# POPULATION .ND ECOLOGY

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#### POPULATION AND ECOLOGY

The settlement of persons of Japanese ancestry into relocation centers through the process of forced evacuation presents many strong contrasts with the usual patterns of community settlement. These contrasts are reflected in the population composition and in the ecology of the communities settled by evacuees.

America has had long experience in migrations and the settlement of new communities. Much of our national history revolves around the movement of peoples westward into unsettled areas. There have been widespread migrations before in the national experience--migrations even of religious and racial groups. But the forced mass evacuation of a hundred thousand persons of a certain racial stock is without parallel in American life.

The people of Japanese ancestry in Military Area 1 of Arizona, Oregon, Washington and in Military Areas 1 and 2 of California were taken from their familiar environment and concentrated in the various relocation centers.

A few more than fifteen thousand evacuees are now living in the Tule Lake Relocation Center. It is a heterogeneous population; evacuees have come here from California, Oregon and Washington. California has contributed the largest number of inhabitants and from Washington the second largest contingent has come. Oregon also has made its contribution.

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Most of the inhabitants of this community have come from rural areas in the three states. - G Urban people have also been sent here, however, from such cities as Sacramento and Tacoma.

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Migrations are in general selective of certain age groups, or of certain occupations, or of sex; the nature of the selection varies with times and circumstances. But in the evacuation there was selection only on the basis of racial origin. The young and the old, male and female, citizen and alien, the urban and rural, people of varied occupations--all of them were involved in this migration.

The nature of this migration has a fundamental bearing upon the composition of the people in this community. If this were the sort of migration in which people were impelled to seek areas of greater economic opportunity, one would find here a far different population. Certain classes, certain age groups and occupations would have moved more readily than others and would be represented here in greater proportions than they bore to the total population of the community which they left.

Instead the total Japanese population of the various communities was evacuated. Only those who left their homes before the evacuation or who remained in various institutions were not included in the evacuation process.

The composition of this community's population is in most respects very similar to the composition of the total population of Japanese ancestry in the three Pacific coast states.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1.</sup> Statistics on the total population are based upon 1940 census returns. The Housing Division figures are used to describe the composition of the population in Tule Lake.

of persons

The distribution/by age, sex, and nativity in this community bears a close resemblance to the distribution in the total population. The similarities and differences will be discussed further.

The material which has been used in the following pages is not altogether adequate; the reliability of the sources of information is undetermined. Those who are in charge of statistics in this community are not especially trained in statistical methods nor are they especially interested in population composition. In the beginning the War Relocation authority manifest little interest in statistics. Statistics were conceived to be <u>kha</u> merely an adjunct of the employment program.

There are important gaps in the statistical information which has been gathered by the Division of Housing and Employment. These gaps make it impossible to describe the composition of the population adequately enough.

When the War Relocation Authority census forms are tabulated a tremendous amount of data on the composition of the Japanese population in the United States will be available. The tabulations will bring almost unlimited possibilities for statistical analysis.

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The first group of evacuees arrived at the Tule Lake Relocation Center on May 27, 1942. This pioneer group included 447 volunteers who came from the Puyallup and Portland assembly centers. This vanguard was followed by three hundred evacuees who arrived on June 1 and 2, directly from evacuated areas in rural Oregon. In the two succeeding days similar contigents arrived from rural areas in western Washington; these evacuees, aggregating 647 individuals, came to the relocation center directly from their homes in the Northwest. The early arrivals, along with almost five hundred evacuees from the Clarksburg area in California, were assigned living quarters in ward I.

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The general pattern of settlement in ward I may be roughly described in the following manner. The evacuees from the Portland and Puyallup assembly centers were placed in blocks 4, 5, 6 and 14. The next group to arrive on the project, the evacuees from rural areas in Oregon were assigned quarters largely in blocks 15 and 16. The people from rural Washington were given apartments in blocks 13, 17, and 18. The evacuees who arrived from the Clarksburg region along the Sacramento River in California were distributed to every block in the ward. Thus California people were scattered throughout the ward settled largely by evacuees from the Northwest. According to the Housing Division this situation was made necessary, in part at least, by the large amount of early shifting. There were frequent exchanges of assigned quarters from the very first day evacuees arrived. These exchanges made it necessary to re-assign vacated apartments in order to keep the various blocks filled.

Between June 6 and 15, the tempo of settlement slowed considerably. Small groups of evacuees entered the community from Tulare, Sacramento, Marysville, Puyallup, and Tanforan assembly centers. The numbers, however, were insignificant for not more than fifty people were included in the aggregate of these groups.

By the 15th of June, there were 1,911 evacuees in Relocation Center. The majority of these people had entered the community during the first week in June.

In the two weeks that followed, the flow of in-migration swelled. Each day brought large numbers of new arrivals into the community, principally from the Sacramento and Marysville assembly centers. This fortnight marks the period of the community's greatest growth.

The evacuees who arrived from Sacramento on June 16 were assigned apartments largely in blocks 4, 5, 17 and 18 of ward I and then were spilled into block 25 of ward II. The large contingents which arrived from the same assembly center in the succeeding days, from June 17 to June 20, were assigned to the various blocks in ward II until that ward was filled.

During the four days that followed June 20 the evacuees continued to arrived from the Sacramento assembly center in large numbers. Ward III like ward II was filled with these people from the Central Valley of California. These two wards, are composed predominantly of evacuees from the Sacramento center.

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Evacuees now began to arrive in large numbers from the Marysville assembly center. Those who arrived from that center on June 25 were assigned to blocks 10 and 21 of ward IV. The following day five hundred more evacuees arrived from the same assembly center and were given quarters in the rest of ward IV. The ward was largely assigned to people from the Marysville center, with the exception of blocks 7, 8 and 9 which were reserved for hospital workers. The groups from Marysville which arrived on June 28 and 29, were given apartments in ward V. Ward I lies between wards IV and V, and thus between the two groups of Marysville evacuees.

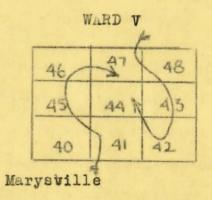
With these arrivals the period of heaviest increase came to a close and a period of comparative quiet set in. On the first of July the population of the community was 9,038, a gain of 7,100 individuals within a period of two weeks.

There was only a slight increase in population during the first week and a half in July. The first groups of any size to arrive in July were those from Military area 2 of northern California. These people, came largely from the auburn, Lincoln and Newcastle area and from the vicinity of Chico and Gridley. They were evacuated from their homes directly to Tule Lake. The first contigent of 319 arrived on June 10; the second and slightly larger contingent arrived on June 13. Ward V was assigned to them, that is, that portion of it not already assigned to people from Marysville, who came from the same general region in the central valley of Military California. As ward V filled, some of the evacuees from/area 2 overflowed into block 51 of ward VI.

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The general pattern of settlment in ward V may be described roughly in diagram as follows:

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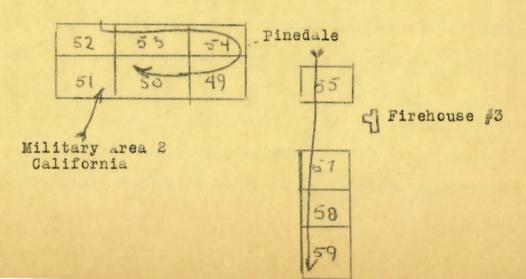


Military Area 2

During the first half of July the population of the Tule Lake community increased from 9,038 to 10,947, an increase of less than one thousand. This was far below the growth experienced in the preceeding fortnight. It is also much less than the growth in the following two weeks.

In the latter half of July, the 4,011 evacuees from the Pinedale assembly center were sent to Tule Lake. These evacuees were assigned living quarters in ward VI. The pattern of settlement in this ward was, in general, as this diagram portrays:

WARD VI



with the coming of the Pinedale evacuees the boom days of Tule Lake came to an end. By the first of august the camp had experienced the major part of its population growth, and the days of rapid expansion were now over. There were 15,021 individuals now living in what had been an uninhabited portion of a dry lake bed a few months before. In a few days over two months these thousands of individuals were poured into the hastily constructed barracks, row after row of them, until almost all of them were filled. The largest city in the northern portion of California was created with unprecedented speed, unprecedented even in this nation which has witnessed so many booms and mass migrations.

In the August days that followed, the population of Tule Lake increased almost imperceptibly. It was on September 4 that the maximum population of the community was recorded. On this day there were 15,279 people living in colony, according to the Division of Housing and Employment.

after September 4 a gradual decline in the number of evacuees living within the project manifested itself. A number of people left for private employment outside the evacuated areas, to the beet fields of Idaho, Oregon, and Montana. This work is somewhat seasonal and many have returned from such employment. Many of laborers will return to the beet fields next spring.

There were a number of evacuees who left for schools in the for Middlewest and in the East. Others left/the Military and Naval Intelligence schools to become students or teachers of the Jap-

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nese language. Some young wives left camp to join their husbands in the various army camps of the nation, and some young ladies as yet unmarried left to join their future husbands stationed in army camps.

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Other evacuees have left for various types of private employment. The War Relocation Authority has adopted a policy of given every encouragement to evacuees, both Issei and Nisei, who wish to relocate in the Middle West and East. Mr. Myer is determined to make this policy work and is prepared, Mr. Shirrell states, to defend it against anyone who would attack it. Mr. Myer has placed Mr. Shirrell at the head of relocation program.

On various occasions in the past, Mr. Shirrell has made the statement that he expects only those without a shred of ambition will remain in relocation centers. He does not want to make Tule Lake too attractive for its inhabitants; he does not want the project life to become so attractive that it will deter evacuees from leaving.

In a farewell address to an assembly of evacuees, Mr. Shiprell described his new job and his feelings toward the program of relocation. Mrs. Shirrell and himself were like the proverbial rats who are first to leave the sinking ship. He warned the evacuees to follow him. "Tule Lake is going to pot, and you had better follow us." he concluded.

It is evident from many things that Mr. Shirrell has uttered that both he and Mr. Myer expect the program of relocating evacuees in other parts of the United States to develop substantially. If the present plans materialize large numbers of evacuees will be leaving the various relocation projects. The population of Tule Lake and other centers will doubtlessly show a substantial decline as this program is realized.

The people in the Tule Lake Relocation Center came from various widespread areas. They are mostly rural. But they have come from rural areas in California's central valley, from the farms and small towns of Oregon and Washington.

Most of the people who were evacuated to Marysville, Pine dale and Sacramento assembly centers were sent to the Tule Take Center. From the Sacramento assembly center came the largest contingent of evacuees, over 4,600 of them. The people evacuated under Civilian Exclusion Orders 52, 75 and parts of 70 and 93 were sent to Sacramento assembly center and from there to Tule Lake. Over 3,800 of these people were evacuated from the city of Sacramentc. This does not represent the normal population of Japanese origin of Sacramento. Approximately a thousand effacuees crowded into the city's Japanese district from surrounding rural areas before the evacuation occurred. The Japanese population of Sacramento according to the 1940 census was 2,879; over 3,800 were evacuated. Sacramento was the only city in Military Area 1 which showed a large increase in Japanese population according to the Change of Residence cards of the Wartime Civil Control Administration.

Another urban group came from Stockton. Part of Civilian Exclusion Order 70, which included the city of Stockton, was sent to the Sacramento assembly center.

The remaining people who were evacuated to the Sacrament o assembly center came largely from the rural areas in the Sacramento River valley. From the delta region around Isketon came 575 evacuees. A part of the 920 evacuated from the Florin area below the city of Sacramento were also sent to the Sacramento assembly center, the remainder went to Marysville.

Almost the entire Marysville assembly center was emptied into the Tule Lake Relocation Center. This assembly center, much smaller than the Sacramento camp, contributed 2,431 evacuees to Tule Lake. Evacuees from Civilian Exclusion Orders 47, 46 and part of 93 were sent to the arboga center at Marysville. The first two Exclusion Orders included 1487 persons evacuated from that part of Placer county which lies within Military area 1. Within this area there was included the heavily concentrated enclave around Auburn, Loomis, Penryn and Newcastle. That part of Placer county lying in Military Area 2 was evacuated directly to Tule Lake. The part of the people evacuated under Civilian Exclusion Order 93 that didn't go to the Sacramento center, were sent to Marysville. They were, of course, joined together again at Tule Lake.

Almost the total population of the Pinedale assembly center was transferred to Tule Lake. Next to the Sacramento center, Pinedale made the largest contribution to the population of Tule Lake.

Most of the people evacuated to Pinedale came from rural regions of western Washington. When plans for making Toppenish Fair Grounds an assembly center were abandoned, it became necessary to send

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part of the evacuees from the Northwest to an assembly center in California until the relocation program materialized.

The evacuees sent to Pinedale were predominantly rural. From the Hood River area in northern Oregon 555 were evacuated to Pinedale. There were evacuees from the region around auburn Washington in Pinedale. Part of northern Sacramento county, north of the city of Sacramento, also was transported to Pinedale so that this center had representatives from rural areas in the three Pacific coast states. There were urban evacuees in pinedale, however, for 865 evacuees from Tacoma were sent to Pinedale. Although evacuees came to Pinedale from the three coast states, the majority of its population, 2,464 to be emact. came from the state of Washington.

# THE ASSEMBLY CENTER OF ORIGIN OF EVACUEES RELOCATED AT TULE LAKE1

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1. These figures were submitted by Miss Rose; they are unofficial.

a considerable number of evacuees came to Tule Lake Relocation Center directly from Military areas 1 and 2 without first going through an assembly center. In such cases people were transported from their communities to Tule Lake. Wherever this proved possible the Wartime Civil Control Administration considered it highly advantageous to eliminate the assembly center stage of the evacuation and transport evacuees directly to the various relocation centers. This was possible only in the event that the relocation center, which was ultimately to receive a given population, was prepared to take that population when the evacuation occurred. Only Manzanar, Tule Lake, Colorado River, and Gila River Relocation Centers were completed in time to receive direct assignments.

Evacuees were sent to Tule Lake directly from areas in California, Oregon, and Washington; these areas were rural. Evacuations from Military area 2 in the northern half of California contributed many more evacuees. They came principally from areas east of Chico and Marysville and north of Lincoln, auburn and Newcastle. The Japanese population of these areas had been considerably augmented by a heavy in-migration during the months directly preceeding the evacuation. This is born out by Change of Residence cards of the wartime Civil Control administration. A large number of people had moved to Military area 2 in order to avoid being evacuated or to postpone evacuation at least. Another evidence of this migration is the fact that many more people fore evacuated from counties berdering-en split by the military line than could be anticipated on the basis of 1940 census figures.

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In summary it hay be emphasized that the people of Tule Lake are predominantly rural folk. The exact proportion of the evacuees who lived in rural communities before our entry into the war is not yet know. The R-26 form of the War Relocation Authority will give some indication, so will the revised religious survey when it is completed. Although the exact proportions have not yet been determined it is certain that the community is composed of people from rural areas.

Those who were responsible for planning the movement of evacuees into relocation centers felt it desireable to keep communities intact and to keep rural people together. These have been two cardinal principles of the relocation program. Not that these principles weren't challenged by other members of the Wartime Civil Control administration. There were those who felt that assembly centers and relocation centers should not be either predominantly urban nor predominantly rural but rather balanced, in part rural and in part urbal.

It was decided, however, that adjustment to evacuation and to the conditions of camp life would be enhanced if two conditions were observed: (1) That communities be transplanted in as intact a unit as possible, and (2) that the urban people be kept together and the rural evacuees be kept by themselves. For that reason the urban population of the Northwest, including evacuees from Portland and Seattle were kept together. Most of rural Washington and Oregon wess evacuated to Tule Lake.

Not always was it possible in the process of relocation to carry out the desire plan of movement. There were practical

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considerations of time, space, and condition. The physical conditions of certain assembly centers made it necessary for them to be emptied before the time designated; the evacuees had to be sent to the relocation center which could find the necessary space for them regardless of the plan. The fact that the various center had limited capacities made it impossible to keep communities intact in all cases, that is true in evacuation to assembly centers and as true in its application to relocation. The Tule Lake community is divided into seven wards. Each ward is composed of nine blocks. Ward VI is an exception, however, for it contains an additional block.

The population of the sixty-four blocks in the community varies from zero to 285, according to recent figures of the Division of Housing and Employment. One block is devoted wholly to the secondary school. The block with the next smallest population contains 116 inhabitants. This block is partially assigned to one of the elementary schools.

There are, according to recent statistics issued by the Housing Division, 3,953 apartments which are at present occupied. There are, at the same time, over two hundred apartments which are used for purposes other than housing. These apartments are used variously.

The schools use the great number of apartment, 155 of them. It was originally planned that a high school be built in the area between the hospital and the main fire-station, thus relieving block 66. The plans have not materialized, however, despite the fact that construction was at one time scheduled to begin in October. Day nurseries use 33 apartments in various scattered blocks. Fourteen apartments are used by the recreation department. The various store use 17 apartments, and 8 have been designated as offices.

The use of apartments for other purposes than housing accounts for the major differences in population among the various blocks. The same is true of the differences in the number of inhabitants of the seven wards. Ward VII, for example, has the smallest ward population with a total of 1797. This ward contains the high school block. Ward VI on the other hand has the largest number of inhabitants. The total population of this ward aggregates 2522. The fact that this ward contains ten blocks instead of the usual nine is the chief factor in its pre-eminence. The average size of the wards is approximately 2145.

### Intra-Community Mobility

In the beginning of the settlement of this community, assigned quarters were frequently shifted. With the arrival of the first contingents this process of shifting residences began. There are no records of these early moves, unfortunately, and knowledge of them is only fragmentary.

The Division of Housing and Employment has kept some records of intra-community movement, but only since the month of august. Little concrete information remains on the moves that were made within the community before august.

Even the records which the Housing Division has assembled are incomplete and inadequate in reconstructing the intra-community mobility of Tule Lake. In the first place there are a number of moves which the Housing authorities know nothing about; many moves have been made without the knowledge of those responsible for colonist housing. In the second place, many of the records which the Housing Division did acquire, have been discarded, especially in cases in which a family or an individual has moved more than once. In general, the last move only is kept in the records, and the records of previous moves have been destroyed. Mr. Kurimatsu of the Housing Division has the impression that most of the moves within the community have been made by the same people, that there are a few people with extremely high mobility. That impression is rather difficult fo substantiate from the records.

The nature of the record form itself serves to limit its

usefullness. The information contained on the forms is scanty and insufficient. It seems evident that for the present at least, it is impossible to achieve an adquate picture of intracommunity movement. However some picture may be formed, even though inadequate, on the basis of existing information.

In order to reconstruct mobility in so far as that is possible I tabulated a substantaba portion of the records. On the basis of this tabulation it appears that a few tentative conclusions on intra-community mobility may be drawn.

It seems evident that the single individual is far more mobile within the community than the family. It also seems apparent that single males have a far greater mobility than single fremales. Individuals of both sexes between the ages of 20 and thirty appear to be most mobile; people between these ages seem to move more frequently than those who are younger or older. Single males over 50Q however, are almost as mobile as males in the younger age group.

There is good evidence that family mobility is greatly affected by size of family unit. According to the tabulation of the housing records small families of two and three persons move most frequently. Couples were more mobile, than families of three; the latter are more mobile in turn than largerfamilies. Though smaller families have a greater mobility there are records of moves by families of 7, 8 and 11 persons.

In point of time the movement of persons within the community seems quite evenly distributed. The recorded moves were tabulated according to month in which the moves were made. In the five months covered by the housing records, from August to

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Population by ...

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14-21

AGE DISTRIBUTION

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December inclusive, the intra-community moves occur rather evenly.

On the housing records the old and new address of the person or persons moving are included. Thus it is possible to determine whether a move was made to an apartment within the same barrack, or to another barrack within the same block, or to an apartment outside the block of former residence.

According to the tabulations of the housing records, only a small proportion of intra-community moves are made another apartment in the same barrack. More often moves were made to other barracks within the same block. The great majority of the recorded moves were made to another block, however. That is especially true of moves which involved single individuals. Almost all of the recorded moved by individual persons were to apartments outside the block of former residence.

From the housing records, there is no way of determining the reasons for which families or single individuals changed residence. People, in asking for a change of residence, justify their desires in various ways. Where family or group maladjustment is given as the reason for the desired change, the matter is usually referred by the Housing Division to the Social Welfare Department. The latter department then recommends that the application for change of residence be permitted or denied.

Under usual circumstances the Housing Division finds it hard to deny persons permission to move when empty apartments are available, especially if the persons are awaie that there are wawant apartments.

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Some individuals move to other apartments to be nearer their work. To illustrate this type of change of residence, Mr. Kurimatsu of the Housing Division cited various mess hall workers who were employed in blocks distant from their homes. In order to be closer to their work they have changed their place of residence.

There have been a number of marriages in the community, and the new couples have usually been assigned new quarters. This fact doubtlessly has contributed to the apparent higher mobility of two member families in relation to larger families. Unfortunately the housing authorities are not aware of the numbers of people who have been married in the community, nor do they have a record of newly married couples who have been granted separate apartments.

as might well be expected many moves have arisen from the desire of individuals and families to be nearer friends or relatives in another part of the community. The Housing Division frowns on this sort of movement. It maintains that living within the same community is sufficient in most cases. The people concerned, however, can usually think of other reasons for changing residence--reasons with which the Housing Division manifests more sympathy.

In summary it may be stated that single individuals seem to have a far greater intra-community mobility than families; males move more frequently than females. Individuals between the ages of 20 and 30 move with greater frequency than those who are younger or older. Single males over 50 manifest a great intracommunity mobility, almost as great as that of makes between 20 and 300

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### The Population of Tule Lake

Age and Sex Distribution

The structure of the Japanese population in Tule Lake bears a close similarity to the general structure of the total Japanese population in the United States. In the population of this community the same evidences of social forces which have operated in the past upon the total Japanese population of the United States are clearly manifest. The age and sex structure of a population reflects the conditions of net-migration and of births and deaths within that population. That is true here. The pattern of Japanese immigration to the West Coast of America has had much affect upon the Japanese population structure in this country. The peculiar age and sex distribution of the Japanese people in the United States reflects the patterns of Japanese immigration. The Tule Lake community shows clear evidences of the affects of these patterns.

The period of Japanese immigration into the United States is not long in point of time. Immigration began in the 1890's. In 1890 there were only 2,039 Japanese living in this country. A decade later the number of those living here had increased to 24,326. The immigration reached its height in the years from 1900 to 1908. This period marked the high tide of Japanese immigration.

after the Gentleman's agreement in 1908 Japanese immigration was limited to non-labor immigrants. This served to greatly reduce the flow of immigrants. From 1908 until the Exclusion Act in 1924, a large portion of the immigrants from Japan were women. Since the Exclusion Act immigration has almost ceased entirely.

There is much that is not yet knownbabout the history of Japanese immigration to America. In speaking of stream of immigration during the first decade of the century, Dr. Yamato Ichihashi writes, " many (of these immigrants) came from Japan, and many more came from Hawaii about whom we have no statistical information. Even students have been confused as to the possible extent of the latter migration."<sup>1</sup>

It seems probable that when the information contained in the War Relocation Authority census forms is tabulated the patterns of immigration will be more easily reconstructed and their effects analyzed. It will be possible to determine the specific origin of the immigrants for whom there are these census forms. The city and prefecture, the country and date of birth, the day of entry into the United States and the age at first arrival can be tabulated. We will be able to form an excellent picture of the immigrants who have survived the years since the immigration and have remained in this country and who have been evacuated into one of the relocation centers.

 Dr. Yamato Ichihashi, "Reference Material Compiled from <u>The Japanese in the United States</u>, Stanford University Press" <u>p 2.</u> No date is given for this mimeographed material.

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