the domestic work pays very well now, about four or five times more than the pre-war wage, as well as provide the nisei with room and board, it does have definite drawbacks, especially for the young marriageable age nisei girls. It does not provide the young nisei girl much chance to associate with nisei fellows, as they live and work in the pure white residential district which is in "tabu" to the Japanese. That is the reason so many of the girls who attend the dances are housemaids, as it is the only time they really have a chance to mingle with nisei fellows as well especially those of marriageable age, as nisei girls. The girls feel that the longer they seclude themselves from nisei fellows the less will their prospects for marriage be. Especially,
Occupation: (continued)

Nisei girls who are 24 or 25 years or over are very much concerned about their marriage prospects. Like all women they feel that if they don't get regarded married soon, they'll be too old for marriage, and they fear the possibility of becoming an "old maid."

It is not believed that Annie will earn very much more than she is at present as a housemaid. However, she feels that the job itself is an advancement. Furthermore, the new job will give her a chance to associate with Japanese, and a chance to meet Nisei. It seems that she feels much happier working among Japanese than among Caucasians exclusively. Considering the fact that she now has to pay for her own room and board is overlooked by Annie.

General comment:

From all indications it seems that Anne and her family is planning on staying in Denver indefinitely. She does not seem anxious to return to California. For one thing she and her family have nothing to return to. She informed that her bosom friend, Mary Hamahoshi, who left Denver to go to San Francisco a few weeks ago, wrote her and stated "she missed Denver very much". She and her family have been undergoing an adjustment period in Denver, but it appears that they have been able to solve their various problems rather satisfactorily. She seems to be rather happy in Denver.

Peeking through the "Winchell keyhole" it looks like Anne and my good friend Harry Kohama are little better than mere fridays. "Dan Cupid, where art thou?"
Met Miss Marion Mimaki at the YWCA dance tonight. She was being escorted by Mr. Hideo Murata, a native nisei I had met in Brighton about a week ago.

Marion is a nisei evacuee of about 24 years of age. She has been working as a "domestic" for the past year or so. She stated she has been receiving $80. per month. She rather enjoyed her work. For one thing she stated it not only gave her an income, but it provided her place to inexhibit live as well as board. Consequently what she earned was clear profit.

She informed that she is quitting her work and leaving Denver soon to join her parents who are now living in Whittier, California. She stated she has been trying along with her employer to find a nisei girl to replace her at her place of work, but to date she has been unsuccessful. They tried getting a nisei girl through the Yamato Service Bureau, but the latter stated that they can never locate a girl who will accept the job for $80. per month, as most of the nisei girls are now asking $100. to $125. per month. Marion's employer stated that she is unable to pay more than $80. per month. Marion's male employer is operates a private interior decorating firm.

Marion informed that her parents are in the floral business in Whittier. I believe it includes greenhouse work also. She stated that they are doing very well out there in their business. The family thinks very highly of Whittier, as the people have been very nice. She is looking forward with eagerness to returning to California and joining her parents. She is the only one in the family in Denver at present.
After spending some time at the JAACL-NWAA carnival, I went over to the YWCA and witnessed the nisei Thursday Night Dance Group from about 11 to 12 p.m. The dance was well attended, with many of the nisei pouring in from the carnival. I estimated that there were close to 500 people, with the usual ratio of 2 boys to every girl. The usual negro orchestra furnished the music. There were a number of nisei farmers from the nearby farm areas, especially Brighton.

I met a number of people I knew and talked to a number of strangers. Separate report will be made of few of the individuals I talked to.

In general the dance was very orderly, and it seemed that everyone enjoyed himself.

Zoot Suiters:

The zoot suiters seem to be inevitable at these dances. There were only few however, and they behaved themselves quite well. One leading zoot suiter was thrown out of the hall by Miss Arline Brauer, group advisor, but this was because he had failed to pay the 40 cents admission. Apparently he paid his admission as he was seen back in the hall dancing very prominently.

The zoot suit fad seem to be wearing off, but the fad now among the young nisei seems to be wearing loud lumberjack shirts and dangling outside the trousers and blue jeans rolled up high at the cuff. A good number of the nisei were seen dressed in this fashion at this dance. This a fad is a popular national fad among college women, as it has been given much publicity in the Life magazine and other fashion and college magazines.
New Clothing Regulation:

Beginning from the next dance, two Thursdays hence, it was announced to the group by Advisor Miss Brauer that blue jeans rolled up at the cuff and shirt tail dangling outside the trousers will be strictly prohibited. There were some other minor regulations regarding proper attire at the dances. These regulations are probably for the best as otherwise the dances will tend to become rowdy and spoil the evening for those nisei who are out to have some nice clean fun. This is quite a drastic step for Miss Brauer to take as she told me some time ago that she was opposed to making strict clothing regulations.

Jitter-bugging:

About every third dance or so was a jitter-bug number. When strictly played, only about half a dozen partners were seen dancing. They were all polished jitter-bug dancers, and the crowd simply watched them. It seemed to me that jitter-bug numbers should have been cut down to a minimum, as most of the nisei simply won't dance.

General Comment:

The Thursday night dance still seems to be very popular among the nisei. The main reason is that it is the only regularly staged dance to which the nisei can go and enjoy himself. Here they seem to feel at ease mainly because they are among fellow nisei. To many of the Denver nisei and especially the rural nisei the dance is something they look forward to. The nisei on the farms work on the farm day to day and hardly gets a chance to see very many nisei, and the dance gives them a chance to meet with nisei from Denver and other areas, some friends and others new faces. For one thing the dance is fulfilling a real need of the nisei for some form of clean recreation.
Produce Worker
ex-GI George Oi

I had a brief chat with George Oi, an ex-GI and a nisei of about 25 years. He is a good friend of Harry Kohama, a nisei friend who was with me at that time.

George informed that his family, parents and brothers and sisters, were all in Washington State at present; I guess he said farming.

George was married recently, following his discharge from the army. He stated his wife is now in the hospital, and the doctors suspects she has appendicitis.

At present he is working at the Hartner's Produce Company, packing and preparing vegetables for shipment out of state. He is not at all interested in continuing his present work, and is doing it mainly because it provides him with an income.

He is deeply interested in going into business himself. He talked of the possibility of going into the trucking business, trucking farm crops from Colorado to Los Angeles. He feels there is good prospect of undertaking such a business. He stated he has written his brothers in Washington state to come out to Colorado and begin organizing such a business. He thought one of two of his brothers could be stationed in Los Angeles and he could manage the Colorado end of the business. Whenever there is a demand for certain farm crops, his brother there could phone him and notify him of such demand, and he or one of his other brothers could haul the desired farm crop from Colorado to L.A.

George is a very friendly chap and he appears very optimistic about his economic future.
The JACL and NWAA (Nisei Women's Athletic Association) sponsored a two-night carnival which was held at the People's Tabernacle located at 20th and Lawrence Streets on October 31st and November 1st.

I attended both nights. There were probably about 400 people the first and 600 the second night, for a total attendance of about 1,000. The crowd was overwhelmingly nisei with young children and adults.

The recreational hall of the Tabernacle was rented for $100 for this purpose.

The carnival had the usual variety of concessions and games, as milk bottling baseball game, bingo, dart throwing, string pulling game, penny throwing game, queen contest, raffle, door prizes, cake auctioning, lei selling, soda pop, doughnut, and other food concessions.

Bingo was probably the most popular games as good prizes were given away.

The raffle (50 cents per ticket) was one of the main attractions with expensive prizes, as radio-phonograph combination, Roger Silver set, and electric clocks. The raffle took place the last night as the climax of the whole carnival.

Door prize raffles (10 cents per ticket) was conducted both nights and proved to be rather popular with fairly good prizes given away.

The queen contest was another main attraction with six girls from the NWAA and five girls from the JACL competing. The voting for the queen was on the basis of penny a point. Huge pictures of the contestants were pinned on the wall with a slot box beneath...
CARNIVAL
JACL-NWAA sponsored
each picture. People deposited as much money for their favorites.
Miss Marijane Yokoe was crowned JACL queen and Miss Masaka Murata
the NWAA queen.

Aside from the raffle prizes, all the prizes were donations
from the various Japanese businessmen in Denver. The prizes were
mainly household goods and groceries.

The finances have been figured out as yet, but it is believed
that about $700 to $800 profit was realized, possibly less.

Entertainment Need:
The carnival was largely a money-making proposition for the
JACL and NWAA, but it provided some fun and entertainment for the
nisei including children. A number of parents were present with
their young children.

It was learned that this was the third carnival staged by
the nisei in the past year and a half. The NWAA sponsored one
late last year. The California St. Methodist Church sponsored
another early this year.

NWAA-JACL:
There was much complaint against the JACL by the NWAA members,
as it was charged that the NWAA were putting up most of the booths
and doing most of the work, while the JACL members were doing very
little. It is partially true, as very few JACL members came to
pitch in with the staging of the carnival. As a matter
of fact I was dragged out of the office (JACL) to help build a
JACL booth all Friday afternoon and operate it by myself all Friday
night. (I did this rather reluctantly mainly because I was busy,
but due to the insistence of Min Yasui and Tosh Ando I consented
feeling that it was in part compensation for the use of the JACL office.)
NWAA-JACL:

The lack of sufficient numbers of JACL members coming to assist in the staging of the carnival seems to only verify the complaint made often by Min Yasui that there is a definite lack of interest and cooperation among JACL members. Although this is quite true, it also appears that there is poor organization among the JACL members. A few are doing everything, while the mass is idle. There seems to be too much reliance on people who are of the upper economic and social strata, who have little time to devote to the various JACL activities. Responsibilities and organizational work ought to be delegated to those who are of the lower economic and social strata. They may be young and inexperienced but unless their interest and cooperation are solicited the JACL will become an organization for the "social elites", as the charge is often heard. In many ways it has been necessary for the JACL to work with and gain the support of the nisei who are economically/better off, as the organization obtains much of financial support from these people. However, if this/continued the organization will never be able to expand its influence among the nisei, and will only increase nisei indifference and even hostility toward the organization, the age-old criticism that JACL is only for the "upper crust".

General comment:

Although I wasn't able to circulate among the people Friday night because I had to operate the baseball (JACL) booth, but I got to talk to a number of nisei on Thursday night. Some of these brief chats will be reported individually.
Had a brief chat with ex-GI Sat Yamamoto at the JACL-NWAA carnival tonight. Sat is a nisei of about 27 years of age. He is single. His family formerly lived on the West Coast, but at present they are living in Denver. However, he doesn't live with the family. He was recently discharged from the army, and has been attending Denver U's law school. He informed that he has about a year and a half to go before he gets his degree.

Asked what his plans for the future were he was very undecided. He stated he would like to get connected with an acaucasian law firm after he finishes his law training. He thought this way he could advance much faster. Also he thought becoming dependent on Japanese trade exclusively was not healthy for the future of a nisei lawyer.

Sat was very disinterested in talking about his family or about the family's background. He seemed to be quite separated from his family as he is living away by himself. When I asked where his family lives, he stated "Oh, all over town."

Sat appeared to be a very intelligent and ambitious chap. He has a very pleasing appearance, and will probably do well in the law business after he completes his schooling.
Had a casual chat with an evacuee nisei farmer who has been farming in Brighton. He is a nisei of about 26 years of age, and is an ex-GI. Prior to the war he and his family lived and worked on a farm in California. He informed that his family returned to California, and that he is the only one here in Colorado at present.

For the past year he and another nisei has been share-cropping a 25-acre farm in Brighton. They put in 16 acres to sugar beets and the balance to canteloupes and few other crops. He stated that they have just harvested their sugar beets and have completed their farming season. He stated this year's sugar beet price has been very good the highest ever, $13.50 per ton. He stated next it would be even better with government a $1.00 more subsidy to all sugar beet farmers. He stated he wished he had grown more acreage of sugar beets for he could have made much more money. He stated that his canteloupe was ruined by the summer hail. Otherwise, he thought he could have cleaned up, as price of canteloupe was relatively high early in the summer this year. He informed that his farm yielded 18 tons of sugar beets per acre, which he thought was very good for Colorado. Some farmers got even better per acre yield of sugar beets. He stated in California an acre yielded as high as 30 tons of sugar beets, but that here in Colorado the average was much lower. He spoke about sugar contents, and informed that his averaged a little better than 15 points, which is slightly below the 16.5/minimum which is necessary to get/$13.50 per ton price.

He informed that Doizaki of Brighton will be among the 10 best sugar beet farmers in the northern Colorado region for this year, and will consequently be invited to a special banquet given by the Great Western Sugar Company and given some kind of a reward. He stated that Doizaki produced some sugar beet weighing 24 pounds, which he thought was quite large. He stated his farm yielded some sugar beet which was even heavier than 24 pounds.
He informed that Doizaki won a cash prize of $10 for raising the biggest sugar beet. He said he didn't know about the contest and felt he could have easily won it if he had known about it.

When asked what farm experience he had in California, he stated merely as a farm laborer. This is the first time that he actually operated a farm by himself. Considering his age and his experience it seems remarkable that he has been able to operate the farm rather successfully and also that he knows so much about farming. He thought farming was relatively simple, that one only needed some equipment. He made farming rather attractive as an occupation.

**Educational interest:**

He definitely wants to quit farming as he is interested in enrolling at some college. He inquired about school prospects in the East. He is anxious to get into a well-known big school. He is not sure what he wants to major in. As an ex-OI he will take full advantage of his educational privileges.

**Social Adjustment:**

Not much was learned about his social life. It is know, however, that he spends a good deal of his leisure time at the Silver Dollar where a number of his nisei friends are.
The following breakdown on the number and kind of business operated by Japanese in Denver city is taken from the "Colorado Nihonjin Denwa Sho and Business Directory, 1946". A few of the business listed in the directory have gone out of business since the directory was published, but also true is that the newspaper ads were scanned and the news ones have been added. A number of non-Japanese businesses are listed are these have been eliminated for this breakdown. The statistics are believed to be at least 90% accurate.

Just counting the businesses and establishments listed in the directory, the number totals 296. However, these included the Buddhist and Christian Churches, JACL, a couple of caucasian operated mortuaries, WRA, and a few caucasian operated businesses, as well those businesses that have quit. These will be eliminated for this breakdown.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Business or Profession</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tr>
<td>Apartments</td>
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<td>Auto Service</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Beauty Shops</td>
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<td>Carpenters &amp; Paper Hangers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clothes Cleaners</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dentists</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dressmakers</td>
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<td>Fish Markets</td>
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<td>Fruit &amp; Vegetable Markets</td>
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Grand Total ....................................... 258