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The assimilation of the Japanese in and around Stockton

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The Assimilation of the Japanese
" " " " " "
In and Around
Stockton

By

Horace F. Chansler

May 15, 1932

A Thesis
Submitted to the Department of Education
College of the Pacific

In partial fulfillment
of the
Requirements for the
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To My
Father and Mother
Who have given constant encouragement

PREFACE

The problem of the Japanese in California has been prominent since the opening of the twentieth century. Much has been written in an attempt to help solve the problem. Yet the general trends of the writings prior to the Johnson Immigration Law of 1924 were to deal with the Japanese just coming into California rather than with those who were born here or had established permanent residence. Yet after the Immigration Law went into effect the problem of preventing undesirable Japanese from entering California became extinct. The problem no longer centers around exclusion but rather around "inclusion". In short the problem has changed from immigration to Americanization and assimilation.

The Japanese who were born in California or any other part of the United States are as truly American citizens as anyone and are entitled to share the full benefits of government. But in the true sense of the word if they are to be and remain good citizens, they must not only be acquainted with the American Government but with American customs, American ideals, and with the "American language". In short, the Japanese must be in a certain sense assimilated.

The purpose of this study is to find out if the

younger generation of Japanese are really becoming assimilated, which in turn will largely determine the kind of citizens they will be when grown.

I have chosen the school primarily as a laboratory for this study with the home and the church closely allied.

Contents

Chapter	Page
I. Approach	1
A. The criterion of assimilation. . .	
III. Historical background.....	10
A. Japanese in California.	
1. Population.	
2. Community life.	
3. Contributions.	
III. Home life.....	33
A. Parental training.	
B. Attitude of the children toward the parents.	
C. Attitude of the parents toward the children.	
D. Home furnishings and diet.	
IV. Japanese pupils in the public schools....	37
A. Number.	
B. Attitudes of the Japanese.	
C. Attitude of the teachers toward the Japanese.	
V. The Japanese language schools.....	42
A. Purpose of the schools.	
B. Contributions that they are making.	
VI. The Japanese Associations.....	46

- A. The founding of the associations.
 - 1. Number and membership.
- B. The contributions of the associations.
- VII. The assimilative influence of religious training..... 51
 - A. Religious education.
 - 1. The work of the Japanese Interdenominational Board of Missions.
 - 2. Stockton Japanese Churches.
 - a. Presbyterian.
 - b. Buddhist.
- VIII. Conclusions..... 55
- IX. Appendices.....
- Bibliography.....

APPROACH

CHAPTER I

The Criterion of Assimilation

The question of assimilation is found in the very heart of the Japanese Problem in California. The centering of the problem throughout the years has been around the one crucial point; namely, the question of assimilation. If it is found that the Japanese are unassimilable, then all moves which have been made for their exclusion are perhaps defensible. Yet, on the other hand, if it is ascertained that the Japanese are assimilable and many of the accusations against them are false, then I believe a different attitude toward their exclusion should be taken. However in this particular study I will be dealing with the Japanese already settled in California.

According to Webster, "Assimilation" means the act or process of bringing to a likeness or to conformity. A great deal of confusion arises from the ambiguity of the term. Its interpretations vary from the idea of a most superficial imitation of dress and manners to that of an uncontrollable process of biological resemblance or identity. Those using the term in the former sense, in face of the fact that the Japanese in their midst dress, talk and live like Americans, consider it indisputable that they are assimilable. Those who use

the word in a narrow sense of ethnological similarity, on the contrary, insist with equal conviction that the assimilation of the Japanese is impossible. Neither is entirely wrong in reasoning, for assimilation according to the accepted diction means the process of bringing to a resemblance, conformity or identity--it is a relative term. Therefore, in order to determine whether it is possible for the Japanese to become Americanized, or assimilated, it is necessary to set a standard by which the process can safely be gauged. Without some criterion it is absurd to say either they are or are not assimilable. If the standards be fixed at physical identity with Americans, the Americanization of the Japanese is hopeless--at least for a few generations; but if it be fixed at conformity with American customs and social orders, the Japanese have to a certain degree already been assimilated. The latter gauge, conformity with American customs and social orders, will be used in determining to what extent the Japanese are becoming assimilated.

The supreme laws of the land as well as the traditions and customs do not deny a person born in America the right of citizenship, regardless of his race or color. Hence it would apparently be un-American to make racial similarity the standard of assimilability.

America cannot maintain its own rights and honor among the family of nations without upholding its individuality; but America individuality does not exist in ethnological unity alone. It consists more in cultural and spiritual solidarity. One criterion of Americanization is unmixed devotion and allegiance to the cause and welfare of the United States. Not the kind that is compelled by force of imposition, but born of voluntary and unrestricted participation in American culture and ideals, religion, and industry; in short, in the entire American life.¹

The essence of Americanization or assimilation was elucidated in simple, and beautiful words by President Wilson in his memorable speech delivered at Philadelphia in 1915 before an audience of naturalized citizens. He stated in part:

...This is the only country in the world which experiences this constant and repeated rebirth. Other countries depend upon the multiplication of their own native people. This country is constantly drinking strength out of new sources by the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward looking women out of other lands. And so by the gift of the free will of independent people it is being constantly renewed from generation to generation by the same process by which it was originally created.

You have taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom?...to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race...You cannot dedicate yourself to America unless you become in every respect and with every purpose of

¹ T. Iyenaga and K. Sato, Japan and The California Problem, 153.

your will thorough Americans. You cannot become Americans if you think of yourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American...

My urgent advice to you would be, not only always to think first of America, but always, also to think first of humanity. You do not love humanity if you seek to divide humanity into jealous camps. Humanity can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy and hatred. ¹

The next question which may arise is whether the assimilation of the Japanese necessitates intermarriage. William D. Stephens, ex-governor of California, states that Japanese exclusion is "based entirely on the principle of race self-preservation and the ethnological impossibility of successfully assimilating this constantly increasing flow of Oriental blood."² Yet on the other hand, Mr. Iyenaga in his book, Japanese and The California problem, refutes the statement by saying that, "racial amalgamation is not a prerequisite of assimilation".³

He further states that "the strong influence of environment on the physical and mental make-up of man reveals that race inter-mixture is not the only way to Americanize or assimilate the Japanese."⁴

¹ T. Iyenaga and Sato, Japan and the California Problem, 155.

² State Board of Control of California, California and the Oriental, 15.

³ Ibid, 162.

Today it is believed that American-born Japanese children are fast departing from the type which their parents represent.

From an extensive physical examination of Japanese children in twenty different grammar schools in California, conducted by the Japanese Educational Association of San Francisco, it was found that the Japanese children here are from one to two inches taller than children in Nippon; that in weight they are from three to seven pounds heavier; that they have fairer skin when compared with that of parents born in Japan; that their hair is dark brown and not jet black, as is that of their parents; and that their general posture is much better than that commonly seen among children of Japan, as observed by members of the association.¹

In their manner, address, and temperament, these boys and girls are American, with an unconcealed air of American mannerism. In their fluent and natural English, in their frankness and bold recklessness, in their dislike of little irksome tasks and love of big and adventurous undertakings, in their chivalry and gallantry, these young people are wholly Americans. And in many

⁴ Op. Cit., 163.

¹ Iyenaga and Sato, Japan and the California Problem, 165.

cases, they are no longer recognizable as Japanese except in their physical features.¹

The parents and older Japanese who have come as immigrants to California, are very desirous to master English. They realize that learning the language of the country is one of the prerequisites of becoming Americanized. Mr. Kawakami in his book, Asia at The Door, states that:

...the Japanese in California are as steady in the pursuit of knowledge as they are industrious tillers of the soil.²

Mr. J. D. Mackenzie, ex-commissioner of Labour Statistics of California, conducted a special investigation among the Japanese of the State, and made the following report:

...one of the surprises of the investigation was the fact that almost every Japanese whether farmer or farmhand was found to have in his possession English-Japanese dictionaries and conversation books; which of course showed not only literacy in their native tongue but eagerness to learn English. Many of them were found to be subscribers to local newspapers. Their favorite magazines were not only fiction magazines, but such substantial publications as the Outlook, The Independent, The Reviews of Reviews, and The Literary Digest.³

Mr. Gulick states in his book, The American Japanese

¹ Op. Cit., 175.

² K. K. Kawakami, Asia at the Door, 137-138.

³ J. T. Sunderland, Rising Japan.

Problem, that intermarriage is not a prerequisite for assimilation. It is not the biological assimilation of the Japanese that should concern us most, but rather the social assimilation. In the case of the Japanese children the degree in which they will be assimilated to new civilization will depend on many factors, but they are wholly social. Are the immigrants welcomed and treated as friends by the adopted land? Do the parents desire to give their children complete education in the language of their adopted land and do they have the means for it? Or do they on the contrary, desire to keep their children loyal to their own native land, giving them little or no foreign education, requiring their children to master their own ancestral language and literature? And further, from infancy, does the mother sing the native songs to her children and instill feeling of patriotism and devotion and admiration for national heroes? And on the other hand, does the adopted land give them welcome and educational, economic and social opportunity or does it refuse these or at least begrudge them?¹

These are the principal factors that determine the degree of social assimilation which children experience in a foreign land. Of course, the influence of the par-

¹ S. L. Gulick, The American Japanese Problem, 148-150.

ents may be averted in one direction, while that of the social educational and economic situation may work in the opposite direction. But the point to be remembered is that the degree of social assimilation that actually takes place depends entirely on the social conditions of the home and the environment.¹

Two interesting illustrations, appropos to social assimilation were given by Mr. Gulick in his book, The American Japanese Problem.²

The first concerns a group of Japanese boys in the high school in Oakland, California, who formed a small Japanese Club. It was formed not because of ostracism but merely for improvement. Yet those were so Americanized that they refer to the Japanese population in the third person, classing themselves with Americans. An auditor was amused to hear those boys say, in discussing the problem of the Japanese in California, that the only thing to do is for "us to educate them and teach them true American ways".

The other illustration is a report from a kindergarten in Los Angeles of a five year old Japanese boy who was found at his father's knee one day sobbing bit-

¹ Op. Cit., 150.

² Ibid, 162.

terly. On asking the reason the little fellow replied after some hesitation: "There's going to be a war between Japan and America and I'll have to fight you because you are a Japanese."

According to Mr. Gulick, the Japanese children reared in America lose the reading power of their own language far more rapidly than those of any European Immigrants. This is an important fact, for it means that the Japanese of the second generation in America are more rapidly and completely cut off from the social and historical influence of their people than are American-born aliens of any other race.¹

¹ S. L. Gulick, The American Japanese Problem, 164.

CHAPTER II

Japanese Population in California

There is perhaps no one element of the Japanese question that has been more widely discussed than that of the Japanese population in California. The first immigration into California was first recorded in the reports of the immigration authorities in 1868, when there were seven Japanese entering America. From the year 1869 to 1910 the total Japanese immigration reached 85,985, while the number of all other immigration during the same period was 22,846,000.¹

In 1882 Congress adopted the Chinese exclusion law which created a condition stimulating the introduction of Japanese labor. Many of the large land owners of California having been deprived of Chinese farm hands, found in the Japanese excellent workers for their farms and orchards. The Japanese immigration was naturally encouraged by the alluring terms which were offered by the landowners. Thus in 1899 the Japanese arrivals numbered 1,136.²

Also, about the same time that the Chinese exclusion law went into effect, a new factor was injected into

¹ K. K. Kawakami, The Real Japanese Question. IV, 62.

² Ibid, 63.

the economic situation on the Pacific Coast, opening a wider field of employment for Japanese labor. The Western railroads had found out that the Japanese made excellent section hands, and tried hard to secure as many Japanese as possible. The Japanese immigration was thus stimulated, and by 1899 Japanese arrivals increased to 2,844.¹

In 1898 Hawaii was annexed by the United States and in 1900 Japanese immigration into the islands was for the first time included in the reports of the Department of Commerce and Labor. From 1902 to the adoption of the "Gentlemen's agreement" in 1907, the Japanese immigration to the United States and to Hawaii had reached the 14,270 mark. Many of the Japanese who had come to Hawaii later migrated to continental United States.²

The "Gentlemen's Agreement", of 1907 was the first move on the part of the United States to exclude the Japanese laborers from America. The agreement was between the State Department and the Japanese Ambassador. The following is the substance of the agreement briefly stated:

First: Japan, of her own accord, will refrain from issuing passports to Japanese laborers desiring to enter territories contiguous to continental United States, such

¹ Op. Cit., 63.

² Ibid, 64

as Mexico or Canada.

Second: Japan will recognize the right of the United States to refuse the admission to continental United States of Japanese of the laboring class whose passports do not include continental United States.

Third: Japan will issue passports to continental United States only for Japanese of the following four classes: (1) Non-laborers, such as travelers, business men, financiers, etc. (2) Japanese, whether laborers or non-laborer, who have already become domiciled in continental United States. (3) Parents, wives, or children of Japanese who have become domiciled in continental United States. (4) Japanese who have acquired farming interests in continental United States and who wish to return there to take active control of those interests.¹

The American Government in negotiating with Japan in the Gentlemen's Agreement wished to stop the entrance of Japanese immigrant laborers to continental United States who succeeded in reaching the United States by means of passports to the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, Canal Zone or other localities under the jurisdiction of the United States. At the same time it opened the direct route from Japan to the United States, by giving to Japan the

¹ K. K. Kawakami, The Real Japanese Question, 65.

exclusive power of determining who was eligible to a passport. It was possible for a Japanese in his own country to apply for a passport to the United States stating that he was a farmer, not a laborer, and thus secure a proper passport. As a matter of fact he might have been considered a farmer in Japan though cultivating an area no larger than the size of an ordinary lot in America. His passport was not vised nor examined by the 'United States' Consul in Japan, but was passed upon the sole authority of the Japanese government. Arriving in America, this so-called farmer of Japan often had neither funds nor experience to engage as a farmer, but at once became a farm laborer. The occupation declared in Japan when securing the passport was no indication of the occupation that would be followed in the United States.¹

By the census of 1910 the total population of the Japanese in United States was 71,722, of which 55,100 were in California. Of this number twenty-one per cent were students. The next year, 1911, statistics show that sixty-nine per cent of the Japanese immigrants were women. This revealed the fact that desire of the Japanese in this country was to remain and make a home. Furthermore, it was re-

¹ State Board of Control of California, California and the Oriental, 177-178.

vealed that over ninety percent of the Japanese admitted into this country were between the ages of fourteen and forty-four years--the age of greatest efficiency. According to a report of the Commissioner General of Immigration at that time, the Japanese ranked third in the amount of money per capita brought in by each immigrant, only the English and German ranking above them.¹

In 1910 the excess of Japanese births over deaths in California was 523; in 1921 it reached 4,379. During 1921 and 1922 there were 540 births for every hundred deaths. The Japanese birthrate in California appears to be about three times that of the white. About 43% of the Japanese mothers have more than three children; while hardly 24% of white mothers have families larger than this. However, most of the Japanese women in California are of child-bearing age.²

The distribution according to counties and the percentage of the total population of the county they formed, according to figures for 1910 prepared by Dr. Ichihashi, were as follows:³

¹ E. M. Boddy, Japanese in America, 85.

² R. L. Buell, Japanese Immigration, 284.

³ Y. Ichihashi, Japanese Immigration, 19.

COUNTY	NUMBER	%	COUNTY	NUMBER	%
Los Angeles	11,500	2.2	Kings	500	3.1
San Francisco	6,900	1.6	Butte	400	1.7
Sacramento	6,000	8.0	San Bernardino	400	9.0
Alameda	4,400	1.8	San Diego	400	0.6
San Joaquin	4,300	8.0	Yuba	400	4.1
Santa Clara	3,000	3.9	Imperial	360	2.7
Fresno	3,000	4.0	San Mateo	350	1.3
Yolo	1,500	9.0	Colusa	350	7.0
Contra Costa	1,000	3.3	San Luis Obispo	300	---
Placer	1,000	---	Sutter	300	5.1
Orange	990	2.6	Kern	340	0.6
Santa Barbara	960	3.4	Stanislaus	200	0.8
Sonoma	880	1.8	Tehama	190	1.9
Santa Cruz	860	---	Merced	150	1.2
Monterey	780	---	San Benito	150	---
Tulare	780	2.2	Napa	150	---
Solano	700	2.5	Others	50	---
Ventura	670	3.7			
Riverside	650	---			

✓ From the year 1910 to 1919 the American immigration statistics show that over thirty-two thousand Japanese were admitted into California. ✓ This number added to the forty-one thousand shown by the census of 1910 brings the total number up to 73,552. During the same period, 7,910 immigrants departed from the United States and returned to Japan, leaving a balance of 66,442. Immigrants from Hawaii, however, added 506 to this number, and the registered births for the same period were 27,828, making a total of 94,776 Japanese in California. † The reported deaths for this period were 7,497, and deducting this number from the 94,776, leaves 87,279, as the total arrived in California. † This is the exact number given by the State Board of Control.

In March of 1924, the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization made a report on the success of the Gentlemen's Agreement, which said in part:

...the Committee is somewhat handicapped in reaching a conclusion by a lack of information as to the exact provisions of that agreement. It consists of correspondence between Japan and our Department of State which has not been made public and access to which can not be had by this committee without permission of Japan, as explained in the letter of the Secretary of State.

This is certain, however,...under the agreement the United States bound itself to admit any Japanese who presents himself bearing Japan's passport, unless he be afflicted with contagious disease...

The agreement was consummated under direction of Theodore Roosevelt while President. He makes it clear through official correspondence with the Legislature of California, and by statements in his autobiography that the real intent agreed upon with Japan, was to be more restrictive. Under this plan, Japan was to prevent the coming of her people to continental United States so that the Japanese population therein would not increase, it being frankly explained by Roosevelt that an increase of Japanese in this country, with their advantages in economic competition and general unassimilability, would be certain to lead to racial strife and possible trouble between the two nations.

There is no question that the purpose of the agreement as thus explained by Roosevelt has not been carried out. It is clearly established that the Japanese population of continental United States has very materially increased during the operation of the agreement, partly by direct immigration and partly by birth, and doubtless also partly by surreptitious entry. ¹

The many comments and reports which were made about the Gentlemen's Agreement indicate that it was not satisfactory to all concerned. Yet there were those who were its defenders, not least of whom was Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes. Secretary Hughes said that the

¹ R. L. Buell, Japanese Immigration, 295.

Gentlemen's Agreement had been faithfully kept by Japan, and the increase in Japanese population through immigration had been offset by the departure from this country. He further contended that the figures showing the great number of Japanese entering the United States were for all types of entrants, such as tourists merely passing through the country, and also that the arrival of women under the "picture bride" and "Kankidan systems" was not violation of the Agreement, and that even this was stopped by Japan at the request of our officials.¹

In the case of the "picture brides", the term refers to the custom that was practiced by Japanese in America for the securing of wives from Japan. Mr. E. M. Boddy in his book Japanese in America, states what the picture bride system entailed:

The subject of so-called 'picture brides' is exceedingly hard to comprehend by the average American. The question, however, simply resolves itself into one of a difference in social customs. In Japan, like many other countries, the question of marriage is left largely to the parents. The wish of the individuals are entirely ignored on the theory that the mature experience of the parents better fits them to choose the wife or husband **for their children**. The Japanese are exceedingly economical, being made so by the limited economic opportunities open to them, so it seems entirely reasonable to the young Japanese living in America, who desires to marry, that instead of going to

¹ Hughes' letters of April 1924 to Ambassador Hanihara, found as appendices in R. L. Buell, Japanese Immigration.

the expense of returning to his home, he should write to his parents and ask that a suitable girl be selected to become his bride. The parents, following an established custom, fix upon an eligible person. They then intimate to the girl's parents that they are desirous of securing her marriage to their son in America. The parents on each side spare no pains in inquiring into the character, social standing, family relations, health and education of the young people. If this investigation is satisfactory the young woman departs eventually for San Francisco and her new home.

From the American viewpoint the picture bride is exceedingly hard to understand, but it must be kept in mind that the older nations generally do not view marriage from a romantic angle, but are exceedingly practical. Because of the agitation and misunderstanding that has arisen over the matter of picture brides, the Japanese Government has voluntarily agreed to restrict further immigration of this class except in a few cases. ¹

However, in the face of severe criticism, especially from California, where it was believed that the main purpose of the "Picture bride" was to serve as a laborer, the Japanese Government on December 17, 1919, announced that it would stop issuing passports after the end of February, 1920.²

Previous to this announcement by the Japanese Government, the Board of Directors of the Japanese Association of America at San Francisco issued the following statement, forecasting the step likely to be taken by the Japanese Government on the matter of "picture brides". The statement reads in part as follows:

¹ E. M. Boddy, Japanese in America, 81-82.

² California State Board of Control, California and the Oriental, 157.

It is the sense of the Board of Directors of the Japanese Association of America that the so-called 'picture marriage' which has been practiced among certain classes of Japanese residing in this country should be abolished, because it is not only in contravention of the accepted American conception of marriage but is also out of harmony with the growing ideals of the Japanese themselves.

The board of Directors does not entertain the slightest doubt that this recommendation will be cheerfully and readily accepted by the members of the Association as well as by Japanese residents, who are not its members. Through the persistent and painstaking campaign for Americanization which has been extensively carried on by the Japanese Association in the past several months, the Japanese in this state have come to realize that the practice of marriage through exchange of Photographs is incompatible with the ideals and customs of the American people.¹

Owing to the intense feeling that was developing toward the Japanese in California as early as 1909, the State government was led to make a special investigation of the situation in an endeavor to analyze the cause. From the investigation it was concluded that it was due largely to the all-important fact that the immigrants had tended to concentrate, not only in a few restricted localities, but in a single occupation, that of farming; sixty-five per cent of the Japanese in California being engaged in agriculture, fifteen per cent in domestic service, and fifteen per cent in various services to their fellow countrymen, and the remaining five per cent as officials, professionals, and students.²

1 K.K. Kawakami, The Real Japanese Question, 73-74.

2 "Special State Investigation of 1909", given as appendix B by S.L. Gulick, The American Japanese Problem, N.Y., 1914.

Mr. C. H. Rowell, in his article, "The Japanese in California", further showed that the principal production of the state was really dominated by the Japanese. // On the farms operated by Japanese, practically all the labor was also Japanese. On the farms operated by white farmers according to the investigation made in 1909, of the total labor employed, fifty-four per cent was white, thirty-six per cent Japanese, and the remaining ten per cent Japanese, Mexicans, Hindus, and Indians. But the most striking fact is the classification of occupations. For instance, counting the farms of white farmers alone, nearly nine-tenths of the berries, two-thirds of the sugar-beets, more than half of the grapes and nursery products, more than one-third of the citrus and deciduous fruits, and forty-six per cent of the vegetables, were raised by Japanese labor. At the other extreme, of hay and grain, only six per cent were raised by Japanese labor, and of miscellaneous crops less than twenty per cent. While the Japanese do an inconsiderable part of the entire business of California, and very little of those sorts of farming which California has in common with other states, they practically dominate the labor of the characteristic and horticultural productions of California.¹

¹ C. H. Rowell, "The Japanese in California," World's Work, N.Y., June, 1913;198.

Professor Millis, in his book, The Japanese Problem in the United States has the following to say as to occupational distribution:¹

Though it observed that any accurate statement concerning the occupational distribution of Japanese was impossible because of migration from one locality and one industry to another during the year, the Immigration Commission, in 1909, estimated the number employed in city trades and business in the west at 22,000 to 26,000, in agriculture as laborers or farmers, when largest, at some 38,000 or 40,000, in railroad work at 10,000, in lumber mills at 10,000, in Salmon canneries at 3,600, in mines at 2,000. The number occupied in other ways was insignificant.

Dr. Ichihashi's estimate, which he does not claim to be entirely accurate, was published in 1915 and accounts for a total of 55,000 Japanese; but a little over half of those now estimated in California. The following is his table:²

OCCUPATION	NUMBER
Officials, teachers, clergy	120
Students	1,000
Farmers	4,000
Farm hands	20,000
Merchants	4,000
Hired by merchants	6,000
Domestic servants	5,000
Railway employees	1,500
Factories and canneries	500
Salt field hands	300
Others	3,580
No occupation	3,500
Total...	55,000

¹ Immigration Commission Report, Vol. 23,32

² Y. Ichihashi, Japanese Immigration, 21

In 1918 the total number of Japanese engaged in agriculture according to the latest available statistics were 38,008, about fifty-five to fifty-six per cent of the entire Japanese population.

The following table shows the actual number engaged in 1918 in farming their own lands, and employed as farm hands, and their families:¹

Farmers.....	7,973
Farmers' wives.....	4,560
Farmers' boys under 16 years.....	3,398
Farmers' girls under 16 years.....	3,114
Farm hands.....	15,794
Farm hands' wives.....	1,863
Farm hands' boys under 16 years.....	771
Farm hands' girls under 16 years....	737
Total.....	38,008

A total of over five hundred farms were owned by Japanese, comprising an acreage of twenty-nine thousand, or a total number of six thousand farms with a total acreage of 365,826 owned and leased by Japanese. In addition to this there are a number of American corporations in which Japanese farmers have minority interests. The area cultivated by these corporations was estimated at about thirteen thousand acres, mostly rice fields and vineyards.²

Mr. Buell in his pamphlet, Japanese Immigration, gives the following summary of the Japanese control of

¹ E. M. Boddy, Japanese in America, 190.

² E. M. Boddy, Japanese in America, 90.

land and agriculture:¹

The land area of California is nearly 100,000,000 acres, one third of which is "farm land" and presumable arable. A little more than 11,000,000 acres of this farm land is now improved. In 1920 the total amount of land under Japanese control, 458,056 acres, constituted one-half of one per cent of the total land area and 1.6% of the farm land of the state. The holdings are as follows:

Owned by Japanese individuals	26,988 acres
Owned by American corporations with Japanese shareholders..	47,000 "
Cultivated by Japanese under cash-rent leases.....	192,000 "
Cultivated by Japanese under crop-share contract.....	121,000 "
Cultivated by Japanese under labor contract.....	<u>70,000</u> "
Total.....	458,056 acres

In 1920 about 50% or 60% of the Japanese in California were engaged in agriculture. They controlled 92% of the strawberries; 89% of the celeries; 83% of the asparagus; 64% of the cantaloupes; 75% of the onions; and 66% of the tomatoes. The products of this type of agriculture, under their control, constituted about 13% in value of the total annual agricultural production of the state.

In June of 1924, after seventeen years of the Gentlemen's Agreement, a total Japanese exclusion act went into effect. This act excluded immigration on the same basis as did the California Alien Land Acts, namely ineligibility to citizenship. This act was the culmination of agitation started in California in approximately 1900 and which continued unabated, although in varying degrees, until the passage of the Johnson bill of 1924.

Much of the reclamation work in certain sections of

¹ R. L. Buell, Immigration, 285.

California has been possible only because of the Japanese. Their ability to work under adverse conditions, combined with their meager standard of living, permits them to succeed where white labor will not. Mr. H. M. Boddy in his book, Japanese in America, says that the chief argument against the Japanese in connection with their farm-



A JAPANESE FARMER'S HOME IN CALIFORNIA.

about heaven with infinite perseverance, to win, as a reward should, in complete victory. It is a testimony, too, of the power of Christian faith, of a moral triumph, that the Livingston colonists have won.

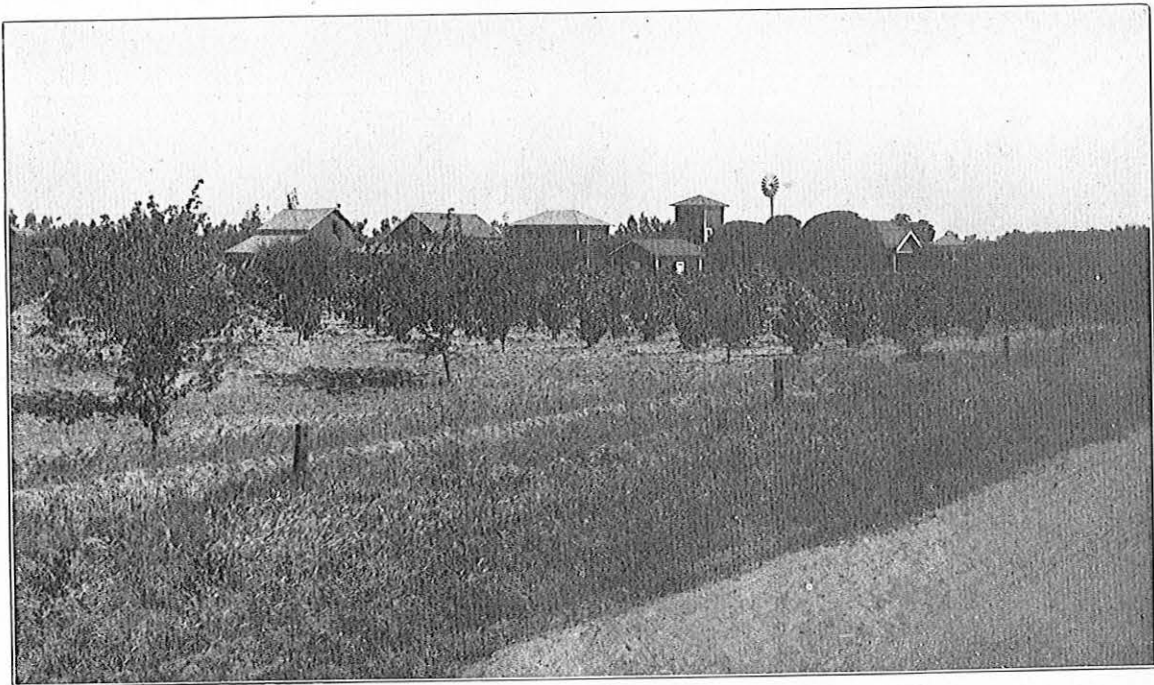
† H. M. Boddy, Japanese in America, 91.

California has been possible only because of the Japanese. Their ability to work under adverse conditions, combined with their meager standard of living, permits them to succeed where white labor will not and cannot. Mr. E. M. Boddy in his book, Japanese in America says that the chief argument against the Japanese in connection with their farming enterprise is that they are ambitious and aspire to own. This is the most striking of American characteristics, and why should the Japanese be singled out and legislated against, because of their marked success and ambition? Statistics on the subject simply show that these farmers fill a gap created by the unwillingness of others to engage in the class of farming requiring exclusive hand labor.¹

A very striking example of this is the town of Livingston which is now one of their best agricultural settlements in California. Mr. Boddy says that the story is almost a romance. It is a tale of tremendous struggle against natural conditions, financial disaster, and year after year of disappointment, but a struggle maintained by stout hearts with indomitable perseverance, until it ended, as a romance should, in complete victory. It is a tale, too, of the power of Christian faith, of a moral triumph, that the Livingston colonists have won.

¹ E. M. Boddy, Japanese in America, 91.

The soil was shifting sand, blown by desert winds that sucked up and whirled away every vestige of moisture, its bare surface scorched by a fierce sun. There was no shade, no water, no sanitation, no school, no church. There was nothing to make life worth living. Life there was believed impossible by many.



A JAPANESE FARM AT LIVINGSTON, CALIFORNIA.

Pictures showing the Fruit Bearing Trees and Vines in the Livingston District, California. This land was but a few years ago a barren desert waste.

land, the members use no money in their houses. Families were without a nickel of land. Through the long, hard times they followed, there was no way even when families could not

W. M. Boddy, Japanese in America, 1903.

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An American colony had been planted at Livingston twelve years before, but after a brief struggle with hostile conditions, had vanished. These Japanese were laughed at when they announced that they would settle at Livingston.

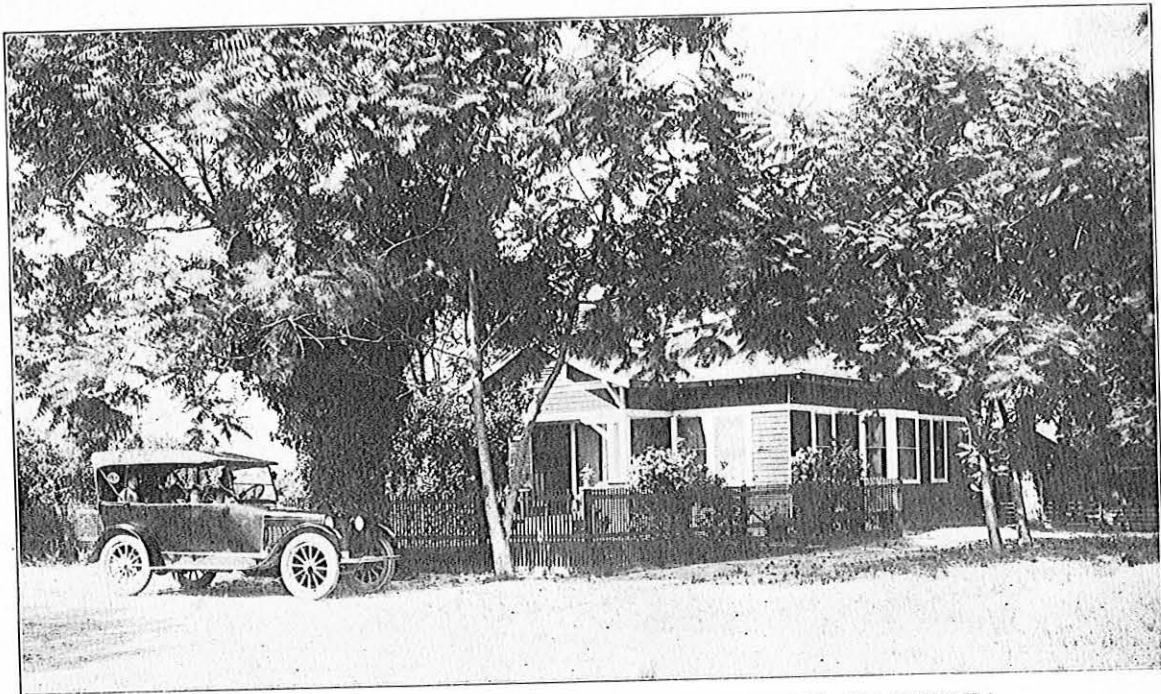
The colony was established in 1908 and faced disaster after disaster and almost starved through five lean and hungry years before a profit came. The wind, broken now by plantation of trees, then unhindered, swept away the soil which had been loosened by cultivation and dried up the young plants. Water for domestic purposes had to be carried for two miles. Then in 1909, the Japanese-American Bank in San Francisco, which held second mortgages on the lands, closed its doors.¹

The outlook was then the blackest the colony had faced, the members had no money in their houses. Families were without a nickel on hand. Through the long, hard times that followed, there were many days when families could not

¹ E. M. Boddy, Japanese in America, 100.

buy bread. They get along only by little borrowings, and there are many instances where five cents carried on one fire household for several days.¹

In spite of the hard times, the Japanese Colony refused to give-up, and now it includes forty-two farmers, all of whom have families. Most of them are members of



A JAPANESE FARMER'S HOME AT LIVINGSTON, CALIFORNIA.

for a number of years, was a labor contractor, supplying

¹ Dep. Jour. 141.

² F. H. Bailey, *Japanese in America*, V, 99-101.

buy bread. They got along only by little borrowings, and there were many instances when five cents carried an entire household for several days.¹

In spite of the hard times, the Japanese Colony refused to give-up, and now it includes forty-two farmers, all of whom have families. Most of them are members of the Livingston Co-operative Society, which markets their crops and buys their supplies and materials. The society is capitalized at twenty-five thousand dollars, and owns a packing house which cost ten thousand dollars. The members of this organization own a total of 1,730 acres, with forty acres as the average holding, all under cultivation. Grapes, both of the table and raisin varieties, are the principal crop, with peaches next.

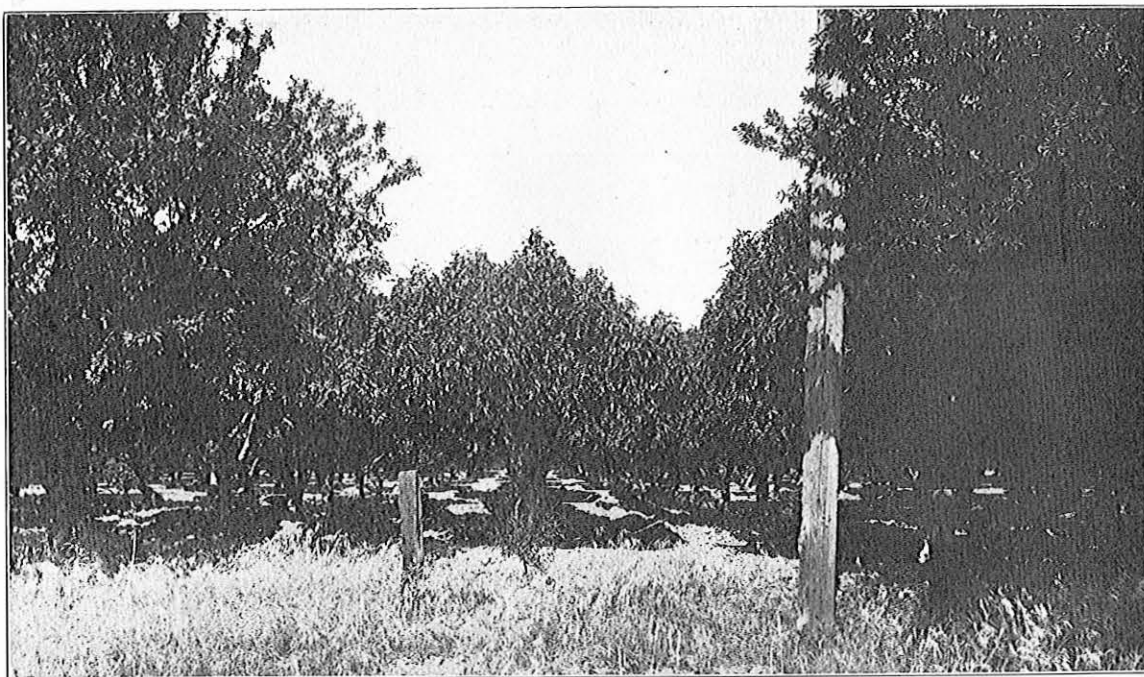
One member of the Co-operative Society realized in one year eight hundred dollars an acre from Malaga grapes, and nine hundred dollars an acre from Tokays. And this was on land which, when the Japanese farmer took it, was shifting sand, blowing before the wind.²

He was a Japanese pioneer in the Golden State, who, for a number of years, was a labor contractor, supplying

¹ Op. Cit., 141.

² E. M. Boddy, Japanese in America, V, 99-101.

American ranchers and orchardists with laborers. He had the foresight to see a fortune in store in the apparently barren delta of the San Joaquin River in the neighborhood of Stockton. This land was covered with a dense growth of tule and other wild vegetation and usually unproductive during the winter months. Not only was the picture far from alluring, but the place was infested with malaria and



A PEACH ORCHARD AT LIVINGSTON, CALIFORNIA.
Cultivated by Japanese.

methods of raising and business. Mr. Shira is known as

K. K. Kawasani, The Real Japanese Question, p. 75.

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Backed by an American firm which owned the delta, Shima embarked upon a precarious experiment. First, he diked one of the islets and drained the soil inside by cutting a wide ditch across it. Superfluous water was pumped out into the river by an engine. After the first plowing the virgin soil was allowed to lie idle for a year or two, so that the brush and tule would rot under the sod. The soil thus prepared was found excellent for the cultivation of potatoes. The American landowners interested in the development of the delta found in Shima a thorough gentleman, honest to the core, straightforward in his dealings, yet alert and alive to the advanced methods of farming and business. Mr. Shima is known as

¹ K. K. Kawakami, The Real Japanese Question, 45.

the "Japanese grape King". Before receiving such a title
 though, he was willing to spend thousands of dollars ex-
 perimenting on the vine of grapes that would grow best in
 the delta soil. His new vine was of the variety called
 and together with his name was known in the grape in-
 dustry. In the past twenty years over eight million dol-
 lars has been paid to the landowner by Mr. Shimizu.



A VINEYARD AT LIVINGSTON, CALIFORNIA, CULTIVATED BY JAPANESE.

...the last year... and recently men of Sacramento know
 that this is the fact as well as the residents of this
 community know that this is a fact. It is for the
 Japanese people, his industry on the land... his co-
 ntributions to the state and the nation in some ways.

¹ G. W. Kawakami, *The Japanese in America*, 45-50.

✓ the "Japanese potato King". Before receiving such a title though, he was willing to spend thousands of dollars experimenting on the type of potatoes that would grow best in the delta soil. He now has dozens of steamships, barges, and tugboats bearing his name engaged in shipping his potatoes. In the past twenty years over eight million dollars has been paid to the landowners by Mr. Shima.¹

Another very striking example of how the Japanese have contributed to the improvement of the land of California can be seen at Florin a small village about fifteen miles from the capitol. The prosperity of Florin is entirely due to the new industry that was created by the Japanese on coming to the village. The Japanese have been falsely accused of driving the Americans out of the village, but it is better known that the American farmer left voluntarily because of the poverty of the soil and because it was more profitable to rent their farms to the Japanese. Miss Alice Brown, a vineyardist in Florin writes on this community as follows:

As to the decrease in land values that is another bald falsehood. The property has doubled in value within the last six years. And reality men of Sacramento know that this is the fact as well as the residents of this community (Florin) know that this is a fact. As for the Japanese neighbor, his industry on the land he tills enhances its value and increases ours in consequence.

¹ K. K. Kawakami, The Real Japanese Question, 45-6.

Adjoining my home are eighty acres which for all these years had never been touched by a plough--so sloughy and shallow was the land that the white man set it aside as only fit for a pasture. The Japanese turned it into the most beautiful vineyards and strawberry patches, and where the poorest of the poor soil lay is the finest berry patch in this vicinity. Neat little homes dot that once barren tract, and they are occupied by as good and kindly neighbors as we wish to have. Who is insane enough to believe that such a transformation from aridity to high productiveness would decrease the value of adjoining property?

"There never has been one farm sold to get away from a Japanese neighbor. On the contrary, white families are coming in all the time and erecting homes. The fact that the Japanese are here enables the white man to secure the help to make good for himself. We do not object to the moral, industrious Japanese being our neighbor; we prefer him to ignorant, shiftless white men. The experience of many has shown that the white man is a failure as a tenant, the property becomes a wreck in his hands. The industrious Japanese will do the work and increase the value of the property. There are more whites in this community than there ever were before in its history."

Before the appearance of the Japanese, vast fields in and around Florin had been sowed to grain, but the fertility of the soil was so limited that each succeeding year diminished the return and the grain industry was no longer profitable. The soil of this community is shallow to bed rock and abounds in sloughs. The grain culture lasted but a few years and then the land was abandoned and permitted to remain idle.²

It was found that the same land, when properly prepared and irrigated by means of artesian water conducted

¹ K. K. Kawakami, The Real Japanese Question, 48-9.

² Op. Cit., 50.

through ditches, was excellent for grape and berry culture. Yet in order to get the land in shape, it required considerable expenditure of money and still greater expenditure of labor, and the Caucasian farmers, accustomed to the easier methods of grain culture, were not willing to apply either money or labor to the new farming. But the Japanese were not afraid to work hard and spend the necessary capital for the boring of wells and the preparation of ditches. So the Japanese, hard-working, ingenious, practical farmers, came there some twenty years ago and took lands neglected by their Caucasian predecessors.

In a few years after the Japanese came to Florin, the barren fields were changed into attractive berry gardens, the grapevines they had planted began to yield handsome crops. To-day Florin boasts of shipping over three hundred thousand dollars worth of strawberries and grapes every year. The Japanese have really put Florin on the map, which was up to twenty years ago, a declining and an obscure village.¹

The Japanese of Florin are law-abiding, home-loving, moral, temperate, generous, and grateful. We, who live among them, states Miss Brown, find them good neighbors, ever ready to do a favor at the least suggestion. In the main their homes are rude and simple, but they only await

¹ K. K. Kawakami, The Real Japanese Question, 50.

the means to make better ones. They yearn for comforts such as ours. There are a few attractive houses built by those who have acquired the means. The fact that in all the years the Japanese have been living here and with so large a population of them, not one white woman has been molested, is a good test for their fitness to live among us, and speaks highly for their moral strength.¹

There are no Japanese paupers in Florin and their commitments for crime seldom occur. They entail no expense upon the community, and when given a chance they are able and willing to adapt their lives to the ideals and ideas that dominate us. No foreign race are more eager than they to live as Americans live and to enjoy the comforts Americans enjoy.

Another sweeping falsehood made against the Japanese, states Miss Brown, is that all are dishonest. There are good and bad among them as in any other people, but the honest predominate. Treat them squarely and honestly, and they will treat you the same in full.²

Among the Japanese population in Florin, there are few who have not a very fair use of the English language

¹ A. M. Brown, The Recrudescence of Japanese Agitation in California, Japanese Pamphlets, Vol. I.

² Ibid.

and a considerable number who can speak English well. Some are well educated in English, having high school training, others pour over English books after a hard day's work to acquire a knowledge of reading and writing. From reliable data it is shown that ninety-eight per cent of the Japanese read and write their native tongue. It is further shown that more progress in learning English is made by the Japanese in a given time than by any other foreign race. The Japanese is by nature a student, eager to learn anything pertaining to western civilization.¹

A large number of the Japanese farmers in the Florin community are subscribers to the local newspapers. Great interest is shown by them in our political life and many have expressed regrets that they could not become American citizens.²

1 Op. Cit.

2 Ibid.

CHAPTER III

Japanese Home Life

The average Japanese home will demonstrate that the Japanese are very cleanly. Not only do they keep their surroundings clean, but they are exceedingly clean in person also. The parents teach their children the value of cleanliness which is perhaps the reason there is very little disease among them.

Mr. Hughes, principal of the Franklin school says that, as a rule the Japanese always come to school clean and neatly dressed. They take special care in keeping their hands and faces clean. For example, after playing on the school grounds, they wish to wash their hands before coming into the class-room.¹

The Japanese parents are not stern or unkindly disciplinarians, but the children are taught almost from birth that their principal duty is to obey and respect the parents.

A very high degree of courtesy exists even in the humblest home and rarely, if ever does one see any evidence of rowdyism, or discourtesy in the Japanese child. From the following statement made by Principal Hughes of the Franklin school, it would seem that there is a considerable carry-over from the home to the school:

¹ In conversation with Mr. Hughes, 1932.

In all my dealings with the Japanese, I have always found them to be honest, truthful, and reliable. Whether in the class-room or on the playground, the Japanese reveal by their actions that they have had good home training. They respect authority and in few cases is it necessary to use disciplinary measures.

In some cases it was found that the standard of living of the Japanese was rather low, yet they desire and constantly strive to secure more and more for their individual efforts in order to raise the standard. They will work on a salary only until they can lease or own land, or in some way get into business for themselves.

In the questionnaires that were given to two-hundred and eight Japanese pupils in the schools of Stockton and the close vicinity, one question was asked to indicate the occupation of the parents. The following table indicates the types of occupations in which the parents were engaged:

OCCUPATION	NUMBER
Farmers	90
Hotel keeper	31
Merchants	18
Grocers	6
Resturant	6
Cleaners	6
Barbers	5
Confectionary	4
Doctors	3
Laundry	3
Gardners	3
Florists	2
Shoe Stores	2
Dentist	1
Real estate	1
Newspaper	1
Jeweler	1

OCCUPATION	NUMBER
Theatre	1
Miscl.	24
Total	<u>208</u>

From the above table it is evident that while the Japanese are engaged in a number of occupations, the majority in and around Stockton are engaged in farming and truck gardening. The Japanese are very efficient as farmers, especially in growing vegetables.

From interviews with a number of Japanese children it was gathered that their diet is largely comprised of rice, vegetables, fish and chicken. For breakfast, what might be called American dishes, largely made-up their menu-- such as cereals and toast. The majority of the Japanese have expressed themselves through the questionnaires that they prefer the American dishes to the Japanese, while both are served in the home.

The furnishings of the Japanese homes are not elaborate as a rule, yet they are sufficient to add comfort. From the two hundred homes of which a study was made, it was found that nearly half or ninety-five homes had radios.

There seems to be a very harmonious relationship in the Japanese home between the parents and the children. The parents are sociable with their children and always take a special interest in what they are doing. They will often take their children to parks and play with them

as though they were one of them. They are very devoted to their children, yet they demand obedience and respect.

The very fact that the Japanese children are taught to respect and obey the laws of the home will doubtless wield an influence upon their later lives as citizens. The law of home and the law of the state go hand in hand.

Of the two hundred pupils that were asked if they intended to follow the occupation of their parents, less than ten per cent of the total number answered in the affirmative. About twenty-five per cent were not sure and the rest were positive that they did not wish to follow the occupations of their parents.

In many cases the parents are anxious that their children follow a different occupation than to what they have followed, yet in a few cases the situation is the reverse.

For example, a Japanese young man, with whose case I am familiar, greatly desires to be a doctor. His father, who is a storekeeper, constantly insists that his son learn his trade and follow, as it were, in his footsteps. This is one of the few cases that I have come in contact with, where a similar conflict existed between the father and son.

CHAPTER IV

Japanese Pupils in the Public Schools

The number of Japanese pupils in the public schools on the Pacific Coast has steadily increased since 1923. Figures taken from the Current History Magazine indicate the following:¹

1923-----	1,422
1924-----	1,725
1925-----	2,414
1926-----	2,477
1927-----	2,915
1928-----	3,273
1929-----	3,674
1930-----	4,014

Mr. Kawakami in his book, The Real Japanese Question, states that the Japanese children are not crowding out the American children in the public schools in California, as propagandists would have us to believe.

As a matter of fact there is in all California just one village where Japanese school children slightly outnumber their American fellows, and that is the village of Florin not far from Sacramento. This condition in Florin is due to circumstances peculiar to that locality. There the soil is so poor that few American farmers would cultivate it. But some years ago a few Japanese were coaxed to come and buy farms. The Japanese by dint of industry and ingenuity achieved the impossible, and converted hardpan

¹ Current History, Feb. 1931.

into flourishing vineyards and berry gardens. Because of the hard labor and high cost required in reclaiming the soil, American farmers were not drawn to this district even after these Japanese had proved its worth. But the success of these Japanese pioneers attracted their fellow countrymen to this region from other parts of the state. The result has been an extraordinary increase of Japanese population in this village. Under these circumstances it is only natural that Japanese children should outnumber American in the village school.¹

In the legislature session of 1921 a bill was passed, authorizing school districts to establish separate schools for Japanese as well as other aliens where such a step is deemed advisable. The proponents of such bills know that their enactment is not required, and that the segregation of Japanese pupils, for financial and other reasons, would not be practicable even if such bills were adopted. Nothing further has been done concerning the segregating of the Japanese.

Colomen Irish, a naval officer at San Francisco, quotes an experienced public-school principal of the city, as saying:

The statement that the influence of the Japanese, in our schools, has had a tendency towards immorality is false and absolutely without foundation. From all I have heard in conference with other school men, as well as from my own observation, there has never been the slightest cause for a shadow of suspicion affecting the conduct of one of these Japanese pupils. On the contrary, I have found that they have furnished examples of industry, patience, unobtrusiveness, obedience, and honesty in their work, which have helped many efficient teachers to create the proper moral atmosphere for their class rooms.

Japanese and American children have always been on good terms in my class rooms, and in others concerning

¹ K. K. Kawakami, The Real Japanese Question, 167.

which I am informed. They work side by side, without interference or friction, and often some Japanese student would be a great favorite among his classmates.

In all my years of experience, there has never come, orally or in writing, from the parents whose children have attended my school, one hint of complaint of dissatisfaction concerning the instruction of their children in the same school or the same rooms with Japanese. Nor has there ever been any complaint or protest from teachers in regards to this co-education.¹

A teacher in Hewitt Street School, Los Angeles, says of the Japanese pupils, "When with them, I feel that I am in the company of well-bred Americans." The principal of the same school bears testimony to the above statement in the following words:

The American-born Japanese children, who are enrolled in this school, compare most favorably with the American children both intellectually and morally. They are like all groups of children and some very dull ones. As a whole, they are more persevering and more dependable than the class of white children found in this school.²

Mr. Utt, principal of the Lafayette school in Stockton, states that he finds that the Japanese pupils fit in his school program very nicely. With a very few exceptions, they are intelligent, industrious, and agreeable. He says that the Japanese in his school are anxious above everything else to please their teachers. They are willing to do extra work, other than the assignment, in order to win the good will of their teachers. The Japanese when compared with pupils of most other nationalities in scholastic

¹ K. K. Kawakami, The Real Japanese Question, 167-168.

² Ibid. 170.

attainment stands at the top. Although many are handicapped because of not knowing the English language, yet they are persistent and will progress even along with American children. Mr. Utt further states that there is not the prejudice feeling in his school between the Japanese and Chinese children that existed a number of years ago. They are friendly to one another and work harmoniously together.

Miss MoNamara, principal of the Montezuma School near Stockton, speaks very highly of the Japanese in her school. Of the total number of pupils in the school, about forty per cent are Japanese. She says that in very few instances is it necessary to discipline a Japanese. They are honest, obedient, and willing to work at the tasks given them. The parents of the Japanese children cooperate very nicely in seeing that their children get to school on time and in sending them regularly. On special occasions, such as Christmas programs and Last Day of school programs, many of the Japanese parents come with their children. Never though do they try to interfere with the plans of the teachers.

As it was previously mentioned, there are about one hundred Japanese pupils attending the Stockton High School. They have formed a Japanese Club which I believe is doing much toward their assimilation. The Japanese who have lived longer in America and have become better acquainted

with American customs and ideals are able to pass on such knowledge to their Japanese fellow students. Many problems which relate to school life are discussed among the members of the club.

Most of the Japanese in the High School really "mean business" and are there for the purpose of learning. The language problem is no doubt their greatest handicap. In an United States History Class which was given me to instruct, there are two Japanese. I find them to be very willing workers but they are unable to express themselves at times because of language difficulty. I have noticed that they carry a Japanese-English dictionary with them which they seem to make good use of. They are able to express themselves much better in written work than in oral.

CHAPTER V

The Japanese Language Schools

In the first place it must be remembered that the Japanese language schools are not substituted for public schools but are rather supplements. The Japanese go to the Japanese schools after their regular hours in the public schools.

The Education Association, organized by the Japanese teachers in the language schools in Northern California, describes the work of these institutions as follows:¹

1. For the kindergartens both Japanese and American teachers shall be employed in order effectively to prepare the children to enter the public schools.

2. For children who come to the language school after the session in the public school the teaching of the Japanese language shall last from half an hour to one hour. This is to facilitate the understanding between the parents and children so that they shall enjoy home life.

3. The Language Institutes shall provide the playground for the children to encourage their healthy activities and avoid the danger of street play and its bad influences.

¹ K. K. Kawakami, The Real Japanese Question, 146.

The Japanese maintain their separate schools primarily for teaching the Japanese language to the children and to give them at least the rudiments of an education in that language both oral and written. English to the younger Japanese child is comparatively simple. He hears it spoken constantly on the street and in the school, and he rapidly absorbs it. By the same token he is apt to forget his Japanese as quickly. The average Japanese parents, unless they have resided in America for some time, understand but very little English, and they cannot write it at all. Therefore, if the child is to be kept within the family circle, it is necessary that he retain Japanese and learn to write it. It has been proven that the family unit can be easily disorganized if the child speaks English and the parents a different language.¹

The curriculum is divided into reading, writing, penmanship, dictation, and singing. No child who can understand and speak English is admitted unless he or she attends the public school during the regular periods, and no school is graded higher than the grammar grades. While it is true that no language school is graded above the grammar grades, it was found that nearly half of the Japanese attending the Stockton High School attend a Japanese language school.

¹ E. M. Boddy, Japanese in America, 110.

either in Stockton or in the vicinity.

Miss Emily Greene Balch, writing in Professor Albert B. Wolfe's "Readings in Social Problems," not only defends the teaching of foreign languages, but thinks it disastrous for children of foreign parentage not to be able to speak the language of their fathers and mothers. She says:

What should be the American's attitude toward this question? I personally have no doubt that the right thing to do is to wish the parents Godspeed in their endeavor to have their children learn their language. One of the great evils among the children of foreigners, as every one who knows them realizes, is the disastrous gulf between the older and the younger generations. Discipline, in this new freedom which both parents and children misunderstand, is almost impossible; besides which, the children, who have to act as interpreters for their parents and do business for them, are thrown into a position of unnatural importance, and feel only contempt for old-world ways, a feeling enhanced by the too common American attitude. One hears stories of Italian children refusing to reply to their mother if spoken to in Italian.

In addition to these considerations, and to the sufficiently obvious fact that to possess two languages instead of one is in itself an intellectual advantage, it is to be remembered that the leaders and teachers of the newcomers must be men who can speak both languages, and that it would be a national misfortune if these were solely men of foreign birth, including none of the second, or later, generations in this country. A final and less important consideration is that to know any immigrant language is money in a man's pocket.

Mr. G. R. Stafford, superintendent of schools of the city of Fresno, California, gave his estimate of the Japanese language schools when he said:

While I do not know what they teach in their own language, I have every reason to believe that the two schools operated by the Japanese in Fresno are valuable aids to the public schools, and that hand in hand with the religious and language subjects taught, Americanism

and Americanization are emphasized in those schools.

I cannot speak too highly of the Japanese Congregational school where much good work is being done among children and adults. I am certain that these schools are not teaching ideals and ideas dangerous to America and our customs.

The Japanese are a people who are eager for all the knowledge and education they can get, and my office has never had any trouble in getting them into or keeping them in school.¹

The two main language schools in Stockton are conducted by the Japanese Presbyterian Church and the Japanese Buddhist Church. The enrollment of the Presbyterian Language School is slightly over fifty, while the Buddhist School has approximately two-hundred eighty enrolled.

¹ Fresno Republican, March 28, 1920.

CHAPTER VI

The Japanese Associations

The Japanese Association was incorporated under the California State Law in August, 1900, and became the central organization for forty affiliated associations, covering the northern part of the State, and the States of Nevada, Utah, and Colorado, with a total membership of 16,000. While its original purpose was entirely social, the executives of the Association soon found that it could be of the utmost value in disseminating information as to American customs, and in generally assisting the incoming Japanese to place themselves.¹

On the Pacific Coast and in the neighboring states there are four central Japanese Associations, each affiliating a number of local Japanese associations. These central organizations are:²

1. The United Northwestern Japanese Association, Seattle, with which are affiliated some 15 local associations in Washington and Montana, with a total membership of about 8,860.

2. The Japanese Association of Oregon, Portland, which comprises three or four local associations in Oregon and Idaho.

¹ E. M. Boddy, Japanese in America, 70.

² K. K. Kawakami, The Real Japanese Question 193-194.

3. The Japanese Association of America, San Francisco, comprising about forty local bodies, totaling some 18,000 members, in Northern California, Nevada, Utah and Colorado.

4. The Central Japanese Association of Southern California, comprising nineteen local associations, with 8,000 members, in eight counties of Southern California.

Most frequently the Japanese that came to America had little knowledge of the English language and an exceedingly hazy idea of the customs and laws of his new home. The Japanese Association has done a great deal for the immigrant, not only in assisting him to find himself economically, but in efforts to acquaint him with the customs and laws of the section he settles in.

The Association has a delegate convention consisting of a certain specified number of representatives of the different affiliated Associations. This Convention meets once a year, in January, and discusses and adopts a policy for the ensuing year. A Board of Directors is elected from the affiliated Associations, and they supervise the work, subject to the Committee on Management, composed of seven members, which is selected by this Convention. The President assumes general supervision, but is limited in action by the By-laws, and the agreement of the Association. The General Secretary, the Assistants, and the executive councils are selected by the committee on Management, which is also responsible for the general business of the Association. When the necessity of incorporating a new Association

which desires to be affiliated with the central organization arise, an application showing detailed reasons is submitted, and permission obtained from the Central Association. This permission is only issued upon recognition of the necessity by the Board of Directors. This society does not differ in any manner from thousands of other fraternal, religious and social organizations with membership, and in fact the Association does show in its officers and directors, that it is on the order of any American corporation.¹

The Agreement, or constitution, of the Association states its purpose as follows:²

The purpose of this Association shall be to elevate the character of Japanese residing in America, to protect their rights and privileges, to promote their happiness and prosperity, and to cultivate better understanding between the peoples of Japan and the United States.

Mr. K. Kanzaki, in his pamphlet, "California and the Japanese", explains the work of the Japanese Association of America in the following manner:

...the uplift of Japanese residents in America has received our unfailing attention and emphasis from the beginning of the Association. At first this movement took the form of what we termed social education and economic development. The purpose of this work in part is to impart to our fellow-countrymen elementary facts of American life, to teach them that assimilation is the first step for their success, and to convince them that by contributing to the national interests of America they can attain their own

¹ E. M. Boddy, Japanese in America, 72.

² K. K. Kawakami, The Real Japanese Question, 195.

development. Among the more important activities of this nature are the following: Women's meetings, whose chief purpose is to call attention of the Japanese women in America to their social position and the education of their children; publication of pamphlets with particular reference to birth and care of babies; anti-gambling campaigns; and lectures on general social betterment. In order to facilitate and to better accomplish such important work we have published, from time to time, Japanese translations of such useful books as 'Camp Sanitation' and 'Mother's Guide'.

Our Americanization movement has been virtually the same as the program of the American Government. However, the following points may be stated on which we placed special emphasis: first, to encourage the learning of the English language and to furnish the necessary and suitable equipment for this particular work; second, to impart the knowledge of American people so that they may easily understand Americanism.

As to the first point, namely, to encourage the learning of the English language, we made special efforts to facilitate this difficult work by employing every means at our command. We encouraged its study among the old settlers and helped to organize classes for women and children and to secure proper teachers for them. In order to educate the children and young men and women coming into America in the English language and to lead them to American ideals, the parents were asked to pledge themselves to send them to public schools not later than one year after their arrival in this country. This work was carefully supervised by the local affiliated Associations. If they are of the school age, the attendance at the public schools was made compulsory through the same supervision. We have also helped them in selecting the textbooks so that they can learn the language properly, and, at the same time, become familiar with America. With regard to the other phase of the campaign, the work chiefly consists of popular lectures and distribution of pamphlets and circulars. These lectures are for the purpose of familiarizing the local Japanese with America, and varied topics were discussed covering American history and civics, economics, industry, religion, education, social life, home life, and house-keeping, hygiene and the like. A free distribution of pamphlets and circulars on similar subjects was also effective particularly at the places where lectures could not be held. In accomplishing this work, we have asked the Japanese schools, churches, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., clubs and other organizations, newspapers and magazines to cooperate with us in the campaign, and they have eagerly responded to make it a success.¹

¹ K. K. Kawakami, The Real Japanese Question, 196-198.

Professor Burnight of the University of Southern California who has made a scholarly investigation of the Japanese situation, states that the description of the work of the Japanese Associations, made by Mr. Kanzaki, is not exaggerated.

CHAPTER VII
Religious Education

In 1911 the Japanese Interdenominational Board of Missions was organized to assist the Japanese Immigrant to meet the change in his condition. Besides carrying out effective Evangelical work, this Association has already rendered an immense social service. It is conducted under the leadership of both Japanese and American Christians and the Christianization of the immigrants has been given impetus.¹

A Young Women's Christian Association has also been organized for the benefit of Japanese women, and a Japanese Young Men's Association is in process of organization. This particular Board has been most active in child welfare and temperance work, especially in the rural districts, and has given a good deal of attention to supplying books and educational works, both religious and otherwise. It has been of value in collecting statistical data concerning the Japanese in this country, and is now branching out to do a like work among the Japanese in South America.²

¹ E. W. Boddy, Japanese in America, 118.

² Ibid, 119.

As a result of the statistical work of this Board, comprehensive data on the Christianization of the Japanese has been obtained. On the Pacific Coast of the United States there are sixty-one Protestant churches with a membership of 3,198 and fifty-seven Sunday Schools with a total enrollment of 2,772. There are also several Japanese Catholic churches.¹

The Japanese community at Livingston, California, is perhaps the largest and strongest Christian community, and in this particular section there has been less evidence of racial prejudice than in any other section of California.²

According to the report of the Headquarters of the Buddhist Church in America, there are only twenty-five churches in the Continental United States, but because the Japanese population is largely centered in California, nineteen of them are located in this state. The membership of the Buddhist Church is about 8,500, or about ten per cent of the total Japanese population in America subscribe to this faith.³

In Stockton there are two outstanding Japanese churches

¹ Op. Cit. 119.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid, 118.

the Presbyterian and the Buddhist.

The Japanese Presbyterian church has an enrollment in Sunday School of approximately one hundred thirty-five. Eleven teachers, nine Japanese and two American, are engaged every Sunday teaching the children and the older Japanese. The Superintendent of the Sunday School is an American lady, while the vice-superintendent is a Japanese young man, who is able to carry-on the work in the absence of the Superintendent.

Every other Sunday an English service is conducted in the church with a special speaker in charge. This feature alone does much in acquainting the Japanese with our language.

The older Japanese girls of the church are able to play the piano and furnish special music for the services. One girl who has taken a musical course at the College of the Pacific, conducts a choir in the church.

While interviewing one of the American teachers of the Sunday School, she stated that, while the Japanese practically had charge of all the work themselves, they desired to have Americans to meet with them and help carry-on the work.

The Japanese Buddhist church which is somewhat larger than the Christian church, has about three-hundred in the Sunday School.

In conversing with Mr. Terakawa, the priest, I was informed that at least once a month a special English service was conducted in the church. On that particular Sunday, the speaker spoke in English and English songs were sung. He further stated that some of the Sunday School classes are conducted in English.

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusions

In the first chapter, the term assimilation was defined and a standard was set as to the degree that assimilation would be measured. The treatment has by no means been exhaustive, yet I believe that some of the most important factors, which have influenced and are influencing the assimilation of the Japanese in California, have been mentioned and discussed.

Stockton and the surrounding communities have been used as a typical section for such a study. It is believed that the influencing factors here upon the Japanese would have a similar influence elsewhere.

The questionnaire found in the appendices was given to over two hundred Japanese pupils in grades arranging from the fifth to seniors in high school. I find that the questionnaires have been a valuable source from which conclusions can be drawn.

For example, question number four, How often do you visit in American homes?, was not answered very definitely, yet about ninety per cent indicated that they visited at times in American homes, and had American friends visiting

with them. One can conclude that the American and Japanese children as a rule are on friendly terms, and that the barrier between the two races has been broken down to a certain extent.

Then question eleven which asks, "Would you like to go to Japan to live?", was answered in most every case in the negative. While a number expressed their desire to visit in Japan, they also made it known that they did not wish to live there. The average Japanese is an American at heart.

Question thirteen, "Do you have an American Newspaper coming to your home?", was answered in the affirmative by about ninety per cent of the group. This indicates that a large number of the Japanese are able to read in English and that they are interested in what is going on in America.

Keeping in mind that the Japanese are rapidly learning the English language, subscribing to American ideals and customs, and adopting the American standards of living, it must be generally concluded that the Japanese in and around Stockton are being assimilated.

Cities of a population of 25,000 or more having 1,000 Japanese or more. ¹

City	Number
Berkeley	1,320
Fresno	1,176
Los Angeles	21,086
Oakland	2,137
Sacramento	3,347
San Francisco	6,250
Stockton	1,386 1930

¹ Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930,
Population Bulletin, United States Government
Printing Office Washington: 1931.

Conditions of California with some land the country
Japanese.¹



A JAPANESE VINEYARD ON THE MOUNTAIN TOP, CALIFORNIA.

Figure
Yoku

¹ Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1911. Pop-
ulation Bulletin, United States Government Print-
ing Office Washington: 1911.

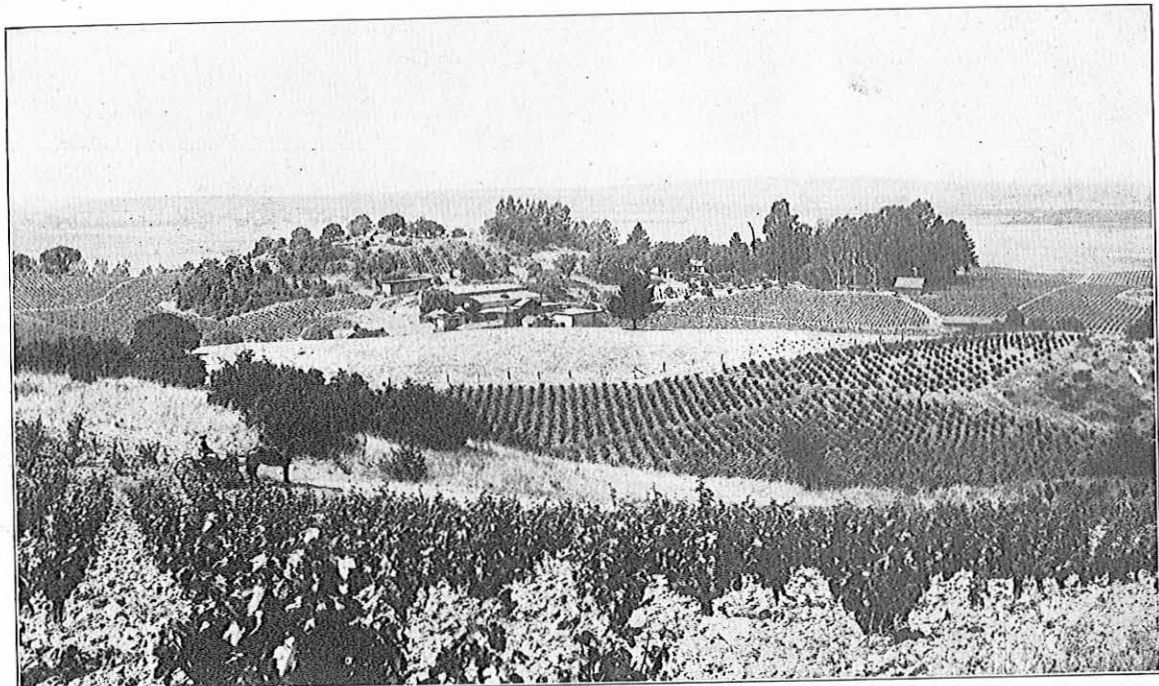
Counties of California with more than one thousand Japanese.¹

County	Number
Alameda.....	5,715
Fresno	5,280
Imperial	2,241
Los Angeles	35,390
Monterey	2,271
Orange	1,613
Placer	1,874
Sacramento	2,143
San Diego	1,722
San Francisco	6,250
San Joaquin	4,339
San Mateo	1,169
Santa Barbara	1,889
Santa Clara	4,320
Santa Cruz	1,407
Solano	1,350
Tulare	1,486
Yolo ,.....	1,423

¹ Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, United States Government Printing Office Washington: 1931.

The Japanese population of the State of California, the County of San Joaquin, and the City of Stockton, 1930.

	1930	1920	1910
Total	27,456	21,352	41,200



A JAPANESE RANCH IN CALIFORNIA.

Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Warfare: 1931.

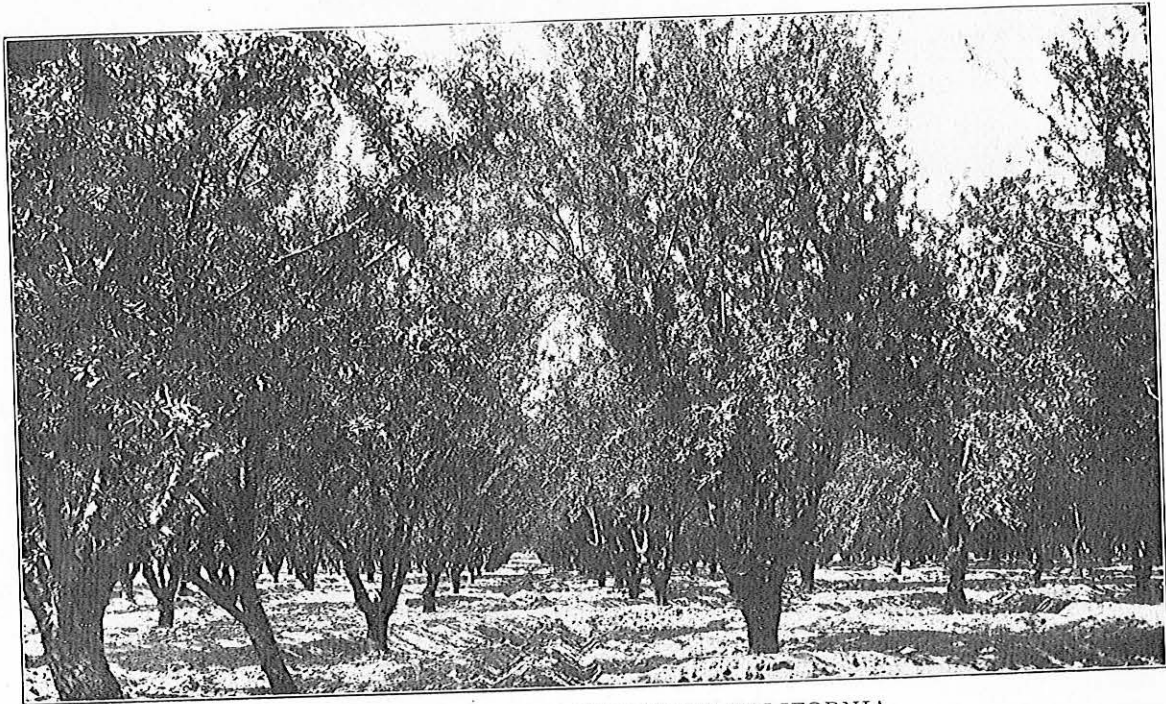
The Japanese population of the State of California, the county of San Joaquin, and the City of Stockton.¹

	1930	1920	1910
California	97,456	71,950	41,356
San Joaquin	4,339	4,354	1,804
Stockton	1,386	840	475

¹ Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930,
 Population Bulletin, United States Government
 Printing Office Washington: 1931.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

April
26 th
19 32



ALMOND GROVE AT LIVINGSTON, CALIFORNIA.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

April
26 th
19 32

Mr. Horace F. Chansler,
155 W. Alpine Street,
Stockton, California.

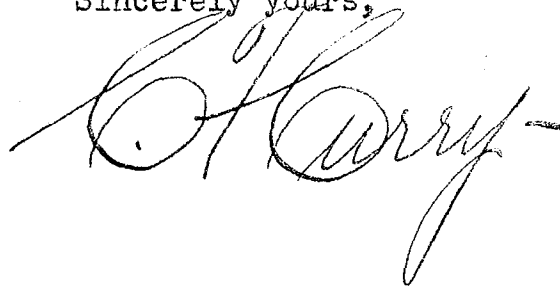
My dear Mr. Chansler:

I am in receipt of your letter of April 22, 1932, in which you request me to secure for you statistics on the Japanese population in the state of California, according to the 1930 census.

I believe that the attached "population bulletin" will supply you with complete information for your thesis at the College of the Pacific.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



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