

The 1975 Annual Holiday Issue

PACIFIC CITIZEN

PUBLICATION OF THE JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE

125 Weller St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90012 (213) 626-6936

Published Weekly Except First and Last Weeks of the Year—Second Class Postage Paid at Los Angeles, Calif.

VOL. 81—NO. 25

FIVE SECTIONS—54 PAGES

DECEMBER 19-26, 1975

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60 CENTS
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40 CENTS

By Terry Jones

Samurai of the Wine Country

A Biography of Kanaye Nagasawa

On the northern edge of Santa Rosa, California, where Mendocino Avenue nearly intersects California's scenic Highway 101, stand the iron gates of Fountaingrove Ranch. The eucalyptus lined drive behind them winds up through a rolling pasture and disappears from sight behind the hills. Hidden by the knolls and the cluster of tall oak trees were two magnificent English-style manor houses, (which are now demolished). From 1873 to 1934 it was the home of California's most imitable Japanese gentleman, Kanaye Nagasawa (1853-1934).

Mr. Nagasawa had come to California from New York in 1873 with Thomas Lake Harris (1823-1906), founder of the Brotherhood of the New Life. The Brotherhood was a theosophical cult looking for greener pastures than those of its previous home in Brocton, New York. With the death of Harris, his Japanese friend became master of the luxurious and flourishing Fountaingrove estate, 1850 acres of rich farm land on which were 400 acres of grapevines and one of America's most successful wineries.

Many came to seek an audience with the respected and affluent "Samurai" of Fountaingrove. The Japanese wine-grower hosted friends and admirers from Chicago, New York, London, Germany, India, Manila, Manchuria, Shanghai and Seattle. Fountaingrove wines were sold internationally with sales offices and distribution centers in New York, London, Glasgow, Tokyo and Yokohama. Many of Mr. Nagasawa's companions on his trek from Japan to England and America in 1865-68 had returned to their country and became men of high political stature and significant influence.

Only a few people still remember Kanaye Nagasawa, but some confused stories about him still circulate in California and other parts of the world. Most of these stories are too inadequate, too antiquated. The Japanese settling in California in the late 19th and early 20th centuries quickly became leaders in the state's agriculture. I intend to show that Kanaye was among the earliest and most successful of them. I will show how he contributed significantly to the growth of California's world famous wine industry and made Fountaingrove into one of the state's ten largest wine producers.

I will describe also his adventures leading up to the founding of Fountaingrove and how they were related interestingly to two other important historical movements. As a member of a high Samurai family in Japan he and his associates were affected directly by the upheaval leading to Japan's Meiji Restoration in 1868. Secondly, Kanaye's relationship with Thomas Lake Harris and the Brotherhood of the New Life was very representative of others caught in the fever of America's great mid-19th century reform era.

—Terry Jones
Sonoma State College, 1970

(The Pacific Citizen is grateful to James Murakami and Frank Oda of Sonoma County JACL Chapter for their assistance in uncovering this special story on another famous Issei. We are indebted to Gary LeBaron of Santa Rosa who has written in depth about the Samurai of Fountaingrove and now in search of a publisher for her book, for assisting us to locate some of the historic pictures and more recent information—Editor.)

By Allan Beekman

Favor of Kings, Princes & Lords

Christian Missionaries in Feudal Japan and Toyohiko Kagawa

Copyright 1975 by Allan Beekman

My wife, who is bilingual, drew my attention to a story by Toyohiko Kagawa entitled "Daisu no Kakashi" (The Scarecrow of Daisu). In my thoughts as I read it were impressions gleaned from extensive reading in the history of Japan, from the observation of an exhibit of Namban art and from the viewing of Japanese period movies—particularly, "Chinmoku" (Silence), based on the novel of the Catholic writer Shusaku Endo.

Catalyzed by the Kagawa story, these impressions fell into place in the form of this article, "The Scarecrow of Daisu", which I have translated, follows as the logical denouement.

In dealing with the Kagawa

family and the Christian missionaries, I have followed the Western custom of giving the surname last. In identifying Japanese historical personages, I have followed the Japanese method of surname first. After identifying such a personage by his full name, as far as practicable, thereafter, I identify him only by his given name.

Part One

One day in 1900, 12-year-old Toyohiko Kagawa visited his older brother, Tanichi, in Tokushima, Japan. Toyohiko was boarding at Tokushima Boys' Middle School, in which he had recently enrolled. Reporting his interests and progress, he mentioned that he had begun the study of English.

In those days when Japan was avidly seeking Western knowledge in order to achieve

industrial and military equality, many Japanese believed that acquiring English might give them the key to unlock the storehouse of Western science and technology. Consequently, it seemed natural and commendable to Tanichi that Toyohiko had begun to study this important foreign language.

Then, however, Toyohiko indicated his interest in the subject had taken him beyond what he might learn from Japanese instructors and the regular curriculum. Some American missionaries were teaching at the school; to learn English from the lips of native speakers, Toyohiko had joined a Bible class.

Even today, few Japanese recognize that knowledge of the Bible is a prerequisite to understanding Western literature, art and culture; how much less could Tanichi be expected to understand this point in the Japan of 73 years ago.

Still, as an open-minded man, he said, "I've no objection to your going to foreign missionaries to learn their language better. But don't start believing in their religion—it's a bad religion."

As one well-grounded in Confucian principles, he mentioned, with abhorrence, that the First Commandment of the Christian Church required loyalty to God even at the expense of loyalty to parents or feudal lord. To illustrate, he told of Christian missionaries who had come to Japan hundreds of years before and of Oda Nobunaga who had befriended them.

The Golden Age

An account of the Christian

missionaries in feudal Japan might well begin in the year 1582 in Nagasaki. There Father Alessandro Valignano, visitor of the Jesuit Indian Province for the General of the Society of Jesus, was urging Otomo Sorin, and other Christian warlords, to send a group of Japanese envoys to the Pope at Rome.

Valignano had recently returned from a tour of Honshu, the main Japanese island to the north; from what he had observed, he had concluded that his mission was on firm footing everywhere in Japan.

Two years before, he had accepted cession of Nagasaki from Omura Sumitada. That warlord had given the Jesuits sovereignty over this important trading port and power of life and death over its residents, most of whom were Christian.

That he could speak on such familiar terms with the great of this large island of Kyushu, where Christianity had made its initial impact, seemed a vindication of the policy of his order, that evangelism be directed primarily at the ruling class.

The founder of the mission, Francis Xavier, had believed that if the favor, friendship and conversion of the rulers of the land could be secured, those below would follow in the footsteps of the leaders. And Xavier must have believed that this conclusion had come to him as a revelation from Heaven, for divine providence appeared to have led him to labor in this field.

The Portuguese Come

The initial incident in the chain that was to lead Xavier

1. Between the royalists, supporters of the Emperor, and the Tokugawa retainers.

2. Between the Japanese people and intruding foreigners.

3. Between Ii Naosuke, champion of "kaikoku" (cooperation with the West), and Tokugawa Nariaki, royalist and leader of those advocated "joi" (exclusion of the Westerners). Ii and Tokugawa led the two opposing factions in the political fight for control of the Bakufu Council of Elders, effective foundation of the Shogunate.

Like Tokugawa, lord of the influential Mito clan, Japan's other leading tozama lords took a definite stand on the question of continued exclusion or cooperation with the Western powers. Shimazu Hisamitsu of Satsuma favored a trade agreement with the United States but wanted more time to develop the Empire's outmoded coastal defenses. The tozama lords of Hizen, Choshu and Tosa all were opposed to cooperation and wanted immediate expulsion of the invaders. The country was split politically, but the Mikado was "backed by most of the powerful lords... and by the prejudices of the people."

On March 12, 1853, the year Perry had come and offered impetus to the already growing discontent with the Tokugawa Shogunate, Kanaye Nagasawa was born to Magoshiro and Fumi Isonaga. His birthplace was Kagoshima, the home of Satsuma's daimyo, Shimazu. Kanaye's given name was Hikosuke Isonaga. It was changed, however, at the time of his departure from Japan to Kanaye Nagasawa.

Magoshiro Isonaga was an influential member of Shimazu's retinue. He was a respected Confucian scholar and managed Satsuma's astronomical observatory. Kanaye, one of seven children, demonstrated early that he, like his father, was of high intelligence. He was called a genius and his memory was phenomenal. At

The Round Barn, Fountaingrove Ranch, Santa Rosa, Calif.

City of Santa Rosa only last month decided to preserve the Round Barn, visible from U.S. 101 north of the city. The unique round barn and the five acres surrounding it is expected to become public lakeside park. Barn was built in 1899.

Photo Courtesy: Santa Rosa Jr. College Library

the age of seven, Kanaye had memorized the nine Chinese classics of Confucianism, Shisho Gokyo, and innumerable Chinese poems.*

The young Samurai grew up in an era of revolution, a time when feudalism was giving way to a more enlightened form of monarchical government. The people of Satsuma were particularly concerned with a restoration of the Emperor. Shimazu and his forebears had been in much closer communication with the European world through the Dutch at Nagasaki. This city on the northwestern coast of the Island of Kyushu, whereon lived the Satsuma clan, had been the center of trade with the Dutch, who occupied the island of Deshima in Nagasaki harbor. While the remainder of the Empire remained closed, Satsuma maintained this small link with the outside for centuries.

It was in this way that (Shimazu) had imbibed his ideas of progress, and (was) the first to embrace an opportunity offered of com-

municating by his own ships with the rest of the world.*

In the warlike Samurai tradition, in Satsuma was formed a fraternity of young militants from 15 to 26 years of age. It was called the Satsuma Kenjishi. For as long as Kanaye had lived killings had taken place day and night. The Kenjishi was often instrumental in those acts. Their objective was to either die for the causes of restoration and "joi" or kill for them.

The Kenjishi warriors were possibly representatives of the activist "shishi," Samurai known all over Japan as revolutionists of the highest purpose. Realizing they had little power to change, they set out to destroy all elements of the Tokugawa influence and leave the rebuilding to others.*

Thus, from the age of ten years, Kanaye was instructed in the arts of war in anticipation of his coming membership in the Kenjishi. He learned particularly kenjutsu and jujitsu.* Although he was to leave Japan before he reached 15 years of age, he

became a skilled warrior by the time he reached his teens. Like other Samurai serving a daimyo, Kanaye responded quickly to the demands of his Lord Shimazu.

The Samurai's way is "reflecting on his own station in life, in discharging loyal service to his master if he has one, in deepening his fidelity in association with friends... in devoting himself to duty above all!"

Duty to a high political calling was superior to all the loyalties a Samurai felt. Kanaye would carry remnants of this lofty spirit through his entire life.

In September of 1862 one of Japan's most significant historical events took place. It was the incident that ultimately was the cause of Kanaye's departure from his cherished Kagoshima. On the "Great Road" or "Tokaido" leading from Kyoto to Yedo, Shimazu was traveling with an ambassador from the Mikado to visit the Taicoin. It was the habit of the Japanese govern-

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Heishikan's First Class—1940

The Japanese Foreign Office in the late 1930s gave scholarships to talented Nisei from English-speaking nations, gave them a thorough education in Japanese culture and language to place them in positions where their bilingual talents would be most effective. Here is the first class (Ikkai-sei) gathered in Tokyo in 1940. They are (from left): front—Dick Okusako, George Ouye, George Somekawa, Yuichi Daiguchi, Kay Tateishi, and Shiro Saito; standing—Tom Nakata, Tamaye Tsutsumida, Kahoru Furuya (Mrs. Yanari), Mr. Y. Yanagi (class mentor), George Ogishima, Bill Ishikawa, Hidekazu Nishikawa and Kaz Ueno.

By Richard Kenmotsu

The Forgotten Nisei

(Copyright 1976)

By Richard T. Kenmotsu

The saga of "The Two Worlds of Jim Yoshida," published in 1972, is only one of many such harrowing stories of Nisei who were stranded in wartime Japan. For 1976, the Bicentennial Year, it would be fitting to explore other fascinating but neglected experiences of Nisei in prewar and wartime Japan. Usually when approached to reveal their personal experiences and ordeals in Japan of this period, the self-effacing Nisei would protest that his/her contributions to this forgotten chapter in the history of Nikkeijin are insignificant and ordinary. They would then proceed to unfold self-binding adventures, one after another, toppling the previous one.

No history of Japanese Americans—or, in the broader sense, Nikkeijin—can be complete without mentioning these often heroic, often tragic experiences. While many Nisei today are openly discussing their American or Canadian concentration camp experiences, that small group of Nikkeijin who spent the prewar years and/or the forbidding war years in Japan have

remained curiously silent. I had originally planned to do a two-part exploratory essay covering these years (1930-1945) based on research and interviews with expatriate Nisei and other Nisei "stranded" who were caught in Japan—either by choice or by accident—when Japanese bombs fell on Pearl Harbor. Unfortunately, due to many time constraints, only this first part, "Before the War," has been completed. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this abbreviated essay does some justice to those who have given their time and have opened a part of their lives so that a blank in history could be sketched in, if even partially.

First some background. In early 1972 (before Jim Yoshida's book) a motley group of Nikkeijin living in Japan gathered for a series of get-togethers. A few of us decided to muster an anthology of our thoughts and feelings while experiencing Japan, the land of our forebears. (This project, still in progress, is to contain essays, stories, poetry, interviews and translations by American, Canadian, and Brazilian Nisei and Sansei.) For this collection, my hopes were to interview a Nisei who fought for

Japan during World War II and possibly a Tule Lake repatriate still living in Japan.

We met success, thanks to a little luck and the help of my colleague Mel Tsuji, a Canadian Sansei, who is the Tokyo correspondent for several Canadian newspapers. These interviews were, in fact, too successful, for I found myself totally captivated by their rich, hypnotic stories which were completely different from any others I had heard before. Obviously here was an unexplored aspect of Nikkeijin history. Articles in the Pacific Citizen by Bill Hosokawa and Harry Honda containing other bits of information added fuel to my curiosity.

Shortly thereafter, however, Jim Yoshida's book was published. His experiences were only a tiny part of the larger story of Nisei in Japan.

This exploratory essay constitutes a part of a project that hopes to further detail the Nisei experience in prewar and wartime Japan; the aforementioned anthology will also recount the postwar experiences of Nisei but mainly Sansei in Japan. Further, the intent is not to "write

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Mr. and Mrs. Frank Yokoi (443-8697) 907 Piedmont Drive (22)

The Forgotten Nisei

Continued from Page A-1

about," but rather have the participants tell about it in "their own words."

Finally, an expression of thanks is due to the San Francisco Center for Japanese American Studies for their continued enthusiasm and support.

Keisen Survey

Outside of tourist accounts and long-forgotten newspaper articles, literature about Nisei in Japan is rare. Amazingly, however, a group of American Nisei girls attending Keisen Girls' School in Tokyo conducted a survey in 1938, subsequently summarized in their 1939 booklet, "The Nisei: A Survey of their Educational, Vocational and Social Problems." It's like a handbook for Nisei who were contemplating coming to Japan to study, work or visit. The Nisei Survey Committee explained:

"We, the members of the Summer Class of 1939, Keisen Girls' School, finding ourselves confronted with the same sort of problems that other Nisei before us have had to face, and realizing the need for specific and accurate information about Nisei life in Japan, have undertaken this survey about Nisei life in Japan as our graduation project."

Over a thousand questionnaires were sent out to Nisei (Americans, Hawaiians, Canadians, English, Philippine-born, Singapore-born) in the Tokyo-Yokohama area. Over 440 were returned. We have, then, one of the few primary source documents available, and to the Committee, we own a debt of gratitude:

Marjorie Hoshi, Margaret Ishikawa, Helen Kimura, Amy Murayama, Ruth Nagata, Toyo Nakatsuka, Mitsuo Shimotsuka, Rubie Tajima, Kikuyo Yamada.

A few points will be summarized here. First, when did the Nisei begin to come over to Japan?

DATE OF ARRIVAL	M	F	M	F
1922 - 1	1	1	1922 - 4	8
1923 - 1	1	1	1923 - 22	16
1924 - 1	1	1	1924 - 23	22
1925 - 1	1	1	1925 - 34	27
1926 - 1	1	1	1926 - 23	29
1927 - 1	1	1	1927 - 23	45
1928 - 1	1	1	1928 - 23	51
1929 - 1	1	1	1929 - 23	53
1930 - 1	1	1	1930 - 23	53

The survey shows that during the 1930s the Nisei were arriving in increasing numbers. Unfortunately, their age upon arrival was not asked, so the figures are a little difficult to interpret. For example, not a few Nisei were sent to Japan at a young age to live with their grandparents and to grow up in the Japanese tradition. (These are the Kibei or "returned to America"; in Canada, however, they are called Kika Nisei or "returned to Canada, second generation.")

A second question asked for the reason of coming to Japan.

PURPOSE IN COMING TO JAPAN	M	F	Total
Study	171	100	271
Career with Parents	26	30	56
Permanent Home	33	28	61
Job Possibilities	30	16	46
Visit	20	31	51
Marriage	7	10	17
	307	205	512

Some qualitative answers included the following:

- Parents sent them; care for aged parents.
- Diplomatic career; become movie actor.
- Research; gain a better understanding of Japan.
- Transferred to Tokyo office opportunities.
- To become a good Japanese subject; to get the so-called Japanese spirit.

With this as a convenient starting point and basic framework to group the pre-war experiences, we will utilize the transcribed interviews with Nisei expatriates and "stranded" to expand on six purposes as categorized by the Keisen survey. (Regrettably, only a portion of the taped interviews have been transcribed and available for use at this time. Be that as it may, a fairly broad picture is still discernible.)



Takane-Cho Neighborhood

A small street scene in Takane-cho, Nakano-ku, Tokyo, where the first Heishikan class stayed and studied in 1939-40.

I STUDY

The majority, as the Keisen survey shows, went to Japan for the purpose of studying. The educational background of the respondents was as follows:

SCHOOLING COMPLETED	rounded	M	F
University	20	8	
Business College	2	4	
Junior College	2	4	
Japanese Language School	3	3	
High School	50	54	
Junior High School	14	10	
Grammar School	14	14	

Most had completed at least high school, and some had college or university degrees. About 25% had completed only junior high or grammar school in their country of birth.

The Committee reported teachers felt that junior high or grammar school kids were too young and had no desire since they were usually sent by their parents. Further, they missed the "materialistic comfort and the conveniences which they had enjoyed heretofore." College and university graduates, on the other hand, were often "too set in American ways and tend to disregard the necessity for adjustment to the altogether different life in Japan."

1938 Survey serves as initial source for saga of strandeers

The implication was that the high school-age Nisei would fare best in Japan's educational system.

At the time of their survey Nisei were found to be attending:

- 14 men's universities
- 6 women's colleges
- 16 boy's middle schools
- 37 girl's high schools

Nisei even passed entrance examinations for Japan's Imperial universities. Mas Ogawa and Koh Chiba, for example, had graduated from the prestigious Tokyo Imperial University. Other Nisei attended top schools like Keio, Waseda, Meiji, Rikkyo, to name a few.

Mas Ogawa, editor of *The Japan Times*, provided a fascinating interview. He was one of the many Nisei to study in Japan. He recalls, after graduating Phi Beta Kappa from UCLA in 1937, "No companies were rushing to employ me." So he went to Columbia, as he put it, to get a little more education. Still unable to land a college teaching job after graduating from Columbia, Mas decided to go to Japan. "Going to Tokyo Imperial University and taking up Far East history would give me status to teach."

He had to attend most of the classes and lectures at Tokyo University, unlike most of the Japanese students, because of difficulty in understanding the language at first, but the problem was surmounted. During his days there, Mas stayed at a Christian dormitory, and he didn't recall any incidents or arguments with the other Japanese boarders. Some reports floated around, however: "For example, two or three Nisei might board a train and begin speaking in English. Someone would jump and say, 'Who the heck are you Japanese? Or what? If you're Japanese, why don't you speak Japanese!'"

Why remain in Japan, given the growing tensions in East Asia? "The crisis was the disappointment that I couldn't find a job in the States. On the other hand, as soon as I finished at Tokyo Imperial University, I had a job offer from Domet. That's when I made my choice. And as soon as I joined this Japanese news agency, I decided I might as well stay where the job was." Mas spent most of the war years in the Philippines for Domet. Those eventful years we hope to cover later.

Dr. Toshio Tsukahira had graduated from Belmont High School in Los Angeles in 1933 and went to Meiji University, essentially to study Japanese.

"My parents certainly encouraged me to come to Japan," he remarked, "but I felt that I wanted to learn about Japan and to actually learn the Japanese language, which I studied a bit in Los Angeles." He felt it was virtually impossible to get a thorough or adequate command of the Japanese language while studying in the United States. Moreover, as a Japanese American, he felt that he should know more about Japan, and the first step was to know the country and the language.

"Actually I came with the intention of doing just that—hiring a tutor and spending a few months or maybe a couple of years and then returning (to the United States) to go to college. It was sort of an interlude between school and college." He stayed in Japan for three years.

About the growing Japanese militarism during that period, Dr. Tsukahira remembers, "Of course I came at the time of the Manchurian Incident,

and there was growing militarism in Japan. It was, looking back, a sort of an era of goodwill, sort of a lingering sunset before night fell, you might say. Because the month before I left to go home, there was the so-called February 26th Incident, 1936, (when the Young Officers of the Kwantung Army rebelled and called for a 'Showa Restoration'), which I witnessed, and that proved to be the beginning of militarist control. From then on it went at a very rapid pace."

Meiji University was a popular choice among Nisei who studied in Japan, and it even had a Nisei fraternity. Dr. Tsukahira did not belong to that fraternity, but he remembers that period as being one of "a great popularity of things American." Though there were many Nisei in Tokyo at the time, he adds, "The only problems we as Nisei had was occasionally our relationship with Japan would be questioned. I can't remember any unpleasant incidents, but it was something of a question where we stood in this situation that was gradually getting worse between the two countries."

"I always thought of myself as American, a foreign student in Japan, studying the language and the culture and with the intention of going back. As a matter of fact, they had what was the equivalent of our ROTC, that is, military courses for students that was compulsory. I refused to attend those classes and to pay the extra fee that was required—a very nominal fee. But I refused on the grounds that I was not a Japanese citizen, therefore not subject to military obligations." He recalls having quite an argument with the military officer in charge at Meiji University, and in the end the officer gave in. "And that was the end of that."

Returning to the States in 1936, Dr. Tsukahira entered UCLA. When war broke out, he joined the U.S. Army teaching staff as a Japanese language instructor at the Presidio of San Francisco and later at Camp Savage. After the Army, Harvard University (where he obtained his doctorate), and assorted teaching jobs, he joined the State Department in 1954, and one of his appointments was that of United States Consul at Fukuoka. When interviewed, Dr. Tsukahira was the Head of

the Political Section, United States Embassy, Tokyo.

One of my favorite interviews was with iconoclastic Mary Kakehashi, born in Vancouver, B.C., Canada. In 1934 Mary's mother "packed" her, her kid brother and younger sister off to Sendai (in northern Japan). Her mother intended to have her Nisei children learn Japanese for about a year in Japan, specifically in her own hometown.

In Vancouver, Mary had attended Japanese language school, but there was a lot of homework to do for the regular high school. She recalls, "The neighbor and I went to Tech High School and I could do French but he couldn't. He'd do my geometry and I'd do his French." This, while the Japanese teacher would be trying to explain a fine point of Japanese grammar...

When the family reached Sendai, her brother and sister went into primary school right away. "I was another question because I was 15, you see, and to put me into junior high school was out of the question because I didn't have a primary school diploma. So after much pulling of strings at the Education Department,

Other special schools in Japan catered to Nisei needs

they finally let me in the primary school. And, lawdy be, I was the biggest one there!"

In many different ways Mary set the whole school in an uproar. It was bound to happen, being a 5-foot-3-inch, 15-year old in a sea of grammar schoolers. "The kids thought I was a *sensei* and bowed down to me in the morning saying, 'ohaiyogozaimasu.' And I couldn't even speak Japanese very well then, either."

One incident had to do with the contemporary hairstyles. Mary distinctly remembers, "In '34, you know, the American girls had what they called the 'windblown' haircut—short, just like a boy's. Well, it was a mannish cut and we called it 'windblown.' And eventually the school kids told their parents about this new 'teacher'—me—who had very, very short hair... like a man. And at that time the women school teachers were supposed to have long hair and a bun at the back, and all the school girls had to have pigtails. So there was a parents' meeting and I understand, the principal was scolded for hiring a 'teacher' who had short hair like a man!" Innocent Mary heard about the meeting through her aunt. She started growing her hair.

As it turned out, Mary did graduate from primary school, and went to Miyagi Girls' School, equivalent to an American high school. It also had a college division, and since she was again five years older than her classmates, the officials allowed her to take courses in the college division.

The social life in prewar Japan was, of course, very restricted. "You've got to think, now, Sendai was a large city compared to some of the cities in the United States. But it was mainly of soldiers and students, rather feudalistic. And for a girl to talk to a boy, why that's unthinkable. My kid brother went to a high school, and one day we were both walking down the main street to buy a book. Next day my brother was called to account by his principal: You were walking with a girl!... That's my sister... You can't!"

"And they wouldn't let you go to movies unless you went with your parents. I wasn't about to go with my mother. She likes movies where you're crying your eyes out, but me, I wasn't interested. But I changed out of my uniform, of course, and went out alone." A change of clothes but the same iconoclastic Mary.

While she was working at the Rising Sun Petroleum Company in Tokyo, the war broke out. Mary then returned to Sendai to help her mother run a boarding house, and, upon her marriage in January, 1945, she accompanied her husband to Korea. For this whole period, Mary unabashedly reeled off story after story. Particularly interesting were her experiences in Korea as the Japanese Empire crumbled and chaos set in among the resident Japanese community. This, however, is another story.

The first group of Nisei to study for the Buddhist ministry (Jodo Shinshu) in

Kyoto arrived in Japan about this time. The first two, Rev. Shodo Tsunoda of Fresno and Rev. Kenryo Kumata of Seattle had completed their training and returned to the United States by 1939. But Sacramento-born Rev. Shoko Masunaga, who was California State senate chaplain, this year, Canada-born and now Bishop Kenryo T. Tsuji, and Rev. Hogen Fujimoto of Santa Barbara, were all stranded in Japan during the war. Rev. Masunaga was ordained in 1939 and later entered the Heishikan in 1942—more about the Heishikan later.

There were fewer Nisei in the Kansai (Osaka-Kyoto) area, so it was more difficult to meet other Nisei. There were organizations for Nisei set up, and Rev. Fujimoto recalls some dances and other social functions like plays. With the opening of hostilities, most of these types of social gatherings ceased, and Reverend Fujimoto, being a dual citizen, was pressured to give up his American citizenship by the dreaded *Kempetai*. There were also the travel restrictions and required registration at the local police stations, which were the normal routine for most Nisei. The Japanese students

studying for the ministry, he further remembers, didn't treat the Nisei students with any hostility. If anything, they were sympathetic to their plight.

Many Nisei who studied in Japan attended special schools, special in the sense that they were specifically set up for these Nisei students to help them in their study of the Japanese language and culture. Some were government-run, some were church or religious affiliations, and some were independent.

The Keisen survey identified several of these special schools for Nisei:

- Kaigai Kyoiku Kyodai (Mizuho Gakuen)
- Kodo Gakuen
- Nichibei Home
- Waseda International Institute
- YWCA School (Kokusai Yuboku)

The Japan Foreign Office School, which opened in 1939, better known as the Heishikan, should be added to the special schools for Nisei.

Additionally, some regular Japanese schools like Toyo Eiwa Girls' School and Keisen Girls' School had special divisions or departments for Nisei.

Keisen is a private, Christian girls' school in Tokyo, founded before the war by Miss Michi Kawai. It started as a combination junior and senior high school, and later a *semmun-bu* (that is, a special department) was added and which later developed into a junior college.

Miss Kawai was active in international Christian activities and became sensitive to the situation of America's second-generation Japanese when she first visited the United States in 1934.

It was in 1937, I believe, that a *ryugakuseibu* (foreign student department) was started at Keisen with an initial class of about 15 Nisei girls from the United States and Canada.

Los Angeles-born Haruko Kawai, not related to Miss Kawai, was teaching English at the Keisen high school when this Nisei Department, as they called it, started. Her father was a Christian minister in Los Angeles, but when he returned to Japan, he left his three oldest children, including Haruko, in the States to continue their education. (Her oldest brother was the late Kazuo Kawai, noted Japan scholar, though educated in the United States, he was born in Japan and thus ineligible for citizenship.)

How were Nisei recruited to Keisen? Haruko replies, "I don't know if the word 'recruit' is proper here. Well, individual parents wanted their children to come to Japan, for one thing. And then there used to be what they called *kanko-dan* (sightseeing tour). It would be like an excursion in Japan for the summer vacation. Some students would decide to stay on in Japan, some went back but said that they might come back to Japan later." So this was one way in which the availability of Keisen and other schools was spread around.

"Miss Kawai," continues Haruko, "because of her international background, wanted to teach internationalism

Japan Foreign Office sought talented Nisei for Heishikan

to the girls. Even before the war she tried to create an international atmosphere at Keisen.

"That's when the parents of these Nisei girls who came to Japan asked her to start the Nisei Department. I think she felt it was very good for the girls to know more about their Japanese background, and she felt that it would be very good for the Japanese girls to know about the Nisei." Since many of the students lived in the same dorms, experiences from both sides of the Pacific could be exchanged.

Nisei girls who graduated from high school could enter this special department. There was no diploma given in this one-year course. If desired, a student could study there for two years. These students studied the Japanese language mainly, along with *shuji* (calligraphy), Japanese culture, and Japanese arts.

As with most Japanese schools, excursions were an important part of the program, Haruko explains. "And then a great emphasis was put on going to different historical places—excursions. They got to travel a great deal, from Hokkaido to Kyushu. During the summer vacation some went to Manchuria, some went to Korea, and some even went to Shanghai. Travel brought Japanese history and culture closer to the student as well as creating a sense of companionship and unity among the students."

The war, of course, upset all of this. The *ryugakuseibu* continued until the outbreak of the war. "There were about two or three Nisei who stayed on during the war and they entered the *semmun-bu* (that is, junior college). It naturally petered out because we didn't have special students anymore."

With the onset of the Pacific War, such ideals espoused by Miss Kawai went into hibernation. Interestingly, in spite of strict governmental controls over education, Keisen never stopped its English classes.

A few other small Japanese schools apparently set up special classes for girls brought up abroad. One example was Toyo Eiwa Girls' School, a Canadian missionary school in Tokyo. Canadian-born Haru Miyashita (Mrs. Takemori) recalls "There were several girls from South America, the States, Hawaii, some from Europe even. All of Japanese parentage. It was the strangest thing. There was a girl brought up in Germany who had mannerisms just like the Germans. And she even looked like a German. And those from Mexico looked Mexican even." It was the strangest collection of *Nikkei nisei* in that school.

Toyo Girls' School had set up a special class where the girls studied Japanese and Japanese literature. If they caught up, they could enroll in the regular Japanese classes. Haru spent two years in this special class, then transferred to Keisen Girls' School, not the special department for

Nisei, but its regular Japanese high school.

Haru had come to Japan because of her parents' wish to have their daughter brought up as a Japanese, in the Japanese way. "I have five brothers. My two older brothers were brought up in Japan; they were left with my grandparents. Because my father was the eldest son, they (the grandparents) wanted him to leave his oldest son. My younger brothers were brought up in Canada and were given English names. My father wasn't concerned whether they grew up as Canadians or Japanese. But girls! My mother especially said, 'She's got to be brought up in a Japanese way.'

The Mizuho Gakuen was sponsored by one of the governmental agencies, S. "Sam" Yamada, now of the Bank of America, Tokyo, was the only interviewee who attended Mizuho. Basically, it was a school to teach Nisei of various nationalities the Japanese language and culture. The hope was that their bilingual, bicultural graduates could aid the Japanese government in presenting its position on international issues.

At this juncture in history, Japan was not able to mount an effective public opinion crusade to the outside world, and so the hope was that the Mizuho graduates could close this communication gap between Japan and the world. In spite of one's personal opinions on Japan's foreign policy during the late 1930s and early 1940s, Japan was still entitled to present its side of the argument.

About the Nichibei Home, Yoshiharu "Miles" Mikami, presently with Pan-Asian Newspaper Alliance, recalls dimly of its beginnings: "This Buddhist priest was running what they called the Nichibei Home, the Japan-American Home, where they looked after these Nisei coming over to study. He went traveling around the States—California, Arizona, Colorado—trying to get Nisei to come and study."

Miles was born in Hawaii but decided to continue his college education in Japan rather than in Hawaii or on the mainland. He reached Japan in 1933, one of the first Nisei to go to Japan purely for study.

He remembers that they had private tutors in Japanese and the Nichibei Home concept was to prepare the Nisei to pass the entrance examinations to other, regular Japanese universities. Gradually the Nichibei Home in Tokyo's Itabashi area increased to about fifty students living in two dormitories.

S. "Hank" Yamada of Nippon Oil was also a student at Nichibei Home. Formerly of San Francisco, he says of his experience there: "Father put me in a dormitory near Fuchu (a Tokyo suburb where the second Nichibei Home was located), sort of a Buddhist-colored life where we had to

recite the *okyo* (sutras) every morning and evening."

Hank's father made money in California farming after the Depression had wiped out his import-export business. Deciding that his children should know the mother tongue, the Yamada family moved to Yokohama.

Hank entered the Nichibei Home dorm in September, 1939. Since he couldn't speak Japanese too well, he had a college student come in and teach him Japanese beginning from the first grade. "We went from Book One to Book Six (in the Japanese Standard Reader) from September to March. From April, 1940, when the new semester started, I went into the first year of junior high school, but only classes in *kokugo* (national language), literature, *shushin* (ethics). During physical training, English lessons and mathematics, I would go back to the dormitory for tutoring." Hank passed the entrance examinations for Keio University, but after a year there, the war broke out.

Canadian-born Yoshio Kawakita entered Waseda Kokusai Gakuin in January, 1942. He came to Japan because his family had returned. In Toronto where his father had been in the import-export business, the assets of the Axis Powers were frozen after the British Commonwealth declared war on the Axis countries. Unable to conduct business, his father decided to take the family back to Japan.

Young Kawakita, then sixteen, was a little unhappy when his father announced his decision. "Being at that age, I didn't know what we were coming back to!" Upon leaving, he recalls, "We were only allowed twelve American dollars each. We left Canada Nov. 1, 1941 on the Hikaru Maru. We arrived in Japan around the 18th. Then war started on December 8th (Japan time)."

Kawakita today is manager of Canadian Pacific, Tokyo.

Waseda Kokusai Gakuin wasn't part of the regular Waseda University. At that time the principal was Dr. Yamamoto, who had set up this unit which was situated near the present Waseda University campus. Again, this school was to assist Nisei who were studying in Japan. Yoshio was there a year, then transferred to a regular high school.

He explains, "The normal course in Waseda was three years. There was a diploma, but it didn't really mean too much because you weren't qualified to enter a university unless you had a high school diploma." Thus, he became a regular student in a Japanese high school to meet this requirement. "I didn't know too much Japanese, so I had a hell of a time getting in because it was fairly competitive. You had to pass examinations to get into a Japanese high school."

The Heishikan was an early attempt by the Japanese Foreign Office to bring talented Nisei from English-speaking countries to Japan on a scholarship, give them a thorough education in the Japanese language and culture, and at the end of their two-year scholarship, try to place them in the Foreign Office or in other jobs where the bilingual talents would be most effective.

Tatsuo Kawai and Sukeyuki Akamatsu of the Foreign Office were instrumental in setting up the mechanics for this program in 1939. Money was set aside for educational projects, and it was decided to use part of it for the Heishikan.

For the first group, the Ik-kai-sei, sixteen nisei from the United States, Hawaii and Canada were selected on a competitive basis to receive the scholarship. They were:

Northern California — Yuichi Doiguchi, San Francisco; George Kyotow, San Francisco; Dick Oyasako, San Francisco; Biff Omori, San Francisco.

Southern California — Sam Isamu Masuda, Los Angeles; Louise Kahoru Furuya (Mrs. Yanari), Los Angeles; Kay Kanemitsu Tateishi, Los Angeles; Tamaye Tsutsumida, Santa Monica.

Pacific Northwest — Shiro Saito, Portland, George Yojiro Somekawa, Portland.

Hawaii — Bill Sekifumi Ishikawa, Tom Kakuro Nakata, George Satoshi Ouye.

Canada — Hidekazu Nishikawa, Kazuma Ueyeno.

This first group, Ik-kai-sei, was the only one selected directly from abroad, and the qualifications were quite high, requiring them to be high school graduates. Most had some experience in college or junior college. The Heishikan was not a

Continued on Page 4-A

Snapshots from Kahoru's Album



George Somekawa from Portland



Hidekazu Nishikawa from Canada



Biff Omori from San Francisco



George Ouye from Hawaii

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Forgotten Nisei

Continued from Page A-3

school in the sense there were few formal classes. It was, instead, more like a series of seminars and lectures at the dormitory, where guest lecturers or staff members would come in and talk about their specialties. There was a loose and free atmosphere. Some members were even enrolled in other regular universities while at the Heishikan. Of course, there were a few formal classes like in English and Japanese. The teaching staff included:

S. Akamatsu, international law; John O. Gauntlett, English; Kumagawa, politics; Nishizawa, foreign affairs; Tanabe, economics; Yasuhara, Japanese history; Charles Yoshii, English.

Charles Yoshii was a Nisei from Portland and a long time resident in Japan, and John O. Gauntlett was an Englishman and another Japan resident from prewar times.

The names of the Japanese tutors (university students, I believe), have been forgotten by the former Heishikan members. Akamatsu-sensei was, in addition, the school principal. Kumagawa-sensei was the "go-between" in student-faculty relations, and a Mr. Yanagi was the treasurer. Mrs. Peggy Fujioka Nakaki and George Shimanouchi served as the "big sister and big brother" to the students.

The school formally started around December 1, with a lively bunch. Here is a quote from their 30th anniversary booklet printed in 1969:

"On October 12, 1939, the first Nisei from across the Pacific entered Takane-cho, 12-banchi, Nakano-ku, Tokyo, the original home of the Heishikan. The Heishikan, as we know it, was born on that day."

Around December 1, 1939, the formal *kai-kan shiki* (opening ceremony) was held in a house which was located, in our memory isn't playing tricks, near the present headquarters of the Liberal Democratic Party adjacent to the Diet building. Our lessons were to be held in that house but the Ikka-sei didn't like it and school started instead at Takane-cho, 12-banchi. But it wasn't until the turn of the year that Heishikan really got organized, with the appointment of Mr. Akamatsu as principal.

The Ikka-sei completed their course of study just prior to the December, 1941, attack on Pearl Harbor. Most were already working, either for the Foreign Office, the Japan Times, or the Domei New Agency (forerunner of today's Kyodo News Service).

Due to illness, Kahoru Furuya had to leave the school and return to the United States in 1940. Prior to her return, other members made a scrapbook for her which contains pictures of all the Heishikan Ikka-sei members, and this probably remains the only source of pictures of that first group.

Despite the outbreak of war, the Heishikan continued and the second group, the Nikka-sei, were selected. These Nisei were by and large stranded by the war and included a diverse group of Nisei: English, Cuban, and Southeast Asian-born Nisei as well as from the States.

As best as possible, the names of the subsequent Heishikan groups were pieced together.

Nikka-sei, December, 1941: December, 1943: Kichiro Abe, Masao Ekimoto, Masato Hirotsuka, Masayoshi Hoshimi, Takeshi Ishii, Masakazu Iwata, Seiichiro Katsurayama, Namio Kida, Hideo Kuwahara, Shoko Masunaga, Matsushima, Shigemi Mazawa, Teruo Nimura, Taro Ogawa, Roy Oaki, Sydney Sako, Yoshio Shimogaki, Noboru Uehara, Tsutomu Yusa.

Sanka-sei, Spring 1943: Fujioki, George Tamotsu Kawasaki, Yoshiaki Kimura, George Kubota, Susumu Saiki, Hajime Shimada, Takao Shinguchi, George Takeda, Hiroshi Takeda, Tsutsui, Sadamu Yamada.

Yonka-sei, 1944: Bill Fusao Chida, "Archie" Hamayasu, Norio Hide, Masakazu Kuwahara, Yutaka Matsuda, Matsuya Matsumoto, Sumiko Matsumoto, Frank Arata Miyamoto, Albert Hajime Miyasato, Roy Kanji Ni, Shinichi Ohashi, Fumiko Tabata, Sumiko Tabata, Tazuko Yamamoto, Jim Hajime Yamazaki, Kiyoshi Yoshida.

Gokai-sei, 1945: Akira Rikimaru, Kenichi Rikimaru, Kenichi Rikimaru, Satoshi Rikimaru, Kazu Rikimaru, Shigeru Tabata.

The Heishikan is a fascinating story and we hope to write about it in more detail later.

Dr. Albert Miyasato, Hawaii educator, provided the pictures of the third, fourth, and fifth groups.

Even during the depths of war, they found the spirit to put on a play, *Mabuta no Haha*, which the Kenkyusha dictionary defines as "one's mother from whom one was separated in one's infancy."

Susumu Saiki played the leading role and, I think (that tape hasn't been translated) that the story was about a *yakuza* who was separated from his mother in infancy but who reaches a certain level of prominence and standing. One day he recognizes his mother after all those years, but he cannot say anything or give away his secret. Anyway, the story was apropos in more ways than one.

This has been a brief look at some of the special schools. The two other schools listed in the Keisen survey, Kodo Gakuin and the YWCA School (Kokusai Yukobu), must remain a mystery for the time being, as none of the interviewees mentioned them, nor was there any public information relating to them found in the course of research.

2. BECAUSE PARENTS WENT TO JAPAN

Quite a number of Issei and their families returned to Japan permanently during the twenties and thirties. It is ironic that, while the question of Japanese exclusion was raging in the United States, there were years in which the net Japanese immigration was in fact negative.

Among those who fall within this category are the two American-born Japanese ambassadors, (David) Koh Chiba and Tosh Yamanaka. Both are San Francisco Bay Area products.

When named Ambassador to Mexico in 1958, Koh Chiba became the first American-born Japanese to attain the rank of ambassador in the Japanese Foreign Service. He subsequently served as Ambassador to Brazil, Australia and the United Nations. He is now with Keizai Doyukai, Japan Committee for Economic Development.

Chiba was born in Berkeley, Calif., in 1909, but since his family moved to San Francisco soon after, he considers San Francisco his home. Ambassador Chiba attended Grant School at Pacific and Divisadero streets, as did San Francisco-born Tosh Yamanaka. Like many other Nisei, after school he attended Japanese school at Kinmon Gakuen. "I wasn't particularly keen about going. We didn't like to go there because, you see, until past two or three o'clock you were tied up with your own regular school work. And only because your parents insisted, you made a trip to Bush Street (where Kinmon Gakuen was located)."

He recalls that his father was a graduate of an agricultural school in Japan, and around 1906-07, when many Japanese were emigrating to the States to take up farming, his father arrived in San Francisco. He didn't take to farming right away, however, and found a job with the San Francisco Nichibei Shimbun.

About his father, he recalls, "It must have been during World War I... there was an organization called, I think, the Agricultural Association of Central California, in Japanese *Kashu Chun Noka*. He was invited to become the Secretary General of this association, so he was traveling around California... But then in 1920 it became quite clear that there was no hope, and father decided that it's not much use staying in the United States because there wasn't any bright future for the Japanese." The specific issues were the Alien Land Laws, Japanese Exclusion, and the other racially discriminating laws that were being posed, not only in California, but nationally as well.

So, the Chiba family returned to Japan in 1921. Young Chiba was then in the 8th grade and had no say in the matter.

In Japan the competition in education was (and still is) severe. Luckily his father took a job in Manchuria, and that is where Ambassador Chiba went to junior high school. There, he had a very understanding teacher who helped him. For high school, he went to Sendai after failing the examinations for one in Tokyo. After three years there, he passed the entrance examinations for Tokyo Imperial University. He selected the Law Faculty, for by then he had decided to become a diplomat.

In *chugakko* (high school) the principal said that I could use my language skills for better purposes. My interest was

Continued on Page A-5



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Heishikan 1944-45 Classes, No. 3, 4 and 5

Members of the Heishikan classes No. 3, 4 and 5 which convened in Tokyo during the war years gather with their instructors, seated in front. They are (from left) "Skipper" Sensei, Y. Yanagi, Mr. Akamatsu and Mr. Kawakami. Others are: Front row (standing) — Mrs. Yamada, Sumiko Tabata, Fumiko Tabata, Toshiaki Kimura, Sadamu Yamada, Hajime Yamada, Takao Shinguchi, Tazuko

Yamamoto, Sumiko Matsumoto, the caretaker (at extreme right); Second row — Akira Rikimaru, George T. Kawasaki, H. Kuwabara, Albert H. Miyasato, Jim H. Yamasaki, Kenichi Rikimaru, M. Matsumoto, Norio Hide; Top row — Frank A. Miyamoto, Bill F. Chida, Shigeru Tabata, Satoshi Rikimaru, Kazu Rikimaru and Yutaka Matsuda.

— Dr. Albert Miyasato's Private Collection

The Forgotten Nisei

Continued from Page A-4

in engineering, and he felt sure that I'd make a good engineer since I had the ability to speak English with greater fluency than the other boys. In those days we were all very nationalistic, and he argued that I could serve my country better by going to a language school than by becoming an engineer; he felt that other boys could become engineers.

He recalls his days at Todai (Tokyo Imperial University), the training ground for the Japanese elite. "No, it wasn't hard understanding the lectures there, I would say, perhaps, the first two years in middle school I had some difficulty following subjects like Japanese classics, history, ethics. Some of them (Todai classmates) knew that I was American-born, but I was just one of them, I think, in a way, fortunately, my family had come back to Japan and I was still young enough to become assimilated."

3. PERMANENT HOME

A few people thought of as "Nisei" like Henry Toshiro Shimanouchi and John T. Fujii are not really Nisei since they had been born in Japan. But they were brought to the United States by their parents at such an early age that they were culturally quite American. By existing American law, however, practically all Nisei were ineligible for citizenship.

Seeing little chance in Depression-ridden America, Henry Shimanouchi returned to Japan, eventually entering the Japanese Foreign Office. He too was appointed to an ambassadorship. Just before the outbreak of war, he was sent to New York to work from there he was exchanged on the Gripsholm.

Now retired, Shimanouchi is with the Keidunren. The colorful and legendary John Fujii also went to Asia in order to pursue his profession in journalism. Larry Tajiri in journalism. Today, he is with Fairchild News Service in Tokyo. Larry Tajiri (Pacific Citizen, March 27, 1948) wrote of John.

"The motivating factor in John Fujii's life probably is that he was born in Japan. He was brought to the United States by his parents while still an infant in arms. He grew up as an American, with other Americans but he was to learn that unlike the Nisei he was doomed by the naturalization law to remain forever an alien in what was to him his native land. He could not vote. He could not own property in the state of California. Many jobs and most professions were closed to him. His status influenced his political opinions, or lack of them. His status, or lack of it, made him opportunistic."

John went through numerous universities and colleges. Pomona, Southern Methodist, Drew, and latched on to various jobs on both seaboards. John recalls about his vagabond life, "I went to college in New Jersey and I went to New York to look for a job. It was in the Depression but I got this \$50 a month job with Asahi as an office boy. It wasn't enough to pay for my groceries. Then I went to the Japan Consulate and they told me that they had a job for me writing for this English language publication. It was just another job. But it was impossible for him to get a job outside of the vernacular

newspapers, so he took a newspaper job in Singapore.

A gregarious fellow and noted elbow bender, John was a gold mine of stories. "When I was in Singapore before the war, I was always homesick for Americans, and everytime I got the chance to meet Americans, I would ask, 'Where you from?' and that sort of thing."

"One day at the Coconut Grove, a very popular place for the foreign community and which was run by Americans, I ran into this group of six or seven young Americans, clean-cut Americans. Sat down and introduced myself and started drinking. And they said, 'Come on over and join us. We were drinking that night!'"

"Next day I got a call from the Japanese Consulate General, saying, 'You were drinking last night with a group of American pilots going to join Chang-Kai-shek. I want their names.'"

"So I called up the hotel and asked for the names of the Americans and forwarded it to them. That's what you call 'intelligence work'."

"At the same time the American Consulate General also got a telephone call from an American saying, 'What were these hush-hush pilots doing, drinking with a Japanese (John)'?"

Cecil Brown in his "Suez to Singapore" called John a famous "Japanese spy." In reply John has this to say, "Well, you know, working for a newspaper always gathering information... It's a question of what is done with that information that constitutes spying. I think, so, I remember, in Singapore, we called up and asked questions of people to get information. If you print that in the newspaper, it isn't spying. But if that information gets back to the Japanese, it's considered spying! So, it's a very thin line between what is actually news gathering and spying."

"What about Cecil Brown?" "He just wanted to call me a 'Japanese spy' because he wanted to have a spy in his book. He decided I wouldn't take offense at it."

With the outbreak of war, John, being a Japanese, was interned in the infamous Changi Prison by the British. His experiences are chronicled in his book, "Singapore Assignment." After being a British prisoner for ten months, the British, with prodding by the Americans, asked him if he wanted to work for the Allies. The reward would be his long-desired American citizenship. He declined. "After ten months as a prisoner, you felt more Japanese; you become more and more Japanese if you stay on this side." Suffering along with the Japanese for ten months, he became sympathetic to their cause. "If they would have made the offer sooner."

This was a far cry from his pro-American feelings at the time of Pearl Harbor. "I remember when one of the British officers interrogated us when we were being interned, he turned and said, 'I'm surprised to see you here, Johnny. I thought you were an American.' I'm not in Japanese — I've got a Japanese passport. I was only a technical Japanese and not actually Japanese in spirit."

4. JOB POSSIBILITIES

Given the prevailing climate in prewar America of

prejudice and/or economic hardship, not a few Nisei

looked to Japan for jobs and careers. There was a warning, however, in the October 19, 1939 issue of the Japan Times Weekly, "Stay West, Young Man!" It quotes a Nisei who had spent several years in Japan already:

"Better stay in America. The old Japan of unlimited opportunity is gone. Every year, the newcomer finds competition keener, profits harder. The day apparently is passed when a young college graduate of 25 can come here, work for several years, and feel that he can go back with a competence."

The conditions were far different in 1939, the article continued, than the late 1920s and early 1930s when a Nisei boy "crooned his way to movie fame" or when a Nisei girl "became a singer." Still, many went to Japan.

The best field for women was regarded as the stenographic field. However, the magazine reported that even here opportunities were increasingly limited.

For men the best fields were the technical fields, but again, even a Cal Tech or MIT graduate was not ranked as highly as a Tokyo Imperial University graduate.

On the other hand "the greatest opportunity for the young Nisei is to learn Japan and the Japanese language. His contributions to Japanese-American welfare will be immeasurable." Merely making a living is just "accumulating money". In stern moral tones the article continues, "Real success is based on the amount of beneficial contribution we can make to the world."

Stressing that it would be a mistake for any Nisei to come to Japan without any definite program, the article advised to come with a lot of funds. "It is a mistake for any Nisei to think he can study and work too. To come here without a basic knowledge of Japanese is foolhardy. If you prefer luxury and comfort, stay in America. Stick to your jobs."

It goes without saying that the Nisei in Japan who became successful were successful, not because they knew English, but because they knew Japanese. One Nisei told me, for example,

"Sure, there have been Nisei who have been named chairman of the board of large Japanese companies. But there are also many Nisei who are just clothing store salesmen too."

The Keisen survey found that only 99 of their 437 returns were from Nisei working in Japan. Here is a listing of jobs that the men held:

1. Commerce — Typing and accounting in foreign firms, American Consulate, Foreign Office, cultural societies; Superintendent's clerk; clerks in retail firms, export-import firms, etc.
2. Foreign Trade — Sales manager, sales engineer, technician, interpreter.
3. Radio — Broadcasting Corp. of Japan.
4. Science — Pharmacy; Research Associate in Electro-Technical Lab; Physico-Chemical Research Lab; Chemist.
5. Teaching — Schools, private English tutoring.
6. Journalism — Newspapers, magazines.
7. Wrestler for Dai Nippon Sumo Kai.

Occupations held by women respondents were as follows:

1. Commerce — Clerical, stenography, bookkeeping, private secretary in foreign firms, Foreign Office, cultural

societies, missionaries.

2. Hair Dresser
3. Home Economics — Dressmaking and dietician.
4. Interpreter, translator.

5. Science — Nursing.
6. Teaching — Schools (boys' and girls' schools); private tutors; English and piano; hospital; dietetics instructor.

The Survey Committee felt that those working in Japan had better positions than they had had in the States. But that didn't mean that jobs were easy to find in Japan by any means.

"Many Nisei who had been unable to find jobs elsewhere seemed to think that in Japan they would be able to find something, and so would manage in some way to get along. Due to the lack of knowledge of Japanese, they have had to go through schools here or have had to study privately. The Nisei's greatest difficulty was this lack of knowledge of Japanese."

Of the 99 respondents, 4 had done graduate work in college; 29 others had also graduated from college; 6 graduated from business college; 11 from vocational schools, and 5 from junior colleges; 31 had graduated from high school. In other words the educational profile of Nisei working in Japan was:

- University or college graduates (33) 33 pct.
- Beyond high school education (22) 22 pct.
- High school graduate (31) 32 pct.
- Less than high school (13) 13 pct.

It seems to be quite high for the time. In addition 49 of the respondents indicated that they had had some form of Japanese education, be it regular schooling or private study.

And 34 of 99 mentioned that the lack of knowledge of Japanese was the greatest handicap in finding a job in Japan; 22 said that they had a lack of proper preparation in their line of work; and 12 felt prejudice against him/her on account of race or foreign birth which again made finding a job difficult.

In discussing career possibilities two other areas seem to deserve special consideration. These are in the music world and the sports world. Both are of particular interest to me, even though they are not usual aspirations.

The most successful Nisei singer in the world of Japanese popular music has been Katsuhiko Haida, who was born in Hawaii. But others followed in his footsteps, and they ranged from popular to operatic music.

Commanding their share of the limelight were Helen Honda (Hawaii), Fumiko Kawabata (Hawaii), Helen Sumida (Fresno), Aiko Saita (Canada), Betty Inada (Sacramento), Agnes Yoshiko Miyakawa (Sacramento), Misako Kokubo (Hawaii), and Harumi Miyagawa.

Kob Fujiwara in his "Natsumeru no Hitobito" wrote about Fumiko Kawabata, the acrobat-dancer-singer. Some of the material is in conflict with newspaper accounts, but in essence Fumiko Kawabata was born in Hawaii, grew up in Los Angeles, and was quite a teenage dancing sensation in the United States. Indeed, she made her debut at Los Angeles Orpheum Theater, then a very prestigious stage. He writes, "She moved her beautiful and supple body in

Continued on Page A-8

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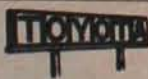
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JACL SALUTES HERITAGE

76

Artwork - Design by Toe Nojiri

Forgotten Nisei—

Musicians, Singers,
Athletes Court Japan

Continued from Page A-5

fantastic and sexy ways (*kumya kumya*). One of her specialties was touching the back of her head with both feet. Her fame as a dancer spread.

Around 1929 her parents decided to return to Japan, and this caused a great deal of excitement in Japan, for here was an opportunity to see a first-rate dancer. Fumiko cut two songs in Hawaii and had the master's sent ahead to Japan Columbia where they were pressed. One was entitled "Three-Days-a-Month Girl." In it was a catchy word, *nantaru*.

Fujiura, who himself is a song writer, says, "Grammatically speaking, the *nantaru* was odd. However, with regards to the tune, *nantaru* fit in well; it was a charming point in the song. Further, with her Nisei pronunciation of Japanese the song became all the more interesting."

Nantaru, as the song became known, was played everywhere, a hit, and it signaled the Hawaii Nisei invasion into Japan's recording world.

He later assesses the Nisei impact on Japan's music world. "It seems that songs sung and pronounced by romanized Japanese are just not songs that Japanese can grow fond of. Other Nisei singers came to Japan before the war, but they too generally ended in failures—at best minor successes."

Nisei musicians, perhaps, fared a little better. Richard Hirokawa, a Hawaiian, played saxophone as well as singing tenor.

Hisashi Moriyma, born in San Francisco, went to Japan in the early 1930s, riding on the crest of the American Jazz wave. (Today his daughter Ryoko is one of Japan's top female vocalists.)

Tib Kamayatsu, from Los Angeles, is another Nisei who has enjoyed long-term success in Japan. (He presently runs a jazz school in Tokyo, and his son Hiroshi is a singer and disc jockey in Tokyo.)

One of the longest-lived Nisei musicians in Japan has been Peki Shirakata and his Aloha Hawaiians.

Tib Kamayatsu went to Japan with a Nisei jazz band in July, 1937. One of the members was Mas Manbo, a columnist for the PC. Mas recalls the vague beginnings of that band.

It was near the end of high school, 1931-32, that we started a band. Aki Onno (now of West Los Angeles JACL) was a guitar player and he started a jazz band with musicians, guys that played something from different parts of L.A. I started playing a saxophone, my brother was playing a banjo. We used to have a small band that played at some of the Christian churches. We had a girl named Mary Kato playing piano. It was a lot of fun; we were always changing. We played for the first Nisei Week talent show. I think it was at Yamato Hall, and we also played at the street dance in Little Tokyo.

"We had, I guess, about nine pieces. We made a tour from Los Angeles to San Francisco before we came to Japan."

They seemed to have a big band sound, two trumpets, three saxophones, bass guitar, piano. "It was mainly jazz, big band. Aki Onno played steel guitar and Tib Kamayatsu played regular guitar. We couldn't find a male piano player so we had a girl playing for us."

Was it the Los Angeles Melodaires? Or something like that? "They kept changing names," Mas remarked.

"We played at the Nisei Week and there was a Japanese steel guitar player who appeared on the same program. His name was Naoyuki Ogami; he was a Rikkyo student. The leader of our band at that time was George Igawa, a saxophone player."

George was a Kibei and could speak Japanese very well, and after talking to Ogami, the young Japanese student promised to arrange a band job for them in a Japanese dance hall. "So he really kept his promise and we made this tour to Japan after our tour through California."

The band left for Japan in July, 1937. There were three saxophones, George Igawa, a fellow named Chikano and Masbo, Hy Masada and a Mexican, Sammy Major played trumpet. Joe Sakai, bass. Tib Kamayatsu played the guitar, and a Filipino

played the piano. Dolly Fujioka was the band's singer. Manbo continues, "We had a half-year contract to play at the Warabi Inn in Saitama-ken. But I think we only played three months, then the police made us sent the 'foreign' fellows back home."

"Then we switched to another dance hall in Saitama owned by the same proprietor. It was Kawaguchi Dance Hall, a bigger place."

"For the times, I guess, such wild music and dancing would have shocked most Japanese. Candidly," Manbo remarks, "It was a lot of fun. Our band—you couldn't call it too good—but the fellows that came around to the dance hall, they didn't care for the music so much. It was the girls. They had taxi dancers, of course. The girls would just plaster right up against the guys."

Manbo recalls that they were getting around 160 yen a month, a fairly good sum of money for those days. That job ended after six months. The band had another audition but it didn't turn out well. With that, the band couldn't stay together, and all except three returned to the States.

Tib Kamayatsu went on to secure a good job with one of the better bands in Japan, playing in the same band with Hiroshi Moriyma at the Florida Dance Hall in Tokyo, one of the high class places in Tokyo then. "(Hy) Masada and I, however," laments Manbo, "we went to play in a Yokohama dive."

This "dive" was called the Pacific Dance Hall situated near the harbor. "There were two Nisei in the band. That's why we got the job," Manbo remembers them. Charley Kikugawa, drummer, and Ted Kozumi, guitarist. But as war drifted closer and closer, fewer and fewer ships called at Yokohama. And soon, that job folded too. But Manbo embarked on another fantastic tour, this time with a Hawaiian Negro Band!

"Yes, a Hawaiian Negro Band. Masada joined this group too. We played in theaters, and they called us 'an attraction'. There was only one Negro, a fellow named Archie Grant. He was living in Japan for quite a while, I guess, originally from Los Angeles. An old fellow. There were two Hawaiians. All of them were older than I was. Our band had one Japanese piano player. I think Masada played the trumpet and he was singing Japanese songs by the time we reached Hiroshima. I played the saxophone and the two Hawaiian fellows played the guitar. And Archie Grant, the dark fellow, he would get out and tap dance, play the trombone."

"I think the tour lasted about a month. Most of the time we were unplanned. We were out of money in Hiroshima for a long time. I never even got paid for it."

"Besides our Hawaiian Negro Band we had a couple of other acts like Japanese opera singers and a Korean fellow who sang popular songs."

After this tour, Manbo landed in Tokyo. A short while later he got a job at the Japan Advertiser. And so a musical career gave way to one in journalism.

Nisei helped develop American sports in Japan during the prewar years. American football was introduced on Thanksgiving Day, 1934. Nisei students from Waseda and Meiji Universities and a couple of American teachers at Rikkyo University were instrumental in that first-ever game.

That debut game was played between a "picked Tokyo collegiate team," coached by George Marshall of Rikkyo University, and the Yokohama Country and Athletic Club. The newspaper article does not say who won.

Continuing, however, a collegiate football league which consisted of Meiji, Waseda, and Rikkyo Universities, played its first season that year. Meiji emerged as the first champion.

Paul Rusch of Rikkyo University headed this Tokyo Inter-collegiate American Football League, and Professor Frank Matsumoto of Meiji University and J. Earle Fowler of Rikkyo contributed to the development of American football in Japan. In 1935 Keio and Hosei joined the league with teams of their own.

The Nisei also had their own team. It is not clear when or how it began, but it was the Nisei Rengo-Kaiten.

Even during the war,



Heishikan Students Stage 'Mabuta no Haha'

Nisei students in wartime Japan stage "Mabuta no Haha"—a play about a famous Yakuzo, separated from his mother in infancy, recognizes her after all these years but cannot say anything or give away his secret profession. They are (from left): Front row—S. Tabata, S. Rikimaru, S.

Yamada, Kubota, S. Tabata, F. Tabata, Kenichi Rikimaru, Kazu Rikimaru. Back row—J. Yamasaki, M. Matsumoto, T. Yamamoto, H. Kuwabara, S. Saiki, N. Hide, A. Rikimaru, F. Miyamoto, Y. Matsuda, T. Kimura, A. Miyasato, A. Hamayasu and T. Shinguchi.

—Dr. Albert Miyasato's Private Collection.

American football continued to be played. In the Japan Advertiser, December 19, 1942, the following headline appeared: "Meiji Keio to meet for Football Title." The sub heading was, "Nisei All-Stars Tackle Waseda in Preliminary at Shrine Stadium Tomorrow."

The story describes the Nisei Rengo-kai team: "Mustering the cream of local ex-college stars, the Nisei Rengo-kai team are (sic) expected to prove no walk-away for the Waseda eleven. While little can be deduced on this all-star gang, they have put in two stiff practices and have been loudly clamoring for action. Player-coach Fukuda reports that his team is 'rarin' to go.' Waseda beefed up its squad with additions from the Waseda Kokusai Gakuin. Two backs for Waseda on that day included Wada and Narumi, two Nisei."

Two days later the paper reported the results. "Turning on the heat in the second half to score a touchdown, the Waseda University defeated the Nisei Rengo-kai all-stars, 6 to 0. Although the all-stars kept pace with the collegians in the first half, the speed of the Waseda eleven proved too much after the rest period."

"A long pass, Narumi to Yoshino, who took the toss in the end-zone, clinched the game mid-way in the half. Thereafter the Rengo-kai eleven did themselves proud, stopping the furious drives of 'Ole-man river' Narumi and company."

Others Manbo calls Andy Hanaoka of Hawaii the "unpaid Amos Alonzo Stagg of Japan," because he coached at Meiji University, his alma mater, for such a long time without pay.

Many Nisei contributed to development of baseball in Japan as well. Professional baseball did not begin in Japan until 1936; prior to that, the best baseball was played in the colleges, particularly in the Tokyo Big Six League. Nisei were often recruited by these Japanese universities in order to build a championship baseball team.

When professional baseball started up, many Nisei names graced all the lineups. One of the best was Tadashi (Bozo) Wakabayashi, a pitcher from Hawaii, who won 240 games with an ERA of 1.99. Wakabayashi's battery mate was Kaiser Tanaka, also of Hawaii.

Other prominent Nisei mentioned were Kiyo Nogami and Ted Kameda, who recalled some of his prewar pitching duels against Victor Starlin, the great White Russian, who pitched for the Tokyo Giants.

In humor only one Nisei made the top rank. He was Kichiro Ozaki, known by his wrestling name of Toyonishiki, from Greeley, Colorado. The following is excerpted from an article by Kay Ohara who conducted an interview in the January 16, 1944, Nippon Times.

Ozaki was always interested in sports like baseball, basketball, and football. His father had been interested in sumo, and through parental encouragement, young Ozaki decided to come to Japan and undergo sumo training. He was huge: 6 feet 3 inches.

"I used to weigh around 205 pounds but recently I've managed to slim down to 190 pounds."

Apparently there were other Nisei in the lower ranks. "There are three other Nisei boys here, one from Los Angeles and two from Honolulu, undergoing training. I hear there were four before me but they returned to their homes for family reasons."

He continues, that he regrets that his family would

not know of his success. "Anyway they will know that I'm doing my best. Maybe you think this an exaggerated statement, but I'm struggling not only for my own sake but for the honor of fellow Japanese abroad. That's why I hope I will make the makuuchi rank in the very near future."

In the 1944 Summer Tournament at Tokyo's Korakuen Stadium Toyonishiki made his debut in the top makuuchi ranks. The Nippon Times reported on May 25, 1944:

"For the first time in years, the name of a Nisei wrestler caught the interest of the fans as well as the press. Toyonishiki, a strapping 6-footer, wrestling for the West camp in the 'makuuchi' did exceedingly well in his first shot among the top-notchers by taking six of his ten matches. Much is expected of Toyonishiki in the future."

Soon after he was drafted into the army, and young Ozaki's once-bright future in sumo ended.

5. VISIT

It probably was the wish of every Issei to have their children at least visit Japan. And many Nisei did. Much like today, there were many kinds of tours: kendo clubs, judo clubs, baseball teams went on Japan tours, and even jazz bands put in a stint in Japan.

A few became so enchanted with Japan that they eventually sunk their root there. Sen Nishiyama, a gentleman and scholar, is an example.

Sen was born in Salt Lake City in 1911. Being interested in art, he thought of becoming an illustrator or a commercial artist, but his father talked him out of it. Engineering was agreed upon by both sides; Sen was interested in electronics because radio was in its infancy.

There was a story running around that he fell in love with a beautiful Japanese girl and that's why he came to Japan. "A lot of hogwash. Nothing of truth. It sounds good but it's silly."

"Just before I received my master's degree, my father died, so—this was in '34—we decided, since I had no job immediately available, that the thing to do would be to take the time that I had with my mother and take my father's ashes back to Japan. And so in November I arrived here in Tokyo with my mother and my father's ashes. Then, I was only intending to stay here (in Japan) for about two or three months, to look at the country and then go back to the States, continue looking for a job. But as it turned out, almost from the instance I landed in Japan, I liked the country for several reasons."

"One, the people were much more democratic than the image I had of the sort of country it was from what my father had told me." His father had left Japan in the middle of the Meiji Era, and thus had an out-dated picture of Japan of the Showa Era, which was very different.

"Another was that it was in autumn and the Imperial Art Academy Exhibit was taking place. My cousin took me to this exhibit in Ueno Park and I was just absolutely bowled over by the beautiful art work that was being created by these artists. That was number two."

"Along similar lines, when we went out to my mother's brother's home, which was just a small, modest, poor little house by Japanese standards, but to me it was a sight to behold. To see this nice, clean tatami room and the woodwork. I never realized you could make anything so clean and beautiful at the same time. These things really hit me. Boy! They were fabulous people who created things like

this. That was another of the reasons."

The other very practical reason was that I was able to get a job in electronics. That was the clincher. So when I got this job in electronics in the Japanese Ministry of Communications, why I decided to become a Japanese citizen. This was a Japanese government job, and while legally it was not necessary for me to be a Japanese citizen to work for the Japanese government—in other words the Japanese government would have hired me as a foreign national, so that was legally all right—but I decided, careerwise, it would be better if I were a Japanese. And by that time I had pretty well made up my mind that I would try to make a go of it in Japan. This was in '34. I got the job in January '35 but I arrived here in November '34."

It is difficult to cut away at this point because Sen Nishiyama is an entire fascinating story in itself. Other Nisei also came to Japan to visit and some were caught when war broke out, but Sen is perhaps unique in that he decided to become a Japanese citizen so quickly after arriving.

After the war Sen worked for the United States Embassy as a translator for many of the ambassadors. He is the author of several books on simultaneous translating in which he is an authority. Also, he is well-known to most Japanese because he did the simultaneous translating for most of the Apollo Moon Shots on Japanese television.

Currently he is an executive with the Sony Corp.

To organize the activities of the Nisei in Japan and to encourage visits many Nisei groups formed and received the cooperation of several Japanese companies in the mass media. The Keisen survey reported several of these activities.

The Japan-America Young People's Federation published a quarterly called the Pan Pacific Youth, which contained articles by Nisei on topics such as: "travel, vocations, clubs, etc. of general interest to the Nisei."

There was even a weekly Nisei Hour, "Let's Tune In," for the overseas audience which was broadcast in cooperation with the Nisei and the Broadcasting Corporation of Japan. It was scheduled every Wednesday from 2-3 p.m. (Tokyo time).

Also the Tokyo Nichi-Nichi newspaper contained a weekly Nisei column in its English edition. The Japan Times Weekly too had a "What's Doing" page devoted to the activities of Nisei in Japan.

There was quite a bit of help from the Japanese government and corporations in the mass media to help the Nisei. The Nisei had organized themselves fairly well, too. The Sansei in Japan today has

none of these types of assistance.

6. MARRIAGE

The last category in the Keisen survey was those Nisei who came to Japan for the purpose of marriage. The number was very small, and none of the Nisei interviewees fell into this category.

Postscript

The Nisei have shown to have a rich and varied experience in prewar Japan. Still this is only a small excursion into their lives in prewar Japan. There are many areas to explore and fill out. For example, what was the social life? The Keisen survey found that most men participated in sports for their activities; movies was the next highest category. For women, reading, sports and movies were the biggest leisure activities. There is probably more to it than just that.

There were numerous clubs and organizations for Nisei. Further explorations can be made here. The Keisen survey lists fourteen such clubs, but there were several more in the Kansai area, for example. And not a few Nisei were studying in Hiroshima and other distant (from Tokyo) prefectures.

Many kendo, judo, and other clubs and teams made tours to Japan during the prewar period. Many Nisei from these tours decided to stay in Japan, so here is another area for further chronicling. For example, Kenichi Zenimura of Fresno took many Nisei teams to Japan for baseball exhibitions during the 1920s and 1930s. These experiences would provide fascinating insight to the Nisei world of that period as well as the Japan experience.

Most of the areas briefly touched on in this essay need further depth and expansion as well. Needless to say, there remains the Nisei wartime experience, and there is a fantastic amount of research that can be done here. Much of the material remains locked up in the minds and memories of the Nisei that lived through wartime Japan, however.

It has been said that a people without a history don't exist. In this short essay, hopefully some additional light has been shed on the Nisei in Japan. It is not the complete story by any means.

In the Bicentennial Year there is much to look back and reflect upon in the history of Japanese in America: good parts, bad parts and blanks that need to be filled in. As a sansei, this little bit of research has given me new respect for our now-greying Nisei generation, whose lives have spanned the Yellow Peril days, Depression, World War II, Evacuation and resettlement, the atomic age, and the moon landing.

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Tokie Was Naturalized 'Twice'

First one in 1921 nullified by court, wins reinstatement from Congress in 1934

By HARRY HONDA

Looking at his wizened face, it was undeniably Oriental. Then you're introduced to him. The name is "Tokie" Slocum — a good English moniker. How come, you wonder. Then you learn his full name — Tokutaro Nishimura Slocum Ah—so.

I had met him in the late 1930s at the Iwaki Drug Store lunch counter — at the corner of First St. and Los Angeles. It didn't take long to mentally arrive I was in touch with stuff legends are made of.

A World War sergeant major who served with the U.S. Expeditionary Forces in Europe in the 82nd Rainbow Division and who fought alongside Sgt. Alvin York.

An Issei, who was promised U.S. citizenship through military service, but denied. And who single-handedly lobbied a bill in Congress to enable Issei veterans of World War (Number II was yet to come) gain citizenship.

Another quarter century, another World War and another casual meeting with Tokie — this time in Seattle, where the National JACL Convention was honoring him and several other pioneer JACLers for their stout efforts in lobbying in Congress for bills on behalf of Japanese Americans before Mike Masaoka came on the scene.

It was 1962 and Slocum was 67 years old, retired after working for the federal government. His health had been affected by the effects of the gas attack in the first World War. The small talk these JACL pioneers exchanged escapes our recall but generally they were trying to catch up with personal lives and mutual friends.

In the intervening years till his death at age 78 last year in Fresno, where he had been living since 1949, each time (and they weren't that often either) I chanced to visit Fresno, Tokie was in the hospital or resting at home and it was to his effervescent wife, "Texas" Sally, that we conveyed our best wishes to Tokie.

Mrs. Slocum's "nickname" was not flippantly coined. She is among the few Nisei who claim Texas as their home state, hailing from El Paso.

In 1898, Slocum's father immigrated to the U.S., where he first worked for a railroad and later homesteaded a farm in Minot, North Dakota. Rest of the family followed in 1904. Little did the gangly Japanese kid of 9 realize he was destined to play a leading role in a far-reaching achievement for the cause of Japanese American justice.

Later reared by a Mr. and Mrs. A. P. Slocum and deeply appreciative of their kindly interest, he assumed their name. Public school days over, he entered the Univ. of Minnesota but quit in 1917 to enlist in the Army.

When the Armistice came, he was a sergeant major with the 328th Infantry, 82nd "Rainbow" Division of the American Expeditionary Force. He was the top-ranking Issei serviceman. He fought at Meuse-Argonne and St. Mihiel alongside Sgt. Alvin York, who won the Medal of Honor.

In May, 1918, by a special Act of Congress, alien veterans who had been honorably discharged were granted the right to become citizens. After the war in Hawaii, where some 700 young Japanese and Chinese aliens had enlisted in the Army, U.S. Judge W. Vaughn had granted citizenship to approximately 400 Issei.

Slocum, who had petitioned through the court in St. Paul, Minn., was naturalized in June, 1921. By this time, he was studying law at Columbia University, where he developed a life-long friendship with one of his classmates, William O. Douglas, who in 1939 was appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In November, 1922, the U.S. Supreme Court in the Takao Ozawa case ruled that Orientals, even though they were U.S. Army veterans, were ineligible for citizenship. Slocum quit studying law for one had to be a citizen to practice and for a time he was in the university's business administration school.

Slocum's naturalization certificate was cancelled in January, 1923 — as were those in Hawaii. To make sure, an Issei who served in the U.S. Coast Guard between 1913-23 (the Toyota Case) sued for citizenship under the 1918 Act and the high court reaffirmed the Ozawa decision in 1926.

"No promise of citizenship was ever made to us," Slocum later recalled, "except by those irresponsible recruiting officers who didn't know better." But to young Slocum, who had wallowed in the muddy trenches overseas, that he might gain his American citizenship was no idle challenge. So whilst nomading about—from the rocky shores of Maine to the sunny climes of Florida—he steadfastly sought to bide his time when a wrong might be remedied.

It was at the first National Convention of the Japanese American Citizens League that a now grizzled war veteran stirred the young Nisei to support his campaign to gain naturalization rights for Issei veterans. His orations won him many friends

and enemies. In his corner were such staunch JACL pillars as Dr. Thomas T. Yatabe, Sim Togasaki, Jimmie Sakamoto, Saburo Kido, Dr. Terry Hayashi and Walter Tsukamoto. Against him were those who were offended by his hard-hitting attack on the young JACL for being a "hyphenated" organization.

Outside JACL, one of his biggest opponents was Shu Tomii, Japanese consul general at San Francisco. As an individual, he was a wonderful person — but he had a tendency to look down upon immigrant Issei and their Nisei children. Only when Slocum shouted at him on the righteousness of the cause did Tomii's attitude change. This eventually affected other Issei leaders of the Japanese Associations scattered in California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah and Arizona.

Slocum, accompanied by a young cub reporter — Tamotsu Murayama, were to spend the next five years stumping the Japanese American communities on naturalization for Issei veterans and rally the Nisei into JACL.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion were also formidable obstacles that Slocum had to surmount. They were in the forefront pushing alien land laws — a statute that denied persons "ineligible to citizenship" right to own land. In September, 1934, at the third biennial National JACL Convention in San Francisco, Slocum made his last plea for funds to take the campaign to Washington.

Once in Washington, he persuaded Rep. Clarence F. Lea (D-Calif.) to sponsor the bill, HR 7170. In the Senate, Gerald P. Nye (R-N.D.), chairman of the Special Senate Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry, introduced S. 2508. Meanwhile, behind the scenes, in ten months of concentrated efforts JACL gained contributions for the cause and approximately \$1,500 were expended.

Slocum got to first base when American Legion supported the bill but he knew he couldn't advance unless the Legionnaires in California agreed. In the stormy hearings on the bill in the Senate, there were allegations of misuse of privileges by Japanese veterans in Los Angeles. But Slocum's zeal, which eventually won the VFW, succeeded for the Senate approved the bill on June 11, 1935. A week later, the House concurred. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed the Nye-Lea bill on June 26.

A seven-year battle that involved Slocum speaking to veteran and Nisei groups in 40 states culminated in what was to be JACL's lifeline for the next 25 years — going to the Congress for remedial legislation.

Dr. T. T. Hayashi, at the time, noted: "With our united front in a just cause, we were bound to win our goal."

While in Washington, Slocum taught English to Japanese Embassy staff members and washed dishes at the Mayflower Hotel to sustain himself.

Slocum's bitter battle to restore citizenship to Issei war veterans and the victory moved columnist John Snyre in the Hearst-owned Washington Times to comment:

"Slocum's fight has been a

bitter one. He has waged it almost alone.

The other day, the House passed the bill.

It was a great victory for Slocum.

But Tokie was not there.

Off on a fishing trip, his car had broken down and he didn't know about the passage of the bill until hours and hours later.

When he learned that it had been adopted, he rushed into the office of Rep. Caroline O'Day of New York, who helped him get the measure passed.

He jumped up in the air, on the chairs and desk. Employees feared he would leap out of the window in his joy. But he refrained. He was just celebrating the passage of a bill he had fought for and failed to see pass because the fish were biting."

Having received the pen the President used to sign the bill, Slocum began his journey back to San Francisco to share the triumph with his JACL supporters.

Enroute, he went to New Orleans where the VFW was hold their national encampment to express his appreciation of their support. VFW had also invited Japanese ex-servicemen to join their ranks, including those in Japan, which had fought on the side of the Allies against the Germans in the Pacific.

Slocum was appointed aide-camp to James E. Van Zandt, VFW commander-in-chief.

The Minot (N.D.) Daily News, in its editorial on Slocum's victory, had this to say:

"Residents of Minot rejoice with Tokie Slocum that he, a native of Japan, who served



1944 IN WW2 — Back in uniform in 1943-44 after leaving Manzanar WRA camp, Tokie's knowledge of Japanese had him with intelligence.



1962 JACL CONVENTION — Tokie Slocum receives National JACL Scroll of Appreciation from Sim Togasaki of San Francisco, prewar National JACL treasurer, who doled out funds as they became available in 1933-34 to assist in lobbying for the Citizenship bill for WW1 Oriental veterans. Seated are Clarence Arai of Seattle, JACL co-founder, and Suma Sugi Yokotake of Los Angeles, who also received another Scroll for her successful efforts to amend the Cable Act, restoring citizenship to Nisei women who had married Issei aliens.

—Elmer Ogawa Photo.

honorably with the American forces overseas in the World War, can now have his wish — that of being a citizen of the United States.

There are two reasons why Minoters are glad that Tokie's citizenship has been regained for him. They recognize in him one whose personal record makes him deserving of exemption from whatever laws restrict the naturalization of the rank-and-file of Orientals. They admire his persistence in endeavoring to recover the much desired privileges of citizenship and the fact that he did not become bitter because the government which he served deprived him of the rights which he thought he earned.

Correction of that obvious injustice toward those Japanese who fought for America in 1917 and 1918 should prove to Japan that despite jingoists our Congress is capable of rational action on legislation involving Japanese and that any other real injustices which may exist toward them are not impossible to right, if approached from a friendly attitude."

On Sept. 3, 1935, JACL members and Japanese veterans in the San Francisco Bay Area gathered at the Showa-en on Post St. to celebrate the victory. Evening closed with young Issei veterans proudly signing a document declaring their allegiance to Japan was over and Slocum, who said he had never signed his signature in Japanese, did it proudly.

Others signing with him were Yoshimitsu Amemiya, Saburo Abe, Yonezo Suzuki, Shigeichi Uchida, Kenichi Yamasaki, Sumitaro Fukuhara, Jiro Shiraki, Yajiro Okamoto, Toji Furuya and Kamesaburo Ozaki.

Continued on Page B-4



1934 IN WASHINGTON — Tokie Slocum accepts from Reps. Caroline O'Day (D-N.Y.) and Sam Dickstein (D-N.Y.) pen used by President Franklin D. Roosevelt signing the Nye-Lea Act, enabling Issei aliens who served with the U.S. armed forces in the first World War to become naturalized citizens. At right is Col. John Taylor of American Legion. In background is Victor Devereaux of Veterans of Foreign Wars.

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90013 Phone: (213) 628-8906,
26-3768

Dec. 19-26, 1975—No. 1073
Shigeki J. Sugiyama
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Second-class postage paid at Los
Angeles, Calif. Sales tax on
subscriptions payable in advance. U.S. 47-
000. Foreign air mail note: 1st
class delivery available upon re-
quest. Ask for rates: 22.75 for JACL
membership dues for one-year
subscriptions through JACL, 184
De La Salle St., San Francisco, Ca.
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weapons of a kind hitherto unknown in Japan. The reason sprang from the dissolution of the central government following the Onin War (1467-77).

Decline of Shogunate
From 1338, Japan had been ruled by the Ashikaga family, an offshoot of the Minamoto clan. A religious symbol bereft of secular power, the Emperor conferred the title of Shogun on the leading Ashikaga of each generation.

Shogun (general) is an abbreviation of an earlier title, "Sei-i-taishogun" (commander-in-chief against the barbarians), which had originated when the Yamato court had been pushing back the frontiers of the aboriginal Etsu to the east and north.

The Onin War had sprung, in part, from the neglect of his duties by the hedonist Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1434-90), 8th Shogun of his line. Quarrels also sprang from partisanship over his successor, his vassals split into two camps and civil war commenced.

The combatants reduced Kyoto, the capital, to ashes, but neither side was able to gain a decisive victory. Unable to procure provisions in the devastated countryside and exhausted by the prolonged struggle, each baron finally returned to his own domain.

The power of the central government having vanished, the country entered a period of civil war known as the "Sengoku Jidai." The nobles now were warlords, each fighting to maintain or expand the boundaries of his domain. Each of the more powerful warlords hoped to eventually subdue all the others, enter Kyoto and rule the whole nation.

Unremitting civil warfare was still the norm when the Portuguese drifted to Tanegashima. Every warlord was seeking means to cope with his predatory rivals. A weapon that could kill a bird on the wing might be useful.

The governor of Tanegashima summoned the Portuguese and examined their firearm. He bought two muskets and set his people to work to duplicate them. The Japanese succeeded in manufacturing muskets, but these muskets were inferior to the European. Consequently, from this time the warlords encouraged Portuguese trade, each vying to profit from it.

The Portuguese rose to the opportunity they had fortuitously discovered; more and more Portuguese ships came to Japan. These vessels visited various ports in Kyushu. In Kagoshima, at the southern tip of Kyushu, Portuguese merchants had a fateful meeting with a tormented Japanese named Ryouai.

Having killed a man and being remorseful, Ryouai told his story to the Portuguese. One replied, "In India there is a splendid teacher of religion, venerated like God. If you were to meet him, your grief would vanish."

A Japanese Visits Xavier
Thus comforted and encouraged, Ryouai stole aboard the Portuguese ship and sailed for India. But at Malacca at the tip of the Malay Peninsula, then a Portuguese

colony, he found the teacher he sought—Francis Xavier.

One of the founding members of the Society of Jesus, Xavier had been born to a Basque-speaking family, April 7, 1506, at the Castle of Xavier in Navarre, in what is now northern Spain. In preparation for an ecclesiastical career, he had early received the tonsure. In 1525 he had matriculated at the University of Paris, continuing his studies until the end of 1536.

Responding to a request from the King of Portugal for missionaries to work in the Portuguese colonial empire in the East, Xavier had sailed from Lisbon on his 35th birthday. He had labored in India, and other parts of the East, until 1547 when he met the Japanese in Malacca who were to open a new avenue for his efforts.

For besides Ryouai there were two other Japanese waiting in Malacca. One, Yajiro, had lived among the Portuguese long enough to acquire sufficient command of the language to enable him to converse easily with Xavier.

Deeply interested in Christianity, Yajiro learned readily as Xavier instructed him. Xavier, in turn, learned about Japan from Yajiro.

From Yajiro, Xavier probably learned that the native religion of Japan is Shinto, a simple, polytheistic nature worship. When about the 5th century A.D. Chinese civilization began to permeate Japan, it had brought Confucianism with its systematic theories of social and political institutions and ethical norms for individuals ranked in a hierarchical society.

Shinto had adjusted to Confucianism, the natives adopting concepts of filial piety and veneration of ancestral spirits. When Buddhism had entered Japan in the 6th century, it had syncretized with the fusion of Shinto and Confucianism. Soon the Confucian philosophy and the two religions had formed an amicable alliance with Buddhism dominant.

Xavier Comes to Japan

As he learned about Japan, Xavier became convinced that God was calling him to evangelize the country. Xavier responded, arriving at Kagoshima City, Aug. 15, 1549, the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

With Xavier were two fellow Jesuits, two servants and the three Japanese, by now converted and baptized.

PART TWO The Nambanjin

The Japanese had begun by the 16th century to use the term *Namban* to identify things coming from Europe and the term *Nambanjin* to identify Europeans, both terms literally meaning "southern barbarian." An examination of the origin of the term, however, shows only a tenuous relationship between literal and actual meaning.

Chinese classics in the first century B.C. use the characters for *Namban* to identify countries and peoples south of China proper. The Chinese gradually expanded the meaning of the term to include both the countries and peoples of India, Southeast Asia and Indonesia.

In the 10th century A.D., as the Japanese adopted Chinese writing, they adopted *Namban*, applying it to foreign countries to the south. Though the Europeans visiting Japan at the time of Xavier were not *Nambanjin* in the strict meaning of the term of being residents to the south, they were identified as *Nambanjin* because they came from the south to Japan by way of Malaya or the East Indies and, moreover, often brought natives of those southern countries with them as servants.

The Japanese used the term with neither malice nor condescension; to them the original derogatory meaning had been lost. *Namban* simply meant "foreign," *Nambanjin*, "foreigner."

The *Nambanjin* was a trader as respected as any could be in a Confucian-influenced country that held trade to be demeaning. He was introducing *Namban* goods, *Namban* literature, *Namban* art and many other things of use to the Japanese.

The condition of the war-ravaged country was pitiful. Not only had Kyoto been re-

duced to ruin, everywhere were the ruins of once flourishing towns and villages. The fields were filled with weeds because every peasant who could qualify had become a soldier; or perhaps he had sailed on a pirate ship to ravage the coasts of China, Korea and Japan.

The fortunes of the Imperial family had fallen so low that in the year 1500 the body of the Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado had stood at the gates of his palace for 40 days because there had been no money for funeral expenses.

Medical treatment for the poor was almost unknown. Driven away by their own families because of the stigma of their affliction, lepers slept in wretched shelters by night, going forth by day to beg from those who recoiled at sight of them.

The lord of the region where Xavier landed received him kindly. Though Xavier was a Basque, and the accompanying Jesuits Spanish, though some of the outstanding Jesuits who would follow would be Italian, the mission would depend chiefly on Portuguese facilities. The missionaries would speak and correspond in Portuguese. Consequently, the Japanese warlords correctly associated the Jesuits with the coveted Portuguese trade. To the warlords, good relations with the Jesuits was money in the treasury.

Xavier readily gained permission to preach in Kagoshima. With Yajiro as interpreter, Xavier set about preaching, baptizing and disputing with the Buddhist monks in their temples. He was handicapped not only by his own ignorance of the Japanese language and Yajiro's lack of more than a superficial understanding of Buddhism, but by the diffi-



P. FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS SOCIETATIS

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER — Founder of the Jesuit mission in Japan, he landed in Kagoshima Aug. 15, 1549. A Japanese artist has depicted Xavier saying in Latin, "Enough, Lord, enough." Many-gana at bottom spells out his name phonetically. Portrait was discovered in 1920 in a box hidden above the ceiling of a farmhouse in the mountainous area of Takahuki (near Osaka). — Kobe City Museum of Namban Art.

ty of introducing concepts into a language, Japanese, for which there were no synonyms.

At first he used the Japanese Buddhist term *Dainichi*, written with Chinese characters for "great sun," as a synonym for God. On one occasion when he used the term in a discussion with the Buddhist monks, they interpreted his teaching to be the same as theirs. Distrusting their conclusion, Xavier examined the concept, found disagreement and, thereafter, taught that *Dainichi* is an invention of the devil. He introduced and used the Latin word for God, *Deus*.

Thereafter the monks dissociated themselves from Xavier. The gulf between the representatives of the two religions would grow wider and wider until they became implacable enemies.

Respect for Status

The founder of the Jesuit order, Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) had originally been a soldier. Envisioning the members of the order as soldiers of Jesus, he had organized it on military lines with a strict hierarchical ranking.

The Jesuits admitted the respect for status they found everywhere in Japan and easily adjusted to it. Feeling it essential to nurture public respect for their order, they planned to admit only samurai and nobility into it. The lower members of the order would be required to show extreme respect for the higher members.

This respect for status and the desire to have the approval of the highest in the land led Xavier into one error. Knowing Kyoto to be the capital and seeking patronage of the highest in the land, he made his way north. On the way he joined the servants and mounted guard of a noble being borne in a palanquin. The bearers went at a trot; so did Xavier and two young companions, each carrying on his back a share of the nobleman's burden.

He arrived in Kyoto, February 1551, finding the city embroiled in the claims of two rival warlords. So desolated by war that it retained scarcely a semblance of its original appearance, Kyoto seemed too wasted to be the capital of any country.

Dilapidated, too, was the palace of the Emperor Go-Nara. But however shabby and neglected his residence, the Emperor was unavailable to an empty-handed, out-at-elbows foreign missionary. Rebuffed, Xavier went into the streets and tried to preach to the passers-by who, frightened by the war, had neither time nor inclination to pause to listen.

After 15 days, he left Kyoto. His mission there had failed except for one lesson he had learned from the experience: in Japan approach the great in pomp and bearing gifts. This policy both he and his colleagues thereafter practiced with good results.

Soon a letter from Goa summoned him back to India. He sailed Nov. 20, 1551, dying December 2 of the following year on the island of Sancian, off south China. He had left the Japan mission in zealous hands.

Vilela Follows

Ardent Jesuits sought to turn every happening to account, whether at first glance it appeared good or ill. In such wise did Father Gaspar Vilela capitalize on the inquisition of him in 1583.

Vilela was the first Jesuit since Xavier to come to Kyoto. The anti-Christian Takayama Hida-no-kami headed an official inquiry into the teachings of Vilela, assisted by two other scholar dignitaries. If they found his teachings opposed to the Buddhas and gods, the officials intended to have the priest beheaded. The inquisition ended with the inquisitors converted to Christianity.

The following year, the Jesuits baptized the entire Takayama family. Among those baptized was a son, 11, whom the Japanese were to call Takayama Ukon, and who will figure in the Azuchi story on which Kagawa's "The Scarecrow of Daiusu" is based. It was about this time, too, that the central figure in the drama of Azuchi, Oda Nobunaga, began to loom large against the background of Japanese history.

The Oda family derived from a man who had served the Shiba family as estate manager when those nobles had resided in the province of Echizen fronting the Japan Sea. Remaining in the service for generations, the Odas had followed the Shibas to the province of Owari on the Nagoya plain.

The fortunes of the Shibas had declined, the strength of the Odas had grown. Eventually the Odas had supplanted the Shibas.

The Odas favored nobu as the first half of given names for male members and wrote it with the Chinese character for "faith." Oda Nobuhide had fought his neighbors and enlarged his domain; on his deathbed in 1549, he had asked his counselor, Hirade Masahide, to look out for the future of the heir, Nobunaga.

Notable for his devotion to the military arts such as horsemanship, spear- and

fencing and archery, Nobunaga had been born in Nagoya in 1534. At this time, at age 15, he was also notable for uncouth behavior. Chief mourner at the funeral, and arriving late, Nobunaga had stridden before the assembled throng, seized a handful of incense and, with a cry, had flung the incense into the burner.

Further, thereafter he had neglected the government of his domain, though close attention to administration was vital to survival in that period of bloody warfare.

Nobunaga Reforms

Observing the negligence, bad manners, bad form and conceit of his charge, to whom he had been childhood guardian and exemplar, Masahide had pleaded for reformation. Finding remonstrance vain, Masahide had written an apology for failing his trust and committed suicide.

Shocked into realistically appraising his behavior, Nobunaga had attended the funeral in tears. Thrusting his



ODA NOBUNAGA — Born in an age of civil warfare, he snapped Buddhist military power, conquered and consolidated his rule across central Honshu. A most powerful man of his day, he was a staunch friend of the Christian missionaries.

hands into the coffin of his mentor, the bereaved youth had vowed to change his ways.

To fulfill this vow, he had moved from Nagoya to Kiyosu Castle, governed prudently and made war as required. But as we shall see, his reformation was imperfect; he would lapse into misbehavior that would redound to his harm.

Nobunaga had first drawn national attention at the Battle of Okehazama, in May 1560, where, in a fight lasting only an hour or two, he had routed the overwhelmingly superior forces of the invader, Imagawa Yoshimoto. Two figures who would later be cast in the Azuchi story also participated in this battle.

Aiding Nobunaga had been a 24-year-old warrior of farm stock, who would soon change his given name to Hideyoshi, writing the yoshi with the Chinese character for "good luck." Later still he would acquire another surname and become known to history as Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

Opposing Nobunaga had been the 18-year-old lord of the neighboring province of Mikawa. The following year

he would make peace, change sides and become an ally. He, too, would change his name, becoming known to history as Tokugawa Ieyasu.

Six years later, another who would play a prominent part in the Azuchi story would join the group. Akechi Mitsuhide — warlord and noted poet, well-versed in the tea ceremony. Following the fortunes and service of Mitsuhide would be his cousin, Akechi Mitsuharu, who would play a key role in the drama of Azuchi.

All four of these men were trusted retainers of Nobunaga when the Jesuits came into his orbit in Kyoto.

As early as 1560, Vilela had formed a Christian community in Kyoto. In pursuit of their policy in seeking the favor of the great, Vilela and Father Luis Frois, in 1565, had arranged an audience with the Shogun Yoshiteru and his mother.

Later in the year, enemy troops had surrounded the palace of Yoshiteru, bent on his destruction. Resistance being useless, he had committed harakiri. The conqueror had expelled the Jesuits from Kyoto.

In the meantime, Oigimachi had succeeded his father, Go-Nara, as Emperor, though lack of funds had caused postponement of the coronation. Three years after Oigimachi had ascended the throne, a warlord, Mori Motonari, had made the coronation possible by defraying the expenses.

Sickened by the internecine warfare that had wasted his country for almost a century, Oigimachi had looked about for a man strong enough to unify the country and bring about peace. His gaze had fallen on Nobunaga.

Rise of Nobunaga

Oigimachi had besought the aid of Nobunaga. About the same time, the brother of the late Shogun, Ashikaga Yoshiaki, had asked support of his claim to the Shogunate. Nobunaga had acceded to both requests.

Entering Kyoto with Yoshiaki, Nobunaga had made him Shogun, the 15th of the Ashikaga line. Nobunaga had repaired the Imperial Palace. Using a common

Japan in 1563 and had arrived in Kyoto the following year. He asked that the expulsion of the missionaries, that had followed the suicide of Yoshiteru, be rescinded, that the Jesuits be permitted to resettle and preach in Kyoto.

Nobunaga heard the request through an interpreter; Frois observed that the request was being favorably received.

"Not like you," Nobunaga said to Frois, indicating a group of cringing Buddhist monks nearby "are those deceivers over there — they who delude the people — false and lying, swollen with pride and arrogance. Many times have I wished to exterminate them. But to avoid stirring up the people, because I pity them, I leave them alone though they disgust me."

This statement gives a clue to the reason for the favorable reception of the request of Frois. Though nominally a member of the Hokke Buddhist sect, Nobunaga was a skeptic in religious matters. He openly proclaimed there could be neither creator of the universe, immortality of the soul nor life after death.

Moreover, opposed to his ambition to unify the country and to impose his rule upon it were armies of Buddhist soldier-monks who held various strongholds. These fanatic warriors administered their domains as separate kingdoms. Those of the nearby Mt. Hiei might march into Kyoto carrying a portable shrine that they believed invested them with divine power and make direct demands of the Emperor.

Consequently Nobunaga may have felt a common bond with the Jesuits in the mutual hatred of Buddhism they shared. He may have felt that Christianity would be a welcome counterweight to Buddhist influence.

Nobunaga Befriends Jesuits

He readily granted the permission Frois asked. A few months later, Nobunaga received Frois and another Jesuit at the Nobunaga castle in Gifu. There, with his own hands, he served a meal to the flattered visitors.

Frois described Nobunaga as tall, lean, scantily-bearded and clear of voice. Haughty and impatient with his lords, he treated them brusquely, speaking to them over his shoulder as if to inferiors. To the Jesuits he behaved more graciously — treating them always with liking, admiration and cordiality.

In this contrasting manner in which he treated the missionaries and his own countrymen may be seen a stronger reason for the unvarying kindness and generosity he showed the Jesuits. These foreigners seemed, like the Japanese of his class, representatives of a military society, possessed of the same virtues possessed by his own — self-mastery, courage and courtesy. But with his countrymen he needed always to be on guard, unable to relax.

From the missionaries he had nothing to fear. So in the society of these intelligent, dedicated, highly-educated men he could expose an amiable side of his nature that he enjoyed indulging.

Grateful for the patronage of the strongest man in the country, vindicated in the policy of seeking the favor of the great, Frois wrote:

"One must strive to obtain and hold first the favor of kings, princes and lords who rule over the land, so that it is apparent to all, and that all may see, what love, respect and reputation the preachers of Holy Gospel enjoy."

So while Nobunaga pursued his aim of subduing his enemies and exterminating the soldier-monks, the Jesuits campaigned as soldiers of Jesus. To such good effect did they labor that when Valignano came north to Honshu on his visit of inspection in 1581, he believed he could make Japan the center of mission work for all East Asia.

PART THREE Young Church Thrives

In a nation of 20 million, 150,000 had become Christian, among them some of the greatest in the land. There were 10 Jesuit residences and 200 churches. In Japan there labored 30 European priests assisted by 45 Jesuit members of lower rank, almost 20 of the latter being Japanese; the total missionary personnel numbered almost 500.

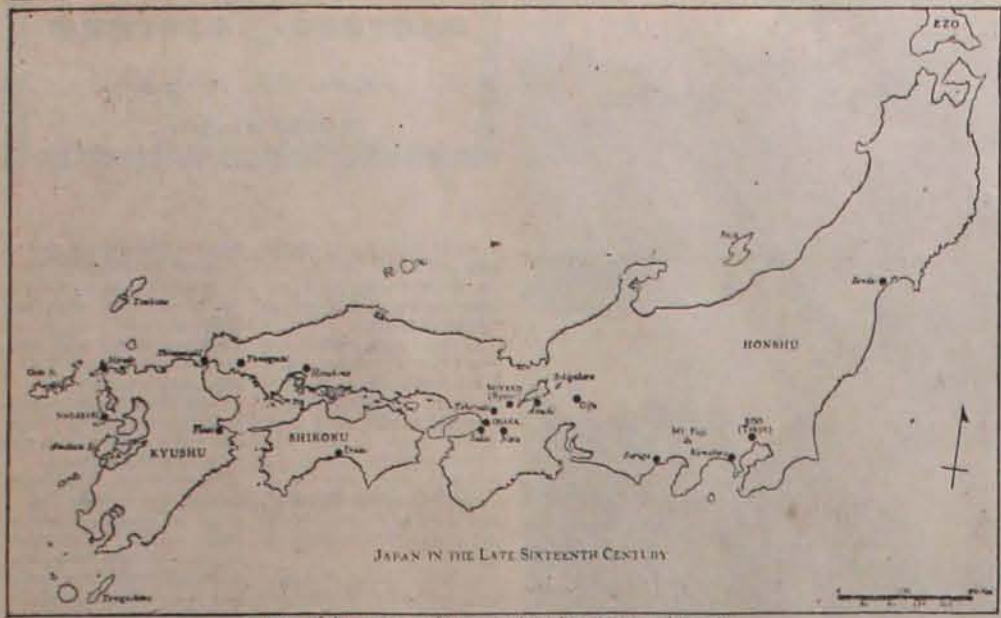
As Valignano travelled

towards Kyoto, Christian lords vied to show him hospitality. At Takatsuki, about 15 miles south of Kyoto, he celebrated Holy Week and Easter Sunday with a crowd of 20,000. For Takatsuki was the domain of the previously mentioned Takayama Ukon.

At Kyoto, Nobunaga himself was waiting to accord



EUROPEAN MAP OF JAPAN (1595) — A reasonably accurate map of Japan, it shows Korea depicted as an island. Kyushu is labeled "Bungo" after the name of one of its nine provinces, while Shikoku appears as "Tansa" or Tosa — one of its four provinces. Honshu is labeled as "Iaponia" and "Mikao" (Miyako) or Kyoto is shown north of Lake Biwa in the middle of Honshu. — Japan Times Photo.



Favor of Kings, Princes and Lords

Continued from Page B-1

Valignano a solemn reception. The two exchanged splendid gifts. On April 1, Nobunaga exhibited his horsemanship before Valignano, the Emperor and an enormous crowd.

Probably what most gladdened the heart of Valignano was the new church he found in Kyoto. In late 1575, with the help of the faithful and the sponsorship of Nobunaga, Father Organtino Gnecci-Soldo had begun to build this church on the site of the old and rotted residence Vilela had first occupied in 1560.

Completed in the spring of 1578, the 3-story church had received the official name of Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, though the natives tended to refer to it as the Nambanji. It stood near the gate known as the Honnoji.

The Honnoji figures in the Azuchi story with such notoriety that most Japanese, even today, can describe the incident the name invokes. But the Honnoji Incident was still in the future in the spring of 1581. There was scarce a cloud on the bright hopes of Valignano, and his hopes must have burned the brighter when he learned the details of Azuchi.

Details of Azuchi

An explanation of Azuchi in 1581 requires a recapitulation of the career of Nobunaga. As Nobunaga had applied himself with energy and skill to diminishing the number and power of his enemies, he found one such among his beneficiaries: the Shogun Yoshiaki.

At first Yoshiaki had been grateful for the good fortune Nobunaga had bestowed on him. But as he had seen the power of Nobunaga growing and that of the Shogunate dwindling, Yoshiaki had begun to plot to rid himself of his benefactor.

Learning of these plots, Nobunaga had remonstrated with the Shogun, but without effect. His patience finally exhausted, Nobunaga had banished Yoshiaki, not only deposing the Shogun but ending the Ashikaga Shogunate that had begun 235 years earlier.

Nobunaga had also proceeded with skill, energy and ruthlessness, unrelenting by religious scruple, against the defiant soldier-monks. In September 1571, he had attacked the Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei, headquarters of the Tendai Buddhist sect, burning down its 3,000 buildings and massacring its thousands of residents—men, women and children without distinction. He had subjugated the Nagashima Ikki of Ise.

Then he had moved against the most formidable opponent of all—the Ikko sect of Osaka. The main temple of the sect, the Ishiyama

Honganji, was a fortress on a delta of the Yodo River. Since the fortress could be supplied by sea, he could starve out the defenders only by eliminating outside support.

After years of effort, he finally eliminated the outside support by conquering the neighboring provinces. Then he had again moved against the fortress—five interconnected strongholds.

He had captured three of these strongholds and had killed many of the defenders of the remaining two when the Emperor had intervened. The Emperor persuaded the besieged to surrender; they did in May 1580.

Concomitant with these campaigns had been his warfare against secular enemies, some of whom were allied with the soldier-monks. He had systematically eliminated the clans of the Asakura, the Asai, the Miyoshi and the Sasaki.

Warfare Tactic Changes

At the Battle of Nagashino, in 1575, Nobunaga had defeated, but failed to destroy, Takeda Katsuyori, using foot soldiers armed with muskets and fighting as a unit. This tactic marked a turning point in Japanese warfare from individual to collective fighting. Nobunaga realized that stronger castles than had heretofore existed in Japan were needed to resist this stronger weapon.

In April 1576, Nobunaga had moved to Azuchi. There, during a lull in the campaign against the Ishiyama Honganji, he had begun constructing the castle of which he dreamed.

The site on which he proposed to build Azuchi Castle was a point of land jutting into Lake Biwa, the great body of water set like a jewel in the central Japanese plain. Here cliffs rise as high as 600 feet above the water; on the land side, the site overlooks the plain.

With customary efficiency, he had put a swarm of men to work around the clock. They had hauled huge stones up the hill known as Mt. Azuchi, dug moats on the earthside of the planned structure and erected a stone wall 70 feet high and several thousand feet long. He had completed the castle in November 1579.

Within the 45-foot-high walls, he had erected four citadels, mansions for his lords and stables so clean "they might have been fit habitations for nobles of high rank." It was the first castle in Japan to have a tower, and this magnificent tower included seven stories.

The first floor measured 120 by 102 feet and contained 45 rooms. Every castle room was decorated by the brush of the celebrated painter Kano Eitoku (1543-90), those of the second floor being decorated by representations of human and wild life. The entire tower was known as the Tenshukaku (literally, Lord of Heaven Tower) and contained a chapel where Nobunaga's Christian retainers could worship.

An Imposing Castle
On the outside, some of the stories of the Tenshukaku were painted white, the window frames varnished black. Some stories were red, some blue. The uppermost story was almost entirely gilded.

Frois declared that in architecture, wealth and grandeur Azuchi Castle might be compared to the greatest buildings in Europe. The Tenshukaku was "more lovely and splendid in appearance" than "European towers"; it could be seen from afar off, appearing to reach the clouds. Far from sharing Confucian prejudices against trade, Nobunaga had skillfully used

the wealth of the rising merchant class to finance his conquests. Below the castle he had built a town with quarters for his soldiers and retainers. To attract tradesmen and artisans, he had issued a charter making Azuchi a free-market town—no taxes were levied on sales or purchases. There were no taxes on building or transportation, except in time of war. If debts were cancelled, debts owed the residents would be excluded. Stipulating that merchants travelling through the town must lodge there, he had improved the roads.

When Valignano arrived in 1581, Azuchi had become a bustling town of 5,000 residents. And here Valignano observed what must have been one of the most gladsome sights he had yet experienced.

There was a Jesuit college in Funai, a novitiate in Usuki. Planned were a language institute for Omura and a University of Kyoto. There was a seminary in Arima and here in Azuchi was a church and seminary below the castle, on a splendid site picked by Nobunaga himself.

The seminary had been well-organized the preceding year by Organtino. The Jesuits had recognized that if Japanese prospective members of the Society were to acquire the necessary facility in Latin they must begin the study of the language in childhood. Pupils had been recruited in accordance with this principle.

Most of the pupils were from nearby Takatsuki, sons of vassals and samurai of Takayama Ukon. Ukon had participated in the campaign against the Ikko of Osaka. Later when his overlord, Araki Murashige had revolted, Ukon, instead of joining the revolt, had submitted to Nobunaga. Consequently, Nobunaga favored Ukon and had confirmed him in his possessions.

Jesuit Curriculum

Wanting the seminary boys to be "happy and contented," Valignano arranged to have their day evenly filled with a balance of study and recreation. They rose at 4:30 in the morning—5:30 during the winter. Besides religious subjects, they studied Latin, Japanese reading and writing, mathematics, etiquette and social customs of Japan. Older boys practiced Latin composition.

Pupils who showed artistic talent studied engraving and 3-dimensional European painting. Western music being stressed by the teachers, all pupils learned polyphony and the Gregorian chant. They produced plays, speaking their parts in Japanese, Portuguese or Latin as required.

Some learned to play Western musical instruments. One day when Nobunaga paid a surprise visit to the seminary, he noticed a viol and harpsichord. At his request, two boys performed on these instruments for him.

The nearby church was known as the Taiseiji (literally, Great Accomplishment Church). European-cast bells summoned the faithful, including the seminarians, to mass. At services, as well as at important secular events, the boys sang as a trained choir.

Wednesday being a half-holiday, in suitable weather the boys might swim in river or lake.

Valignano visited Azuchi twice during 1581, each time being entertained in most friendly fashion by Nobunaga and each time remaining a month. He departed for Nagasaki with good reason for optimism for the future of his mission. Nobunaga had consolidated a large block of territory across the central part of Honshu, and this territory, after a century of being ravaged by war, was ex-

periencing peace and prosperity. And the powerful Nobunaga who, it appeared, might soon be the undisputed ruler of all of Japan was the fast friend of the missionaries.

In Nagasaki there was no lack of respect for Valignano, friend of Nobunaga. Valignano soon had selected the noble boys he wished as envoys to Rome. There were four, including one whose baptismal name being Julian would later be known as Julian Nakamura. Attendants also accompanied these boys.

Spain Annexes Portugal

Valignano sailed from Nagasaki with his envoys Jan. 28, 1582. On March 9, he disembarked at Macao to be greeted by disturbing news: King Philip II of Spain, by arms enforcing his claim to the throne of Portugal, had united both countries under his rule. The union exacerbated the fears aroused by suspicious Valignano had observed in Japan.

On their very threshold, the Japanese beheld the examples of Asian countries made subject to Spain and Portugal. Some Japanese nobles had frankly told Valignano that if they permitted Japan to become Christian their subjects might later rebel in favor of the European king who maintained the missionaries—it being incomprehensible to these Japanese that this king would go to such trouble and expense in Japan unless he intended to later annex the country.

These Japanese suspicions of Japan being regarded as a potential European colony would be intensified by the knowledge that the two great Asian colonial powers were now united under a single ruler.

Further, it had been a policy of the Jesuits to restrict the evangelization of Japan to their order alone. That policy seemed even more important now that, after years of effort and sacrifice, they had learned the mores and psychology of the Japanese and gained the favor of the rulers. Spain was the home base of the barefoot mendicant Franciscans who threatened to intrude upon the Jesuit preserve and to disrupt the smoothly functioning Jesuit mission.

Valignano, therefore, tried, and succeeded, in getting prescriptions from King Philip and Pope Gregory XIII against other religious orders entering the Jesuit preserve of Japan. But in April 1585, Gregory would be succeeded by Sixtus V, himself a former Vicar General of the Franciscan order.

Glad Tidings

The obstacles facing Nobunaga in Japan, on the contrary seemed to be diminishing. In the same month that Valignano learned of the union of Spain and Portugal, Nobunaga had completely destroyed Takeda Katsuyori. Routed at Tenmoku-san, Katsuyori and his son, Nobukatsu, killed themselves.

For important services rendered in this campaign, Nobunaga awarded Ieyasu the province of Suruga. The grateful recipient was about to visit Azuchi. Nobunaga chose to afford entertainment appropriate to the importance of his guest, who had helped to destroy the clans of Hōkoku, Asai, Asakura and Takeda and independently done much to pacify the country. Nobunaga therefore entrusted the entertainment to a man of ability, Akechi Mitsuhide.

In one respect, the appointment of Mitsuhide was wise, he had served Nobunaga faithfully and well. He had fought beside his lord when he had burned down the Enryakuji and massacred the residents. And Nobunaga had

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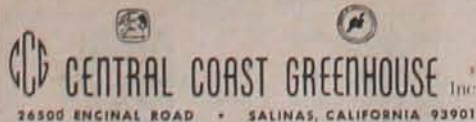
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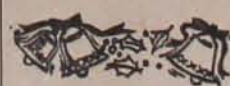
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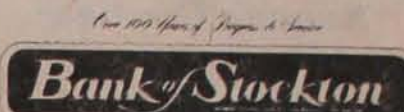
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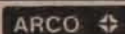
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Continued from Page B-4

rather than apostasy. With 30 missionaries, his entire family, and other lay victims, Ukon sailed from Nagasaki, Nov. 8, 1614. The destination was Manila; he would never return.

Some missionaries had remained behind to go underground. The son of Ieyasu, Hidetada, upon becoming Shogun proceeded against such with greater severity than his father had, but the persecution reached a peak under the Shogun Iemitsu, grandson of Ieyasu.

Pediatric and sadist, though intelligent, Iemitsu showed a morbid interest in Christianity, even attending the inquisition of some accused Christians. Under his rule, the authorities barred Christians from earning a livelihood and subjected them to physical and psychological torture — to mutilation, beheading, crucifixion and burning at the stake.

The Shimabara Rebellion, which began in December 1637, and took on the hue of a Christian crusade, brought official disapproval and measures to a sharp crescendo. The government suppressed the rebellion and massacred the rebels and their families, ended all traffic with Catholic countries and restricted the Protestant Dutch to the artificial island of Deshima in Nagasaki Harbor.

The government forbade Japanese to leave Japan. Those who had already left, or might leave despite the prohibition, were forbidden to return.

The government required every Japanese to become a member of a Buddhist sect and every family to register at a Buddhist temple. Each family was required to keep a register, including name and date of birth of the head, the members and the servants. After this register was confirmed by town or village officials, it was forwarded to the religious investigation office.

It being the function of this bureau to ferret out suspected Christians, it posted signs in all villages offering large rewards for information leading to the arrest of Christians.

Discounting those slaughtered in armed resistance, such as the 37,000 defenders of Hara Castle, 2,128 Christians were martyred between the years 1614-1635. 2,037 of them being Japanese, 71 European. The number of openly practicing Christians dwindled from 300,000 to none.

PART SIX

Toyohiko as a Youth

We do not know how much of this history of Christianity in Japan Tanichi was able to tell Toyohiko. We do know that throughout life Toyohiko would have a keen interest in the subject and in the historical characters of the missionary period. He would often talk of Nobunaga and the Christian nobles who had sur-

rounded him, such as Takayama Ukon.

Moreover, the childhood experience of Toyohiko had rendered him susceptible to the message of Christianity. His father, Denjiro, had died in Kobe when Toyohiko, the third child, had been four. The common-law wife of Denjiro, mother of all five of his

children, had died two months later.

To secure inheritance to his children, Denjiro had legally adopted them. At the death of Denjiro, Tanichi, 20, had become head of the family. The youngest children, a boy of two and another scarcely a month old, had been given in adoption to relatives.

Toyohiko and his sister, Ei, a little older than he, had been sent to the island of Shikoku, to the family estate in the village of Awa, Tokushima Prefecture. For generations, the large family farmhouse there, with the adjoining property, including barn, storehouse, and a small hut in the rear courtyard, had belonged to the Kagawa family into which the aristocratic Denjiro had married and whose name he had taken.

Here Denjiro's legal wife and her mother had been managing the estate. Embittered by the neglect of Denjiro, these women often reminded Toyohiko that sensuality and dissipation had killed his wealthy, able father.

They had treated the child as a slave. Before dawn each day, his step-grandmother had awakened him and sent him out to the flooded ricefields with sickle and bamboo basket. On each side of the footpaths grew sedge, miscanthus and Chinese milk vetch; he must fill his basket to the brim with this fodder for the horses before returning home.

During the summer he had stood hip-deep in mud setting out the tender rice plants, one by one, in the slimy bed of the fields. He had trod the waterwheel hour by weary hour, raising water to the fields. He had picked mulberry leaves to feed the silkworms. Wielding his sickle he had helped harvest the rice in autumn. In winter he had fashioned sandals from the residue straw.

At the Buddhist temple, the priest had drilled him in the Confucian classics and the fundamentals of the Buddhist faith. At the village school, he had learned reading, writing, mathematics and the history of his country, which would fascinate him ever afterwards.

From the villagers he had learned the lore and prejudices of the region — that there were foxes about, for example, messenger of the gods, who could assume the form of a beautiful woman to bewitch men. At seven, he had committed two legends of the region to writing, entitling them "Genkuro the Badger" and "The Monkey of Osayama."

In the neighborhood he must have seen other things that he took for granted at the time but would later assume different meaning to him. There were those rendered pariahs through their hereditary social status. Again there were those made pariahs through the affliction of leprosy, which the villagers mistakenly believed to be a hereditary ailment. And these wretches, cast out by their own families who feared both the disease and the stigma attached to it, led an animal existence as such had even during the Age of Civil War.

The region had also held relics to inspire him with dreams of those days of long ago. Across the fields, above which flew flocks of cawing crows, rose the moated mausoleum of an ancient Emperor. The go-down of his own home held vestiges of his family's bygone glory: antique costumes, armor, swords — a gold-lacquered saddle.

When he had entered middle school at Tokushima, he had hoped to live with Tanichi. Instead, Tanichi had sent the boy to live in the dormitory of the school.

Sometimes Tanichi would forget to send tuition or expense money. Toyohiko would call to ask for it. He might be sent to a nearby teahouse where he would find Tanichi carousing with goisha.

When Denjiro had kept one mistress, Tanichi was keeping six. Believing his father had died of dissipation, Toyohiko winced at the suspicion that Tanichi was following the same course. Worse where Denjiro had increased the family fortune, Tanichi was squandering it.

Interest in the Bible. These were the circumstances when Toyohiko turned to the study of the Bible. The anthology of the Bible the Jesuits had compiled was no longer available. But as early as 1839, the new missionaries to Japan had made some Christian literature available. By 1879, they had completed translating the New Testament into Japanese. By 1886, the Old Testament as well — both in the literary language of the period.

When Toyohiko read "Luke" he found he admired the character of Jesus. His healing of the leper, his concern for the poor. His message of love. Reading of the

crucifixion, Toyohiko wept. Likewise he must have been moved by the account of Christ rising from the dead and showing himself to his disciples at Emmaus.

Struck by the beauty of the language, Toyohiko memorized the Sermon on the Mount: "Give to him that asks of you . . . Ask and it shall be given to you; seek and you will find; knock and it will be opened to you."

He was impressed by the Commandment. Love your neighbor as yourself. He was inspired by the parable of the King of Heaven coming to reward the righteous for their good deeds to him; they wondering how they had merited reward.

"Lord, when did we see you hungry and fed you? Or thirsty and gave you drink? When did we see you a stranger and took you in? Or naked and clothed you?"

"Or when saw we you sick, or in prison, and came to you?"

And the answer came, "As you have done it to the least of these, my brothers, you have done it to me."

Unloved, Toyohiko was drawn to the gospel of love.

Two years after Toyohiko entered middle school, news came that Tanichi had died in Korea, where he had gone on a visit. The full extent of his reckless management of the family fortune then became known: he had bankrupted the family.

Even the Awa farmhouse that had housed so many generations of Kagawas was sold out beneath them, including barn and storehouse. All that remained was the hut, no larger than a room. Here the two women, and Ei, went to live.

The brother of Denjiro took Toyohiko in, making it possible for the boy to earn his keep at school through tutoring his two young cousins.

Hating vice for robbing him of father and brother and bringing ruin upon the family, Toyohiko was attracted to the ideal of Christian asceticism; at 15 he became baptized. But when, at 17, he announced his intention to become a Christian minister, his outraged uncle turned him out.

The Christian missionaries took Toyohiko in and sent him to the Kobe Presbyterian Theological College. He found the quarter of the college separated by the Ikuta River from the district of Shinkawa, the worst slum in Japan.

When Toyohiko crossed the bridge, called Higurashi, and entered the slum, he was appalled by the misery he found.

Ragged, half-starved residents crowded like animals in to six-foot-square rooms. But the district drew him again and again. One night, preaching in the streets there, he fell ill of tubercular pneumonia so severe there appeared no hope of recovery.

Nevertheless, he recovered sufficiently to again take up his tasks. But after another week of preaching in the slums, he became so ill that he was hospitalized for four months.

The Evangelist Turns Author.

When he was strong enough to leave the hospital, he took up his abode in a small, shabby hut, in the fishing village of Gamagori, which faces Atsumi Bay. Living alone here at 20, looking out over the magnificent bay and nursing his health, he began to write a book about his life, beginning with his faint memories of early childhood in Kobe, the years spent at Awa, his school days at Tokushima, the story unfolding as a novel.

A publisher rejected the manuscript, but in the writing of it Toyohiko had found himself. Later he would rewrite it and it would be published.

He would always be interested in writing for, and about, children. For them, he would write such things as "Friendship" (1912), an account of the Old Testament story of David and Jonathan, and the "Life of Christ" for middle school students, he would write "Jeremiah, the Prophet" (1913).

In the autumn of the year spent at Gamagori, he re-entered the seminary at Kobe. But he wanted to live the Christian life as well as preach it. He learned of a vacant house in the slums with rent especially low because the building was believed to be haunted. Christmas Eve seems to have held a mystic significance for him, on Christmas Eve, 1909, he put all his worldly goods in a handcart, which he pushed across the Higurashi to the fearsome abode in the slums. There he took residence to serve the castoffs of society: pariahs, thieves, prostitutes and lepers.

In the slums he found many victims of trachoma, a chronic inflammatory disease of the eye caused by a bacterium-like microorganism that grows within the tissue

cells of the infected host, its spread being fostered by slum conditions of poverty, crowding and poor sanitation. He went from house to house, applying eye-lotion to the eyes of stricken children, the best treatment his limited means permitted.

He himself became infected. Finally he went completely blind and remained blind for almost two months of hospitalization. Gradually treatment restored some of his sight. By this time, he had become famous as a writer and social reformer. In one of his books, he writes of this experience: "As gradually as the spring sun acts upon the

snow, my eyesight is improving. I shall see! O precious sight! God blinded me to teach me the miracle of sight."

On evangelical tours, he travelled all over Japan, researching the history of the places he would visit. Several times he visited Azuchi now only a remote hill by a lake, with only a few ruins to mark its former glory.

Musing there in the growing dusk, he could think of a boy much like what Toyohiko had been — a boy who ran across the footpaths of the ricefields. This is what he wrote about that boy.

The Scarecrow of Daisu

By Toyohiko Kagawa

(Translation copyright

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Oda Nobunaga built a castle at Azuchi, 400 years ago, that would be unrivaled even by the Osaka Castle that Toyotomi Hideyoshi built later — unrivaled, at least, in size and propitious scenery, the scenery being particularly beautiful when seen from Lake Biwa.

The castle tower, in which God was worshipped, was known as Lord of Heaven. Thrusting up above the mountain and looking down to the mirrorlike lake, the tower was a fit place in which to worship.

Below the castle, Nobunaga had built a splendid church, known as the Namban Church. In the tall steeple hung seven bells, made in Europe, each bell sounding a different note. Every day when the bells rang out the Angelus, the Christians, according to custom, turned towards the church and worshipped.

No one knows what has become of these bells.

During the revolt of Akechi Mitsuhide, the splendid castle of Azuchi and the Namban Church burned down; a wild moor has effaced most traces of these buildings. Only from old pictures and legends can we envision these bygone things.

The natives called the Namban Church, Deus, Deus being the Latin word for God. Deus became corrupted to Daisu, written with the Chinese characters meaning big mortar, used even today for the area below Mt. Azuchi. Daisu is the sole vestige of the Namban Church.

The Ricefields of Daisu. One evening, more than 300 years after Azuchi Castle and the Namban Church had burned down, a boy named Nobuyoshi was running across the footpath between the ricefields of Daisu. He was returning home after having completed Sunday School preparations for Christmas.

Every Sunday, Nobuyoshi attended the Sunday School at the home of Mr. Okada, a poor farmer. Suffering night blindness that made him unable to see after sunset, Nobuyoshi, 12, hurried along the path while light remained.

The father of Nobuyoshi had long served as porter at the Azuchi railway station. When a son had been born to him, the porter had taken the nobu from Nobunaga and the yoshi from Hideyoshi and formed the two into a name for the infant. So every time he heard his name called, the boy thought of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi.

The sun was sinking behind Mt. Hira beyond Lake Biwa. Above Mt. Azuchi flew flocks of crows, calling, "Caw, caw, caw!" Back to the crimson west, Nobuyoshi ran eastward where dusk was spreading over the sky.

A Christmas of 400 Years Ago

Passing the historic ruins, Nobuyoshi felt loneliness. As he ran, he thought of the history hour in school when the teacher spoke of the Christmas celebrations in the church during the time of Nobunaga and taught the fall of Azuchi Castle and the frightful spectacle of the church being burned down. If he had been born into that period, thought Nobuyoshi, how interesting life would have been! How happy he would have been to celebrate Christmas in the church he had so often seen in the picture!

As he was about to pass Daisu, he heard the chime of bells.

"How strange! But I've heard that foxes appear in this neighborhood. I wonder if one has bewitched me."

He stopped, turned round and looked in the direction of Daisu. Even more strange — there stood the splendid church he had seen in the picture, seven bells ringing in the tall steeple.

Lights burned brightly in the church windows, shining through the cunningly wrought five-colored glass. As

the clanging of the bells died away, there came voices from the church, singing Christmas carols. Nobuyoshi pinched himself to see if he were dreaming.

A Church Without An Entrance

Retracing his steps about 100 yards, Nobuyoshi tried to see inside the big eastern window; but no matter how hard he tried, he was unable to see inside. He could only hear the joyful singing of a throng of children who seemed to be celebrating Christmas.

"If only for a moment, I'd like to see what's going on inside. I'll see if I can get in through the entrance."

To look for the entrance, he went round to the northern side. But the big door of what appeared to be the entrance was shut fast; neither pushing nor pulling would open it.

Wondering if the entrance might be on the southern side, he went round to look. He found three large windows but nothing resembling an entrance.

"What a strange church! Since so many children have assembled inside, I wonder why only I can't get in. There can't be such a big crowd of children living in Azuchi; I wonder where they came from! In the belfry are seven bells. I wonder if this can be the Namban Church we see in the picture."

Musing thus, he strained even more to listen to the singing. They sang not in his tongue, but in Latin.

"Ah, a beautiful song! If only I could get in! I want to meet those children."

Unable to stand being excluded, he again looked for the entrance, but to no avail. He leaned helplessly against the unyielding door and listened to the song.

Though the words of the song were in Latin, the melody was simple. Even as he listened, he became unconsciously drawn into the singing.

Hark, the glad sound, The Savior comes, Our sorrow to allay; He bursts the gates, Our bonds he breaks; Rejoice, rejoice today! Rejoice, rejoice today! Rejoice, rejoice, rejoice today!

Though 'tis night, Celestial light Makes all things bright and gay; The Savior comes, The Savior comes To lead us in His way, To lead us in His way To lead us into His way.

As he tried to sing, it came to him in a flash that this song was a Christmas carol he had practiced in Mr. Okada's Sunday School only a short time ago. "They're singing a song I know."

Recognizing this, he continued singing, so overjoyed that tears welled into his eyes. But singing alone outside the door, excluded from the throng of children, made him unbearably lonesome.

Suddenly he realized that a beggar had come upon him unawares and now stood before him.

The beggar said, "Please give me money."

Seeing the appearance of the beggar, Nobuyoshi pitied him. He wanted to give the beggar five rin or even a penny, but, unfortunately, Nobuyoshi had not a copper.

But thinking it would be a pity to turn him away without having done something to help Nobuyoshi, as if forgetting the hymn, mumbled over what he might be able to do.

Aims to a Leper

Taking a good look at the face of the beggar, Nobuyoshi saw the man was afflicted with the leprosy feared everywhere. The leper was clad in rags, his sleeves tattered, his skirt shredded like seaweed as far as his shank. Beneath these fragments of clothing was neither shirt nor undershirt but only bare skin.

Continued on Page B-10



WELL-WORN FUMI-E — Descent of Christ from the Cross "fumi-e" set in a wooden board on which Japanese were obliged to step to prove they were not Christians.

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The Scarecrow of Daisu

Continued from Page B-9

Though he eked out only a meager living as porter, Nobuyoshi's father still clothed his son in shirt and coat. Thinking of bestowing one of these garments on the beggar, Nobuyoshi pondered over which to give. It being easier to strip off the tight-sleeved coat, he pulled it off and wordlessly draped it over the shoulders of the shivering beggar.

Bobbing his head three times, the beggar said seriously, "Thank you. Thank you. Through your kindness, I'm saved. I'll never forget the kindness you've shown me today. I hope sometime I may be able to repay you."

Nobuyoshi patted the dirty beggar's shoulder. "It's unnecessary to repay me. I gave it only to make Jesus happy and to prevent your catching cold."

As if admiring Nobuyoshi, the beggar said, "What have you been doing in this kind of place, Sonny? Even I might be able to help you. Since I live in this neighborhood, I know the place well."

"Uh, well, as for that, it's just that I want to see the inside of this church for a moment. But I can't get in anywhere. If you would only show me how."

"Oh, there's nothing to it. If a person wants to enter, he needs only to knock three times on the door and say 'Let me in'; the door will open from the inside. At Sunday School you must have learned that Christ said, 'Knock and it shall be opened to you. It won't open if you don't knock.'"

"Oh, now I understand. Since I didn't knock but only went round and round, I couldn't get in. I'll try knocking. Thank you very much."

With his small fist, Nobuyoshi struck the door three times knock, knock, knock.

Strange though it may seem, the matter turned out just as the beggar had predicted. From inside, the door of itself, swished open, exposing a brightly lit altar at the far end of the church.

The ugly face of the beggar broke into a smile, as if he had been made proud. "It seems to have opened as I told you it would. Please enter."

"Thanks very much. Because you helped me, I'm able to go in. Aren't you going in, too?"

"Yes, Sonny, thank you. But you go first."

Since the beggar continued to insist on this order of precedence, Nobuyoshi stole in through the entrance. The church was full of people, all quietly praying. None seemed to notice the entrance of Nobuyoshi. Silence prevailed, as profound as that at the bottom of the sea.

Seeking a place, he tiptoed forward a step at a time. Finally finding a vacant place in a corner, he sat down there and fixed his gaze on the altar.

On the altar stood a gold crucifix before which burned scores of candles. Beside the altar stood a beautiful Christmas tree like the one in Mr. Okada's Sunday School.

The Crucified Beggar

From the belfry, the seven bells rang out. Again those in the church began to sing. Nobuyoshi joined in, singing at the top of his lungs. The church, filled with the beautiful singing. Feeling at one with the others, Nobuyoshi felt joy, joy gush through his body.

Suddenly he noticed the leprosy beggar, in his filth, going straight towards the altar, unmindful of the purity of the church.

"Oh, how shameful! A guy profaning the sacred service."

Flurried, Nobuyoshi stood up, intending to hasten after the beggar to hold and restrain him. Too late. With quick steps, the beggar had already gone up to the altar, laid hands on the gold crucifix and nimbly climbed on it.

"How rowdy!" thought Nobuyoshi.

More and more astonished, he ran to the front of the altar and looked up at the crucifix. Though wearing Nobuyoshi's coat, the crucified figure was no longer a beggar; mustache, eyes and mouth, there looked down on Nobuyoshi the same Christ seen in the picture scroll that hung in Mr. Okada's Sunday School.

So astonished he forgot the nature of the place he was in, Nobuyoshi cried, "Oh, after all you weren't a beggar, you were Christ."

"As you have done to the least of these, my brothers, so have you done to me."

So said the crucified Christ, clad in Nobuyoshi's coat.

"How strange! Can there be such a thing as the crucified Christ of hundreds of years ago wearing a striped coat? Whoever heard such an absurd story as that beggar being Christ! Well, if you're also Christ, I'll look at your divine face. What's happened to my eyes? What do they see?"

Muttering to himself as he looked, sudden distress came over Nobuyoshi; he wanted to cling fast to Christ. In a loud voice, he asked, "Are you truly Christ?"

From the crucifix came the soft answer, "Yes, I'm Christ. I am Christ wearing a striped coat."

"A strange Christ. I've never seen such a strange Christ."

"Wherever love may be, there am I. Since you clothed the leprosy beggar in your striped coat, I was there."

Scarecrow in Striped Coat

Forgetting the throng around him, Nobuyoshi asked, "If I want to see you, shall I always be kind to those in trouble?"

"Yes. For though I have 99 sheep that go not astray, I am troubled for the one that goes astray."

"I understand. So I may be able to see you, from now I will always try hard to help those in trouble."

"You have grasped the good point. Always act in that spirit, Nobuyoshi."

Hugging his joy at being praised by the crucified Christ, Nobuyoshi retreated from the altar and rushed out the front of the church. As he did so, the great door of the church entrance slammed shut with a wham, causing him to whirl around.

He was as astonished as if he had seen heaven and earth crumble. And no wonder. Ascending to heaven or sinking beneath the earth, the church in which he had stood until a moment ago had vanished.

For a long time he stood lost in thought. But no matter how he mulled over these events, he could make neither head nor tail of them. The whole experience seemed a dream.

"I wonder what became of the crucified Christ in the striped coat."

Peering toward the startle center of the ricefield, his



Scarecrow wears Nobuyoshi's striped coat.

home."

Shouldering the scarecrow, he started to run for home, his sandals clattering.

Darkness hid Mt. Azuchi; even the crows had long ago returned to the forest. When he reached home, there stood the leprosy beggar who always loitered about the neighborhood. Nobuyoshi took the coat from the scarecrow and wordlessly put it on the beggar.

"Thank you. Thank you."

Repeating this phrase over and over, the beggar wandered off.

It being so late, Nobuyoshi wondered if Father would scold him. Idly recalling the details of the adventure, one by one, Nobuyoshi fearfully entered the house. Soon Father returned and clapped him on the shoulder.

"Since you've been going to Sunday School, Nobuyoshi, you've gradually become a good boy. I've been watching you from the station."

It happened on Christmas Eve.

Born in Kobe, July 10, 1888, Toyohiko Kagawa, social reformer, evangelist and writer of verse, essays, religious works, stories and novels, devoted his life to improving labor conditions in Japan. When he died in Tokyo, April 23, 1960, he had written more than 150 books. Perhaps, his best known work in America is the novel, "A Grain of Wheat."

I am indebted to the Rev. Harry Komuro for putting me in touch with Robert F. Hemphill who in turn put me in touch with Mrs. Toyohiko Kagawa. I am indebted to Mrs. Kagawa for illuminating some points about the life of her late husband and how he came to write "The Scarecrow of Daisu."

Mr. Hemphill is writing a book about Dr. Kagawa, of an anecdotal nature, intended to bring the Kagawa story up to date and to increase appreciation for the late evangelist and his works. He will be glad to hear from readers who care to share memories of the great reformer or who have anecdotes about him to tell. Interested persons should write to:

Mr. Robert F. Hemphill
122 Lanip Dr. Lanikai
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Biographies of Dr. Kagawa include "Kagawa" (1932), by W. Axling; and "Kagawa, Japanese Prophet" (1959), by J. M. Trout.

In writing this article, I have consulted a great number of works in English and Japanese. But three English language works for those wishing to learn more about the introduction of Christianity to Japan are: "The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan," edited by Michael Cooper, Kodansha; "The Christian Century in Japan: 1549-1650," by C. R. Boxer, U. of Calif. Press; and "Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan," by George Ellison, Harvard Univ. Press.

Anti-Nisei Discrimination in the Mormon State

By Michael Ross Strode

Dec. 7, 1941: The Japanese have attacked Pearl Harbor! Suddenly and terrifyingly forces of Imperial Japan attacked American forces in Hawaii, inflicting heavy casualties. In the first wave, at 7:55 a.m. local time, Japanese torpedoes—horizontal—, and dive-bombers literally submerged the U.S. naval power stationed at the island paradise. Minutes before the Navy sustained its losses, the Army Air Corps at Wheeler and Hickam Army Air Corps Bases was destroyed. A second wave of fighter-bombers mercilessly completed the carnage of the air corps and naval yards.

The President of the United States, before a shocked Congress Monday morning (Dec. 8, 1941), delivered a strongly worded "declaration of war" denouncing acts of aggression by Japan, Germany, and their allies. War had been anticipated by many Americans. In fact, the United States had been preparing for an open arms confrontation with Japan for quite some time.

Congress was shocked mainly in that Japan had taken more initiative than many had thought she would. For example, on the morning of the attack on Pearl Harbor, a contingent of B-17 bombers was on its way to the South Seas. The crews were warned of impending danger, possibly at their destination—the Philippines. However, the guns these planes carried were still coated with protective film when they departed from California. The ammunition for the fifty-caliber machine guns was removed from the planes to allow them to carry extra fuel for the long flight to Hawaii. They arrived in Hawaii in time to be counted among the many casualties—defenseless against the attacking Japanese planes. The U.S. had been preparing for war, but Japan had struck with such audacity that the United States reeled from the shock.

Knock Sounds Off

Except for a few isolated incidents, the American populace was slow to connect the American-born Japanese and Japanese aliens in the U.S. with the attack on Pearl Harbor. However, with the help of Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, on Dec. 13, 1941, Americans were given a little prodding to develop a fear of their Japanese-American neighbors.

The most effective fifth column work of the entire war was done in Hawaii, with the possible exception of Norway. "The statement Knox made to reporters on his return from a trip to Hawaii on Dec. 13, 1941," John Hughes, a radio commentator, was thought to be the first to demand, in January of 1942, an outright evacuation of the Japanese-Americans from the Pacific Coast. Other radio commentators, along with the Hearst publications and also the Los Angeles Times, joined in a high-pitched battle to bring about the internment of these American citizens.

Other groups, influenced by economic and racial reasons, also joined in the demand that all people of Japanese ancestry be evacuated from the West Coast, ignoring the rights at citizens and aliens alike. Some of these groups were: The California American Legion, the Associated Farmers, the Grower-Shipper Vegetable Association, the Western Growers Protective Association, the California Farm Bureau, the American Educa-

tional League, several labor unions, the Pacific League and the Joint Immigration Committee, among others. Some of these groups had legitimate reasons for existing, while some served no end other than discrimination.

The U.S. government was definitely influenced by these pressure groups, as were many heretofore tolerant Americans. Justice Department officials later stated that a newspaper column by respected journalist Walter Lippmann, in which he spoke in favor of evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast in order to prevent sabotage, had been among the most important factors pushing public opinion to favor evacuation.

Coincidence or not, just five days after the Lippmann column appeared in newspapers across the country, on Feb. 19, 1942, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 9066 which established "military areas" and set guidelines for restricting people who might be potentially dangerous from these areas. This was the legal basis for the removal of 110,000 people of Japanese descent from the West Coast and their subsequent internment behind the protection of barbed wire and armed guards.

Situation in Utah

Utah, prior to the signing of Executive Order No. 9066, had seen a small amount of reaction against the Japanese-Americans in her communities. The Salt Lake

This statement indicates a possibility of rising antagonism toward the Utah Japanese community. An enlightening editorial in the Tribune concerning these alien arrests shows little or no prejudice when it says:

"It is to be hoped that the conflict will soon be over so that all Japanese detained may be given their liberty, enabling those who are American born to resume the duties and responsibilities of citizenship."

However, the editor above does indicate to his readers that the term "alien" can also mean "American born" or, in other words, U.S. citizens of Japanese ancestry.

Both before and after this time (February, 1942) Utah readers were bombarded with negative reports and news in the West Coast papers or by the same propaganda which caused such notables as General DeWitt, Commander of the Western Defense Command, to say:

"The Japanese race is an enemy, and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become 'Americanized', the racial strains are undiluted."

Another statement on the same subject was made by the editor of the Los Angeles Examiner, who said, basically, that treachery and loyalty to the emperor were inherent Japanese traits.

It seems to have been com-

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Strode—

Ogden Area Reacts Most Against Evacuees

Continued from Page B-10

and would not care to have them brought here."

A. S. Brown of the State Publicity and Industrial Commission said, a little more

James & Margarette Morakami
Nat'l JACL President-Elect
2134 Laguna Road
Santa Rosa, Calif. 95401

strongly. "I don't like the idea of a Jap in thinking. If they would really work and do nothing underhanded, everything would be OK. But we can't ever be sure of that."

The beet growers of Utah were torn between a labor shortage and a growing hysteria against the enemy aliens. The beet crop required much manual labor in the

form of thinning and weeding to ensure a productive harvest. The war had interrupted the normal flow of migrant laborers. The citizens of Duchesne and Uintah Counties went to the federal government to try to obtain 3,000 alien workers to lease or join in sharecropping their farms."

Governor Maw, according to the Associated Press, was quoted as being opposed to bringing aliens into the state. However, concerning the above situation, he said:

"If the government feels enemy aliens must be evacuated from the coast in the best interests of the country as a whole, I suppose they must be placed somewhere. If they can be useful in farm work in Uintah and Duchesne Counties, I see no objection to bringing them here."

Two days after the Governor's statement, Selvo J. Boyer, Executive Secretary of the Utah State Farm Bureau Federation, stated that most of Utah's farmers were willing to accept alien help if the aliens were policed. Contrary to statements issued from other Utah sources, he also stated that he felt they should receive wages."

Evacuees Arrive

Early in March, in compliance with military decree, many Japanese Americans started their "voluntary" exodus from the West Coast, locating in unrestricted war zones, for the most part in the interior of the United States such as Utah, where they hoped to find some passive acceptance by the local populace.

Utah's Welfare Department was already assisting some Utah Japanese in Carbon County who had lost their jobs due to the nature of their work—coal mining, along with certain other occupations, had been declared close to aliens because they were considered vital to the war effort, and the employment of aliens in these fields might provide opportunities for sabotage.

Others had lost their jobs because of the untimely and questionable arrests previously mentioned. Nevertheless, the Utah Welfare Department was also preparing to handle the influx of aliens leaving the Coast."

The farmers and Welfare officials were ready to accept the Japanese, but in a meeting of county representatives with the Governor a good deal of opposition to the settlement of the aliens in Utah was voiced."

The county representatives claimed there was already a shortage of good farm land, although Duchesne was willing for aliens to lease land during the duration of the war."

Cache County said it would do its share if the government found it necessary to locate some Japanese there, and two days later county spokesmen voiced a plan to call on aliens to help as beet workers. Kayville, though not a county, opposed any evacuee housing within its city limits."

Kane County, not to be outdone by any other city or county government, on orders from the county commissioners instructed the sheriff, with the aid of the highway patrol, to stop all Japanese at the borders of the county. If the Japanese had a government permit to travel to further destinations, they were to be escorted through the county and safely delivered out of the area. Signs were also to be posted on the three main highways at the county lines notifying everyone that no "Japs" were permitted in Kane County."

Weber County Commissioner J. W. Arrington, before the Kane County move said, "If they are thrust upon us, we want them in concentration camps."

The Ogden Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) had anticipated Weber County reaction and had advised evacuees against coming into the Ogden area, since (1) it was a defense area, and (2) the housing shortage in the area was already a major problem. On March 23, 1942, representatives of the Utah and Idaho

chapters of the JACL made the observation that they were having a hard time finding any opportunities for work or housing for their California friends."

Veterans Posts React

March was also an active month for Utah's "patriotic" groups as they formulated their resolutions, and proposed solutions to the enemy alien problem.

The Salt Lake County chapter of the Service Star Legion stated that they were "positively opposed to unrestricted infiltration of enemy aliens from the West Coast—unless in Concentration Camps."

Next, the Salt Lake Alert Post 2 of the American Legion decided that reception centers for West Coast evacuees should be established in 30 or more states from which labor shortages could be filled, giving the Japanese wages for their work. H. S. Jennings speaking for the Legion said, further, that Utah had no need for such people on the farms here."

The United Veterans Council drew up a resolution protesting any resettlement of Japanese in Utah. They did conclude, however, that if Utah were to accept any Japanese or Japanese Americans, they had to follow five guidelines: (1) the evacuation center had to be established under proper authority, (2) evacuees couldn't control the employment centers, (3) local labor must be hired before the evacuees, (4) the aliens could not purchase land, and (5) the Japanese must be removed from the state at the end of the war."

The Veterans of Foreign Wars, Post 1481, not to be outdone, proposed the evacuation of enemy aliens residing in the area between Logan and Provo. Corporal Fred J. Grant, speaking for this group, continued by stating that aliens should be held in Concentration Camps under control of the U.S. Army."

Not long after this, the Army halted all voluntary movements of Japanese aliens. The Army then proceeded to construct and direct the habitation of relocation centers throughout the West."

On the same day that the Army froze voluntary movements away from the West Coast, Utah State University announced that it was barring Japanese students from its campus. Dr. Elmer G. Peterson, president of the college, announced that, from the standpoint of the Japanese students, as well as the institution and the cities of Logan and Cedar City, it would be best not to admit them."

Two months later, "in the interest of the national safety and the national war effort," the Fish and Game Commission started denying fishing licenses to Japanese."

Plans for Topaz

The announcement by Lt. Gen. DeWitt on Jan. 23, 1942, concerning a relocation center to be established in Utah silenced most of the outcry against the Japanese people. The press was virtually silent about discrimination against the Japanese while everyone waited to see how the relocation centers would be administered.

Topaz, the relocation center near Delta, Utah, was officially opened on Nov. 1, 1942. Evacuee workers from the center were able to commute daily or seasonally to jobs, filling Utah's labor needs. At the same time the tide seemed to be turning in the U.S. war effort with the victories obtained in several major battles on both fronts, thus alleviating some of the pressure against Japanese aliens in Utah and other states.

Nevertheless, there were several major problems which arose during 1943. Whereas 1942 had been a year of verbally-expressed prejudice, 1943 was a year of physical discrimination.

The first measure directed against the Japanese Americans was a bill introduced in the Utah State Senate by Ira A. Huggins, (an outspoken Jap-hater) determined to prevent any opportunity for "them [the Japanese] to acquire our land

with American dollars." Governor Maw vetoed the bill, but signed another bill instigated by Huggins allowing aliens to lease land only on a contract renewable yearly."

Another problem arose when the Bingham Open Pit Miners' Union President Ernest Stanton and Howard Lee, representative of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, a CIO union, complained about the mine's hiring of evacuees. The hiring was stopped to avert the trouble threatened by these two men."

Topaz Shooting Incident

Shortly before the mine squabble another incident occurred. On April 11, 1943, at 7:30 a.m., there was a shooting at the WRA Center in Delta (Camp Topaz). The acting director of the center, Lorne Bell, reported that James Hatsuki Wasaka, 62, was killed attempting to crawl through the fence surrounding the residential section of the compound. The military sentries claimed he failed to respond to four warning shots before he was shot and killed. This shooting did not receive much publicity in any of the major Utah papers; it featured a condensation of the original United Press release, varying in length according to the inclination of the particular newspaper. The Millard County Chronicle gave one of the shortest accounts of Wasaka's death even though he was killed in the county, and the Tribune shoved the news back into its minor news sections.

Dr. Leonard J. Arrington's article "The Price of Prejudice" helped locate another major series of discriminatory acts recorded by the Tribune. These occurred during the first few days of October, 1943.

Tom Wilson of Pleasant View, Jim Rooney of Idaho, Roy Barton of Pleasant Grove, and Reed Frandsen and Harvey Park of Orem were arrested for firing on buildings in a farm labor camp in Provo with a shotgun and a .30-40 calibre rifle. Several people were injured in the incident, though none seriously. The Japanese Americans living in the camp refused to return to work until the Provo area leaders promised them protection."

The year 1944 saw other changes in attitude toward the Japanese Americans. The Allies were obviously winning the war, both in Europe and Asia. The WRA Center at Delta (Topaz) had become more or less a refuge for those aliens not cleared to leave or those who enjoyed its relative, although somewhat Spartan, security. Those Japanese having jobs in various parts of the states enjoyed a fair amount of acceptance, with some exceptions.

Business License Problem

The big problem in Utah during 1944 was discrimination in business licensing. Layton, Ogden, Salt Lake City, and Provo all had to confront the problem of whether to allow evacuees to start businesses or not. If they allowed business to open, the various city fathers feared an overwhelming tide of applications and a large amount of alien settlement in Utah. War hatred was still high. This alone caused many places to effectively bar Japanese from business.

However, a movement was growing among various organizations and individuals to pressure local governments to allow Japanese Americans and aliens to enjoy the full benefits of their rights as

citizens and peaceful inhabitants.

The first major discriminatory act in 1944 was in Ogden. Tom Kinamoto applied to operate a cafe at 260 Twenty-fifth Street. The newly elected city commission turned down the application on the basis that Ogden had established a policy of not issuing licenses to Japanese after Pearl Harbor. Mayor Kent S. Bramwell supported the commission, saying, "Conditions alter things. Other jobs are available to Japs besides those of setting up business." Ogden's labor leader, C. H. Peterson, also upheld the city commission's stand, as did Derrah B. Van Dyke, Ogden City Attorney."

Discouraged, Kinamoto leased the Rendezvous Cafe to Ray W. Coleman. Coleman was granted a temporary license but was denied a permanent license on the recommendation of Commissioner Wood, who said that the action was taken "without prejudice and in the interest of public safety and welfare." Coleman had made the mistake of hiring Kinamoto and his wife and seven other Japanese at the restaurant.

The Salt Lake City Commission, in response to the Kinamoto incident in Ogden, revealed that it had received seven applications for business licenses from Japanese Americans since the beginning of the war, out of a total of 102 applications. Four Japanese American applicants had been granted licenses. As a result of these published facts, within a week the Salt Lake Federation of Labor had a resolution on Mayor Earl J. Glade's desk. The contents of this resolution stated that Japanese, "regardless of citizenship," should be denied business licenses, since they would be competing with returning war veterans, causing disharmony and strife to develop."

The Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce then grabbed the ball and asked the city to refrain from granting licenses to people of Japanese ancestry. It feared such licenses would induce more Japanese people into the area, providing "a real challenge to law and order," according to Gus P. Backman, executive secretary of the group."

Mayor Glade later requested Japanese evacuees to refrain from applying for Salt Lake Business licenses. As of March 24, 1944, no new licenses had been requested. In northern Utah the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Tremonton initiated a program to discourage Japanese American from buying land in Box Elder County, at about the same time Ogden and Salt Lake were discussing business licenses. The Tremonton plan consisted of the formation of a "protective organization" to advise Japanese Americans against land purchases in the area."

In nearby Layton, city officials refused a business license to Clarence K. Okuda and threatened to close his shop, supposedly because of his Japanese descent."

Provo reported only a minor problem when three Japanese farm workers were ousted from Mom's Lunch at 38 South 1st West by a "group of white boys". The three Japanese boys and two other Japanese laborers were later attacked again at the Orem train station by a larger group of white youths. The Provo police stopped the disturbance. The situation was blamed on the large influx of Japanese

laborers to harvest the large fruit crop in Utah County."

Coverage Fades

Toward the final months of 1944 the war against the Axis powers was an assured victory for the Allies. Time was all that was needed to end the war. The WRA was also preparing to terminate the relocation center at Delta. As of Dec. 17, 1944, one year was allotted to completely close the camp.

The ban against Japanese Americans traveling or living on the West Coast was lifted on Jan. 2, 1945."

In Utah discriminatory city, county, and state ordinances in many cases were still in effect at the end of 1944, but by

New Year's Eve of 1944 incidents of public discrimination against the Japanese Americans and their alien parents had ceased.

The Salt Lake Tribune did contain further articles of major importance concerning discrimination against the Japanese Americans returning to their coastal homes. These reports tell of shooting, dynamiting, incidents of arson, and other criminal acts of violence against these people, which can only give an indication of the amount of active and passive prejudice towards this group of Americans and peacefully disposed aliens.

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Samurai of the Wine Country

Continued from Page A-1

ment to inform all foreigners whenever a Japanese dignitary was to pass through a specific area. It was even unlawful for Japanese citizens to appear when such an important figure was passing.

Since the signing of Perry's famous Kanagawa Treaty in 1854, emissaries from America, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands had situated themselves in the Yedo area. On Sept. 21, 1862 the announcement had not been made known to a group of British riding horseback near Shimazui's caravan.

As the story comes down, a guard of the retinue signaled the party of four Englishmen to move off the road. If they saw the warning they did not heed it. They continued on apparently unaware of the impending danger. Without a second's reminder the Samurai guardsmen attacked wielding their large two-edged swords. One of the group, a Mr. Richardson, was brutally murdered on the spot while the others escaped, though wounded.

The news of the "barbarous" attack on British subjects and therefore the British crown, coupled with the recent killing of two seamen at the British legation in Takanawa, forced British officials to demand reparations from the Shogun. By the 25th of June most of the demands had been met except for the release of the assassins into British hands. Shimazu demanded an apology from the British before he would consider giving up the killers. Thus, on Aug. 30, Admiral Augustus Leopold Kuper of the British Royal Navy brought seven ships from Yokohama and bombarded Kagoshima, the home of Shimazu and the young Samurai, Kanaye Nagasawa.

Immediately following the short but disastrous attack on the capital of Satsuma, Shimazu met with his chief ministers to discuss effective moves toward tying Satsuma with the progressive West. The force of the naval attack convinced the daimyo that time was short before Japan would submit to full complicity with the Western nations.

Japanese acquainted with the Europeans and able to deal with them in an informed manner would soon be needed. Shimazu anticipated this need and set out to prepare men from his province for this eventuality. As an integral part of the program discussed, it was decided that 15 of Satsuma's most promising young Samurai would be sent to Europe to study.

Of the 15 chosen, Kanaye was the youngest, then only 13 years old. He was to be a member of one of the first groups to leave Japan en masse since 1603. The names of the students, ranging in age from 13 to 19, were changed to protect them and their families from any Tokugawa reaction to this illegal act. Shimazu, however, was supreme ruler in Satsuma and did not fear that the Shogun would ever again be a serious force to contend with.

Each boy was assigned a particular field of study, based on his ability and the needs of Japan. The boys were to gather information on navy and army techniques, shipbuilding, surveying, engineering, medicine, political science, economics and physical science. Kanaye's assignment was the study of shipbuilding.

Guardianship of the group was placed in the hands of Ketibu Shinai, chief minister of the Satsuma clan; Saizuke Godai, Satsuma's minister of education; Sojuro Hori, the interpreter; and a fourth man, Minbu Machida. With the four adults the party numbered nineteen.

On March 20, 1863 the 19 left Kagoshima Bay in a small boat and sailed to the Island of Hanejima off the South Coast of Japan. There they boarded the British frigate, HMS Australia, a merchant vessel of the Galata Company of London. Thomas Glover, principal partner in the Nagasaki firm of Glover and Company, made the necessary arrangements. Kanaye explained in a personal interview much later in life that the 19 went first to Shanghai and moved quickly on to Hong Kong where they had a lay-over for ten days. There they changed ships and set sail for Southeast Asia.

They made stops at

Singapore and Penang in Malaya, at Ceylon and Bombay. From India they made their way through the Gulf of Aden to the city of Aden and then moved through the strait of Bab al Mandab to the Red Sea. At Suez they boarded a train that brought them to Alexandria at the edge of the Great Delta. By boat again they sailed to Malta, then through the Strait of Gibraltar. On the 23rd of May they arrived at Southampton, England.

That evening the entourage moved on to London and settled in at the Kensington Hotel. A professor Williamson of London University came and introduced himself. Apparently British friends of Shimazu had carried instructions from him to England prior to the departure of the students. Williamson was responsible for arrangements in London. The professor did what he could to make the cautious Japanese feel welcome. The following day, Kanaye and the others were escorted to the home of another educator, Professor Gienn.

Glenn had prepared a program of study for the group. Under his tutelage the Japanese, including the four adults, studied hard. The professor had studied Oriental culture and understood the struggle for change in Japan. His sympathy for their cause was most naturally influenced by his desire to see the rich Japanese Empire opened to free trade.

Great Britain and the United States had the greatest futures as world powers, Glenn taught. And he impressed upon the students the necessity for learning well of the two nations. He encouraged them continuously to make comparisons with their homeland and gain from this exercise valuable applications that might benefit Japan's growth away from feudalism.

Despite his high intelligence it was soon recognized by Glenn that Kanaye was too young to begin his education at the level the professor and his English associates were presenting it. Thus, after two months, Kanaye was sent to the "Gym," Chanorhy House School, in Aberdeen, Scotland. The others matriculated at London University. The "Gym" was known in the British Isles for its excellent English department. Glenn's intention was to send Kanaye there so that he might gain a sufficient command of the language to carry him through the remainder of his studies.

In Aberdeen, Kanaye was placed under the guardianship of the town crier, Thomas Garver, and his wife. Despite the hospitality offered him at Garver's, Kanaye felt threatened amongst the Scots just as he had among the English in London. Here, however, he was separated from his companions. He was a serious student and kept to himself, ever suspicious of his curious schoolmates. His Samurai heritage made him more at home with conflict than communion.

Anglo Saxon manners and institutions were not sufficiently tempting to influence Kanaye away from the Samurai spirit he felt within him. The people of Aberdeen, mostly Scottish bourgeois, he considered his inferiors. Mrs. Garver apparently understood Kanaye's conflict and chose to respect his heritage and support him at times when counseling in the "ways of Rome" might have been more appropriate. Her patience nearly met its end, however, when one day the Samurai used his gold watch and its silver chain to beat severely a young farm boy. Kanaye had misjudged the boy's expression of friendship for an attack and he testified later that had he a sword he would have used that.

The tradition of the Samurai touched every phase of Kanaye's life. Aside from the burden of maintaining his selfhood in a land so contrary to his acquaintance, he soon was forced to concern himself with one of the corporeal problems of venturing into the world finances. The Samurai was trained to be careless and indifferent to material interests. If funds, whether public or private, were available, they were shared; if they were not, they Samurai were sufficiently confident of their superior



Kanaye Nagasawa, America's first true Issei pioneer.

morality to expect the more slowly social orders to enhance their morality by supporting them.

Presumably, Godai had carried and distributed the finances for the nineteen. Kanaye only recalled that money had come to the Garvers for his care. The supply was soon reduced drastically.

A leadership role in the struggle with the Tokugawa had forced Satsuma, Kanaye's home, into heavy debt. The revolution that would bring about a restoration of the Emperor in 1868 resulted in economic instability amongst other disorders. The financial crises came earlier in Satsuma than elsewhere, for Shimazu's province had been the first hit by dissident British forces and, with Choshu and Tosa, Satsuma was a leader in the burdensome civil wars.

Shimazu was forced in the latter part of 1865 to recall 12 of the 19 and reduce expenses for the remaining seven. Only Kanaye, Tetsuma Sawai, Ithosuke Nagai, Kozo Sugura, Seizaemon Yoshino, Junzo Matsumura and Chuhei Noda remained. All the adults had been recalled. Apparently in anticipation of their recall, Sawai and Matsumura journeyed to Russia in June of 1866 to study Tsar Alexander's navy. About the same time Sugura toured France while Noda and Nagai went to the United States and Kanaye remained in Aberdeen.

Samurai and the Prophet

While in America Noda and Nagai were introduced to the man that was to play a major role in the life of Kanaye Nagasawa — Thomas Lake Harris. Since the early 1850's, Harris had been in New York City serving as minister of the First Independent Christian Society — a congregation of his own creation. This mystical and complex clergyman had established a controversial reputation with claims that he had experienced "God's Breath in Man and in Human Society" and this experience enabled him to find true unity with God. Philosopher and theologian, Emanuel Swedenborg was the prime influence on Harris' Christian spiritualism.

The lanky and bearded Harris was a revivalist and a reformer in the truest sense of America's exciting 19th century "reform era" (1830-1880). He had left the Universalist church and by 1861 had founded a new cult devoted to preparing man for a coming brotherhood in which all those worthy would be inviolable by the temptations of the earth. The "perfection of man" was a predominant theme of the religious and philosophical fervor of the period. Even as early as 1835, more than 20 perfectionist congregations had sprung up in New York state.

Harris, the "Primate" of the "Brotherhood of the New Life," the name he chose for his new sect, had a substantial following in both America and Great Britain. Among the more prominent members was a member of the British Parliament, Laurence Oliphant.

Oliphant had been with Lord Elgin in Japan in 1858. He

sympathized with Japanese interested in opening their country to the West. Upon hearing of Noda and Nagai in New York in the summer of 1866, he made it a point to contact them. He introduced them to his spiritual teacher and the young students were immediately impressed with Harris, the man and his new religion.

The young Japanese recognized Shinto and Confucian influences in Harris' theology. The "prophet" had studied Oriental religions and the two Samurai found parallels in Harrisite Christianity with their own Shinto religion. Harris also appealed to other needs of the young men. Once being told of the financial crisis in Satsuma, Harris offered to help the students.

He offered to take all seven of them to his settlement at Armenia in New York state. There he would provide them with continued education in exchange for labor. He suggested the students work half a day caring for the needs of the "Brotherhood" and instruction would be provided the other half. In August of 1866, Noda and Nagai returned to London to inform the others of the curious yet wise prophet and his proposal.

With Kanaye still in Scotland, six of the seven students returned to London in the same month and gathered to compare notes. The impressions of the United States and Harris that Noda revealed gained the most interest of all that the young men had to report about their travels. It was decided America would be the next stop for the seven. They sent for Kanaye a few months later to inform him of the decision to accept Harris' offer.

In the spring of 1867, Harris came to England and was arranging for the publication of three of his many books. Sawai, the chosen spokesman of the group, made an appointment to meet with the prophet. Accompanied by two others, he went to Harris and announced that he and his countrymen wished to return with him to New York. On June 30, 1867, Kanaye and five of the students departed for Harris' colony at Armenia.

The purpose of the "New Life" was to create a heaven on earth, a "New Harmonic Civilization." Harris envisioned the "ending of all feuds, the abolishment of all diseases, the abolishment of all antagonisms, the removal of squalors and poverties, in a fulfilled Christian era; a new golden age of universal peace."

Aside from the extreme dependence of its members on a central man, Harris, the Brotherhood was little different than other "utopias" of New England like Brook Farm or those founded by the Shakers.

Harris taught that there were two forces operating through the human mind that contributed to man's evolutionary process. The minor force was scientific invention. The second and most dominant was a correlated current of thought that harmonized all strains of thought. "In a word it opens for the race a New Life, in which all men shall be unified as one social body in God." The Primate said his breath was two fold: besides usual breathing "from and into nature," he felt an organic breath within him—the breath of God giving him life.

Primarily through the use of this "respirationism," as the "holy" breathing came to be known, Harris believed he was attaining a redemption of the body before death. The leader of the cult claimed he was not attempting to form a new philosophy, religion or social community. Respirationism was a means of gaining an "Experience of the love of the universal mental, moral, physical and social renewal of mankind."

There will arise on earth a Society called the "Brotherhood of the New Life," internal respiration being the bond of union in the Lord. In Christian and Pagan nations, among Jews and Gen-

tiles, both bond and free, this fraternity will exist. Whoever becomes a Brother of the New Life, through the full re-opening of the respirations, being in preparation to become a living human tabernacle of Christ, will henceforth stand to the Lord, to the angels, to men, to evil spirits, in relations radically different from those of others.

There is little evidence to support the contention Kanaye ever adjusted his philosophy to any significant extent to that of Harris. The prophet offered financial aid at a crucial time. Kanaye came to admire Harris and, in fact, would come to love the man like a second father. The Samurai, in his quest to become a "more perfect in-

strument of justice," cultivated self-perfection at every turn. A young and impetuous Samurai might easily have found Harris "way" appealing. Kanaye, however, tried very hard to understand and live the Harrisite doctrine, but the activities of his later life show little evidence of a man living the Harrisite faith.

The six students apparently only spent a short time at the Armenia colony near Wassaic, Dutchess County in southeastern New York. They soon went to stay at the newly established one at Brocton, New York, called Salem-on-the-Erie. Brocton, however, is where the story picks up again.

The town of Brocton is in Chautauqua County. Harris Continued on Page C-5

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From Lake Erie to Santa Rosa

Continued from Page C-1

had sold the America properties and purchased about 2,000 acres of land located for a mile and a half along Lake Erie. It was a rich agricultural area fitted well for grape cultivation.³ Fifteen acres were planted to Salem grapes. The Brotherhood's professional agriculturalist, Jonathan Lay, and its wine expert, Dr. J. W. Hyde, had speculated that the Salem grape had good possibilities as a wine grape. It did not serve as well as hoped, however, and later, larger quantities of other varieties were planted. Large quantities of wine were produced at the settlement, and although sales were adequate, they never satisfied the original expectations.²

The vineyards of Salem-on-the-Erie were another classroom for the curious and intelligent Kanaye. Like all members of the colony he worked often at farming and other functions of maintaining the colony, "each one being expected to conscientiously and joyfully perform his task, no matter how small it might be, and to perform it after the manner royal. . . . And the tasks were diversified, hence educative."²

This must have been a difficult change for the Japanese, all from the elite Samurai class in Japan. They were not taught to work or to provide in any manner for themselves in Satsuma. What they were taught, however, was honor to their sovereign. Shimazu had instructed them to gain as much an understanding of the Western Hemisphere as possible. Their bargain with Harris required labor, and labor then had to become a serious means to an end.

Whenever possible, Kanaye would meet briefly with the other Japanese sharing a loneliness for Kagoshima and a lust to be a part of the political revolution in Japan. Although Tetsumu Sawai was Kanaye's senior by five years, the two became close friends and were to remain so for the remainder of their lives. As Sawai, older and more aware of his heritage, struggled to appreciate the necessity of being a lowly kitchen helper or woodcutter, Kanaye grew to enjoy his tasks and particularly that of caring for the grapevines.

In June of 1868, however, Sawai and Chubei Noda returned to Japan. The upheaval that had led to the restoration of the Emperor Meiji to supreme rule had created space for newer and inspired leaders. The new oligarchy was led by the Emperor and two deputies, Sanjo Sanetomi and Iwakura Tomomi.²⁴

Thomas Lake Harris claimed he had received a revelation instruction him to send Sawai and Noda to serve the Lord of Satsuma in the new government. He paid their passage but an old ledger used by Harris suggests "Prince Satsuma" sent him \$473.96 in January of 1868 just for that purpose.²⁵ It was not yet possible for Kanaye and the others to return.

During the coming months the Japanese at Brocton learned a great many things from the Primate of the Brotherhood. Kanaye's growing respect of the prophet encouraged him to be exceptionally attentive to all the man said. Japan's disagreements with the new foreign residents in the Empire was a topic of frequent discussion. The students asked Harris if a war should come between Japan and the United States to which side they should be loyal. He told them all men should fight first for God, who knows no country. Most of the young Samurai were dissatisfied with this philosophy. Soon after the departure of Sawai and Noda, three others took leave of Brocton and sailed for Japan.²⁶

Since Kanaye's arrival at Brocton, other Japanese had come to the colony to study Harrisite Christianity. All of his original group had gone. Of the 75 to 100 residents of the colony, only about ten were Japanese. The homogenous activity of the colony did not allow for the gathering of select groups. Thus, Kanaye did not have as much opportunity to meet with his countrymen as he may have wished. His contact with Japan was apparently not frequent either. He corresponded with two people at least occasionally. Yuchi and Soogiwoda Soogiwoda would sometimes send expensive money.²⁷ Kanaye came to find that loneliness could be suppressed with longer and more intense hours of reading and work in the fields.

In March of 1871, Kanaye, now 18 years old, received exhilarating news. Now using the name of Yurei Mori, Sawai had returned to America as Japan's first Ambassador to Washington, D.C. At the age of 24 he was beginning a full and productive political career.²⁸ It was December before Kanaye was able to leave his duties, but he then went directly to the capital.

Mori was ready with an offer to take Kanaye back with him to Japan when he returned. Kanaye was very willing but wanted to leave immediately. Mori explained his duties would keep him in Washington for at least another year but promised to take him back at that time. Exhibiting his often evident distrust, Kanaye lost his temper and insisted that making plans for a time so much in the future was foolhardy and "caused devils to laugh."²⁹ Like two stubborn children, the old friends parted a huff, with Kanaye threatening never to return to Satsuma again. He returned to Brocton.

By the middle of the next year the two had put aside their differences and were corresponding regularly. They talked intimately of man's responsibility to overcome the "evils of the world."

The Brotherhood and "Father Harris" were cherished topics of discussion. Mori wrote Kanaye about the successes of their mutual friends also. Besides Mori, some others had gone into the diplomatic service. Noda, he explained, had become Ambassador to England but had been poorly received.

Kanaye suggested he would like to share with his fellows their involvement with the new government in Japan, but was nevertheless growing quite content with his life at Brocton.³⁰ "Father Harris" had schooled Kanaye as well as possible in the tenants of his faith. Kanaye wanted seriously to gain a full understanding of them mostly because of his appreciation of Harris's guardianship.

Because Harris believed few could comprehend his mystical ideas of God and man, he did not attempt forcing them upon the members of the colony. There was a general agreement that Harris was the "pivotal man" and to seek what he sought was the first obligation of life. All were expected to turn over their worldly possessions to the Brotherhood. "To render each member free from the world, all property real or personal, was placed in the name of Thomas Lake Harris."³¹ There was an un-

derstanding that if one should decide to leave the cult, what he had contributed would be returned.

To allow as much individual mediation as possible, some families were separated. If the Primate suspected the members of a family "needed to be taught the love of God was supreme above love of kin," husband and wife, parents and children would be instructed to live apart for indefinite periods.³² Occasionally he would not allow members to marry. Jane Lee Waring, Harris' future third wife, wrote to the mother of Laurence Oliphant:

"We, of course, understand that Laurence knew how terrible marriage was, and that unless through weakness or inability to stand alone, while passing through regenerative training, some had to marry, the rapid way to victory and Use was through purification first and marriage afterwards."³³

The impressionable Kanaye, whose social and moral bases were steadily being remolded at Salem-on-the-Erie, could not avoid giving some credence to such teachings. It is possible that Harris' philosophy of marriage had something to do with the fact that Kanaye never married.

Kanaye became a devoted follower and assistant to Harris. The "Father" of the Brotherhood of the New Life came to look upon the respectable, gentlemanly and spirited young Japanese as an able companion. Along with two other boys of the sect, Harris gave Kanaye his own surname. He called him, Oliver Cromwell Harris.³⁴

Mori remained Kanaye's most communicative friend, but the two were seldom able to meet. Probably Osui Arai was Kanaye's closest Japanese friend at Brocton. Arai had been introduced into the colony by Mori who had brought the man back from Japan with him the year he took his post in Washington. The Japanese Ambassador was a sincere Harrisite, and he induced Arai to study the new philosophy. The new arrival became a quick convert but served more as an assistant to Kanaye than a companion.³⁵

In 1874 Mori returned to Japan.³⁶ Arai and Kanaye were the only Japanese resident members of the Brotherhood left, the others having gone for reasons unknown to this writer. They also were to be the first to reside at the new colony in California.

CHAPTER TWO Fountaingrove

Harris had grown steadily more displeased with the extreme weather they experienced in New York. He discussed with Kanaya and others of the Brotherhood the possibilities of moving the "Use" to a more agreeable climate and a place where grapes of higher quality could be grown. They wished the Harrisites might also have a home of greater comfort while creating for themselves their heaven on earth.

The rapid growth of California's wine industry during the 1860's and 70's was well known to grape men. The Brocton vineyardists probably had read the innumerable circulars and magazines praising the Golden State and were impressed with what they found written about it.

With the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, the possibilities of a trip west seemed likely for the Brotherhood. In the early part of 1875, the decision was made: they would liquidate the Brocton holdings and establish a new colony in California.

The 23-year-old Kanaye felt himself to be an accomplished vineyardist. The opportunity to plant a new stock of vines in his way, applying all the methods he had learned, appealed greatly to him. Mori's successor to the post in Washington, D.C. had been Saburo Takagi. Soon after this appointment, Takagi was transferred to San Francisco to become Consul-General for Japan. Kanaye corresponded with Takagi in San Francisco and asked for his assistance in locating a ranch site in the Bay area.³⁷

In the spring of 1875, Harris, then 32-years-old, a Mrs. Requa and her 11-year-old son, Kanaye and Arai left for California.³⁸ They arrived by train in Oakland in July and were met by Takagi. He had suites reserved for them at the Commodore Hotel in San Francisco at the corner of Montgomery and Pine Streets. Anxious to get settled in their new home, the group

understanding that if one should decide to leave the cult, what he had contributed would be returned.

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travelled by the Northwestern Pacific railroad to Santa Rosa within a few days of their arrival.

All were pleased at the site of low, rolling brown hills surrounding the picturesque town of Santa Rosa, 55 miles north of the Golden Gate. They took rooms at the Grand Hotel, and then Harris, Kanaye and Arai set out by carriage to look over the area.

Two miles north of Santa Rosa on the road running to Healdsburg, Harris purchased 400 acres of rolling pasture land. He obtained it for \$50 an acre from a Mrs. Henderson P. Holmes in two separate transactions.³⁹ The prophet had brought quite enough funds to establish his group very comfortably as soon as possible. Kanaye shared Harris's enthusiasm to build their new home.

The building began in July of 1875. First built was a four-room bungalow. Two tents were put up to house equipment. A local contractor and architect, C. H. Bumpus, was engaged to build the permanent structures. Harris spent at least \$40,000 on the first mansion built at the new estate.⁴⁰ The actual plans for the major buildings at the ranch were most likely drawn by a Mr. Cowles, a New York architect who had joined the Harrisite group in the East.⁴¹ The home of this new venture was named by Harris, Fountaingrove Ranch.

Despite his anxiousness to begin planting the grapevines, Kanaye regarded Harris's wishes as his first duty to satisfy. The Primate desired that his citadel of the West be built first. Three splendid homes had to be constructed to serve the Brotherhood most properly. The Manor house was to be Harris's sanctuary, wherein only he, his wife, Kanaye and a few other chosen members would live. This edifice would house such exquisite treasures of the Brotherhood as rich furnishings, rare books and paintings. These items were being shipped from dealers and Harrisites to California



VISITORS AT FOUNTAINSGROVE—The historic photograph from the Santa Rosa Jr. College Library carries no identification of the people. The Pacific Citizen had made inquiries with hopes that information would be forthcoming by press deadline. Woman seated at left is believed to be Miss Waring, who was host of the Fountaingrove household.

from all over the world. Next would come the two other houses, the Familistery and the Commandery.⁴²

The Fountaingrove buildings were constructed of the best local timber. The logs were brought from the Guerneville Mill 20 miles west of Santa Rosa on the Russian River.⁴³ Local Italian workers were employed for the work. In November the Manor house was finished. It was a 20-room English-style structure containing a dining room big enough to feast 100 people.⁴⁴

Ornate fireplaces of cast iron and marble were built in half the rooms and the furnishings were regal. There were over 300 paintings, various rare antiques and furniture and household wares from all over the world.⁴⁵ The house was provided with the latest gas lighting that made the richly decorated rooms glow. "Hot and cold water, marble washstands, water closets and bath rooms are all connected with the house, which makes it a little palace within itself."⁴⁶

The library was to contain 8,000 volumes. Alsire Chevallier, a noted reformer and suffragette visiting the ranch six years later, said of the library:

"[I was] delighted with the atmosphere of art and literature . . . as there were on every hand great stores of elegant volumes, the works of the best writers of every age, some of them very rare and costly."⁴⁷

The Sonoma Democrat said in 1879 that Harris "has undoubtedly the most extensive library in California."⁴⁸

Kanaye's contribution to the beauty of Fountaingrove was his landscaping of the site about the three homes. The estate was "embowered and surrounded with a prodigious array of flowers and shrubbery, graced with walks and fountains."⁴⁹ Harris' fascination for fountains led in part to his choice of a name for the ranch. Six fountains were built containing gold fish and floating water lilies in large number.⁵⁰ The property itself was made up of rolling hills that swelled from the tree-strewn valley. Great oaks, pines, palm and eucalyptus trees flourished.

To create the sect's heaven on earth, the natural and glittering beauty of many flowers was a necessity. By 1877, acres of flowers covered the slopes of Fountaingrove. For the cultivation of out-of-season plants greenhouses were constructed: "tall, white—painted cathedrals of glass and color" containing ferns, cacti and exotic blooms.⁵¹

The Familistery was the second house built. It was half the size of the greater house and was located just across the drive from it. The women of the community, married or not, came to occupy it.⁵² It was white as was the big house but less stilted in its furnishings and design.

The second largest house was the Commandery. All three structures lay at the southwestern-most corner of the ranch, with the Commandery looking directly westward toward the main gate. After a ride of about 400 yards up the curving drive, one came upon the Familistery or "cottage" immediately ahead. To the left stood the Manor house and to the right, the Commandery. It was painted an amber tone and was made entirely of redwood.⁵³

The "Sir Knights", as the male members of the Brotherhood were called,

lived in this building. Externally it was more elaborate than the large house. Nearly ten verandas jutted from each of the three stories.⁵⁴ A contemporary account states that the Brotherhood had spent over \$300,000 for the land and its improvements.⁵⁵

All the structures of Fountaingrove were completed by 1880. Acreage was added to the ranch, and by 1886 it reached its maximum size of 1,850 acres.⁵⁶

The building of the winery and the planting of the vines began in 1879. Kanaye had first finished the landscaping and planted a large field of wheat. Because of the damage wrought by the phylloxera vine disease in California and particularly Sonoma County [where Fountaingrove lay], the young rancher hesitated to plant his grapes.⁵⁷

By 1878-79, however, Kanaye was prepared to attempt the planting. Reports he might well have read of the State Viticultural Commission indicated that the vines found on hills where there was a more friable soil, which had sedimentary substratum like that at Fountaingrove, had thus far survived the phylloxera attack.⁵⁸ In addition to its excellent geological features, the land chosen lay in a cold belt: an important factor in grape cultivation.⁵⁹

A number of Chinese and Italian laborers were employed to plant an initial 400 acres to grapes. Of this 375 acres were specifically for the making of wine and 25 for table grapes.⁶⁰ Among the numerous imported and indigenous plants brought to the estate were grapevine slips of "renowned Burgundian, Bordeaux, Champagne, Rhenish and Hungarian varieties."⁶¹ Fifty acres of the ranch were used as pasture for cows, and later, horses and pigs; 175 acres were devoted to hay and grain crops.⁶²

In 1882, the fourth major structure was completed, the winery. Built primarily of stone, it was located a few hundred yards east of the mansions in the midst of the grapevines.⁶³ It was a massive structure of three stories and basically of two chambers. It measured 132 by 112 feet, was heated by steam, and was "furnished completely throughout with the best of modern machinery."⁶⁴ One floor of the large plant measured 17,000 square feet.⁶⁵ It had a capacity for storing 600,000 gallons, including in part 20 redwood tanks of 3,000 gallons each, eleven redwood tanks of 1,500 gallons and 14 oak casks of 2,000 gallons apiece.⁶⁶

Connected to the giant main aging room was the fermentation room. Brewing, storage and loading areas were built in smaller units standing adjacent to the main building. Detailed information on the winery's internal function and appearance is not available.

Other structures at the ranch included two very large barns, one near the main gate and the other northeast of the main house. The unusual circular red barn still standing and visible to passers-by was built to house the 50 or 60 horses purchased by Kanaye around 1900.⁶⁷ The second smaller barn near the house burned around 1929 only a couple years after it had also been converted from a two-story white building into a round red one like the larger barn.⁶⁸

Other out-buildings included a graining house, five smaller barns, two wagon

sheds, a pig house, cook's house, printing house, a smoke house, three or more bunk houses, a cooper's shop, a sherry house, a boiler room to serve the winery, a fortifying house and a sweet wine house,⁶⁹ an equipment shack, blacksmith shop, carpenter shop and a separate office building to handle winery business.⁷⁰

Fountaingrove Wine for the World

Fountaingrove wines were to be produced by Lay, Clark and Co.⁷¹ This firm consisted of members of the colony all working without salary and with earnest for the "Use."⁷² This was the term the Brotherhood used for the mission and responsibility of the members. As members of the cult grew "into more internal and closer conjunction" with one another in their purpose and worked to lift themselves "higher and higher to the Lord," they were satisfying their "Use" or were "using."⁷³ "If work done by the Harrisites was to be considered 'using' and not compensable labor."

Roy P. Clark, Jonathon A. Lay and Kanaye were the principals of the winery firm. Clark was its resident manager; Kanaye was vineyard and brew master. Lay superintended the firm's New York offices.⁷⁴ The arrangement wherein the two older men handled the business end suited Kanaye very well. Still retaining much of the Samurai spirit, he had little taste for bookkeeping and money handling.

The primary distributorship for Lay, Clark and Co. wines — always under the label, "Fountaingrove" — was established in 1892. Headquarters was at 58 Vesey St., New York City.⁷⁵ Its original managers were Robert Hart and James Freeman. The wholesale business was handled through Brownell and Co., 9 S. William St., New York City.⁷⁶

The majority of the wines produced in Santa Rosa were

shipped directly to New York for international distribution and sale.⁷⁷ Agencies were also established through C. W. Pearce and Co. of Glasgow, Liverpool and London. San Francisco exports went to Reizo Sano in Japan who arranged sale of the wines in Tokyo, Yokohama and Kobe.⁷⁸

Followers of the "New Life" like Freeman, Hart and Arthur A. Cuthbert, an agent in Great Britain, all served in their separate capacities to benefit the financing of Brotherhood activities. The profits from the Vesey Street operation first went toward overhead. About \$20,000 a year went to the ranch for upkeep and expenses at the winery. The remainder and largest amount continually was channeled into the Brotherhood's "fund," watched over by Thomas Lake Harris.⁷⁹

Lay, who had founded the New York office, had induced Freeman and Hart to assist in managing the firm there. The 1892 opening saw Freeman as manager, with Hart handling the bookkeeping.⁸⁰ Lay's exact duties are not clear.

Kanaye's Changing Role

Management of the winery firm became increasingly taxing as it grew and prospered. Kanaye had no choice but to become a serious businessman. Reading about and experimenting with new farming and wine making techniques involved him much of the time. Luther Burbank (1849-1926), the famed horticulturist, had come to Santa Rosa only two years before Kanaye had arrived. Each soon heard of the other's agricultural interests. The two men were to meet often in the coming years to share mutual fields of interest.⁸¹

The Brotherhood had grown also. By the late 1880's the group in Santa Rosa had increased to about twenty. There were a number of Japanese, Chinese and Italian workmen also, but they had no social contact with the followers of the New Life.

Roy Clark had brought with him to the ranch his wife and two daughters, along with one of his sisters-in-law, Elinor, the eldest Clark daughter, a "queeny girl of twenty [had] charge of the prophet's home."⁸²

In 1887 Robert Morris Hart and his wife, Mary, joined the Fountaingrove family. This man was to become the most formidable antagonist with whom Kanaye had ever to associate. James Harris Freeman came in 1892, but for most of his later life served the Brotherhood in New York.⁸³ Jane Lee Waring came soon after the death of Mrs. Harris in 1885.⁸⁴ The prophet waited only a short time in mourning before making Miss Waring his wife.

Kanaye's work in the vineyards and his duties as Harris's private secretary left him little time to socialize with the only other Japanese Harrisite at Fountaingrove, Arai, the printer. In March of 1890 Kanaye turned thirty-seven. Feeling himself to be moving through life all too quickly, he longed increasingly to generate some meaningful relationships.

Despite the respect given him by the brethren of the New Life, the barriers of culture and race stunted the growth of complete friendships for him at Fountaingrove.

Footnotes to Chapter One

¹ Name changed to Tokyo in 1868.

² George Blom, Admiral Togo, trans. Edward Hyams (New York: Macmillan Co. 1960). Hereinafter cited as Blom Togo.

³ High Borton, *Japan's Modern Century* (New York: The Ronald Press Co. 1935), p. 20.

⁴ Editorial, *New York Times*, Sept. 8, 1862, p. 4.

⁵ Sonoma County, Calif. Recorder, Death Cert. no. 21, Deaths 1864, p. 24.

⁶ Masayoshi Kawakatsu, "Kanaye Nagasawa no Jidai," *Biography of Kanaye Nagasawa*, unpublished notebook, Kyoto, Japan, 1934.

⁷ Hereinafter cited as Kawakatsu notebook. Kanaye had six brothers and sisters. Yakura (brother), Kinoshita (brother), Heihachiro (brother), Yonoshita (brother), Mori (sister), Tobi (sister).

⁸ Kawakatsu notebook. Editorial, *New York Times*, Oct. 3, 1862, p. 2.

⁹ Kawakatsu notebook. Matsuri B. Jamien, *Sakamoto Ryoma and the Meiji Restoration* (Princeton: L. Press, 1961), p. 36. Hereinafter cited as Jamien, *Sakamoto*.

¹⁰ Both are exclusively Japanese methods of combat, and each requires an extensive knowledge of anatomy and intensive training. In the case of kenjutsu, a large two-edged sword is used; the bamboo sword, *shinai*.

¹¹ Yamaguchi, *The Way of the Samurai*, in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. by Ryusaku Tsunoda, et al. (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1960), p. 299.

¹² *New York Times*, Dec. 14, 1862, p. 2.

¹³ *New York Times*, Nov. 24, 1862, p. 4. One of the attacking guards was Shimazu's own father.

¹⁴ W. G. Beasley, *Select Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy, 1853-1868*, Oxford: L. Press, 1966, pp. 236-40.

¹⁵ Kawakatsu notebook. As explained above, Hikochoke Isomura was Kanaye's given name. He chose not to use it again for unknown reasons. The Appendix includes a complete list of the 19 and their missions.

¹⁶ No further information is available on his trip except that this Field Magistrate Isomura, Satsuman no Kikokoroku, a Memoirs of the Satsuma

Clary, 1863.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

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the occult and a "pure and holy spiritual guide," she later declared Harris to be a profound impostor with only the most basic carnal motives.⁵

Miss Chevallier found willing listeners at the San Francisco Chronicle, and that paper energetically carried on a tirade of accusations aimed at the Brotherhood and Harris. The Chronicle had previously published articles about the "strange cult" in Santa Rosa and with Chevallier's testimony put together a provoking series of articles that distressed the Brotherhood greatly. Chevallier was an able reformer and lecturer and thus became a serious threat to Harris's image.

She attempted to arouse indignation in the local community but found little support. Fountaingrove's neighbors had never seen evidence of anything disreputable at the ranch. Harris and Nagasawa both were considered to be at least adequate citizens. The local paper came out to say:

"While the Democrat does not deny or affirm any of the charges made against Mr. Harris and his associates, it does know that they have maintained a quiet and orderly existence in this community for many years."⁶

In the Feb. 27, 1892 issue of the Sonoma Democrat, Santa Rosa's main newspaper, a long list of local merchants appeared who endorsed Harris and expressed disagreement with Chevallier.

The attack on the Santa Rosa colony was soon international news. Friends and supporters of the prophet were distraught over the attack. The old leader of the Brotherhood decided it would be best for him and his new wife to leave Fountaingrove. In February of 1892, he and Mrs. Harris left the ranch and went to New York City.⁷ He placed control of the winery in the hands of his friend and secretary, Kanaye.

The Primate's removal was to Kanaye like the departure of his last close relative. Although he would see Harris at least once again before he died, the separation apparently had a deep effect on Kanaye's life pattern. With Harris about as teacher, father and advocate of spiritual training, the Japanese winemaker had available to him time filled with enrichment. His toil in the vineyards and long hours of reading in the great library could only satisfy part of his needs. In a few short months, however, his thoughts were turned to involve newer events.

For unknown causes the winery burned in 1892. Had it not been for its stone walls the damage might have been irreparable. James Freeman was sent by Harris from New York City to assist in the rebuilding.⁸ He and Kanaye enjoyed a busy visit, for the work was completed in six months and Freeman returned to New York. The making of wine was resumed immediately. In 1893 the crop of grapes amounted to 1,500 tons. The wine on hand that had survived the fire, including the bottled wine and that in smaller barrels, totaled over 300,000 gallons.⁹

At an average yield of 145 gallons of wine per ton of grapes, Fountaingrove had a potential of 217,000 gallons in production for 1893. Apparently much of what was stored from previous processing had not been destroyed in the fire. 91,130 gallons of wine and 3,000 gallons of brandy were shipped overland from Santa Rosa winemakers in 1893.¹⁰ Fountaingrove's contribution to this shipment was likely about ninety per cent.

Fountaingrove was in the midst of California's most active grape-growing country. In 1880, there were about 7,000 acres of bearing vines and at

least 3,000 more not yet bearing. In Sonoma County alone that year 2,180,000 gallons of wine were produced in the state. 200,000 gallons of it in Santa Rosa.¹¹

Harris had taught and encouraged his wine merchants to advertise that Fountaingrove wines had "sustaining and vitalizing qualities, and their use promotes health, invigoration, strength and longevity." How these amazing properties were made manifest is not known, but after a person drank sufficient amounts of the wine, one doubts whether he would care very much. It was added: the wines "enrich the blood and nourish the brains, and medical testimony establishes the fact that [Fountaingrove wines] revive and restore exhausted nervous energy in a marked manner; they are the best ally of true temperance."¹²

Claret, the dry, purplish-red wine made primarily from the red Bordeaux grape constituted fifty per cent of the wine sold by Lay, Clark and Co.¹³ White wines were not yet a popular drink in America. The Fountaingrove label was found on other dry red wines such as Cabernet and Burgundy, on dry white wines like Golden Chasselas and Flower of Fountaingrove, on dessert and sweet wines like Malaga, Tokay and port, and on brandies such as Blackberry and Cognac grape.¹⁴ Kanaye attempted to put together some Champagne in 1894, but it was never marketed under his label.¹⁵

Shortly after the departure of Harris, some administrative changes took place at the ranch. Johnathon Lay had gone to the New York office. Roy Clark dropped out of the picture unexplainably, and the winery operation took on the new name, Fountaingrove Vineyard Co. Kanaye had complete change of the operation. It was at this time that he made a seemingly rapid conversion from Brotherhood worshiper to entrepreneur.

He began to visit frequently wineries throughout Sonoma and Napa counties.¹⁶ As part of an effort to become more active in California's growing wine industry, he entered his wines in competition. Running against a number of California's 832 vineyards in the California red wine, Cabernet Sauvignon class, Fountaingrove took second place at the 1893 State Wine Exhibit at San Francisco's Midwinter Fair. Only eleven of the state's wineries attempted to meet the competition by sending representatives.¹⁷

At the University of California, College of Agriculture at Berkeley, an agricultural experiment station had been established in 1887. One of its largest responsibilities was research in grape production. Requests were sent all over the state for cooperative efforts by vineyardists. In response to a request for experimentation on a new Burgundy brewing yeast, Kanaye volunteered his services. Samples of Fountaingrove wine treated with the yeast were returned to the experiment station in June of 1896 after eight months of treatment in the Santa Rosa winery.¹⁸

Reading about and experimenting with new farming and wine making techniques took much of Kanaye's time. But he occasionally delved into other pursuits. In 1893 he took up cattle and horse breeding. He worked with Arabian, Percheron and Thoroughbred stock.¹⁹ When a relative, Kosuke Honda, came to visit him from Japan, Kanaye gave him a number of specially bred cows and horses. He suggested the animals might contribute substantially to the improvement of Honda's Korean ranch stock.²⁰



SUNDAY SNAPSHOT — Kanaye Nagasawa sits, with a cigar in his right hand, with two members of Fountaingrove Colony.

The enterprising California Samurai imported 10,000 mulberry tree seedlings and a gross of silk worms from Japan in 1897. His silk-making venture was successful, but he discontinued it a short time after the first silk was made.²¹ He found great pleasure working with his hands.²² He was eternally hooching, dressing, making grafts and peering at them through a small magnifying glass he carried with him.²³ The vineyards he had planted with such care placed Fountaingrove among the country's largest producers.

CHAPTER THREE

Master of Fountaingrove

Osui Arai departed for Japan in 1895, but just one year later Kanaye's world was pleasantly invaded by other Japanese friends. Tomoki Ijichi, a son of Kanaye's sister, Mori, arrived at Fountaingrove anxious to see his uncle. Tomoki explained he could recognize Kanaye's need for companions in his letters. Tomoki needed to say no more. He became a permanent resident of the estate and lived with Kanaye in the Manor house.

Kanaye's parents had passed away by this time, 1896, but he had a number of relatives still in Japan. Yanosuke Akahoshi, his adopted brother, had a son, Tetsuma. He had become by inheritance a rich businessman and owned a large cattle ranch in Korea. At Kanaye's death, Tetsuma's brothers and sisters and another niece, Hisa Sasaki, were the only members of the Isanaga family left.²⁴ Long and frequent talks with Tomoki about Kagoshima encouraged Kanaye to make his long overdue, first trip home after 32 years abroad.

In 1897 Kanaye embarked at San Francisco and sailed for Japan. The Ijichi family met him at the boat in Japan and expressed pleasure with the fact that so many years he still spoke good Japanese. His friends and relatives made quite a fuss over him, the man known in Satsuma as the "Grape-King."²⁵

In California he was often called "Prince" and "Baron" Nagasawa, but although he knew all the titles to be unwarranted, he received the most pleasure from that given him in Japan. Many felt he had returned to obtain a wife, but he assured them he was much too busy for such things.²⁶ His trip had been prompted, however, not only by a wish to see his home again. Some important economic considerations had also brought him.

As was mentioned above, Kanaye obtained from the Japanese Department of Agriculture his mulberry trees and silk worms on this trip. His primary business venture was much more large-scale, however: he wished to borrow two million dollars. In conjunction with Thomas Lake Harris, still re-

siding in New York City, Kanaye had devised a plan for a Japanese colony to be established under the auspices of the Brotherhood in Mexico.

Three and one half million dollars were required in total for the development on 50 acres of land. The colony was to be near the village of Topolobampo in Sinaloa province on the Gulf of California. The Japanese government, however, was not sufficiently interested in such schemes to sponsor the loan. For lack of interest the project was dropped.²⁷ After a short visit, Kanaye returned home enlivened by the warm company of friends and family.

At Fountaingrove once again the indefatigable "Grape-King" got quickly back to work. His primary business associates were George F. King and Wallace Ware. Sr. King owned King's Royal Grocery at Fourth and "A" Streets. It was Santa Rosa's first "super" market. He had met Kanaye the night of the disastrous fire at the Commandery. He and other volunteers had come in the middle of the night to fight the blaze. The beautiful structure was a complete loss, but its single resident, Mr. Cowles, was unhurt.²⁸

King became Kanaye's business agent and served as an invaluable financial advisor. Wallace Ware, Jr., after his father's death in 1914, were the attorneys for Fountaingrove during the entire 59 years of Kanaye's residence there.

At the turn of the century, Thomas Lake Harris was a tired man of 77 years. He arranged to turn over control of his worldly holdings to the few active members of his cult. At the suggestion of Mrs. Harris, Fountaingrove ranch and the Vineyard Company were sold by Mr. Harris for a fraction of their worth to the members of the Brotherhood in Santa Rosa and two residing in New York. For \$40,000, Kanaye, Miss Eusardia Nicholas, Miss Margaret Edith Parting in Santa Rosa, and Robert and Mary Hart in New York became the sole owners.²⁹

Kanaye was in fact the master of Fountaingrove. The pamphlets were printed at Fountaingrove.

These were used most likely for storage and aging.

1. Fountaingrove, Diagram of K. Nagasawa property. Price and Silverfield, 1927. This map of the ranch was drawn by the above firm for unknown reasons. It includes actual measurements of all the buildings, E. Sasaki corroborated. History, Lewis, p. 206.

2. Fountaingrove, Diagram of K. Nagasawa property. Price and Silverfield, 1927. This map of the ranch was drawn by the above firm for unknown reasons. It includes actual measurements of all the buildings, E. Sasaki corroborated. History, Lewis, p. 206.

3. History, Lewis, p. 206. Sonoma County, California, Recorder Official Records, Vol. 182, pp. 294-298.

4. The effect of phylloxera had on Fountaingrove is discussed below. Suffice it to say it had been discovered in Sonoma County in 1873 and by 1890 had spread to Napa, Solano, Yuba, Placer and El Dorado counties, but had not yet reached Santa Rosa. Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and the Assembly, 24th legislature, 1891, report no. 13, pp. 89, 91. Hereinafter cited as California, 24th legislature.

5. Ibid, p. 91.

6. George Kari, personal interview, at Italian Salsu Colony, Monterey, Oct. 13, 1964.

7. I. Decatur, The Vineyards of Sonoma County, report to Board of State Viticultural Commissioners (Sacramento, 1886), p. 29.

8. Fountaingrove Vineyard Co., pamphlet (Santa Rosa, Calif., about 1905). Hereinafter cited as Fountaingrove pamphlet.

9. Honora Tuomey, History of Sonoma County, California, Vol. 1 (2 vols., San Francisco: S. J. Clarke Pub. Co., 1926), pp. 363-366.

10. Fountaingrove photo album.

11. Fountaingrove, Diagram of K. Nagasawa property. Price and Silverfield, 1927. This map of the ranch was drawn by the above firm for unknown reasons. It includes actual measurements of all the buildings, E. Sasaki corroborated. History, Lewis, p. 206.

12. The testimony of Robert Hart, a member of the group who had come to Fountaingrove in 1883, reads: "The life at Fountaingrove was called the Ute life, each one being expected to conscientiously and joyfully perform his task, and to perform it after the manner royal, as by knights and ladies."

13. Kanaye Nagasawa, Diary, Jan. 21, 1897. Hereinafter cited as Nagasawa, Diary.

14. History, Lewis, p. 206. Sonoma County, California, Recorder Official Records, Vol. 182, pp. 227-228, 423.

15. E. Sasaki explains this unique barn was built on Jan. 8, 1897 by Lay, Clark and Nagasawa.

16. Sacramento, Calif., Supreme Court Clerk, File no. 4647. Hereinafter cited as Sacramento no. 4647.

17. Fountaingrove pamphlet.

18. Sasaki interview.

19. Sasaki interview. Osui Arai, the only other Japanese to come with Harris from New York to Santa Rosa, served as printer. Many of Harris's books and

above, two-thirds of them settled in California.

By 1920, 85 percent of the Japanese in the United States were in California.³⁰ Of four million acres of irrigated farm lands in the state, by 1919 nearly 500,000 acres were held "under control of corporation, owned outright or leased" by Japanese.³¹

California recognized the Japanese as devoted, hard-working farmers. They exhibited a definite trend toward land ownership and land control. And, in a very short time they had come to develop many of California's important agricultural centers. From 1915 to 1917, 35 percent of all the grapes produced in the state were grown by them. 85 percent of such crops as celery, berries and asparagus were raised by Japanese in the state.³²

Fountaingrove was the recognized leader in production of grapes by a Japanese. The other owners of Fountaingrove were no longer recognized as responsible for its great success. Eusardia Nicholas, one of the five, died in 1903.³³ With the Harts in New York, that left only Kanaye and Miss Parting at the ranch. The widow of an East Indian coffee planter, the latter had little interest in the affairs of the estate. Everyone assumed Kanaye to be the primary figure of the company. With the death of Jonathan Lay in March of 1893, Robert Hart had his hands full running the New York offices of the winery firm.³⁴

The Passing of a Prophet and a Legacy

In 1904, Kanaye received word that Harris was growing weak and desired to see his Japanese friend. Leaving the ranch operation to Tomoki, Kanaye traveled to Florida where the dying prophet was visiting. It was at this time Kanaye learned the details of the Brotherhood's trust fund. It consisted of nearly \$130,000. The fund, created primarily from the profits of the Fountaingrove Vineyard Co. and from donations, was to be placed under the control of Mrs. Harris upon the death of the prophet.³⁵

She was, at her discretion, to use the money to satisfy the needs of the remaining Harrisites. Harris expressed the wish that upon the passing of his wife, Kanaye should take charge of the fund. Jane Harris gave Kanaye a letter attesting to the fact that this was the wish of her husband.

The Primate died in New York City two years later in 1906.³⁶ Feeling more affinity for Fountaingrove than for New York, and devoid now of Harris's reassuring presence, Mrs. Harris and the Harts came to Santa Rosa. They left control of the Vesey Street office in James Freeman's hands.³⁷ In three years, however, the friendship between Kanaye and the last remaining principals of the Brotherhood of the New Life went sour.

As one of the state's top agriculturalists, Kanaye attained various honors for his leadership in the field of viticulture. He served on the Board of Advisors of the then active Japanese Agricultural Association with such men as George Shima and S. Yoshida. President of Sacramento's Nippon Bank. The Association wrote in its report of 1918:

By his indefatigable zeal and industry [Kanaye] converted the wilderness into a land flowing with milk and honey, and today his wines command the highest prices in the markets of London and Paris. Truly, he is one of the

best examples of Japanese farmers in California.³⁸

At the Panama-Pacific International Exposition held in San Francisco in 1915, Kanaye was asked to serve on the Exposition Jury of Awards. Although a resident of the United States, the California Samurai had been included on the list of Japanese experts at the Exposition by the Commissioner-General of Japan.³⁹ Five hundred leading men and women in the fields of art, science, education, industry and agriculture served on the jury of judges.⁴⁰

Kanaye had been chosen for two reasons: first, his expert knowledge of wines; secondly, the good impression he made upon Americans of the industry, high ability and cordiality of Japanese people. Emperor Taisho of Japan presented Kanaye with a commemorative medal, the Order of the Rising Sun, in the same year. This was one of the few medals of this high degree ever presented to a subject of Japan outside of the Empire. In the opinion of a relative, the wine judging and the medal were Kanaye's two most prized memories.⁴¹

Changing Views of Japanese in California

Tomoki's wife, Hiro, a woman of 26, had returned with Kanaye from Japan after his third trip there in 1917. She had come not only to join her husband but also to assist Kanaye in the management of his home. Since Kanaye's first visit to Kagoshima in 1897, his relatives had encouraged that he marry. The presence of Hiro in the Manor house gave Kanaye's family some relief.

The Ijichis, including a son, Kosuke, born at Fountaingrove in 1919, lived in the Manor house with Kanaye. Eikichi Sasaki, another of Kanaye's nephews, had come to the ranch in 1902 and became part of the head family.⁴² All on the ranch, Japanese and Caucasian alike, found Kanaye a strict but fair and generous man. The Japanese called him Oji, a nickname affectionately meaning, uncle.⁴³

Hiro became the lady of the mansion. She served as hostess, chef and housekeeper. Many came to dine with the little "Baron" of Fountaingrove. All the many dinners and banquets served in the elaborate dining hall were arranged by Mrs. Ijichi. But even as this uniquely successful Japanese Californian was increasing in stature and enjoying the fruits of affluence, his race in the state was coming under the burden of the worst symptom of provincialism, racial prejudice. California's attitude was a popularly American one. Orientals were a newer stranger in the land, but no less the victims of a prejudice that caused misery for Negroes and other minorities before and after the Japanese.

Kanaye was always aware of American racism, but he recognized the American faculty for "forgiving" a man his color and origin once he reached a position of prominence. He was likely no less saddened by the problems of his countrymen despite his successes.

The bigotry of the growing exclusionist movement in California was succinctly expressed in this quotation from the report of the State Board of Control to Governor Stephens in 1920:

California stands as one of the gateways for Oriental immigration into this country. Her people are the first affected, and unless the race ideals and standards are preserved here at the national gateway the conditions that will follow must soon affect the rest of the continent.⁴⁴

Considering the rapid rate

Continued on Page C-10

An argument ensued over business matters that got out of hand. The Harts and Mrs. Harris packed up and moved to San Diego. In a fit of rage, Robert Hart declared he had no further interest in the Fountaingrove Vineyard Company nor the ranch. He wished to leave the headaches to Kanaye.³⁵ And headaches there were! Just about the time of Harris's death the Phylloxera vasatrix had moved into Kanaye's vineyards and was siphoning off the life of hundreds of acres of vines.

This native American insect had been first discovered in California in 1873. It was then found rotting small plots of grapevines just two miles north of the town of Sonoma, but it did not become a serious problem in Santa Rosa (or at least at Fountaingrove) until 1906, although both towns were in the same county.³⁶

The Phylloxera had been for decades the most destructive recognized enemy of the grapevine. But, although it was an American insect, winemakers in the United States did not consider it a serious threat until long after it had killed millions of acres of vines in other countries like France in the late 1860's.³⁷ It had followed the curious path from the Eastern United States to Europe and back again to the Pacific Coast of America.

Kanaye felt confident, apparently, that the pestilence would not reach him for some time. If at all, when he did his planting in 1878, Sonoma was nearly 20 miles from Santa Rosa. The State Viticultural Commission included in its annual report of 1880:

If nothing should be done to check or exterminate the insect, the slow progress of the ravages... gives us a large margin of time for vineyards in infected places to continue to be profitable, and leaves the planting of new vineyards in unaffected places safe fields for investments.³⁸

Although early studies did result in the kind of optimism exhibited by Kanaye and the Viticultural Commission, by 1908 thousands of acres of vines in California had been ruined. Evidence is conflicting about how many acres Kanaye had at this time, but all were wiped out.³⁹

Replanting of a newly discovered vine resistant to the Phylloxera was begun immediately.⁴⁰ The greatest number of new vines planted came from Dr. Bioletti at the University of California experimental station. Some were obtained by James Freeman in France and forwarded to Fountaingrove.⁴¹ During the three years it took for the new vines to grow to maturity, Kanaye purchased grapes from local farmers and carried on business as before, but naturally at high costs. By 1911 he had 400 acres of vines bearing again.⁴²

Margaret Edith Parting died in 1911 at the ranch. Kanaye had every reason to assume he was sole owner of Fountaingrove. Winemakers all about the West saw him as the master of the flourishing Fountaingrove winery.

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Considering the rapid rate

Continued on Page C-10

Footnotes to Chapter Two

1. A term used to denote the transition of the members of the Brotherhood.

2. Okamura, Leaders, p. 36.

3. I cannot find an explanation of why Harris chose to take with him the lady, his son, and Arai among those at Fountaingrove. Kanaye had become a close associate of Harris and it is logical he would want him along on this last trip. I don't know what the other reason residents did at this time, except that a number of them later moved to California with Harris.

4. The first of the two transactions was on April 27, 1878, and the second a short time after. Both in a county, Calif., Recorder, Deeds, Book 42, pp. 35, 37.

5. Sonoma Democrat, July 31, 1878, p. 3.

6. Eikichi Sasaki, personal interview, March 15, 1960. Hereinafter cited as Sasaki interview. Cowles officially joined the Brotherhood in 1888. San Francisco Chronicle, December 13, 1887, p. 10.

7. Kari interview.

8. Sonoma Democrat, Nov. 27, 1875, p. 1.

9. Mrs. Harris came from New York and commenced immediately to erect at Fountaingrove a residence which surpassed anything in Sonoma County as to architectural beauty and magnificent design. The house stands on a knoll which overlooks the entire valley. J. M. McCoy did the painting. Stanley Seldin & Co., the gas fitting and plumbing and Parks Bros., the plastering.

10. The auction catalog, The Fabulous Treasures of Fountaingrove, published by Butterfield and Butterfield of San Francisco in April of 1948, listed such items as the Manor house as a carved trunk and other table, a Persian bronze statue, "Gazelle Hunter," signed Tubacum; carved Louis XV armchair upholstered in brocade silk velvet; Turkish and Persian rugs; brocade of piece of china; a French Buhl salon piano with ebony case inlaid with red tortoise shell and etched brass scroll and leaf design.

11. Sonoma Democrat, Nov. 27, 1875, p. 1.

12. San Francisco Chronicle, Dec. 13, 1887, p. 10.

13. Sonoma Democrat, Jan. 11, 1879, p. 4.

14. San Francisco Chronicle, Dec. 28, 1881, p. 4.

15. Ibid.

16. Wallace L. Ware, The Untold Story of the San Francisco Hospital, p. 13. Hereinafter cited as Ware, Untold Story.

17. San Francisco Chronicle, Dec. 13, 1881, p. 10.

18. Sasaki interview.

19. Sasaki interview.

20. Sasaki interview.

21. Sasaki interview.

22. Sasaki interview.

23. Sasaki interview.

24. Sasaki interview.

25. Sasaki interview.

26. Sasaki interview.

27. Sasaki interview.

28. Sasaki interview.

29. Sasaki interview.

30. Sasaki interview.

31. Sasaki interview.

32. Sasaki interview.

33. Sasaki interview.

34. Sasaki interview.

35. Sasaki interview.

36. Sasaki interview.

37. Sasaki interview.

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39. Sasaki interview.

40. Sasaki interview.

41. Sasaki interview.

42. Sasaki interview.

43. Sasaki interview.

44. Sasaki interview.

45. Sasaki interview.

46. Sasaki interview.

47. Sasaki interview.

48. Sasaki interview.

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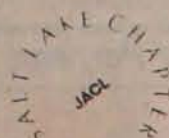
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Nagasawa

Continued From Page A-3

at which Japanese had consumed rich farm lands and had taken a strong position in the state's agricultural market, there were for many men justifiable economic reasons to fear the Japanese.

The eminence the white man bestowed upon himself among the races, however, did not allow him even to admit the economics of the situation.

California harbors no animosity against the Japanese people.

California, however, does not wish the Japanese people to settle within her borders and to develop a Japanese population within her midst.

It was in 1905 that the first real signs of friction appeared when the San Francisco Board of Education attempted to segregate Japanese from Caucasian students in the city schools.¹² The movements toward exclusion of Japanese that began then had small basis in fact, for there were relatively few Japanese in this country. The alarmists reasoned, however, that should the growth of their number continue as rapidly as it had since 1900, "a real social and economic problem would be soon presented."¹³

In 1907 came Theodore Roosevelt's "Gentlemen's Agreement." It in essence increased the restriction on Japanese by eliminating the immigration of those coming into California strictly for the purpose of becoming a laborer.¹⁴ Japanese immigra-

tion in 1909 slipped to 3,111, after 15,804 had been admitted in 1908.¹⁵ Then in 1913 came the so-called anti-alien laws in California. In that Kanaye had become a landowner prior to the passage of these laws, he was unaffected by them economically.

The involvement of all Asiatic peoples in the industry or agriculture of California had reached its zenith. The highly discriminatory anti-alien laws forbade all Orientals not eligible for citizenship to own land. They were allowed to lease land up to a maximum of three years, but such a limitation hardly allowed for the establishment of any enduring business enterprise.¹⁶

In March of 1915, Kanaye, turned 62 years old. Facing the fact that his day of passing might not be too far distant, he must have been greatly concerned with the future of Fountaingrove. His heirs, all Japanese, would bear the responsibility of carrying on his work.

In 1923 would come a law adding a more depressing section to the anti-alien laws. This edict would make it illegal not only for an alien to own property in California, but in addition no un-naturalized resident could become "guardian of . . . any estate which (consisted) in whole or in part of real property."¹⁷ Kanaye's one relative born in the United States was the boy, Kosuke Ichi. This law would disallow leaving his estate to Kosuke, for his parents would not be allowed to serve as guardians

CHAPTER FOUR Prohibition and Other Problems

After one year from the ratification of (the 18th Amendment), the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States . . . for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.¹⁸

The activities of the Prohibitionist movement had been common knowledge for some years. Though this climax to the movement had been anticipated, it still came as a shock to winemakers.

Fountaingrove Vineyard Co. had cleared its stock as best it could but in January of 1920, when the law went into effect, it remained with thousands of gallons of now unsalable wines. By the middle of 1919, Kanaye had reluctantly instructed Freeman to close the New York office. This ended the international distribution of Fountaingrove wines. This was just one of the many nuisances the year 1919 brought.

Robert Hart wrote Kanaye a caustic letter from San Diego. He exhorted that since his departure in 1909, he had not been sent any reports of the Vineyard company's business affairs nor any shares of its profits.

Kanaye had assumed Hart's declaration of disinterest in the company was a valid one. He knew the Harris estate had provided Hart with a substantial share of the Brotherhood's "fund", but the disgruntled old man was apparently out for all he could get.¹⁹

The New York offices between 1892 and 1907 had contributed most of the \$130,000 to the fund. Kanaye had suspected for some time, however, that nearly \$80,000 of that amount had been embezzled by Hart from the Vineyard company and turned over discreetly to Harris, apparently with the Prophet's full knowledge. At the time

Kanaye was not in touch enough with the Vesey Street operation to prove his allegation. He chose to remain silent on the matter, displeased with the idea of involving Father Harris in another smear.²⁰

Robert Hart and his wife, Mary, having taken Jane Harris into their confidence, had beguiled her so that when she died in 1916, the trust fund passed into their hands instead of Kanaye's.²¹

Kanaye's affluence allowed him to ignore this loss, although he knew he had a legal right to it. It was logical to assume the money would serve in Hart's mind as compensation for his share in the Fountaingrove establishment. Very likely the money was gone, by 1919 and Hart was prepared to try anything to get more Kanaye, however, was in a poor mood for Hart's troublemaking, particularly with the realities of the Prohibition staring him in the face. He called upon his agent, George King, to go to San Diego and confront Hart.²²

Kanaye reasoned that he could be quieted by some frank threats. King was instructed to tell Hart that Kanaye demanded the \$130,000 he could prove was his. Further, Hart was to sign a quit claim deed releasing all claims to Fountaingrove ranch and to issue a relinquishment of all interest in the winery.²³

Hart was sufficiently impressed with Kanaye's seriousness. If Hart had made his demands a year earlier, thing might have gone differently. The tiring old winemaker of Fountaingrove was not willing to submit to

the highhandedness of Hart or anyone else. In a telegram from San Diego received at San Rosa on Feb. 17, 1919, King said:

You [Kanaye] have abasitatory [sic] no grounds to recover from trust fund . . . [however] consideration can bring you deed from Harts deeding to you all their rights [sic] title and interest of whatever kind in Kountain grove which would make you sole owner in return to keep peace you will have to re-

nounce any claims to trust fund which is mere formality everything you gain and forever release you from any claim or judgment . . .

Kanaye immediately mailed King a power of attorney and Hart filed both the quit claim deed²⁴ and the release of claims a few days later.²⁵

The matter came to rest heavily on Kanaye's mind the next few weeks. He had corresponded with James Freeman over the matter and

Continued on Page C-11

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Footnotes from Chapter Three

The reader will recall that Isomasa was Kanaye's true family name. Severn County, California, Clerk, last will and testament of Kanaye Nagasawa, filed March 5, 1944.

Hiro Ichi, personal interview, Oct. 20, 1968.

Shinichi, Prophet, Kawakatsu notebook.

Victor King, personal interview, Oct. 3, 1968. The time occurred between 1906 and 1910. It had been started by Mr. Givens, the architect, when he fell asleep in the restaurant while reading a newspaper. He had fallen over and spilled burning oil from a lamp onto some nearby windows curtains. Hiro Ichi, interview.

Sevema County, Calif. Clerk, Civil case no. 19831.

He is not only attended Cornell University in New York for a semester in 1910 before Harris advised him to leave himself from the stilling, false wedding. The prophet felt the young Japanese was being exposed to there.

Harris provided him, however, with an complete an education as he could. Nagasawa diary, Jan. 7, 21, 23, 1917.

George Shima (Uchiyama) was prophet. America's most successful Japanese track farmer. In the Sacramento Valley he was the 1918 farming 8,720 acres mostly of potatoes.

Yamato Ichiyoshi, Japanese in the United States (Stanford, Stanford U. Press, 1921), p. 103. Hereinafter cited as Ichiyoshi, Japanese. Shima and Kanaye frequently met in San Francisco at purchased horse auctions, for such fancied and raised horses. Sakai, interview.

"I, James," Samurai, pp. 18-19.

Hiro Ichi, interview.

George Murphey, personal interview, Oct. 1, 1968.

California, Census Returns of the State of California, 1906 (Sacramento: 1907), p. 2.

U.S. General Report and Analysis, 1918, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: 1918), p. 157. Hereinafter cited as U.S. General Report, 1918.

Hiro, p. 704.

Hiro, Japanese, p. 178.

The first recorded Japanese in what America was a young student who was brought to Fountaingrove, Mass. by a ship captain in 1812. (This story of Masuji was featured in the 1954 Pacific Citizen Holiday Issue—ed.)

U.S. General Report, 1918, p. 784.

California State Board of Control, California and the Oriental, report to Governor Wm. D. Stephens, Sacramento, June 19, 1906, p. 6. Hereinafter cited as California, SBC, Oriental.

Hiro, p. 47.

Japanese Agricultural Association, The Japanese Farmers in California (San Francisco: 1918), p. 1. Hereinafter cited as Japanese Farmers. I was not able to find names of other Japanese grape farmers. This is probably because most were laborers or tenants rather than land owners.

Sevema County, Calif. Clerk, Civil case no. 19831.

Hiro, Japanese, p. 477.

Sevema County, Calif. Clerk, Civil case no. 19831.

Sevema County, Calif. Clerk, Civil case no. 19831.

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Wine Country
Continued from Page C-10

scussed it with him. eeman became a mid-man in the affair, for Hart d appealed to him too. He is disconnected enough on the problem to look yond the present turmoil to moral issues.

Using the basic tenets of the th taught by Harris as the sis of reference, Freeman ggested that because umstances forced mem- rs of the Brotherhood to mbine their spiritual re- sources to the end that none ould suffer, in this present ch from becoming "a prey the Courts". Freeman en- uraged Hart and Kanaye to clare forever all problems the past be forgotten. urther, he recommended h write into their wills the ear disposition of all rsonal property after their use."

For a time the argument med ended, but no idence exists that indic- es her Hart of Kanaye took eeman's advice.

Kanaye began searching for me projects that might fill e occupational void left y e cessation of his winemak- e. The production of grape ice and the increased arketings of table grapes re obvious paths to follow. mpetition in these fields s already well developed d vigorous, however. With ing serving as local dis- tributor, the two men put on le a medicinal tonic."

The stimulant was made om beef extract and had a rt wine base. Such tonics ere not uncommon in rohibitionist America. Some ere bona fide medicines, and hers only cover-ups for li- ar. Whether Kanaye's tonic as a properly concocted eddy is only a matter of eculation. Those who knew anaye insisted he did not ke part in such illicit prac- ces typical of Prohibition ys as bootlegging or selling agnized liquor."

Foundain- ove also sold a salted sherry ine for cooking.

The rich surroundings at oundaingrove and its vishly furnished Manor ene continued to be place of e admiration. The regal Japanese gentleman re- vived many guests and en- terained frequently even into his st years. Visitors came from ch places as Quebec, Lon- on, Germany, Italy, Paris, mbuctoo, Tokyo and ashington. D.C. Such stables as boxer Jack empey, California State ecretary Glenn D. illiamson, Thomas Edison, rs. Eddie Cantor, Ripley "Believe It or Not" and his- rian Richard Van Alstyne ere his guests. "Kanaye ere a honored host and, of rse, offered one of the est collections of wines vailable from private stocks.

Decline of the Grape-King

The Ijichis were all very oe to their "Oji" Tomoki and Hiro watched over anaye as best they could. e proud and often obstinate inemaker continued to oke too many cigars and gect his health badly. By e 75th birthday, according to a doctor, he had not a single rgan which could be said to e working normally except a brain. Yet there was no vidence of any specific rysical ailment."

Partly for his health's sake, e made a final visit to Japan e 1923. Hiro and Kosuke c- mpanied him. They toured atsuma, now so changed, but ill holding many memories r Kanaye. Hiro recalled r how Kanaye had greatly mised of his early years and was pleased with his life s a young boy.

Neither the damage done to e business by prohibition nor e pressures of the epression years could induce anaye to consider selling ountaingrove or any part of e. His income, however, con- ued to diminish over the ars. On five or six different ccasions between 1927 and 933 he was forced to nortgage portions of his estate for substantial loans. e 1929 he leased 85 acres to eheld Oil Company for a mmercial airstrip located n the southwest corner of the ranch. The rent was \$6,000 a ear."

His friend and agent, eorge King, a more eperate victim of the eculative fever of the late '20s, called on Kanaye re- quently for help. Kanaye owned him more than \$25,000. King was unable even to at- tempt making payments on e loans. Thus in 1930, a egrateful Kanaye was forced

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Wine Country

Continued from Page C-11

Shortly after the funeral for Kine, an equally depressing event occurred. A letter arrived at the ranch from San Diego. Hart was again out to gain some profit from his past interests in Fountaingrove. He had retained an attorney and was bringing action against his old business partner. In the trial held in Santa Rosa in February of 1931, Hart declared the 1919 agreements void because they had been obtained under duress. He demanded \$300,000 in back profits from the winery.

In the closing minutes of the trial, Hart, a slight man of 80 with white hair and white Van Dyke beard, admitted he had deferred action in the present case until now because Nagasawa seemed to be becoming old and frail, and I wanted to keep the property from passing into hands for which it was not intended.

Hart said that he had no real right to deed Fountaingrove away to Nagasawa, for he had only a "life estate interest" and the property must be passed from one of the five owners to the next.

With Wallace Ware and George Murphy serving as his attorneys Kanaye was handed down a decision in his favor after a relatively short trial. The unrelenting Robert Hart appealed directly to the California Supreme Court. There he was again found to be without adequate grounds to make any claim against Fountaingrove.

In 1923 had come the law making it illegal for an alien to purchase property to become a guardian over an owner of property in California. Kanaye feared for the security of his family and the future of Fountaingrove. Should he leave the estate to the boy, Kosuke, he would not be allowed to designate either Tomoki or Hiro as executors. Control of the estate would have to be placed in the hands of his attorney, Wallace Ware. Although Ware had served Kanaye fairly and was an apparent good friend, he was not Japanese. Nor had he any sentimental attachment to Kanaye's revered Fountaingrove.

America had provided the adventurous and talented Samurai from Satsuma a new home. Here he had lived a good life and learned skills that led him to prominence. Now it appeared as if the same country was attempting to take back from Kanaye all that it had provided. Prohibition took from him his life's

work. American capitalism tempted close associates like King into speculation and finally bankruptcy, once Wall Street took its plunge in 1929. And prejudice had fostered laws that would ultimately take wonderful Fountaingrove from his heirs.

Although remaining a cordial host to visitors, the old man refrained from any further activity beyond the confines of his estate after 1930. He became a voluntary prisoner of the great house. His physician, Dr. Filiberto Bonaventura, visited the ranch frequently at the request of his patient. The doctor admired the refined and educated Japanese and visited him often socially. He reminisced.

Every Thanksgiving [Mr. Nagasawa] sent us a big turkey, and a whole basket full of large persimmon fruits. Every Christmas he sent us a dozen squabs and a case of sparkling wine.

The doctor was one of Kanaye's few intimates. The young medical man encouraged Kanaye to talk about himself in an attempt to learn more about the usually recondite master of Fountaingrove. In a discussion the two had about death, Kanaye revealed which religious philosophies held the greatest meanings for him. The doctor quoted Kanaye to have said:

I believe that the anxiety and fear of death can be thoroughly obliterated by contemplating the broad philosophical concepts of Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintoism.

The impressions left on the Samurai by the "New Life" were apparently not as enduring as those of his Japanese heritage. He remained Samurai, esoteric and theosophical.

Lying in bed motionless on a winter night he asked the doctor to move closer to him. In a clearly audible whisper he said, "the transition is near now... and it shall be beautiful." That night, March 1, 1934, eleven days before his 83 birthday, the "Samurai of the Vines" passed away.

The estate, with Wallace Ware as executor, was left to Tomoki, Hiro, Kosuke and Eikichi Sasaki. Ware was to receive \$25,000 for his share right off the top. He was instructed to liquidate the estate within five years and distribute the proceeds of the sale among the heirs in designated shares. The value of Fountaingrove was assessed at a mere \$137,000 in the depressed year of 1934.

The Ijichi family, Eikichi

Sasaki and Kiichi Isonaga, another nephew, who had come in 1916, continued to live on at the ranch. However, Ware had hired a foreman, E.C. Romano, to maintain the estate. During the next three years Romano went about caring for the grapevines and generally refurbishing the ranch left worn by prohibition years. Tomoki, the succeeding head of the family, passed away in September of 1935 at the age of 61.

Ware solicited continuously for buyers and claimed later he had incurred "extraordinary costs" because of the task. On Dec. 14, 1936, however, Errol Macboyle purchased Fountaingrove. Except for 85 acres purchased by the Santa Rosa Chamber of Commerce in August of 1935, Macboyle took charge of all that Kanaye Nagasawa had owned, including 1,768 acres of land, all buildings, and the magnificent library and furnishings of the Manor house.

The Ijichi family still recalls the day early in 1937 when Ware informed them they must leave the ranch immediately. They packed their suitcases and gathered up as many personal items as they could carry and were shuffled off the estate. They went to stay with a family in Santa Rosa for a short time and later moved to the San Francisco Bay area, where all reside today except Kiichi Isonaga, who has since passed away.

The sales to Macboyle and

the Chamber of Commerce, plus miscellaneous items, totaled \$118,050. Claims against the estate including two large loans Kanaye had made, attorney's fees and funeral expenses totaled \$86,160.00. The remaining balance was to be distributed among the heirs: Ware, \$25,000; Kiichi Isonaga, 3 1/3 of the remainder; Eikichi Sasaki, 3 1/3; Kosuke Ijichi, 1 1/3; Hiro Ijichi, 6 1/3, receiving her husband's share also.

On May 8, 1937 the probate court awarded Ware a large additional sum for extraordinary costs, despite the claim by the Ijichi family that Ware had not earned it. The award left the remaining inheritance so small that a 1/3 share was worth only \$269.24. The name of Wallace Ware remained for years an unpopular one amongst Kanaye's heirs. The probate records indicate only that the courts found Ware's services fair and his claims valid. The sadness of it all was the shadowing of Kanaye Nagasawa's memory in this hassle over his property.

Subsequent owners of Fountaingrove produced wines again until the early 1950's, when the label was sold to the Martini-Pratt Winery west of Santa Rosa. The Manor house, its many riches auctioned off in 1948, the Millinery and the winery remain standing. But never again after Kanaye did the conspicuous and princely estate equal its previous fascination for men.

Continued on Page D-1

FREE, FREE VERSE

By JOE OYAMA

We are the Sun

Evacuation occurred at a time when we were half on earth and half on sun. Birds looking down saw us being transported to Diaspora and the beginning of a clan. United we stood and faced the East and said no longer do we lie with our heads to the west or north because we are the Sun.

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Best Wishes
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Reparations for Evacuees Urged on Individual Basis, May Rally JACL Nationally

By Mike Masaoka
Washington, D.C.

One of the more controversial issues of the past year within the JACL organization appears to have been concerning the so-called "reparations" project, that is, whether the Japanese American Citizens League should undertake a national public information and political campaign to secure from the Congress of the United States some compensation for the mental, physical, and property losses suffered by persons of Japanese ancestry due to their World War II mistreatment.

As far as I personally am concerned, there should be no controversy whatsoever. The CLAs, in my view, duty-bound to its members, supporters, friends, and evacuees, and all who believe in justice, equity, and civil rights, to seek such "reparations."

Moreover, next year, when the United States of America celebrates the Bicentennial of its freedom and independence, I believe it to be a particularly appropriate opportunity to launch the congressional campaign for this overdue compensation.

There is no doubt that in these economically depressed times especially the drive

may be long, difficult, and costly, particularly since whatever monies are authorized by the National Legislature must come from the public treasury. But these should not be excuses for inaction on the part of JACL.

Evacuation Ordered

In the spring of 1942, under authority of Presidential Executive Order 9066, some 110,000 aliens and non-aliens (in the language of the Western Defense Command) of Japanese origin were arbitrarily removed from their homes, associations, and properties on the West Coast, evacuated and detained in American-style concentration camps in the interior wastelands, and excluded until the close of 1944 from all of California and the western halves of the States of Washington, Oregon, and Arizona.

This unprecedented, un-American mass movement, involving persons with as little as one-sixteenth Japanese "blood" (which was double the formula resorted to by Hitler to determine those who were "Jewish" enough to be sent to his extermination camps), two-thirds of whom were native-born citizens, was carried out in violation of the fundamental American con-

cept of jurisprudence, that "guilt" is individual and personal and not a matter of heredity or association.

At that time, without trial or hearing, when all of the courts were functioning freely and when civil government was in full operation, the Army carried out its military mission. At this same time, in the Territory of Hawaii, 3,000 miles closer to the enemy homeland and which was under actual enemy attack on December 7, 1941, more than twice as many Americans of Japanese ancestry than on the continental mainland were not subject to mass confinement.

Before, during, and since World War II, no resident alien or American citizen of Japanese background has been convicted of any espionage or sabotage against the United States.

Through Navy Intelligence and the Federal Bureau of Investigation both opposed such drastic action, the military—urged on by the historic "anti-Jap" racists and "yellow peril" warmongers of the Pacific Coast, backed by the economic and political interests that would benefit from the forced eviction and banishment of the Japanese—concocted the doctrine of "military necessity" and successfully charged that the "loyalty" of those of Japanese race could not be determined as it could be for those of German and Italian antecedents.

Then, after their forced Evacuation, these evacuees had to be imprisoned in what the Nazis explained as "protective custody", in wood-barrack-city camps, behind barbed wire fences, guarded by military police, in order that they would be protected from possible violence from their fellow Americans.

Although the President's (Harry Truman) Committee on Civil Rights in 1947 denounced this Army activity as "the most striking mass interference since slavery with the right to physical freedom" and such acknowledged constitutional authorities as Yale University Law School Dean Eugene Rostow condemned this wholesale deprivation of a minority's civil rights as "Our Worst Wartime Mistake", the Supreme Court of the United States in late 1944 upheld the mass Evacuation as a valid exercise of the war powers as of that time (1942) and those circumstances (Korematsu v. United States); while ruling in a companion case as unlawful the "detention" of "loyal American citizens" (Endo v. United States).

Evacuation Claims Act

Subsequently, in 1948, the Congress enacted the so-called Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act that provided partial, token compensation for some of the property losses suffered as a consequence of that Evacuation. When the last claim was paid in 1963, the compensation averaged ten cents for a dollar lost, at 1941 prices and without any interest whatsoever.

This corrective and remedial legislation barred the following claims: (a) by or on behalf of any person who was deported voluntarily or involuntarily or any alien who on December 7, 1941, was not actually residing in the United States; (b) for damage or loss arising out of any action taken by any Federal agency pursuant to certain laws, including the Trading with the Enemy Act; (c) for damage or loss to any "vested property"; (d) for damage or loss "on account of death, or personal injury, personal inconvenience, physical hardship, or mental suffering"; and (e) for loss of anticipated profits or loss of anticipated earnings.

In 1971, the Congress enacted Public Law 92-128 repealing Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950, which authorized "emergency detention" of certain persons about whom "there is reasonable ground to believe probably will commit or conspire with others to commit espionage or sabotage... in a time of internal security emergency..." (including) "Invasion of the territory of the United States or its possessions, declaration of war by Congress, or insurrection within the United States in aid of a foreign enemy..."

In addition, though not



MIKE MASAOKA

generally understood, the Title II Repealer in an effort to prevent a repetition of 1942's Executive Order Number 9066, includes the following declaration: "No citizen shall be imprisoned or otherwise detained by the United States except pursuant to an Act of Congress."

There is little question that had not the JACL provided the leadership, neither of these corrective and remedial measures would have been enacted into law.

Valve of Campaign

Since the Evacuation took place in 1942, new generations of Americans have attained their majorities, most of them completely unaware not only of the Evacuation, Imprisonment, and Exclusion of the American Japanese in World War II but also their implications for the civil, human, and property rights of other Americans in another time of hate and hysteria.

These new generations include government officials at all levels, from municipalities, to states, and to the national administration. Take for an example the fact that not a single United States Senator now in office was a Senator in 1942 and only seven Representatives still in the House were Congressmen then. And, only four Senators who are still active were in office in the winter of 1945 when the JACL first opened its Washington Legislative Office, and only ten Congressmen.

More than half of the entire Congress of 535 members have been elected since 1970. In the last congressional election (1974), which included among its new members Norman Mineta of San Jose, California, the first mainland Nisei to be elected to the National House of Representatives, 86 freshmen Representatives were elected, almost one-fifth of the 435 members of the House.

If nothing else, a campaign for "reparations" will permit JACLers, including the JAYS, and their friends to inform these new generations of Americans—in the schools and universities, in various fields of human endeavor, including both the private and public sectors, in local, regional, and national organizations and associations—of the gross violation of the constitutional rights of Japanese Americans in World War II.

Admittedly, many JACLers themselves do not know the actual facts and the real meaning and implications of this wartime tragedy and travail. Accordingly, a public educational campaign will have to begin with many members themselves engaging in research and study about the Evacuation, the Concentration Camps, the Resettlement, etc.

Books on Topic

Quite a number of "good" books and publications have been written on various aspects of the century-old history of the Japanese in the United States, including such relatively recent volumes as Bill Hosokawa's "Nisei," Audrie Girdner and Anne Lotis' "The Great Betrayal," Jeanne and James Houston's "Farewell to Manzanar," William Peterson's "Japanese Americans," Dillon S. Myer's "Unrooted Americans," and Maisie and Richard Conrat's "Executive Order 9066."

In the Bicentennial Year 1976, it is our understanding that at least four books are to be published concerning Japanese Americans but featuring the World War II experiences. These are Michi Weglyn's "Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps," Budd Fuke's "The Japanese American Story," a biography of Congressman Norman Mineta, and possibly Frank Chuman's "The Bamboo People: The Legal and Legislative History of the Japanese in America" and Robert Wilson's as yet un-

Continued on Page D-10

By Tom Owan

Asian Americans: Case of Benighted Neglect

A well known personality was once quoted as saying, "Love me or hate me, but don't ignore me."

We might even say that to ignore someone consciously is at least some recognition. But to suffer neglect because your problems are not even known, to be the victim of "benighted neglect" is the most demoralizing, frustrating, and damaging position anyone can find himself in. And that is primarily the position of the Asian Americans.

The Asian Americans represent a heterogeneous and complex group—Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Hawaiian, and Pacific Island People (Guamanian and Samoan)—with a diversity of history, religion, culture, language, region, and nationality.

Although the following remarks by Edwin O. Reischauer, former ambassador to Japan, refer to the Japanese, the statement to a large degree reflects the experience, feelings, and loyalty of all Asian Americans.

No immigrant group encountered higher walls of prejudice and discrimination than did the Japanese—the denial on racist grounds of the right to naturalization, the denial in the areas where they largely lived of the right to own land or enter certain professions, and eventually complete exclusion. None experienced a more dramatic crisis than they did when one hundred thousand of them—aged immigrants and their assertedly loyal American-born children alike—were herded from the West Coast into what amounted to concentration camps. None retained greater faith in the basic ideals of American or showed stronger determination to establish their rights to full equality and justice, even when their fellow Americans seemed determined to deny them both. None showed greater loyalty to the United States, a greater willingness to make sacrifices on the battlefield or at home for their country.

The Japanese American

TABLE I—TOTAL IMMIGRATION
By Categories Under the Immigration Laws and Country of Birth 1965-1974

YEAR	CHINA-TAIWAN-ET AL REGIONS			KOREA			PHILIPPINES		
	Subject to Numerical Limitations	Not Subject to Numerical Limitations	Total	Subject to Numerical Limitations	Not Subject to Numerical Limitations	Total	Subject to Numerical Limitations	Not Subject to Numerical Limitations	Total
1965	1,152	3,617	4,769	114	4,091	2,165	101	5,029	3,129
1966	12,900	4,708	17,608	531	1,961	2,492	2,702	3,291	6,093
1967	19,717	5,384	25,096	1,721	2,735	3,756	7,104	3,761	10,865
1968	12,386	4,041	16,424	1,550	2,261	3,811	12,337	4,379	16,716
1969	17,254	3,635	20,889	2,904	3,141	6,045	16,208	4,536	20,744
1970	14,699	3,237	17,936	3,200	4,214	7,414	23,374	7,804	31,178
1971	14,598	3,024	17,622	9,071	5,224	14,295	19,197	9,274	28,471
1972	16,447	3,281	19,728	12,907	5,969	18,876	19,209	10,187	29,396
1973	17,405	4,231	21,636	15,703	7,227	22,930	19,962	10,637	30,599
1974	18,367	4,118	22,485	19,659	8,369	28,028	19,281	13,576	32,857
Total 1965-1974	136,429	38,429	174,858	115,039	115,039	230,078	217,264	115,039	332,303

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service Annual Report (1965-1974).
*The number exceeded 20,000, due to backlog from previous years as reported by INS. (1970—Philippines)

1 - Census Undercount

The undercount of the Asian American population, the phenomenal rise of Asian immigrants, the projected doubling of Asian American population by 1980 and the concentration of Asian Americans in urban areas are significant reasons to reorder program priorities so that the Asian Americans are not excluded from seeking federally funded benefits and services.

The 1970 U.S. Census shows that there were approximately 1.5 million Asian Americans in the United States. Of this number, about 591,290 are Japanese; 435,062 are Chinese; 343,060 are Filipino; 99,958 are Hawaiian; and 70,598 are Korean.

However, the 1.5 million figure has been seriously questioned by the Asian American communities as grossly underestimating the Asian American population due to the U.S. Census Bureau collection methodology. For example:

1. A large segment of the Asian American population, including Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Korean did not or could not respond to census inquiries due to (a) fear and suspicion of the Federal Government based on past experience; (b) inability to read, write, or speak the English language; and (c) inaccessibility to census postal contact.

2. Persons of Southeast and South Asian ancestry as well as the Pacific Island peoples estimated at 200,000 were excluded.

Asian Immigrants

The repressive Immigration and Nationality Act was amended by the Act of October 3, 1965. The Act retains a numerical ceiling on immigration, but has dispensed with national quotas. The new system provides a ceiling of 170,000 annually for the Eastern Hemisphere and each foreign State is subjected to a numerical limitation of 20,000 visas. Independent countries of the Western Hemisphere—formerly unrestricted by number—are limited to a ceiling of 120,000.

The 170,000 ceiling is divided into seven categories with specific percentages allocated

to each category (see diagram) and to avoid the separation of families, spouses and children receive the same preference as the mate or spouse. Also, the Act of 1965 places no numerical limit on immediate relatives (spouses, minor, unmarried children and parents of adult citizens) who may come to the U.S.

The impact of the 1965 Amendments on Asian immigrants between 1965-74 can truly be characterized as the "golden years." Perhaps the Atlantic Open Door policy has now come full cycle to include the Pacific. The Table I reveals the startling immigration results achieved by China-Taiwan-Hong Kong, Korea, and Philippines.

In order to fully appreciate the broad implications of the Immigration Act of 1965, graphs (see Graph I, II, III, and IV) were developed to illustrate the impressive gains and the projections for 1980.

Because the problem of projection is complicated by the extreme difficulty of devising natural growth formula and appropriate methodologies to show the relations of growth factors to legislation and economic factors, the projections are limited to the year 1980.

Thus, based on the projected U.S. population of 2,765,569 (See Graph IV) plus the 200,000 excluded Southeast, South Asian, and Pacific Island Peoples (1970 Census), plus the 132,000 Indochina refugees granted asylum to this country recently by the Attorney General, it can be reasonably estimated that by 1980, the Asian American population will exceed 3 million doubling the 1.5 million population achieved in 1970.

It is significant to note that while the Japanese have, since 1910, maintained their position as the most populous Asian American group, the projections for 1980 show that the Filipinos (closely followed

PACIFIC CITIZEN

HOLIDAY ISSUE — SECTION D

DECEMBER 19-26, 1975

442nd unit fought in Europe, suffered 9,486 casualties, including 600 dead, and became the highest decorated unit in U.S. Army history for its size receiving more than 18,000 individual decorations, including 1 Medal of Honor.

The successive waves of Asians who have come to the United States have experienced a repetitive history of labor exploitation, blatant discrimination and violence.

The Asian Americans responded to this overwhelming racism mainly by withdrawing, accepting, uncomplaining, accommodating, and simply as "quiet Americans." This quiescence has penalized them harshly since it fostered the attitude of benighted neglect among public and private officials to the extent of excluding Asian Americans as a significant minority group for employment, training, grants, housing, health and welfare.

metropolitan areas: the Japanese in Honolulu and Los Angeles/Long Beach areas; the Chinese communities tend to be larger in San Francisco, New York, Boston, and Chicago; the Filipino show a larger clustering in San Diego, San Francisco, and Norfolk, Virginia; and the Koreans in Los Angeles, New York City, Chicago, Maryland/Virginia/D.C. area and Pennsylvania.

Undercount Summary
• The Asian Americans have been severely penalized by being wedded to the one percent national population parity despite the fact that, in certain major metropolitan areas, Asian American population far exceeds the one percent population percentage.

It is essential, therefore, that equal opportunity staffing goals, grants, services and benefits take into account the population parity estimates of gateway cities (Honolulu, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Boston, etc.) which population projections through 1980 because of the phenomenal rise in immigrants show increases far beyond the present one percent national population parity. Unless this is done, unequal treatment in major health, welfare and employment concerns for Asian Americans will go unabated for the foreseeable future.

We of Asian descent have a special concern of the rapid rise of public resentment against the evacuees for we experienced the humiliating legislation that denied us the right to become citizens, the right to own land and imprisoned Japanese Americans in concentration camps in the 1940's. It is for these reasons that President Ford's firm determination to assist the Southeast Asian evacuees to resettle in this country with compassion has a significant meaning to Asian Americans.

It would be tragic if the catastrophic events in Indochina were now to be followed by a misconceived humanitarian strategy. There should be no need to recite the American tradition of providing asylum for those who fear political persecution—we allowed refuge to 40,000 Hungarian freedom fighters, we welcomed 675,000 Cuban refugees into this country after the Bay of Pigs, and we admitted 400,000 displaced persons in the wake of World War II.

We are a nation of immigrants and the manner in which we treat the refugees in time of great stress will demonstrate to a large extent the true character of the American people. We cannot

Continued on Page D-2

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Japanese Folk Songs

Translated by Ferris Takahashi

TANKO BUSHI (Coal Miner's Song)

Moon, moon, the moon shines on black slag of Mike's mines — high, high, the chimneys rise sooting the moon and its bright skies, yoi, yoi! Kyushu's mountain-misty air wakes spring flowers everywhere. There's bloom on ridge and ravine-side for lovers who ramble, wander and hide, yoi, yoi!

MANUHO GAWA (Manuro River)

I'm the blossom, you're the bird, but you've perched yourself too soon on my branch, before my blossom swells to bloom... ai, korya, korya!

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Wine Country: Epilogue

Continued from Page C-12

AUTHOR'S EPILOGUE

Kanaye Nagasawa took an active part in Japan's earliest attempts to become acquainted with the West. He had been a member of one of the first groups of students sent to Europe by Japanese officials with the purpose of bringing back to Japan news and knowledge valuable to the growth of the changing Japanese Empire. Like Kanaye, many of the students went to great stature in the lives of Japanese. European and American peoples. These ventures carried him unexpectedly to the United States and into the midst of Thomas Harris's cult.

The Brotherhood of the New was not unlike many of the perfectionist congregations that grew in number primarily in Eastern America. The training and support made available to the young Samurais in the Brotherhood made it possible for him to become an active contributor and eventually a

leader in California's world famous wine industry.

Kanaye had moved to California in 1874 with Harris and assisted him in building the impressive estate that would be Kanaye's home for the remaining 39 years of his life — Fountain Grove. The knowledge he had gained in the vineyards at Salem-On-the-Erie proved invaluable when it came time to plant the vineyards in Santa Rosa and build the Fountain Grove winery.

With the passing of Thomas Harris in 1906, Kanaye became the master of Fountain Grove and the Fountain Grove Vineyard Company.

By his talents and industry, Kanaye Nagasawa made Fountain Grove the site of one of the state's and thus America's, ten largest wineries. He became a leader among Japanese Americans, California agriculturalists, and wine-makers alike. The Baron of Fountain Grove is still remembered in both California and Japan for his unique experience and rare successes.

In addition, though not

Benighted Neglect

Continued from Page D-1
difficulty to produce a lasting repudiation to this country's great tradition so nobly inscribed on the Statue of Liberty:
*Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door*

2 — Misconceptions

The stereotyping of Asian Americans as "success models" has lulled the American public to consider Asian American concerns as secondary to the problems of other minority groups.

The Office for Civil Rights, DHEW, has made the following proposal regarding dissemination of information to beneficiaries and the general public:

"The inclusion of the State Agency's Title VI policy in all brochures, pamphlets, communications, etc., which are designed to acquaint potential beneficiaries and members of the general public with the State Agency's program and services. In those areas, which contain 5 percent or more Spanish-speaking persons, such communications shall be printed in Spanish as well as in English."

The omission of Asian Americans in this particular effort represents a disservice since they constitute a significant percentage of the population in many areas. It is essential that in those areas serving 5 percent or more Asian Americans, all communications be printed in the predominant Asian languages as well.

Funding and Special Projects
Unlike the Blacks and the Spanish-Speaking Americans who have developed effective national organizations for political, social, and economic support for resolving their inequities, the Asian Americans have only recently begun to assert themselves through the establishment of Asian American coalition groups.

The total exclusion of Asian American groups from DHEW Community Grant Projects for the Aged (1) funding during 1969 through 1971 and only minor funding prior to 1969 reinforces the urgent need for Asian Americans to develop as a united group, national strategies and the technical know-how to seek Federal funding in programs vital to their needs.

Minority Concerns
One of the most comprehensive studies entitled "Service to the Public," Volumes 1, 2, and 3, was published by SSA Sept. 1, 1971.

Special study groups were established to review SSA services to the public with primary emphasis on service to minority groups and other disadvantaged persons. The administration is meeting its longstanding policies and objectives of ensuring that all persons are being made fully aware of their rights and are being assisted in obtaining them. (1)

Although highly qualified Asian American SSA staff members were available, not a single representative was selected to the special study groups.

It was not surprising, therefore, that while minority group concerns of the Blacks, Spanish-surnamed, and American Indians were given ample recognition with positive recommendations, Asian American needs and problems were completely ignored.

During the 1971 White House Conference on Aging, special concerns sessions were arranged for minority groups.

Those included were Blacks, Spanish-speaking, and American Indians. The decision to hold a Special Concerns Session for Asian Americans was made only one month prior to the conference and only because a special request was made by concerned Asian Americans. (2)

Educational Needs
The benighted neglect towards the Asian educational needs was evidenced by the Emergency School Assistance Program whose definition of "minorities" (1971) included only Negroes, American Indians, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. This has broad ramifications for beyond HEW agencies since the foundations, private and public agencies frequently use HEW guidelines.

Indeed, this exclusion of Asian Americans among minority groups gives added weight to responsible funding groups that Asian Americans do not warrant serious consideration for their educational needs.

The recent Supreme Court decision on Lau vs. Nicholas (Jan. 21, 1974) that, "the failure of the San Francisco school system to provide English language instruction to approximately 1,800 students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak English denies them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public education program and thus violates Sec. 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination based on the ground of race, color, or national origin in any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance," and the implementing regulations of the Department of HEW, (4) should have some profound impact with regard to the bilingual-bicultural educational needs for all Asian Americans, Spanish Speaking Americans, and Native Americans.

Asian American Staffing
The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare "does not administer any program or initiatives specifically directed at ensuring equal employment opportunities for Asian Americans. None of the DHEW regional offices nor headquarters employ personnel. Asian American or otherwise, to develop affirmative action plans for this group. (4)

This has led to three major employment problems at DHEW: "Underemployment, lack of promotional opportunities (particularly at administrative and management levels), and low employment in program relevant to Asian consumer needs at both regional and headquarters level. (4)

Small Entrepreneurs
Asian American small entrepreneurs — Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Korean — have been ignored for business loans by the Commerce Department's Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE), despite the fact that they are fighting survival problems in the major metropolitan areas.

During the six years of operation, OMBE has made only two loans to Asian Americans — one in Los Angeles and one in San Francisco. (1)

The inroads of Japanese companies have led to misconceptions about the success of Asian Americans. For example, the recent opening of the 15 million dollar plant in Macon, Ga., by YKK Industries, Inc., the world's largest zipper manufacturer was viewed by Americans with remarks such as "The Asians are doing very well, they plan to hire 500 Americans." This scene can be duplicated many times in Texas, New York, and California where Sony, Datsun, Nikon Camera, etc., have opened major plants.

What we need to make clear is that "they fail to distinguish between Asian national and Asian Americans, who experience all the problems inherent to ethnic communities: lack of managerial talent, equity capital or the

Continued on Page D-3

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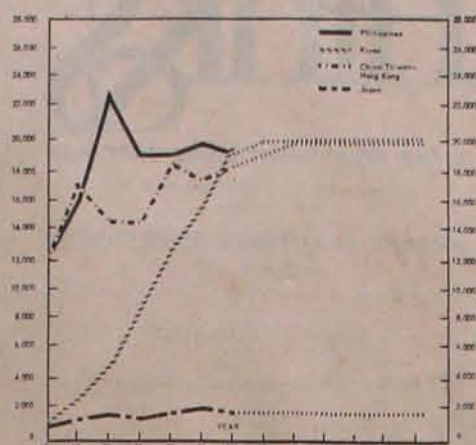
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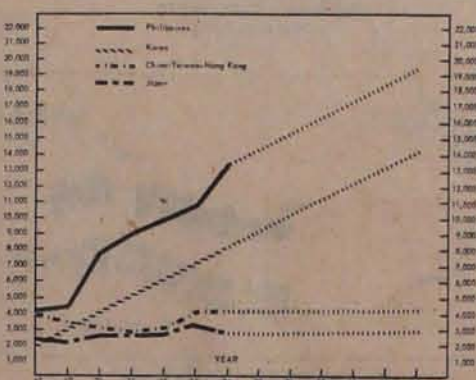
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Asian Americans:

A Case of Benighted Neglect

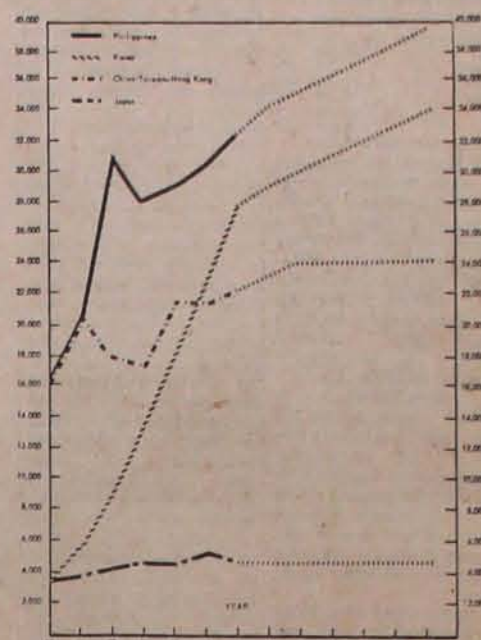


GRAPH I—Immigration Subject to Numerical Limitations and Projections for 1980.
Based on the 20,000 ceiling remaining in force for each foreign state, the Filipino and Korean immigration should stay at the 20,000 level beginning 1975. Chinese immigration should reach 20,000 in 1976 (straight line projection from 1973-74). Japanese immigration was projected constant since it was very difficult to discern a pattern.

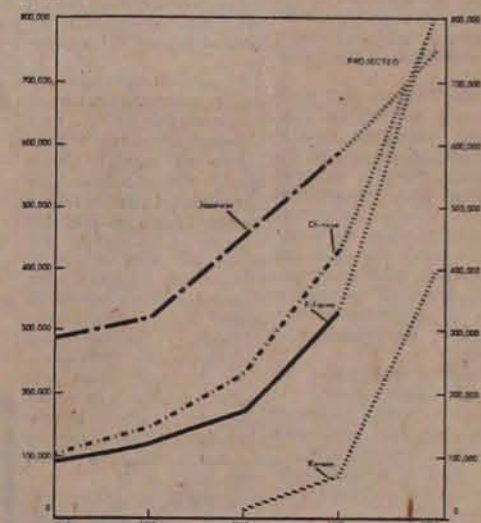


GRAPH II—Immigration Not Subject to Numerical Limitations and Projections for 1980.
Average growth rate for the Filipino was obtained by using the years 1970-73, then applied to the 1974 figure to obtain estimates for 1975-80. The same growth rate was applied to the 1974 Korean figure for 1975-80 since it was assumed that the Korean immigrants not subject to numerical limitations would follow the Filipino pattern since the Korean immigration subject to limitation seemed to be following the Filipino pattern albeit several years later. Due to the lack of any special information about the Korean immigrants, our projections are deliberately conservative. Thus, the projections for 1980 are Philippines 19,522, Korean 14,315, China-Taiwan-Hong Kong 4,318, and Japan 2,853.

(*All graphs and methodologies were worked out jointly with Office of Research and Statistics, SSA.)



GRAPH III—Total Immigration and Projections for 1980.
Total immigration estimates were obtained by combining the totals in Graph I (Subject to Numerical Limitations) and Graph II (Not Subject to Numerical Limitations). The total immigration projected for 1980 for Philippines 39,522, Korean 34,315, Chinese 24,318, and Japanese 4,860.



GRAPH IV—U.S. Population and Projections for 1980.
Basically, growth in Total Population over the years was equal to yearly immigration plus natural growth. Formula to project population began with 1970 Population multiplied by a Growth Rate factor for 10 years, plus immigration (1971-1980 — See Graph III). Growth Rate based on the 1961-70 decade was utilized. Total U.S. population projected for the Filipino is 813,762, Chinese 802,196, Japanese 753,285, and Korean 396-326.

Continued from Page D-2
opportunity to get into growth industries. (*)

A prime example is the ubiquitous Chinese Hand Laundry:

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"If the current trend continues, two thirds of the remaining one thousand Chinese laundries will be closed... we request that the government provide us with a certain amount of funds to set up a training program for the Chinese Laundry Assistance which will prepare individuals and traditional family laundries to upgrade into dry cleaning, machine repairs, and other high paying opportunities in the laundry industry." (*)

Misconception Summary
• Although countless other examples could be cited, it is clear that the benighted neglect of the Asian Americans has permeated the entire structure of our governmental and social institutions.

Suffice it to say, that this morass of misconceptions can no longer be tolerated and the time has come to recognize, without equivocation that Asian Americans are, indeed, a distinct minority group with its share of major social and economic problems.

3 — Lower Income

Despite the fact that the Asian Americans attained lower median incomes in the major metropolitan areas, lowest average public assistance incomes and lower average social security incomes, they continue to be ignored in their efforts to raise themselves into the economic mainstream.

One of the more prevalent myths is that the Asian Americans by virtue of hard work and steady advancement have achieved an income above that of the national average. A first glance at the 1970 U.S. Census seems to confirm this.

In 1969, the national median income was \$9,596.00; that year, the Japanese American families had a median income of \$12,515; Chinese American families, \$10,610; and the Filipino American families, \$9,318.00.¹

However, a much more accurate analysis of Asian American income would result from viewing the 90 percent who live in the metropolitan areas. For example, Table II clearly reveals that a national median income in itself can distort the dire economic conditions of the Asian Americans.

Median income for Boston (\$3,823.00) and New York (\$4,352.00) were the lowest median income recorded among all groups in 1969. The Filipino male median income was lower than the White, Negro, and Spanish-origin for all the metropolitan areas except for Chicago and New York.

In contrast to the Chinese and Filipino male, the Japanese male exceeded the Negro and Spanish-origin male in all the metropolitan areas except Seattle-Everett, and in two instances, they exceeded the whites in New York and Los Angeles-Long Beach.

The positive strides made by the Japanese male, however, is sharply countered by the elderly Japanese Americans who had the highest percentage of those who were receiving income less than poverty level in California and New York (see Section V on the Elderly Asians).

Also, a special study showed that one-half of the Samoan families in California are in poverty. Thus, the Samoans may be the worst off among the Asian groups.²

Lower Social Security
The 1970 Census indicates that the Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino families received lower social security income benefits than families of other races in California, the Chinese are conspicuous by attaining the lowest average social security income for families in U.S. Urban, California (San Francisco, Los Angeles) and New York (see Table III).

A quick glance at the low social security incomes of the Asian Americans in California (especially the Chinese) would tend to support the belief that Asian Americans would supplement their meager incomes by seeking public assistance benefits.

however, contrary to this expectation, the Asian Americans as a group received the lowest average public assistance income for U.S. Urban, California (Los Angeles and San Francisco) and New York. (See Table IV.)

This paradox can be largely attributed to the (1) cultural stigma of "shame" connected with receiving welfare assistance, (2) misconception of the new immigrants, foreign born, and the elderly that they are not entitled to welfare benefits, (3) lack of bilingual staff and bilingual/bicultural literatures informing participants of their eligibility to program benefits and services, and (4) the lack of "outreach" programs to make linkage with the minority communities.

Lower Income Summary

• There are ominous signs that in comparison with other races, the Chinese, Filipino, and Samoan will continue to occupy lower average income in major metropolitan areas; similarly, we can assume that the Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino will continue to receive lower average public assistance and social security incomes when the 1980 Census is tabulated due to:

- (1) Gross underutilization of the skilled professional workers;
- (2) Severe competition for job opportunities in inner cities;
- (3) Language and cultural barriers in seeking benefits and services; and
- (4) Discrimination historically associated with Asian immigrants.

With the projected phenomenal rise in immigration, only a further worsening of job opportunities beyond 1980 can be foreseen unless steps are taken immediately to remedy the situation. It requires equitable funding to train and upgrade Asian Americans for marketable skills; expansion of job opportunities in the trades, public and private agencies; funding to small business entrepreneurs; and expansion of bilingual/bicultural training programs.

The inclusion of Asian Americans in these critical areas of concern will provide positive results to enable them to become part of the mainstream of our economic life and enjoy the fruits of their labor.

4 — Public Health

Asian Americans are suffering a disproportionate percentage of tuberculosis in San Francisco and the Chinese attained higher mental illness hospitalization rates in California.

Because of the isolated and limited health data regarding the Asian Americans, it is difficult to make an adequate presentation of the health concerns of the Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Koreans.

The Federal, State and local sources have not, in most instances, utilized the designation of "Asians" for the collection of health data; they are more frequently grouped under "other" which affects the gathering of relevant data so desperately needed for research purposes.

There are, however, some excellent health data on the Asian American from the State of California; namely, tuberculosis and mental illness.

Tuberculosis

The recently published report by the City and County of San Francisco, Department of Public Health, on cases of tuberculosis among the Asian Americans revealed some startling facts: the Filipinos had a TB rate slightly over four times that of the general population; the Chinese, two times greater; the blacks were approximately the same; and the TB rate of the Japanese was slightly below that of the general population.

New Cases of TB Among San Francisco Residents — 1973

	San Francisco—Est. Pop.	Rates
Total	681,200	43.2
Filipino	27,100	173.4
Chinese	61,400	97.7
Negro	97,800	44.9
Japanese	11,800	33.9
Amer. Indians	3,200	31.8

(Rate per 100,000 Population)

Of the 47 and 60 cases of TB reported for the Filipino and Chinese, respectively, the largest percentage (20 percent) occurred among the males 70 and older for both groups.

In contrast to the extremely high reported TB cases among the Filipino and Chinese, the Japanese showed the highest death rate closely followed by the Chinese and Filipino.

Continued on Page D-6

Benighted Neglect

Continued from Page D-5

San Francisco—Est. Pop.	Rate
Total	681,206 2.5
Japanese	11,800 8.5
Chinese	61,400 8.1
Filipino	27,100 7.4
White	467,500 2.1
Negro	97,800 2.8

(Rate per 100,000 Population)

The reported active cases of TB and the death rate among the Asian Americans provide strong indications of conditions which have been historically associated with TB—overcrowded living conditions, inadequate nutritious food, long working hours in "sweat shops," stressful situations due to economic and social instability, etc.

Mental Illness

Mental illness among the Asian Americans has not surfaced for any serious discussion since it has been assumed by the general public that Asians, because of strong family ties, have an unusually low rate of mental illness as compared to the other ethnic groups.

A recent study (See Table V) conducted by Beck and Hirata examined the trends in mental hospital commitments among the Chinese in California over the past one hundred years, and they concluded that the myth of low rates of mental illness commitment among the Chinese is not supported by their findings.

Table V shows that while the rate of commitment in the general population doubled during the 100-year period, the Chinese suffered a sevenfold increase. Also, "the increase in ratio of commitments was not uniform within the group, in that males, the aged, and foreign born experienced substantially greater increases in risks of commitment than females, the young and native."

A further analysis of the mental illness (Table VI) among the ethnic groups in California for 1959-1964 showed a convincing result of the extent of mental illness among the Chinese in California.

Hospitalization rates among

various ethnic groups in California for 1959, 1960, and 1964 (Table VI) provide some interesting comparisons. The trend away from hospitalization in California mental institutions is seen in that all 1964 rates are lower than for 1959. The Chinese hospitalization rates are the highest of all groups; the Mexican figures indicate a relatively low hospitalization rate.

Thus, what these data seem to reflect "is a change in the source of social control for the Chinese in the U.S., and their gradual involvement with formal agencies of social control. This process may also have involved different segments of the Chinese communities, such as the aged or foreign born who possessed fewer skills or resources to cope with their changed social conditions or who stood out more conspicuously as being less integrated into American culture. Conversely, Chinese women, largely remaining in the home, were less visible, therefore, not so conspicuously less integrated."

It would be interesting to find to what extent the Chinese in New York are facing similar commitments into mental institutions.

Public Health Summary

Although the data has been limited to California, the findings are sufficient to dispel the myth that Asian Americans "take care of themselves" when crises in either physical or mental health occur.

Because of the dearth of Asian American clinical psychologists and psychiatrists, the hidden nature of mental illness among the Japanese, the highest hospitalization rate of mental illness among the Chinese in California; the highest rate of TB among the Chinese and Filipino in San Francisco, and the highest TB death rate among the Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino in San Francisco, Federal, State, and local health agencies should take affirmative steps to combat the general apathy regarding the Asian American health concerns.

Metropolitan areas with large Asian American popula-

Continued on Page D-8

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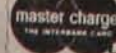
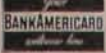
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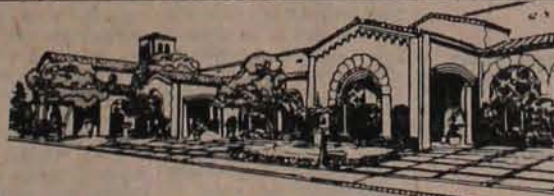
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TABLE II—Median Annual Income of Persons 16 Years Old or Older with Income by Metropolitan Area, Race, and Sex (1969)

	White		Japanese		Chinese		Filipino		Negro		Spanish Origin*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Los Angeles-Long Beach	\$7,825	\$2,994	\$7,890	\$3,582	\$5,916	\$2,883	\$5,448	\$4,152	\$5,752	\$2,905	\$6,277	\$2,694
San Francisco-Oakland	8,399	3,359	7,709	3,687	5,269	2,575	5,486	3,635	5,028	2,903	7,065	3,057
Seattle-Everett	8,413	2,784	7,859	3,105	5,215	2,806	5,286	3,281	6,011	2,978	8,009	2,642
Chicago	8,630	3,075	8,573	3,915	5,101	3,012	6,389	5,361	6,217	3,313	6,418	3,345
New York	7,897	3,162	8,339	3,962	4,352	3,143	6,124	5,950	5,667	3,439	5,371	3,178
Boston	7,515	2,696	**B/A	**B/A	3,823	2,468	**B/A	**B/A	5,220	2,938	5,669	2,770

*Spanish Origin. Includes Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban Origin.
**B/A—Not Available.
Table II shows Chinese male median income was considerably lower than the White, Negro, and Spanish-origin in all the metropolitan areas except for Long Beach-Los Angeles.

TABLE III—Mean Social Security Income for Families by Race, 1969

	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Negro	Spanish Origin*
U.S. Urban	Security	Amount	Difference	Percent	Difference	
White	\$1,709	\$0	0			
Japanese	1,498	-211	(-12.3)			
Filipino	1,457	-252	(-14.7)			
Spanish Heritage	1,417	-292	(-17.1)			
Black	1,371	-338	(-19.6)			
Chinese	1,310	-399	(-23.3)			
California						
White	\$1,697	\$0	0			
Spanish Heritage	1,472	-225	(-13.3)			
Black	1,469	-228	(-13.4)			
Japanese	1,427	-270	(-15.9)			
Filipino	1,395	-302	(-17.8)			
Chinese	1,291	-406	(-23.9)			
San Francisco						
White	\$1,718	\$0	0			
Spanish Heritage	1,631	-107	(-6.1)			
Black	1,530	-208	(-12.0)			
Japanese	1,451	-267	(-15.5)			
Filipino	1,395	-323	(-19.8)			
Chinese	1,227	-511	(-29.4)			
Los Angeles						
White	\$1,632	\$0	0			
Filipino	1,536	-116	(-7.1)			
Black	1,474	-178	(-10.7)			
Japanese	1,403	-249	(-15.1)			
Spanish Heritage	1,363	-289	(-17.5)			
Chinese	1,352	-300	(-18.1)			
New York State						
White	\$1,727	\$0	0			
Japanese	1,778	+47	(+2.7)			
Filipino	1,626	-101	(-5.8)			
Black	1,603	-124	(-7.2)			
Spanish Heritage	1,508	-219	(-12.6)			
Chinese	1,227	-500	(-29.0)			

TABLE IV—Mean Public Assistance Income for Families by Race, 1969

	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Negro	Spanish Origin*
U.S. Urban	Assistance	Amount	Difference	Percent	Difference	
White	\$1,309	\$0	0			
Japanese	1,158	-151	(-11.5)			
Black	1,134	-175	(-13.4)			
Filipino	1,108	-201	(-15.4)			
Chinese	1,085	-224	(-17.1)			
California						
White	\$1,399	\$0	0			
Black	1,158	-241	(-17.3)			
Spanish Heritage	1,130	-269	(-19.3)			
Japanese	1,092	-307	(-22.1)			
Filipino	1,073	-326	(-23.9)			
Chinese	1,074	-325	(-23.9)			
San Francisco						
White	\$1,400	\$0	0			
Black	1,183	-217	(-15.5)			
Spanish Heritage	1,130	-270	(-19.3)			
Japanese	1,088	-312	(-22.5)			
Filipino	1,073	-327	(-23.9)			
Chinese	1,062	-338	(-24.7)			
Los Angeles						
White	\$1,421	\$0	0			
Black	1,181	-240	(-16.9)			
Spanish Heritage	1,166	-255	(-17.9)			
Chinese	1,099	-322	(-22.6)			
Japanese	1,058	-363	(-26.3)			
Filipino	1,045	-376	(-26.5)			
New York State						
White	\$1,406	\$0	0			
Spanish Heritage	1,143	-263	(-18.7)			
Black	1,207	-199	(-16.4)			
Japanese	1,136	-270	(-23.6)			
Filipino	1,136	-270	(-23.6)			
Chinese	1,130	-276	(-24.3)			

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 U.S. Census Population, Economic and Social Characteristics (PC80-1), C-1, C-2, C-3. Subject Reports: Low-income Areas in Large Cities (PC80-98).
*Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the United States (PC80-16, "Operation Leap") (unpublished). Office of Special Concerns, DHEW. "A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on 1970 Census, Vol. II: Asian Americans."

Benighted Neglect

Continued from Page D-6
tions should include "Asians among the minority groups in the collection of health data so that a clear assessment can be made to determine to what extent Asian Americans are suffering disproportionate percentages of physical and mental disabilities as evidenced in California.

5 - Needy Aged

The Asian American elderly in the major metropolitan areas are facing serious survival problems due to a history of racism. Evacuation into concentration camps, de-

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Asian Americans are able to take care of their own, and that Asian American aged do not need or desire aid in any form. Such assertions, which are generally accepted as valid by society, are false.

"A quick look at Asian American communities would verify that they do indeed have problems and the problems in many respects are more intense and complex than the problems of the general senior citizen population.

"When the Asian American suicide rate in certain areas is three times the national average, when 34 percent of Asian American aged who were studied have never had a medical or dental examination, it should be obvious that the problems facing Asian American aged are overwhelming to the point that it is impossible for Asian American aged to look only to their families for help."

The full appreciation of the hardships of the elderly Asians can be revealed in Table VII, which presents an alarming percentage of those 65 years and older who are living on income less than poverty level in the urban areas of New York and California.

The elderly Japanese showed the highest percentage of those 65 years and older who were living on income less than poverty level among minority groups in California and New York.

In California, the elderly Japanese living in poverty was 15.4 percent which was three times greater than the blacks (5.8 percent) and the Spanish-surnamed (5.8 percent). In New York their percentage was even higher—26.7 percent which was almost four times greater than the blacks (7.1 percent) and nine times greater than the Spanish-speaking (2.8 percent).

The average percentage of the elderly Asian Americans who were 65 years and older with income less than poverty level in California was 13 percent (Japanese 15.4 percent, Chinese 13.3 percent, Filipino 9.6 percent) or slightly better than twice the percentage of the blacks and Spanish-surnamed (5.8 percent); in New York, the average percentage for the elderly Asian Americans was even greater—19.6 percent which was nearly three times the percentage of the blacks (7.1 percent) and seven times greater than the Spanish speaking (2.8 percent).

Racist Legislation

The economic plight of the elderly Asian Americans can be ascribed for the most part to discrimination of the worst kind, that which was codified in law, and it is difficult to recall the intensity and unyielding feelings directed against a minority group.

The following are some of the significant racist legislation that hampered the economic well-being of the elderly Asians:

CHINESE: Foreign Miner's Tax.

From 1830 to 1870, California levied a foreign miner's tax. This tax was collected almost exclusively from Chinese miners who, during the first four years of the tax, had to pay 30 percent of the total revenue obtained from mines and during the next 16 years, 98 percent.

The legality of this tax was challenged and it was repealed, however, reenacted several times during the 20-year period.

Chinese Exclusion Act—1882

This act prohibited immigration of Chinese and wives of Chinese residents already in the United States for a period of 10 years. It effectively limited the formation of Chinese families and the development of a viable Chinese community.

The current plight of unattached, lonely poverty-stricken old men in Chinatown slum dwellings is a consequence of this and subsequent acts that retained the exclusion feature.

The 1882 Act also excluded Chinese immigrants from becoming naturalized citizens and introduced the category "Alien Ineligible for Citizenship," which was used to raise further barriers to other civil rights and privileges The Japanese, Filipinos, and other Asians

were later added to this category.

JAPANESE: Alien Land Law

As the Japanese reclaimed unwanted land, made it productive, and increased their acreage, alarmed Californians passed the Alien Land Law in 1913 which prevented the aliens from further purchase of land and confining of leases to three years.

The obvious loophole of assigning ownership to children citizens was closed by the 1920 Alien Land Law. Similar laws were passed in almost all the Western States.

FILIPINO: Exclusion Act of 1934

Violet Rabaya observed that the Filipinos protested the long hours, poorer board and subhuman accommodations with organized strikes. These actions erupted into riots which in turn prompted the enactment of the Filipino Exclusion Act of 1934.

This Act, more commonly known as the Philippine Independence Act or the Tydings-McDuffie Law, limited the Filipino immigration quota to the United States to a mere 50 persons a year.

Congressman Glenn Anderson of California while addressing the U.S. Congress on the creation of the Cabinet Committee for Asian American Affairs declared:

"Filipinos were brought to America in order to meet an acute need for cheap farm labor and, like his Asian brothers—the Japanese and Chinese—he was subjected to exploitation. In the 1920's as the depression approached and the competition for jobs increased, an anti-Filipino feeling developed which resulted in riots against the Filipino in Watsonville, Exeter, and Tulare, California. Yakima in Washington."

Concentration Camps

In 1941, following the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry were deprived of their sacred constitutional rights by being evacuated from the West Coast and herded into concentration camps in the hinterlands.

The citizens and aliens of German and Italian backgrounds were never confronted with such drastic measures in the Eastern or the Western States.

The inflammatory remarks from men in power reflected the anti-Japanese feelings on the West Coast and re-awakened the stereotyping of Asians as the "yellow menace."

Sen. Tom Steward (Tenn.):

"The Japanese are among our worst enemies. They are cowardly and immoral. A Jap is a Jap anywhere you find him and his taking the oath of allegiance to this country would not help. They do not believe in God and have no respect for the oath."

California Attorney General Earl Warren:

"There is more potential danger among the group of Japanese who are born in this country than from the alien Japanese."

Western Defense Commander, General John L. DeWitt:

"... racial affinities are not severed by migration. The Japanese race is an enemy race, and while many second and third generation Japanese are born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become 'Americanized,' the racial strains are undiluted. It therefore follows that along the Pacific Coast over 112,000 potential enemies of Japanese extraction are at large today."

In 1945, the detention in concentration camps had been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, the Japanese returned to their homes on the West Coast while others relocated throughout the East and Midwest.

"From 1950-1965, claims were made by the evacuees to the Federal Government for losses sustained in the move. The total amount paid out for these claims was 38 million dollars. The Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco estimate of these losses was 400 million—a settlement of less than an inflated 10 cents on the dollar.

"If one totals up the evacuees' loss of property and

income, the cost of evacuation and detention, the costs of adjudication, the loss of man-power during the war-shortage years, it was not only a billion-dollar tragedy but America's worst wartime mistake."

Ironically, there had not been a single case of espionage or sabotage by the Japanese residents on the West Coast or Hawaii.

At the time of their release from the concentration camps, the median age of the Issei was 50 years; however, the fruits of his most productive years on the farms and in business had been destroyed by the long incarceration. For the majority, it was as if they were to begin life as new immigrants once more.

It was, indeed, both financially and psychologically a devastating and traumatic experience that convinced them that the land of opportunity was not meant for those of Asian background.

Many Japanese American mothers bore a double burden—the personal hardship of the concentration camp and the loss of a son in U.S. military services.

Denial of Citizenship

It is shocking to find that the first generation Asians were ineligible by law to become citizens of the United States until December 1943 for the Chinese, July 1946 for the Filipino and December 1952 for the Japanese.

For the non-Asian immigrants, the general requirement for becoming a naturalized citizen was to be lawfully admitted for permanent residence and to reside in the U.S. for at least five years.

As aliens, first generation Asians were not allowed to vote or run for most of the public offices. Above all, they were subjected to the harsh restraints of the Immigration and Naturalization Act.

The denial of the sacred right for citizenship, the threat of deportation, the denial of the right to own property, the lengthy incarceration in concentration camps, and the Exclusion Acts took its toll—it led to a feeling of distrust and fear of government, helplessness, and a sense of vulnerability and powerlessness which alienated them from the society at large.

The first generation Asian Americans are now old and because the demand for ethnic aged care facilities far exceeds the supply, many elderly Asians "at the time of life that—according to his upbringing—would bring him respect, leisure, and attention, now lives in isolation and fear. If he needs long-term care and does not have ethnic facilities available, he will probably be placed in an institution without personnel who speak his language; he will be treated by a physician who understands neither his culture nor his speech; he will eat unfamiliar food; and he may find no one else with whom he can converse or share his thoughts."

Despite his earlier training for filial piety, he has reluctantly come to realize that "in a society where the rewards for achievement and productivity accrue to the individual rather than to the family or group, and where future potential is more important than past accomplishments in evaluating the worth of a person, the wisdom and the accomplishments of the elderly were perceived as irrelevant or were forgotten or ignored."

Needy Aged Summary

After making such extended and effective efforts to limit the Asian American's earning capacity and ability to participate in social services, it is difficult to understand the failure of public and private agencies to recognize the fruits of these efforts.

It is hardly logical to deprive an individual of property and income during his productive years and expect him to provide for himself during his old age, nor is it reasonable to expect a person who has been denied or discouraged from seeking his legal rights during his youth and middle age to seek out those services that are his by right due to his age or infirmity.

Since this country in the past has by law made greater efforts to deny Asian Americans their natural and constitutional rights, it is incumbent that greater and more humane treatment be undertaken to rectify these gross inequities.

6 - Third World

The Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Spanish-Speaking Americans have been subjected to differential treatment in service delivery impairing their participation to seek-out program benefits and services.

The general public has ac-

cepted the image of the United States as the great "melting pot," providing the opportunity for immigration, assimilation, and economic security. For those of German, English, Irish, Jewish, and Italian backgrounds—the so-called white ethnics—this was indeed the case.

But when it comes to those who are variously characterized as "people of color," "third world people" or "minorities who do not fit," there are, what Stienfield called, some obvious "Cracks in the Melting Pot" theory.

Members of minority groups—Asian, Blacks, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans—have not been assimilated into the American mainstream.

In the United States two groups have been defined, white and nonwhite. A boundary between these groups exists on a horizontal plane. The whites occupy the "superior" position while the nonwhites occupy the "inferior" position—lack of access to power and wealth, tangible evidences of inferior education, housing and services, lack of job opportunities, etc.

Because of this societal structuring (with its inherent program inequities), the minority groups have brought attention to those in government who have compliance, equal opportunity, and service delivery responsibilities, the urgent need to reorder program priorities to include bilingual staff, bilingual information, outreach/escort, utilization of indigenous staff (Native Americans), and referral services.

In this regard, special attention should be directed but not limited to those segments within the minority communities which harbor individuals and families with major social and economic problems:

1. The large percentage of foreign born in the United States among the Asian Americans (Chinese—47.5 percent, Filipino—53.1 percent, Korean—75 percent, Japanese—21 percent), Spanish Speaking (Cuban—81.5 percent, Mexican American—18 percent, Puerto Rican who, although are not foreign born, nevertheless are disadvantaged with serious language problems and lack of job opportunities—56.7 percent).

2. Reservation Indians whose serious health and welfare problems remain a blemish on our treaty commitments.

3. The large percentage of female headed black families (27.6 percent) and female headed Puerto Rican families (24 percent) in inner cities whose social and economic crises remain a national concern.

4. The aged Asian Americans whose poverty status is highest among minority groups.

TITLE VI

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1974 and the Departmental Regulation, DHEW, 45 CFR Part 80.3(b)(2) prohibits the operation of any federally-assisted program in a manner which has "the effect of subjecting individuals to discrimination because of their race, color, or national origin or [has] the effect of defeating or substantially impairing accomplishment of the objectives of the program as respects individuals of a particular race, color, or national origin."

In this connection, the following Office for Civil Rights, DHEW findings (November 1973) on the Title VI compliance status of California Welfare Agencies addresses itself to the major problems of differential treatment in service delivery:

"Spanish-surnamed and Asian persons have been subjected to unequal treatment in the delivery of public assistance benefits and social services not because of a lack of eligibility or legal entitlement to benefits and services, but because of their national origin. Because of these clients' language and culture, their limited knowledge of the English language, and the failure of both State and County Welfare Departments to adequately take account of these characteristics, such clients frequently received inferior treatment and services. County departments failed to utilize staff with an understanding of the culture of, and with language skills necessary to communicate effectively to non-English-speaking persons.

"A similar pattern of inadequate bilingual staffing with regard to Asian clients occurred in several district offices in Los Angeles County.

"For example, in the Metro North Adult District Office, data supplied by staff in questionnaires indicated that of 231 current Japanese eligibility cases, 131 or 56.7 percent had primary language skills in Japanese, and that of 558 current Chinese eligibility cases, 393 or 70.4 percent had primary language skills in Chinese. According to data supplied in the questionnaires, only 32 (11 Japanese and 21 Chinese) of these 524 non-English-speaking clients were served by a bilingual eligibility worker.

"County-wide data related to service to Asian clients by the Adult District Office showed that of 334 (of 779 total) Japanese clients with primary language skills in Japanese, only 62 or 18.6 percent were served by a bilingual worker; and that of 502 (of 838 total) Chinese clients with primary language skills in Chinese, only 22 or 4.4 percent were served by a bilingual worker.

Spanish-Speaking

"The failure of the county departments to provide linguistically competent initial client contact staff, i.e., telephone operators and receptionists, resulted in Spanish-speaking potential clients receiving markedly different treatment than other potential clients. Spanish-speaking clients have often been told to come back at another time, which imposes greater time delays, more required visits to the department's office and, as a result, the additional burdens of child care, transportation, and expenses.

"Spanish-speaking clients have also been told to come back with a child or neighbor who could translate, thereby deterring them from returning because of an understandable reluctance or refusal to have to disclose to children, neighbors, and acquaintances private information which the welfare department, by its own criteria, rightfully regards as highly personal and confidential.

"Spanish-speaking clients have also been asked to wait long periods of time in order for a translator to be located.

Continued on Page D-9

TABLE V—All Admissions, General Population and Chinese, to California State Hospitals for the Mentally Ill (1855-1955).

Year	Admissions for Mental Ill		Decennial Pop. 15 yrs. & over		Annual Avg. Rate per 100,000 Pop. 15 yrs. & over		Percentage Chinese Adms.	Percentage Chinese Pop. 15 yrs. & over
	Total	Chinese	Total	Chinese	Total	Chinese		
1855-65	2656	76	291803	34495	82.1	20.0	3.9	11.8
1866-75	4601	166	377955	47470	121.7	34.8	3.6	18.8
1876-85	7186	263	600233	71675	119.7	56.6	3.7	11.8
1886-95	10214	326	870790	88506	117.5	47.5	3.8	7.9
1896-05	12541	288	1089648	11808	115.5	68.8	3.6	3.9
1906-15	21885	160	1825392	32167	115.8	49.7	0.8	11.8
1916-25	36179	232	2602160	24410	139.0	95.0	0.8	6.9
1926-35	45917	556	4586628	27308	105.1	129.3	0.8	6.8
1936-45	70725	466	5544048	29982	126.7	155.4	0.7	0.5
1946-55	128600	621	7286631	43731	161.2	142.0	0.5	0.6

*Figures for 1855-1880 computed from the 1880 census; for 1881-1889 from the 1890 census; for 1890-1904, and 1910 from U.S. Bureau of the Census; Inmate and Feeble-minded in Hospitals and Institutions, 1904 and 1910; for 1907-08, 1911-14, 1916-18 from the Biennial Reports of the California State Board of Charities and Corrections. Figures after 1921 computed from California State Department of Institutions and Department of Mental Hygiene reports.
*Computed from U.S. decennial census reports. Figures do not include age unknowns.

TABLE VI—California Hospital Residents by Ethnic Group for the Mentally Ill for Selected Years. (Group rates per 100,000 for 1964 based on 1960 population.)

Year	Japanese	Caucasian	Mexican American	Indian	Chinese	Negro
1950	216	300	188	356	535	364
1960	225	242	83	187	376	299
1964	198	213	74	174	361	296

Source: From California State Department of Mental Hygiene, Bureau of Biostatistics.

TABLE VII—Poverty Status in 1969 of the Negroes, Spanish-Surnamed and Spanish Speaking, Japanese, Chinese and Filipino for Those 65 Years and Over by Urban Residence in California and New York.

Income Less Than** Poverty Level	Negroes	Spanish-Surnamed	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino
Total Persons	322,588	318,633	14,338	21,391	16,525
Percent 65 Years and Over	5.8	5.8	19.4	13.1	9.6
Total Persons Unrelated+ 14 Years and Over	47,423	35,379	9,814	6,853	3,987
Percent 65 Years and Over Unrelated	23.9	24.4	23.4	20.8	26.5

New York-Urban* (Based on 20% Sample)

Income Less Than** Poverty Level	Negroes	Spanish Speaking	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino
Total Persons	490,461	340,124	1,915	13,068	1,694
Percent 65 Years and Over	7.1	2.8	26.7	16.5	15.2
Total Persons Unrelated+ 14 Years and Over	76,330	20,758	1,047	3,300	923
Percent 65 Years and Over Unrelated	29.3	2.3	34.4	37.6	17.9

*Urban: Comprises all persons living in urbanized areas and in places of 2,500 inhabitants or more outside urbanized areas.

**In 1969, \$3,743.00 for a family of four was considered poverty level income.

+ Unrelated individual; A household head living alone or with nonrelatives only; a household member who is not related to the head, or a person living in group quarters who is not an inmate of an institution.

Source: 1970 Census of Population, Subject Report, "Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in U.S.," (PC(2)-1g)

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Benighted Neglect

Continued from Page D-8

and have, in many instances, been confronted with a breakdown of communication, thereby deterring enrollment or causing hardships not suffered by nonminority clients. (Office for Civil Rights in San Francisco reported similar experiences for Asian Americans.)

"Our review of the eight county welfare offices also revealed that little effort had been made to allocate currently available Spanish-speaking, Japanese-speaking and Chinese-speaking staff so as to reduce as much as possible the number of non-English speaking public assistance cases unserved by bilingual staff."

(The Office for Civil Rights, DHEW, Region IX, reports that since the compliance findings, November 1973, positive strides have been made by the State of California.)

Native Americans

The recent U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report on the Native Americans was replete with similar conclusions of differential treatment in health services and the delivery of health care, including the following:

"Long waiting periods, indifferent and disrespectful treatment by professional staff, severe transportation problems, inadequate facilities, unsettled issues of eligibility, low level employment status of the vast majority of Indian personnel, absence of Indian supervisors,

and low employee morale." These major problems are compounded by the (1) confused jurisdictional authorities between Federal, State, County, and Tribal governments; (2) unclear legislation regarding the status of reservation and nonreservation Indians; (3) conflicting desires of Indians to retain the protective umbrella provided by the Federal Government while at the same time advocating independence, and other political, social, economic, and attitudinal factors. * These findings serve to focus on the manner in which minority groups are subjected to differential treatment in service delivery.

The mission to serve the public has been a longstanding policy and objective of the Social Security Administration: it embraces a strong commitment that all persons be made fully aware of their benefits and services and that they are assisted in obtaining them.

Bilingual Programs

While we are mindful of our shortcomings in this regard, especially with the recent assumption of the Aged, Blind and Disabled program, we would like to share with you, nevertheless, some significant bilingual/bicultural program activities which reflect our continuing "good faith" efforts to improve the quality of life especially among those who are disadvantaged.

1. A national project, "Multilingual and Outreach Service Center for Asian Americans — Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino," implemented for the Chinatown Branch Office. Opened June 1975, N.Y.

2. The Wyoming Wind

River, Intertribal Business Council Outreach Project. The Council signed an agreement with the State of Wyoming to conduct an Aged, Blind, and Disabled Outreach Project on their reservation to secure an application from anyone on the reservation who appears as a result of information in a lead form, to be potentially eligible for SSA or SSI benefits. The Council hired the outreach workers (Native Americans) and the SSA regional office trained them. The SSA monitored the outreach project and provided technical assistance.

3. Bilingual Brochures on the Aged, Blind, and Disabled Program have been produced in Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Samoan, and Spanish for wide distribution.

4. Photo Slides/Bilingual Cassette Tape narration in Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Korean on SSA and SSI for outreach program efforts will be produced; similar production is being contemplated for the Spanish-Speaking and Native American.

5. Vernacular newspapers, radio stations, special outreach efforts, contacts with community groups have been maintained on an ongoing basis to publicize SSA and SSI program information.

Services Measured

In an attempt to overcome differential treatment in service delivery, attention must be given to measuring program effectiveness by incorporating the consumer's viewpoint of quality services; i.e., the availability of bilingual staff, timely processing of applications, bilingual literatures, cultural awareness training to avoid indifferent and disrespectful treatment, outreach/escort, elimination of long waiting, transportation services, etc.

This consumer or "grass roots" opinion as a method of appraisal is supported by most of the current thinking on improving public sector productivity.

Although measuring productivity in the public sector is acknowledged as a complicated task, four elements are offered as appraisal factors — efficiency, quality, reliability, and dependability.

Efficiency, or quantity produced, is defined as ratio of output to labor input.

Quality in subjective areas like service needs to be measured in terms of how the public perceives the service.

Reliability relates to processing time or whether the service is produced in the same period of time consistently.

Dependability refers to the availability of the employee as measured through such indices as absenteeism, promptness, followup, etc.

An appraisal system based on these factors can be reasonably well quantified. For example, the idea of measuring quality in the subjective area of public perception of service can be done through interview monitoring, considering both favorable and unfavorable public correspondence, etc.; in measuring reliability, studies have shown that interviews conducted in a foreign language take 1½ times longer than interviews conducted in English and when a translator is required, estimates of three times longer have been made.

Third World Summary

• People of color are not only subjected to differential treatment in service delivery, they are a conglomerate of many discrete people requiring vastly new and often different approaches to overcome major obstacles of their language, cultural barriers and discrimination deeply rooted in American history.

In order to improve the agency's mission to serve the "hard to reach," national projects should be targeted to the Asian Americans, Native Americans, Spanish Speaking, and Blacks to identify, test, and assess the variety of techniques that may be significant to the mobilizing of minority participation with a view that successful models might be replicated ultimately in other regions.

Affirmative Action Plans, goals and timetables, outreach efforts, and service to the public are predicated on

Owan's Footnotes

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(1) Letter to President Nixon, Japanese American Citizens League, San Francisco, November 18, 1971.

(2) Service to the Public, special study group report, Volume 1, SSA, September 1, 1971.

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(9) Testimony given at the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights by Chinese Laundry Association, Inc., N.Y., July 13, 1974.

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(3) Reported TB Cases, Deaths and Rates Per 100,000 Estimated Population by Type of Disease and Ethnic Group, San Francisco Residents, 1973, City and County Department of Public Health, San Francisco.

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(3) Bok Lim, C. Kim, "Asian Americans No Longer Minorities," Social Work, Journal of the National Association of Social Workers, Vol. 18, No. 3, May 1973, p. 47.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Asian American Advisory Council, Report to the Governor on Discrimination Against Asians, State of Washington, June 30, 1973, p. 2.

(6) Violet Rahaya, "Filipino Immigration: The Creation of a New Social Problem," Books: An Asian American Reader, ed. Amy Tachiki et al., UCLA Asian American Studies, 1971, p. 101, mentioned in: Murray P. Royal, Makibaka, The Filipino American Struggle, (Los Angeles, Calif. Mountainview Publishers, 1973), p. 48.

(7) Hon. Glenn Anderson, Congressional Record, Dec. 12, 1973.

(8) Hui H. L. Kitano, The Quiet Americans (New York: Wm. Morrow & Co., 1969), p. 281.

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Continued from Page D-1
titled "definitive history" of the Japanese in this country.

The Weglyn book exposes some new documentary information that is "dynamic" regarding the so-called Evacuation decision and some of the "incidents" that took place in several of the camps, notably the one at Tule Lake.

The Fukei contribution is a Seattle Nisei newspaperman's recollections of his World War II experiences and his evaluation of that era.

The Mineta biography is being written by a San Josean who believes that the life story

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of the Nisei Congressman from California is a symbol of the Japanese American phenomenon.

Los Angeles Attorney Frank Chuman and UCLA Professor Wilson are reported to have completed their draft manuscripts, which are the first in a series being developed by the Japanese American Research Project that was originated and sponsored by the JACL. Chuman's work is expected to provide new insights into the sanctioned discrimination against the Japanese in this country and the court battles that were fought to determine their constitutionality. Wilson's volume is expected to have summaries of the three generational surveys and oral histories in which many JACLers participated, among a mass of new and fresh materials and interpretations.

Public Education, Too
Together with a public education campaign, JACLers may learn much of how the legislative process operates in their efforts to try to persuade their Congressmen and Senators to join in the actual congressional effort to secure the needed enabling statute.

Friends and neighbors need to be informed and activated. Local clubs and organizations—civic, patriotic, veterans, parent-teachers, luncheon, labor unions, businessmen, etc.—need to be convinced that they should support the JACL effort, not only locally but—if they are affiliated with regional and national networks of clubs and chapters—also all the way through such associations to their Washington lobbyists.

Local newspapers—dailies and weeklies—and radio and television stations need to be informed of this campaign and its meaning, and their support and cooperation solicited. They need to be kept informed of all developments as the drive for recognition progresses.

City councils, county commissions, state legislatures, and public officials of all strata, including judges and justices, need to be persuaded to write their individual Senators and Congressmen and to "memorialize" the Congress concerning this particular endeavor.

And, whenever their individual Washington Senator and/or Congressman returns to his home state or district during a recess or between sessions, and especially prior to re-election efforts, they should be called upon by selected individuals who in themselves can influence for one reason or another that particular member of the National Legislature.

The President, and possible presidential candidates too, should not be ignored. Administration, or White House, advocacy of legislation can be most helpful, not only in the submission of favorable reports to the various subcommittees or committees handling this measure but also in persuading key members of the Party to support the bill at crucial stages of its consideration.

A tremendous organization and coordination job is required, and only JACL of all organizations is capable of such needed national organization and coordination—from chapters to district councils to the total entity, including the ultimate Washington representations.

By Another Name?
There are those who support the "reparations" concept but prefer what they consider a more appropriate or meaningful word.

While there are some connotations of the word that may be offensive to a few, to this point at least I cannot think of a better or more effective word.

Webster's Seventh Collegiate Dictionary (1969) defines "reparation" as a noun for "the act of making amends, offering expiation, or giving satisfaction for a wrong... something done or given as amends or satisfaction... the payment of damages... While usually applied in terms of compensation payable by the defeated in war to the victor, it seems more appropriate for the purpose than such synonyms as "redress," "amends," "requit," "indemnification," or "solatium."

It has been suggested that perhaps Congress should provide compensation as "a matter of grace." Frankly, I cannot accept such a proposal, for I believe that the People and the Government of the United States should be asked to officially and formally acknowledge its wrongdoing in World War II and that Japanese Americans are due considerable sums for what they were forced to undergo and endure simply because of their "accident of birth" and their "affinity with the enemy," neither of which are crimes in the lexicon of American jurisprudence.

Until a more expressive and eloquent word than "reparations" is put forth, as far as I myself am concerned, "reparations" is an adequate and understandable expression of what JACL should seek from the Congress.

Continued on Page D-11

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Masaoka

Continued from Page D-10

Lump Sum Payment

In order to avoid many unique and novel problems that may be involved, and to frustrate the asking of improper and misleading questions, I would suggest that the JACL seek a lump sum payment.

If the "reparations" are to be "paid" on the basis of the time spent in the concentration camps, it would appear that the principal beneficiaries would be those who for one reason or another stayed in the WRA centers longer than the others. Those who volunteered for military service, those who left to seek employment and housing in the "normal" communities outside the camps, those who transferred to schools and universities in order to complete their education, etc., would be penalized, in a sense, for their courage, their initiative, their desire for freedom, etc.

And, should distinctions be made between the "Yes-Yes" respondents and the "No-No" people to the so-called "loyalty tests"? Or between the renunciant and those who refused induction into the Army? Or between the alien Japanese who were interned by the FBI and those who were evacuated?

Or between the Nisei and the Kibei? Or between the "trouble-makers" and the camp "leaders"? Or between those who received some "aid" in the form of money from the WRA for moving, relocation, and resettlement expenses and those who "paid their own way"?

Or between the so-called "voluntary evacuees" and those who merely followed instructions? Or between those who moved from the initial excluded zone in California to the free zone, only to be caught and evacuated to a camp when all of California was subsequently declared to be an excluded area, and those who voluntarily left when they could for areas outside the Western Defense Command? Or between the Issei, the Nisei, and the Sansei, or between those who are of mixed blood and to what degree? Or on the basis of jobs or positions held in camp?

The simple recitation of these questions indicates that the administration of an individual claims program as such could well be too costly

for congressional consideration. Indeed, as in the early stages of the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act in the early 1950s, the costs of adjudicating an individual claim could be many times the amount authorized for payment.

In the light of the administrative problems involved in any individual claims program, I would propose that the JACL "reparations" program provide that every person who comes forward with a reasonable claim of being Japanese, regardless of age, who resided on December 1, 1941, in any part of the Western Defense Command should be eligible for "reparations." If the Japanese person is now deceased, by means of a simple affidavit his or her heirs should be entitled to that particular share, whatever it may be.

Amount of Award

What should be the amount of the individual lump sum payment?

This becomes a most difficult question, for obvious reasons. Some evacuees received special medical and other social services in the camps. Others received token "aid" when they left camp for school or for work. Should there be an offset for those who accepted more than the regularly established wages?

Should the Geneva Convention Prisoner of War formula be used, or the authorized amounts approved by Congress for Americans prisoners of war? Should the evacuees be paid what privates in the Army then received, plus or minus combat pay and family allowances? Or should some arbitrary figure like \$2,500 per person be selected.

In certain civil rights demonstrations in Washington several years ago, thousands of demonstrators were more or less arbitrarily arrested and placed in special detention quarters such as the local ballpark. The American Civil Liberties Union appealed to the courts in the class action suit representing these thousands of individuals and secured a decision that the police action was not only illegal but that the City of Washington was obliged to pay a certain sum running into the millions of dollars as compensation for the illegal arrest and detention.

Continued on Page D-12

Benighted Neglect: Owan's Conclusion

Continued from Page D-9

CONCLUSION

Behold the past, the many changes of dynasties; the future too you are able to foresee, for it will be of like fashion, and it is impossible for the future to escape from the rhythm of the present.

—Marcus Aurelius

The early and recent chapters of the treatment of the Asian Americans contain little of which this country may be proud. It would be something of a national atonement if the benighted neglect of the past can be replaced with a new commitment to restore equity and justice to the Asian Americans.

The evidence clearly revealed that Asian Americans have been the recipients of benighted neglect in employment, funding, social services and benefits from Federal, state, local, and private agencies.

The continued heavy influx of immigrants, the present

and projected low income status of the Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and Samoan in the major metropolitan areas; language barriers; the large number of foreign born; the economic plight and the health concerns of the elderly Asians; and the underutilization of the skilled professionals are major reasons that dispel the "model minority" myth of the Asian Americans.

Asian Americans including other minority groups will need to become more involved in the establishment of policies and objectives in making the hard decisions.

Government policy goals in a democracy can only be achieved fully when citizens, the intended beneficiaries of the services and benefits, help to develop them, actively participate to implement them and, therefore, become supporters of the policies and objectives that are relevant to their basic needs.

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Masaoka

Continued from Page D-11

If the JACL cannot come up with an arbitrary figure that it can more or less explain as being reasonable and or justified, I would suggest that litigation may provide the answer. However, if the courts dismiss the action as being outside their jurisdiction or for any other reason, JACL might well ask the Congress for special legislation "authorizing and directing" the courts to determine what amount should be paid, and possibly now.

Should the courts decide this matter, in determining the reasonable amount for "reparations," the judiciary may also be in a position to review the so-called Evacuation test cases, such as the Yasui and Hirabayashi curfew and travel restriction matters, as well as the more fundamental Korematsu issue, and in the light of the more recent civil rights and human liberties cases reverse their World War II decisions and decide that all aspects of the Evacuation and Exclusion were, and are, unconstitutional.

Moreover, if the courts, including the Supreme Court of the United States, determine the "reasonable" amount due in "reparations" to the Japanese American minority, it is more likely that Congress will appropriate the necessary funds to pay the due "reparations."

Alternatives

While it is entirely possible for individual lump sum "reparations" to be the JACL goal, it would seem to me that both the courts and the Congress would be more sympathetic to the appeal if whatever is determined to be the "reasonable reparations" would be placed in public trust, to be administered possibly by the JACL and to be used for certain specified purposes, such as scholarships and loans to the children and grandchildren of the evacuees, special retirement and medical treatments for evacuees who require such attention possibly because of the Evacuation experience, special programs and projects to help the major Japanese American communities resolve their special problems, including cultural and meet-

ing centers and facilities, etc. Of course, as a membership matter, JACL may prefer to have individuals made eligible for personal "reparations." There is considerable merit to such an approach and it could well inspire many more American Japanese to join the JACL organization. But, from the public relations viewpoint, such a "self-serving" and "selfish" attitude—though understandable—could well cause it to be much more difficult to carry on a successful effort in which all segments of American society should be invited to participate.

'Cause' for JACL

At any rate, for whatever it is worth, these are some of my thoughts regarding a "reparations" program for the JACL. Many of my suggestions have not been thought through as well they might, and most JACLers will have many more ideas of their own concerning this project.

Nevertheless, these thoughts were put down on paper as a means for possibly securing early JACL consideration of a "reparations" campaign. They certainly are not intended to be final and definitive; they are simply my own thinking as I tried to come up with an appropriate theme for the annual Christmas issue of the Pacific Citizen.

At a time when JACL needs unity, this "reparations" project may provide the "cause" around which most members and friends can rally.

At a time when JACL needs meaningful programs, this "reparations" effort may be the beginning of an inspired national public educational and political campaign that will motivate more JACLers than any issue of recent date.

At a time when JACL needs to demonstrate leadership, this "reparations" plan may offer such opportunities. As the United States of America prepares to commemorate its Bicentennial, what greater and more significant contribution can the JACL—and others of Japanese ancestry—make than this: To remind all Americans that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" and that concentration camps in America is not an impossible dream, for it happened in 1942 and it can happen here, again.

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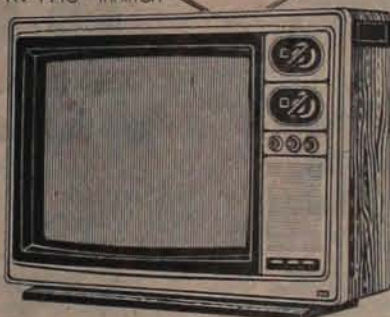
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To the Point

INCIDENTS OF INTERMOUNTAIN CONVENTION

It was tremendous experience participating in a JACL gathering of four generations of Nikkei-jin, Issei, Nisei, Sansei, and even a few Yonsei made their way through snow and ice to gather on the Idaho State University campus at Pocatello, Idaho on Thanksgiving Day weekend to participate in IDC's 18th Biennial Convention. Convention Chairman Masa Tsukamoto of Blackfoot and the members of the Pocatello-Blackfoot Chapter, led by hard working chapter president Bob Endo, did a fantastic job of making the arrangements and seeing that everything moved along as planned and scheduled despite the disruption caused by a sudden snowstorm early in the morning of the first day of the convention.

Bringing over 70 Issei together at Pocatello from all over Idaho, Utah and Eastern Oregon by the respective chapters was quite a feat. Many of the Issei who had originally planned to attend had to back out at the last minute because of the weather. The bus carrying the Issei from Ontario, Oregon was held up for two hours because the roads had become impassable. Convention delegates had their problems too. The Morris of Salt Lake City lost a wheel of their car enroute. Wasatch Front North Chapter President Tom Hori missed a curve in the road and wound up hung up on some railroad tracks for two hours.

I believe I was the latest arrival, some 3 1/2 hours behind schedule. My flight from Salt Lake City to Pocatello was cancelled so I had to rent a car and drive the last 165 miles, right into the snow north of Ogden—and got rammed from behind by a 1 ton truck. That delayed me some, but I still made it in time for the Friday evening Issei Honors Banquet, where my good pal Tak Kawagoe announced to all present that I had more guts than brains driving in that snow. (Tak didn't know that I've driven in snow and ice cross-country 3 times as well as in Japan, Korea and Europe, and still haven't learn how to drive in snow.)

This was the first time that the District Council had hosted the Issei of the tri-state area at one place. There were probably more Issei who could not be reached or who were not well enough to travel to the convention site. But it was well that the IDC JACLers were able to demonstrate to the few remaining Issei that we younger Nikkei-jin are greatly appreciative of the efforts of the Issei in our behalf, and as I affirmed to the Issei in my remarks to them, we shall always remember our go-on for their sacrifices.

It was fitting that the convention theme was giri, the Japanese concept of moral obligation, duty, honor—an intricate web of human relations which cannot be adequately described or explained in terms meaningful to persons with only a Western orientation.

Unfortunately, I was unable to participate in the workshop which I understand explored the concept of giri. With the variety of meanings and examples of giri possible, I'm sure it must have been both interesting and enlightening. As I remarked at the Sayonara Banquet, since giri has both Buddhist and Confucian antecedents, a study of the evolution and implications of giri in Japanese history may be a helpful vehicle for learning more about our Japanese heritage and cultural roots which reach onto the Asian mainland.

Such a study would be helpful, not necessarily to guide future behavior, but more for developing better understanding of our past and for awakening consciousness of alternative non-Western modes of behavior of a people in their time, place and circumstances.

I'm grateful to my IDC hosts for having re-kindled my interest in re-examining an aspect of our cultural heritage—and causing me to realize once again how little I do know of that heritage.

To Governor George Kimura, all the IDC participants, national officers Jim Murakami and Helen Kawagoe, and staffers Dave Ushio, Stan Kiyokawa and Gail Nishikawa—congratulations for a fine and memorable convention.

Caltrans layoff to affect engineers, majority found to be Asian Americans

SAN FRANCISCO—Minority people are likely to be affected most by the cutbacks ordered by the Calif. Dept. of Transportation (Caltrans) and effective at the end of this year, according to Lincoln Chu, chairman of the ad hoc committee representing different ethnic and professional groups affected by the layoffs.

The state plans to layoff 2,800 Caltrans workers by July, 1978. Announcement came in September.

Of the 311 Bay Area employees, 74 of 134 losing their jobs are Asian Americans, Chu said. Majority of the Asian Americans employed by Caltrans are engineers, he added.

Chu told East-West, the Chinese American weekly, the real reason for the expanding but completing highway projects, improvements to eliminate safety hazards and then move into other areas of transportation, such as mass transit systems. New legislation, he said, is needed for Caltrans to engage in planning and construction of mass transit systems.

Chu was critical of the governor's opposition to raising the gasoline tax, a source of revenue for the transportation department.

The Chinese community has been good about responding to the problems of the employees, Chu added. About 30 family associations have written to state legislators to raise the gasoline tax.

The Cameron said they wanted to be informed of the decision and only learned of the action after a reporter told them their daughter, Alice Cameron, 27, was declared dead by her physician in Hawaii who then decided to shut off the respirator.

The judge accepted the decision of a majority of doctors in allowing the life-support system to be pulled. Miss Cameron was admitted to the hospital Nov. 12, suffering from an apparent overdose of cocaine. Police are looking for a man who was seen with Miss Cameron shortly before she collapsed.

Announcement

Indiscreetly, the date and the volume numbers on the front page last week (Vol. 31, No. 21—Friday, Dec. 15, 1975) were covered during the paste-up of the front page "Page".

With this Holiday Issue being dated for Dec. 19-26, it marks the last edition for this year. The next issue will be the New Year Special Edition, dated Jan. 2, 1976, to be printed on or about Jan. 6. Deadline for the New Year special is Dec. 30.

Regular weekly schedule resumes with the Jan. 16 issue with a Jan. 3 (Friday) before date of publication deadline.

Thousand Clubbers Now Donate \$35 a Year

Peoria paper to quit use of Pekin High's nickname

SAN FRANCISCO—The Chinese American weekly East-West Nov. 26 was "glad to hear that the Peoria Journal Star, Illinois' largest newspaper outside of Chicago, has decided to drop from its pages the use of the nickname 'Chinks' to designate the Pekin High School athletes".

Journal Star sports editor Paul King personally felt the school could find a much better nickname, the Associated Press was told.

"There's no reason we have to offend Chinese readers every time we cover a Pekin athletic team," added associate editor Tom Push.

The nickname dates back several decades and was derived from Pekin's traditional association with the Chinese city of Peking. But use of the nickname drew strong protests from the Organization of Chinese Americans and other Asian American groups.

A year ago, Pekin High students voted 1,034-183 to retain the nickname after OCA officials visited the campus to explain the offensive nature of the epithet. Even the Pekin School Board last March 17, voted 5-2 to retain the nickname.

East-West hoped "the folks at Pekin High will stop using this offensive nickname themselves", trusting the spirit of the Peoria Journal Star proves contagious enough in time.

About the Author



Michi Weglyn

If there was ever a Nisei success story, one which should be told, it is that of the author "Years of Infamy", Michiko Nishihara Weglyn. I use the term "success" in its most comprehensive meaning; that is, I can't think of anyone else who has achieved the herculean task of writing a book with such authority and skill, thus making discoveries heretofore unknown about ourselves.

"Michi" is her professional name, for Michiko and used by all of her friends and admirers. "Michi" also appeared as a weekly credit on the popular Perry Como television show for eight years. She was the creative costume designer who came out of Gila Relocation Center in 1944 to continue her education at Holyoke College, Mass.

Prior to evacuation, she lived with her family in Brentwood in Contra Costa County. From Holyoke she transferred to Barnard College, New York City, and received formal training in costume design at the Fashion Academy. In spite of a chronic tubercular condition, she rose to the height of her professional career in an industry known for its fast competitive pace.

When Perry Como retired, Michi also retired; however, her interests shifted to researching the Evacuation experience. Her husband, Walter, a survivor of the Nazi concentration camp experience, has been her strongest supporter and inspiration in conducting the research and writing of her book *A Paragon of Persepolis* (perfume chemist) by profession, he is associated with International Flavors and Fragrances, Inc.

Writing and research have become a second career for Michi. Although her name was exposed to millions of television viewers and she worked with many of the major show business celebrities, her name will have a more lasting reputation in the fabulous contribution to history she makes with *Years of Infamy*. An attractive, intelligent, creative and sensitive writer, Michi is a name to remember.—E.T.U.

The book was first published in 1971 by Doubleday.

1975 Holiday Issue Boxscore

1974 DISPLAY ADS—\$451 inches		
Alameda	172	344
Arlington	172	344
Bakersfield	172	344
Chicago	172	344
China	172	344
Colorado	172	344
Contra Costa	172	344
Delaware	172	344
Florida	172	344
Georgia	172	344
Illinois	172	344
Indiana	172	344
Iowa	172	344
Kansas	172	344
Kentucky	172	344
Louisiana	172	344
Maine	172	344
Massachusetts	172	344
Michigan	172	344
Minnesota	172	344
Mississippi	172	344
Missouri	172	344
Montana	172	344
Nebraska	172	344
Nevada	172	344
New Hampshire	172	344
New Jersey	172	344
New Mexico	172	344
New York	172	344
North Carolina	172	344
North Dakota	172	344
Ohio	172	344
Oklahoma	172	344
Oregon	172	344
Pennsylvania	172	344
Rhode Island	172	344
South Carolina	172	344
South Dakota	172	344
Tennessee	172	344
Texas	172	344
Utah	172	344
Vermont	172	344
Virginia	172	344
Washington	172	344
West Virginia	172	344
Wisconsin	172	344
Wyoming	172	344
Total	172	344

PACIFIC CITIZEN

SECTION E

Holiday Issue — December 19-26, 1975

WW2 gov't cover-up: Evacuation

By EDISON T. UNO

The Bicentennial year promises to be an exciting one for Japanese Americans. I am looking forward to 1976 with a great deal of anticipation and excitement, for there are two major productions which are somewhat related and will have a direct or indirect effect on all persons of Japanese ancestry.

Like a child at Christmas, I am anxiously awaiting the two-hour television dramatization of "Farewell to Manzanar", a film with which I have had the pleasure to be associated and which I believe to be one of the finest portrayals of the camp experience produced thus far. The inside story of this production can easily be the subject of another feature article, one I hope I can write after its airing tentatively scheduled for early 1976 on the NBC network.

There is another event which will be a happy one early in 1976—a Nisei author Michiko Nishihara Weglyn of New York will have her book, "Years of Infamy", published by William Morrow and Co. Sub-title is "The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camp". It is quite appropriate that such an important book be published while we celebrate and memorialize all of the accomplishments, contributions, and struggles which are part of our nation's 200-year history.

As we rejoice in all of the great things of our republic, it is also equally important to look at history and recall the mistakes and errors which are part of the development growth of a Democracy.

Japanese Experience

The history of Japanese in America spans over a hundred years, and yet, there is very little public recognition for the many contributions, struggles, and personal experiences which have been made by these people.

With the appearance of "Years of Infamy", I believe an entirely new dimension will be opened with a more accurate and honest understanding of the many unanswered questions as to why the United States government perpetrated and validated the unconscionable violations of constitutional and civil rights of American citizens.

We have learned many lessons from the public exposure of the Watergate investigations. It is a known fact that our government has betrayed the confidence and trust of its people in such illegal and criminal activities waged by the CIA, FBI and other official political and military leaders of our country.

In like manner, the entire Evacuation episode can be termed a bag of "dirty tricks" by the FDR Administration during the Second World War. The facts are all well documented in Ms. Weglyn's book from recently declassified material hidden in the bowels of our National Archives and in the private libraries of President Roosevelt and other officials.

There are many excellent resource books on the subject of the evacuation. "Prejudice, War and the Constitution" by Ben Broek, Barnhart, and Matson rates as the classic text. Bill Hosokawa's "Nisei: The Quiet Americans" is probably one of the most popular editions on the subject.

Included in other authoritative books are "The Great Betrayal" by Girdner and Loftis; Anne Fisher's "Exile of a Race"; Daisuke Kitagawa's "Issei and Nisei: The Internment Years"; "Concentration Camps, U.S.A." by Roger Daniels and his latest book entitled, "The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans"; Morton Grudins' "Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation"; the U.S. Government's own final report and War Relocation Authority publications, and other texts which make up a large library of special interest to those who wish to research this aspect of the Japanese experience in America.

The majority of these books and publications have several common themes and theories. Besides a great deal of duplication in the historical accounts of the development of the Japanese community on the West Coast prior to World War II, each author sheds its own unique interpretation. The quality is highly academic and for anyone understanding the task of writing about this historical episode there is a wealth of research material.

Declassified Material

However, after a period in excess of three decades, a startling discovery has been made... Information heretofore classified as "secret", "confidential", or "classified" have been systematically declassified and made available to the public. These secrets which have been kept the statutory years in sealed containers are finding their way in the open files of the National Archives.

Under the newly enacted Freedom of Information Act, citizens can examine and request copies of government files which pertain to them, as well as official documents previously unavailable to the average citizen.

In one sense, I am deeply regretful, for as soon as "Years of Infamy" is published and circulated, it will immediately make all of the previous books on this subject obsolete! I am suggesting that all of the written material up to time was based on "facts" which were mere shadows of the real evidence.

Michi Weglyn exposes for the first time the real evidence—the hard-core truth—the factual evidence—the government's conspiracies—the fraud, manipulations, the distortions, the coverups, the lies and all the behind-the-scenes decisions kept secret for these many years.

Author Weglyn's manuscript circulated for the past five years in search of a publisher. Her literary agent offered it to most of the major U.S. publishers. They all rejected the manuscript; while praising it as a well-researched and documented text. Some felt it was "too hot to handle" or if indeed accurate, it would be risky to publish the truth about one of the most shameful mistakes in American history.

Determined to tell the untold story, she was forced to seek out a Japanese publisher who had the original manuscript translated from English to Japanese. Two years ago, the Japanese edition was published in Tokyo. Its popularity has increased the interest of many in Japan since the subject was rarely known or discussed as it related to the Pacific war.

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Morrow & Co.

During the agonizing period of the Watergate hearings, publishers began to show an interest in manuscripts which reflected the covert, illegal, and wrongful activities of our government. Perhaps it was a matter of luck, timing, and sheer determination that William Morrow & Co. decided to undertake this book. I may be stating the case much too simply as I'm sure there are very intelligent and sensitive editors such as Howard Cady who played an important role in the final decision.

Cady has a proven record of success with books authored by Japanese Americans. Some of Morrow's titles include "The Two Worlds of Jim Yashida", Hosokawa's "Nisei: The Quiet Americans", poems by Lawson Inada called "Before the War", to name a few.

My first reaction to "Years of Infamy" was explosive. I called it "dynamite"! I felt it exploded many of the prevailing myths and notions that were ways used at the motivating forces and theories which caused the wrongful internment of 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry.

We have always been led to believe that Evacuation was necessary and justified because "it was for our own protection", that Japanese Americans were a security risk and therefore on the basis of "military necessity" our incarceration was in the best interest of internal security.

These two arguments were the foundation of the legal theories advanced which ultimately articulated the question of the wartime powers of the President to execute Executive Order 9066, thereby legalizing and approving the constitutional violation of wrongful imprisonment by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The fact is, the majority opinion in the Korematsu case and the Hirabayashi case are still on the books, a gross injustice has been validated—an indelible fact we as Americans cannot deny. Yet however wrong those decisions may be, they are wrong for the wrong reasons.

The real reasons are exposed in "Years of Infamy". There was no need to evacuate on mass German Americans, Italian Americans, and Japanese residents of Hawaii. Military necessity and protective custody were mere excuses to mask the real reasons. Japanese evacuees were needed as "prisoners-of-war".

As domestic "prisoners-of-war", evacuees were to be used as "pawns" in a government plan to exchange Japanese in America for Americans held captive in Japan. When I read that, I was somewhat appalled and had a terrible idea as to why the government wanted to disbelieve this notion because I had long felt confidence and faith in the integrity of our government.

Would the United States government use Japanese as "political prisoners" in order to bargain them in exchange for Americans interned in Japan? Such an idea was contrary to all of the principles we believed in, and in fact

was not the war in Europe waged to preserve democracy and freedom against the tyranny of an oppressive government?

Personal Research

A few weeks ago, I received a large packet of documents from my brother. He is researching the wartime treatment of our Dad by the U.S. Dept. of Justice. During a trip to Washington, he reviewed select parts of government files, the majority being censored by the FBI and extracted from the files available under the Freedom of Information Act. Under the guise of "national security" the FBI had discreetly protected their agents to "cover up" their mistakes.

I became a believer in Michi Weglyn after a few minutes of reviewing copies of these official documents. A memorandum for the Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation dated Oct. 8, 1943, signed by Tom C. Clark, Assistant Attorney General with reference to my Father and carrying a charge of espionage against him was shocking! Tom Clark's memo states:

You are advised that a decision regarding prosecution in this matter is being withheld pending receipt of information from the State Department as to whether a conviction of subject for espionage would place him in a more important category with respect to exchanging him for a United States citizen imprisoned in Japan.

Another memo on the same date inserted in the file by Tom Clark even more revealing as to the government's attempt and motivation to charge my Father with espionage. It reads:

Pursuant to the receipt of an additional report in the above entitled case dated Sept. 24, 1943, the file in this matter was again reviewed and while it is believed that the facts possibly warrant the institution of prosecution for espionage against George Kumezaki Uno, the case is not a nature that unless there is some particular advantage in such a prosecution it would hardly be warranted in view of the fact that Uno is presently interned.

Accordingly, A. E. Clattenberg, Jr. in response to the request of Branch No. 241, was contacted by telephone for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not he had any information as to the whereabouts of Uno for espionage would place him in a different category and enable the United States to obtain the release of someone in prison in Japan in exchange of Uno. Mr. Clattenberg advised that this matter was under discussion at the State Department at the present time and that he would be unable to have a reply for a couple of weeks. He stated that if arrangements were worked out whereby convicted Japanese citizens were exchanged for United States citizens imprisoned in Japan he would be taken against Uno.

It was agreed that further action in this case would be held until advice was received from him.

Mr. Berling of the Alien Enemy Control Unit was requested to ascertain whether or not he had any information as to the whereabouts of Uno for espionage would place him in a different category and enable the United States to obtain the release of someone in prison in Japan in exchange of Uno. Mr. Berling's office reported that there is no record of this subject having sailed on any of the trips.

There it was in black and white! The same theme is the basis of numerous memorandums and letters I am totally convinced that the "prisoners of war" exchange theory applied to thousands of interned, renunciated, residents of Tule Lake Segregation Center, internees at Crystal City Internment Camp in Texas, repatriates, and potentially every resident of all ten concentration camps operated under the auspices of the War Relocation Authority.

The government records provide some interesting facts. Attorney General Francis Biddle signed a memo authorizing that my Father be picked up on Feb. 26, 1942 as "potentially dangerous to the public peace of the United States". He was 36 years old, a resident of the United States for 37 years, having arrived in the U.S. at the age of 19 in 1905. He had never returned to Japan since his arrival, although he traveled extensively in the United States as a railroad workman and later as a traveling salesman. Prior to his arrest he was employed as a field entomologist for a Southern California insecticide company. He was interned for 5 years and 7 months, a record of some sort.

On Sept. 25, 1947 he was paroled to join his family in Los Angeles. The government files note that he was 61 years old, "he looks like 70 years old".

Why his release did not occur until two years after the end of the war was always a mystery. The file is replete with appeals for his release, citing that four of his sons had all volunteered for service, three in the U.S. Army and one in the U.S. Navy.

Ironically, many former Axis prisoners-of-war were released and returned to their homes while Japanese Americans were waiting away in the barren, desolate deserts camp in Texas. This shameful mistreatment came under the authority of a government agency whose actions make a



Appearing in Weglyn's "Years of Infamy" are these pictures from the late Wayne Collins collection of (top) a scene within the Tule Lake segregation center where "authoritarian tactics" are obvious and (lower) internees at Tule Lake being removed to an FBI camp following an early morning raid.

mockery of its own title—the U.S. Dept. of Justice!

There was no evidence that George K. Uno ever committed acts of espionage nor was he ever prosecuted on that charge. He was a self-educated man whose mastery of the English language was equal to that of a university graduate, although he never attended school in America. He was a mild mannered gentleman, at times somewhat intellectual for an Issei, and artistically inclined. He was most adept in music (in camp he made his own koto, entertained other internees with renditions of "Old Black Joe" and "Home on the Range"). In art as a pen and ink graphic artist, sumi-e brush paintings, and in other Japanese hobbies such as the design of miniature tray gardens, flower arranging, etc. "Dangerous!" Ridiculous—he wouldn't hurt a fly, except for scientific purposes.

Prewar Arrangements

The lies our government told us are further documented in "Years of Infamy" as author Weglyn exposes the legalized kidnapping of Japanese from South America as our government conspired with foreign governments to remove economic competitors.

She reveals for the first time the prewar arrangements of the War Department and State Department to prepare for the internment of Japanese living in Panama. One of the most dramatic examples of her careful research is a letter dated Oct. 28, 1941, several weeks before the bombing of Pearl Harbor, in which the Chief of Staff of the War Department writes to Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles:

The proposal of the Panamanian Government submitted through Ambassador Wilson in his letter to you of October 20 (1941) is most satisfactory. It is gratifying to know that Panama is prepared to intern Japanese aliens immediately following similar action by the United States.

This document was classified as "secret" until it was declassified on March 5, 1973. Another secret document is the Munson Report, a special investigation under Presidential mandate to determine the loyalty of Japanese Americans on the West Coast. This report gave the Japanese American community a clean bill of health, declaring that persons of Japanese ancestry posed no threat to national security. In spite of this report, the findings were ignored, and covered up, and the decision makers were free to prompt the President to issue Executive Order 9066.

Many former residents of Tule Lake Segregation Center will be shocked at the callous method employed by the government to force citizens to renounce their American birthright. The use of FBI informers was standard procedure and many Japanese were protected by the FBI because they were "confidential sources". There is ample documentation to prove that the government was not interested in the welfare of its citizens, but treated evacuees in a less than humane way.

The PC Observer

Inflation is when everything at a dollar-day sale is marked \$1.98.

A cable to the Spanish legation reports that six evacuees were killed by guards and ten were wounded. Mistreatment of internees is also itemized case by case. Most of these incidents and events were closely guarded secrets and are exposed publicly for the first time.

Michener's Introduction

The book has an eloquent introduction by the prize winning author, James Michener. He pulls no punches! His "char" and analytical mind sets a tone which makes the book difficult to put down, once introduced to the facts and evidence it contains.

Michener writes... "But consider the enormous follies our nation committed under the last of such false thinking. The Army was authorized and encouraged to formulate repressive civilian policies which the Department of Justice new to be unconstitutional, and then to enforce them illegally."

"Monarchical Army personnel like General John E. Dewitt and Colonel Karl Bendisen were handed authority to make arbitrary decisions affecting the lives of hundreds of thousands of civilians, thus scarring the reputation of our nation."

"Great to do was made of the fact that Japanese immigrants born in Japan but living for decades in the United States had refused to take out American citizenship—sure proof of their continued allegiance to the Emperor who might be living in the States, unless they had given overt cause to be suspected of being enemy agents. But at the same time our government decided to intern all Japanese Americans on the West Coast, regardless of their loyalty of those interned some 125,000 American citizens, born in this country and entitled to the full protection of our laws. These citizens were imprisoned for no reason other than their race."

"In this time of great crisis, the United States decided for humane and sensible reasons not to intern German or Italian nationals who might be living in the States, unless they had given overt cause to be suspected of being enemy agents. But at the same time our government decided to intern all Japanese Americans on the West Coast, regardless of their loyalty of those interned some 125,000 American citizens, born in this country and entitled to the full protection of our laws. These citizens were imprisoned for no reason other than their race."

"The long years of propaganda were bearing fruit, and we struck out blindly, stupidly to our eternal discredit."

Michener's introduction includes President Franklin D. Roosevelt, John J. McCloy, Henry Stimson, Abe Fortas, Milton Eisenhower, Hugo Black, Frank Knox, and Earl Warren.

Michener writes of his personal experience with Frank Knox, his observation "The performance of two national leaders in this crisis have always fascinated me. Colonel Frank Knox, the Secretary of Navy, was a Republican brought into the Roosevelt cabinet to demonstrate that our wartime government transcended partisan politics."

In his early years, prior to becoming published on the

Continued on Page 6

2- December 19-26, 1975

● Harry K. Honda

Ye Editor's Desk

IN APPRECIATION

The Pacific Citizen wishes to express its appreciation to the many volunteers who solicited greetings and one-liners during the months of November and December for this Holiday Issue. Their help, generously given, was responsible for this year-end edition as well as our Holiday Issues in the past.

Whereas in the past, recognition was made by listing the PC Holiday Issue advertising managers at the chapter level, space was too dear this year. However, it is not that dear that public tribute be noted here. The list is not complete for in many areas committees solicited the advertising and the names of these individuals are not known.

To all the following, and to the unknown volunteers who contributed their time and money to help our staff, the Pacific Citizen expresses its gratitude:

Alameda — Yas Yamashita, George Ushijima, T. Takeoka, M. Ikeda, Jug Takahashi.
Berkeley — Beatrice Kono, T. Yamashita, G. Tsujimoto.
Chicago — Donna Ogura, Esther Hagihara.
Cortez — Jim Yamaguchi.
Dayton — Yas Sato.
Denver — Jeff Fukawa.
Detroit — Michiko Tazumi.
Downtown L.A. — Ed Matsuda.
East Los Angeles — Mas Do-bashi, Walt Tatsuono, June Tanikawa, Michi Ohi, Sue Sakamoto, Ken Kato, George Yamamoto, Sid Inouye.
Eden Township — Tochi Nakashima.
Fresno — Ben Nakamura.
Gardens — Tak and Helen Kawane, E. Terao, Karen Mizusaki, Chester Sugimoto, Mas Odel.
Graham-Trousdale — Shiro Takuchi.
Livingston — Merced — Leon-ard Kinoshita.
Marysville — Bill Tsuji.
Milwaukee — Roy Mukai.
Monterey Peninsula — George Uyeda.
Mt. Olympus — Ken Nodau.
New York — Joe Inai, Ruby Schaar.
Umatilla — Virginia Tomimaga.
Oakland — Tony Yokomizo.
Omaha — Peter Suzuki.

And helping to put it all to-
Continued on Page 3



Wayne Horiuchi

Plain Speaking

Washington

Since this is the last column for 1975 to appear in the Pacific Citizen, it is only appropriate that I give an overview of what I believe to be some of the accomplishments of the Washington Office of JACL for this year and some of the challenges we face in the coming year.

First, because of the lengthy hiatus that the Washington Office had without a Washington Representative, I felt that it was imperative to reestablish the presence of the Washington Office. In the short span of 10 months, we've cultivated contact and cooperation from key individuals in the White House, Congress, and the federal bureaucracy.

In addition, we've gotten to know people who have become friends or further cemented friendship with JACL in such organizations as the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, National Public Radio, the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Japan-America Society of Washington, D.C., the Donor Group of the Commission of Private Needs and Public Philanthropy, the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center, the Japanese American Federal Employees Caucus, and the list goes on. Furthermore, my wife Robyn and I have been fortunate to build many friendships in the local Washington Chapter of JACL and the Eastern District Council during our participation in chapter and district functions.

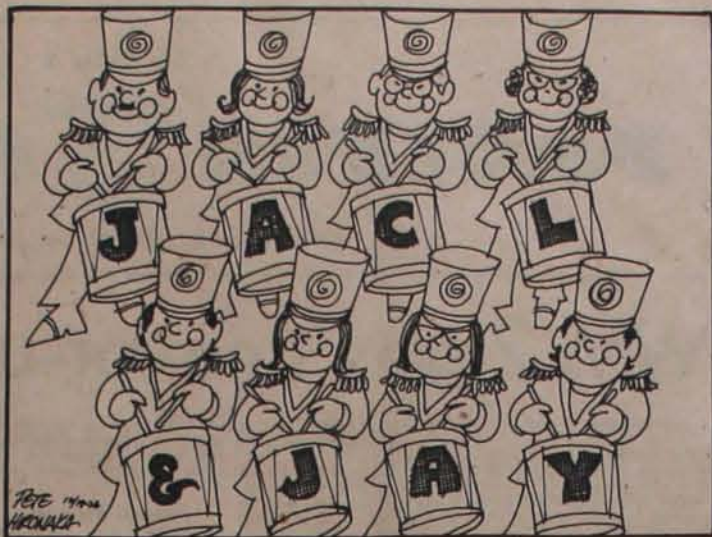
Secondly, programmatically, I think the Washington Office can point to the successful Arrival Ceremony at the White House for the Emperor of Japan, the successful advocacy of the Rice Production Act of 1975 which include my testimony before the U.S. Senate and the passage of the bill in the House Agricultural Committee, the successful participation with other civil rights groups in the extension of the Voting Rights Act, the successful effort to pass the Japan-U.S. Friendship Act which included personal visits with Senators Javits, Cranston, and Inouye, and Representative Mineta, Matsunaga, Roybal, and Danielson, and finally, the unsuccessful but determined effort in behalf of the Committee for Atomic Bomb Survivors.

All this in just 10 months.

What are some of the challenges for next year? First, we have to stop the internal haggling which has drained the financial resources of the organization, diverted the energy and attention of the national staff, and created ill will among the leaders of JACL. Let's stop now and make a new beginning for the national convention in June.

Secondly, let's make a personal effort to make JACL greater and personify, as JACL members, those old fashioned but terrific virtues of compassion, honesty, intelligence, dedication, sense of humor and everything else that this great organization was built on in the last 40 years.

Very simply, let's be "Better Americans in a Greater America."



Season's Greetings to Drummers Drumming for Coast to Coast

FROM THE FRYING PAN: Bill Hosokawa

Japan-U.S. Attitudes

Denver, Colo. The experts who know all about such things have told us repeatedly that popular American perceptions of Japan are reflected inevitably on Japanese Americans. When the American view of Japan is warm and favorable, Japanese Americans bask in the sunshine of American approval. But when Japan and the United States are quarreling, or even growling at each other, watch out.

It goes without saying that our wartime experience is a dramatic illustration of the validity of this thesis. Likewise the economic and social progress of the Nisei during the postwar years when Japan's cooperation with the U.S. Occupation caused a 180-degree turn in relations between the two countries.

What all this means, of course, is that after nearly a century and several generations, the Japanese Americans' minority is still regarded by many as more Japanese than American. An immigrant from Europe can quickly melt into the American scene. Not so Asians.

This being the case, good U.S. relations with Japan are of paramount importance to Japanese Americans.

But what do Americans think of Japan? Some answers are provided by Sheila K. Johnson in a slim booklet titled "American Attitudes Toward Japan, 1941-1975," just published by the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, of Washington, D.C., and the Hoover Institution of Stanford University.

Johnson makes no claim to being a Japan specialist, but she has lived there and perhaps more important, she has a great deal of reading about Japan in American publications. She found that American perceptions of Japan are shallow and imprecise but perhaps no more so than American perceptions of France, Spain or Russia.

During World War II, she found, anthropologists and psychologists who had no deep prior acquaintance with Japan sought to analyze the Japanese character in search of keys that might break the morale of Japanese soldiers. One such analysis suggested that harsh toilet training and emphasis on shame rather than guilt had produced a nation of individuals who are obsessively clean, polite and obsequious, but have extremely strong hidden desires to be aggressive.

More recently, when a college class was asked to complete the sentence, "When I think of Japan, I think of..." the words that tumbled out included small, fierce country, translators, Hiroshima, geisha, beautiful trees and pagodas, Tokyo and traffic jams, kimono and industrialization. And they poured out in no particular combination. This is, a person who mentioned tea ceremony might also mention translator radios and cars.

25 Years Ago

In the PC, Dec. 16, 1950

In the PC, Dec. 30, 1950

Dec. 3—Pl. Lincoln Cemetery, Washington, D.C., refuses to accept body of Issei for burial.
Dec. 11—Trial starts for Haruo Udo, 10, accused of fatally stabbing 11-year-old farm worker, Henry Stanley, 32, in left ear.
Dec. 14—Haruo Udo found guilty of second degree murder by U.S. 11th Cir.
Dec. 15—Sen. Richard Russell (D-Ga.) objects to unanimous consent for approval of Walter Reed naturalization bill; JACL sees no hope for passage in 81st Congress.
Dec. 16—Army reports 15 Japanese American GIs in Korea killed in action, 40 missing.
Dec. 17—JACL releases "Go For Broke!" at West L.A. theater.
Dec. 21—Honolulu supervisors rescind resolution asking Richard Kakegawa to resign because of his Communist party admission.
Dec. 22—Texas Nisei (Joe Akagi) nominated as first Nisei naval aviation ensign.
Dec. 24—Univ. of Chicago Press director loses put over book on evacuation (Grodzins' "American Evacuation").
Dec. 27—Believe one missing Nisei GI (Capt Robert Shindo of Los Angeles) may be among 75 American POWs massacred Oct. 20 near Nanchang.

In the PC, Dec. 23, 1950

(Holiday Issue Features)
Nisei of the Year: Mike Masaki.
Nisei Yamanote: "Willshire Bus."
Owner R. Smith: Nisei in Utah Toshio Mori: "Join Me in Laughter."

This fuzzy American focus on Japan can lead to some potentially costly misunderstandings. Johnson writes: "In late 1974, growing unemployment in the U.S. began to create demands among certain labor unions—chiefly garment workers—that 'cheap imports' from other countries be halted or limited. Since Japan was already observing a voluntary quota on textiles, the pickets and television stories focused primarily on cheap labor in Korea, Brazil and Mexico. But it would not be difficult to imagine a similar U.S. campaign against Japanese-made cars and electronics."

"The American reaction is a form of scapegoating—why should consumers be permitted to buy Japanese cars blackball or from the need to build its nuclear deterrent."

"Much as this treaty benefits Japan—for example, in terms of the percentage of its GNP devoted to armaments—there has always been a good deal of criticism by left-wing Japanese of the U.S. bases on their soil. In late 1974, a new and vociferous series of protests erupted in Japan when it was learned that American ships calling at Japanese ports carried unarmed nuclear weapons. The danger of these protests is that Americans may take them seriously and say, in effect, 'All right, if you don't want us or our nuclear weapons, we won't bother you. Look to your own interests.'"

"Such a development, however, would almost certainly lead to Japanese rearmament, and this, in turn, would have an enormous impact on American (and other nations') perceptions of Japan."

Johnson also explores some more interesting if less momentous matters. Americans, she generalizes, are utterly charmed by Japanese women: "When American GIs when our own automobile workers are being laid off—never mind the fact that Japanese workers today earn about the same as American workers and that the Japanese have inflation and labor problems of their own. If American import quotas took hold, one result would be that the Japanese would retaliate with import quotas against American goods. Each country's citizens would come to see the other as the root cause of all its miseries—a situation dangerously reminiscent of the 1930s."

"A different example of current interaction and possible misinterpretation lies in the realm of mutual security. Under the terms of the mutual security treaty between Japan and the U.S., the United States promises to defend Japan in case of attack by a third power, and since the U.S. is one of those nations possessing atomic weapons, it effectively shields Japan from nuclear weapons. Japan found women who brought them their slippers, fixed them tea, and drew them a hot bath—all without being asked—they thought they had arrived in a paradise for men." And: "Japanese women with their compliance, gentleness, and obedience have long struck responsive chord in men who are used to self-assertive, brash, independent American girls."

On the other hand: "American women have always been ambivalent toward Japanese men—occasionally seeing in them cruel and masterful demon lovers, but more commonly viewing them as small, rather effeminate creatures."

Some of her conclusions may be particularly interesting to Japanese Americans: "Once stereotypes take hold, they can help to shape inter-

national events. It is important, therefore, to ensure that a single unfortunate turn in the international area (Japanese reluctance to lower tariff barriers against American exports, or American exports to Japan) does not begin a spiral of ill will. One way of helping prevent such a spiral is to promote and publicize a multiplicity of stereotypes. In this respect the U.S. and Japan are very fortunate in having known many favorable images of one another in the course of their relations."

"A multiplicity of images makes it more difficult for a particular stereotype to dominate one nation's perspective on another nation. 'The Japanese are sneaky and cruel' may be one residue of World War II. 'Yes, but the Japanese are also kind and gentle' is likely to be the response of someone who was there during the occupation."

"The Japanese are artistic and nonmaterialistic" may be the impression of a 1960s visitor. The Japanese are hard-driving businessmen and insensitive to pollution," says the tourist of the 1970s. No doubt each of these images contains, or contained, a kernel of truth; but their multiplicity and impermanence should make us cautious about accepting any of them as either fixed or wholly accurate."

"In the final analysis, Americans would do well to cultivate a permanent suspicion of any sentence that begins, 'The Japanese are...' with the possible exception of the following: 'The Japanese are an interesting and talented people, fully as diverse and capable of change as we credit ourselves with being.'"

Meanwhile, it behooves us as Japanese Americans to take a lively interest in keeping relations between the two countries warm, close and friendly. Not only for the benefit of the nations involved, but for ourselves as Americans who are often mistaken for foreigners.

For a couple of generations we have been trying to make the point that Japanese Americans are Americans, not Japanese, but without notable success. We need to keep working at making this distinction known, to make America aware that we are a multi-racial, multi-cultural nation. And that goal will be more attainable under a benevolent U.S.-Japan relationship.

SFSU pictorial project seeks Nikkei material

SAN FRANCISCO—A pictorial history of the San Francisco Japanese community is being planned for next year as part of an on-going project of the students at San Francisco State University. According to Bokko Kodama, instructor in the Japanese American Studies Dept., course, "Media in the Japanese American Community," plans are to collect and reshoot family and group albums and students are asking people to assist in the locating of resources. Kodama can be called in the evenings at 3862-7192.

If funds are available, the project may be published for wider distribution.

Drop-in center

SAN MATEO, Calif.—The Issei program group, Ikoi-no-Tomo, has changed its name to Ikoi-no-Tomo Drop-in Center (shukajio) to encourage those not attending to feel free to drop by at Sturge Presbyterian Church on Thursday, 9:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.

Reorganize JACL

By PAUL W. ELLIS
(Puyallup Valley JACL)

Olympia, Wash.

I read almost everything that has appeared in the Pacific Citizen, mail which comes to me as president of the Puyallup Valley chapter and the proceedings of the June 7 special National Board meeting about the charges against David Ushio. Two aspects of the matter leave me seriously concerned.

Both, I believe, are more closely related to the organizational structure of JACL than to any personality. First of these are the personnel practices, both of the time the present Executive Director was employed and as carried on by the present Board individually and collectively. The specifications advertising the position, if I have been accurately informed, had one serious flaw: the salary was grossly inadequate to attract applicants with the administrative experience and other qualifications in the specifications.

I believe the Board employed the most qualified applicant, but he did not have the administrative experience the position requires. The salary agreed upon was adjusted downward as a consequence. At that time the Board should either have (a) revised the salary upward and asked for new applications or (b) planned an educational program with the new Executive Director whereby he would have obtained education in administration to help make up the deficiency.

Still Worth a Try The JACL and the Executive Director should share any costs in such a program which might also necessitate that he be allowed some time from the office to attend classes.

It is not too late to do this even now. The cost to the JACL would be only a fraction of what the saving has been in salary from the level originally planned. Also, the cost of advertising for a replacement and interviewing applicants would be substantial and time consuming.

I doubt whether it is possible to find a Samsel who has all the experience and other qualifications desired by the JACL. Typically, I would guess that there is about a 20-year gap between most older Samsels and most younger Nisei. Qualified Nisei could be employed, I believe, if perhaps only if \$10,000 were added to the annual salary of the Executive Director.

These comments be taken as excessively critical of either the present Board or its predecessor, may I remind that members of the Board typically are volunteers with limited or no experience in either employing or in supervising professional personnel. Moreover, having underpaid qualified help for years, we will be slow to recognize that we must either pay much more to new personnel who would be fully qualified, or share in the educational costs of further educating the present Executive Director.

Let us now try to look at the problem from the point of view of prospective staff: would you like to accept employment from any committee knowing that your predecessor had been under fire from part of the committee and stoutly defended by another party? What kind of support would you expect to receive? Remembering that almost all of the committee would be replaced by others within two years, some of which might develop new reasons for being critical how would you know what kind of policies to administer?

Add to this the knowledge that the tasks for the biennium would be specified by a very large council which collectively would be capable of adopting a total workload for which prospective revenues would not finance sufficient staff.

What priorities would you adopt, knowing that efforts to fire you would likely develop from those that most want the services which you relegate to lowest priority? You could ask the Board or EXECOM for assistance in determining priorities, but when the present Executive Director...

Quote of Note

Friends are born, not made.—Henry B. Adams.

GEORGE SHIOZAWA
Pocatello, Idaho

P.S. There needs to be a re-assessment of the National JACL policy with possible change in its constitution and by-laws to preclude acts similar to those by the Central California District Council in the Yoshimura case, and by the Chicago JACL in its endorsement of the United Farm Labor Union's lettuce boycott.

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PC's PEOPLE

Courtroom

Thirty-nine Japanese Americans were among the 3,550 candidates who successfully passed the state bar examinations given this fall. Of this total, 19 were from Northern California, 15 from Southern California, one from Central Cal and three out-of-state.

Sworn in this week were:

No. Calif.—Melody M. Fujimoto, Gary Hoshiyama, Daro G. Inouye, Shirley Arimoto Sanderson, Kazuo Maniwa, Keith Y. Miyahira, Ned Inokawa, Dan T. Kochi, John H. Sugiyama (son of JACL Pres. Shig. Sugiyama), Keith A. Takata, Ronald K. Uchiyama, Russell Uehara, E. S. Taniguchi, Adrian Arima, Kenneth Nakata, Norman Sato, Randall K. Tagami, Grace Yoshikawa Lipton, Clayton Tanaka, Walter Komura.

Central Cal—Ray G. Mori.

So. Calif.—Paul J. Fukushima, Lance A. Ito, Eileen Kurahashi, Grace Nakao, Mitsuhiro, Dale Y. Nakashima, Steven Nakasone, Diane H. Nishihara, Thomas Y. Ono, Ronald Yoritane, Barbara K. Mizuno, Glenn Nakatani, Gary Nawa, Kaoruko Suzuki, Victor A. Chikawara, Donald H. Tanabe.

Out-of-state—Everett Fukushima, Alvin Ito (Hawaii), Melvin Okamoto (Wyo.).

Milestones

Henry Masaoka of Salt Lake City died Dec. 9 following a lingering illness. A younger brother of Mike Masaoka of Washington, D.C., Hank was the fifth in a family with six sons and a daughter.

Ruth M. Yamazaki, 61, a veteran Los Angeles newspaperwoman, died Dec. 9 following a critical cardiac operation at the hospital. She was on the Kashi Mainichi staff at the time of death, stricken at the office upon return from an assignment. She joined the Kamai staff in 1935, later becoming its English editor until Evacuation. She was married to the late Tomomasa Yamazaki, also a newspaperman in Los Angeles, who was killed in a plane crash in Japan in 1946. She was managing editor of Motor Trend, a Peterson Publication, for seven years, later resigning for health reasons. Two years ago, she rejoined the Kamai staff. Surviving are: daughter Na-kagaki, Evelyn Igo, br. Henry Kurata, Fred Kurata (Lawrence, Kan.) and sis Madeline Nishikawa (San Jose).

Local Scene

Los Angeles

Christmas decorations adorn the tree in the Little Tokyo California First Bank. The bells, crigami, kirigami, yarn, egg shell and pop corn comprise the Bicentennial look ingeniously presented by the students of the Japanese Language School Unified System for the tree.

San Francisco

The Japantown Art Movement Workshop will sponsor its annual Nihonmachi Year Festival on Jan. 30 at the Nihonmachi Terrace housing project at 1615 Sutter St. The group is supported by the city's Neighborhood Arts program. The festival will present an art exhibit, music and food.

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Five months before publication in April 1976 rave reviews are pouring in for Michi Weglyn's YEARS OF INFAMY.

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● Excellent . . . a work of high merit and genuine originality which goes well beyond the considerable literature on the subject . . . The phrase in the subtitle, "The Untold Story," is not a publisher's blurb but the truth. It is a remarkable tribute to Michi Weglyn's tenacity and intelligence that she has unearthed documents that a series of trained scholars and reporters overlooked . . . If this book attains the success it deserves, perhaps one consequence will be that, at long last, a decent retribution will be made to the heirs of those made to suffer and incur considerable losses through no fault of their own. Postwar Nazi Germany tried to pay for the country's injustice, but the payment to Japanese Americans was a hollow mockery.
Dr. William Peterson, Robert Lazarus Professor of Social Demography, Ohio State

● YEARS OF INFAMY contributes a huge monument to that body of knowledge which is so important to truly understanding our heritage. For too long, I felt that no one could capture the story that must be told. Finally, we have the chilling unvarnished truth—in a definitive work of fine research and sensitive writing which brings enlightenment with each new paragraph . . . No other book on the subject contributes to many new facts . . . It is the first book that pulls no punches. It's DYNAMITE!
Edison Uno, Educator, 1973 Heart Award recipient as Outstanding Librarian

● Once I started reading YEARS OF INFAMY I couldn't put it down. Every page says something important about an unconstitutional action by the Federal Government, which still in large measure refuses to recognize the enormity of the wrong done to a loyal group of American residents and citizens.
Patsy T. Mink, Member of Congress

● I was greatly impressed with YEARS OF INFAMY. It is an important contribution to our Japanese heritage. I have witnessed the slow unfolding of the story of the internment over the past years. The book takes a giant and much needed step in bringing to light this unfortunate episode in our Nation's history.
Spark Matsunaga, Member of Congress

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by Michi Weglyn

WITH INTRODUCTION BY JAMES MICHENER

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Uno

Continued from Front Page

Chicago Daily News, Knox had been general manager of the Hearst press while it was conducting its crusades against the yellow peril. Understandably, he became the most blatant voice in the administration calling for the imprisonment of all Japanese-Americans. On Dec. 15, 1941, less than two weeks after Pearl Harbor, he told the nation's major wire services: "I think the most effective Fifth Column work of the entire war was done in Hawaii, with the

possible exception of Norway." When he said this he already knew that no single shred of evidence had been found to prove even one case of espionage.

"On Feb. 23, 1942 he submitted an urgent memorandum to President Roosevelt recommending that every Japanese on Oahu (the most populous Hawaiian island, containing Honolulu and Pearl Harbor) be interned. To justify such action he said, 'Our forces in Oahu are practically operating now in what is, in effect, enemy country—that is all of their defense of the islands is now carried out in the presence of a population predominantly with one sympathy and affiliation.' To repeat, he had in his hands at this time reports

providing exactly the contrary." Michener continues, "I worked in Washington for the Navy and had numerous opportunities to observe the Secretary. He was needed in the Cabinet to provide Republican ballast and he probably served other useful purposes, but I found him a pompous simplification of the business operator most of whose utterances were as bombastic and foolish as the statements he issued to justify the imprisonment of Japanese American civilians."

Warren's Behavior

"But the most fascinating behavior was that of Earl Warren, then Attorney General of California, who acted in an unconscionable manner, apparently foreseeing that if

he gained local popularity by inflammatory acts against the Japanese he stood a good chance of being elected governor later on," Michener writes.

He assesses the former Chief Justice stating, "There were three stages in the Warren performance. First he testified vigorously that Japanese farmers had wilfully and with malign purpose infiltrated themselves into every strategic spot in our coastal and valley counties." (He proved this accusation by designating any place that Japanese American had settled as strategic.) He then promulgated one of the most extraordinary legal theories ever foisted upon the American public: since not a single Japanese American had so far committed any disloyal act, this was proof that they intended doing so in the future. He went on to state as fact that there is more potential danger among the group of Japanese who were born in this country than from alien Japanese who were born in Japan."

"Finally, when the government began to release certain internees of rectitude so impeccable that to keep them in camp was preposterous, Governor Warren protested that every citizen thus released was a potential saboteur and must be kept out of California."

Michener comments on Warren's behavior "... which was no worse than that of other leaders—was that in his later life, when he must have recognized the cruel folly of his war-time behavior, he became a stalwart defender of individual freedoms, a crusader for social justice, and one of our greatest Supreme Court justices. The Japanese evacuation was his graduate course in humanity; he flunked but later on remembered the problem and its just solutions."

"Curiously, he never alluded publicly to his war-time folly, even though the Japanese American community repeatedly asked him to recant."

"The crucial point is this. Our leaders, having used unconstitutional means to treat our Japanese American citizens as they did in 1942, were half-inured to such treatment of any minority, anywhere, so that later on when Admiral William Leahy submitted his famous recommendation that the United States do nothing about providing refuge for Jews being slaughtered in Hitlerian Germany, lest our Allies be incommenced, President Roosevelt was able to adopt the recommendation as logical."

The introduction is signed James A. Michener and concludes with a testimony, "Mrs. Weglyn, who in this book codifies and substantiates this remarkable episode in our national history, has served the nation well, for this is a story that deserved telling."

More Endorsements

Internationally known scholar of Asia and former ambassador to Japan, Dr. Edwin O. Reischauer of Harvard reacted to "Years of Infamy" with a strong endorsement. He wrote,

"In its careful, detailed coverage, it shows just how necessary, unconstitutional, cruel, and

destructive of all human values was the removal of the people of Japanese origin on the West Coast to concentration camps. At a time when problems of this sort still plague us, though in altered guise, it helps to remind us of this complete surrender to racism and this dastardly flaunting of our own legal ideals that kept our country not so long ago."

Professor Reischauer concludes:

"The story of the concentration camps for Japanese has often been told, but usually with an emphasis on the silver lining—the true record achieved in Hawaii, the stoical acceptance of the situation by the older Japanese, the unwavering loyalty of most Nisei and their tremendous record in combat, and finally the successful rehabilitation of the Japanese community back into American life, the contrite acceptance of them by those who had wronged them, and their huge success since the war in building new careers. Michi Weglyn concentrates instead on the other side of the picture, devoting her attention particularly to the Tule Lake Relocation Center where were interned those who most strongly felt a pull of loyalty to Japan, the malcontents, and those who exhibited their Americanism most clearly by vociferously demanding their rights. It is a terrible story of administration callousness and bungling, untold damage to the human soul, confusion, and terror. It reminds us not to close our memories on this phase of our history with the facile thought that it all turned out happily in the end. For thousands it did not, and more unseen damage exists than most suspect. We need to remember the experience fully, as we strive today to handle other problems of racism and legality with greater success."

Author William Petersen of Columbus, Ohio, echoes the sentiments of Michener and Reischauer, but adds,

"If this book attains the success it deserves, perhaps one consequence will be that, at long last, a decent retribution will be made to the heirs of those made to suffer and incur considerable losses through no fault of their own. Post-Nazi Germany tried to pay for the country's injustice, but the payment to Japanese Americans was a hollow mockery."

Perhaps one of the most effective critics in the San Francisco Bay Area, Raymond Okamura, a former prisoner of Gila River, Arizona, concentration camp (1942-1945), praised Weglyn's book, "Years of Infamy" as "the first major departure from the numerous texts based on the self-serving writings of War Relocation Authority administrators and sociologists. With significant original research and superb documentation, Michi Weglyn reveals critical facts heretofore buried in government files: the hemispheric conspiracy to hold all persons of Japanese ancestry, regardless of citizenship, as hostages for

bartering with Japan; one deliberate use of euphemisms ("evacuation", "relocation", "non-alien") to avoid compliance with the Geneva Convention and the United States Constitution; the plans to forcibly "denaturalize" all native-born Americans of Japanese ancestry and deport them after the war."

"Michi Weglyn writes with great compassion and strength of the years of injustices, deprivations, and losses; and the bitter struggle waged by the victims against an unyielding United States government. I sense the author shares attorney Wayne M. Collins' 'inexhaustible outrage.' For once a book has been written from the perspective of the oppressed, not the oppressor and their apologists," Okamura concludes.

What Else?

Anything more that I might add to these pre-publication reviews would be so inadequate. I'd like to repeat that all other books on this subject may become obsolete; not useless, but in light of Michi Weglyn's revelations, certainly somewhat shallow in their theories and very limited in explaining the reasons which caused the gross injustice and violation of mass internment of American citizens."

It will become abundantly clear that the U.S. government was guilty of covering up very effectively the many horror tales about the Evacuation. Given such an official cover-up, it is no wonder that the average Nisei feels little bitterness or rancor; the full truth had always been denied him. Michi Weglyn makes a monumental contribution to the Japanese American heritage. She leaves a legacy for all to share.

I am green with envy because I lack her talent and skills—yet I am extremely proud that she considers me one of her friends who constantly hounded her to write the book only she could write. There is some consolation that the years of pain and agony that produced this powerful text may become the classic reference for all future research. "Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps" exposes many of the lies our government told us.

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