

Spatial Organization of Japanese Immigrant Communities: Spontaneous Settlements and Planned Colonies in the Northern San Joaquin Valley, California

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INTRODUCTION

Although immigrants and their social and economic activities in the United States have attracted scholarly attention in various academic disciplines, the way immigrants organize space in the host society has seldom been a research topic. Space being one of the major themes in modern geography, geographers have studied the nature of space, spatial structure, spatial relations, perception of space, imagined space, landscape, and other space-related issues. The space in the geographic sense is a segment of the earth which consists of a variety of human activities, and a study of spatial organizations has been one of the major concerns of geographers. I intend to demonstrate in this article that analyses of spatial organizations of immigrant communities are challenging research frontiers. As I have suggested elsewhere, geographers with their scholarly interest and research methods could contribute to American studies.³

California attracted Japanese immigrants from the late-nineteenth century through the mid-1920s, and Japanese communities were established throughout the state. The Japanese first worked as farm laborers, and then climbed the agricultural ladder to become farm operators in

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California's developing agricultural districts. The Japanese engaged in nursery and truck farming in and around San Francisco and Los Angeles. At the same time, many of them were attracted to the irrigation frontiers of the San Joaquin Valley during the first decades of the twentieth century. Although Japanese were aliens ineligible for American citizenship and were faced with discriminatory laws and a hostile social environment, they eventually managed to find their niches as independent farmers in rural California prior to the outbreak of World War II.⁴ The adaptive strategies Japanese farmers employed in the foreign environment, the types of communities they established, and the way of organizing space differed substantially from one place to another, reflecting the conditions of local farming systems and the host society.⁵

This article will explore the way Japanese immigrants organized their space in the American host society by examining the settlement processes in the northern San Joaquin Valley, California, based partly on my previous research findings.⁶ Japanese immigrants built two types of communities, spontaneous settlements and planned colonies. The Turlock-Modesto area of Stanislaus County was spontaneously settled by Japanese immigrant farmers. On the other hand, the Yamato Colony was built in northern Merced County, where Japanese purchased small parcels of land and settled (Figure 1). Although located close to each other, these two farming communities had different strategies of settlement, different farming practices and land use, different immigrants' organizations, and different relations with the surrounding white communities. These differences, as this article will show, were manifested in their different forms of spatial organization.

Following the section outlining the process of settlement in the San Joaquin Valley, I will outline two forms of Japanese settlements. Detailed analyses of spatial organization will follow with special reference to the boundaries, domains, and nodes. Differences in response and sustainability in the face of formal and informal pressures from the host society will also be presented.

PROCESS OF SETTLEMENT IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

Before the irrigation age began at the beginning of the twentieth century, the northern San Joaquin Valley experienced slow economic development. Cattle were grazed on the natural pasture in order to supply meat to the mining districts during the Gold Rush, but the cattle industry

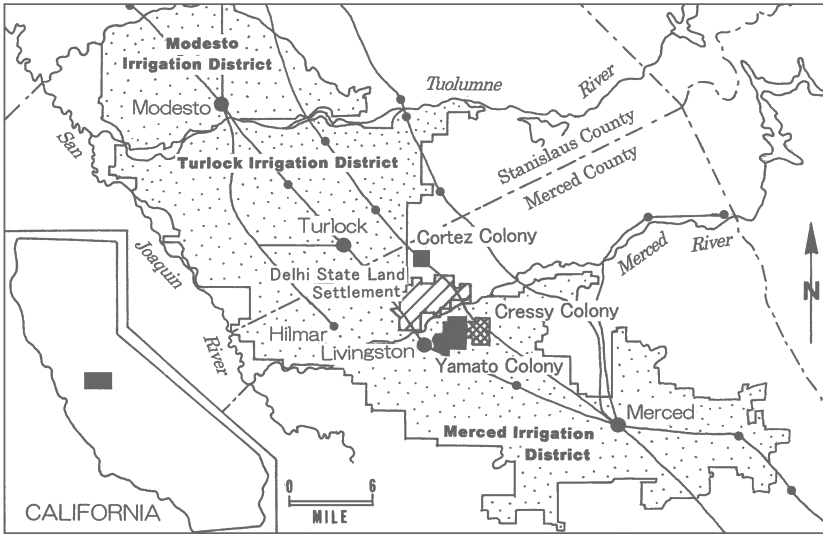


Figure 1. Northern San Joaquin Valley, California

declined in the 1860s. When the Central Valley along overflow lands and marshes was generally thought of as miasmatic, in the late-nineteenth century, due to a malaria epidemic, land became gradually accumulated by a small number of landowners as is exemplified by John Mitchell who once owned 100,000 acres in Stanislaus and Merced counties where my study areas are located.⁷ As wheat culture prospered, California became one of the leading wheat producing states in the United States before the turn of the century.

During the prosperous wheat era, the access of the northern San Joaquin Valley to the world market was improved by the development of transportation systems. Steamboats already ran the San Joaquin River in 1850 to supply necessities to the southern mining district via the Tuolumne and Merced Rivers. Steamers gained importance as they transported wheat from the river ports on the snow-fed streams during the short high-water period. In the 1870s the railroad reached the area, as the Southern Pacific Railroad Company extended the San Joaquin Valley line. Three other lines were also built in the area. These railroad lines contributed not only to the prosperity of the wheat economy in the late-nineteenth century but also to the development of intensive farming after the turn of the century.

Under the semi-arid Mediterranean climate of scarce precipitation during the summer, irrigation was crucial for the development of intensive farming. Farmers' interest in irrigation projects reflected the precipitation pattern. When the dry years continued, farmers recognized the importance of irrigation. Two doctrines of water rights, riparian rights and prior appropriation, came into conflict as land became owned and people began to settle in the arid San Joaquin Valley. There were legal disputes over the water rights in the 1880s. C. C. Wright, a district attorney of Modesto, Stanislaus County, was elected to the California legislature in 1886, and drew up a bill for the Irrigation District Act. Enacted the following year and often called the Wright Act, this enabled the establishment of independent irrigation districts that possessed the rights of imposing taxes and issuing bonds.

The Turlock Irrigation District formed in 1887 was the first irrigation district organized under this act. The neighboring districts of Modesto and Merced soon followed. After many years of legal disputes and difficulties in building dams and canals, irrigation water became available for farming just after the turn of the century.⁸ Water became the driving force of regional change in the northern San Joaquin Valley, as large wheat estates began to be subdivided and many colony subdivisions from 20 to 40 acres came on the market. Many people from different origins participated in the development of irrigation frontiers.

The United States Census data clearly show the process of subdivision. According to the 1900 Census, Stanislaus County had 51 farms in the size of 20 to 50 acres, which accounted for 5.4 percent of the total farms. Ten years later the number of farms of 20–50 acres had increased to 1,046, amounting to 38.9 percent of the total of 2,687 farms. In 1920, 2,063 farms, or 45.1 percent of the total, belonged to this farm size group. Farms larger than 5,000 acres, on the other hand, decreased from 258 (27.2 percent of the total number) in 1900, to 175 (6.5 percent) in 1910, and to 139 (3.1 percent) in 1920.

Many settlers entered this irrigation frontier. Due to irrigation and subsequent land subdivision, the northern San Joaquin Valley became a microcosm of immigrant farming variety that included small farmers of varied national backgrounds such as Swedish, Portuguese, Japanese and many more. A Swedish land agent called N. O. Hultberg built the Hilmar Colony for Swedish settlers by subdividing the land once owned by John Mitchell. The Turlock area became well known as a Swedish colonization zone. Portuguese from the Azores Islands migrated to the area to become successful dairy farmers.⁹

A typical irrigation farm was a family farm with an area of 20 to 40 acres. Dairy farming was typically engaged in by growing alfalfa in the irrigated fields and raising a few cows. Creameries were located throughout the area to process locally produced milk. A variety of melons, including cantaloupes and watermelons, also became important for irrigators. Turlock became known as the melon capital of the country in the 1910s and 1920s, when the Turlock Melon Carnival was annually held in August. As trees and vines grew, peaches and other orchards and vineyards prospered, with processing plants being built for drying and canning locally harvested fruits.

Another interesting feature of the area was the state land settlement of Delhi, planned between Turlock and Livingston in the late 1910s. This settlement project, together with another state land settlement at Durham, was one of the most exceptional colonization schemes ever experimented with in the history of California, under the direction of Elwood Mead, a leader in the development of western irrigation.¹⁰

TWO FORMS OF JAPANESE SETTLEMENTS

Japanese immigrants increased in California from the late-nineteenth century, penetrating farming regions throughout the state. Although Japanese were generally welcomed as farm laborers and tenant farmers, they also purchased small plots of land before the enactment of the Alien Land Law of California. Japanese immigrants came to the irrigation frontier of the northern San Joaquin Valley and found their niche in the expanding agricultural economy.

Two forms of Japanese settlements, spontaneous settlements and planned colonies, developed side by side in the northern San Joaquin Valley prior to World War II (Figure 1). Japanese spontaneously settled in the Turlock area beginning in 1907. Six Japanese purchased a 60-acre lot six miles northwest of Turlock to start cultivating beans and sweet potatoes in 1907. Three years later, six Japanese rented 100 acres three miles north of Turlock. When the melon boom started, Japanese farmers increased and specialized in cantaloupes, the most important product of the region. In addition to operating farms, Japanese migrant farm workers played an important role by harvesting melons during the summer.

A Japanese colony was planned and developed some ten miles southeast of the town of Turlock in northern Merced County by Kyutaro Abiko, a Japanese Christian businessman from San Francisco. He was

born in Niigata Prefecture in 1865 and later moved to San Francisco, where he worked as the president of the Gospel Society and managed several companies. *Nichibei Shimbun* (*Japanese American News*), for example, was the San Francisco-based Japanese language newspaper serving Japanese communities in the western states. The Japanese American Industrial Corporation was a labor-contracting company, providing Japanese laborers for railroad, mining, and beet sugar companies throughout the western states. The American Land and Produce Company was set up to build and manage colony projects. Abiko dreamed of establishing Christian colonies for Japanese immigrants in California.¹¹

My preliminary analysis of the manuscript census schedules of 1910 and 1920 suggests that the nature of ethnic economy and community established by the Japanese, and their way of organizing space, appear to differ substantially from that of the Swedish and Portuguese who occupied the northern San Joaquin Valley.¹² However, the nature of Japanese economy and community and the way of organizing space also differed substantially among Japanese immigrant communities located in the same irrigation frontier.

BOUNDARY, DOMAIN, AND NODE

Two types of Japanese settlements formed in the northern San Joaquin Valley, spontaneous settlements and planned colonies, are compared and contrasted here in terms of the spatial organization. The settled space may be understood to consist of boundaries, domains, and nodes. Figure 2 schematically represents two types of settlements.

In order to understand the structure of the space, the following components need to be scrutinized: land tenure, farm size, type of farming and crops, occupational structure, size and density of population, ethnic organizations, socio-cultural networks, and relations with the host society. Boundaries of colonized space may be clear or vague. Land ownership and leasehold represent different strategies of settlement. When farmland is owned, perennial crops are generally grown and stable communities are organized due to the low mobility of settlers. In terms of occupation, urban small business often serves immigrant farmers as well as the members of the local host society. Size and density of immigrant populations also differ depending upon the settlement types. Experiencing formal and informal pressure from the host society, various ethnic

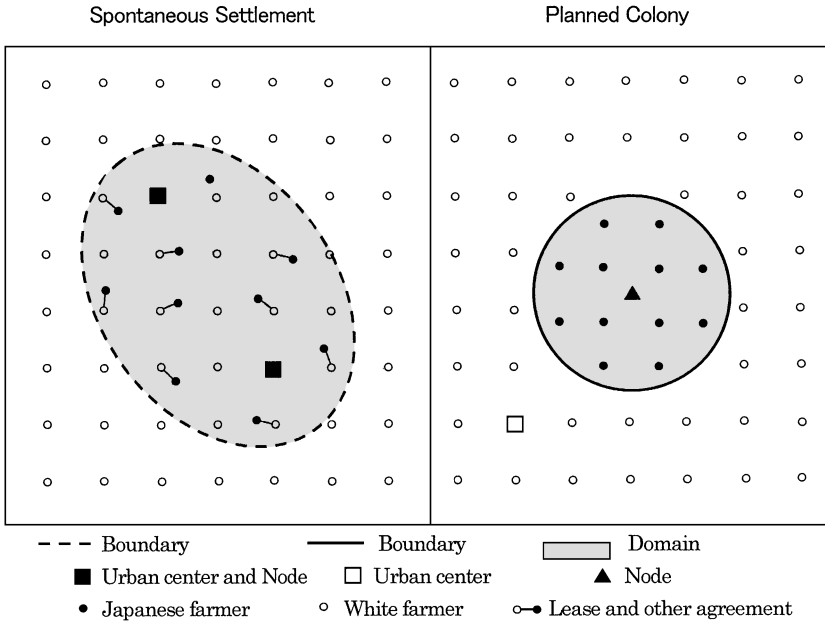


Figure 2. Boundary, Domain, and Node for Spontaneous Settlement and Planned Colony by Japanese Immigrants

organizations are formed for the purpose of social, cultural, economic and political functions. A socio-cultural network based on ethnic organizations facilitates daily living. Since immigrant communities cannot exist in isolation, and have close connections with the local host society, their relations with the host society differ from one place to another.

The Japanese who settled spontaneously in the Turlock-Modesto area did not develop compact and cohesive settlements, as is sketched in Figure 2 (left). The domain stretched from Turlock to Modesto along the Southern Pacific Railroad track and their boundaries were not solid. They mingled with white farmers and thus the population density of Japanese immigrants was low. The nature of the domain can be understood by analyzing the size and density of population, land tenure, and farming types.

According to the “Occupation and Population Survey, 1920” submitted to the Japanese Consulate of San Francisco,¹³ the Japanese population was scattered between Turlock and Modesto. The Turlock-Modesto area had a Japanese population of 494 (120 households) excluding the planned colony of Cortez. The family was an important unit of the com-

munity. Examination of the "Occupation and Population Survey, 1928" shows that 70 percent of adult males gainfully engaged in economic activities were accompanied by their spouse. A married couple had three children on an average.

The scattered pattern of settlement may be explained by the system of land tenure and farming. The Japanese in the Turlock-Modesto area mainly leased land for farming activities. In 1919, six Japanese owned 439 acres, while 4,500 acres were under cash rent and 2,650 under sharecropping. In 1922, owned property slightly decreased to 390 acres, while the Japanese farmed 2,340 acres by cash rent, sharecropping, and contract. Farms under cash rent averaged 20 acres, ranging from 10 to 40 acres. The sharp decrease in the rented land presumably reflected the 1920 Alien Land Law. Very few Japanese held title to land before the 1913 Alien Land Law was enacted, and its revisions of 1920 and 1923 further restricted Japanese farming activities. Twelve Japanese in 1922 were engaged in sharecropping and contract farming, cultivating 1,445 acres, the average being 120 acres. In 1922, 86 percent of the Japanese cultivated land was under cash rent, sharecropping, and contract.¹⁴

Although a small number of landowners tended to specialize in grapes and peaches, the renters were cantaloupe growers. They usually paid 50 dollars a year per acre, which was higher than the average rent for the area. Since dealer credit was commonly available for renting land as well as for cultivation and harvest, Japanese immigrants were able to start melon farms without any capital. Local dealers advanced Japanese farmers a part of the rent and provided them with expenses for harvesting and shipping and even nails and labels for crates. White landlords welcomed Japanese tenant farmers who paid high rents. The Japanese preferred a short-term lease, for the repeated cultivation of melons on the same ground brought about a sharp decline in the yield.

The spatial organization of Japanese agricultural colonies formed in the northern San Joaquin Valley totally differed from that of the spontaneous settlement. The planned colony had clear boundaries, compact domain, and cohesive structure (Figure 2 right). The building of Abiko's first colony began in 1906 when 1,313 acres were purchased by the Japanese American Industrial Corporation to develop the Yamato Colony Number One just east of the town of Livingston on the Southern Pacific Railroad. The area for the Yamato Colony Number Two (453 acres) and Number Three (1,448 acres) were purchased from several landowners in 1907. A compact Japanese colony of some 3,000 acres

emerged between the Southern Pacific Railroad and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. The colony was originally divided into 40-acre lots and sold to the Japanese.¹⁵

The first few pioneers settled in the Yamato Colony in November 1906. As the colony land was advertised, settlers started to come in and purchased small lots. Many became owners of 40-acre lots, while the largest owner had over 1,000 acres. There were also absentee landlords who owned larger tracts of land. There were many new settlers who temporarily worked on large Japanese farms before purchasing small parcels in the colony. By the end of the 1910s, the colony contained a population of over 200. When the 1913 Alien Land Law was enacted, a majority of the Japanese settlers already held title to farmland.

The colony expanded beyond the original boundaries as the number of colonists increased. Japanese farms increased to the east in the Cressy Colony, Abiko's second land development established in 1918 by the Yamato Farming and Produce Company. The new colony was subdivided into 20-acre lots. Some settlers owned farmland west of the Yamato Colony. At the same time, there were non-Japanese landowners within the Yamato Colony. The Japanese-American Bank in San Francisco, which had financed the purchase of the colony land, failed in 1909.¹⁶ In the liquidation process, the State Banking Department sold 386 acres of unimproved lots to two Americans, from Livingston and Merced.¹⁷

Abiko's third colony was the Cortez Colony to the north of the Merced River. Some 2,000 acres appear to have been purchased by Abiko and were subdivided into 40-acre parcels.¹⁸ Although details of the Cortez Colony are yet to be studied, the Official Map of the County of Merced 1919 shows 44 units of 40-acre lots under the name of Sunny Acres Tract, which may have been purchased by Abiko. The "Farm Crops and Cultivated Acres, 1922" and the "Occupation and Population Survey, 1928" suggest that 20 landowners owned 876 acres in 1922, and 31 landowners had 1,136 acres in 1928 in Cortez. The average size of farms was around 40 acres. The "Farm Crop and Cultivated Acres, 1922" has listings of cultivated crops, in which nine farms in Cortez grew grapes and seven farms, grapes and peaches. The colony had a population of 67 in 1920 and 232 in 1928.

The Yamato Colony grew as a prosperous farming community. By the late 1910s grapes were most important crop, occupying some 1,000 acres. In addition, 500 acres were planted to fruit trees, primarily

peaches but also some apricots, figs and almonds. For the four to five years before the vines were expected to bring a good harvest, many settlers engaged in farm labor outside the colony and even outside California. In addition, 100 acres were planted to alfalfa and some 500 acres to hay, while sweet potatoes, tomatoes, eggplants, and watermelons also supplemented the farmers' incomes. Expanding production of grapes and other fruits from the mid-1910s brought prosperity to the town of Livingston, where consignment firms opened offices and packing sheds for the shipment of Japanese-grown products to Midwestern and Eastern markets.

Both the spontaneous settlements and the planned colonies had a center of spatial organization, which may be called a node. The node took care of social, cultural, economic, and administrative functions that were based on Japanese ethnic ties. The form and function of the node differed in the spontaneously settled areas and the planned colonies. Immigrant communities under discriminatory pressure from the host society developed numerous ethnic organizations as adaptive strategies.

For the spontaneous settlement in the Turlock-Modesto area, the urban centers of Turlock and Modesto functioned as the nodes. The city of Turlock was the primary node, with the Japanese Community Hall located downtown. The offices of the Japanese Association of Stanislaus County, the Central California Cantaloupe Company, and the Turlock Social Club were all housed in this building.

The Central California Cantaloupe Company was organized in Turlock in 1914 to ship Japanese-grown cantaloupes. The Japanese Farmers' Association of Turlock existed from 1916 to 1921 as a farmers' cooperative for production, marketing, and purchase, with 51 members. The Japanese Association of Stanislaus County functioned as a subsidiary of the Japanese Consulate of San Francisco. The "Occupation and Population Survey" and "Farm Crops and Cultivated Acres" already analyzed in this study appear to have been surveyed by this association and to have been reported to the Japanese Consulate of San Francisco. The Turlock Farm Corporation, officially organized under the California law in October 1927 in Turlock, was owned by second-generation Japanese and was intended to facilitate Japanese farming activities. Remaining records of lease and indenture agreements (1929-1932) show that the company rented farmland from white landlords on behalf of Japanese farm operators.

The Turlock Social Club encouraged socio-cultural activities among

Japanese residents. It had been originally organized as a non-profit organization under California law in 1925. Under its auspices the Mutual Aid Society of the Turlock Social Club promoted mutual help and welfare. Women, especially the *Issei*, belonged to the Turlock Women's Society. In the Japanese Community Hall in downtown Turlock, the Japanese Language School was held every weekend, and Buddhist worship was conducted once a month on Sunday afternoons. Japanese movies were often shown, while Christmas parties, New Year's Day celebrations, weddings, funerals, and other events took place at the Japanese Community Hall.

Although farming was the most important economic activity and the domain was constituted by farm households, some Japanese managed small businesses. The "Occupation and Population Survey, 1926" suggests that three Japanese worked at grocery stores, three at boarding houses, two at barbershops, three at laundries, and three at billiard rooms in Turlock and Modesto. They catered largely to local Japanese needs. Although available data show the existence of such urban businesses only during the 1920s, it may be understood that those non-farming businesses continued up until the outbreak of World War II.

The Yamato Colony had a node within the self-contained colony; ethnic organizations played a nodal role in the colony.¹⁹ The Yamato Colony Association was organized in 1908 and the Community Hall was constructed in 1914. Christianity was a centripetal force of the Yamato Colony, Buddhism having no importance. Abiko, the founder of the colony, was a devout follower of Christianity, and so were the early settlers. Sunday worship was regularly held at a private residence, and many newcomers turned to Christianity. In 1917 the Livingston Japanese Church of Christ was formally established on a 10-acre lot with 46 charter members, as the prospering farming made it possible to support a church.²⁰

The economic node for the Yamato Colony was formed in Livingston. The Livingston Cooperative Society was officially organized in 1913 to start cooperative marketing, maintaining a small office in downtown Livingston. Later conflict among members split the cooperative into two separate organizations in 1927, the Livingston Fruit Exchange and the Livingston Fruit Growers Association. This reflected increased diversity among colony members.

The form and function of the node were partly influenced by its leaders. In the Yamato Colony, a typical planned colony, Abiko was the pro-

ject leader who planned and carried out colony projects while there were also community leaders who resided in the colony and played key roles in various aspects of the colony life. In the spontaneous settlement of the Turlock-Modesto area, on the other hand, there were no project leaders to play a focal role.

PRESSURES, RESPONSES, AND SUSTAINABILITY

The Japanese immigrants were faced with formal and informal pressure from the host society. Anti-Japanese sentiment was especially strong in the 1910s and early 1920s in California. The 1913 Alien Land Law denied land ownership to those ineligible for American citizenship, i.e. Japanese immigrants, and restricted their leases to up to three years. The law was revised in 1920 and 1923, further restricting Japanese farming activities. These laws, however, did not terminate Japanese farming, for the *Nisei*, or American citizens of Japanese descent born to Japanese immigrants, were growing up and they eventually took over lease agreements and land ownership. The 1924 Immigration and Naturalization Act, commonly known as the Japanese Exclusion Act, cut the influx of Japanese workers.

Both the spontaneous settlements in the Turlock-Modesto area and the planned colony of Yamato equally faced pressure from American society. On the other hand, local white communities responded to the Japanese immigrant communities in different manners.

In the Turlock-Modesto area, anti-Japanese sentiment was strong while the conflict of interests among local whites also existed. This was well exemplified by a forceful expulsion of Japanese farm laborers on the night of July 19, 1921. Japanese migrant workers, who had gathered in the area to harvest melons, were raided at their bunkhouses by armed whites, who forcefully took 58 Japanese out of town.²¹ Businessmen in town were strongly anti-Japanese. White farm workers were also anti-Japanese as they competed with Japanese laborers working at lower wages.

On the other hand, white farm owners took advantage of the Japanese by renting them small plots as well as by hiring them for farm labor. For local dealers and shippers of melons and other fruits Japanese farmers were dependable suppliers of quality products. Exclusion of the Japanese from the area meant a substantial loss to their economic basis. The Japanese were indispensable for the local economy.

By employing their adaptive strategies, the Japanese in the Yamato Colony developed a delicately balanced coexistence with the white community of adjoining Livingston. Settlers were well educated, including some college graduates, and spoke fluent English. They often participated in social activities in town. Being physically separated from the town of Livingston, the settlers were able to organize a cohesive community with socio-political unity by maintaining peaceful relations with the town. They decided not to keep stores in town in order to avoid conflict with white businessmen. This became the unwritten consensus of the colony.²² No stores existed within the colony either, and a Japanese merchant from nearby Turlock came to sell Japanese foods and other goods.

The white community of Livingston highly appraised the Japanese residents of the Yamato Colony for their intelligence, honesty, commitment to America, and productive farming activities. Their existence was actually important for the economic prosperity of the town. When the anti-Japanese sentiment prevailed in the late 1910s and early 1920s, the white community of Livingston participated in the anti-Japanese measures to exclude Japanese immigrants and to boycott land sales to the Japanese. But they distinguished Yamato Colony's Japanese residents ("Our Japanese") from other Japanese laborers and new settlers. Unlike other newspapers of California in the 1920s, *The Livingston Chronicle* did not use the term "Jap."²³ Even at the height of anti-Japanese sentiment, economic, social, and personal relations between the colony and the white town were maintained.

Figures 3 and 4 summarize this discussion. The structure of space in the Turlock-Modesto area and that of the Yamato Colony differed in their different adaptive strategies, although they were both typical Japanese communities in rural California. Differences in structure can also be observed in the mobility of Japanese farmers and the sustainability of colonized space. Japanese tenant farmers in the spontaneous settlement of the Turlock-Modesto area appear to have had high mobility. Japanese melon growers were mobile in terms of location as they shifted from one farm plot to another after one or two growing seasons. Growers preferred this mobility in order to maintain high yields. The domain appears to have been mobile in that newcomers constantly replaced those who moved out of the area, although I have not yet found data to verify this. The Yamato Colony, on the other hand, was characterized by little mobility, as farmland was owned and perennial crops were raised.

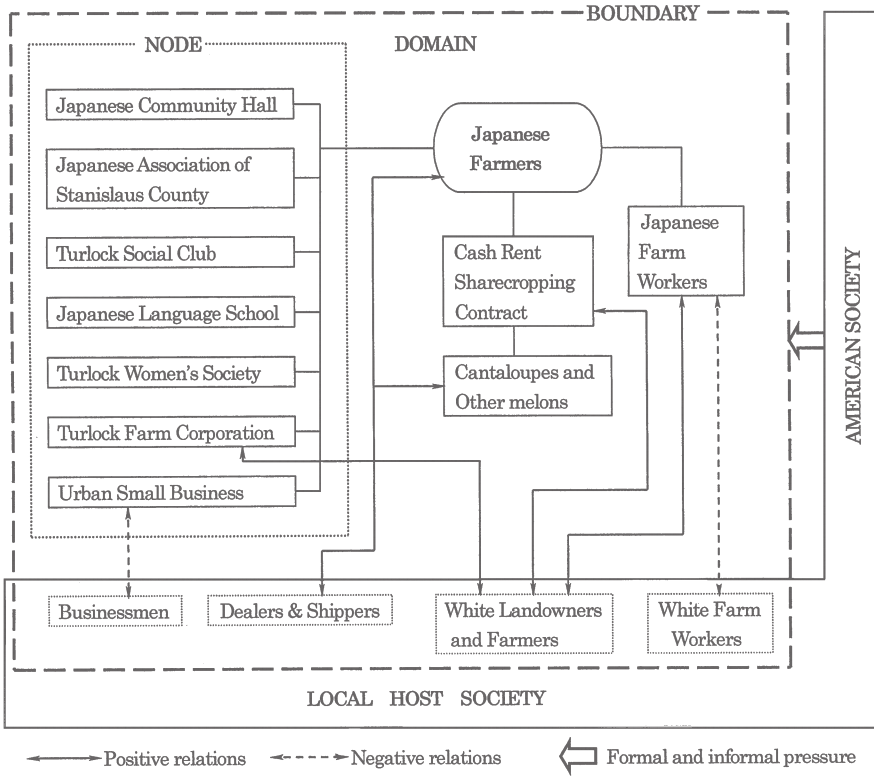


Figure 3. Structure of Spontaneous Settlement in the Turlock-Modesto Area

Sustainability of community also differed between the spontaneous settlements and the planned colonies. Both communities prospered in different ways until Japanese residents were forcefully evacuated into the inland concentration camps during World War II.²⁴ The evacuation also exerted a different impact on these communities. After the evacuation ended, the Japanese settlement in the Turlock-Modesto area was not restored, while the Yamato Colony survived as the residents came back to resume farming.

Such a difference in sustainability appears to be due mainly to the structure of organized space, especially to the land tenure. The Japanese farming communities of the Turlock-Modesto area lost their economic bases, as the farmers were tenants. The Yamato Colony was sustained on the basis of landownership, and the structure of the colony was restored as the residents returned and resumed farming activities.

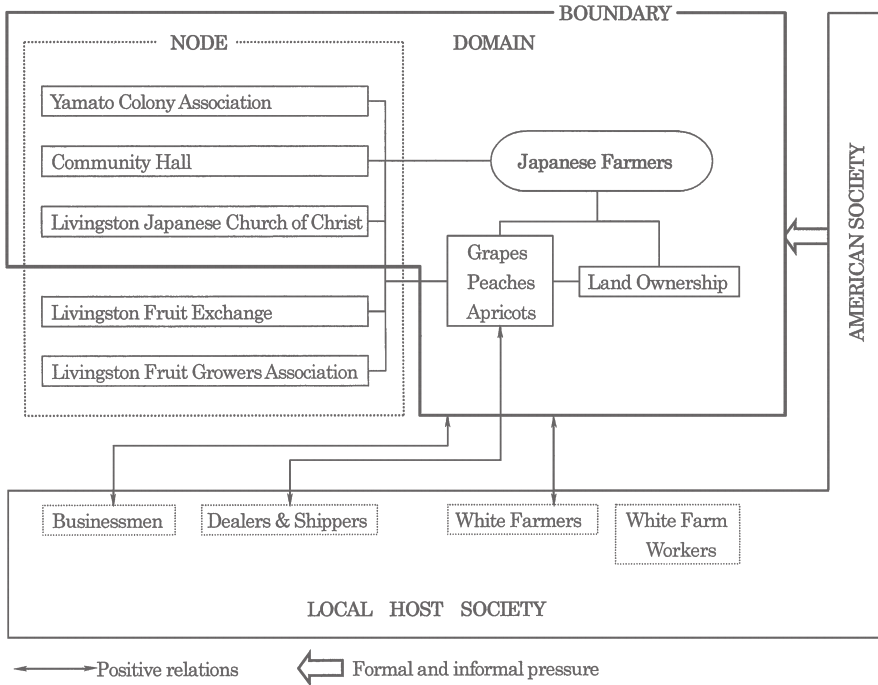


Figure 4. Structure of Yamato Colony

CONCLUSION

In order to examine the spatial organization of Japanese immigrant farming communities, this article compared and contrasted the spontaneous settlements and planned colonies in the northern San Joaquin Valley prior to World War II. Although located close to each other, these two forms of Japanese settlements showed sharp differences in terms of spatial organization. The present study suggests that an analysis of the spatial organization of immigrant communities is important in understanding the nature of immigrant communities as well as the characteristics of rural California.

Three research frontiers remained unexplored. In order to obtain a better understanding of Japanese immigrant communities prior to World War II, case studies on the spatial organization, such as the one presented in this article, need to be accumulated. Due to the differences in local

socio-economic conditions, adaptive strategies of Japanese immigrants and the way of organizing space also differed from one farming district to another. Where case studies have been undertaken on other Japanese immigrant communities, re-examination of the previous findings will bring about new insight. Such studies will combine to provide the basis for drawing an overall picture of Japanese immigrant communities in the United States.

The second research frontier exists in the comparative studies of immigrant groups. According to my research in progress in the northern San Joaquin Valley, Swedish and Portuguese immigrants appear to have applied different adaptive strategies and formed communities with different spatial organizations. Comparing Japanese immigrant farmers with other immigrant groups will certainly clarify the characteristics of this ethnic group. It also provides a better understanding of the rural society composed of different people of different cultural backgrounds. This appears to be another challenging research frontier.

Thirdly, the changes occurred in the spatial organization may be dynamic. For example, the Yamato Colony changed following World War II, as the *Nisei* took the leadership in the community and economy, replacing retired *Issei*, when the American social milieu became much more tolerant of ethnic diversity. Studies on the post-war changes in the Japanese communities in terms of spatial organization appear to be another research frontier.

NOTES

¹ Cultural and social geographers have directed their attention to urban immigrant groups and spatial segregation. See, for example: David Ward, *Poverty, Ethnicity, and the American City, 1840-1925* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Brian J. Godfrey, *Neighborhoods in Transition: The Making of San Francisco's Ethnic and Nonconformist Communities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

² A classical synthesis of geography on space was Ronald Abler, John S. Adams and Peter Gould, *Spatial Organization: The Geographer's View of the World* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971). For geographers' understanding of space, see R. J. Johnston, Derek Gregory and David M. Smith, eds., *The Dictionary of Human Geography Third Edition* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994).

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Economic Geography in Japan], *The Bulletin of the Center for American Studies of the University of Tokyo* 15 (1993): 39–52.

⁴ Masakazu Iwata, “The Japanese Immigrants in California Agriculture,” *Agricultural History* 36 (1962): 25–37; Masakazu Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil: A History of the Issei in United States Agriculture* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1992); Noritaka Yagasaki, *Imin Nogyo: Cariforunia no Nihonjin Imin Shakai* [Immigrant Agriculture: Japanese Immigrants’ Society in California], (Tokyo: Kokon Shoin, 1993).

⁵ Noritaka Yagasaki, “Ethnic Agricultural Cooperatives as Adaptive Strategies in Japanese Overseas Communities: Diffusion, Development and Adaptation in Contextual Perspective,” *Geographical Review of Japan* 68B (1995): 119–136.

⁶ Noritaka Yagasaki, “Japanese Immigrant Farmers and Their Adaptive Strategies in the Farming Region of Turlock, California,” *Geographical Review of Japan* 69A (1996): 670–692; Noritaka Yagasaki, “Kariforuniashu Sanhoakinbarei Hokubu no Nikkei Keikaku Shokuminchi” [Japanese Colonies in Northern San Joaquin Valley of California], *Journal of the Yokohama National University Section I* 42 (1996): 41–58; Noritaka Yagasaki, “Japanese Immigrants and the Sustainability of Ethnic Settlements in California’s Irrigation Frontier,” in Hiroshi Sasaki et al., eds., *Geographical Perspectives on Sustainable Rural Systems* (Tokyo: Kaisei Publications, 1996): 417–425.

⁷ Noritaka Yagasaki, “19 Seiki ni okeru Kariforunia no Imaji to Kankyo” [Image and Regionality of California in the Nineteenth Century], *Gakugei Chiri* 54 (1999): 1–20.

⁸ Frank Adams, “Irrigation Districts in California”, *Bulletin* 21, (Sacramento: State of California, Department of Public Works, 1929); Alan M. Paterson, *Land, Water and Power: A History of the Turlock Irrigation District, 1887–1987* (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1989).

⁹ Helen A. Hohenthal et al., *Streams in a Thirsty Land: A History of the Turlock Region* (Turlock: City of Turlock, 1971); Phebe Fjellstrom, “Swedish-American Colonization in the San Joaquin Valley in California: A Study of the Acculturation and Assimilation of an Immigrant Group,” *Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensa* 33 (1970): 1–157; Alvin R. Graves, “Immigrants in Agriculture: The Portuguese Californians, 1850–1970’s,” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977); Noritaka Yagasaki, “Kariforuniashu Sanhoakinbarei Hokubu ni okeru Suedenjin no Nyushoku Katei” [Swedish Colonization in Northern San Joaquin Valley, California], *Journal of the Faculty of Education and Human Sciences, Yokohama National University Section III* 1 (1998): 75–89.

¹⁰ Noritaka Yagasaki, “Kariforuniashu Deruhai ni okeru shuritsu Shokumin Jigyo: Jikkenteki Koroni no Kensetsu to Hokai (1), (2)” [California State Land Settlement in Delhi: Construction and Collapse of an Experimental Colony (1), (2)], *Journal of the Yokohama National University Section I* 39 (1993): 65–79; 40 (1994): 45–63.

¹¹ Seizo Oka, “Abiko Kyutaro Den” [Biography of Kyutaro Abiko], *Hokubei Mainichi Shimbum* (8 May–30 August 1980).

¹² Noritaka Yagasaki, “Kariforuniashu Sanhoakinbarei ni okeru Kangai Furontia to Imin Shakai” [Irrigation Frontiers and Immigrant Communities in San Joaquin Valley, California], *The Historical Geography* 43:4 (2001): 53–54.

¹³ “Shokugyo narabini Koguchi Chosa, Taisho 9 nen” [Occupation and Population Survey, 1920], Japanese American Research Project (JARP) Collection, University of California, Los Angeles.

¹⁴ “Kosakubutsu narabini Eikasu, 1922” [Farm Crops and Cultivated Acres, 1922], “Shokugyo narabini Koguchi Chosa 1920, 1928” [Occupation and Population Survey 1920, 1928], JARP Collection, UCLA.

¹⁵ Kesa Noda, *Yamato Colony: 1906–1960* (Livingston: JAACL Livingston-Merced Chapter, 1981).

¹⁶ Noritaka Yagasaki, “Ethnic Financial Systems among Japanese Immigrants in California,” *Tsukuba Studies in Human Geography* 11 (1987): 181–196.

¹⁷ Noda, *op. cit.*, footnote, 15: 220.

¹⁸ Oka, *op. cit.*, footnote 11: August 15.

¹⁹ Tadashi Sugiura, “Changing Land Occupance Patterns and Ethnicity of a Japanese-American Rural Community: A Case Study in Livingston, California,” *The Human Geography* [Jimbun-Chiri], 38 (1986): 483–506.

²⁰ Noda, *op. cit.*, footnote 15.

²¹ Yuji Ichioka, “The 1921 Turlock Incident: Forceful Expulsion of Japanese Laborers,” in E. Gee, ed., *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America* (Los Angeles: Asian American Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1976): 195–199.

²² Noda, *op. cit.*, footnote 15: 40.

²³ Valery L. Matsumoto, *Farming the Home Place: A Japanese American Community in California, 1919–1982* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

²⁴ Noritaka Yagasaki, “Kariforunia ni okeru Nihonjin no Kyoseishuyo to Imin Nogyo” [Japanese Farmers and Wartime Evacuation in California], *Journal of the Yokohama National University Section I* 35 (1989): 51–70.