

Farming by the Japanese in the Seattle Area of Washington, Prior to WWII

Hiroyuki SAWADA* and George H. KAKIUCHI**

I Introduction

Farmers of Japanese ancestry have played an important role in developing intensive horticulture and floriculture in the western coastal states of the United States, especially in California. Many papers have been written and parts of books have dealt with the development of their activities. Recently, Yagasaki N.,^{1),2),3),4)} a geographer, did a study on Japanese floriculture and truck farming in California.

In the state of Washington, although the number of Japanese immigrants was much smaller than in California, they were quite important in the growing of vegetables, berries and flowers. However, less is known of their activities than in California. The main reasons for this, it seems, are that their agricultural activities were small compared to that of California, and having disappeared during WWII due to the evacuation of the people of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific coast states, farming by them did not recover to its pre-war status. Nevertheless, to understand the pattern of settling of the Japanese immigrants in the Pacific Northwest and along the Pacific coast in general, it is important to study their role in the development of intensive cultivation of vegetables, small fruit, and flowers near the larger cities.

In the pre-War period, the Japanese farmers in the state of Washington were concentrated in the areas near Seattle. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to examine the development of Japanese agriculture in the vicinity of Seattle before the World War II. The research was done mainly during 1981 through interviews with many local Japanese Americans who are still farming or who were knowledgeable about the subject.

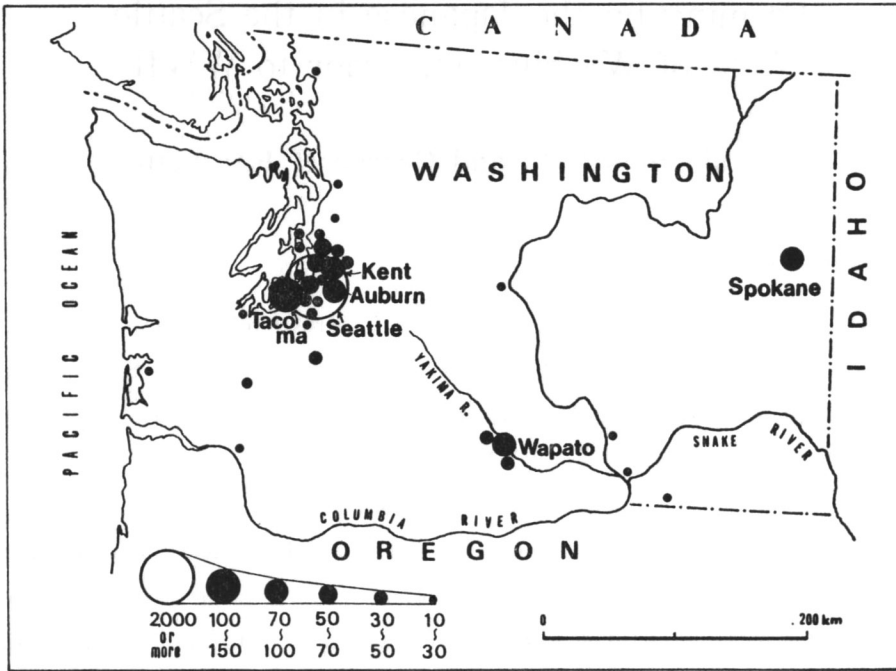
II Development of Farming by the Japanese in Washington

It is said the Japanese began settling in the Seattle Area by 1883 and in Tacoma by 1885⁵⁾. The opening of regularly scheduled sailing by the Nihon-Yusen Shipping Co.

*Department of Geography, Rissho University, Japan

**Department of Geography, University of Washington, U.S.A.

Fig.1 Distribution of Japanese Families in Washington State (1936)

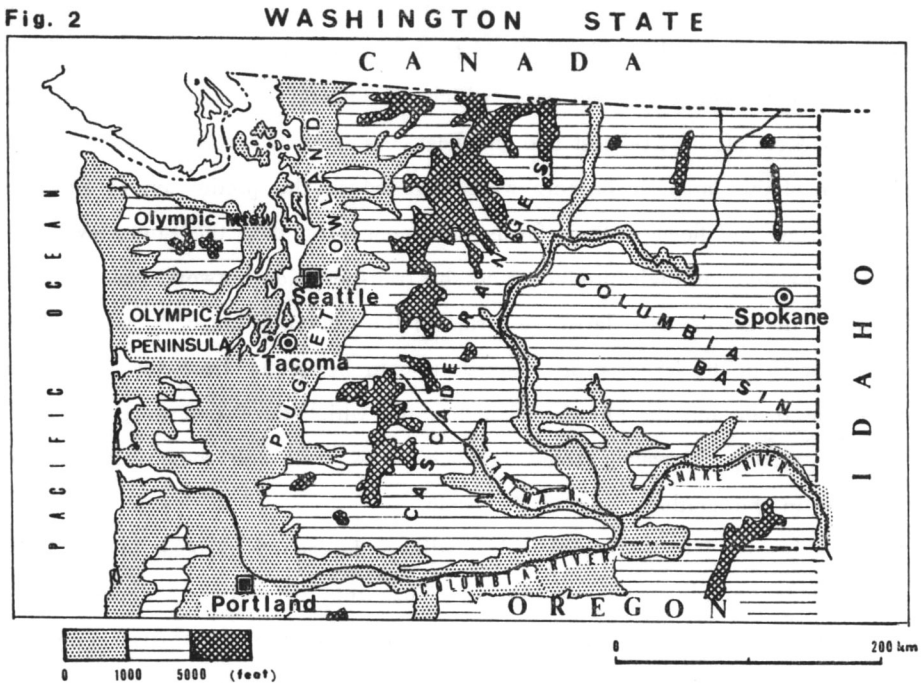


to Seattle in 1896 and the Osaka-Shosen Shipping Co. to Tacoma in 1909, accelerated Japanese immigration into Washington. They gradually scattered over the Puget Sound lowland in Western Washington and the Yakima Valley and the Columbia plateau in eastern Washington. However, the core of their population distribution was in the Puget Sound lowland between Seattle and Tacoma. Although initially many entered into the non-urban labor market, eventually most moved to the larger cities like Seattle and Tacoma and became engaged in urban occupations. The number of Japanese who resided in Seattle, for example, was 8 in 1886, 300 in 1890, 4,000 in 1900, 5,000 in 1910 and 9,000 in 1920⁶⁷.

Some Japanese began to farm in the Puget Sound area as early as the last decades of the nineteenth century. Many were immigrants who came to become farmers; other gave up their jobs in cities, railroad construction or lumbering to farm. At first, the Japanese farmers were employed as laborers by Caucasian farmers, but later they became independent farmers, establishing their own type of agriculture, especially intensive horticulture, floriculture and greenhouse horticulture.

Most of the Japanese farmers were located in the Puget Sound lowland between Seattle and Tacoma. The Puget lowland extends north and south, between the Cascade

Fig. 2



mountain ranges and the coastal mountains. The western half of it is occupied by an inland sea known as the Puget Sound. The eastern half is formed by a narrow plain 20-30 kilometers wide and several small valleys. There are relatively few flat regions, consisting mostly of rolling hills lying less than 200 meters above sea level. These hills were once covered with Douglas Fir. A few of the larger valleys are alluvial plains such as those along the Green River, which flows south of Seattle, the Puyallup River, which flows into the Commencement Bay in Tacoma, and the White River, which is a tributary of the Puyallup River. These alluvial plains offer good farming land for horticulture. The weather of this region is a typical West Coast climate. In spite of the region's high latitude, 47-48° N., the winters are mild, with the mean average temperature in the coldest month being 3.6° C. Although most of the precipitation occurs in winter from November to February, the summers are cool and wet enough so that general horticulture needs no special irrigation.

Most of the larger urban centers are located on the Puget lowland. Among them, Seattle is the largest. The city grew rapidly after it was connected to the East by the Great Northern Railroad in 1893. Also it benefited greatly from trade with Alaska and East Asia. It's population increased from 43,000 in 1890 to 368,000 in 1930⁷⁾, and became the largest urban center in the Pacific Northwest. The larger urban centers offered

the Japanese horticulturists large markets for their products. Their increasing agricultural importance was due not only to the demand from local urban centers but also reflected the development of cold-storage railroad cars, which enabled the farmers to send their products to the markets of the Midwest and the East.

As most of the Japanese farmers were engaged in the production of fresh vegetables, strawberries, and flowers, their farms were concentrated in the Puget lowland where large markets existed for their products and the transportation network was well developed. Therefore, there were few Japanese farms in the Columbia basin in eastern Washington, located far from the larger cities. In addition to being far from the urban centers, the climate was drier and the characteristic farming which developed were wheat cultivation and cattle raising. However, some Japanese grew fruit and some vegetables in the Yakima Valley in the southern part of the basin.

Farming by the Japanese developed steadily and reached its peak in the 1930s. By that period, their cropping had come to specialize into three types, depending on the distances from Seattle: market gardening in the suburbs of Seattle, strawberry growing on the islands in the Puget Sound, and truck farming on the alluvial plains to the east of Tacoma.

III Land Ownership of Japanese Farmers

Most of the land in which Japanese farmers settled in the early 1900s, was covered with forest or was of marshy land. Since the Japanese immigrants were prohibited from owning their land by a law passed in 1906, which took away the right of becoming a citizen of the United States and therefore the right to own property, they could only clear or reclaim land for farming under some kind of agreement with American land owners. To add to the difficulties, the state of Washington proclaimed the law which prohibited not only ownership but also leasehold by the Japanese in 1921. Therefore, Japanese had to work as farm laborers or managers of American farms. However, since the children of foreigners who were born in the U.S. were able to get citizenship of the United States, many immigrant Japanese farmed lands owned by their children as they became of age.

Table 1 shows land ownership among Japanese farmers in Bellevue before World War II. Most immigrants who were able to have farms before 1920 were the members of the Furuya Land Company. They were technically farm laborers of farms operated by the company, but in actuality they were "independent" farmers who had bought land from the company. In the economic depression of the 1930s, the company became bankrupt in

Table 1 Ownership of Land of Japanese Farmers in Bellevue before W. W. II

No.	Date of Acquisition	Acreage (acre)	Process of getting Land Ownership	Change of Ownership	No.	Date of Acquisition	Acreage (acre)	Process of getting Land Ownership	Change of Ownership
1	1906	5	acquisition by obligatory right		15	1919	7	employee of Furuya Land Co.	1932 name of the oldest son
2	1907	10	employee of Furuya Land Co.		16	1919	10	employee of Furuya Land Co.	
3	1909	10	employee of Furuya Land Co.		17	1920	5	name of the oldest daughter	
4	1909	3	employee of Furuya Land Co.	name of daughter	18	1920	4	unknown	
5	1910	10	employee of Furuya Land Co.		19	1920	3	employee of Furuya Land Co.	1932 name of the oldest son
6	1910	10	employee of Furuya Land Co.		20	1920	2	employee of Furuya Land Co.	1932 name of the oldest son
7	1912	7	employee of Furuya Land Co.		21	1920	10	unknown	
8	1916	5	employee of Furuya Land Co.		22	1925	20	citizen of the U. S.	
9	1919	5	guardian for an American citizen	name of daughter	23	1927	10	citizen of the U. S.	
10	1919	5	employee of Furuya Land Co.	1932 name of the oldest son	24	1927	10	citizen of the U. S.	
11	1919	5	employee of Furuya Land Co.	1932 name of the oldest daughter	25	1934	10	name of oldest son	
12	1919	10	employee of Furuya Land Co.	1932 name of the oldest son	26	1936	105	unknown	
13	1919	10	employee of Furuya Land Co.	1932 name of the oldest son	27	1937	5	citizen of the U. S.	
14	1919	10	employee of Furuya Land Co.		28	1938	2	name of the oldest son	

Tushima, A. (1952) : "Dainiji taisen-zen dôhō Belluvue kaikon huntô-shi" pp.21~23.

Table 2 Change in Status of Japanese Farmers (Part of) in Bellevue before W. W. II

Farmer	Arrival in the U. S.	Bellevue			Return to Japan or Death
		Arrival in Town	Number of Moves within Town	Departure from Town	
A	unknown	1899			
B	1900	1900	2	1928	
C	unknown	1900	2	1928	
D	unknown	1900			1925 return to Japan
E	unknown	1900		1907	
F	1900	1900	2	1942	
G	unknown	1902		1908	
H	1900	1902	5		1925 death
I	unknown	1903		1908	
J	1900	1904	3		
K	1900	1904		1941	
L	unknown	1905		1910	
M	unknown	1905	1	1915	
N	unknown	1905	2		1912 return to Japan
O	1903	1906	2		
P	unknown	1907	1	1930	
Q	unknown	1907		1912	
R	1905	1909		1912	
S	unknown	1909	4		1929 death
T	unknown	1910			1916 return to Japan
U	unknown	1910		1915	
V	1910	1911	1		
W	unknown	1912	1		1922 return to Japan
X	1914	1914	3	1945	
Y	unknown	1921		1841	

Tsushima, A. (1952) : "Dainiji taisen-zen dôhō Bel-luvue kaikon huntô-shi." pp.21~23.

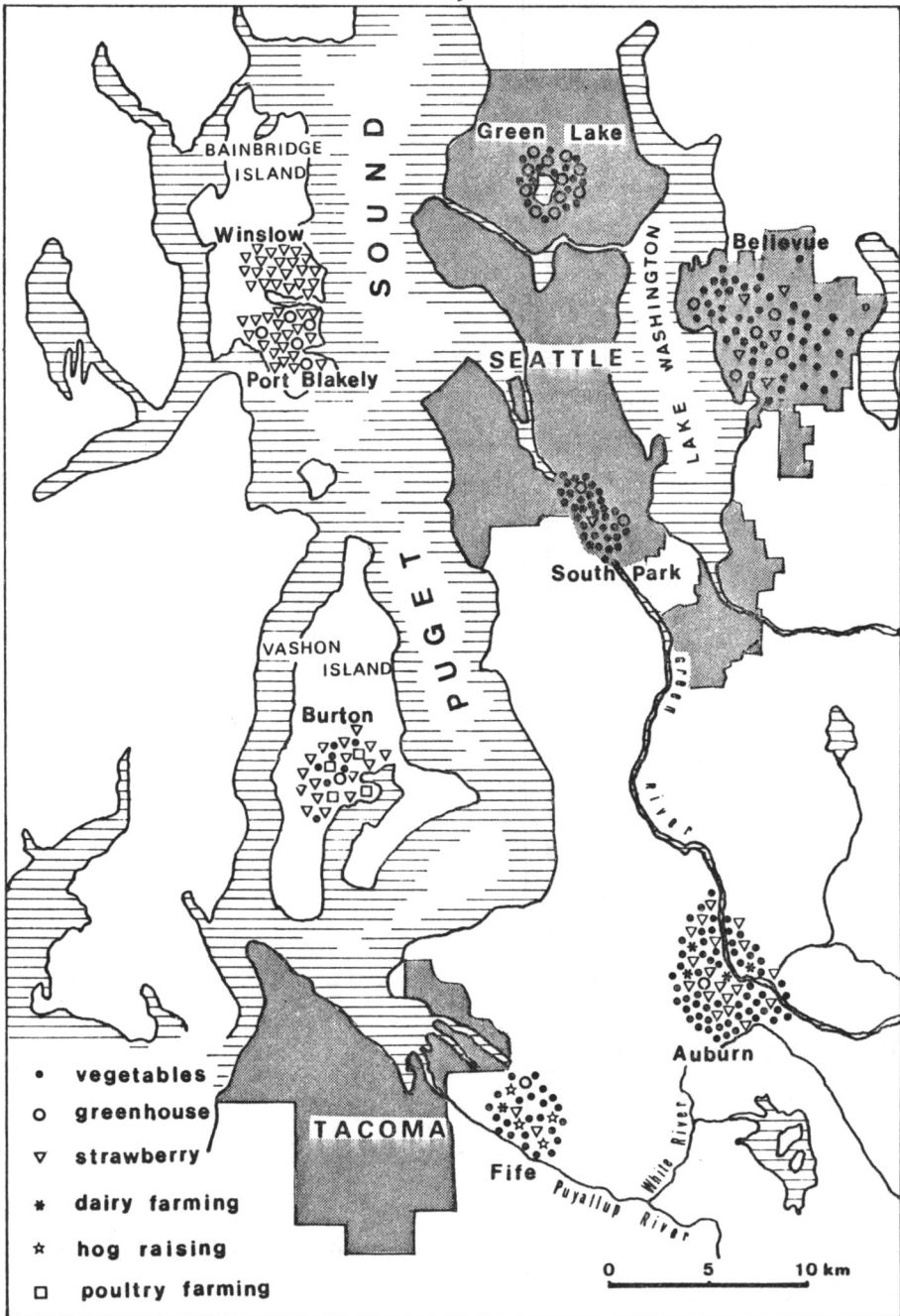
American landowners who denied the immigrant Japanese farmers the second lease. Therefore, many of these Japanese farmers had to give up farming or move to another place. According to Table 2, which shows the situation of twenty-five Japanese farmers

1931. At that time some farmers with grown children were able to purchase land from the company, using the names of their children, but others having no second generation children unfortunately had to forfeit "their" land. In 1935, however, Japanese who owned their own farms numbered only sixteen⁸⁾ among fifty-seven farmers⁹⁾. Three-fourths of the farms worked by the Japanese were done as tenants or farm laborers.

The aforementioned situation was quite common in the Puget lowlands. In the Puyallup River area, for example, 80 percent of 3500 acres cultivated by Japanese were leased farms¹⁰⁾. The terms of lease were different, but usually they were for three to six years. According to an example from the South Park area, rent was 150-200 dollars per ten acres a year in 1930. However, in the case where land had to be cleared, no rent was charged during the first term of lease. But apparently it was very difficult to make a profit during the first term of lease where land had to be cleared. There were many

Fig. 3

Distribution of Japanese Farmers in the Vicinity of Seattle
(1936)



the Puget lowland : market gardening for the local market around Seattle, strawberry growing for processing on some islands in the Puget Sound, and truck farming of fresh vegetables for more distant markets to the east of Tacoma.

1 The Market Gardening on the Outskirts of Seattle

The rapid growth of Seattle in the early decades of this century offered large markets for perishable farm products. Most of the caucasian farmers were mainly engaged in dairying, on the other hand, the Japanese farmers had become the chief suppliers of fresh vegetables. Three significant market gardening areas evolved in the suburbs of Seattle by the 1930s : (1) the Green Lake area to the north, (2) the Bellevue area to the east, and (3) the South Park area to the south. These were all located within a distance of less than 12 kilometers from downtown Seattle.

The Green Lake and the Bellevue areas became well known for strawberry growing during the 1910s and 1920s. However, the change in site of the University of Washington from downtown Seattle to its present location near Green Lake, and the picturesque scenery around the lake attracted new houses of city dwellers to the area. The expansion of urban areas made land values higher, so the Japanese farmers gradually had to shift from strawberry growing to the more intensive cultivation of such crops as fresh vegetables and the development of greenhouse horticulture. Many greenhouses were built during the 1930s. In 1936, there were eleven greenhouse farmers here (Table 3). This number corresponded to 44 percent of all greenhouse farmers in the area of Seattle. They had 3-6 greenhouse each and cultivated many kinds of seedlings, vegetables and flowers. One reason for the concentration of greenhouses here was due to the efforts of some early pioneers. A Japanese immigrant who had graduated from Sapporo Agricultural School settled in Seattle and began greenhouse horticulture in 1906. Other Japanese who had graduated from the

Table 4 The Number of Japanese Farmers in the Vicinity of Seattle by Size of Farms (1936)

size of farm (acre)	less than 5	5~10	10~20	20~30	30~50	50 or more	unknown	total	average farm size (acre)
Green Lake	—	4	11	—	—	—	1	16	80
South Park	12	7	10	2	2	—	—	33	93
Bellevue	6	19	24	1	1	—	1	52	93
Auburn	2	19	30	12	8	—	7	78	14.8
Winslow	—	2	8	8	3	1	—	22	20.6
Port Blakely	—	1	9	8	4	—	—	22	22.1
Burton	1	—	17	2	—	1	2	23	15.2

Hokubei Jiji-sha (1930) "Hokubei nenkan", jūshoroku. pp.116~130.

same school soon followed his example¹¹⁾. Under their leadership, greenhouse horticulture spread among other Japanese farmers.

Sixteen farmers among twenty-seven cultivated fresh vegetables in 1936 (Table 3). Their main crops were celery, lettuce and cauliflower. Their farm sizes were small, ranging between 5-20 acres, and the average was 8.0 acres. This was the smallest size among agricultural areas farmed by the Japanese in the outskirts of Seattle (Table 4).

In the Bellevue area, some Japanese settled and engaged in farming by the first decade of this century. Around 1906, the Furuya Land Company purchased land here and sold them to the Japanese immigrants so since then many of them came to the Bellevue area, cleared the land and planted crops. By the late 1910s, this area became famous for the production of strawberry and tomato, much of it for processing. The construction of roads to Seattle after the 1920s, especially the completion of the bridge over Lake Washington 1936, shortened the distance to Seattle and enabled the farmers to ship their products relatively easily into their main market. However, with Bellevue's scenic view of Lake Washington, the improvement of transportation brought about an influx of city dwellers. With the subsequent rise in land values, the emphasis of agriculture gradually shifted from strawberry and tomato growing to the more intensive production of fresh vegetables.

In 1936, eleven farmers among fifty-seven grew strawberries and sixteen grew tomatoes, but most of the tomato and all of the strawberry farmers also cultivated other crops (Table 3). On the one hand, forty-one farmers among fifty-seven grew largely vegetables and thirty-four of the forty-one specialized in vegetables. The farm size of most farmers was between 5-20 acres, and the average was 9.3 acres (Table 4).

In the South Park area, which was close to downtown Seattle, and along the Duwamish River, which now flows through south Seattle, intensive fresh vegetable horticulture was developed by the Japanese by the 1910s. Many different kinds of vegetables, such as lettuce, cabbage, cauliflower, green onion, carrot, radish, spinach, and so on were grown on each farm but in small quantities. These crops were cultivated in rotation in the fields. In spite of need for labor for these intensively grown crops, they had very few farm machines. So, most of the farmers employed part-time laborers.

In 1936, thirty-two farmers among thirty-five grew vegetables and twenty-nine of them specialized in vegetable growing (Table 3). Farm size varied, but the average was 9.3 acres (Table 4).

There were 12-13 hog raisers in the South Park-Duwamish area in the 1910s, each

raising from 50 to 500 hogs¹²⁾. The hog raising depended on using leftovers from hotels and restaurants in downtown Seattle as feed. However, this enterprise ended when a city ordinance was passed in 1921, which prohibited the Japanese from gathering leftovers in Seattle.

The farm products in the Green Lake area, the Bellevue area and the South Park area were delivered to wholesalers or grocery stores in Seattle by the farmers themselves or they were shipped through the growers cooperative associations. A part of the products from the Green Lake area and the South Park area were sold directly to the consumers at markets in downtown Seattle, which were opened by the growers cooperative association from both areas¹³⁾. Some farmers who grew vegetables close to Seattle were able to sell their products at the Public Market which opened in the 1910s in downtown Seattle. It is said that about six-hundred Japanese farmers had opened shops or stalls in the Market during the 1920s, and they accounted for 70 percent of all sellers in the market.

2 Strawberry Growing on the Islands in the Puget Sound

As mentioned above, the Green Lake area and the Bellevue areas became well known as strawberry producing areas during the early decades of this century. However, both areas changed to the growing of vegetables as the transportation system improved and urbanization expanded outwards from Seattle, especially after the 1920s. But on the islands in the Puget Sound, although strawberry growing was introduced at about the same time as in the above two areas, the Japanese farmers continued to grow strawberries much longer and the islands remained agricultural due largely to the lack of a good transportation system into the Seattle area. The islands, therefore, continued as chief producing areas of strawberries for processing into the 1930s.

The Japanese farmers began to grow strawberries on Vashon Island in 1904¹⁴⁾ and on Bainbridge Island in 1908¹⁵⁾. Both islands are located at a distance of some 12-30 kilometers from Seattle.

Strawberries cannot be grown for many years on the same field, so the planting area had to be rotated and ordinarily limited to less than one third of each farm. It was considered that more than 20 acres of farmland were necessary to specialize in its cultivation. Therefore, strawberry growing, needing more land than intensive vegetable cultivation, was usually introduced in areas relatively far from urbanized areas where land value was comparatively lower. The land value on these islands was, furthermore, lower than comparable areas on the mainland located at similar distances from Seattle. Another advantage was that winters were milder and few killing frosts occurred on these islands, favoring

the cultivation of such crops as strawberries which are perennial plants.

There were three centers of strawberry growing on the islands: (1) Winslow and (2) Port Blakely on the Bainbridge Island and (3) Burton on Vashon Island (Table 3). Most of these farmers were highly specialized in the growing of strawberries. The average farm size in Winslow and Port Blakely was over 20 acres but in Burton it was 15.2 acres (Table 4). The small average farm size in Burton was very likely due to the variety of farm types.

During the early period, the strawberries were collected by brokers and sold to small canneries around Seattle. In 1917, when the National Cannery Company became established in Seattle, the strawberry growers on Vashon Island, Bainbridge Island, Bellevue, and Kingston organized together and formed the Strawberry Growers Cooperative Association¹⁶⁾. The association subsequently began to negotiate agreements with the canning company on the prices for the strawberries and on annual contracts for the strawberry crops.

3 Truck Farming in the Area East of Tacoma

Japanese farmers settled in the southern areas of the Puget Lowland during the early 1900s and began growing vegetables for Tacoma, the largest urban center in the southern part of the Puget Sound. Market gardening for Tacoma started around Fife, adjacent to Tacoma, then gradually spread to the areas along the Green River and the White River where the land was flat and the soils fertile. The rapid expansion of truck farming in the region made the Japanese farmers consider shipping to more distant markets, because Tacoma, whose population was little over 100,000 even at its peak time in the pre-War period, was too small for their growing production.

Japanese farmers organized the Puget Sound Vegetable Growers Cooperative Association in 1924 to handle the growing production and expanding markets. Cooperative shipping to markets in the Midwest and the East soon began, using refrigerated cars. The membership in this cooperative association increased to over 250 farmers, including some American farmers¹⁷⁾. Shipments increased from only 60 cars of lettuce in 1924 to 500 cars of vegetables, such as peas, carrots, cauliflower, spinach, celery and lettuce in the mid-1930s¹⁸⁾.

The development of vegetable production in the region attracted many packing companies and shippers. The concentration of the vegetable shippers further encouraged the increase in production. The extension of railroad lines into Tacoma and Auburn enhanced the concentration of shippers into this area.

There were eighty-two Japanese farmers in the Auburn area and thirty-one in the Fife area in 1936 (Table 3). Most of them specialized in vegetable growing. Their farm size varied from less than 5 to fifty acres. The average size, for example in Auburn, was 14.8 acres, which was somewhere between the average size of the market gardening areas around Seattle and the strawberry growing areas on the islands (Table 4).

V Ending of Farming by the Japanese

Farming by the immigrant Japanese began in the early 1900s on the Puget lowland, meanwhile anti-Japanese feelings and anti-Japanese movements steadily began to evolve. Japanese farmers were the important suppliers of vegetables, flowers and strawberries for the residents in the Puget lowlands. Unfortunately, the beginning of the War between Japan and the United States in 1941 brought an end to that role. All Japanese who resided on the West Coast were looked upon as potential enemies, and the national government made the decision to put all people of Japanese ancestry into the so-called relocation (internment) camps in the interior of the United States. However, it would seem that prejudice and economic factors also were significant in making that decision. Most of the Japanese farmers sold their farms and belongings at a great financial loss. A few farmers were able to lease their farms or placed them in the custody of non-Japanese farmers. The Japanese were released from camps immediately after the end of the War, but most of them had disposed of their properties and did not or could not return to farming and moved into urban areas.

The first generation Japanese, issei, had often taken up farming, but as they grew old and the second generation Japanese, the nisei, came of age, many of the latter preferred to work in urban centers. This was the situation after WWII in the Puget lowland. Thus the number of Japanese who took up farming was relatively small compared to the pre-WWII years. In comparison with Puget lowland, many Japanese in California returned to farming after the war and recovered much of their pre-WWII status. In California, the central Valley with its superb agriculture land continued to prosper and regional crop specialties and cultivation technology were developed aggressively. In contrast to California, due to the expansion of the larger cities in the Puget lowland, especially in the vicinity of Seattle, the limited amount of good farm lands has almost disappeared. Therefore, some Japanese who came back after the war to farm again had to move further up the valleys, such as the Green River valley, or moved to inland regions such as the Columbia Plateau and Idaho. The progression of urbanization in the Puget lowland was one of the

largest factor which prevented the recovery of farming by the Japanese in this region after the Second World war.

VI Conclusion

1 Japanese settlements in the Puget Lowland region began in and near the urban centers such as Seattle and Tacoma in 1880s, and then gradually spread outwards into the rural areas between Seattle and Tacoma towards the end of the nineteenth century.

2 Since the Japanese, unable to get American citizenship, could not own land or even get leaseholds, they began to farm as farm laborers, although sometimes in name only. However, most of them eventually purchased or leased land under the name of their American-born child after he or she became twenty-one and thus became independent farmers.

3 The rapid growth of Seattle and Tacoma in the early decades of this century offered the farmers expanding markets for their crops. In contrast to the caucasian farmers, most of whom were engaged in dairy or general farming, Japanese farmers preferred to engage in intensive horticulture, and became chief suppliers of vegetables and flowers for citizens in the Puget Lowland until the War between Japan and the United States.

4 Farming by the Japanese differentiated spatially into three types depending upon the distances from Seattle until the 1920s : (1) market gardening in the suburbs of Seattle, (2) strawberry growing for processing on the islands of the Puget Sound and (3) truck farming for distant markets in the southern part of the Puget Lowland.

5 In the suburbs of Seattle, intensive cultivation of fresh vegetables and flowers and greenhouse horticulture expanded as Seattle grew in size. The farm products were shipped to the wholesalers or to grocery stores in Seattle, but part of them was sold at direct sale markets or at the Public Market to consumers. Some hog raisers using leftovers from restaurants existed in the Seattle area.

6 Strawberry growing developed in the Vashon and Bainbridge islands. It needed larger fields to specialize than fresh vegetables, so its production had remained on these islands located at a distance of some 12-15 kilometers from Seattle and handicapped by a lack of good transportation system.

7 In the southern part of the Puget Lowland, located at a distance of more than 30 kilometers from Seattle, truck farming developed from the 1920s, rather than market gardening, which was located closer to Seattle. The many kinds of fresh vegetables produced in southern Puget Lowland were shipped to the Midwest and the East by the

Growers Cooperative Association and shipping dealers, using refrigerated rail cars.

8 Farming by the Japanese reached its peak of prosperity in the 1930s. However, the opening of war between Japan and the United States in 1941 brought about its decline when the west coast Japanese were put into the concentration camps. The expansion of Seattle and Tacoma outwards since the war took away much of the lands farmed by the Japanese before World War II in the vicinity of the larger cities. For this reason and others, not many of the former Japanese farmers returned to farming on the Puget Lowland.

References

- 1) Yagasaki N. (1983) : Evolution of Japanese floriculture in southern California. *Human Geogr.* 1-22. (in Japanese with English abstract).
- 2) Yagasaki N. (1983) : Japanese truck farmers and ethnic cooperativism in southern California before World War II. *J. Geogr.*, 92, 73-90. (in Japanese with English abstract).
- 3) Yagasaki N. (1984) : Japanese floriculture in southern California : Evolution of an ethnic industry. *Tsukuba Studies in Human Geogr.*, VIII, 33-57.
- 4) Yagasaki N. (1984) : Ethnicity in immigrants' farming : a study of Japanese floriculture in the San Francisco Bay—Monterey Bay region, California. *Sci. Rept., Inst. Geosci., Univ. Tsukuba, Sect. A*, 5, 91-136.
- 5) Hokubei jiji sha (1936) : Hokubei nenkan, p.13, p.30. (in Japanese).
- 6) Itô K. (1969) : Hokubei hyakunen-zakura. p.1034, p.1035, p.1038, p.1044, p.1049. (in Japanese).
- 7) *Encyclopedia Americana* (1963), Vol. XXIV, p.493.
- 8) Tsushima A. (1952) : Dainiji taisen-zen dôhō Bellvue kaikon huntô-shi. pp.22-23. (in Japanese).
- 9) *ibid.*, 5), pp.126-129.
- 10) Tacoma shûhō sha (1941) : Tacoma-shi oyobi chihō nippon-jin-shi. p.33. (in Japanese).
- 11) *ibid.*, 5), p.38.
- 12) *ibid.*, 6), pp.573-578.
- 13) *ibid.*, 5), p.36.
- 14) *ibid.*, 5), p.37.
- 15) *ibid.*, 5), p.36.
- 16) *ibid.*, 5), p.37.
- 17) *ibid.*, 10), p.142.
- 18) *ibid.*, 10), p.142.

(Received Oct. 10, 1984)

(Accepted Nov. 3, 1984)

第二次世界大戦前におけるシアトル近傍の日本人農業

澤田裕之* George H. KAKIUCHI**

第2次世界大戦前、アメリカ合衆国の太平洋沿岸北西部の農業の発達において、日本人移民の果たした役割りはきわめて大きいものがあったが、戦時中の日本人および日系人の強制隔離を契機として、同地方における日本人農業は衰微した。本稿は同地方における日本人農業の核心地であったワシントン州シアトル市近傍を対象に、日本人農業の展開過程を考察しようとしたものである。

1. 1880年代にシアトルからタコマにかけてのピューゼット低地に入植した日本人移民は、アメリカ市民権を有しなかったために土地の取得・賃貸を受けられず、アメリカ人農園の農業労働者や農園管理者として農業に従事した。しかし彼等の多くは二世子女が成人に達するのを機に、二世子女の名義で土地を取得し、独立自営農民になって行った。

2. シアトルおよびタコマの都市的発展が日本人農業に対する農産物市場を提供した。アメリカ人農民が酪農や普通農業に従事したのに対し、日本人農民の大多数は集約的な園芸農業を志向し、日米開戦時に至るまでに、野菜や花きの主要な供給者としての地位を占めるに至った。

3. ピューゼット低地における日本人農業は、1920年代までにシアトル市からの距離に応じて、①シアトル市郊外の近郊農業、②ピューゼット湾内の島嶼におけるイチゴ生産農業、③ピューゼット低地南部における遠隔地市場向けの野菜生産農業の3形

態に地域分化した。

4. シアトル市郊外では、生鮮野菜・花などの生産と温室園芸が発達した。農産物はシアトル市内の卸売業者やグローサリーに出荷されたり、市内の公設市場で消費者に直売された。園芸農業のほかに、市内のホテル・レストランなどから廃棄される残飯に依存する養豚業も存在した。

5. ピューゼット湾内のヴェイション島やベインブリッジ島では、野菜作や花き作に比較して広い耕作面積を必要とするイチゴ作が発達し、生産物は耕作者組合を通してシアトル市内の缶詰工場へ出荷された。

6. シアトル市から30km以上離れたピューゼット低地南部地方では、1920年代以後、中西部や東部の遠隔地市場向けの野菜の輸送園芸が発達した。多種類の野菜類が生産者組合の手を経て、冷蔵貨車によって市場へ向けて出荷された。

7. シアトル市近傍の日本人移民による農業は、1930年代に最盛期を迎えた。しかし1941年の日米開戦を機とする日本人・日系人の強制隔離によって、日本人による農業は潰滅した。終戦後若干の日本人が農業を再開したものの、大部分は一世の老齢化、シアトル市近傍地域の都市化の進展などの理由によって農業を再開することができず、日本人による農業は戦前期の繁栄を回復することができなかった。

*立正大学 **ワシントン大学