SPECIAL HOLIDAY ISSUE

pacific citizen

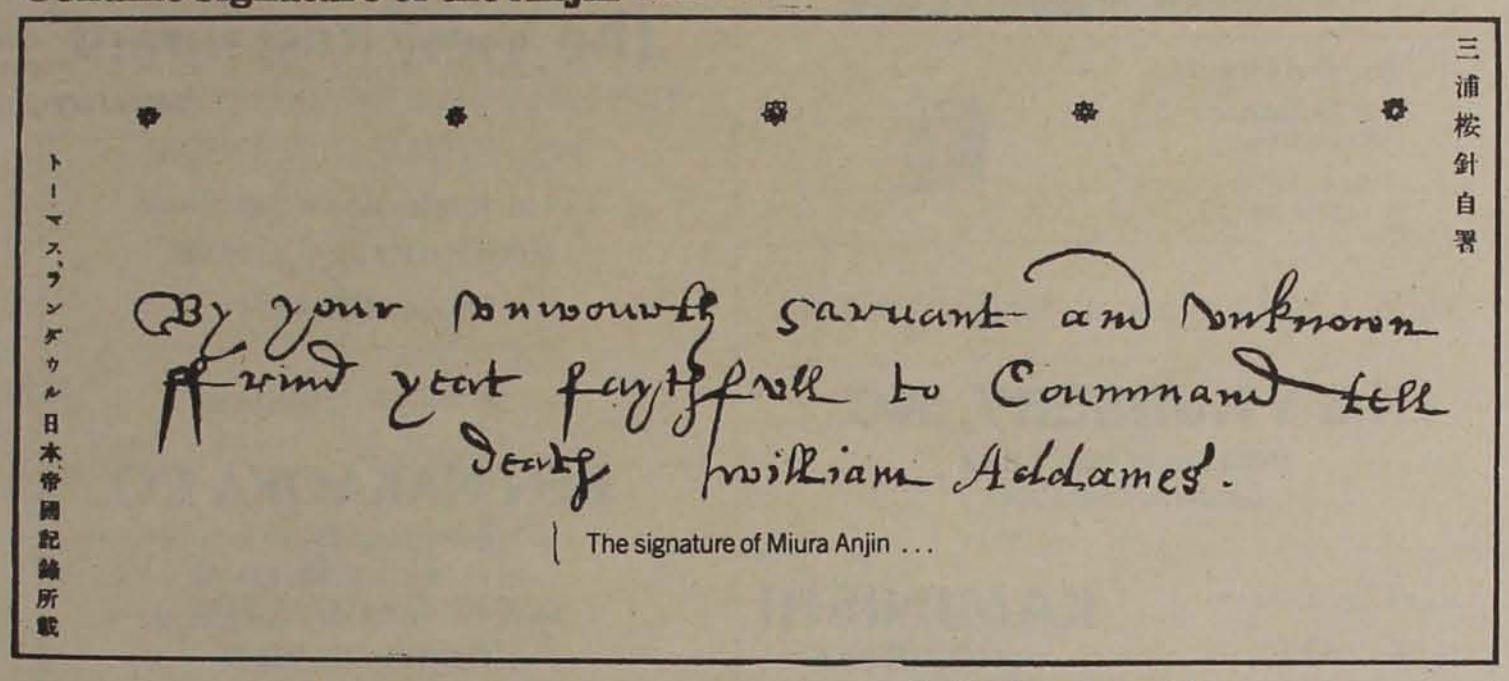
The National Publication of the Japanese American Citizens League

December 19-26, 1980

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50 Cents

Genuine signature of the Anjin-san . . .



The signature of Miura Anjin . . .

. . . and closing text from same letter

The complimentary close and signature of William Adams (above) appear in a long letter addressed to the East India Company as located in its London archives. Letter was written in the spring of 1615, recounting events that are briefly mentioned in Chapter 12 of the Koryu Narrative.

If you wish to read a letter in Elizabethan English, here is a verbatim sampling of the Adams letter. Text appears in Japanese book: "William Adams *no Kokai Nisshi to Shokan*" (William Adam's Ship Log and Letters) by Mutsuo Kikuno, Nanundo Press, Tokyo, 1977.

* * *

Letter 4. 159

Nov Comnserning the great kindnes which your wourships hath shewed to me, in lending my wyf monny. I do still Crau your woursship Coumpassion. What monny your woursship shall lend, by god's grac I will mak svch sattisfaccion as shalbe to your dessir. Thearfor, I do again intreat your wourshipes to lend my wyf 30l. or 40l. tell it bee the will of god I coum hoom; and eyther heer to pay it, or els wher, as you shall coumand me.

I do Imbolden my self to Covmmend me vnt [sic] your woourshipes: praying god all myghtty to bless your woourship with Continevanc of his grace in heealth and prosperitie; and in the lyfe to Coum euerllasting feliciti. Amen.

By your vnwourth Saruant and vnknown ffrind,
yeat faythfvll to Coummand tell death
William Addames

(Ed. Note—The lower-case "l" stands for "libra" and translated to English pounds or "£" in the modern world.)

The 'Koryu' Narrative:

Saga of (the real) William Adams

● Editor's Note: Although most people have now heard of Will Adams or Anjin Miura (the Pilot of Miura), because of NBC-TV's production of *Shōgun* this year, few know the true details of this story of an Englishman who was an important adviser to Ieyasu Tokugawa.

We are indebted to a story which appeared in the Koryu magazine (June 1972-May 1973) for Japanese civilian employees of U.S. defense forces in Japan. It was written as a result of personal interest by a Koryu writer from sources in Japan, the United States, Great Britain and the Netherland. The narrative also contains findings about Will Adams and his relationship with the first Tokugawa *Shōgun* never before published in Japanese.

1: A Stranger in Kyushu

On April 19, 1600, the inhabitants of a small, Kyushu fishing village called Funai (and now known as Oita) saw a strange, foreign sailing vessel enter their harbor and drop anchor. Many had never seen such a ship before, though some were familiar with those that came to the Portuguese trading center at Nagasaki, on the other side of Kyushu. Aboard the ship were 24 men, gaunt and ill; only seven had the strength to stand.

One official who could speak a little Portuguese boarded the ship, and managed to communicate with the apparent leader of its crew—a tall, red-bearded man in his middle-thirties. This was Will Adams, originally of Kent, England, who tried to explain that he had been hired as the navigator of this Dutch trading vessel, and that they had just completed a gruelling journey, nearly two years long, from Holland, around the tip of South America, north to Peru, and then across the Pacific Ocean to Japan. Over 100 men had started out aboard this ship; only 24 remained.

The castaways were given food and water, and messengers were dispatched to the *daimyo* (feudal lord) of the area to report the ship's arrival. It was towed to a nearby larger town where the castaways were brought ashore, and put into a house to recover from their exhaustion and illness. By this time, three others had died.

The first visitor to arrive at the house was a Portuguese Jesuit missionary who had somehow received word of the newcomers. The Portuguese had a virtual monopoly on European trade with the west and for nearly half a century had maintained a busy settlement in Nagasaki, linked with Macao, China, and some of their other trading posts in the Far East. They were naturally interested in preserving this monopoly and inclined to view any other Europeans in the area with suspicion. The Jesuit missionary was not friendly to Will and his companions. He said he had no doubt that they were pirates who should be hung—and this would be his advice to the *daimyo*.

Will awaited the arrival of the *daimyo*—or any other high-placed Japanese official—with considerable despair. It seemed so pointless that all of them should finally be executed here in this strange and distant land after coming so far in such a small ship, and after escaping so many dangers along the way.

The ship that had brought these men to Japan was perhaps 25 meters (75 feet) long, and was called the *Liefde*, which means "charity" in Dutch. She had left Holland in the company of four other ships on June 27, 1598, on what was meant to be a long trading voyage to the "Indies," which was how Europeans referred to the general area of Southeast Asia. The Dutch at that time were at war with Spain, and the expedition's orders included directions to attack any Spanish ships or colonies that might be found. This was to have unfortunate repercussions for Will Adams and his companions after they arrived in Japan.

Almost from the first, the voyage was hampered with difficulties. Adverse winds kept them from emerging from the English Channel and into the Atlantic Ocean for several days. Off the coast of Portugal, they encountered four strange ships which they thought at first might be Spanish, but which turned out to be English. In the confused maneuvering that followed, several of

Continued on Page 63



KYUTARO ABIKO

Biography of Kyutaro Abiko: **by Seizo Oka**

Issei Pioneer with a Dream

Preface

Kyutaro Abiko is considered one of the most distinguished Japanese pioneers of the past in the United States. Since his arrival to this country in 1885, he succeeded in a number of outstanding achievements. He was the founder of the *Japanese American News*, a Japanese-language newspaper, as well as a leader in the establishment and operation of the Yamato Colony, the successful Japanese farming community in the San Joaquin Valley. He struggled resolutely with problems arising from anti-Japanese sentiment, his abiding concern was the welfare of the Japanese in the United States, and he strove unceasingly for the welfare and benefit of the Japanese in the United States. In view of the great influence which Kyutaro Abiko exerted in the Japanese community, it is rather surprising that, although short articles about him have appeared here and there, nothing in the way of a definitive biography has been written to date, four and a half decades after his death in 1936.

Some twenty years ago, my uncle Shigeki Oka, concerned that the legacy left by Kyutaro Abiko be recorded and perpetuated, set out to do just that, that is to write his biography. However, after having gathered the material for the biography, my uncle was stricken ill and died in 1959 before he could complete his work. His collection of documents, including the material for Abiko's biography, was donated to the University of California and has subsequently been deposited in the UCLA Library designated as the "Oka Papers".

Remembering my uncle telling me his desire before he died, I had long considered the idea of taking over and finishing his work for him some day. Then, circumstances arose that paved the way to make that possible. Being assigned to the Japanese American History Room of the California First Bank, I am charged with collecting and organizing historical material related to the Japanese in the United States. It is in this context that copies of manuscripts written and sent to my uncle by those who had been well acquainted with Mr. Abiko came into my possession by chance. The manuscripts were placed among the "Oka Papers." After some deliberation, I came to the conclusion that I would compile and write this biography of Kyutaro Abiko in both the Japanese and the English languages as intended by my uncle.

I have consulted with Yasuo Abiko, the son of Kyutaro Abiko, and Michi Onuma, a daughter of Shigeki Oka and cousin to me, and have received their endorsement.

Many people made special efforts to send their recollections of Kyutaro Abiko to my uncle in response to his request. Among them were Messrs. Junzo Akashi, Toyoji Konno, Tamotsu Murayama, Kyuin Okina and Dr. Itsuji Okubo, none of whom are living today.

This biography relies to a great extent on the above manuscripts and to material published both before and after World War II. I have sought additional information from Yasuo Abiko, Shichinosuke Asano, Chairman of the Nichi Bei Times, and others who had close contact with Kyutaro Abiko.

Continued on Page 49

Holiday Schedule

Here is the 112-page Holiday Issue dated Dec. 19-26, 1980. The next issue will also be double-dated Jan. 2-9, 1981. Deadline for that issue is Jan. 2. Regular schedule resumes in 1981 with the Jan. 16 issue.

BULLETIN:

Redress commission funding imminent

WASHINGTON—The lame-duck 96th Congress was unable to adjourn last Saturday because of differences between the House and Senate over items in a "continuing resolution" providing appropriations to major governmental agencies including the $1.50-million for the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. It planned to meet Monday (Dec. 15).

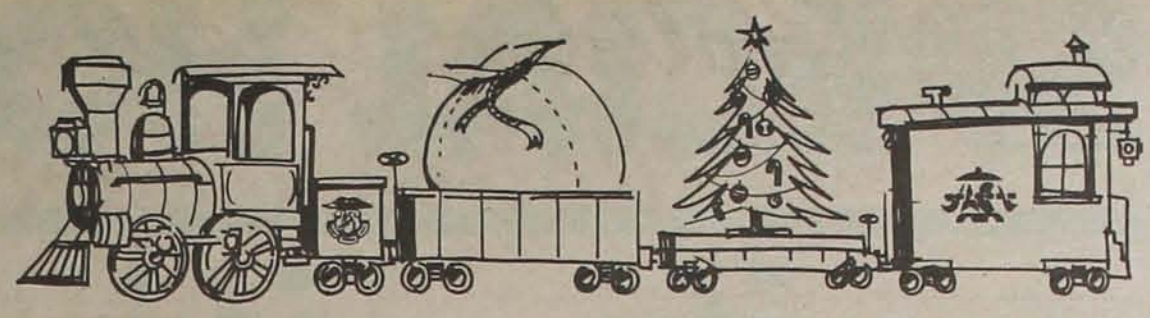
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FROM HAPPY VALLEY: by Sachi Seko

Christmas letters I should have written earlier . . .

Each year, during this season, I suffer the agony of trying to compose a few Christmas letters. Personal letters have been my perpetual plague. These are all written so late they are undeliverable. I offer them in the spirit of the season, which is not only a time for giving and receiving, but for remembering.

Dear Grandfather,

You are part of every happy, childhood memory. Although you expressed repugnance for fantasy, your grandchildren were never denied full indulgence. I remember the Christmas eve I was awakened by the sounds of adults talking and laughing. With utmost stealth, I crept to the closed dining room doors, peeked through the keyhole and saw the confirmation of what I was beginning to suspect. Gifts didn't come from the North Pole.

I didn't hear you behind me, with your exasperatingly quiet Japanese soldier's walk. Instead of scolding me, you said, "Dont't spoil Christmas for your brother and sisters. Let them believe in Santa Claus for as long as they want." It was the first important secret we shared, wasn't it?

You were my childhood hero. Discipline and dignity distinguished you from all other males. Much later, from your image, I would cast the mold for masculinity. It has not accommodated any other man. Once, in a fit of anger, I tried to destroy it. Each year, during this season, I am reminded of it.

Do you realize it is now 39 years since that terrible Sunday? When Pearl Harbor was attacked by the Japanese, you said you and Grandmother would ask for repatriation. Although you assumed Japan would eventually be defeated, it was your country, win or lose.

And I protested, "But I am your granddaughter." You had promised since I was old enough to understand, that you would not leave me while I needed you. I felt you broke your promise, when you chose your country over me. It was a betrayal. The very precept of honor that you had preached and pounded into my young head seemed a mockery, perverted to suit your adult scheme. I loathed war, Japan and you for that.

The night we parted, at the beginning of your homeward journey to Japan, I feigned sleep. You knew I was wide awake under the covers. I felt your knowledge in the pressure of your hand on mine. You had taught me to face people and circumstances without flinching or averting my eyes. That was the first and last time I disobeyed you. And I confess the disobedience brought me enormous satisfaction. I was fighting you, Grandfather.

It occurs to me I was the only one in the family who ever did fight you, at least openly. Maybe that's why we got along so well. And it may also explain my undernourished appearance. I was forever being banished from the dinner table by you and sent to my room. Grandmother always tried to sneak food to me later. I refused it on general principles. For as you taught, pride is everything.

We never wrote each other after the war. The family correspondence was assumed by your daughter, my mother. I made certain the few letters required by special occasions were addressed to Grandmother. It was all very proper, for I was always careful to include inquiries of your health and happiness. The matter of our separate, national loyalties existed between us. More important, I could not understand why a man would choose country over blood. Was moral integrity so insufferably vital? Your country was a vision and I was a person. Was I less important?

You had assured that one day I would understand why you had to do what you did. At the time, it was little comfort. In my fear and fury, I was consumed by your denial. I begged you to forsake your country. I had never begged for anything before, nor have I after. In my anguish, I was determined never to grow old to be like you.

Yet, as I age, I notice more of you in me The same stubborn streak. An identical compulsion for order. The desire to work with the earth. All these are inherited from you. Most important, I have reached an understanding of why you had to forfeit me for your country. If you had not, you could not have lived with yourself and I could not have respected you.

You always said an honest person confesses her errors, however late. I imagine you are still keeping score, somewhere, like you used to. So here's another notch for you.

Your granddaugher,
Sachiko

• • •

Dear Unknown Friend,

Each Christmas for 37 years, I have thought of you, wondered who you were, where you were. In the desolate winter of 1943, I received a gift from you. It was part of a distribution of Christmas gifts to children in American concentration camps, made possible through the generosity of organizations, churches and individuals.

I will never forget the gift-wrapped package containing a box of colored pencils. No gift before or after has meant as much to me. I searched the wrapping for some identifying tag as to your name and address. It must have slipped off in the crush of packages. So I could not write to thank you.

After I left Gila and went to school in the midwest, I thought I recognized you in the faces of friendly strangers, who smiled at me. I wondered, "Could it be you?"

Years later, your gift remains the perfect seasonal symbol of giving and receiving. It is remembered with deepest appreciation.

Yours sincerely,
Sachi Wada Seko

• • •

Dear Mrs. Syro,

I am sorry I declined your thoughtful invitation to spend the holidays with you. You have been so gracious, repeatedly offering your kind hospitality. From the expression on your face, I knew you realized the transparency of my excuse. You are wondering why our relationship cannot be extended beyond the classroom, particularly since you have expressed such a genuine interest in me,

You have even concerned yourself about my mother. How did it all begin? When I registered for your class, you conducted the preliminary interview in Japanese, to assess my aptitude. During the examination, you expressed surprise about the nature of my knowledge, saying I was obviously not wholly educated in an ordinary Japanese language school. I had to tell you of my literary mother. When I said that although she was bilingual, she insisted we correspond in Japanese to maintain my fluency, you asked if you could read our correspondence. When I agreed, I thought your interest was purely academic.

In your brief acquaintance with my mother, through her letters to me, you were attracted to her intellectual qualities. You wanted to bring her to the midwest. It gave her much pleasure to receive your kind offer of a teaching position on your staff. Although the family situation and other complications made acceptance an impossibility, she was grateful. Language is the core of her existence and your offer was a recognition of her excellence. It made her happy. And there has been little happiness for her, recently.

I never told you how much you reminded me of my mother. Before the war, I mean. There is even a physical resemblance. Both of you are beautiful women with flawless features, erect postures, a distinctive aura of femininity concealing incredible strength. She loved high fashion clothes, too. There are similar movements in the way you caress your fur coat, adjust your stylish hats. When I observe you, opening your compact, powdering your nose, it is so familiar. It reminds of times when I was mesmerized by my mother applying cosmetics. Before the war, of course.

Through no fault of yours, you bring back too many memories. The way things were, the way I wish they still could be. You arouse wrong yearnings for a past that is irretrievable. We have lost everything. Only our pride remains. It is partially pride that prevents me from accepting your overtures of friendship. I have no certain way of knowing it is not pity that motivates your kindness. And I could not bear that.

I do not intend to diminish the gift of friendship you offer. I was afraid, when you put your arm around my shoulder and said, "I want us to be friends." It is the wrong time. Too many terrible things have happened in the past few years. Too many attachments have been broken. I lost my grandparents to their country. My friends were left behind in California. In camp, I started over again with new relationships. And gradually had to watch the departure of these friends for scattered places. I am not prepared for new emotional connections. I require time to put things in their proper perspective. To see things without the interference of barbed wire. To fit myself back into society.

Already, I have written too much. These should not be your concerns. But perhaps the revelations will ease the pain I cause you, unnecessarily and undeservedly. You are one of the finest teachers I have been privileged to know. I enjoyed your classes and profited from them. I have appreciated your extraordinary interest in me. Again, thank you for your kind invitation. I wish I could have accepted.

Ever sincerely,
Sachi

Dear Larry,

It seems I am forever writing letters to you in my head. It is time I tried putting one on paper. When I learned of your death, I refused to believe it. After years of trying, I no longer struggle to bury you. That will happen when I cease writing.

They say people write for themselves. There is some truth to that. But I have also written for you, since the first piece of mine that you published. After that, it was always, "Will Larry like this? Does it give him something to smile about?" Your approval was important, but I also sought the reward of provoking your sense of humor. I know this because the image I hold of you reflects your warmth, your smiling face.

From our first meeting, I liked you tremendously. You were like no other person I had ever met. It seemed too many of my preconceived ideas of what a great man should be were combined in you. But if that had been merely an idealization it would have passed as I ventured into the larger world. That my initial assessment remains, even reinforced, attests to the profound effect you had on me.

I have spent years trying to figure out exactly what this effect was. There seems to be no satisfactory, definitive answer. Perhaps it is one of the wonderful mysteries you spoke of. I remember you did not have all the answers to my questions and I respected your honesty in saying some things must remain beyond the reach of mortal wisdom.

You were infinitely patient about my continuous questions. When I tried to bite one back, you encouraged me to "spit it out." I'm surprised I didn't drive you crazy, treating you like a walking encyclopedia. Some complain about my obvious stupidity, always asking questions, never knowing anything. Yet, you taught me questions count more than answers. "Anyone can have an answer. Everyone doesn't know the questions." I hope you are delighted, even mildly, that I remember.

I have to remember because all I have of you are memories. We had a fine relationship. Or at least the kind I think is fine. Too many friendships are damaged by an excess of commitment or judgment. Possession becomes a trap. You wanted me to be free.

You were a comfort to me, representing security of sorts. It didn't require geographical closeness or constant contact. I was content knowing we shared the same planet at the same time. It was presumptuous, but I believed you would be around for a long while. So in my customary, negligent fashion, I never wrote you a letter of appreciation. Perhaps I assumed you knew of my feelings for you.

I hoped there would be sufficient time in which I could redeem the faith you had in me. At the time of your death, I was working on a manuscript, that was dedicated to you. I have destroyed it. Someday, I may find the courage to try again. I always complained I lacked a way with words. You said I had it all wrong. Writing was more a way of thinking. This thought passes my head, each time I put pen to paper or hands on machine. I also think of you and remember how beholden I remain.

As ever,
Sachi

Reopening of old wounds: Is it worth the pain?

This season of good will may be an appropriate time to consider the thoughts of two men who have done a lot of thinking about prejudice and ethnic discrimination among Americans.

The first is Thomas Sowell, a senior fellow of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, a widely respected ecoonomist and a black. The Dec. 4 Wall Street Journal carries an excerpt from his forthcoming book, "Ethnic America," including these paragraphs:

"Within a generation after the internment, Japanese Americans were among the most affluent, socially accepted and generally respected groups in the United States. This took about half a century from the beginning of Japanese immigration, and many of the virulent racists they encountered along the way could not have been changed by any conceivable thing the Japanese could have done. But the mortality of human beings, and therefore, the turnover of individuals in the population, enabled the quiet persistence of the Japanese ultimately to win out on every economic, social and political front.

"Nevertheless, this approach which proved successful with the Japanese (and Chinese and Jews) is often dismissed out of hand as naive, while progress is thought to require more confrontational methods — which failed repeatedly for Irish Americans in the 19th Century, in areas ranging from public school controversies to the military draft during the Civil War to attempts to win economic advancement by terrorism or to produce the independence of Ireland with a military expedition against Canada.

"Among blacks in the 20th Century, the initial successes of the non-violent civil rights movement slowed perceptibly as more militant, direct-action tactics stiffened the resistance of the larger society and provoked backlashes extending from simple resentments to the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan (even in Northern communities) and the Nazi fringe."

The other comment comes from a Caucasian in his for some considerable time because he enjoys the friendmiddle years who has been an active member of JACL ship of his Nisei colleagues as people, and not specifically as Japanese Americans. But he was disturbed enough by what he heard at a recent JACL meeting to write a lengthy letter, asking anonymity only to avoid embarrassing his friends.

"Last night," he writes, "I listened to what I considered to be a sad regurgitation of old hurts and sensitivities which I strongly suggest should be put into the archives as experiences that essentially have been overcome, outlived and overwhelmed. The speaker was a prominent Nisei and the brunt of his talk seemed to be to incite the ire, resentments, hatreds and fears of the audience.

"Of course it is recognized that there have been injustices perpetrated upon those of Asian ancestry in the United States. And we want to damn well squash such things in the future." But, he continues, there is nothing beneficial in reopening the old wounds.

Rather, he says, Japanese Americans should take pride in their accomplishments. "If each of us stands up, proud of ourselves and of the group we belong to, knowing we have earned the respect of others, then we shall receive that respect. Respect, admiration and equality are not subject to demand; they are bestowed because they are deserved. And the Japanese American community has produced a very high proportion of those who have earned the right to be respected and admired.

"While we have a long way to go in eliminating all prejudice, we as a nation have every reason to be proud of our progress and to be confident of continued progress if we don't screw it up by actions which will only reaffirm old hatreds."

What are these men telling us? Two things:

That confrontation, bitter protest and rhetoric in the struggle for recognition are not good tactics for a very practical reason: they don't work.

That griping about past injustices and demanding rights are also ineffective if we haven't earned respect: bitching may be good for the soul but can be counterproductive if done excessively.

I gather that the gentleman is disturbed not so much by the vehemence of one speaker, but by what he sees as a spreading perception that fanning old resentments is the wave of the present. Which, of course, it isn't.

Sowell goes on to make another point that most of us may have overlooked: Acceptance of a minority may be due as much to changes within that minority as within the majority. He cites the example of 19th Century Irish immigrants who were looked down on because they "lived in filthy conditions, both in their homes and in their person." This, of course, is a matter that delicacy causes observers to overlook today. However, Sowell continues:

"If the Irish were pariahs in the 19th Century and fully accepted in the 20th Century, the moralistic approach sees only society's belated changes to do the right thing. It ignores the very possibility that the Irish who were accepted today may be very different from the 19th Century immigrants from Ireland whose personal behavior would still be wholly unacceptable to others today, including today's Irish Americans."

If we accept this thesis, it is easy to see that today's Japanese Americans are somewhat different in both reality and perception from Issei immigrants of blessed memory whom we tend to see in retrospect in romanticized form — hardy, courageous pioneers dedicated to family and home. A more objective view, particularly of the early Issei years, might see them as outlandish little strangers who seemed to work with extraordinary diligence so they could spend their earnings gambling and womanizing.

But that's off the subject, which started off with the thesis that confrontation in the name of progress, if it ever was a good idea, may not be today, and quiet persistence may not be all that bad. These observers from outside our community are telling us times and perceptions change.

INSIDE THIS HOLIDAY ISSUE:

1 **Saga of (the real) William Adams:** A 12-part Koryu narrative begins in this issue. At least the first 7 parts are offered here.

1 **Issei Pioneer with a Dream:** Biography of Kyutaro Abiko by Seizo Oka, Cal First Bank's historian/curator.

4 **Sachi Seko's Christmas Letters**

5 **Bill Hosokawa's Year-end Thoughts**

8 **Inside Story** (by Allan Beekman)**of Chuo Gakuin:** Of students attending Sunday morning class that fateful Dec. 7th

9 **A False Lead:** A sequel to last year's detective yarn by Ferris Takahashi, perennial contributor from Colorado.

28 **Akiko's Acre of Love:** Another in the 'Stalwart' series by our young contributing writer from Eugene, Ore., Robert Kono.

41 **Identity Crisis of the Sansei and the American Concentration Camp:** An "overdone" title to the Nikkei out west but this one by Nobu Miyoshi of Philadelphia has an eastern accent.

56-59 **A Pilgrimage Guide to the Temporary Detention Camps:** Conclusion of Raymond Okamura's compilation of facts and figures, directions and references to the wartime internment facilities, plus maps.

62 **An Affront to Human Dignity:** Luciana Esteban, a newcomer to the PC pages, visits Topaz camp.

67 **The Tracing of Identity:** 'Nisei in Japan' discovers his roots.

73 **The Ethics of Whaling:** Dr. Clifford Uyeda summarizes the latest on a subject which has interested him in gargantuan measure.

● HI Boxscore

1979 TOTALS

Display Ads	6,211"
One-Line Greetings	832
JACL-HI Project	16

1980 DISPLAY ADS

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Arizona	8	Orange Cty	84
Arkansas Vly	3	Pasadena	22
Berkeley	420	Philadelphia	16
Carson	15	Portland	27
Chicago	84	Puyallup Vly	84
Cincinnati	6	Reedley	196
Cleveland	28	Reno	12
Columbia Basin	6	Riverside	24
Cortez	12	Sacramento	168
Dayton	2	Saint Louis	9
Delano	16	Salinas Valley	420
Detroit	21	Salt Lake City	107
Downtown LA	168	San Diego	336
East L A	252	San Fern Vly	336
Eden Township	56	San Francisco	336
Florin	4	San Jose	168
Fowler	6	San Mateo	6
Fremont	9	Sanger	40
French Camp	9	Seattle	174
Fresno	252	Selanoco	140
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Honolulu	9	South Bay	2
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Monterey	168	Watsonville	180
Mt Olympus	5	West L A	174
New Mexico	6	West Vly	6
New York	84		
Central Cal DC	6	PSW DC	20
Eastern DC	6	Ad Dept	486½
Mt.Plain DC	6	PC Office	190
NC-WNP DC	20		

Dec. 13 Totals: 6,342½" (102%)

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33 White River Vly
Total: 822 (99%)

JACL-HI PROJECT

15 Hagiwara Fnd
1 TV Proj

The People Who Count

This is a continuation of a practice started in 1978 that has become another PC tradition with respect to our Holiday Issue. The "people who count" are the chapter officers, members and volunteers who help make this mammoth publication possible by soliciting their friends, business acquaintances and among themselves to extend their best wishes.

This is also our way of publicly thanking them for their "come-through" spirit to help the PC.—Ed.

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a Merry Christmas
and a Happy New Year

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THE INSIDE STORY OF CHUO GAKUIN

Perishing in tragedy during the Pearl Harbor attack a historic Japanese language school wins belated recognition.

By ALLAN BEEKMAN
(Copyright 1980 by Allan Beekman)

It is 11:30 a.m., Oct. 22, 1980. I am standing in Foster Botanic Garden, Honolulu, speaking in Japanese to a largely gray-haired audience:

Forty-five years ago, I often walked past this area in the afternoon. In the yard of Chūō Gakuin, I saw many students. The place in which we are now gathered was that schoolyard.

My wife, as a child, was a student at Chūō Gakuin; later she became a teacher. She often reminisced to me about her experiences at Chūō Gakuin. I was particularly impressed by her account of how the Pearl Harbor attack ended the school.

It was easy to envision the Pearl Harbor attack, which had occurred in flawless weather such as we were experiencing there in the Garden. Unlike the overbuilt Honolulu of today, the Honolulu of Dec. 7, 1941, with its spacious yards, luxuriant foliage and shady streets was itself like a large park.

I was so impressed, that I collaborated with her in writing a short story, "No Place Beneath the Rising Sun," commemorating the incident.

The characters in the story are fictitious. But the background is based on firsthand observation. So here and there in this documentary, I shall quote from "No Place Beneath the Rising Sun."

On the day of the Pearl Harbor attack, I was living in the neighborhood of Chūō Gakuin. I had been closely following the events in Europe, Africa and the Far East that were to erupt on my doorstep that morning.

In the light of hindsight, we can identify the portents of what was to occur Dec. 7, 1941. Except for America, all the big nations of the world were at war. In Africa and Europe, the Axis nations were waging a titanic struggle against the Soviet Union, Great Britain and their allies. On the Asiatic continent, Japan was bogged down in a war with China.

To the unbiased observer, America was at war, too. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt had skillfully aligned America at the side of the Allies. He had unleashed the tremendous productive power of America to provide the Allies with armaments and the other sinews of war. To prevent Germany from sinking these supplies, he had ordered the U.S. Navy to patrol the Atlantic.

In China, American volunteers were fighting, as Flying Tigers, against Japan. Over the Burma Road, America was sending supplies to China.

Not only was America supporting the enemy, through the embargo of oil and other necessary materials she had fashioned an economic noose around the neck of Japan. America had now drawn this noose so taut that the Japanese themselves believed they must break out of it or expire as a nation. U.S. Sec. of State Cordell Hull had delivered the terms for relaxation of the embargo to Japan; he himself believed the terms were so harsh that the Japanese government could not accede to them and survive.

November 27, he had told Sec. of War Henry L. Stimson, "I have washed my hands of it and it (the situation) is now in the hands of you and Knox (Sec. of the Navy), the Army and the Navy."

Japan had begun all her modern wars with surprise attacks. There was no reason to believe that now, driven to bay, she would deviate from the traditional pattern. But though the experts predicted a surprise attack, they did not expect it to be directed at Hawaii.

Japan was being driven to take by force the oil and raw materials the Allies denied her in trade. She was expected to take them from Southeast Asia and the East Indies. The experts expected her to attack these regions soon - very likely this weekend of Dec. 6-7, 1941.

Though the experts did not expect Japan to attack Hawaii immediately, Hawaii had organized to cope with such an emergency. Recently Lt. Gen. Walter Short, in command of the Hawaiian Dept. of the Army, with headquarters at Fort Shafter, in the outskirts of Honolulu, had received a warning from Washington - "hostile action possible at any moment." He had responded by lining up his planes in clear view to guard them against saboteurs. They would also be open targets to aerial attackers, whom he did not expect.

His naval counterpart, Adm. Husband E. Kimmel, with his headquarters at nearby Pearl Harbor, anchored his fleet where it would provide open targets for aerial attackers - whom he did not expect.

But the two had been training their personnel more rigorously. December 6, the military had conducted realistic aerial maneuvers over Honolulu, with the planes roaring in dives toward the buildings.

The authorities had organized an Office of Civilian Defense, which had arranged to mobilize medical facilities in an emergency. The agency had appointed block wardens to patrol each block of what might become a critical area.



C&C Parks Board photo

Allan and Take Beekman (from left) and June Hiroko Arakawa are saluted at the Chuo Gakuin plaque dedication, Foster Botanic Garden, Honolulu, Oct. 22.

This was the situation at 8:30 on the morning of Dec. 7, 1941 when my future wife and collaborationist, Take Okawa, came out of her home on Kaluhikai Lane to go to supervise a special Sunday class, scheduled for nine, at *Hawai Chūō Gakuin*, known in English as Hawaii Japanese Central Institute.

Before she had left home there had been some indication of military activity, unremarkable from her viewpoint because it seemed similar to what she had observed the preceding day. Actually a Japanese task force, including six fleet carriers, 230 miles north, and slightly east of the Island of Oahu, on which Honolulu is situated had, at 6 a.m., begun launching its planes for an assault on the American military base.

Shortly before eight, the Japanese strike force had arrived over target. The force included 50 high-level bombers, 40 torpedo bombers, 51 dive bombers and 43 fighters. At 7:55 dive bombers attacked Hickam and Wheeler Fields, the first bomb falling on Hickam at 7:55. At 7:57 the torpedo planes began their attack on Pearl Harbor; at eight the fighters strafed the air bases and at 8:05 the level bombers began attacking the battleships.

The Japanese had achieved surprise and scored a remarkable success. At the cost of only three fighters, one dive bomber and five torpedo planes they had damaged or sunk seven battleships and capsized the target ship Utah. An armor-piercing shell penetrated the upper decks of the Arizona and continued down into the powder magazine where it exploded with such force it shattered the ship in two, sinking it in less than nine minutes. They also damaged three cruisers and three destroyers.

At the moment Take stepped out of her home, the Japanese broke off their attack to return to their carriers. The lull was to last for 15 minutes.

She entered Kuakini Street and turned to the right, passing before the Japanese Hospital. Continuing onward, she passed the Japanese Consulate on its mountainward side.

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A False Lead

Here is a sequel to last year's 'A Grass Bed' that got a big response from many readers although one wishes they had exposed their reactions in the P.C. instead of personally!—FT.

By FERRIS TAKAHASHI

Desk Clerk Gladys Frantz and Detective Sakai nurtured their private dreams. Sakai had twenty years of disillusion behind him, Gladys only four months. Otherwise blond Gladys and sallow Sakai, twenty-four and forty respectively had few compatibilities except for their mutual addiction to TV programs whose heroes and anti-heroes claimed a tenuous relation to the realities of their profession.

Today Sakai was out on another routine chore, headed for the west side of town to check on an address given by the parents of a runaway girl.

The wintery sun gave small bliss, a gusty wind from the clear blue north sent chills like small ice-slivers against the neck. Detective Sakai, parking his car, walked discreetly along Severn street, studying the saw-toothed facade of low buildings. This area was certainly due for urban renewal, he judged, but it was far from the downtown and shopping centers. For a while he studied a pawn shop sign. Next door to it a placard, neatly hand-lettered in large print read

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Black eyes flashed on him. The woman who sat comfortably just inside the door, smiled. Detective Sakai hesitated. A hooker? Should he check?

"Some wind," she greeted. "Come in, come in. Everyone is welcome, just step out of the cold for a minute."

Pushing the chair aside, she ushered him into rather bleak quarters: clean white walls, assorted second-hand chairs ranged in front of a long table covered with a pinkish cloth. A white pasteboard box labeled DONATIONS sat there. On the wall above, between the Mogen David and the hand of Fatima, a gilt crucifix happily twinkled.

"Nice little place," said Detective Sakai. "What kind of a -"

"Little, yes, see how high rents are; for the moment our little congregation is small, too."

Decidedly not a hooker, Detective Sakai said to himself. Not badly set-up, plain dress, just enough makeup to make her age uncertain. No jewelry.

"Don't *you* know how hard it is to spread a new message, bring hope and cheer?" she went on. "Yet everyone is longing for a good word, a *lift* in their lives. Should I tell you how *I've* struggled? You, you're a man who's had to make his way through difficulties—I see it right away, in your face, in the strong way you hold yourself."

Sakai found himself bracing his shoulders and hardening his chin. - Decidedly, a fellow got slumped down, what with long hours, desk work and bachelor quarters.

"We're not going to talk of *my* troubles," the brunette lady continued. "*You've* known troubles. A lonely man, yes, but a man who's much with people, knows every sort -"

"You're not working the fortune-telling scam, are you?" Detective Sakai interrupted. This was technique: say something rude, sudden.

Silvery laughter gave him answer.

"A fortune-teller! Oh dear, no, oh no, no, no. Dear sir (and she seemed to drawl out the 'sir' oddly) Dear, dear sir, I'm a preacher. A lady preacher, a messenger of the Great Spirit who is there for all faiths.—Now, I don't care what your professed religion is, your eyes tell me that you are an intensely, deeply spiritual person. As I am. Although you hide it.—So don't expect any conversion from me; here we just spread happiness. Please sit down, I'm going to make you a little cup of tea."

"Sorry, I don't have the time - kind of you, I'm sure."

"Time, time! In my family home it was our custom, no stranger passed without tasting hospitality. And it's the same with your people. A cup of tea. *O-cha*. - You see, I know."

"You mean, you've been in Japan?"

"Ah, Japan, Japan, my far-away dream! Bamboo! Cherry-blossoms!"

The conversation went on and soon the whistling of a tea-pot made counterpoint.

Detective Sakai had taken place on one of the stronger-looking chairs. He was 'casing the joint', a favorite expression of his.

His hostess seemed marvously aware of his scrutiny. She directed his attention to a framed card.

"My diploma - I like to call it - my certificate as an ordained minister of Holistic Joy. And my name - Reverend Elva Rossiter."

"Some of them certificates are a snap to get. Going rate usta be three and a return address. May have gone up like everything else."

Reverend Elva smiled.

"My dear, there are crooks everywhere. Some even try to cash in on our sacred work.—But, my dear, if you'd attend one of our services here, you'd be reassured.—You're a person who knows the false from the true."

Detective Sakai tried a different gambit.

"Reverend Elva, are you - er - married?" Very serious now, Reverend Elva pulled a gold locket from beneath the high neckline of her dress. She snapped it open, gazed a moment and dropped it back out of sight. With a graceful gesture, her fingertips touched eyes whose lively fire now appeared filmed and moist.

"In everyone's life there are places to be respected -" she said softly. "I am alone - now - but - Tea's ready!"

A sequel to last year's short story: Detective Sakai checks out temple of joy.

Abashed, Sakai sipped the green tea gratefully. The Reverend Elva clearly made no sale of her physical attributes which were pleasing - really pleasing. He wondered what she would look like in a stylish dress with maybe earrings and a dangling pendant. He found himself visualizing Gladys Frantz whose uniform jacket, her pride and joy, was too small for her. If only she'd get the damned buttons fixed. They were always popping off, breaking what he called 'his concentration.'

"Your thoughts are far, far away," Reverend Elva commented. "Have you lived alone long since your mother died?"

Sakai looked up.

"How do you know my mother lived with me?"

"Oh, oh! A surly tone, a severe face! And what I said was so easy for me to know."

"How come?"

"How come? I have known many people of your kind. So good to their parents, so considerate of old age.—You took care of your mother, she was infirm, maybe, and so you passed up all the chances you had to marry."

"How do you know I'm not married?"

"You think I'm fortune-telling, again? Come, come, my dear. Today you put a sock of one color on one foot, a different one on the other. Even the worst wife wouldn't let her man out of the house like that."

Sakai put his tea-cup down with a rap.

"You ought to be a detective."

Now the Reverend Elva reacted with less insouciance. She put her tea-cup down with deliberate quiet. Her large black eyes scanned Sakai, looked him over openly from head to foot. Finally she said:

"This is a working day for you? - I thought maybe you were a bill collector, so you could spare the time for a cup of tea—Such an interesting man.—Fortunately I don't owe any bills, no, no, no."

It was a cool dismissal. Quite at a loss now, Sakai got up and thanked her for her hospitality.

"No thanks, it was a pleasure, a pleasure to meet you. I'd like you to come to our service. Every evening at seven, right here."

Her smile resumed its sunny, indrawing warmth. Sakai held out his hand to her. Perhaps the contact would tell him something he needed to know.

Her hand was very warm, exceedingly soft and heavy with strength, but its pressure was quite impersonal.

BACK at the office in the later afternoon, his mission to check out the whereabouts of the runaway girl another dead end, he detailed his small adventure to the eager ears of Clerk Gladys Frantz.

"Sa-ay! I think you made a real hit with this lady," Gladys enthused. She drew a deep breath and a jacket button parted from its thread, skittering over the floor.' "Your -er - button,

Continued on Page 29



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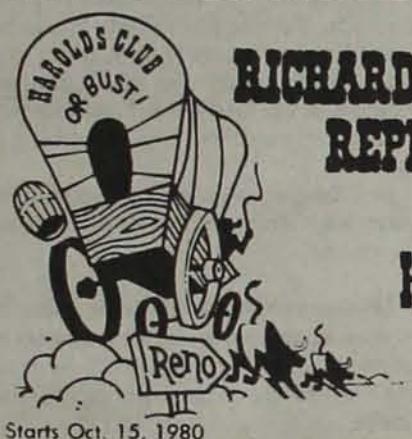


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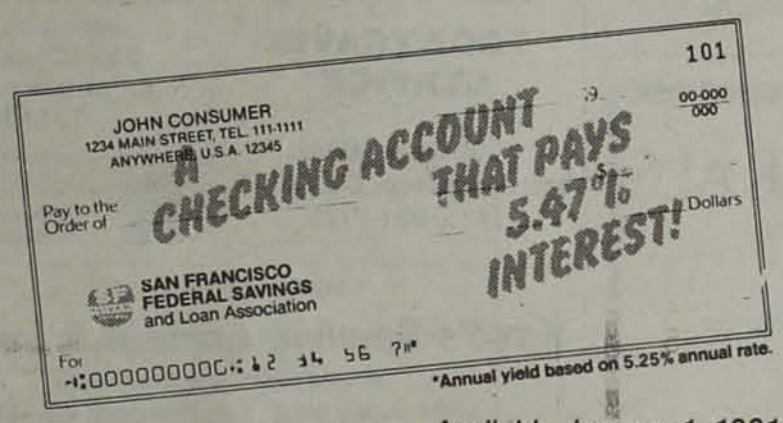
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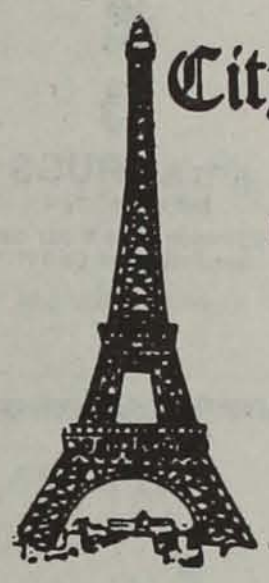
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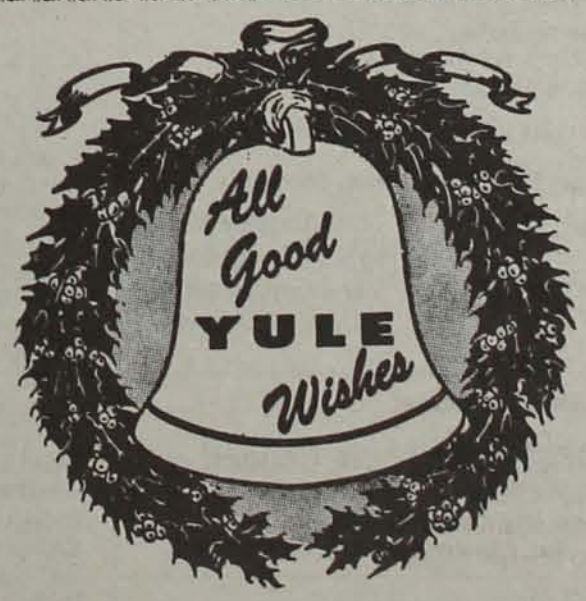
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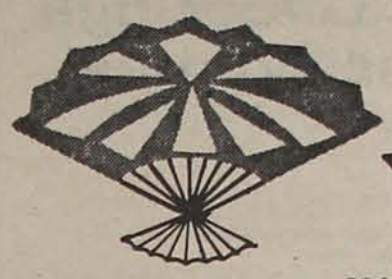
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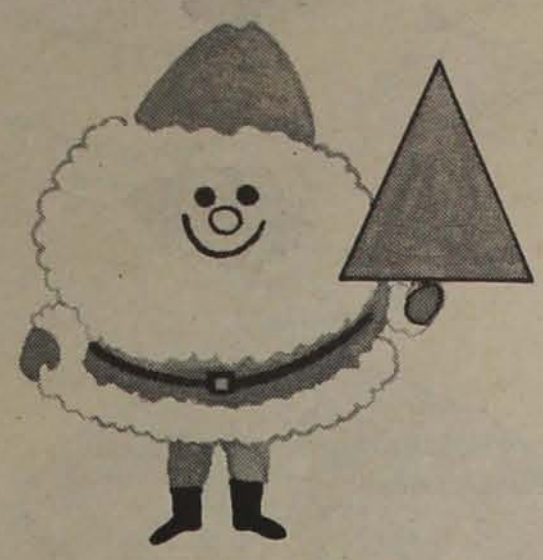
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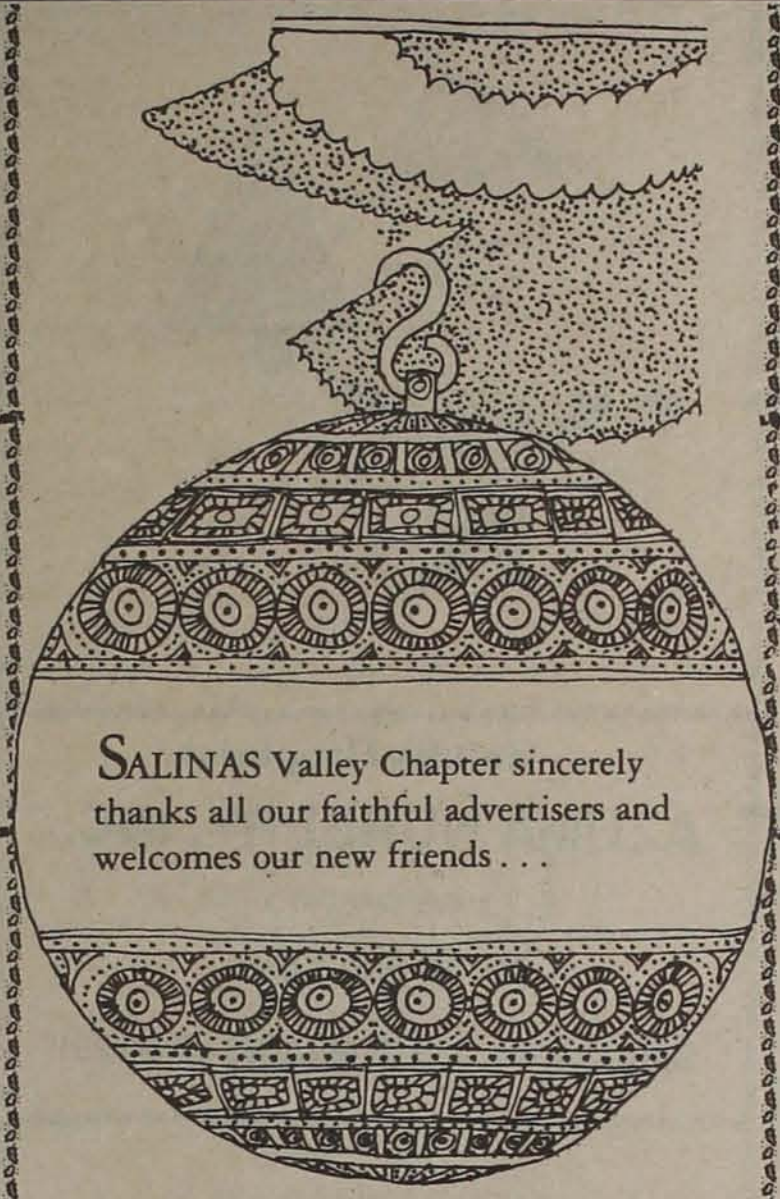
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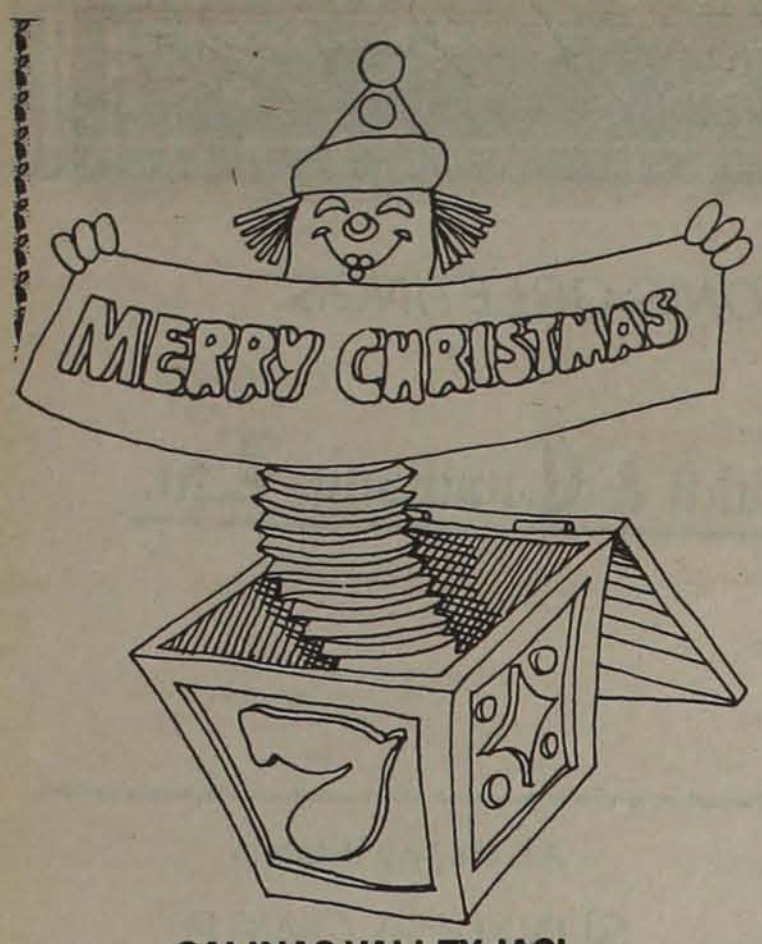
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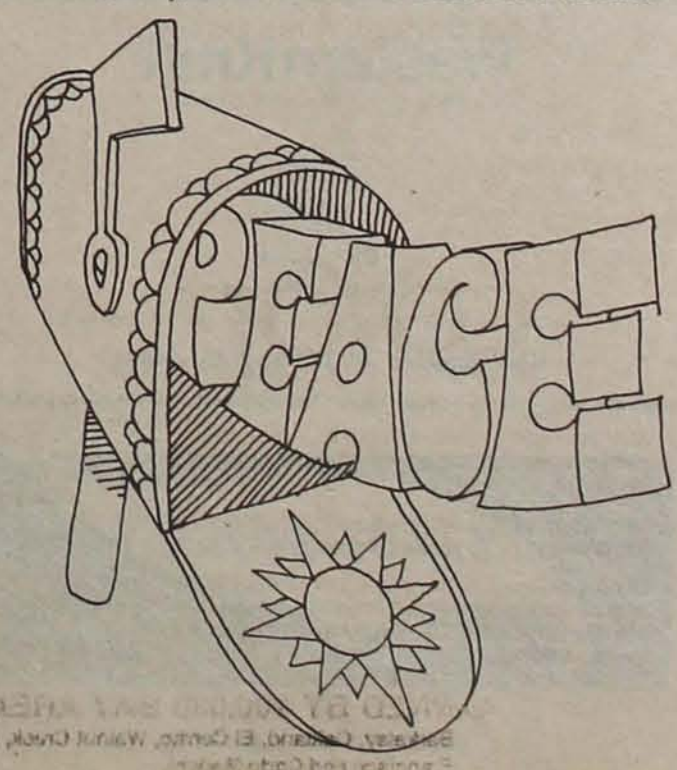
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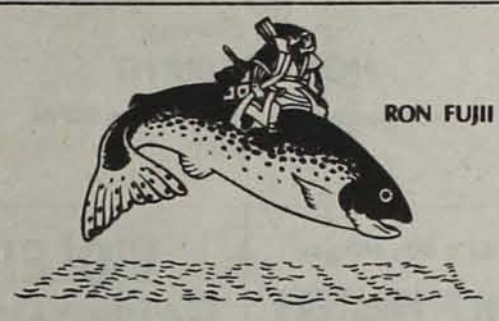
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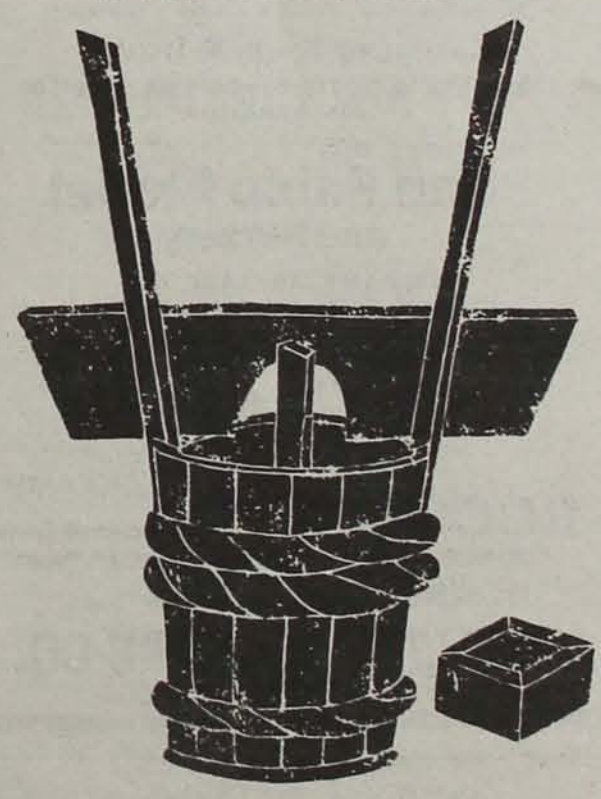
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AKIKO'S ACRE OF LOVE

By ROBERT H. KONO

AKIKO Shimada, a small, lithe woman of seventy-five, and dark as a burdock root, sat rocking on her porch on the acre of land she and her husband owned. Her husband was dead, and she mourned his passing with each day and week. The months passed and her grief was planted into the soil itself, so her attachment to the land was more than due merely to the years spent living on it. She fixed her eyes on the road running in front of the property, knitting absently. Although it was summer, she knitted sweaters and scarves for her grandchildren in Seattle, eighty miles away. She expected to see her son and his family, including Dick, her grandson, who was a young man, stop by for the afternoon.

"Must see if sweater fit," she said to herself aloud, as was her habit of late since her husband died. Then she added in Japanese: *Ii purezento ga dekiru*. It'll be a good present."

She was knitting a scarf for her son, Ray Sadao, and a warm pair of socks for her daughter-in-law, Alice Noriko. Her granddaughter who was married would receive a pair of mittens. To her other children and relatives who lived in other parts of the country she sent cards and small items, tokens of her love, since they had all they needed. Ray Sadao was already middle-age and putting on weight year by year.

"You look like you have baby," she would say to him, pointing at his stomach whenever she saw him.

"No, Ma, just portly," he would say.

"What is 'portly'?"

"Portly means impressively plump."

"I don't understand."

"It's just another way of saying 'fat' nicely, Ma."

"I see. You drink too much, too."

"I'm not a kid anymore."

"Even so, you drink too much. Get fat. No good for health."

"I work hard and need to relax in the evenings."

"How is business?"

"Better than ever. People are always buying homes."

"Make lotsa money?"

"Enough."

"Your papa would be happy to hear. But no happy to hear you get fat."

"OK, Ma, OK. I'll take off a few pounds."

"That's good. Better for you."

"How's your back, Ma? Any better?"

"OK, now. No work, just sit, then OK. Too much work when I am young."

"Yeah, you and Pa worked hard all your lives."

"Now I retire, but Papa gone." Tears of sorrow would well up in her eyes when she mentioned her husband.

The family would try to console her but she would insist on talking about her dead husband, how they worked hard and saved their money to buy the small farm.

"Papa worked hard all time, no drink, no smoke. Only one bottle of *sake* at New Year's time."

"Yeah, we all had a good time then."

"He drink and sing and dance. Everybody laugh."

"Remember how we used to get together and pound *mochi* (rice cakes)?"

"Hai, hai, Everybody have good time."

"And the picnic?"

"We had some good times together."

"Hai. But now everybody old and die. Maybe I am only one left."

They usually fell silent when she talked of dying. They knew she did not have many more years to live and tried to accommodate her in every way.

Of her grandchildren, Akiko liked Dick Tadashi the best. Not only did she see him more often than the others, but he brought her special gifts that he himself had made, such as necklaces, carved napkin rings and once a leather handbag. She accepted the gifts graciously, knowing that Tada-chan, as she called him, had gone to a lot of effort making them. She reserved a special section on the book shelf for the gifts to keep them in open sight to admire them. Every so often when she felt lonely she would wear the necklace which was made of small polished agates cemented to a gold chain. She would put on a neatly pressed blouse in the summer and a new sweater in the winter whenever she wore the necklace.

She wasn't sure what she thought of her daughter-in-law, though they had associated with each other for years, ever since she became Ray's wife. Alice Noriko was a slender, attractive woman of forty-three. She was an aggressive person with a penchant for setting things in order, and whenever she offered to do her housework for her, Akiko would rebel and pull at her own ear furiously as she told her that she was happy to do it herself, that she enjoyed cleaning the house. What she didn't say was for Alice to mind her own business. She felt that Alice Noriko merely tolerated her and came along because she was Ray's wife. When Akiko talked to her she couldn't help tugging at her ear busily, as if to ward off an angry sprite.

"No, no. I do dishes," Akiko would protest when Alice indicated she would wash them for her. Akiko was not always prompt to wash them after meals and they lay cluttered in the sink. "I wash later. Save soap."

"You'll never get out of your thrifty habits, will you, Mom?"

"In old days, we must save everything. In Japan we waste nothing. Use up everything."

"But this is America."

"Make no difference. You remember Depression?"

"Not very well, I was little then."

"Sadao's papa work hard, morning to night."

"I'm sure he did. So did my parents."

"Many times not enough to eat, so papa go catch fish."

"Did he bring home anything?"

"All time . . .trouto, catfish, steelhead, salmon, white fish. All kinds. Children always happy."

AS she sat rocking she glanced now and then at the road impatiently and thought about how hard she and her husband used to work growing celery, lettuce and cabbage for the stores in town. They used to get up at dawn and work till dusk, bent over in the field, pulling up weeds and spreading fertilizer.

"Aki," her husband would say, calling her by her nickname in the middle of a hot day, *"yasu moo.* Let's rest."

They would return to the house and sit on the porch with a glass of Pepsi Cola and survey the results of their labor. Her husband would sit in the old rocking chair and she would sit by him on the concrete steps. They talked about the mortgage on the farm and the prices of seeds and equipment and clothes for the children.

"Everything cost so much," he'd say. "Must have Sadao and children be more careful."

"Hai, material expensive, too. But I make more clothes."

"You must make mine, too."

"Yes, I will."

"We must save money for next payment."

She would agree. The farm was their whole life. Twice they had almost lost it, and the house they had built themselves. But her husband was able to negotiate an extension while he found a temporary job working at a filling station. She worked at a restaurant as a waitress. Somehow they had been able to make the payments even with the children growing up.

She was used to hard work. Even as a young girl on her father's farm in Hiroshima, she worked long hours, bending over and pressing rice shoots into the soft mud to the rhythm of a chant. Sometimes the day was occupied, especially in winter when the work was slow, by carrying her baby brother strapped to her back and pumping water at the community pump for the evening bath. She'd listen to the neighbor women gossip loudly about the merits of a new bride or the outlandish price of thread. She helped her mother with the cooking by washing the long, slender leeks for the soup they were to have and splitting the firewood. At other times she would take her brother in tow and go to the mountain to gather faggots. Since the people of the entire village depended upon the forest for their supply of firewood, she had to go farther and farther into the mountains each time and would, when the day was pleasant, take her lunch—a few rice balls wrapped in dried seawood—and spend the entire day above the valley until she had a bundle of faggots which she would strap to her back and carry down the road.

When she was nineteen, she received a letter from her uncle in a neighboring town and went to visit him. She was shown a picture. It was her future husband, although she did not know it at the time. She and her parents discussed her going to America to marry Tomoyuki Shimada. She balked. America was a planet away. And she would be marrying a man she didn't even know. But her parents insisted that she was of a marriageable age and that Tomoyuki was earning good wages. She finally consented to send her picture to him, and when she did it was just as good as giving him her hand. He was a sturdy man of medium height, with handsome features. There were several pictures of him, one of them was of a group of Japanese posing at the edge of a field of vegetables. They all wore strange looking clothes. He wrote that there were many Japanese where he was, working on farms, and that they would have a good life together. He mentioned nothing of the hard times they had living with the white people. She had to discover that for herself.

America was a vast country. As the years passed she became less homesick for the mountains of her village and adjusted to life in the new country. She and her husband worked hard at various jobs, always dreaming of having land of their own although the law which denied them citizenship also prohibited them from owning land. They could have bought a piece of property in Sadao's name since he was an American citizen but the land they had their hearts set on was sold and they could not buy another. Then the war broke out. They were stunned and while they were still in the state of shock they were evacuated from the West Coast and put into a concentration camp.

After the war was over and the camps dissolved, they migrated back to the West Coast—without their first son who was killed in Italy after he volunteered to leave the camp to fight. He won a Silver Star for his bravery in action with the 442nd. She cherished his picture which still showed him in uniform after all the years. He was a slender youth with a firm set jaw. He looked like her husband, although he was slightly taller.

She and her husband worked for several years and put down a payment on the piece of land. They finally had property. Soil they could nurture and grow crops on. It was small but they would have been considered well-to-do in terms of their fellow countrymen. They borrowed money and built the house which was their first real home. She remembered when they first moved into the new home, complete with good used furniture. She sat down on the sofa and cried and thanked Buddha for their good fortune. They had a party with their friends. Beer and potato chips. For the first time in her life she got tipsy and joked and even laughed at the risque stories the men told. It was unheard of. Tomoyuki had teased her about it afterwards.

"We must drink more often," he had said. "Good for heart."

But she knew he wouldn't. Only on special occasions like the house warming and New Years. Once he had made an exception. For years Tomoyuki could not get over the death of his son. They had received news of his being killed in action while they were still in the camp and Tomoyuki was wild with grief. He wanted to hold an old-fashioned wake with all of his friends, presided over by a priest and followed by a sumptuous feast in remembrance of his son. But there was nothing to accommodate his wishes in the camp. He finally had a retired minister hold a prayer meeting for the dead boy who had turned twenty-two only days before he was killed. The service was simple and a touch of the traditional Buddhistic ceremony was added to the Christian prayers by displaying a picture of the boy bordered with black crepe on an orange crate. Akiko's grief was not spent so easily. Even now she would sometimes dream of the death of her first son.

"Seiji," she'd say, calling her son's name, *"ga shinda.* Seiji is dead."

After the war when they were settled in a different home, Tomoyuki held a private wake for his son with a bottle of whisky and got drunk by himself. He wept silently and never mentioned the name of his son again. The picture atop the TV set smiled at the world at large with youthful confidence and anticipation. It was the way she remembered him and when the loneliness of living alone grew around her like a heavy, cold mantle, clinging to her and choking out the warmth of her heart, she cried for her boy who had died so full of promise.

A car cruised down the road and Akiko looked up in anticipation, expecting it to slow down and turn into her driveway. But it was the wrong color and it did not stop. Sh settled back again and continued to knit. It was midafternoon. Where were they? she thought. Were they just going to dash in and dash right out without spending any time with her? They usually came before noon, and they would spend the afternoon together and sit down to a meal she would cook, just as she had in the old days. Every other Sunday, it was their custom to come to her place. When her husband was alive they used to exchange visits back and forth, because eighty miles was a long way to drive every week. She



(VAN photo by TOM EGAN)

could drive but she considered herself already too old to make long trips to the city and only went into town for groceries every so often. Maybe they had an accident, she thought and shuddered. She tugged at her ear as if to ward off any bad luck. She hated sudden news of death. If she heard a person had been sick or injured and died, she could take time to adjust herself to the event. But to have someone come and tell her all of a sudden that a friend had died shocked her. Her friends from the old days were practically all gone. Two of them still lived in the city and her older sister was living in another state. Otherwise they had all died. She felt alone.

"Tomoyuki-san," she said aloud to her dead husband. "Sadao, Tadashi and Noriko no come yet. I want to fix them good dinner. We have good time tonight. Just like old times. Maybe today good day for *sake.*"

She petted the small black dog lying at her feet, scratching behind its ears and stroking its muzzle.

"Kuro-chan," she said affectionately. "They no come yet. You cannot play with Tadashi. Maybe you too old already, anyway. You only sleep, all day long, all night long. Today good day for party. Maybe we go buy *sake.* Tomoyuki-san like *sake* but no drink very much."

A car suddenly slowed down along the road and turned into the driveway. Her heart leaped. Setting her knitting aside and standing up, she gazed at the new car which was of a different color. Sadao was always changing cars.

When it stopped in front of the garage, she knew instantly it was someone else. Peering into the car, she could make out the features of Mr. Hanley, the insurance man, through the tinted glass.

"Hello, Mrs. Shimada," he called. "It's a fine day, isn't it?"

"Hai, fine day."

"I see you're getting an early start for winter," he said, pointing to the knitting.

"Ah, this? This is present, for grandson."

"Nice color."

She noded.

"Hello there, Kuro," Mr. Hanley said, heartily, petting the dog. "How's the old boy?"

"Getting old," she said.

"Aren't we all, though."

When he was through playing with the dog, he reached into his briefcase and pulled out a legal-looking document.

"I need your signature on this, Mrs. Shimada, for the monthly payments. Your husband provided well for you."

"Hai, he was good man."

"He certainly was."

He handed her a pen and pointed to the spot where she was to sign. She painstakingly wrote her name on the line.

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'Go for Broke' book pre-pub offer ending Jan. 31, 1981

SAN MATEO, Ca.—A hard-cover deluxe publication, "Go For Broke", is being published as commemorative volume to the Go For Broke Exhibit opening at the Presidio Army Museum in early 1981. The book is scheduled for release in March, 1981.

With proceeds from book sales going toward the exhibit, which will include some 170 large photographs from the Army archives and from selected private collections, the book is available at the pre-publication price of $22.95, and price after Jan. 31, 1981, is $27.95.

Military maps and a 30,000-word narrative will accompany pictures of the 100th Infantry and 442nd Regt. Combat Team from training through Europe and return home.

Checks are payable to JACP, Inc., and remitted to JACP, Inc., 414 E. 3rd Ave., San Mateo, CA 94401. There is an additional $1.50 charge for postage-handling, plus 6% sales tax for California residents.

A False Lead

Continued from Page 9

Gladys," Sakai mumbled. "Have to keep up - personal grooming - regulations - er -"

"Geez gosh, I haven't a spare. Got a safety pin? No? Well, I think I got one in my skirt."

She searched, Sakai turned away. But Gladys came up to him.

"Pin this on for me, will ya?" Dull red creeping into his cheeks, he jabbed with pin, grappled with the button. Gladys was evidently delighted with the rakish results.

"You're a real puss-cat - excuse me, an officer and a gentleman," she thanked him. "I'll make fresh coffee. You look like you could use it." She paused. "By the way - this gypsy lady -"

"She was no gypsy. She was -." He broke off abruptly. He and Gladys stared at each other.

"This mind-reading lady. Did she say anything about grass beds? Or mention Mrs. Kawano? You remember, the little shy woman who was taken for a bundle by a real smooth, sweet-talking person called Sister Marja?"

"Gladys, bring me the file on that Kawano case. If you can find it."

"*That* one I sure can find. Was no big deal like murder or kidnapping but it sure was interesting."

Their coffee cooled as they studied the sparse file. Meek little Clelia Kawano had expended more money than she could afford for the advice and companionship of one Sister Marja, aka Marja Matthew, who had suddenly disappeared from her quarters in a street-front store with three months' rent unpaid. No reported records. No known arrests.

"Hm. Hm." Sakai said. "A lot of stuff in here about Kawano's life and background, nothing about the other one. Just another false lead."

"It rings a bell in my head somehow, it sure does. I'd bet my life

"That's a big bet."

"Huh. Just because my latest diet isn't working, you don't have to be always making cracks about my size."

"I didn't mean it that way. Miss Frantz, as representatives of the force it is our obligation to present an image - neatness - orderly - -"

"Yeah! Thanks a lot! That's why you have on mismatched socks, huh?"

Gladys heaved with real hurt. Detective Sakai sought to console her.

"O.K. we'll follow on this one -"

"That's right! Tell you what, tonight we'll both go down there for the thingumbobses - "

"The services."

"Services. I'll wear something real funky to put her off the track. Woman to woman!"

Sakai shuddered. He hated to imagine what Gladys could mean by a 'funky outfit.' Moreover, this dual enterprise was too close to many a TV plot which had girl operative and detective in all too close a rapport.

Nonetheless, seven PM found them at the door of the Holistic Joyous Temple. Inside were four people, a street derelict, two elderly woman and a stout person whose fading fair hair was pulled into a formidable bun. She stood aghast before Gladys' 'funky outfit' for a moment, then bid them be seated.

"Is Reverend Elva around? I don't see her."

"Reverend Elva not here, I leading service, I Reverend Cora," the answer came in a strong Nordic accent.

"When's she coming back?"

"She have sick brother in Meene-*sota*. Very sick, must go. I in charge temple. After service, good coffee, nice sand-cookies."

"We came to see Reverend Elva.—Look, I'm a detective. See this? - You give me some info on Madam Elva or there won't be no services tonight, no coffee, no nice sand-cookies, nothing."

"Elva nice lady," the woman faltered, ready to cry. "Why you make trouble? She convert me this temple three, four week ago. Everything fine. She talk good, help people lots."

"Do you know her real name? Where she came from?"

"Name Elva Rossiter.—Look here, here is letter. I think must be for you. She just say, give to short gentleman if he come."

"A *letter?*"

"Give it here, pronto," commanded Gladys, still playing her part to the hilt.

They seized the plain white envelope. There was no address on the cover. They read:

DEAR DETECTIVE. We could have enjoyed more conversations if you had not blown your cover too soon. Changes and joyous improvements will ensue in your life for which I might have been a helper had not circumstances called me hence. Sayonara and Godspeed.

MARJA.

Chūō Gakuin

Continued from Page 8

To her, however, the lull in the fighting continuing, the day seemed like any other quiet Sunday morning. She turned right at Nuuanu St, passed before the front of the Consulate, and continued townward.

She crossed School St. and came abreast of Foster Botanic Garden. This splendid retreat of towering tropical trees, plants, flowers, pool and hothouses had begun 86 years before as a private residence. In 1930, the Foster family, owners at the time, had bequeathed it to the people of Honolulu.

She passed Foster Garden and came before a large building, once a mansion. The building had passed through a transitional stage where it was occupied by a Japanese doctor before gaining its present identity: Hosoi Mortuary.

Since the yard of the mortuary was separated from Chūō Gakuin by only a wire-mesh fence, Herman Hosoi, the owner, was block warden for the area.

Across the street from Chūō Gakuin was another old mansion, which held the offices of Dr. Motokazu Mori. Ishiko, wife of Motokazu, and also a physician, was local correspondent for the Tokyo daily, *Yomiuri Shimbun*. The Mori residence was elsewhere.

December 5, Yomiuri had phoned the Moris from Tokyo. Motokazu took the call. Yomiuri had asked about planes, searchlights, the weather, the number of sailors around and about flowers. "Presently," said Dr. Mori, "the flowers in bloom are the fewest of the whole year. However, the hibiscus and poinsettia are in bloom now."

The poinsettias, which blossom only at this season, spread their leaves, red as the brightest blood, in great scarlet stains against the greensward.

The FBI had monitored the call and turned it over to Lt. Col. George Bicknell, Short's counterintelligence officer. At 6:30 p.m., December 6, Bicknell had caught Short and his intelligence officer, Lt. Col. Kendall Fielder, as they were leaving their quarters at Fort Shafter to attend a party.

The three officers mulled over the phone call, trying to discover some link in it to the warning that hostile action might be expected at any moment. Short found none. After almost an hour, he told Bicknell he was "too intelligence-conscious." They separated with the intention of thinking it over and talking about it some more in the morning.

Perhaps they did think of it as Japanese planes swarmed down on Pearl Harbor and its protecting airfields and the FBI moved to take the Moris into custody.

* * *

Chūō Gakuin had been founded by a far-sighted Christian minister, the Rev. Takie Okumura, in 1896. At that time, most Japanese immigrants intended to return to Japan to live. Children born to them in Hawaii had a poor grasp of the ancestral tongue and so, lacking communication, lost much parental guidance. Moreover, the children, being ignorant of written Japanese, would find it difficult, perhaps impossible, to adjust to the curriculum of the Japanese schools.

The curriculum concentrated on reading, writing and improving the standard of Japanese. Integrated into the teaching was a course in moral ethics stressing courtesy, filial piety, respect for seniors and for the law.

In 1899, the school acquired and occupied the site at 1464 Nuuanu St. Chūō Gakuin, as it now came to be called, had been the first Japanese language school on Oahu. But the idea of the language school quickly found favor and emulators sprang up in the various enclaves throughout Hawaii. The schools tended to be the center of activity in the neighborhoods in which they were located. The Japanese immigrants respected and trusted the schools. The more prominent and successful Nikkei were proud to serve them as directors.

Chūō Gakuin shared this characteristic. But unlike the other schools it was more than a neighborhood facility. It was the center of Japanese activity throughout the islands. Its auditorium was capable of seating 500 persons; by opening some sliding doors, the capacity could be considerably increased.

Many historic meetings had been held in the auditorium. But perhaps the most dramatic of all would occur there that morning.

The language schools did their best to soften the community hostility. From 1940 they had made it a point to perform the daily ceremony of raising the American flag and leading the students in saluting this symbol of their native land.

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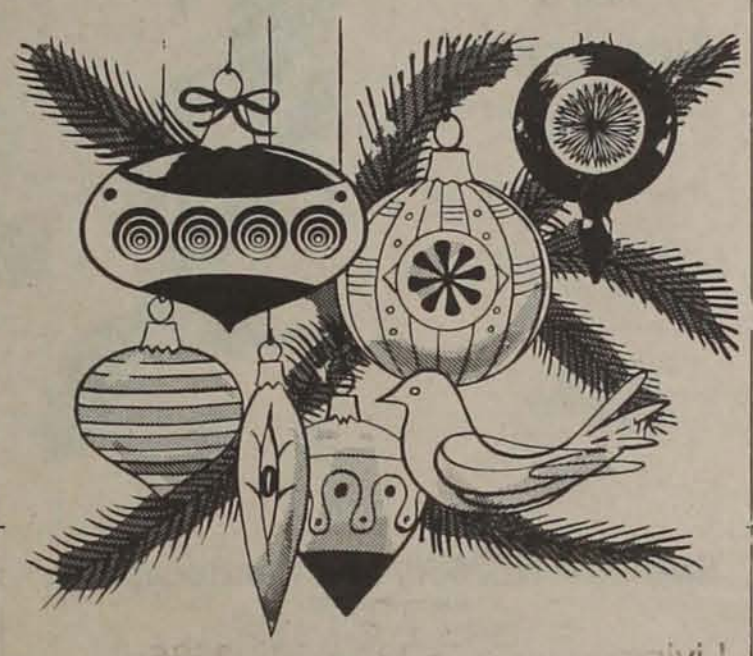
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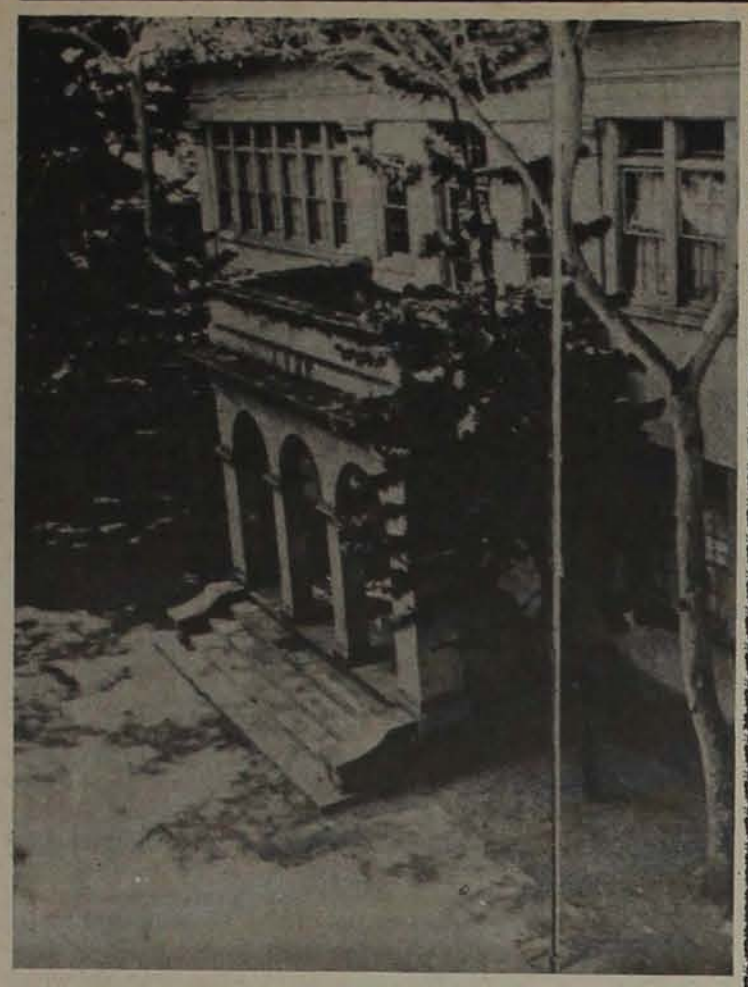
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Entrance to the concrete Chuo Gakuin in a 1941 photo. Building is gone but the gold trees flanking the entrance remain are fully grown.

Chūō Gakuin

Continued from Page 29

The Sunday class accommodated children without church affiliaton. A purpose was to discourage juvenile delinquency. The class was limited to those from the first seven grades; being designed chiefly as recreation, discipline was relaxed. The ceremony of raising and saluting the American flag, faithfully observed on other days, was disregarded.

On an ordinary Sunday, she would see 150 or so members of the Sunday class frolicking in the yard. In addition, there would be some other students, who would not attend the class, gathered to play catch-ball. In the office there might be a group of students from the upper school, working on the next year's annual. Some teachers, not on duty, might drop by to attend to some unfinished business.

According to the custom of Hawaii, almost all the boys in the yard would be barefoot. A few of the girls might be wearing straw sandals.

Things were as usual this Sunday except there was a tension among the students never shown before.

She went to the steps of the wooden building that housed the auditorium. As a senior teacher, she was to be nominally in charge of the class. The two male teachers who were to assist her, Hiroshi Honda and — Nakagawa came towards her.

Yoichi Sakai, 8, approached. The preceding year he had been in the second grade she taught. On Sundays he liked to officiate by ringing the assembly bell, a privilege restricted to teachers on weekdays.

"Yoichi San," she said, "you may ring the bell."

Yoichi went into the teachers' office to press the button of the bell. The bell rang out. The children ran to the steps and assembled in single file.

Children and teachers bowed gravely to each other (but) *in the midst of this gracious obeisance, there came the pop of explosives and a full roar followed by a trembling of the ground. The more excitable children straightened quickly and looked skyward for the source of the disturbance.*

High above and towards the sea, a plane, trailing black smoke, was flying southeastward.

The second wave of Japanese planes - 36 fighters, 54 high-level bombers and 81 dive bombers - had renewed the attack.

She said sharply, "Don't look at the sky."

She turned and went up the outside stairs that led to the auditorium on the upper floor, the children clattering after her.

Just inside the auditorium, mimeographed song books were stacked on a long table. As each child entered, he picked up a

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Identity Crisis of the Sansei and the American Concentration Camp

By Nobu Miyoshi, M.S.W.

The impetus to consider the intergenerational dilemma associated with the camp experience of the Japanese Americans was generated out of the first hand observation of the impressive clinical and teaching skills demonstrated by Ivan Boszormenyi-Nagy under the Univ. of Pennsylvania, Dept. of Psychiatry Residency Training Program. Countless hours of discussions I had with him were anchored in the clarification of his pioneering endeavors described in *Invisible Loyalties* (Nagy and Spark, 1973). Further horizons were broadened when he agreed to serve in the capacity of a consultant in the entire project. I express my indebtedness to him for the enrichment he fostered.

The final form of this article would not have been possible without the integrity of communication I had with my Sansei friend, Adele Nakayama who steadfastly prodded me over many steps for vitality and clarity of expression. As a Nisei, I, along with my Nisei group, am handicapped with a tendency toward suppression and ambiguity. I thank her also for being a source of inspiration.

Arrangements for securing the National Institute of Mental Health grant were made by Pat Okura, then Assistant to the Director of NIMH. His accessibility and sustained interest and warmth of encouragement are appreciated.

To all those who generously participated in this project and who are mentioned here under fictitious names, I express my deeply felt appreciation. They provided the necessary context of this paper.

To Gale Asaka whose contributions as a Sansei and as my assistant in the family sessions enhanced the dialogues, I express my respect and appreciation.

John Ebert's kind assistance in editing a portion of this writing is acknowledged with gratitude.

I thank the staff of the sponsoring organization of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) for the various services they rendered.

Indebtedness to Miss Tomi Mochizuki is acknowledged for her extended responsiveness to my resource needs at the Japan House library in New York City.

—N.M

Introduction

A pilot project was launched after two Sansei sisters, Caroline and Theresa Nishi, spoke to their parent generation at an Eastern District Council JACL meeting. They were pleading for assistance with what they called their "identity crisis". The Sansei's complaint was that their Nisei parents were not sharing their experiences, attitudes, and feelings especially as related to the concentration camps and their Japanese cultural backgrounds. They added that although some of the recent literature was illuminating, it did not help the Sansei gain a more personal understanding and connection with their roots that they felt only their parents could provide.

What was of particular interest was the context in which the sisters presented their request for help and how it resembled a relational model that family theorists and family therapists have pursued. Specifically, that concerns of family members can be dealt with more effectively in the light of role expectations and the quality of negotiations evolved among them rather than focusing attention on just one member. (Ackerman, 1970; Boszormenyi-Nagy, and Framo, 1965; Bowen, 1966; Jackson and Satir, 1961)

For the purpose of this study the conceptual framework of family dynamics that is relevant to identity aspects of the Sansei is the intergenerational or three-generational model advanced by Nagy. It is built on the fundamental premise that even more important than the expressions that can be seen and heard, are the motivational determinants secluded from overt expression that profoundly influence the identity of family members down the generations.

Nagy furthermore has organized a system of family therapy around the concept of "mutual accountability." Significant to this concept is what the author calls "merit balance," which is sought in transactions between the benefactor and the debtor so that benefits received incur responsibility of accountability. (Nagy and Spark, 1973) This concept, by the way, was familiar to the Issei through their orientation to "*On*" - a Japanese type of obligation. A noteworthy analysis of "*On*" in the Japanese culture is presented by Lebra (1974).

From this perspective, the Sansei are heir to ethnic values that have been passed down to them from their Issei grandparents through their Nisei parents. Implicit within the highly developed concepts of loyalty that exist in the Japanese culture is the obligation that falls upon those carriers of cultural legacies to somehow deal with them. Family therapists have found that the manner in which obligatory responsibilities are handled by the family system affects the identities of the members within that system.

An important objective in this type of family work is to unburden relationships by encouraging dialogues among family members whereby protected, hidden and even unconscious conflicts of loyalty obligations, myths and legends can surface and be examined. Something special happens in the face-to-face coping with internal family matters to which interviews with individual members in isolation of their families cannot be compared.

For this reason, I suggest that multigenerational family sessions among the Japanese Americans offers a medium in which to give and receive encouragement and help. Valuable as it is for the Sansei to hold "rap" sessions among themselves about their identities, it can be even more rewarding to take the risks of venture and effort to openly exchange concerns with those people who have directly influenced their identities.

One of the most hauntingly pressing issues facing the Japanese Americans today is their concentration camp experience during World War II. Yet the major group of survivors—the Nisei—generally do not confront the implications of it within themselves or with their own children. In many respects the Nisei have been permanently altered in their attitudes, both positively and negatively, in regard to their identification with the values of their bicultural heritage; or they remain confused or even injured by the traumatic experience.

Many issues surrounding the concentration camp experiences involving the Issei and Nisei plague the Sansei as they reach adolescence and beyond. It coincides with the period in their lives when identity factors are explored. As with all youths, conscious and unconscious reliance on their familial endowments become a critical part of this. For the Sansei the lack of communication regarding their forbears' camp experience represents a symbol of an intergenerational ethnic and personal gap. I suggest that a significant area of the Sansei's identity needs can be fulfilled through open dialogues between themselves and their Nisei parents. The process by which such a goal is achieved in family therapy sessions requires mutual striving, giving and trusting. It is not solely up to the Nisei parents "to explain" or "to describe" the implications of the experience as much as it is a joint venture wherein parents and their children assist each other to listen, to confidently ask difficult questions, and to gain the courage necessary to confront the pain, shame, as well as the poignant and pleasurable moments associated with incarceration.

An objective of this paper is to indicate some of the issues that could be circumventing the Nisei's ability to more openly deal with the camp experience with the Sansei. The "psychological knot" within the Nisei that is recognized by Kiefer (1974) has resulted, in part, from their commitments to both their American and Japanese heritages. Perhaps it is their unspeakable loyalty obligations to their Japanese heritage that is the source of their greatest conflict. The serious dedication of the Issei to culturally train their children is a significant part of the Issei-Nisei history. (Hosokawa, 1969; Keifer, 1974; Kitano, 1969).

Among the collection of materials written about the personality development of the Nisei, Sone (1953) gives a credible portrayal of the cultural diaspora created by her parent generation in the Pacific Northwest in which the Issei and Nisei nestled. The author describes the cultural training that she and her contemporaries received within their homes and within the Japanese American communities through the guidance of people who seriously tried to be a credit to their own heritage.

Sone also articulates the occasional shock she experienced when she unexpectedly recognized personal differences between herself and her white contemporaries. In spite of her conscious desire to become Americanized, she realized that unconscious processes of cultural osmosis shaped her ethnic identify. This experience is shared by the Nisei whose paradoxical bicultural realities are phased in and out of their consciousness throughout their lives. It was found that "The Nisei....regarded the United States as their home. Although they were basically Japanese in many of their underlying attitudes, they had many American tastes, skills and habits that their parents lacked." (Kiefer, 1974, p. 97).

From the standpoint of parenting, satisfactory achievement was attained by the Issei in that they were able to give their children a sense of identity. In this close bond, the Nisei consciously and unconsciously perceived basic values associated with family and group identity much in the same way that their parents did. When Pearl Harbor was bombed by Japan and the United States Government began to consider severe measures against their Japanese American population, the commitment of the Japanese Americans to their cultural values of obligation and loyalty was severely challenged.

Eastern U.S. Sansei complain their parents not helpful in sharing own cultural background.

This project is naturally not related to statistical implications but are articulations of members of four family units who engaged in explorations of their life experiences in association with their Japanese heritage. The goal of holding ten multigenerational sessions was met with each of the three families and seven sessions were held with the fourth.

In the process of organizing the material, the subject of the concentration camp experience and its impact on the Sansei gained priority for this article. I then expanded discussions with numerous Nisei and Sansei and added the information gained from them to that which I accrued over the years as a Nisei who experienced the evacuation from the West Coast. Suggested topics for further research are: Okaishi and the Sansei (accountability for benefits received by the Sansei), Mourning of the Issei, and Hereditary Legacies of the Sansei.

What follows in this article are areas of intergenerational stress between the Nisei and the Sansei related to the concentration camp experience and how this is bound to the Sansei's quest for a closer identification with their ethnic origins. Reference will be made to established explanations for the culturally determined attitudes and behavior of the Issei and the Nisei. Also I will suggest some interpretations heretofore not elaborated upon in the literature.

The dilemma and quiet desperation expressed by the Sansei in this study will be mentioned in the context of several Nisei-Sansei intergenerational conflict areas. This will be accompanied by references to possible dynamic and cultural forces that affect the position of the respective generations.

1 Communication

¶ Sansei Perspective

The Sansei seem to feel they are caught in a dilemma between their "quiet" Nisei parents and their other identity model of "verbal" Americans. Perhaps this is a reason the Sansei see the seemingly passive attitudes of their parents concerning their camp experience as symbolic of an identification barrier between the generations—"...around that issue is a statement that they can't talk to each other." This is a thought expressed by Amy Nakagami, an Eastern Sansei in her 30's.

Speculation occurs among the Sansei as to why the Nisei cannot speak of their personal experiences and reactions about camp. Do problems of communication rest only with the Nisei or do the Sansei have their biases and difficulties in understanding the comments made by the Nisei?

Marion Oda, an Eastern Sansei raised these concerns: "...we are our parents' children so there's reticence in us too, perhaps. So...the real desperation has not been communicated...I wonder if Sansei are structuring their questions in ways that don't allow their need to know or their desperation to show... Maybe it's the way the Sansei are saying or asking that are putting the Nisei off..."

Another comment made by Sue Ito was "...Maybe you're getting answers but you don't like the answers you get...I asked my uncle, he gave me both...'conditions were terrible' - not in a self righteous way, 'but it was also good for some of us'...I suppose it was hard for me to hear that...I didn't want to. I wanted to hear what an abuse it was to human dignity..."

When Grace Fujisawa heard that Bill Takenaka on the West Coast had not revealed his camp experiences to his children because it was a *haji* (shame) to be "punished for no reason," her spontaneous reaction was "It's perplexing. It must be an ethnic thing. Why should he be the one to feel shame? It should be the perpetrators who should feel shame."

Still another suggestion was offered by Harriet Schmitt, a Sansei of mixed parentage in the East Coast "...I get the feeling the camp experience softened them because of the shock they had to go through. It kind of gave them a caution..."

The quest and identification of the Sansei with their parents' camp experience have evolved into a sympathetic quiet interest. The Sansei of the '70s have been described by Don Hayashi, JACL Headquarters in San Francisco, (1977) as "quiet observers and listeners" in contrast to the vocal, demanding Sansei of the '60s who learned that protests made directly to the Nisei or in their behalf only alienated their parent generation. The Sansei noticed that the Nisei on the West Coast are just beginning to talk more openly among themselves about the painful side of their camp experience. Hayashi furthermore observed that this openness is not shared with the Sansei.

What the Sansei have been hearing and still do most of the time from the Nisei is a casual response that leaves the Sansei puzzled, as reflected in a conversation Ellen Nose had with a friend on the West Coast—"I was talking to a Sansei...she said 'It's funny they (Nisei) talk about it (camp) as though they had a good time', so we laugh about it. It's something that's really perplexing to me. I don't understand how you can have a good time...maybe they had a good time, but it's never been explained..."

¶ Nisei Perspective

Individual Nisei are generally not consciously aware why they fall into a verbally nonassertive group of Americans in spite of their often intense hope to become otherwise. Hosokawa's apt descriptive title of his history on the Japanese Americans, *Nisei: the Quiet Americans*, affirms the collective image that the Nisei themselves realize is theirs. There is no adequate way to refute it. In fact, the Nisei's bland reactions to what is unmistakably a major personal and historical tragedy endured during the evacuation and incarceration, highlights their deeply entrenched silence.

For example, I had a conversation on the West Coast with a Nisei couple, Dr. and Mrs. Glen Imai and their two daughters, Frances and Dolores. The subject of the internment of their mother was brought up by Frances. She suddenly asked her mother what it was like for her to be there. The response was "Oh it wasn't bad." With some stress in her voice, Frances urged her mother to review letters that she wrote to their father describing the hardships she experienced. Her mother's comment was "Did I say that?" This is illustrative of the Nisei-Sansei exchanges that undoubtedly occur in any location in the United States. Some of the possible contributory factors related to the phenomenon of silence among the Nisei are of interest here.

Apartheid Milieu

The Nisei's ethnic sensitivity and defensiveness have existed since their early years in primary education partly in response to the apartheid mentality that surrounded them along the Pacific Coast. The practice of severe anti-Oriental discrimination for decades is part of an established chronicle of that region. (ten Broek, Barnhart, and Matson, 1970; Chuman, 1976) A method by which the Nisei dealt with this racial discrimination was to deny any knowledge of their Japanese cultural heritage.

Such suppression of their ethnic connection also possibly served as an identity anchorage for them, similar to the manner in which Freud noticed that he was strengthened when he silently bore his loyalty to his own Jewish heritage in the midst of discrimination and hostility that swirled around him "...many obscure emotional forces, which were the more powerful the less they could be expressed in words, as well as a clear consciousness of inner identity..." (Freud, Vol. XX, p. 274, 1959)

Clashing of Legacies

I suggest that the Nisei, at times, are boxed into an untenable position that they find difficult to change without "losing face." Their admiring American constituents remind the Nisei of the valiant, uncomplaining way they "patriotically" cooperated with the United States Government's action to evacuate and intern them into concentration camps. Fred Stripp, then Director of Forensics, Lecturer in Rhe-

Continued on Next Page

Nobu Miyoshi

Continued from Previous Page

toric and Acting Chairman of Rhetoric Dept., Univ. of California at Berkeley, delivered a sermon at a Young People's Christian Conference reunion held on August 28, 1977 in Berkeley. At one point he reflected the hope and gratitude of the conscience-stricken Americans that the Nisei have "forgiven" what happened to them. The Nisei in turn feel appreciative for such acknowledgment of their sacrifices and often seem to go along with it.

Nisei Defensiveness

It is difficult to know the Nisei's actual reactions to their children's plea to tell them about their personal attitudes and experiences in the concentration camps. Parents, who in many other respects, willingly devote themselves to the needs of their children appear not to hear what the Sansei are asking of them.

Remarks that are frequently heard among the Nisei parents are: "We don't tell because they (Sansei) don't ask." "Past is past, why dig up forgotten memories? The future is important." "Why burden our children? Why instill doubts in our children?" etc. Among the possible contributing factors related to the defensive posture of the Nisei, two will be mentioned here.

The pervasive protective attitude of the Nisei parents toward their children applies, somewhat, to their desire to shield the Sansei from knowledge of their camp experiences. They want to see their children integrate into the major society with less prejudicial impact than they had. I have perceived that the Nisei parents generally regard their children's social adjustment with satisfaction.

The second contributing factor is the Nisei's possible concern that they will break down in the presence of their children. Nisei are aware of the deep emotions displayed by some of their colleagues when they forthrightly confronted their own attitudes about camp. Perhaps a tolerable way to cope with the whole episode of incarceration at the present time is to dwell on the lighter and even nostalgic remembrances associated with the sustaining and warm communal life shared among the internees while they faced a common ordeal.

Non-Verbal Communication

Whereas the ethnic identity of the Nisei was solidly implanted into their lives by their Issei immigrant parents through effective culturally evolved non-verbal communication, the Sansei's experience with their parents has not been quite the same.

For one thing, the Sansei's reliance on verbal communication is greater than their parents' was: "Nisei can sit around and nod to each other and still get a lot accomplished." This was uttered by a previously mentioned Sansei, Harriett Schmitt, who was mystified by the mind-reading capabilities of the Nisei. It appears rather similar to what is practiced in Japan. "Among fellow-members a single word would suffice for the whole sentence." (Nakane, 1970, p. 126) Perhaps the Nisei consciously and unconsciously assume their children are interpreting their messages with the same naturalness that they understood their own Issei parents. It is common to hear among the Nisei that their parents didn't "talk" to them.

Actually the phenomenon of communication outside of the spoken language is not unknown in the West. Professionally we realize the potency of unconscious and/or unspoken communication that exists, for example, in family relationships that nurture cohesive elements of legacies and myths among its members. However on the day-to-day level of communication, verbal restraint is viewed as a social handicap, if not an abnormality in the United States. Criticisms are directed toward those who lack "assertiveness" or whose behavior is "withdrawn." In Japanese society verbal restraint is viewed as a strength and a virtue.

The Nisei were recipients of a gift of strength from their parents who passed on to them a mode by which life situations could be mastered. Somehow the Issei set themselves up as models to be copied by their children just as they copied qualities, without use of words, from their own ancestors. From this experience the Nisei emerged with a respect for a kind of individuality based on privacy and an ability to contain rather than to share or to give way to emotionality. The subtleties of awareness picked up in this type of communication result in a wisdom and a resource for survival that are beyond gross verbal interpretations or descriptions.

The Issei and Nisei can relate to their daily existence and challenges with dignity without even talking about their camp experiences. This can be seen as some kind of enigmatic tower of strength within the Nisei and resented by the Sansei because knowledge of achieving such mastery is not shared with them. Or the elders are feared to be "weak" because "...the Sansei—without being aware of the cultural derivation of their parents' silence—judge them according to their own American standards... I as a Sansei have always perceived this issue exclusively by my American standards - even though in a strange way, we also share the same non-assertiveness as the Nisei. It seems we judge Nisei and ourselves by the part that is American in us." This was Luanne Narahama's reflection to the content of the previous paragraph. The culturally influenced communication gap between the Nisei and the Sansei is a painful one for both generations. The Nisei's compelling desire to pass on to their children their gift of strength is thwarted by the mismatch of the modes of communication in which each of the generations functions. Both are ensnared in a difficult trap out of which there appears to be, at best, a possibility for only a slight degree of modification.

Sacrifice of all Nisei 'suicide' battalion of 442nd a turning point in U.S. attitude

Unspeakable Legacies and Roots

In contrast to the foregoing, more or less, familiar reasons for the silent attitude of the Nisei about their camp experience, the elusive conflicts arising from their commitment to their cultural heritage could conceivably be the source of their greatest inhibition.

It was unspeakable for the Nisei at the time of Evacuation, as it seems to be today, to articulate their identification with the cultural values that their Issei parents instilled in them. One such value is that of *On*—return of benefits received. The Nisei were exhorted by their parents to be mindful of their need to cultivate within their deepest being an understanding of what is *Makoto*—truthfulness that has implications of a deep spirit of dedication. Many lessons in Japanese history learned by the Nisei at language schools demonstrated how sacrificial dedication built up the civilization of Japan; however there was no way for the Nisei to manifest the kind of ethnic pride their parents had. It was safer to emphasize their Americanism and even deny their Japanese identification in the racist climate of their surroundings. Nonetheless, it is my opinion that the Nisei, willingly or not, were caught up in the silent bearing of an indebtedness owed to the cultural aspirations of their parents without which the Nisei would be diminished in their identity and sense of continuity.

2 Nisei Identity Model - Weak or Strong?—

¶ Sansei Perspective

The image the Nisei portray to their children is a concern natural to all parent-child relationships. It is possible the majority of the Sansei are puzzled as to how to view their parents' easy "capitulation" to incarceration out of "loyalty" to a government which was oppressive to them at that time. With their background in American democratic process and perhaps a more acute political awareness growing out of events in recent American history, the Sansei cannot understand why their parents were "weak" in exercising their rights as "loyal American citizens." The Nisei did not insist upon the protection of their welfare and freedom from their own government. It presents a disturbing identity model for the Sansei that has not improved with time.

The Sansei appear to invest some hope in understanding their parents by using the camp experience as a reference point. To their mystification the Sansei are realizing that not even the supposedly devastating experience of detention in camps has altered the unpenetrable sheath that insulates their parents. Were their parents strong? The Sansei would like to think so because a part of them would be strong also. Did the Nisei put forth the idea that "The Sansei need to know...Did their parents have pride in being Japanese? Because that's the most damaging interpretation of the indifference of the Nisei is that it was all right with them. Not so much to be locked away but there is no sense of a damaged ethnic pride...through all that you're acting; you are saying, 'We were loyal Americans'. It's like washing that ethnic thing away...I think the Sansei want to say to their parents 'Did you even have an ethnic pride?' It's obvious to the Nisei that they did...but maybe not to the Sansei..."

¶ Nisei Perspective

A helpful way to conceive of the Japanese American situation is to use the analogy of the family. The father in *Farewell to Manzanar* expresses his position of a child caught with dual parental loyalties at the time of World War II when he asks rhetorically: "When your mother and your father are having a fight, do you want them to kill each other? Or do you just want them to stop fighting." (Houston and Houston, 1973; p. 55)

The Japanese could represent one parent whose culture and ancestors are part of the investment within the Japanese Americans that contributed to his and her ethnic attributes. And the Americans could represent the other parent whose heritage holds the key to the Japanese American's growth and fulfillment of special life dreams. To both are owed much in the way of loyalties and obligations.

As previously mentioned the Nisei—for obvious and obscure reasons—emphasized their fulfillment of legacies to the Americans since their internment 36 years ago. Were there ethnic values that the Nisei remained loyal to during the episode that seems to the Sansei as a time for being vocal about human rights? The following interpretations are suggested:

Filial Piety

Oyakoko is a word that connotes caring about parents beyond that called for in an obligatory sense. It is a concept that was indelibly indoctrinated into the Nisei by their parents. At the outbreak of World War II the Issei, who were never eligible for American citizenship, accepted the fate that befalls enemy aliens in states of emergency. They were destined to be incarcerated. Some of the Nisei interviewed indicated that it would have been a painfully wrenching experience for them to have been separated from their vulnerable, non-English-speaking parents. Loyalty to their parents came before their human rights. A West Coast Nisei tells her inquisitive children - "All that mattered was that we could stay together with my parents."

Split Loyalty—legacy of filial loyalty

It is difficult to deal with indebtedness of major loyalty obligations belonging to one parent without at the same time having simultaneous concern for the other parent because fighting parents paralyze a child's development. The Japanese Americans faced a historically unprecedented pressure between two strong commitments, as if to two parents, when their homeland of the United States was attacked at Pearl Harbor. Loyalty payments became due to both sides.

I suggest that "capitulation" of the Nisei to Evacuation and internment and the continued apparent "acceptance" of the entire experience to this day are related, in part, to their unexpressed loyalty payments to their ethnic heritage. The "loyal" cooperation of the Japanese Americans in that tragic event has been expressed almost totally from the side of the United States. Mixed sentiments and identification are described by Weglyn (1976) when she mentions the guilt assumed by the Japanese Americans for the act of the Japanese—"...with profound remorse, I believed, as did numerous Japanese Americans, that somehow the stain of dishonor we collectively felt for the treachery of Pearl Harbor must be eradicated, however great the sacrifice, however little we were responsible for it..." The author adds that "atonement" was sought -"...In an inexplicable spirit of atonement and with great sadness, we went with our parents to concentration camps."(Weglyn, 1976, p. 21)

Perhaps the great weight of loyalty obligations assumed by the Nisei can come into somewhat clearer view when implications of their sacrifices to their cultural heritage are added on to what is already known about the loyalty sacrifices they made to their American heritage. Fulfillment of indebtedness to one's heritage has an aspect of survival of one's identity. Mention will now be made of some examples of split loyalty payments involved in the camp experience.

Suffering

I see suffering of injuries sustained by the Nisei as loyalty payments and settlements to both heritages.

For whatever reasons the Japanese mounted the attack on the Americans at Pearl Harbor, the security of their Issei citizens and their American-born children and grandchildren was severely threatened.

Among other things, they had to contend with the nightmarish consequences of mass hysteria in the society around them, the removal of men who were the leaders of their ethnic communities, the loss of income and investments, and the fear and sustained anxiety over what disposition would be made of them. (Bosworth, 1967; Thomas and Nishimoto, 1969) In spite of such a drastic assault on their lives, the Japanese Americans, like children who share the guilt for one parent's hysterical and outrageous behavior toward the other parent, "accepted" the punishment by entering camp without disruptive protest.

The double-binded Nisei owed balancing their devotion to their American parent whose intractable suspicion of the Nisei's devotion to the Japanese demanded loyalty payments from the Nisei. (Daniels, 1971)

Absorbing the suffering of internment then served, for one thing, to assuage some of the guilt harbored by the Nisei for their devotion to the Japanese people symbolized by their parents, who at that time were of enemy alien status, their grandparents, and in some instances even siblings living in Japan.

June Moriyama expressed the implications of this interpretation for a Sansei: "...so it relieved them (Nisei) of a certain amount of guilt...they're taking the fruits of this country and they don't feel they are paying for that because they are not totally loyal...This country puts them in camp. It's like paying up in one installment everything you ever owed this country...we are saying we are loyal to our own people so we have to take the punishment...what is interesting and integrating about that particular way of looking at it is that it comes right from a cultural value..." Suffering through the Evacuation and camp experiences can also be seen as a "once and for all" kind of settlement made by the Nisei to their dual heritages.

JACL, NIMH support unusual survey based on Nagy's 'Invisible Loyalties'.

In the merit accounting system of the Nisei, the Americans can never make them targets of abuse again because it is the Americans who are beholden to those they martyred. It is difficult, if ever possible, to adequately compensate the suffering of martyrs. In an atmosphere of heated controversies over the Nisei's seeking reparations from the United States Government, I heard Robert Suehiro say on the West Coast "...they can't pay me enough for the degradation and humiliation we were put through..." Ichiro Toyama a resident of the East Coast, urged "...we don't want a settlement, let the government carry a sore..."

I suggest that it is difficult for the Nisei to alter the balance of the legacy of split loyalty finally achieved. It requires no discussion. In fact there could be some apprehension that unwarranted manipulation of their situations could tilt the balance against them. The Nisei appear impassive and immobilized; however they can erupt with high tension when their stance on legacy responsibilities relative to camp, hidden or obvious, are critically challenged.

Sacrifice

The sacrificial spirit of the Japanese Americans was dramatically emblazoned, in the public's view, by the ultimate sacrifice of the celebrated all-Nisei "suicide" battalion of the 442nd. There is hardly a reference on the Japanese Americans that does not carry the account of this unit. It is significant because it provided a turning point in the attitude of the American society. The Japanese Americans were an enigma and a threat even after they were secured behind barbed wire and watched by armed sentinels. The Nisei military outfit at long last "proved" their loyalty to the satisfaction of the country when the majority of them were decimated while they took disproportionate risks in combat. As a result of their sacrifice, the general attitude and treatment towards their own people at home was improved.

Discussions were held with two individuals of different generations about the meaning of the 442nd experience for them. Goro Yoshida, a Nisei veteran of the 442nd, residing in the East Coast, indicated his strong position "...I want to shut people up. No one can ever say anything ...Now I am helping the Asian American group..." The singular motivation of loyalty to the United States ascribed to the 442nd Battalion by both the Japanese Americans and by the wider American society over the years was

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Our thousand thanks to friends of the Reedley JACL Chapter for supporting our campaign to raise funds through advertising in this Holiday Issue.

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Saga of Will Adams

Continued from the Previous Page

the expedition's ships almost lost touch with one another. Large numbers of the ships' crews became desperately seasick, among them Jacques Mahu, the wealthy Dutch merchant who was the head of the expedition with the title of "Admiral". Provisions ran short and they had trouble in finding the Cape Verde Islands, off the coast of North Africa, where they might lay in fresh stores. When they finally did land on one of the islands, they were forced to threaten attack upon a Portuguese village in order to procure food. Shortly after they left the islands, Jacques Mahu died.

The admiral was not the only one to succumb to the rigors of this voyage—which had hardly yet begun. Thirty to forty men of each ship were ill with seasickness or scurvy by the time the expedition reached the African coast somewhere in the vicinity of today's Congo. There, seamen were put ashore to recover; fresh food was bought from natives with beads and trinkets. Some of the crewmen, however, tried to force themselves upon the native women, and this led to a native attack and a hasty departure.

The new admiral of the fleet, one Simon de Cordes, a lean, dark adventurer with Spanish blood in his veins, decided to take the ships to the Portuguese island of Annabon, about 320 kilometers (200 miles) off the coast of Africa, just below the equator. It was not easy to find an island with primitive navigational methods of those days, but Annabon had a huge volcanic peak that could be seen from long distances. The Portuguese colony there—mostly copra planters—would have some sort of military defense, but de Cordes thought they'd be able to overcome it.

By this time Will Adams had become well-acquainted with his principal shipmates aboard the *Liefde*. Under the system of that time, Will was pilot, navigator, and professional master of the ship, but the title of captain was held by a Dutch merchant named Jakob Quackernack, a rotund, somewhat surly man who didn't care too much for the English pilots his countrymen usually hired for long voyages. More to Will's liking was a big, amiable clerk named Melchior Van Santvoort who naturally seemed to take to the sea and before long was, in effect, acting as Will's bosun aboard the ship.

Will was not the only English pilot with the expedition. Aboard some of the other ships were Will's brother, Tom, his friend, Timothy Shotten, and three other Englishmen named Spring, Jan, and Strachey. None but Will were ever to reach Japan; in fact, of all the five ships, only the *Liefde* was destined to visit the islands then known to the European world as "Cipango" (pronounced Chee-paghn-go), the name given to them by the Italian explorer, Marco Polo, several centuries before. He had heard the name in China, and this was his version of its pronunciation—a form that survives today in the English word "Japan" and its variations throughout the western world.

The expedition found the island of Annabon, arriving there in mid-December of 1598 and, after a brief skirmish with the defenders, making their way ashore. There, they took in fresh supplies, and, among other things, burned the church in the village. In essence, it was a hostile attack upon a Portuguese colony, even though Holland, in the strictist sense, was at war only with Spain and not with Spain's ally, Portugal. The incident was to be troublesome for Will Adams after he finally arrived in Japan.

Heeling in a brisk southeast wind, the five ships left Annabon on January 3, 1599, and headed for the Straits of Magellan at the extreme southern tip of South America. There they would cross over into the Pacific Ocean and set a course for the "Indies," which meant almost any of the then-fabled lands and islands of Southeast Asia.

* * *

Navigators of those days, who could measure the angles of the sun and Polar Star by primitive instruments, could determine latitude, but had no way of finding longitude, which depends primarily on accurate timepieces. Their usual method of crossing an ocean was to sail to a given latitude, then proceed either due east or due west. Thus, the expedition first crossed the Atlantic Ocean to the coast of Brazil, then turned south toward the Straits of Magellan.

Will Adams was well versed in the navigational knowledge of that time, which pilots usually guarded as a close, professional secret. Born near the English seacoast in 1564, Will had at first been an apprentice to a shipbuilder. He went to sea early, and at the age of 24 commanded a supply ship in the great battle of 1588 when the English fleet drove off the huge Spanish armada that came to invade their country. In the 10 years that followed, Will was mostly at sea, traveling to the Mediterranean on trading voyages, and to the far north on exploration trips. He had a wife, Mary, and a daughter, Deliverance, about 10 years old, but evidently didn't spend much time with them. (One of Will's letters from Japan, many years later, mentions his English "children," in the plural, but the record shows only this one daughter.)

At any rate, Will Adams was now 34, which was a rather advanced age for those days when the average lifespan was perhaps not as much as 50 years. Because this Dutch expedition to the Indies was something of a daring gamble (if only one ship returned, laden with trade-goods, it would pay for the expenses of all five and also leave a margin of profit), it seems that Will must have decided to join it as a kind of last, desperate effort to make his fortune before time ran out.

He, and the other English navigators, successfully guided the fleet to the Straits of Magellan, arriving there on April 6, 1595. Going through these Straits, with their monstrous seas and howling winds, turned out to be a formidable undertaking. They were forced to land and set up camp in the bitter winter season of southern latitudes, and in the months that followed, men died of cold and starvation. Indians attacked them, and had to be fought off. It was September before they managed to push through the Straits—camping in several locations along the way—and by then nearly half of their original numbers had died.

In the Pacific, they promptly ran into the most violent storm they had ever seen. Two of the ships became separated. (One was completely lost, another made its way across the southern Pacific eventually to reach present-day Indonesia.) Another reversed its course and returned to Holland.

Will's ship, the *Liefde*, found itself alone in the Pacific somewhere along the coast of Chile. Before they had become separated, the ship's captains had arranged to rendezvous at Latitude

Continued on Next Page

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Nobu Miyoshi

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frustrating to Katy Fujita, a native of the East Coast -"...it bothered me, like the 442nd, for example, if I felt they were doing it for this country, for America first and foremost as good loyal Americans and it was the main reason, that wouldn't sit well. That would be like eating a meal that was a little bit poisoned, that would bother me and it would always be there. But if I hear, maybe they're doing it for their own people, then it has a lot of meaning to me..."

One other aspect of sacrifice will be mentioned here. It may be possible that some Japanese Americans felt the need to negotiate a sacrificial offering with an angry parent who threatened banishment of its Nisei children. Off and on before and after the internment, the Nisei heard of steps the Government might take to send them "back" to Japan. Kikuchi records the threat to the Nisei's civil rights that existed at that time - "...we must fight the vicious forces seeking to disfranchise and deport us..." (Kikuchi, 1973, p. 113)

Sansei empathize with Nisei decision on Evacuation, Segregation, Repatriation.

I suggest that compliance with the incredible order to evacuate might have been a sacrificial offering on the part of some Nisei. Katy Fujita mentioned above, empathized with her parent generation "...that must have been a horrible prospect for the Nisei to be disrupted in their lives, to be sent to Japan, to a foreign country. Essentially that was probably far worse than going to camps in the United States."

3 Ethnic Identity of the Sansei

The Nisei and their children are acutely challenged today to seek processes by which a connection to ethnic values can be fostered through the relationship between them. The Sansei are seeking to find ethnic values in their own identity - a search that is made even more pressing by the demands emanating from the advanced ages of the Nisei and Sansei, and the numerous implications of the concentration camp for the Sansei's future within their American society.

Nisei Perspective

At this time the Nisei are faced with making a choice between boldly reviewing the intrinsic and practical values inscribed in their "contracts" with their American and Japanese heritages and protecting the status quo as a permanent symbol of their earned rights. Because the Nisei's loyalty contracts were sealed in tears and blood the emotions from it over the years have enlarged myths and legends not necessarily beneficial, particularly to their children. More on this subject will be covered later under "Legacies of the Sansei."

If the Nisei's choice is to assess their split loyalty contracts to their dual heritages, it is suggested that involvement of the Sansei in that process could be as meaningful as the identification experiences the Nisei had with their Issei parents. When conditions for the intergenerational dialogues can be signaled to one another, the Sansei will most likely reward their parents' trust in them to reveal the conflicts and questions they have locked up within themselves about the camp experiences. The Nisei can give the Sansei validation of the Sansei's opinions about camp. The Nisei can also give the Sansei an ethnic sense of themselves by showing how decisions and attitudes pertaining to camp were influenced and derived. In this exchange the Sansei, in turn, can give the Nisei the courage to confront these issues.

It is my opinion that when that stage is reached the Nisei can effectively consider alternative ways of relating to their bicultural responsibilities. For example, perhaps there are unique ways that the concentration camp experience of the Japanese Americans can further the consciousness of Americans to deal with the human worth of its people. And to their Japanese heritage, perhaps the Nisei, as a child who held on to caring for both parents during a severe conflict, can offer special help in promoting friendship between the two countries.

Sansei Perspective

In their daily lives, the Sansei do not feel like they are assimilated Americans. They are reminded by their environment that "...there are certain things about us that are very American and certain things about us that are not. I mean we've got to be aware of it. People tell us that all the time..." (Sansei of mixed parentage). Aside from the effects of the external image makers, the Sansei themselves are struggling with their dual legacies. A Nisei mother, Faith Ito noticed "...the Sanseis are not quite sure. All along they think they are Americans. They've been in white society and they discovered that they have something else, the Japanese part in them...".

Inter-generational dialogue would be most helpful, says Sansei.

Janice Kobayashi, an Eastern Sansei, stressed the need for "healing" the intergenerational communication rift for the sake of protecting the identity of the Sansei "...particularly if you are hungry for, if your own experience is that you are upset by the camp experience and your parents and others' line is that it was nothing, you're hungry to have your own opinion validated in some way, otherwise you think you are crazy. So if you hear parents saying it was terrible or whatever, at least you feel you have some kind of support or validation of what your own personal feelings are, and that's comforting from one of your own... from parents."

An Eastern Sansei exchanged opinions in an intergenerational dialogue on possible ways ethnic values affected the Nisei's reactions to camp. Barbara Suyenaga saw how many of the family decisions made before, during, and since internment were laced with the cultural values of the Issei. She reflected on the impact of that experience in this way:

"...a lot of things I didn't know were cultural values...so it was helpful to identify them as possible things that were culturally derived. Because it made me feel 'Oh that's me, that makes sense.' You like to feel that your ethnic identity is actually a contributing factor in your own personal identity...it's very rich to get it from something that you are, that you look like, that you came from; than what everybody else can get. You get plenty from your environment. You get the same things that a white kid next to you gets. But to get something that is uniquely your own is really precious. And I think that is part of continuity also...It's extremely personal...can't dispute it because it is part of your identity...If you look at something from a white person's view...like they copied white values...I thought, 'Oh they've become white.' You don't like to feel that way.

"But if you feel that it comes from your own cultural values, you feel completely different about it...It's not something they took...that they diluted themselves to become. It was there to begin with and lent itself to this particular thing...If you can identify those cultural things, it gives you some idea, some understanding of where your parents came from... and if you have a part of that in you, it's not something terrible. It's something that was passed down to you. It's hard to separate certain kinds of things. At this point in the Sansei's lives, there's been equal impact from each, the source of input from cultural values...and you also have input from the greater society - two or three generations worth of it so it's hard to say, in fact, which it is..."

4 Camp Legacies of the Sansei

The Issei and the Nisei know from their personal camp experience that the suffering endured by them can hardly be compared to the torture and actual extermination of six million Jewish internees in concentraton camps. What is of interest here are specific issues related to the camps' effects on each of the minority groups. It seems the Jewish and Japanese American descendants are living with legacies, each in their own ways.

Mutuality of Protection

It is frequently heard among the Nisei that they do not want to burden their children. The kind of protection that the Nisei experienced under the tactful care of their Issei parents abounds in the descriptions of family interactions by Sone (1953).

Recently I visited the exhibition of Henry Sugimoto's art depicting his observations and experiences while he and his family were in camp. In response to my comment on the innocence reflected in the faces of the little Nisei children, Mr. Sugimoto, an Issei artist residing in New York City, recalled the reaction of their part-Sansei daughter, then age six when she

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Saga of Will Adams

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46° South on the Chilean coast, or , if not there, later, at the island of Santa Maria, off the coast at 38½° South, near the mainland Spanish settlement of Concepcion. At one of the landings to obtain provisions along the way, there was a fight with hostile Indians, in which 23 crewmembers, Will's brother, Tom, among them, were killed. Eventually they came to the island of Santa Maria. Only one ship was there—the *Hoop* (Hope), which had been the expedition's flagship,

The men now remaining held a council-of-war. Of *Hoop's* original 130 men, only 47 were left; the *Liefde's* original 110 men had become 33. And they were in Spanish waters, with danger on all sides.

It was now that they decided to go to Japan. Little was known of Japan, except that the Portuguese had been conducting profitable trade there, through Nagasaki, for about 50 years. There were rumors about Japan, however. Some of the sailors said they'd heard the houses there were sheathed with gold. There was gold, said another rumor, in the very excrement of the ducks!

And so, on November 27, 1599, the *Hoop* and the *Liefde* set sail upon a course they hoped would bring them to Japan, though no one was really sure exactly where these fabled islands were. Only the *Liefde* was destined to reach them. During the terrible four-month crossing of the Pacific that followed, the *Hoop* would be lost in a typhoon, and the *Liefde* would arrive in the eastern shore of Kyushu with its 24 starving men.

In Japan, a crusty old warrior named Ieyasu Tokugawa was about to become master of the whole country. He and Will Adams would meet—and they would have a profound effect upon each other.



艦 放 の そ と 號 デ フ ー リ

The East India Co. fleet with 'Liefde' at lower right.

2: A Prisoner in the Castle

Will Adams, regaining his strength with 21 other seamen in a cottage somewhere on the east coast of Kyushu, had no knowledge whatever of the political turmoil that now existed in Japan. What's more, he didn't dream that it would eventually have such an important bearing upon his entire life. All he knew was that he and his shipmates were virtual prisoners; that the Portuguese, who had a trading colony at Nagasaki, would like to see them hanged as pirates; and that someone of high rank in this distant, exotic, island kingdom was supposed to visit the captives eventually and make some sort of decision regarding their fate.

Europeans in general knew little about Japan's geography, let alone its internal politics, in those days. Cartographers weren't even sure exactly where to place it on their maps. The Portuguese—leading sailors and traders of the time—probably had good information on Japan because they had maintained a trading post there for about half a century, but what they knew amounted to a list of commercial secrets that they were scarcely willing to share with the rest of the world.

As for the power-struggle now taking place in Japan, the Portuguese were keeping a close eye on it, hoping to remain in the good graces of the eventual victor. The best candidate at the moment seemed to be Ieyasu Tokugawa, a 58-year-old soldier and statesman who had risen to prominence under the famed Hideyoshi and, before him, under Nobunaga. To recapitulate the familiar story: Before his death, Hideyoshi had named his now 10-year-old son, Hideyori, to succeed him, and had appointed a board of five regents to guard both his heir and the kingdom until the boy should be of age. Ieyasu was the most powerful of these regents, with an income expressed in terms of 2½ million *koku* (13 million bushels) of rice per year. The other regents—and various *daimyo* (barons) of the 214 scattered throughout the country—suspected Ieyasu of intentions to make himself *Shōgun (de facto* ruler), and various plots were taking place, either to prevent Ieyasu from becoming *Shōgun*, or to maneuver someone else into that high office.

* * *

As Will Adams waited in a Kyushu seaport, Ieyasu was holding his daily councils in Osaka Castle, living there as a guest of the young Hideyori, his ward. His own stronghold was in Edo (Tokyo), now a growing city, and his lands and mansions were at Suruga. He was staying in Osaka for the moment because of strong indications that a group of conspirators, headed by Kagekatsu Uyesugi, one of his fellow regents, were plotting to overthrow him.

Ieyasu now received a report that a strange ship and about 20 *komojin* (red-haired foreign barbarians) had arrived in Kyushu. The report interested him. His dealings with the Portuguese at Nagasaki had been, on the whole, satisfactory, but basically he mistrusted them, and it seemed to Ieyasu that if two foreign groups could be made to compete with each other for the lucrative Japan trade, his own country might benefit. Besides, he had recently approached the Portuguese with the idea of procuring both cannon and ships for his struggle to dominate Japan, but they had not seen fit to supply these items readily or enthusiastically. It might be interesting, thought Ieyasu, to look into the arrival of these Dutchmen, or Englishmen, or whatever they were.

Word of the foreigners also reached the chief Portuguese envoy at Ieyasu's court, Father Joao Rodriguez, whose nickname was "Tcuzzu," or "interpreter." In European countries of that time, and especially in Spain and Portugal, the Roman Catholic church was very much a part of the state itself, and priests such as Rodriguez were often deeply involved in political affairs. Rodriguez belonged to a special order within the church, the Society of Jesus, whose members were known as Jesuits, many of whom acted as zealous missionaries abroad. It was they who usually paved the way for the traders, and worked closely with them after they had arrived.

* * *

People had intense feelings about their religions in those days, so strong that it is difficult for us in modern times to understand them. Those who did not believe in Christianity were heathens who must be converted to the true belief. Those who adhered to other sects of Chrstianity were heretics who must be eliminated, lest they spread their poisonous doctrines further.

If these Europeans who had just arrived were Dutchmen and Englishmen, they were, in Rodriguez's view, obviously heretics, for the Dutch and English had their own form of religion and called themselves Protestants because they had "protested" against the Roman Catholic Church and broken away from it. It was, therefore, most important to Rodriguez and his fellow priests that these heretics be permitted not the slightest foothold here in Japan, where the Portuguese had so far made some 300,000 converts to Christianity, among them many nobles all the way up to the rank of *daimyo*.

Rodriguez counselled Ieyasu to execute the newcomers as pirates as quickly as possible. But Ieyasu was shrewd enough to see that there was self-interest in this advice, and he was still curious about the new foreigners. He directed that one or two of their leaders be brought to Osaka where he could interview them.

When Will learned that he was to be taken by ship to Osaka to see "the great king" of this land, he chose for his companion Jan Joosten, one of the expedition's traders, because the nominal captain of his ship, Jakob Quackernack, was too ill to travel. Joosten was a hardheaded businessman, rather insensitive to the customs of other lands, but it was necessary that the commercial interests of the expedition be represented.

* * *

Will and Joosten were brought to Osaka by galley through the Inland Sea. It was a pleasant trip that served as a tonic after the rigors of their terrible, two-year voyage to Japan. Will's seaman's eye took in details of the Japanese ships of that time, noting how they differed in construction and operation from European ships. Their sails were of finely woven mat rather than fabric, and they were caulked with lime and fish oil instead of pitch, he noticed. Although in many respects they were ingeniously constructed, they seemed to Will generally unsuited for the long ocean voyages that could be taken by European ships. Meanwhile, as a talented linguist—he already spoke Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese in addition to his native English—Will began to pick up the rudiments of the Japanese language.

On May 12, 1600, Will reached Osaka and viewed the castle which he described as "a wonderful, costly house guilded with gold in abundance." He and Joosten were shown to comfortable quarters and immediately required to bathe.

The Japanese fondness for bathing seemed a curious custom to Will. Frequent bathing was regarded as harmful by the Europeans of that time, and missionary headquarters in Nagasaki had gone so far as to limit their priests to one bath every eight days—preferably less. (No wonder Europeans acquired an early reputation in Japan for exuding an unpleasant "butterfat" odor!) At any rate, Will was brought before Ieyasu Tokugawa in a huge, mat-floored room, other nobles and retainers squatting all around him.

* * *

Ieyasu sat on three cushions and faced south—the royal manner of seating—his raiment splendid and bizarre to Will's eyes. An interpreter was summoned (probably Father Rodriguez), and the conversation was conducted in Japanese and Portuguese. When Will tried to explain where he'd come from, a chart was brought, and he saw that it was his own chart from the *Liefde*. Ieyasu was much interested in the relative positions of the various countries Will pointed out to him, though he frowned somewhat, as though offended, when he saw how small Japan appeared to be in comparison with the rest of the world.

Will spoke more in behalf of his own country, England, than of his employers, the Dutch. Queen Elizabeth I was on the throne in England; it was the age of Shakespeare and of the great explorers who were opening up America to European settlement. Will said England had long sought routes to Asia, and trading opportunities with the Far East.

That brought up the subject of Will's own ship, the *Liefde*. There had been trade goods aboard it, plus a chestful of 50,000 Spanish dollars, which Will would like to have returned to him. Ieyasu mumbled a reply that sounded evasive to Will.

* * *

The interview ended at midnight. Will was sent back to the room in which he was to be confined. Two days later, Will was summoned to another interview, in which Ieyasu's questions were even more detailed. Will felt that he was making a good impression on the gruff old man, and that the two of them, as rough-hewn men of action, had something in common. Ieyasu sent Will back to confinement, but this time in more comfortable quarters.

Days and weeks passed, and Will, receiving no further word of what was to be done with him, began to despair. Unknown to him, Father Rodriguez was using some of the things found on the *Liefde* as evidence that these visitors from Holland were no more than pirates. The ship, he pointed out, had been armed with 18 cannon, gunpowder and balls, chain shot, matchlocks, three cases of ammunition, and a number of rockets. It was the same ship that, with four others, had attacked the Portuguese settlement at Annobon a year-and-a-half ago, burning the church there. Most damning of all, the orders found aboard the ship contained definite instructions to attack and plunder Spanish or Portuguese ships or colonies wherever they might be found. Father Rodriguez's contention was, quite understandably, that the Dutch and English were robbers among nations, and if the crew of the *Liefde* was allowed to live, their countrymen would presently descend upon Japan and conquer it.

Ieyasu listened patiently but made no decision. He ordered the *Liefde* towed to Osaka. By this time the surviving crewmen had recovered from their illnesses and had returned to the ship. They were told nothing of Will's confinement in the castle, and presumed him to be executed by this time. The trade-goods were removed from the ship; its armaments and cannon were brought ashore.

* * *

The armaments were a windfall for Ieyasu. The forces against him were now gathering for a showdown battle, and he would be able to make good use of a little extra European artillery. The few cannon he did possess were Portuguese, acquired over the years by himself and his two predecessors, Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. Japanese artisans were making some attempts to cast their own cannon, but their metallurgy was not quite up to that of the Europeans, and their pieces tended to explode too often.

Ieyasu stayed at Osaka, close to the young heir, Hideyori, who was the focal point of the power-struggle now taking place. Ieyasu's archenemy, Ishida Mitsunari, was not far from Osaka in his own fortress-town of Sawayama, quietly expanding his forces. Iyesugi, in the north, was making probing attacks upon Ieyasu's allies. The entire situation was polarizing into two main sides, those for Ieyasu, and those against him.

But even with an impending war on his mind, Ieyasu took time for another lengthy session with Will Adams. He relayed all the arguments the Portuguese had made against Will and his men, but said that as far as he could see, Will and his shipmates had neither hurt his people nor damaged his kingdom, therefore it would be neither reasonable nor just to put them to death. As for feelings of hostility among the English, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese, they were none of his concern. He now advised Will that the *Liefde*, with its survivors, was in Sakai, Osaka's port, and gave Will permission to join his companions.

So now Will was free of his long confinement, from May till mid-June 1600, in Osaka Castle, and relieved to hear that he would not be executed. But nothing had been said about his eventual departure from Japan, and this worried him. As Will himself put it in a subsequent letter: "Whether I shall come out of this land I know not . . .with patience I wait the good will and pleasure of God Almighty . . . ."

3: The Great Battle

The few survivors still aboard the *Liefde* were astonished to see Will Adams when he reached the ship in the harbor of Sakai, near Osaka. They were certain that by now he had been executed. Will told them of his interviews with Ieyasu, and assured them that he had not been mistreated, but was unable to say exactly what lay in store for them in the immediate future.

By now, most of the crewmembers only wanted to return home. Months ago, off the coast of South America, it had seemed a good idea to make for Japan, even though no one had a very clear idea as to just what they'd find in these little known islands, Rumors of gold and other riches, however, had been enough to send them on their harrowing voyage across the Pacific. But now that they were here, they were, in effect, prisoners, and without any knowledge of what Ieyasu Tokugawa (who appeared to them to be the king of these islands) intended to do with them.

They were inclined to blame Will Adams for their plight. Jakob Quackernack, the Dutch trader who held the nominal title of ship's captain, had never had much use for the English pilots the Dutch hired to sail their ships on long voyages. Jan Joosten, an insensitive man who tended to look upon all Asians as barbarians, and who was also a trader, sided with Quackernack. Only Melchior van Santvoort, a clerk at the beginning of the voyage, but now a skillful seaman, regarded himself as Will's ally.

In addition to these men who were the officers of the expedition, there were 12 seamen left aboard the *Liefde*. There had been 14 before the ship was brought to Osaka, but two traitors, named Oudewater and De Conning, had offered to testify

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against the others to the Portuguese, and the Portuguese had taken them to Nagasaki, presumably to offer them passage home in return for their testimony. These two men were only too willing to say what the Portuguese wanted to hear—that Will and his companions were pirates, sent to plunder Spanish ships and colonies, and to act as the advance guard of a Dutch-English plot to conquer Japan and other countries of the Far East. For the Portuguese looked upon any foreigners in this part of the world as a threat to the trade monopoly they enjoyed at Nagasaki.

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Will Adams felt that Ieyasu had not been swayed by the Portuguese arguments, and, indeed, during his several interviews with the old warrior, had believed that Ieyasu had developed a liking for him. None of this was certain, however. Meanwhile, Will thought it was now his responsibility to get his crewmates out of Japan.

Getting out wouldn't be easy. The *Liefde* was badly in need of repair and there weren't enough crewmen to sail her properly. (In those days one always needed extra crewmen at the start of a long voyage, for it was an accepted fact that in a year of such voyaging only about half of any given crew would survive.) The Japanese had also stripped the vessel of most of its gear, including Will's precious and personal navigation instruments. Jakob Quackernack was even more concerned with the disappearance of the chest containing 50,000 Spanish dollars that had been meant for the purchase of trade goods.

Recalling Ieyasu's promise that nothing would be taken, Will made bold to return to Osaka Castle and seek out the regent. Ieyasu, still busy with his war preparations, was a little irritated by this, but he finally issued an order that all personal goods were to be returned, along with the money which, he said, could be used to pay for the keep of Will and his men while they remained as "guests." In the meantime, they were not to leave Japan, and would sail the ship eastward to the great bay where Ieyasu's new fortress city of Edo (Tokyo) was situated. South of the City was an excellent, protected harbor, Uraga, and here they would anchor the *Liefde*.

* * *

There was one part of the ship's equipment that Ieyasu did not return, and this was its armament. The *Liefde* had carried some 18 cannon of various sizes, a store of about 80 balls for each cannon, a number of rockets, and a supply of muskets. Some historians have speculated that Ieyasu might have used these armaments in the great battle of Sekigahara, which was soon to take place, but there is no firm proof of this. On the other hand, the regent had always had difficulty in procuring European armaments, and it's likely that some of the weapons taken from the *Liefde* had a part in that significant battle.

The record does show that Ieyasu rode to battle in a Portuguese cuirass he had received as a present. In the now familiar historical event, Ieyasu left Osaka with a total of 69,300 men, ironically employing a formation developed by one of his arch-enemies, Uyesugi, the northern *daimyo*. In this, musketeers and archers led the way, then spearmen, halberdiers, and swordsmen, and, finally, the cavalry, plus the commander and his staff.

Basically, the soldiers were armed in traditional Japanese fashion, but, since the arrival of the Portuguese, half a century before, they had adopted several European touches. Their muskets were of European type, and so were the few pieces of artillery they dragged along—not many by modern standards, for cannons were regarded as more suitable to siege or castle defense than to field battles. Their bows of bamboo were measured by the strength needed to string them; most were one-man bows, but there were some two, three, or even ten-man bows. The arrowheads were peculiar to Japan, fitted with razor-sharp, two-pronged forks, and some were designed to sever an enemy's head by striking him in the neck, though it's doubtful that this was achieved very often.

Although Ieyasu wore a piece of European armor, Japanese armor of the time was probably superior to that of the western world. Its wooden and leather strips provided a laminated protection that was much lighter than the solid metal worn by Europeans. One observer of the day said that whereas the European knight seemed to be clad in metal clothes, the Japanese warrior seemed to be in protective curtains.

After a series of both political and military maneuvers throughout the summer, and after several preliminary clashes, the major armies of the two principle sides finally met at Sekigahara in central Japan, where the two great highways, the Tokaido and Nakasendo, came close to each other. They met on the morning of October 21, 1600, Ieyasu with 70,000 men, his enemies with almost 80,000. By nightfall, Ieyasu, partly because of his superior tactics, and partly because certain elements of the opposing force had come over to his side, was clearly the winner of the great battle. From now on, he would be master of Japan, and would found the great Tokugawa dynasty that would last for two-and-a-half centuries. And a relatively obscure English mariner, Will Adams, would have a significant effect upon Ieyasu's policies from now on, though neither man yet realized this.

While all these historical developments were taking place, Will and his shipmates were sailing the *Liefde* to the present Tokyo Bay, and the port of Uraga, as they'd been ordered to do. A Japanese crew had been put aboard to help them work the ship. It was still far from seaworthy, and the coastal voyage, against contrary winds, turned out to be relatively long and difficult. By the time they arrived, Will had the growing suspicion that the *Liefde* would never be able to sail on the open ocean again.

They found Uraga a sheltered and delightful spot, made themselves comfortable once they arrived there. Will Adams, filled with his usual lively curiosity, and now permitted to go ashore when he pleased, began to acquaint himself with the customs and political affairs of Ieyasu's "kingdom," and to learn the Japanese language. He wanted to be well prepared to deal with Ieyasu for their return to Europe whenever the busy regent again found time to talk to him. In addition, he still had some hope of making arrangements for the eventual establishment of a Dutch or English trading post in Japan.

The seamen kept themselves busy at the rather hopeless task of trying to repair the *Liefde*. Most major repairs were not possible. The replacing of bad planks in the hull, for example, called for suitable lumber that would have to be purchased or bartered for, and until they learned to what extent Ieyasu would be willing to deal, they didn't think it wise to expend their limited funds.

The months went by and what had begun as a temporary situation began to take on a more permanent air. The men became restless. It seemed to them that they should share in the remains of the 50,000 Spanish dollars, each man equally. They brought their demands close to the point of mutiny, and Will and Quackernack decided to divide the money.

* * *

Finally, the long-awaited interview with Ieyasu took place as Will was summoned to Edo. Ieyasu, dwelling in splendor in his castle, and now firmly in control of the country, at last had time to pursue his interest in this bluff Englishman, who seemed to speak as openly and honestly of most things as Ieyasu did himself. On this visit, Will stayed for an extended period in Edo, as the first encounter turned into a long series of interviews. For Will Adams had a particular store of knowledge that interested Ieyasu greatly.

The new lord of Japan wanted to hear about ships. Oceangoing ships, better suited to long voyages than those now used by Japan. These appeared to be the key to any kingdom's expansion and prosperity. The Portuguese and the Spaniards had them, and, as anyone could see, their influence extended all over the world. If Japan were to become truly great, it would have to establish its own overseas trading routes; an entire new industry of shipbuilders and mariners would have to be created.

Japan, of course, did have some seagoing ships. In the early 16th century, bands of pirates known as *wako* had raided the coastline up and down the Asian mainland, earning a fearsome reputation. Some trade had been carried on by vessels known as "Red Seal Ships," under special license. But these vessels lacked certain seaworthy characteristics, and their masters lacked certain navigational techniques. Ieyasu wanted ships that would reach Europe where, as the Portuguese and Spanish knew so well, Oriental goods would fetch fabulous prices.

He asked Will Adams to build the first of these ships for him. Will protested that it had been many years since he'd worked as a shipbuilder, and that perhaps all the materials he'd need might not be available. Will reasoned that if he built one successful ship—which would take him about a year—he might have to spend the rest of his life in Japan building others.

* * *

Sometime during that series of interviews, another idea came into Will's mind. Suppose he did build a real, oceangoing ship for the *Shōgun*. Might he not be able to commandeer it and sail it away, this making good his escape?

It was a wild scheme, and one that would be extremely difficult to carry out. By now the crewmen of the *Liefde*—whom he'd need to sail the ship—were scattered throughout Japan, each man having taken his share of the ship's money and followed his fancy to various towns and cities where women and strong drink were cheap and in plentiful supply. Ieyasu had been generous with the crewmen, making them official guests of his regime, and allowing each man two pounds of rice and a modest income in cash.

Will suspected Ieyasu had done this just so the sailors would disappear and leave the ship crewless. The more he saw of Ieyasu, the more he realized that this was just the kind of maneuver the old warrior would be likely to make. In spite of this, Will continued to feel a strange liking for Ieyasu, and the new *Shōgun* continued to be attracted toward Will.

Will returned to Uraga and told Quackernack, van Santvoort, and Joosten that he had decided to build a ship for the *Shōgun*. They approved of the plan; they still had hopes of establishing trade in Japan, a development that would make them wealthy men back in Holland.

And Will, making preparations to build the ship, felt strangely relieved, even though he was still, in effect, a prisoner. At last he had something to do—something that might even lead toward his eventual escape.

4: Ships for the *Shōgun*

The months had turned into years, and now Will and the few companions left to him in the port of Uraga, south of Edo (Tokyo), had settled down to their existence in these distant islands of Japan, their hopes of returning to Europe still alive, but by now rather dormant. Will told Jakob Quackernack, the Dutch trader, and Melchior van Santvoort, the clerk who had become Will's trusted first-mate, of his plan to escape, somehow, on the ship the *Shōgun* had asked him to build.

Their old ship, the *Liefde*, battered by its two-year voyage halfway around the world, was no longer seaworthy. To make matters worse, a typhoon howled through the great bay one early autumn, snapping the *Liefde's* mooring lines and wrecking her on the volcanic rocks that dotted the shore.

Only one trace of the *Liefde* remained, and, curiously enough, it was to survive until modern times. According to the custom, there was a carved wooden statue on the ship's sterncastle for decoration. This was the head and torso of a famed Dutch philosopher, Erasmus. Someone salvaged this statue from the wreck, and many years later it was discovered in the Ryukoin Temple of the village of Azuma, in Tochigi Prefecture, where it had been kept and dubbed "Katekisama," after the mythical Chinese god who had created ships. This figurehead was eventually taken to the Tokyo Museum.

* * *

As a bulding site, Will selected the port of Ito on Sagami Bay. Here there were already some shipbuilding facilities, and lumber was available out of the nearby foothills of Mt. Fuji. Then, as now, Ito was a pleasant spot with many natural hot-spring baths available, and Will, who by now had adopted the Japanese custom of frequent bathing, enjoyed living there. He had adopted other Japanese customs, learning the ritual of manners that accompanied all dealings in Japan, and he was speaking the language about as well as any foreigner can ever speak it, managing to communicate closely with the Japanese workers Ieyasu had provided to help build the ship.

Will Adams had been apprenticed to an English shipbuilder at the age of 12, and had spent nearly 10 years in that profession. In constructing the *Shōgun's* ship he followed the approved theories and methods of that era, when mariners believed that a ship should have "a cod's head and a mackerel's tail," which meant that the underbody should be blunt forward and taper to slimmer proportions aft. Such a shape does, indeed, approach ideal streamlined proportions, but, as we know today, does not serve best for a ship's hull, which passes through both air and water and which is constantly moving up and down, needing a forefoot sharp enough to cut the waves, and a full shape aft for good sailing qualities.

Whatever the worth of those ancient European ocean vessels, Ieyasu wanted a fleet of them, and Will was obliged to build the first ship. As he got on with the job, on the beach at Ito, he found that many Japanese materials could be substituted for their English equivalents. Instead of Devon oak for the keels and frames there was *keyaki*, quite as tough and resistant to rot as oak. For shrouds there was a practically unbreakable cable made of a tropical vine the Japanese imported from the Philippines; it was even better than the Italian hemp Will had known in Europe. He found the Japanese workmen skillful and conscientious—as the western world was to find them centuries later. He was much intrigued by certain techniques employed by the carpenters—the use of sharkskin, for example, to rub the wood down to its final smoothness.

Altogether, Will kept himself busy and happy with the building of the ship, and, in this year at Ito, almost forgot at times that he was still a prisoner.

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After the launching—which called for a Shinto ceremony followed by a drinking party—Ieyasu, accompanied by his usual colorful retinue, journeyed south to the spa to board the vessel and inspect it. He was greatly pleased.

Will took advantage of this occasion to ask once more for permission to leave Japan. Ieyasu was vague in his answer. It was clear that he still had further use for this Englishman with his store of European knowledge. Ieyasu undoubtedly realized that Will had ideas of sailing away on the ship he'd built, for he now refused to give Will command of the vessel and assigned it instead to one of his own junk captains. But he was so delighted with the ship itself that he appointed Will as a special advisor to his court, granting him the equivalent of 70 Spanish dollars a year in addition to his daily two pounds of rice. His duties would be to impart to Ieyasu the mysteries of geometry and mathematics that enabled Europeans to navigate the high seas for such great distances.

Will now proceeded to Edo, where he was given comfortable quarters. Visiting Ieyasu's palace almost daily, he gave lessons in mathematics and navigation to the best of his ability, continuing to please the *Shōgun*. Before long, Will's advice was being asked on other matters, especially matters of trade with the Portuguese in their colony at Nagasaki.

Much to their chagrin, Portuguese officials who came to Edo from Nagasaki, now discovered that whenever they had business with the *Shōgun* they had to go through Will Adams, the English castaway they had once sought to have executed as a pirate! The final blow came when the Jesuit linguist, Joao Rodriguez, was dismissed as court interpreter, and Will appointed in his stead.

* * *

Ieyasu had been a little uncertain about Father Rodriguez—and indeed about all the Portuguese—for some time now, suspecting that they were more greatly motivated by selfishness than friendship, and becoming increasingly irritated by their desire to push the Christian religion even further into Japan, a maneuver that might develop into a prelude to political conquest.

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Some of Ieyasu's predecessors had persecuted Christians, but Ieyasu himself had been quite tolerant toward them so far. Now some of the Portuguese were giving him second thoughts on the matter by their arrogant behavior. Ieyasu sensed, for example, that Father Rodriguez, although he professed friendship, was actually contemptuous of Japanese; once, indeed, he had written in a secret letter to his superiors they were a "wayward and volatile" people who needed to be watched closely. This was in contrast to Will Adams' genuine and easygoing liking for the country and its people.

Nevertheless, the Portuguese trading colony at Nagasaki still brought wealth into the country, and Ieyasu permitted it to continue to exist, and did nothing to curb its vigorous missionary activities. He questioned Will frequently about the religions of the distant western world, and Will tried to make clear all the divisions and quarrels throughout Christianity, but Ieyasu was never completely satisfied with the explanations.

To the Portuguese, Will Adams, an Englishman in the Dutch service, and a Protestant, to boot, was anathema. Unable to get rid of him in any other way, they sent an emissary to offer him safe conduct out of Japan aboard a Portuguese ship. Will thanked the envoy, but explained that the *Shōgun* would not let him go under any circumstances. At least, this is how the emissary reported the conversation to his superiors. If that was what Will had said, it then seems that by now he was becoming attached to Japan and his new life in Edo, and that the idea of eventual return to England was beginning to have less and less importance.

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Will had several good reasons for preferring his present existence to any he had ever known. He was not only comfortable, but decidedly prosperous. Ieyasu had made him the equivalent of a noble, with the rank of Tenant-in-Chief, and had given him a country estate with more than 80 retainers on the Miura Peninsula, near the site of present-day Yokosuka. He had also increased his income, from time to time favoring him with what would today be called a "step-raise."

Undoubtedly Will thought often of home—the flat, green landscape of Kent with its soft, misty skies—and of his wife, Mary, and his daughter, Deliverance. He wrote at least two letters, sending them through the Portuguese, in an attempt to get in touch with his wife. The Portuguese, to their credit, did not waylay these letters, and eventually got them to England, where they can be seen in official archives today.

Not a great deal is known of Will's wife in England, except that her maiden name was Mary Hyn, and that they were married in the parish church of St. Dunstan's in the town of Stepney on August 20, 1589. Later, they set up house in London. Because they had named their daughter "Deliverance," a name with Biblical connotations, it's likely that Mary belonged to the religious sect known as the Puritans which was then trying to simplify and thus "purify" the practices of the Church in England. Will and Mary, in all their married life, could not have seen a great deal of each other because Will had been at sea most of the time.

Whatever the strength of Will's longing for his wife, he was far away from home and although he was now in his early forties he was a healthy and vigorous man who must have naturally craved the companionship of a woman. Ieyasu—who had a way of sensing people's inner feelings—brought the subject out into the open one day.

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Ieyasu had a rule concerning his *samurai*—and he regarded Will as of the *samurai* class—that he had never discussed with Will before. It was forbidden for any *samurai* to be single. Marriage, Ieyasu felt, tied a *samurai* more firmly to his master, and made it less likely that he would defect to an opponent's cause. The *Shōgun* urged Will to get married—in Japan, he meant—like any other respectable Japanese nobleman. Will had explained many times before that he was already married, but this seemed to Ieyasu so much quibbling.

That Will now take a wife was a suggeston, not an order, and he could have evaded carrying it out. But the suggestion had been planted, and the more Will thought about it, the more unlikely it seemed that he would ever leave Japan, and the more he began to look upon marriage as a sound idea.

All this time, while acting as Ieyasu's intermediary with the Portuguese, Will had also been planning to some day establish either an English or a Dutch trading post in Japan. He had been busy inspecting sites for such a trading post, and he was inclined to favor Uraga, which had a well-sheltered harbor and was also near Edo. At any rate, this project, and his dealings with the Portuguese, had taken him to many places in Japan, so that he had become something of a seasoned traveler within the islands themselves.

The two main highways, the Tokaido and Nakasendo, were the principle arteries of travel east-to-west. Along these roads Ieyasu's government maintained stations at intervals where horses were kept—sometimes as many as 100 at a single location—so that travelers, messengers, and pack-train riders could change mounts frequently and keep moving. The official in charge of one of these stations was Kageyu Magome, who held the title of *Chori* (town official). Magome had a daughter named Kadenoyu who lived in Denmacho, a section of Edo. Somehow, Will had managed to meet Kadenoyu, and to be intrigued by her quiet and fragile beauty.

Old Magome was delighted that Will was showing interest in his daughter. He had a reputation for craftiness and social-climbing; to be connected with the *Shōgun's* favorite, *Anjin-sama* (most honorable pilot), would be quite an honor. He did all he could to encourage the match.

The *Shōgun*, hearing that Will had decided to get married, was also delighted. In preparation for the event, he presented Will with a sumptuous town house in Edo in addition to his estate at Hemi, on the Miura Peninsula.

It looked now as though Will's former life in England would be forgotten, and, indeed, that here in Japan he had been reborn into a completely new life that promised to bring him a degree of happiness he had never known before. But no man ever entirely escapes his past—as Will was presently to learn.

5: The Noble Prisoner

A study of the life of Ieyasu Tokugawa seems to tell us that he was quite skillful in getting other people to do as he wished, and that in persuading others he tended to use a silken cord rather than a lash. The record shows that he had a remarkable way of forgiving his enemies, and making them into useful friends later on. There is, indeed, an anecdote, perhaps true, perhaps apocryphal, that tells of a horse Ieyasu had been given as a youth—a wild, and spirited animal that no one could ride. It threw Ieyasu, and his friends urged him to kill the horse. But he refused, put the beast to pasture, and in time, and with much patience, finally broke him to the saddle. This was a pattern of behavior the old warrior and intriguer seemed to follow all his life.

We can probably assume, then, that Ieyasu had encouraged Will Adams to marry Kadenoyu Magome as a means of keeping him in Japan where he had become useful to the *Shōgun*. But there is also good evidence that Will was far from displeased with his bride. Later accounts, by foreigners who visited Will's estate near present-day Yokosuka, tell us that Kadenoyu was both beautiful and gracious, and we gather the impression that Will was devoted to her.

But although Will must have been delighted with his bride, he evidently found his new in-laws a source of irritation. Kadenoyu's father, Kageyu Magome, all his life a minor official, lost no time in asking for numerous favors from this powerful foreigner who enjoyed the confidence of the *Shōgun*. Even more importunate was Kadenoyu's sister's husband, a nimble sidestepper of a man, who had become a nominal Christian and had adopted the foreign name of Andreas in order to do business with Portuguese traders. But Andreas was always looking for chances to enrich himself—legally or illegally—his rattish wit and wide acquaintance in the substrata of the commercial world were of some use to Will Adams, who, like Ieyasu tended to forgive and even protect those who had made trouble for him.

In some historical reports Kadenoyu is identified as a converted Christian. This seems doubtful, since it is very much against Christian principles for a man to have two wives, and Kadenoyu must have known that Will had a wife and child in England; at least, it seems impossible that Will could have kept this knowledge from her over the years. It may have been that some members of the Magome family, such as the crafty Andreas, had casually adopted Christianity either as a kind of fad or fashion, or for pure commercial reasons.

Actually, Will and Kadenoyu may never have been formally married—there is no record of their union in any civic archives of the period.

Whatever the exact relationship between Will and Kadenoyu, we know that Will in this period (about 1605) was thinking of his English wife and his homeland because he wrote at least two letters in an attempt to make contact with her (though he was careful not to mention Kadenoyu), and the letters show a definite sense of longing for his former life.

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As we have seen, the Portuguese were the only Europeans in close touch with Japan through their trading colony at Nagasaki. Their commerce here was based on the cargoes carried by large ships plying between Nagasaki and their other Asian colony, Macao, near present-day Hong Kong. The yearly visit of the "Macao carrack" was a big event in Nagasaki.

But both the Dutch and the English were soon to show a revived interest in Japan, much of it based on reports Will had managed to send back to Europe; and with their arrival, Will was to get his first chance to return to his own part of the world.

Although Will had been employed by a Dutch trading company as an expert navigator on his original journey to Japan, trading and exploration companies were now beginning to be formed in his own country, particularly the London East India Company, which soon would be sending ships to Asia to compete with the Dutch who had already established trading posts in the "Spice Islands"—roughly, present-day Indonesia. Well-armed Dutch ships were clashing in sea-battles with Spanish and Portuguese vessels. Dutch and English were allied in this effort, although within two decades they would be at war with each other.

Will discussed these developments with Ieyasu. He pointed out that it would be to the *Shōgun's* advantage to have the Dutch or the English in Japan as rivals to the Portuguese, for then the nations would compete with each other, lowering prices and granting concessions. Will suggested that he be permitted to sail to Patani, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, where the Dutch had a thriving trading post, and invite them to visit Japan.

Ieyasu smiled in the way of a man who sees through his opponent's move and said that this would be out of the question. He was not angered by Will's request, for he still held *Anjin-sama* (Most Honorable Pilot) in great esteem and left his doors open to Will at all times. The friendship, indeed, between the *Shōgun* and this foreigner even transcended the rigid etiquette under which Japanese society then functioned. Will would sometimes horrify the *Shōgun's* courtiers by addressing Ieyasu merely as *Oji* (Prince) without the usual string of honorifics attached to the name. Ieyasu seemed amused rather than offended.

Will now asked the *Shōgun* if he would not at least permit one of Will's companions to undertake this mission to Malaya, but Ieyasu frowned and growled that this would be an expensive undertaking. Will had an answer to this objection, and it had to do with certain developments that had been taking place in Kyushu—developments Will knew about because of his now well-established connections in Japan.

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Near Nagasaki was the island of Hirado, the center of an area controlled by a *daimyo* (lord) named Shigenobu Matsuura. Matsuura had fought well in the Korean expedition, was a member of the old-soldier's clique, and was well-regarded by Ieyasu. Long envious of Nagasaki's prosperity, Matsuura had made several bids to bring foreign commerce into Hirado, too, and now was planning to send a ship to Patani to look into the possibilities of Dutch trade. He was willing to pay for the voyage, and Will advised the *Shōgun* to send a letter inviting trade, and to send, as envoys, two of the Dutchmen who had originally arrived with Will some five years before.

After some days of consideration, Ieyasu finally agreed with this proposal. The envoys were to be Jakob Quackernack, the Dutch trader who had held the title of captain aboard Will's ship, and Melchior van Santvoort, the clerk who under Will's teaching had become an excellent seaman, and was now Will's right-hand man.

In the autumn of 1605, then, Quackernack and van Santvoort departed from Hirado on a Japanese seagoing junk bound for Patani. They bore an invitation from Ieyasu inviting both the Dutch and English to visit Japan and engage in trading there, along with various personal communications from Will, among them a letter to his wife, Mary, in England.

They reached Patani on December 2, and the Dutch traders there were astonished to see them. They had thought that Will's ship, the *Liefde*, had been lost with all its crew five or six years before. Quackernack learned that his own father-in-law was somewhere in Southeast Asia as the admiral of nine Dutch warships and decided to join him instead of returning to Japan. As it turned out, this was an unlucky decision, for Quackernack was killed the following year, after joining his father-in-law, in a sea-battle with the Spanish.

Melchior van Santvoort returned to Japan. He brought back word that Dutch ships would arrive before long, and that efforts to establish a trading post would be made. Ieyasu was pleased with this news, and gave van Santvoort permission to make other such voyages, should the occasion arise. But he still would not relent and allow Will to depart.

* * *

If Will was, in effect, a prisoner, his imprisonment was far from unpleasant. On his estate at Hemi, near Yokosuka, he had over 80 vassals tending the land, keeping only enough food to feed themselves, remitting the rest to their master, and otherwise serving him as he saw fit. According to custom, Will had the power of life and death over them. There was also his town house in Edo, and there were frequent entertainments and banquets at the *Shōgun's* court which he attended. Will, ranking as a *samurai*, stalked about with two swords thrust into his silken *obi* as badges of his class. In business and social affairs, he mingled with the kingdom's aristocracy.

We know that he found Japan enjoyable because he wrote in one of his letters: "The people of the Island of Japan are good of nature, courteous above measure, and valiant in war. Their justice is severely executed without partiality upon transgressors of law. They are governed in great civility, I think, (with) no land better governed in the world by civil policy."

Did he really wish to go home should the opportunity arise? Probably by now, Will was becoming unsure of this in his own mind.

Two years passed after the mission to Patani, and still a Dutch ship did not appear. Melchior van Santvoort made another journey, and again urged the Dutch to visit Japan. The traders there explained that at the moment most Dutch naval and merchant vessels in the Far East were too busy fighting Spaniards, but they were certain that eventually a voyage to Japan could be arranged.

Meanwhile, as a result of van Santvoort's first voyage, officials in Holland itself had already decided to send two ships to Japan. These two were part of a large fleet being sent to the Far East, primarily to attack Spanish and Portuguese ships. They were called the *Griffon* and the *Red Lion with Arrows*. Part of their mission was to attack and plunder the yearly Portuguese carrack from Macao if they should run into it on their way to Japan.

The carrack of 1609 was indeed richly laden. She was under the command of Andre Pessoa, a swashbuckling adventurer who had borrowed heavily to pay for the privilege of command-

Saga of Will Adams

Continued from Previous Page

ing the ship and of later sharing in its voyage profits. Pessoa was hardly an ideal emissary to send to Japan. The year before he had put down a group of contentious Japanese seamen who had brought a junk to Macao, treating them both dishonestly and ruthlesslv. (A Dutch mariner of the period wrote of the Japanese: "They are a rough and fearless people, lambs in their own country, but well-nigh devils outside of it.") After the seamen had been involved in a waterfront brawl, Pessoa promised them immunity if they would surrender to the authorities; when they did surrender, he had them all killed.

Pessoa was too arrogant to realize that he would not be warmly received in Japan after such an incident. In addition, Ieyasu was beginning to lose confidence in the Portuguese as trading partners. Dutch harassment had kept many of their trading ships from calling at Nagasaki, and the traders and missionaries there were in dire financial straits. Characteristically, Ieyasu lent them money to keep going.

* * *

Ieyasu was not placing all of his bets for the future on the Dutch and English. The Spaniards had a prosperous colony at Manila, and it seemed to him that they might be good to trade with. Consequently, he had Will Adams build a second European-style ship, much larger than the first.

At this point, something must have happened to change the *Shōgun's* mind about letting Will depart from Japan. Perhaps he felt that Will had finally settled down and was determined to spend the rest of his life in Japan; perhaps Will gave him assurances to this effect. At any rate, Ieyasu now gave Will Adams permission to take the ship he had built to Manila and look into the possibilities of Spanish trade.

Ieyasu was not entirely incautious, however; Will sailed with an all-Japanese crew, and among them were agents loyal to Ieyasu who had instructions to keep a close watch on the Englishman, lest he decide to sail the ship elsewhere.

Meanwhile, it was important to Ieyasu to do all he could to bring Japan into closer contact with the outside world as quickly as he could. He was getting older now, and living in semi-retirement at his estate in Suruga. His third son, Hidetada, had been named *Shōgun*, but old Ieyasu still had to be consulted on matters of real importance. The only trouble was that Hidetada, lacking Ieyasu's vision, was suspicious of all foreign contacts and was more inclined to drive all foreigners out of the country than to trade with them.

Things were beginning to work toward some sort of a climax, not only in Japan's national affairs, but in the private affairs of the expatriate English mariner, Will Adams.

6: The Affair of the *Madre de Dios*

Although Ieyasu Tokugawa's invitation to the Dutch to visit Japan had been delivered as early as 1605, it was not until 1609 that two Dutch ships were finally dispatched to the island kingdom. Will Adams, who had urged the retired *Shōgun* to send this invitation, had made it clear that the visitors were to come to Hirado, an island off the Kyushu coast, where the local *daimyo* (lord) was anxious to have a trading post. But navigation was not an exact science in those days, and the two ships that finally made the journey ended up in Nagasaki instead.

They were the *Griffoen* (Griffon), and the *Roode Leeuw met Pijlen* (Red Lion with Arrows), under the command of one Admiral van den Broek. They reached Nagasaki on July 1, 1609. The admiral didn't know it, but in Europe a truce had finally been signed between the Dutch and the Spanish-Portuguese nation with whom they had been at war. Going ashore at Nagasaki, he met with a stiff and cold-eyed reception from both Japanese officials and the Portuguese traders and missionaries who dwelt there. They were good enough, however, to give him directions to reach Hirado, a little further up the coast, and he finally set sail for this port.

News of the arrival of Dutch ships in Japan came swiftly to Will Adams in Edo, and he set out immediately on the tiring journey across Japan to meet them.

As they waited for Will to appear, the crews of the two Dutch ships rested and were entertained by the *daimyo*, Matsuura. This old soldier was still robust in his tastes and he saw to it that the Dutch visitors were provided with lusty diversions. Preliminary arrangements were made to set up a trading post ashore under the direction of a chief merchant named Jacques Specx who had been brought for that purpose.
All this, of course, subject to the *Shōgun's* approval.

When Will finally got to Hirado, he found the Dutchmen well-settled, much-pleased, and ready to begin negotiations with the supreme monarch of these islands. Will's appearance startled them a bit, although they tried to take it with courteous aplomb. The tall, red-bearded Englishman wore a silk kimono and the two swords of his rank, and by his very manner struck them as being in many ways more Japanese than European. After the initial surprise wore off, there was a proper feast for Will, and now, for the first time in many years, he talked to Europeans other than his original companions or the Spanish and Portuguese already in Japan.

Will offered to take the chief merchant, Jacques Specx, to see Ieyasu. Matsuura generously provided a galley of 56 oars for the trip and immediately purchased all the pepper and silk aboard the two Dutch ships.

* * *

As Will was greeting the newly arrived Dutchmen in Hirado, the Portuguese adventurer, Andre Pessoa, sailed into Nagasaki harbor with the great carrack from Macao, the *Madre de Dios*. When Ieyasu learned that the commander of the carrack was the same man who had tricked and slain the Japanese sailors in Macao, he was furious. He was becoming rapidly disenchanted with the Portuguese anyway, and since both the Spanish and the Dutch were now ready to do business (largely because of Will Adams' efforts), it was becoming apparent that he might no longer need the Portuguese.

Ieyasu promptly sent a secret message to the *daimyo* of Arima that he might revenge himself for Pessoa's treatment of his sailors and seize the big ship in the harbor, taking Pessoa with it, dead or alive.

Arima, the only Christian *daimyo* in Japan, marshalled his *samurai*. Nagasaki, where the *Madre de Dios* lay, belonged to Sahioye Hasegawa, but he was Arima's friend and also incensed over the Macao incident.

Swashbuckling, arrogant, opportunistic Andre Pessoa—who had borrowed heavily to pay for the profitable command of the yearly carrack from Macao to Nagasaki—was rather surprised at the treatment he received upon dropping anchor in Nagasaki. Boats and armed guards came alongside and prevented anyone from going ashore. Two customs inspectors boarded the ship and demanded to see the cargo. Pessoa refused to show it. There was much debate back and forth, and it was several days before the matter was settled, with Hasegawa finally agreeing the carrack's goods could be given a cursory examination as they were brought ashore.

Bickering of this sort continued as the ship was unloaded and the goods were sold, with Pessoa complaining bitterly that he had to part with his merchandise at unfair prices. He wrote a letter of complaint which he meant to deliver secretly to Ieyasu. The letter fell into Hasegawa's hands instead, and Hasegawa became livid with rage.

Until this time, Hasegawa had meant only to harass Pessoa. Now he decided to do as Arima had asked in the first place, and seize the carrack. Pessoa remained in Nagasaki all that autumn, carrying out his trading activities. On Sunday morning, January 10, 1610, he made ready to depart. He had been warned that there was a plot against him, and the guns on his ship were in a state of readiness.

Before Pessoa could get his ship under way about 30 small boats filled with armed *samurai* began to surround it. Pessoa's ship was manned by about 40 Europeans, plus some assorted natives of various islands in Southeast Asia. As night fell, the small boats began to circle and maneuver in the light of torches. A message was thrown aboard. If the Portuguese would hand over only Pessoa to face charges, no one else would be molested. Pessoa angrily crumpled the message and threw it aside.

Then the *samurai* in their small boats began to volley with arrows and musketballs which, for the most part, bounced harmlessly off the sides of the ship. Pessoa ordered broadsides from his guns. The ship's trumpeters stood on the quarterdeck and after each broadside, as rolling clouds of acrid smoke drifted away, played comical fanfares to deride the attackers. The cannonballs struck several small boats, demolishing them.

By this time the tide was going out. Pessoa slipped his anchor, and the boat began to drift down the harbor, although there was not much wind. Day broke. The ship drifted slowly, back and forth with the tide, and the *samurai* in their small boats continued to harry it.

By now Arima had sent reinforcements, and there were some 3,000 men ready to attack. The *samurai* lashed two large boats together and upon them erected a wooden tower over 6 meters (20 feet) high. Musketeers climbed to the top of the tower and began to snipe at the *Madre de Dios*. At one point the floating tower reached the big ship, several *samurai* leapt aboard, and two were killed by Pessoa with his own sword.

By now the breeze was freshening. It seemed to Pessoa that he had won and would be able to get away. A Portuguese soldier, amidships, drew back his hand to throw a grenade at the retreating tower-device. His hand was struck by a musket ball and sparks from the missile he had been about to throw fell upon some gunpowder on the deck. Within minutes, the deck was covered with smoke and flame.

The small ships swarmed toward the *Madre de Dios* and Pessoa saw that all was lost. Picking up a crucifix in one hand and a slow match in the other, Pessoa himself fired the magazine of the ship, which blew up in two tremendous explosions and sank in 32 fathoms of water with most of her company dead.

Pessoa never realized it, but with the sinking of the *Madre de Dios*, Portuguese fortunes in Japan had also begun to sink and would soon be lost forever.

* * *

Ieyasu Tokugawa had already received the Dutch visitors from Hirado cordially, and granted permission for them to build a trading post, giving them a flowery letter of invitation to take to the ruler of Holland. Jacques Specx immediately retained Will Adams as agent and advisor for the new trading post. He and the Dutch admiral were so anxious to keep Will's services that they refrained from telling him about the English ships that were now appearing in such large numbers in Asia, and that were bound to reach Japan before long.

Indeed, at this time, the Worshipful Governors of the East India Company in London were seriously discussing sending an expedition to Japan. There, as they understood it, some English pilot had been dwelling for a number of years and seemed to be a person of some influence with the king of that domain. What was his name, now? Adams—yes, that was it, Will Adams.

And in Japan, Will Adams now found himself dividing his time between Edo, the new capital of the kingdom, and the far Kyushu port of Hirado. This, in its own way, was to have its effect upon Will's fortunes.

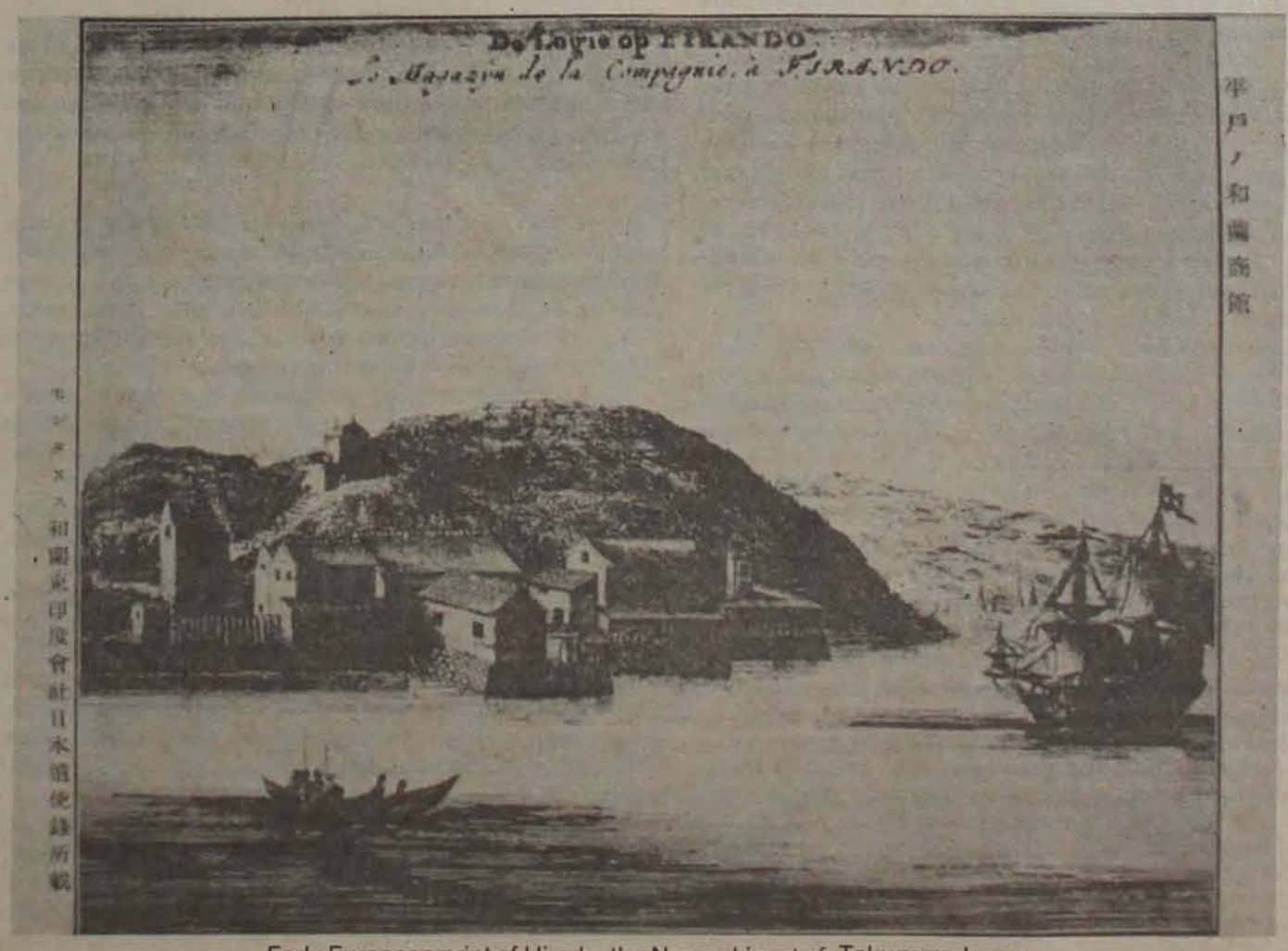
With old Ieyasu in partial retirement at Suruga, Will now had to deal primarily with his son, Hidetada, who lived at the palace in Edo and held the full title of *Shōgun*. Will's relations with Hidetada were not nearly as intimate as they had been with the old man.

Hidetaka was taller and of a somewhat darker complexion than his father, but he was not as dynamic. A competent administrator, he was not given to thinking in broad strokes or seeing things in historical perspective. Where Ieyasu had been inclined to show tolerance to Christians, recognizing their importance in foreign relations, Hidetada took the shorter view and saw them as troublesome meddlers who were chipping away at the foundations of the state ceremonial structure of Shinto, and thus at the state itself. But as long as the old man lived, Hidetada couldn't make any major moves without his approval, so he contented himself in handling lesser matters in which Ieyasu had lost interest.

* * *

In Hirado, whenever he went there, Will Adams found it easy enough to do business with Matsuura, the amiable and gregari-

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Early European print of Hirado, the Nagasaki port of Tokugawa Japan.

Nobu Miyoshi

Continued from Page

said, "Let's go home now" after Madeline and her family finished what she thought was their picnic lunch at the induction center. The anxieties and suffering of the parents were not put on the child.

Do the Sansei, in turn, owe it to the Nisei to protect them by not speaking about the implications of camp for the Issei and the Nisei? Perhaps an ambivalence within the Sansei is developing over this question.

Carrier of Pain

Although the Nisei may have consciously avoided transmission of indebtedness related to the camp, it is suggested here that to some extent it has, nonetheless, been passed down subtly or subconsciously to their children. Family therapists have learned the many ways parents are sustained and even consciously relieved of pain because their children are covertly "asked" to bear it. Such children, as children in general, want to be responsive to their parents' needs, partly out of fulfilling their own identity needs to do what is significant and expected. Inferences of indebtedness to parents borne by the Sansei in this project have been drawn from their reactions to camp.

I suggest that the pain suffered by the Issei and the Nisei has been passed down to the succeeding generation and through modes that were culturally influenced, that is, through nonverbal cues. The Nisei may not be acutely aware of their own pain as much as the Sansei who are bearing it for them.

In sharp contrast to the value legacy of the Sansei, the Jewish youth are heir to a value reserve that prompts exposure and articulation as Wiesell's writings and many open discussions about the Nazi Holocaust demonstrate.

The following examples which came to my attention are undoubtedly familiar to many Nisei and Sansei:

A Sansei on the West Coast recently recalled a special research project that fascinated her beyond any other studies she undertook. It involved her exploring extensive published and unpublished material on the Japanese American evacuation and concentration camp. She found herself weeping through much of that experience.

West Coast Sansei found weeping while on research of Evacuation.

An Eastern Sansei could not watch the TV showing of"Farewell to Manzanar" a second time. Judith Hashimoto recalled "...I couldn't watch that the second time...I started to and couldn't...sort of too painful...you watch it and it begins to work on you...It will be the same pain over again and then there is nothing I can do with it or it's a reexperiencing the same thing and that thing happened to be pain or sadness...Maybe that's how the Nisei feel. They don't want to run through that again the second time..."

A 16-year-old Sansei in a family session in the project indicated his parents "paid a price" when they entered camp. It was making it possible for him and his siblings to have an "easier" life as the result of the price paid to society by their parents.

Another Sansei, a high school graduate, indicated in a family session in the project that since she learned in her earlier teens what happened to Japanese Americans during evacuation and internment, she has been carrying a "smouldering anger" that does not become volatile but it is "there."

The Nisei father of a 9-year-old of mixed parentage described his son's reaction to watching "Farewell to Manzanar" on TV. The child was deeply moved and he cried. His father was surprised because he never told his son about his own experience in camp.

On or Return of Benefits Received

What is owed by the Sansei to the Nisei and Issei? Unlike the Jewish youths who can gauge their indebtedness against explicit events that devastated their people, the Sansei have considerably less with which to relate to the overt needs of their parents.

The Sansei seem to sense that a monumentally controversial episode occurred in the lives of their parents and grandparents but they are strangely out of phase with the impact that internment should have had on their forbears. This predicament is expressed by Lily Sakata

"...It's some sort of legacy we have to carry but we didn't live through it...We're handed something we don't understand. We don't know what happened to them. We don't know what it did to them..."

I suggest that the Sansei are faced with a difficult task of trying to live up to their parents' legacy of superhuman capabilities of dealing with the camp experience. Is it possible for the Sansei to fulfill some of the implicit parental expectations in this regard by returning relevant benefits to the Nisei?

Among the Sansei-initiated projects that has had beneficial consequences is the pilgrimage to the camp site of Manzanar. This opened the way for subsequent pilgrimages including other campsites joined by the Nisei. I see that a significant process was fostered by which the Nisei were emboldened to look back to a difficult time in their lives and in the lives of the Issei.

The Sansei are currently observing the latest major challenge facing the Nisei over their camp experience. It is related to the Nisei's seeking reparaton from the United States Government. Some of the Sansei are quietly hoping for an opportunity to assist the Nisei in coping with that challenge. They realize that they cannot enter into an advocacy position for the Nisei without the approval of the Nisei.

A policy was finally adopted by the Japanese American Citizens League at their National Convention in 1976 to pursue reparations from the United States Government after many years of resistance to it. The policy was passed mainly as the result of the persuasive eloquence of Mike Masaoka, president of an international public relations firm, Masaoka-Ishikawa and Associates in Washington, D.C. He hopes that the Nisei's request for reparation will mobilize national attention to a gross desecration of human rights supposedly espoused by our Government. Congressional action on reparations would then symbolize our Nation's desire to rectify the injustice of internment of its citizens without due process of law.

Now that procedual matters are under consideration by the Nisei on the "grass roots" level, much ambivalence about pressing for reparation is again emerging. Many of the same reasons given by the Nisei for their silence about internment are heard once again—"Why rock the boat?", "The past is past, why dig up the past?", "Why offend people who helped us?" etc.

For some Jewish descendants of survivors of the camps, the responsibility has been too great and some of them have been seen in mental health clinics and mental hospitals. In fact a special mental health service for children of holocaust survivors is now set up in New York City.

I became familiar with a psychotic youth whose one parent escaped the camp and the other parent was closely related to exterminated members. The profound guilt of the survivors for finding themselves alive and their efforts to be exonerated from their guilt rested heavily upon the shoulders of their only child whose life was offered to God to "glorify" His name. The daughter could not fulfill her parental expectations.

What ravages occurred in the form of emotional and mental disturbances and family disequilibrium among the Japanese American victims and their descendants are not known. In a recent conversation with a former Northwest Nisei resident, a question was raised over the large increase in the number of "nervous breakdowns" that have occurred among the Issei and unheard of psychiatric casualties among the Nisei since their internment in camps. He was not speaking out of reference to any official record in the Northwest region but purely from his acquaintance of individuals who required treatment. The validity of the number of incidents attributable to the camp experience awaits investigation; however it is my opinion that some degree of correlation may exist. It could also be somewhat relevant to associate the puzzling drug addiction problem among the Sansei in Southern California to their way of dealing with their untenable camp legacies.

Resource Among the Sansei

With the increasing media coverage on the Japanese Americans' concentration camp experience, the responsibility of responding to queries from curious members of the majority group is growing. The comment made by a Nisei affiliated with an Eastern universitv is not atypical "...sooner or later the students come around to asking about the evacuation and camp..."

Along with the Nisei, the Sansei are also put in the position of resource individuals on the subject. It is assumed here that the Sansei are generally reluctant to discuss the camp situation because their parents have not given them sanction to speak freely about it. I noticed that in those exceptional situations when the Nisei parents themselves initiated the suggestion that their children present the camp story as a school project and the Sansei received first-hand reactions and accounts from their parents in the preparation of such project, the Sansei were released to expand on their own reactions as well as to reflect their parents' position. For example, a Sansei in an Eastern metropolitan high school captivated a large student body and their parents with his documented material reenforced by substantive aid from his parents. The audience responded emotionally to that presentation.

Ambivalence resurfaces among Nisei over pressing for reparations

Much emphasis has been placed on the difficulty of the Nisei to face their internment experience due to the urgent implications it has for the Sansei. However this is not meant to be a negative criticism of the Nisei for it is realized that the Nisei's reluctance to discuss it bears aspects of self-preservation. There is something very frightening about it. The Jewish survivors are beginning to speak about their experience after 30 years of silence because they feel it is an obligation to the dead as well as to the living. They express fear of "madness" in looking at it. The American Jews and other Americans as well have heard about the holocaust because the relatives of the victims talked about it.

Fear of Repetition

The evacuation and internment of Japanese American citizens was seen as a "threat to society, and to all men," by such individuals as Rostow (1945) and by others in subsequent years who were concerned about the harmful implications of that miscarriage of justice.

The Sansei as direct descendants of internees have special reasons to be fearful. Their parents' law abiding record did not entitle them to the protection of the law. In addition to their close association with a frightening and bewildering family experience, the Japanese American youth have lived through historic episodes of tumultuous '60s, Vietnam and Watergate - "We were raised under investigative journalism" remarked Dorene Okada while describing the sense of vulnerability harbored by the Sansei.

Several Sansei approached in this study, ranging in ages from 16 to 30 have alluded to their fears.

Marilyn Tsujikawa recalled "...When they started to draft kids and started to hear (about) massacre in Vietnam, everything was wrong ...and it was as if our parents could let that happen to them. They almost made it worse... going in as a group and when they got there never said anything...here we were screaming our lungs out about everything...and our parents didn't say a word back...the Sansei feel fear for ourselves..."

Another Sansei indicated she experiences a discomfort and at times even a sense of danger when tension producing situations arise between the Americans and Japanese nationals.

Some of the Sansei in the study had thoughts about the way they might react to an evacuation order. A youth in his midteens stated he would not be bland about it "...if they do, if we were thrown in camps..because of the way they reacted...I would react violently...and retaliate." His father responded approvingly "That's a real honest answer..."

Alyce Hironaka was not certain how she would react based on the model of behavior of the Nisei and how "Japanesy" the Sansei would be expected to respond. "...I used to think there was a good possibility it would happen... if we knew that it would almost be the same case...a lot of the Sansei would feel they couldn't leave their parents...a lot of the Sansei would opt to go if the Nisei were forced. If it were just the Sansei that would have to go, I don't know what we would do. I think that's where the problem is because...it's part of the Japanese personality. We think we're supposed to have a lot more self control than anybody else..."

Conclusions

The Sansei are in a quandary over their identification with their dual cultural heritages—the American and Japanese—thus creating a sense of estrangement, on some levels, in relation to both. The Sansei receive strong overt messages from their parents to become "white," i.e. to subscribe to the legacies of American society, almost exclusively. On the other hand the Sansei themselves are not only told by their major social environment that they are not white but they themselves have yearnings for validation of their attitudes and values that are unlike those encountered in their outside society. It is also suggested that the Sansei are subconsciously stirred by covert messages to identify with their ethnic culture by their Nisei parents who feel some ambivalence in not promoting a closer connection with the past of their Issei parents.

The oft-repeated comments by the Sansei that their parents do not discuss their personal attitudes and experiences in camp contain implications of uncertainty of the Nisei to resolve two sharply contradictory legacy expectations that would have required an almost superhuman creativity in the face of crushing discrimination.

The Nisei in their way are faced with psychological and moral obstacles in opening up to their children about their loyalty obligations to the Japanese legacy. Again it is much easier to make unending assertions about their loyalty expectations to Americans in this regard. This added to what could be a very personal history of endurance, the telling of which could somehow betray something sacred that they possess, could compound the issues.

I suggest that a systematic development of unutilized trust resources between the Sansei and their parents is possible. The process by which members of each generation can work with each other on the difficulties contributing to the identity crisis of the Sansei and of their parents has a precedence as a methodology of intergenerational approach in family work. This method is built on the premise that it is essential to regard and mutually appreciate the two conflicting sets of value and legacy expectations.

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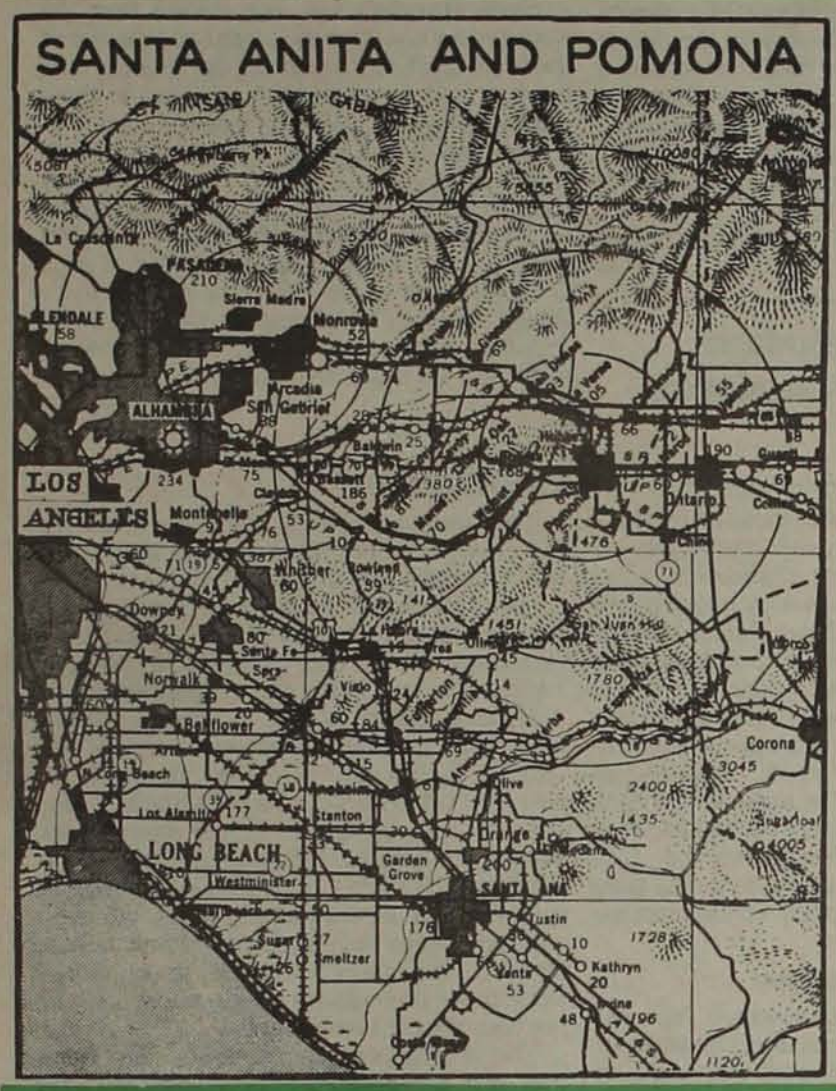
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A Pilgrimage Guide to the Temporary Detention Camps



Pomona

LOCATION

Los Angeles County Fairgrounds, Pomona, California. Ganesha Blvd. exit north from I-10 (San Bernardino Frwy); area bounded by McKinley Ave., White Ave., Southern Pacific R.R., E St.

DATES OF OPERATION

May 7 to August 24, 1942.

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

5,434 maximum at any one time; 5,514 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

Los Angeles, San Francisco & Santa Clara Counties.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Heart Mountain.

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

Remains: horsetrack. Memorials: Memorials: registered Calif. state historical landmark.

ROAD MAP

Pomona Valley, Pomona 1st Federal Savings & Loan, P.O. Box 2869, Pomona, Ca 91766, free.

PUBLICATIONS

Estelle Ishigo, *Lone Heart Mountain*, Anderson, Ritchie & Simon, Los Angeles, 1972 (drawings).

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Santa Anita

LOCATION

Santa Anita Park racetrack, Arcadia, Los Angeles County, California. Santa Anita Ave. exit south from I-210 (Foothill Fwy), west on Huntington Dr.; area bounded by Huntington Dr., Baldwin Ave., north edge of main horsetrack.

DATES OF OPERATION

March 27 to October 27, 1942

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

18,719 maximum at any one time; 19,348 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco and Santa Clara Counties.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Central Utah (Topaz), Colorado River (Poston), Gila River, Granada, Heart Mountain, Jerome, Manzanar, Rohwer.

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

Remains: horsetracks. Memorials: registered Calif. state historical landmark.

ROAD MAP

Arcadia, Arcadia Chamber of Commerce, P.O. Box 867, Arcadia, Ca 91006, $1.00.

PUBLICATIONS

Arcadia Tribune: 1942—Mar. 26, Apr. 2, 8, 9, Oct. 19, Nov. 2; 1974—Jun. 2; 1977—Jun. 2; 1978—Mar. 26.

Paul Bailey, City in the Sun, Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1971, $8.50.

James Edmiston, *Home Again*, Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y., 1955 (novel).

Karon Kehoe, *City in the Sun*, Dodd, Mead, New York, 1946 (novel).

Anthony Lehman, *Birthright of Barbed Wire*, Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1970.

Los Angeles Times, 1942—Apr. 1, 3-5, 10, 12, 13, May 2, 3, 7, 9, 12, 27, 31, Sept. 26.

Florence Means, *The Moved Outers*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1945, $5.95 (children's story).

Mary Oyama, "This Isn't Japan," *Common Ground*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Autumn 1942.

Santa Anita Pacemaker, Apr. 18 to Oct. 7, 1942, Arcadia Public Library (camp newspaper).

Fresno

LOCATION

Fresno County Fairgrounds, Fresno, Calif. Ventura St. exit east from Cal. 99, follow to Ventura Ave./Kings Canyon Rd. (Cal. 180); area bounded by Chance Ave. Kings Canyon Rd., Maple Ave., Hamilton Ave.

DATES OF OPERATION

May 6 to October 30, 1942.

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

5,120 maximum at any one time; 5,344 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

Central San Joaquin Valley; Amador County.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Gila River, Jerome.

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

Remains: horsetrack, palm trees. Memorials: registered Calif. state historical landmark.

ROAD MAP

Fresno County & City, Fresno County & City Chamber of Commerce, P.O. Box 1469, Fresno, Ca 93716, $0.78.

PUBLICATIONS

Fresno Bee, 1942—Mar. 25, 28, 31, Apr. 3, 9, May 2, 6, 9, 11, 14, 16, 17, 21, Jun. 2, Oct. 31; 1980—Mar. 17.

Fresno Center News/Grapevine, May 23-Oct. 17, 1942; Calif. State Univ. Fresno Library; Fresno County Free Library (camp newspaper).

Fresno Vignette, October 1942, Calif. State Univ. Fresno Library (camp album).

San Joaquin Valley Japanese American Project, "Oral History Tapes," Fresno County Free Library.

Max Templeman, *Kibei*, Daimax Publishing House, Honolulu, 1979, $10.95 (novel).

Pinedale

LOCATION

Housing tracts & vacant lots west of industrial/warehouse area (formerly Calif. Cotton Gin-Valley Compress Co./Army-Air Force Depot), Pinedale, Fresno County, California. Herndon Ave. exit east from Cal. 99/Herndon or exit west from Cal. 41; area bounded by Fruit Ave., Herndon Ave., Harrison Ave., Audubon Dr.

DATES OF OPERATION

May 7 to July 23, 1942.

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

4,792 maximum at any one time; 4,823 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

Sacramento & El Dorado Counties, California; Hood River & Wasco Counties, Oregon; King, Kitsap & Pierce Counties, Washington.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Colorado River (Poston), Tule Lake.

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

Remains: foundation slabs, roads; Memorials: registered Calif. state historical landmark.

ROAD MAP

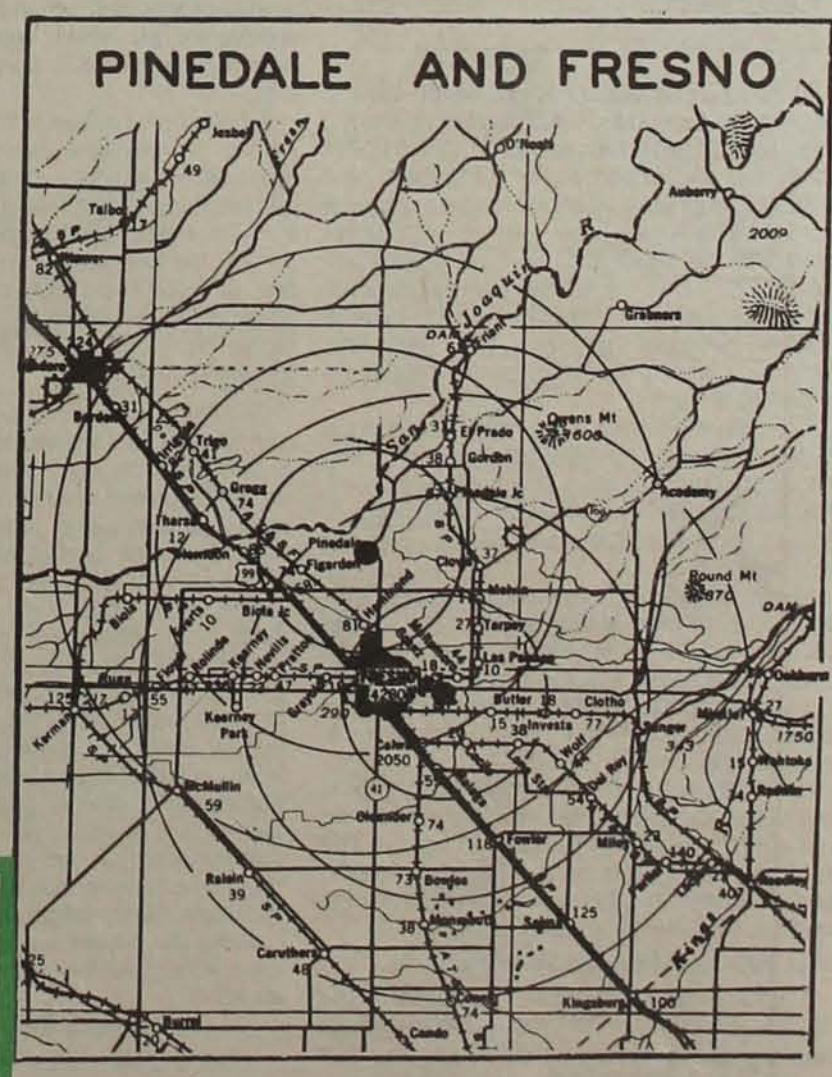
Fresno County & City, Fresno County & City Chamber of Commerce, P. O. Box 1469, Fresno, Ca 93716, $0.78.

PUBLICATIONS

Fresno Bee, 1942—Mar. 26, 28, 29, 31, Apr. 3, 9, May 2, 5, 9, 11, 16, 17, 21, Jun. 2, Jul. 5, 12, 20, 23; 1973—Oct. 21; 1977—May 15.

Daisuke Kitagawa, *Issei and Nisei*, Seabury Press, New York, 1974, $3.95 (autobiography).

Pinedale Logger, May 23-Jul. 14, 1942, Calif. State Univ. Fresno Library (camp newspaper).



Compiled by Raymond Okamura, 1150 Park Hills Rd., Berkeley, CA 94708 • October 20, 1980

With assistance from: Judith Andrews, Frances Bandel, Isabel Benson, Keith Boettcher, Katie Curl, Marie Gilcrease, Glenn Hartwell, Jun Hatakeda, Eugene Itogawa, Buddy Iwata, Terry Jackson, Helen Kitaji, Deanna Kobayashi, Sachiye Kuwamoto, Jonathan Little, Daniel Luckenbill, Pat McAdam, Frank Nakamura, Taeko Okamura, Frank Osugi, Carol Patrick, Glenda Pearson, Mary Pribyl, Mildred Raasch, Susie Sato, Wilma Smallwood, Doris Smith, Thomas Takemura, Mary Terstegge, James Tsujimura, Susan Walsh, Lynda White, Diane Yotsuya.

LEGEND—The location of the detention camp sites are marked by circles five miles apart. The scale is consistent for all the maps as expertly transferred from Gen. deWitt's "Final Report: Japanese American Evacuation, 1942". Area covered by these maps is approximately 63 miles by 102 miles.

OTHER ROADS · STATE HIGHWAY · PAVED ROADS · RAILROADS
PRINCIPAL CITIES · DETENTION CAMP SITES · SMALL CITIES & TOWNS · FEDERAL HIGHWAY



Tanforan

LOCATION

Tanforan Park Shopping Center (formerly Tanforan Park racetrack), San Bruno, San Mateo County, California. I-380 exit west from U.S. 101 (Bayshore Fwy.) or exit east from I-280 (Junipero Serra Fwy.), El Camino Real (Cal. 82) exit north; area bounded by El Camino Real, Noor Ave., Southern Pacific R.R., Forest Lane.

DATES OF OPERATION

April 28 to October 13, 1942

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

7,816 maximum at any one time; 8,033 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

San Francisco Bay Area.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Central Utah (Topaz).

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

Remains: none. Memorials: registered Calif. state historical landmark; shopping center plaque in mall; state plaque planned.

ROAD MAP

San Bruno, San Bruno Chamber of Commerce, 440 San Mateo Ave., San Bruno, Ca 94066, $0.65.

PUBLICATIONS

Charles Kikuchi, *The Kikuchi Diary*, Univ. of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1973, $10.95.

Mine Okubo, Citizen 13660, Arno Press, New York, 1978, $14 (drawings).

San Bruno Bicentennial Committee, "Oral History Tapes," San Bruno Public Library.

San Francisco Examiner, 1942—Apr. 4, 22, 26-30, May 1, 3, 4, 6, 21, 22, 25, Sept. 16, 25; 1979—Feb. 19, 20.

San Mateo Times, 1942—Apr. 4, 23, 27-30, May 1, 2, 6-9, 11-15, 22, 25, 26, June 23, July 31, Aug. 27, Sept. 2, 15, 16, 24; 1979—Feb. 16, 20, Mar. 13.

Tanforan Totalizer, May 15-Sept. 12, 1942, San Bruno Public Library; San Francisco Public Library (camp newspaper).

Yoshiko Uchida, *Journey to Topaz*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1971 (children's story).

Sacramento (Walerga)

LOCATION

Housing tracts (formerly Walerga district/Camp Kohler), Foothill farms, Sacramento County, California. I-80 northeast from Sacramento, Madison Ave. exit east, north on College Oaks Dr. to Palmgate development; triangular area bounded by Roseville Rd., Palm Ave., Walnut Ave./Walnut Ave. extension north.

DATES OF OPERATION

May 6 to June 26, 1942.

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

4,739 maximum at any one time; 4,770 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

Sacramento & Sacramento River area.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Tule Lake.

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

Remains: foundation slab, oak tree. Memorials: registered Calif. state historical landmark; district park & state plaque planned.

ROAD MAP

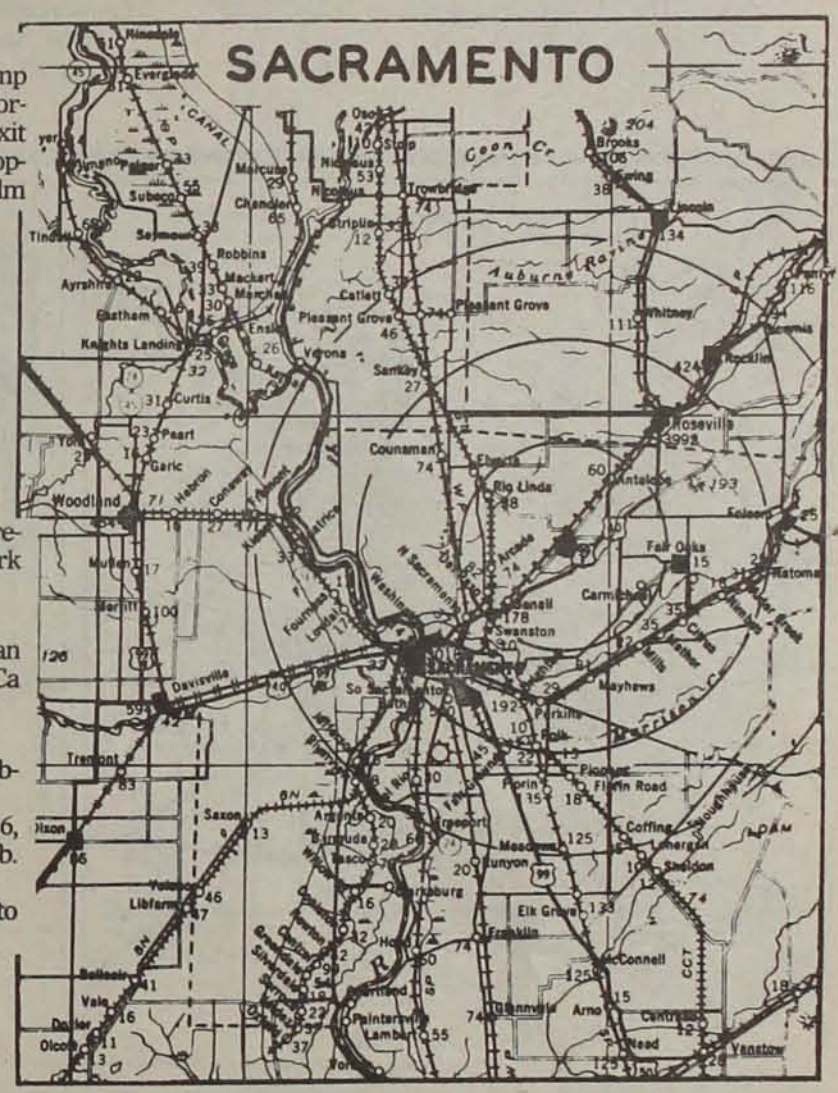
Sacramento City & County, Sacramento Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce, P.O. Box 1017, Sacramento, Ca 95805, $0.50.

PUBLICATIONS

Edward Miyakawa, *Tule Lake*, House by the Sea Publishing Co., Waldport, Ore., $7.95 (novel).

Sacramento Bee, 1942—Mar. 28, May 7-9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 19, Jun. 5, 11, 18, 20, 24; 1976—May 7; 1979—Feb. 20.

Walerga Press/Wasp, May 9-Jun. 14, 1942, Sacramento Central Public Library (camp newspaper).



Mayer

LOCATION

Business section catercorner from old smeltery (formerly Civilian Conservation Corps camp), Mayer, Yavapai County, Arizona. Ariz. 69 east from Prescott or west from I-17/Cordes Junction, follow to big Bug Creek in Mayer, look for motel & restaurants diagonally across highway from tall smokestack; area bounded by Ariz. 69, Central (Railroad) Ave., dirt road by trailers.

DATES OF OPERATION

May 7 to June 2, 1942.

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

245 maximum at any one time; 251 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

Southern Arizona.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Colorado River (Poston).

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

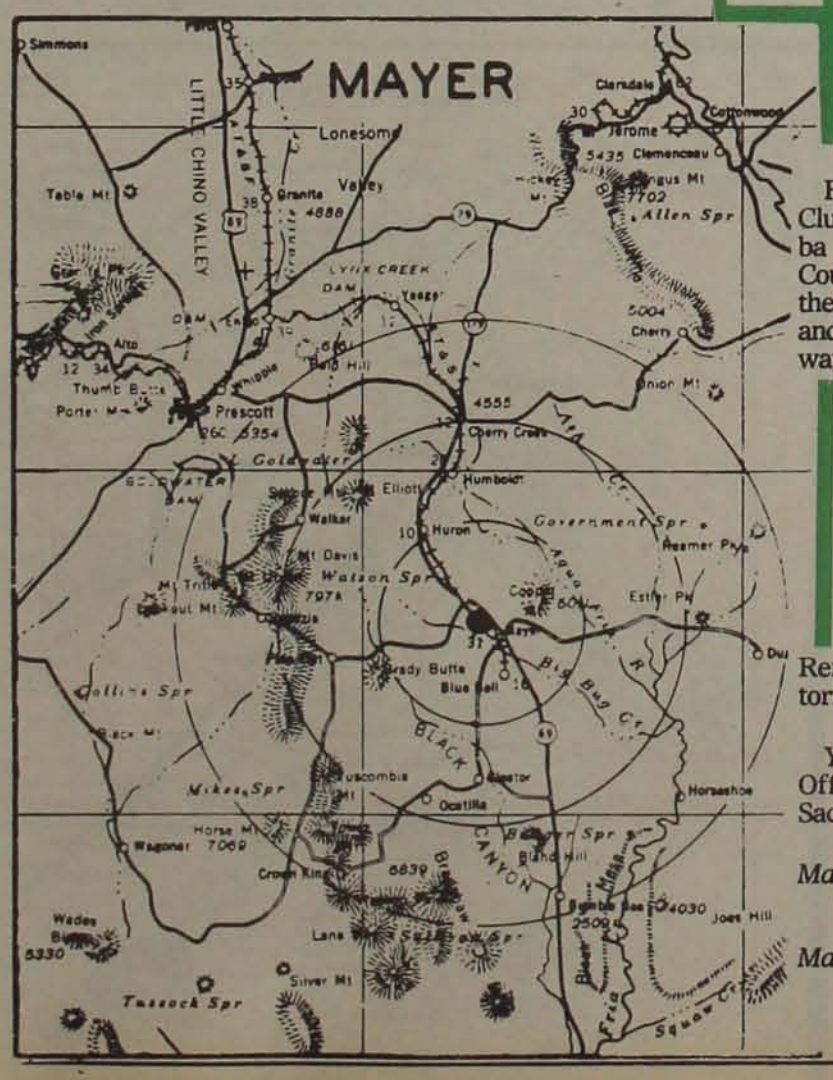
Remains: none. Memorials: none.

ROAD MAP

Yavapai County Supplemental Enlargement Sheet 41A, Ariz. Dept. of Transportation, Engineering Records, 206 S. 17th Ave., Phoenix, Az 85007, $1.00.

PUBLICATIONS

Prescott Evening Courier, 1942—May 4, 6, 8, 16, June. 5.



Marysville

LOCATION

Farmlands north of Plumas Lake Golf & Country Club/Marysville Municipal Golf Course (formerly Yuba County Reclamation District 784), Arboga, Yuba County, California. Cal. 70 south from Marysville, Feather River Blvd. exit west, follow south to Broadway and turn east; area bounded by Clark Slough, Broadway, Dye Rd., north edge of golf course.

DATES OF OPERATION

May 8 to June 29, 1942

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

2,451 maximum at any one time; 2,465 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

Placer & Sacramento Counties.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Tule Lake.

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

Remains: none. Memorials: registered Calif. state historical landmark.

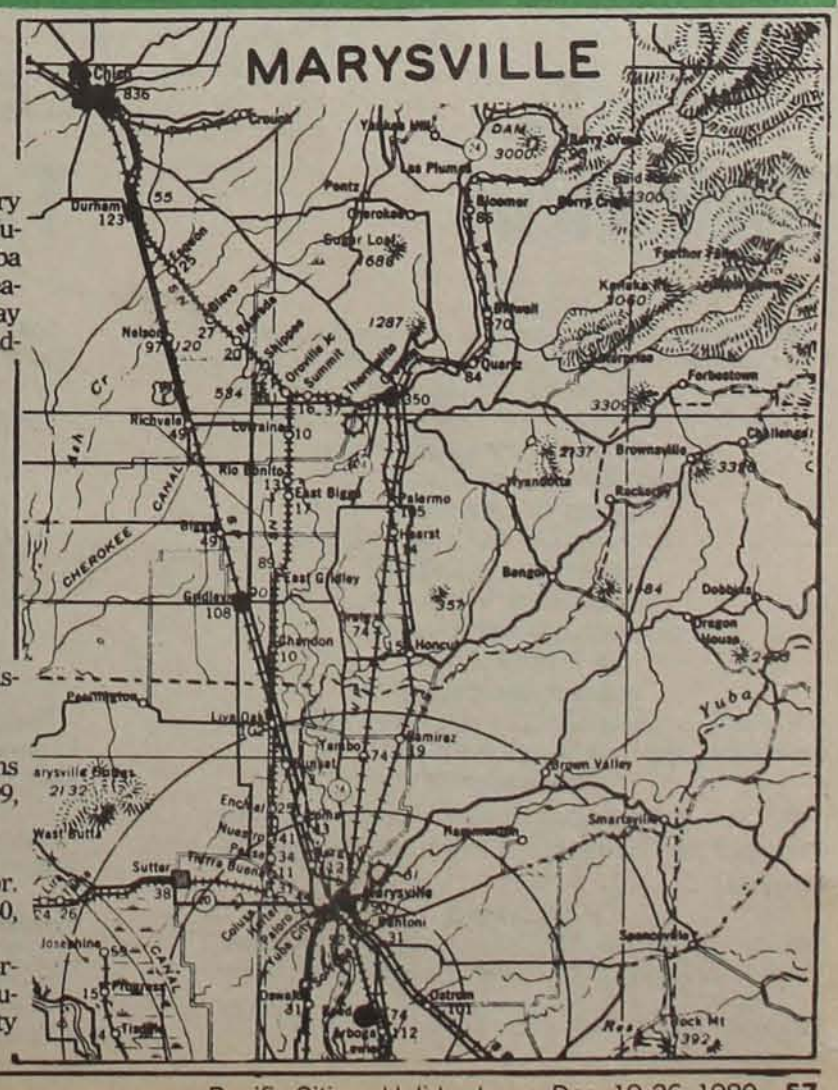
ROAD MAP

Yuba County Enlargement Sheet 6H25, Cal Trans Office Engineer, Cartographic Services, P.O. Box 1499, Sacramento, Ca 95807, $1.00.

PUBLICATIONS

Marysville Appeal-Democrat, 1942—Mar. 27, 30, Apr. 2, 8, 10, 16, May 1, 4, 7, 8, 11, 13-15, 18-20, 26, 27, 30, June 5, 10, 12, 20, 24, 25, 29, July 8.

Marysville Arbo-Gram, May 23-June 13, 1942, Interlibrary loan from Univ. of Calif. Berkeley Documents Library or Gardena/Los Angeles County Public Library (camp newspaper).



Turlock

LOCATION

Stanislaus County Fairgrounds (formerly Legion Field), Turlock, California. Fulkerth Rd. exit east from Cal. 99, south on Soderquist Rd.; area bounded by Canal Dr., Soderquist Rd., Southern Pacific R.R., Broadway.

DATES OF OPERATION

April 30 to August 12, 1942.

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

3,662 maximum at any one time; 3,699 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

Sacramento-San Joaquin River delta; Los Angeles.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Gila River.

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

Remains: exhibition hall. Memorials: registered Calif. state historical landmark.

ROAD MAP

Turlock, Turlock Chamber of Commerce, 115 S. Golden State Blvd., Turlock, Ca 95380, $0.78.

PUBLICATIONS

Modesto Bee, 1942—Apr. 2, 30, May 2, 4, 5, 14, 18, 22, June 3, 13, July 2, 15, 20, 24.

Turlock Fume/Tac, June 3-July 17, 1942, interlibrary loan from Univ. of Calif. Berkeley Documents Library or Gardena/Los Angeles County Public Library (camp newspaper).

Turlock Journal, 1942—Mar. 26-28, Apr. 9, 16, 30, May 2, 4-6, 18.

Merced

LOCATION

Merced County Fairgrounds, Merced, California. J St. (Cal. 59) exit south from Cal. 99; area bounded by J St., 11th St., D St., Childs Ave.

DATES OF OPERATION

May 6 to September 15, 1942.

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

4,508 maximum at any one time; 4,669 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

Northern Calif. coast; West Sacramento Valley; North San Joaquin Valley.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Granada.

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

Remains: exhibition hall, livestock barns. Memorials: registered Calif. state historical landmark; state plaque planned.

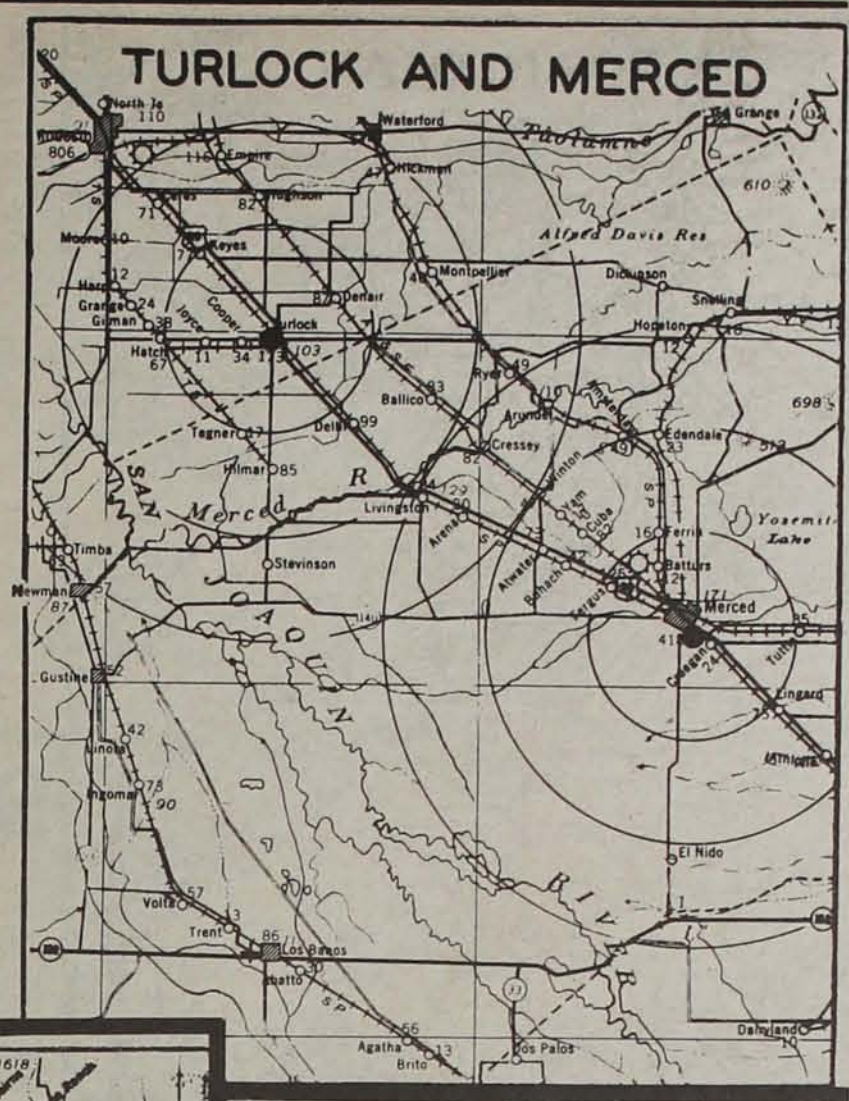
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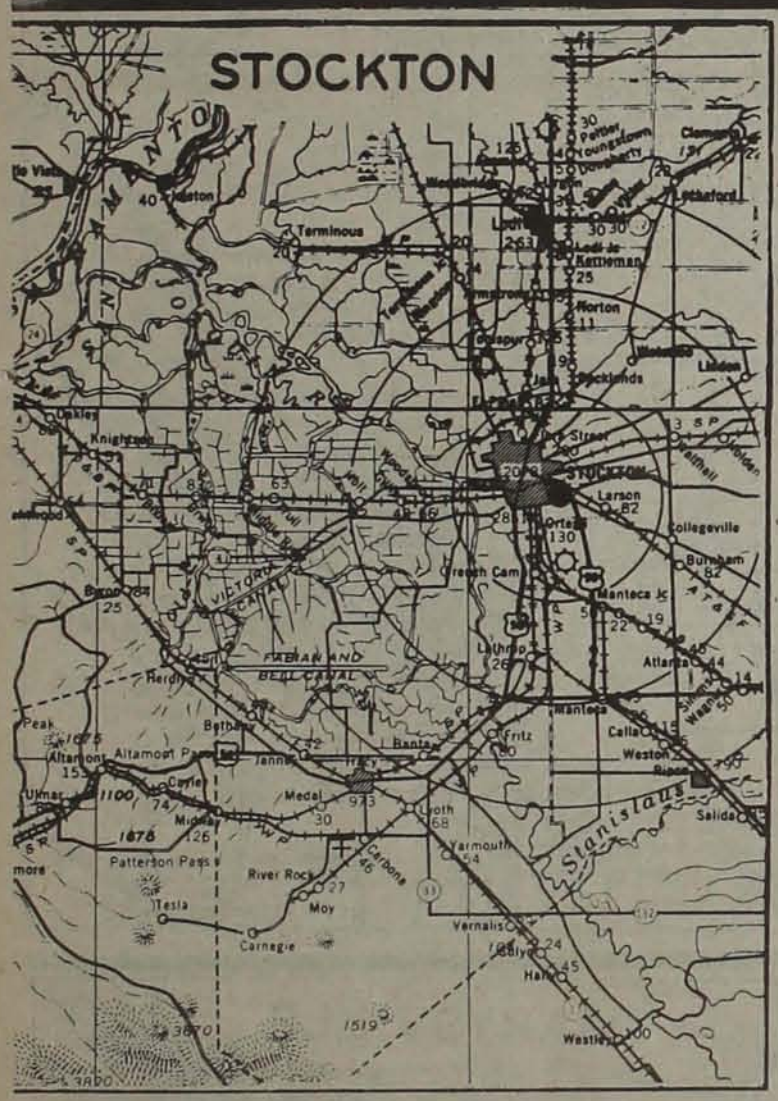
Merced City & County, Merced Chamber of Commerce, 505 W. 20th St., Merced, Ca 95340, free.

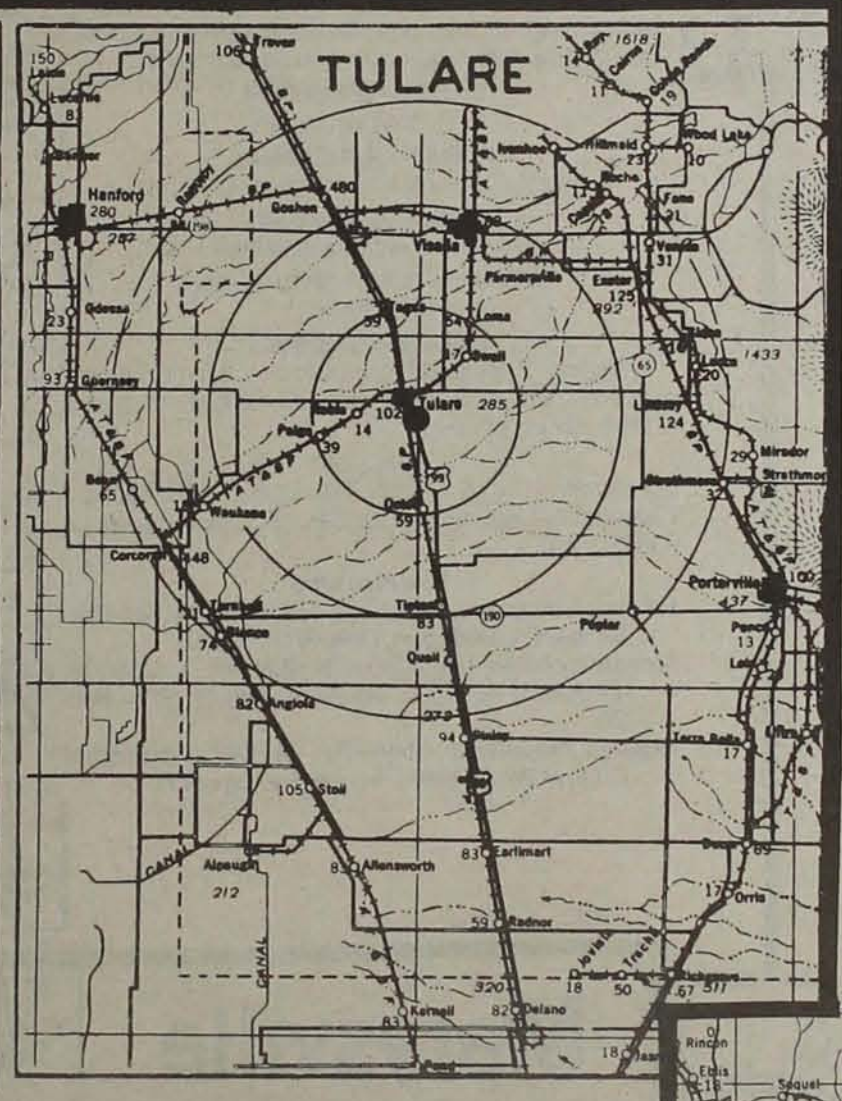
PUBLICATIONS

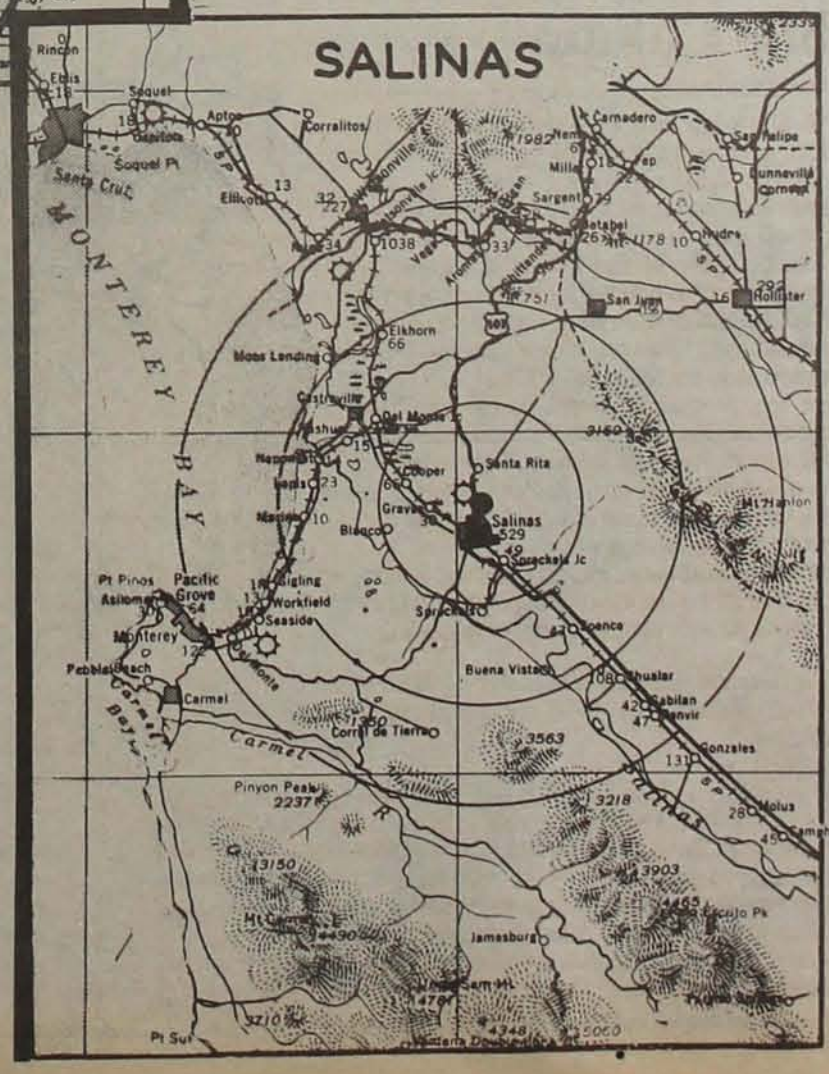
Merced Sun-Star, 1942—May 7, 8, 11, 13, 18, 29, Jun. 5, 6, 8, 13, 15, 18, 23-25, Jul. 3, 6, 16, 29, Aug. 22, Sept. 1; 1977—Oct. 19, Nov. 9; 1978—Mar. 3.

The Mercedian, Jun. 9-Aug. 29, 1942, Calif. State College Stanislaus Library, Turlock (camp newspaper).









Stockton

LOCATION

San Joaquin County Fairgrounds / Central Valley Exposition, Stockton, California. Charter Way (Cal. 4) exit, east from I-5 or exit west from Cal. 99; area bounded by Airport Way, Charter Way, B St., 6th St.

DATES OF OPERATION

May 10 to October 17, 1942.

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

4,271 maximum at any one time; 4,390 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

San Joaquin Valley.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Gila River, Rohwer.

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

Remains: exhibition hall, livestock barn. Memorials: registered Calif. state historical landmark.

ROAD MAP

Stockton/San Joaquin County, Greater Stockton Chamber of Commerce, 1105 N. El Dorado St., Stockton, Ca 95202, $1.00.

PUBLICATIONS

Stockton El Joaquin, May 30-Sept. 28, 1942, Stockton/San Joaquin County Public Library (camp newspaper).

Stockton Record, 1942—Mar. 28, May 7, 9, 11-13.

Tulare

LOCATION

Tulare County Fairgrounds (formerly Kings-Tulare District Fairgrounds), Tulare, California. Tulare Ave. (Cal. 137) exit west from Cal. 99, south on K St.; area bounded by K St., Alpine Ave., O St., O'Neal Ave.

DATES OF OPERATION

April 20 to September 4, 1942.

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

4,978 maximum at any one time; 5,061 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

Southern California coast; Los Angeles County.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Gila River.

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

Remains: grandstand, horsetrack; barracks moved to corner of Alta Ave. & Tulare St. in Dinuba. Memorials: registered Calif. state historical landmark.

ROAD MAP

Tulare, Greater Tulare Chamber of Commerce, P.O. Box 1475, Tulare, Ca 93274, $0.50.

PUBLICATIONS

Tulare Advance-Register, 1942—Mar. 27, 31, Apr. 3, 8, 9, 21, 27; 1962—Sept. 3-5; 1977—Mar. 24.

Tulare News, May 6-Aug. 19, 1942, Calif. State Univ. Fresno Library (camp newspaper).

Visalia Times-Delta, 1942—Mar. 25, Apr. 4, May 19, 27.

Salinas

LOCATION

California Rodeo Grounds, Salinas, Monterey County, California. Main St. exit north or Laurel Dr., exist east from U.S. 101; area bounded by Main St., Laurel Dr., Maryal Dr., north edge of Sherwood Park.

DATES OF OPERATION

April 27 to July 4, 1942

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

3,594 maximum at any one time; 3,608 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

Monterey Bay area.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Colorado River (Poston), Tule Lake.

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

Remains: arena, barbwire fence, eucalyptus trees. Memorials: registered Calif. state historical landmark.

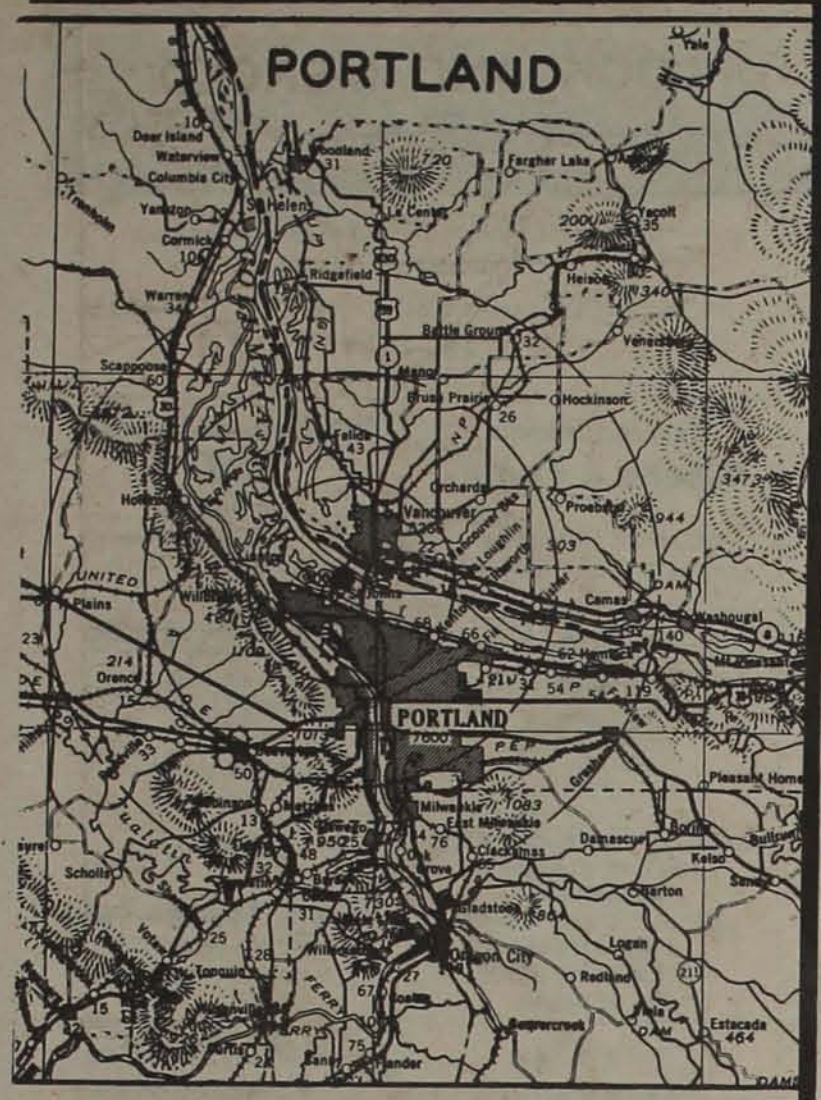
ROAD MAP

Salinas, Salinas Chamber of Commerce, P.O. Box 1170, Salinas, Ca 93902, $0.78.

PUBLICATIONS

Salinas Index-Journal/Californian, 1942—Apr. 21, 23, 24, 27-29; 1979—July 14.

Salinas Village Crier, May 11-June 28, 1942, interlibrary loan from Univ. of Calif. Berkeley Documents Library or Gardena/Los Angeles County Public Library (camp newspaper).



Puyallup

LOCATION

Western Washington State Fairgrounds, Puyallup, Pierce County, Washington. Meridian St. exit north from Wash. 512; area bounded by 5th St., 9th Ave., Meridian St., freeway interchange; plus adjacent parking lots.

DATES OF OPERATION

April 28 to September 12, 1942

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

7,390 maximum at any one time; 7,628 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

Pierce County & Seattle, Washington; Alaska.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Minidoka, Tule Lake.

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

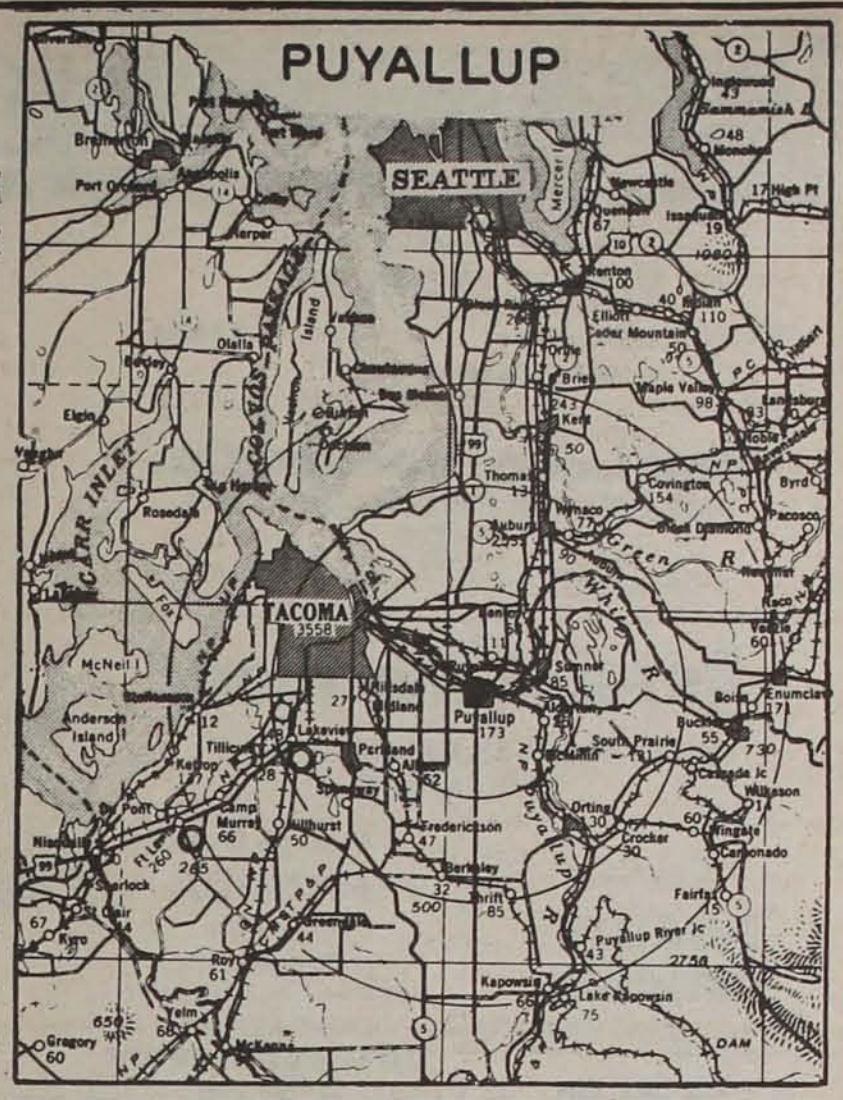
Remains: arena, exhibition halls, grandstand, livestock barns. Memorials: monument planned.

ROAD MAP

Puyallup, Sumner, Orting, Bonney Lake, Lake Tapps, Puyallup Valley Chamber of Commerce, 2823 E. Main, Puyallup, Wa 98371, free.

PUBLICATIONS

Camp Harmony News-Letter, May 5-Aug. 14, 1942, Univ. of Wash. Library, Seattle (camp newspaper).
Ted Nakashima, "Concentration Camps: U.S. Style," *New Republic,* Vol. 106, No. 24, Jun. 15, 1942.
Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 1942—Apr. 2, 3, 15, 22, 24, 26, May 17, 25; 1978—Nov. 24, 26.
Monica Sone, *Nisei Daughter,* Univ. of Wash. Press, Seattle, 1979, $5.95 (autobiography).
Tacoma News-Tribune, 1942—Mar. 30, 31, Apr. 1, 2, 17, 19, 23, May 11, 21; 1978—Nov. 5, 22, 24, 26, 28; 1980—Mar. 2, Jul. 24.



Portland

LOCATION

Multnomah County Fair & Exposition Center (formerly Pacific International Livestock Exposition), North Portland, Oregon. Marine Dr. exit west from I-5; area bounded by Force Ave., Marine Dr., freeway interchange, Union Pacific R.R.

DATES OF OPERATION

May 2 to September 10, 1942

NUMBER OF DETAINEES

3,676 maximum at any one time; 4,290 total.

ORIGIN OF DETAINEES

Northwest Oregon, Central Washington.

PERMANENT CAMP DESTINATIONS

Heart Mountain, Minidoka, Tule Lake.

REMAINS/MEMORIALS

Remains: all livestock exposition halls & arena intact. Memorials: Day of Remembrance plaque at main entrance.

ROAD MAP

Greater Portland Area, Greater Portland Convention & Visitors Assoc., 26 S.W. Salmon St., Portland, Or 97204, free.

PUBLICATIONS

North Portland Evacuazette, May 19-Aug. 25, 1942, Oregon Historical Society Library, Portland (camp newspaper).
Portland Oregonian, 1942—Apr. 13-15, 29, 30, May 2-4, 6, 8, 10, 20, 21, 23, 27, Jun. 5, 11, Jul. 6, 12, Aug. 29, Sep. 1; 1979—Jan. 15, Feb. 16, 18, 19.

Chūō Gakuin

Continued from Page 40

book. She went down the center aisle to the front of the auditorium and seated herself before the old upright piano. She swung round to look at her charges.

The rectangular auditorium had windows on each side - mountainward and seaward. The children were seated on long benches - those of the lowest grades in front, the others, in proportion to their seniority, toward the rear.

Had she anticipated what was about to happen, she might have regarded some with particular interest. Yoichi was seated on the seaward side by Masako Arakaki, 8, who had also been in her class the preceding year. There was Yoko Teragawachi, 8, daughter of David Kiyoshi Teragawachi, a member of the Board of Directors, who was to participate in the drama about to begin. There was Yoshito Hirasaki, 8; and there was Umeyo and Namie Kida, whose father, Sutematsu Kida, was the captain of the Kiho Maru, a fishing sampan.

The children were looking out the windows toward the sea. *From that direction the roar of planes had begun again, and there came the rumble as of distant cannonading.*

* * *

She decided that unusual methods were needed to calm the children; she resorted to a practice usually employed only on weekdays.

"Close your eyes."

The children closed their eyes. But instead of accepting the order as an opportunity for calm reflection and self-examination, they evidently interpreted it as a subterfuge to blind them to the activities indicated by the roar and bombing outside. Most immediately reopened their eyes. With expressions eloquent of shock and dismay, they fixed their gaze on her.

The first wave of Japanese planes had met little opposition. Trained to always take the offensive and, consequently, being less well drilled in defensive tactics, the Japanese were surprised at the quickness of the American response to the attack. As the Japanese level bombers came near their targets anti-aircraft fire erupted around them.

The defense, however, was less efficient than it should have been. The anti-aircraft shells were equipped with fuses set to explode the shells among the attacking planes. Some of the addled defenders neglected to crank in the fuses. There may have been some defective fuses. The USS Nevada fired some shells that exploded only on contact. Of the 40 shells that fell on Honolulu that day only one was a Japanese bomb. The Japanese bomb, evidently dropped by accident, fell in the road near the Hawaiian Electrical Company's powerhouse, creating a hole but injuring no one. The other shells, exploding on contact with the ground, were more lethal.

"Now children, there's nothing to worry about. There's certainly nothing to be afraid of. We'll sing our school song.

They began to sing.

The school song of Hawaii Chūō Gakuin *(Hawai Chūō Gakuin Kōka)* is said to have been especially composed for Chūō Gakuin by the well known composer Komatsu Koho and the equally well-known lyricist and poet Onoe Saishū (1876-1957).

She turned to the piano and struck the opening bars; the old piano gave f orth a surprisingly clear and beautiful tone. "Let's sing with all our might and drown out the outside noises."

They began to sing.

A free translation of the first two verses might be:

From this island whence we sprung,
Lush beneath the rising sun,
Dark to us our sires' land,
Far beyond the girdling sea;
But if we learn our mother tongue,
Cool and gentle that it be,
Then our hearts will understand.

From across the street, as they sang, there came a thud and crash that rattled the windows. The students stopped singing. She continued to play; all three of the teachers continued to sing. So though some of the children remained silent, bit by bit most took up the refrain again. But the rendition was ragged. Almost without exception the children were looking out the windows toward the sea.

Punctuated by the boom and clatter of explosives, the roaring of the planes was rising in crescendo.

When she swung round to regard the children, she found the smaller ones staring at her in terror. She decided something light and gay was needed to counter the mood of the assembly.

She said, "We'll sing the Bunny Dance."

She struck the opening bars of the favorite song of the small children. "Open your mouths real wide."

They rose to the bait. Their small lips framed themselves around the words. They piped in a clear staccato:

So sora sora sora, usagi no dansu,
To ratta ratta ratta ratta ratta ratta ra-
Heigh-ho, heigh-ho, the bunnys' dance, the bunnys' dance begins,
Tra la, tra la, tra la, la, la, tra la la la la la -

Some of the youngest children were uncertain of the words even with the book before them, which they held open on their laps. They sang softly until they came to the line containing tra la. Here their confidence welled up, and they sang mightily, in a booming chorus . . .

Kick high, kick high, your feet kick high, and hop, and hop, and dance,
Tie up your ears and set to work, tra la, tra la -

There was a tremendous whoosh and boom. Thunder seemed to erupt from all sides of the auditorium. As if seized by a mighty earthquake, the building shook violently. Windows shattered and fell with a tinkling of glass. Probing through newly blasted holes in the seaward wall, daylight cast a feeble illumination through a light fog of dust that permeated the room with the musty odor of a violated tomb.

In the murk the children tried to scramble to their feet from the floor where they had been thrown, or tried to extricate themselves from overturned benches. Now they had surrendered to terror; they filled the room with piercing shrieks . . . . . In the struggle for their lives they abandoned less-prized possessions, leaving where they had fallen books, jackets and handbags. They rushed directly away from the seaward wall from whence had come the explosion. Meeting the impenetrable opposite wall, like a milbrace deflected from its course but unslackening in its speed, they whirled and scrambled for the exits.

The main body of the students burst out the nearer exit, the overflow disappeared through the other. Like the hoofs of stampeding cattle, their feet clumped down the glass-littered outside chairs.

The three teachers rushed after them. Honda and Nakagawa cotinued on. But after a moment, she re-entered the auditorium to survey the wreckage. The dust had begun to settle; she could see more clearly.

Her gaze swept over the room and came to rest *on a pool of bright red - red as the leaves of the poinsettia - and beyond it at a plump, bare leg protruding from between two benches.* Going to the object, she found Masako Arakaki lying face up, arms at her sides. She looked around for help and saw David K. Teragawachi standing inside the entrance.

Teragawachi, the aforementioned director, watchmaker and jeweler had his store at 1220 Nuuanu. He lived at nearby Kaukani Pl., across the street from Foster Garden. Both he and his wife were alumni of Chūō Gakuin. All four of his children had attended the school. Only three were attending at this time; only one, the aforementioned Yoko, was attending the Sunday class.

To the Teragawachi's that morning had come ominous portents. Their spitz had behaved wildly. When Yoko prepared to leave the house to attend the class, the dog had pulled at her skirt to prevent her from leaving. As he usually did on Sunday morning, Teragawachi went to check his store. He saw the sky filled with planes. In the store he received a phone call from his wife. She had been listening to the radio and heard it announcing: "Air raid! This is no drill."

Teragawachi hurried home and from there to nearby Chūō Gakuin to collect his daughter. As he arrived he heard them singing in the auditorium. As he entered the ground floor, the anti-aircraft shell fell in the schoolyard, deflecting its fragments over his head and into the auditorium.

A fragment of shrapnel appears to have entered Masako near the base of the spine, gone through her body and emerged at her shoulder. Take asked him to carry the child downstairs. He did, lying her on two desks some older students pushed together.

Then someone suggested taking her across the street to the office of Dr. Mori. He carried her there. But the Mori's were having troubles of their own that morning. The attack had renewed the suspicion of them of the night before. The FBI had gone to take them into custody. The nurse told Teragawachi that the doctor had not arrived and nothing could be done.

Herman Hosoi, the block warden, had arrived. When Teragawachi returned with the wounded girl, Honda and Hosoi took her, in Honda's car, to Queen's Hospital.

Soon they returned without her.

"She died in my arms on the way," Honda said. He also expressed surprise at the great number of casualties he had seen at Queen's.

In the meantime, Take had gone out into the yard to look for other injured students, expecting that a great number might have cuts from running barefoot over the broken glass. Yoko had suffered from the broken glass in a different manner, her skin having been peppered with glass particles.

Turn to Page 66

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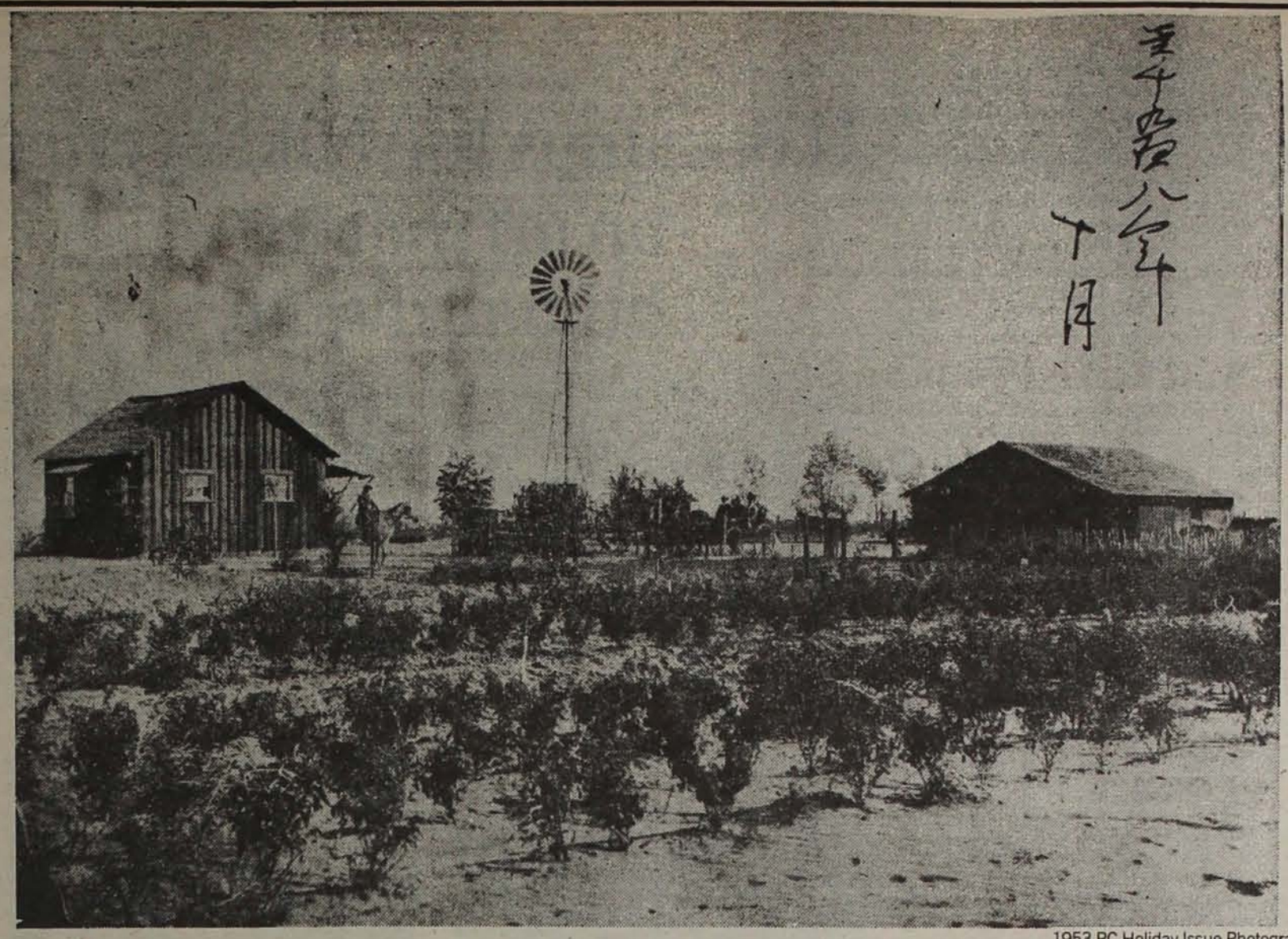
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Biography of Kyutaro Abiko (Issei Pioneer with a Dream)

Continued from the Front Page



1953 PC Holiday Issue Photograph

Horse and buggy, windmill well pump, frame buildings and wind-blown sand typified early days of Livingston's Yamato Colony.

Growing up in Japan

Kyutaro Abiko was born on June 23, 1865 (lst year of Keio) in the town of Suibara, Kita-Kambara-Gun, Niigata Prefecture on the Japan Sea side of Honshu, the first-born son to the Kobayashi family. But his mother died only seven days after his birth and Kyutaro was taken in by his maternal grandfather, Taido Abiko, and raised as a member of the Abiko family.

The Abiko family was highly respected and Kyutaro's grandfather, Taido, was a man who had distinguished himself in the area both as a scholar and a man of character. However, unable to cope with the changing times, the family fortunes gradually declined and, as a child, Kyutaro had to help with the family trade of selling candles and papers by pulling a loaded cart and peddling in the nearby villages.

One day in 1882, when he was seventeen years old, Kyutaro went out peddling as usual. But in an apparently prearranged plan, he, along with two friends, left the cart at a friend's house and set out to seek a fortune for himself. His immediate aim was to get to Yokohama, to stow away on a vessel so that he could get to America. However, such a ship was not to be had so easily. The money with which Kyutaro had absconded ran out shortly and he found himself in Tokyo working at odd jobs such as delivery-boy for a noodle shop and the like. While in Tokyo, he attended private schools to learn Buddhism and the Chinese classics and also studied English for the first time at the Mita English Language Institute.

It should be mentioned that, while still living at home in Suibara, Kyutaro had been exposed to Christianity under the tutelage of Mr. Palmer, an English missionary. In Tokyo, the year after he left home, in 1883 he was baptized by the Reverend Masatsuna Okuno of the Sakanamachi (Presbyterian) Church of Kyobashi Ward. Eventually on January 3, 1885, with the help of the Reverend Okuno, his desire to get to America was realized. As a Tokyo Chapter student of the San Francisco Fukuin-Kai (Gospel Society), he was able to board a British vessel, *The Gerrick*, bound for San Francisco. At this time it is said that Kyutaro wrote to his grandfather Taido for his travel expense to America, and that the letter was kept until after his death as a memento by Mrs. Yonako Abiko, his wife in later years.

Kyutaro was a young man of nineteen years and seven months, when he arrived in San Francisco on the 23rd of January, full of hope and ambition. He went immediately to the Fukuin-Kai, the Gospel Society, which was then located in Chinatown on Washington Street, checked in as a boarding student and commenced his activity as a member of the Fukuin-Kai.

It becomes obvious at this point that these two men of Christian faith, Palmer and Okuno, were largely influential in shaping Kyutaro's future. The English missionary in Suibara helped form his decision to come to America and the Reverend Okuno had a great impact on the Christian outlook he was to forge for himself. Also the learning and experience he had obtained in Tokyo, no doubt, proved invaluable in formulating his basic philosophy.

As to the reason that Kyutaro ran away from home, one story has it that, before Suibara was organized into a township, there was an official in that village in charge of all family registers who made a practice of swinging his weight around excessively. Kyutaro, who was already showing signs of having a taste for making speeches, thoroughly denounced the official in the open street. The consequences of this act may very well have made it less than bearable for the youngster to stay in town and may have contributed towards his abrupt departure from home.

Birth of the Abiko Spirit

In observing the Japanese who came to America in the early pioneer days, we note that many of them became highly influenced and inspired by Christianity. The Fukuin-Kai, (Gospel Society), had been organized in 1877, and was the oldest of all Japanese organizations in the United States. It started out as a Bible class and English class for young men from Japan with religious inclinations or a burning desire for learning. In many respects, it served as a gathering place for those lonely single young men away from home in a strange country, a place where they could meet with their fellow countrymen and chat freely in their mother tongue, to comfort and encourage one another.

Four years after the Fukuin-Kai was organized, however, due to the differences between those of the Congregational and Methodist church groups, the two groups which formed the original Fukuin-Kai, the Congregational church broke away, branching out into what came to be known as the Tyler Fukuin-Kai. Two years after that, in 1883, after another internal discord, another split took place. Then in 1886, the two groups, the Tyler Fukuin-Kai and the Stevenson Fukuin-Kai (which had emerged in the split that took place in 1883), got together, disbanded their respective Fukuin-Kai and founded the Japanese Young Men's Christian Association. Only the so-called Dai-ichi Fukuin-Kai (First Gospel Society) of the Methodist group remained in existence and continued its activities as a strong leading organization within the Japanese communities in America until the time of the San Francisco Earthquake of 1906. The Fukuin-Kai, which Abiko joined immediately on arrival in America, was this Dai-Ichi Fukuin-Kai. It was then located in Chinatown at 916 Washington Street in the rented basement of the Chinese Mission. That period of Fukuin-Kai's history being referred to was the "Anagura Jidai" or the "Cellar Days". In December of 1886, one year after Abiko's arrival, it moved to Jessie Street for need of a larger space.

It was in that period of turmoil within the Fukuin-Kai—when it had just split, not just once but twice—that Abiko came to join the organization. Some of the original leaders of the founding days were still there then and Abiko was fortunate enough to be in the environment where the original Fukuin-Kai spirit still prevailed. This spirit came to be his own philosophy and ideal which underscored his remarkable activities in later years.

Having joined the Fukuin-Kai early on, Abiko was elected to the General Affairs Committee short of a year after his arrival in San Francisco. Soon afterwards, he became the Treasurer and began to participate actively in the management of the organization. Thus dedicating himself to the Fukuin-Kai while, at the same time, pursuing his own studies, he was elected President of the organization for the first time on June 11, 1887. *The Historical Data of the Gospel Society* (Fukuin-Kai Enkaku Shiryo) mentions Abiko's name on numerous occasions as the chairman of meetings, lecturer of the Bible, prayer leader, speaker, commentator of current topics and instructor at the Night School operated by the Fukuin-Kai. He assumed all these responsibilities in spite of having to work his way through as a student himself. One can clearly see this as clear testimony to his deep dedication to the Fukuin-Kai and to the other students there.

The Historical Data, September 19, 1892, also records the following:

Kyutaro Abiko and Shigejiro Tamai entered the University in Berkeley this autumn and, while pursuing their studies, they will continue working as faithful servants of this organization. In the case of Mr. Abiko, in particular, he had made plans to continue his studies on the East Coast, but at the request of this organization, had postponed his departure until this year, and now, the circumstances of this organization have forced him to shackle his legs. Thus, in order to continue serving the Fukuin-Kai, he gave up his long cherished desire to go to the East Coast to study and enrolled at the University of California at Berkeley as a sociology major.

The *Historical Data* further notes in the "Students Movement" column of August 1897 that "Messrs. Kyutaro Abiko and Fusajiro Hamada are studying hard at the University in Berkeley," making it clear that Abiko was enrolled at the University for at least five years. It is not clear, however, as to whether or not he ever completed his study there.

By this time, Abiko was already over thirty and had become a leader of leaders within the Fukuin-Kai. He had been elected its President several times and had assumed the post of Superintendent of the affiliated Evening School, where he also acted as an instructor to educate and guide the younger member students. He took an active part in tackling the management problems of the Fukuin-Kai as well and involved himself in various social problems. In sum, he was indeed a leader of leaders in the organization.

Apparently, around the time he gave up his idea of studying in the East, Abiko began to feel it his mission to devote his life to the leadership and betterment of the Japanese in America. And, after first having worked for the Fukuin-Kai, he obtained a newspaper called the *Soko Nippon Shimbun* in 1899, and renamed it *Nichi Bei* (Japanese American News). Ever since taking the post of President of the newspaper until his colorful life ended in 1936, Abiko dedicated himself to the service of individuals and society, unmindful of personal gain. In other words, he took the "Fukuin-Kai spirit" which was an idealism imbued, in large measure, with the spirit of Puritanism.

Abiko spent his entire life in energetic struggle, teaching, preaching, pioneering and laboring. It is small wonder that the name "Kyutaro Abiko" appears in nearly every page of the history of the Japanese in America.

Founding of Yamato Colony

Abiko's *Nichi Bei* (Japanese American News) which played an important role as a guiding and leading instrumentality of the Japanese communities in America before World War II, had roots in its early stages traceable to the Fukuin-Kai. Umekichi Yoneyama, who later introduced and organized the Rotary Club in Japan, published a small mimeographed bulletin called the "Jokisen" (Steamboat) in 1887 under the banner of the Fukuin-Kai. As it turns out this was the first newspaper of a sort ever to be published by Japanese in the United States so that Yoneyama may very well be called the father of Japanese publications in America. The Fukuin-Kai record reveals that Yoneyama, originally a member of the Tokyo Chapter upon arriving in San Francisco in November 1887 began immediately to take an active part in the affairs of the Fukuin-Kai. He was quite vocal in his opinions and regularly took part in vigorous debate with Abiko and others in meetings held on Saturday nights.

Later in order to cope with the increasing Japanese population and the anti-Japanese problems, it became necessary for the newspaper printing to evolve from lithography to typography and the Japanese newspapers started to take their formal shape. Just at this time in 1899 Abiko purchased the *Soko Nihon Shimbun*, a newspaper which had just changed its name from Japan Herald, renamed it the *Japanese American News* (Nichi Bei Shimbun) and published its first issue on April 3 of the same year. He appointed his two half-brothers, Hikojiro and Teiji Kobayashi, whom he had had sent for from Japan a few years earlier, as the president and manager, respectively. A short time later, however, he himself assumed the position of president.

Setting aside the detailed description of Abiko's activities as a newspaperman for a later chapter, let us look for a moment at the founding of the Yamato Colony. This was to be a Utopia based on Christianity, Abiko's long cherished desire since his Fukuin-Kai days. Abiko deeply admired the Puritan spirit of the founding fathers of America, who sought freedom of religion in this New World. He wished to found a similar peaceful Utopia for the younger Japanese who were gradually increasing in number in those days, and to have them settle in this New World permanently and to see them prosper in days to come. Thus Abiko conceived the idea of Yamato Colony and it subsequently turned out to be his life work.

As a start, he organized the Nichi Bei Kangyosha (Japanese American Industrial Company) in 1902, with the assistance and cooperation of Kenzo Uyeda, Umetaro Minabe, Giichi Minejima and Otosaburo Noda. The Kangyosha, with its head office in San Francsco contracted with railroad, mining and sugar refining company for Japanese laborers in Idaho, Wyoming, Utah and Nevada. The "Japanese American Year Book" published by Abiko's *Japanese American News*, in its first edition of 1905 advertises the Nichi Bei Kangyosha as having a branch office in Ogden and subbranches in Wyoming and Idaho. Also shown in the advertisement is the Kangyosha handling

Continued on Page 63

U.S. camps for Nikkei cited an affront to human dignity

By LUCIANA ESTEBAN

As I was growing up, my mother always told me, "If you treat people fair, they'll treat you fair." Fortunately for her 'code of conduct' I didn't learn about the Japanese Internment Camps until I was well into my twenties.

Reading her files which she obtained from the National Archives in Washington, D.C., I found out that she would have been tried as a war criminal if she hadn't consented to go to an internment camp. My mother! A war criminal? When I questioned her, I made it clear that I wouldn't accept a shrug of the shoulder or any other type of evasion. Finally she told me the reason. "I was farming with your father in San Jose. I didn't understand what was going on with the war. I really thought that since I was married to a Filipino, I wouldn't have to go. And I AM an American citizen." Her reasoning was clear to me, although a little naive, but typical of my mother. What was innocence on her part, appeared to be an act of rebellion to the Government.

Knowing she had always been shy and introverted, I understood her fright and loneliness when she was in camp at Topaz, Utah. She never made friends or talked to anyone. Her days consisted of working in the mess tent, then going to her barracks until the next day.

My sense of fair play threatened, I found her next statement hard to accept. 'It was for our own good. The white people were as afraid of us as we were of them. They turned to violence. They burned our homes and businesses. The government was just trying to protect us.' In my head I know that her attitude is reasonable but my heart is angry. Since two-thirds of the people in the camps were American citizens, what exactly does being a citizen mean?

From reading about the camps, I am angry and frightened. Some internees only had to have one-sixteenth Japanese blood, and a report by a government surveyor proved that there was NO Japanese threat on the West coast. The Nisei were fiercely loyal. They chose to be Americans. I'm an American with Japanese ancestry. Just like other Sansei, I don't know anyone in Japan nor do I care to go there.

Erasing the scene couldn't erase memories of people who were in the camps.

I knew I had to go to Topaz, although I had read that all the camps had been torn down immediately after the closings. Erasing the scene couldn't attempt to erase the memories of the people who were there.

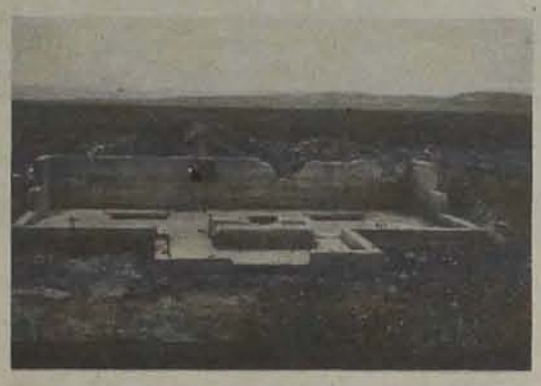
The two-hour drive was filled with anxiety. I drove to Delta, Utah, to get directions. In the park on the main street, a monument to the internees of Topaz stood proudly. The statement on the marble appeared to be a formal apology from the U.S. Government to all Americans of Japanese heritage. It told of the racial animosity prevalent in 1942 and how the Japanese people were victims of wartime hysteria. Physical discomfort from living in the desert was mentioned, but the phrase, '. . .' (they) sustained a shocking affront to their sense of justice and fair play and human dignity,' hit a nerve. Dignity IS Japanese people.



Arrival scene (taken from Monument)



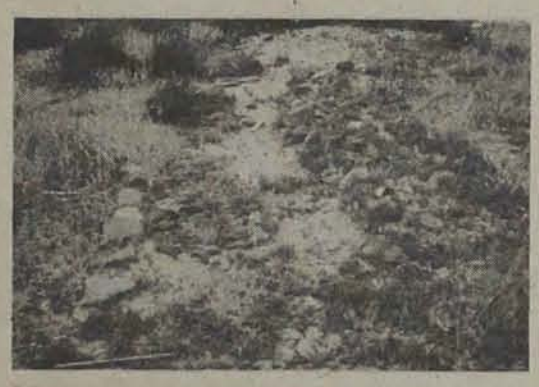
The JACL-Utah Bicentennial plaque



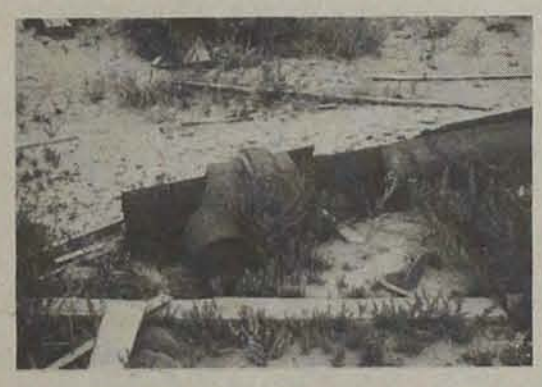
Camp ruins.



Scattered environment



A touch of humanity—a rock path



Broken pipes from the laundry

Ten miles from Delta was the Topaz turnoff. Impulsively, I turned off the radio to avoid any distractions, but the gravel hitting against the car was persistent. The surroundings were just as I pictured them. Flat, arid, and silent. The farmhouses were an intrusion.

All the emotion I had been bottling up came to a head as I parked the car and approached the monument. It was plain and impressive, like a huge tombstone. On the face was a dedication to all the internees. Below it were pictures of the camp as it was in 1942-1946.

Anxious to see the actual site, I drove around the wire fence on to the grounds, I ran from the car onto a concrete foundation and tried to visualize an army-like barrack but my mind refused. In a frenzy, I stumbled from each foundation as if I had lost a priceless heirloom. But I knew what I was searching for. I wanted to see something human. I wanted to see something that could prove that people had lived there. I wanted to find my mother's slipper.

Tears of frustration gushed from my eyes. "Tell me something! Say something to me!" I yelled, trying to link myself to the past.

Sphinx-like, the grounds were silent, but I was driven to find a clue.

I drove around to the other side of the camp and parked the car. Down through ditches and ant-beds I hiked until I came to another foundation. From the broken tubs and the jutting pipes, I guessed that I was standing in the laundry. Encouraged by this discovery, I started exploring other areas.

Finding only sage-brush and a mass of barbed-wire, I realized that the laundry was the climax. Then I inadvertently stumbled into what I was searching for. There were two rows of purposefully placed rocks, making a short path. This was what I travelled 150 miles to see. A touch of humanity. No one could have carefully placed these rocks in this order but a Japanese person. I thanked that person for leaving a hint of someone for me to discover. Lifted from their environment and tossed into confusion and unfamiliarity, with few personal possessions, that person refused to be treated less than human. It was a signature arranged with pride.

Before leaving, I took more pictures, but knew that a picture couldn't capture the emotion I felt. As my mind was taking one last picture, some blue and white fragments on the ground caught my eye and I bent over to examine them. They were pieces from a plate or bowl. Clutching them in my hand, I thought of the mother in *Farewell to Manzanar* who, rather than sell her priceless china that she brought with her from Japan to a callous pawnbroker for fifty dollars, destroyed each piece while the man watched in shock.

What I want to relate is not something distant, like the black slaves in *Roots*, but something more immediate. MY mother was there and it hurts to think that I wasn't there to protect and soothe her.

I put the broken pieces back exactly where I found them and said thank-you and good-bye to Topaz.

* * *

Author Luci Esteban is a native of Salt Lake City, a recent member of the Mt. Olympus JACL who has had a short story published and worked as a designer for lingerie.

Akiko's acre of love

Continued from Page 28

"That'll take care of it, Mrs. Shimada. Leave the rest to me."

He chatted for a few minutes longer, then said goodbye and left. She watched the car back down the narrow strip and turn into the road.

"Mr. Hanley nice man," she said to the dog. "Some white people nice people."

"How old are you, Kuro-chan? Maybe twelve years old. I sit up all night with your mother. Help her with babies. You were husky dog. Eat all time. Tadashi loves you. Tomoyuki and you used to go fishing and hunting all time. You miss going out, don't you? No matter, though. We get old and best thing is to stay home. We get lazy together. No more rabbits or birds to chase. Just eat and sleep. We are lazy people. Maybe all right now, because we are old. We rest now. All of life work hard, but too old to play now. We think of good times. Everybody sing and dance and laugh at parties. Tomoyuki had good voice. Sada-chan and him sing together all time. Children like singing. Sing on trips all time. You like ice cream, but ice cream no good for you. You get fat. No good for heart or stomach. You stay skinny like me. Eat little bit of rice and little bit of fish or meat. Then you live long like me. Very important to live long. Maybe find some other people on another planet soon. I would like to see on TV or hear on radio. It will be big news, biggest in history. I must live longer. My grandmother live to be ninety. Maybe I have good chance. But if *hotokesama* (Buddha) come sooner, then I go. You must go some day, too, Kuro-chan. Day by day we get older . . .come with me. I give you something to eat."

She got up from the rocking chair and went into the house. Presently she emerged with a dish of crumbled raw hamburger and set it before the dog. The dog did not bother to move but just twisted its head sideways to bite a lump of the meat.

"Pretty soon I make supper," she said.

She looked up the road again. The traffic had been light. Maybe they had just forgot about her or maybe she just did not matter anymore. They were busy people, living lives of their own, and she was just an old woman who was easily cast aside and ignored. Tadashi remembered her. But he was a young man with many friends, she imagined, and probably wanted to spend the weekends with them. Or maybe he was busy with his studies. He wanted to be a professor and occasionally she gave him money for books. If they couldn't come it was probably Noriko's doing, thinking of some last minute excuse to keep from seeing her. Of course it was a long distance to drive but they knew how much she enjoyed their visits. She glanced at the road again, accusingly, and tugged at her ear. She was just an old woman, a nobody.

She sat on the porch till it was dusk and still there were no visitors. Tears collected at the corners of her eyes. They didn't care. And to think of all the trouble she was going to knitting them presents. That was all right, she said, she would knit them presents even if they were negligent. She would keep loving them in spite of everything. It was all an old woman could do.

When it was dark, she went into the house, fully convinced that her son's family had either had a terrible accident or just simply forgotten her. The telephone didn't ring so she didn't know what to think. She thought of calling them to see if everything was all right. But if there had been an accident she didn't want to know about it. She stayed away from the phone, and got ready to make supper, angry at what might have been their neglect and her timidity.

As she was puttering around in the cupboard, trying to decide what canned goods she should have for her meal, she happened to glance at the calendar on the wall with the picture of a Japanese movie actress. Of course! It was the wrong day! She had been waiting for their visit all day without knowing they would not come in the first place. They would come the next Sunday!

"*Baka na onna!* (Foolish woman)," she said and patted herself on top of the head. "Of course they not come. Kuro-chan you spank this old woman. She think bad things about people." She paused for a moment, wondering what she was doing and then opened a couple of cans and poured the contents into the pans and set them on the stove. She went into the bedroom to change into a fresh blouse. It was one of her better ones that she usually reserved for going into town to visit. She donned the necklace Tadashi had made and smoothed her skirt. Then she sat down to eat her supper of beans and sausages. She ate slowly and contemplatively.

When she had placed the dishes and pans in the sink, she turned on TV and sat on the sofa to watch the program. She looked at her son's picture. He would have been fifty-five. He might have been an executive or a lawyer or a doctor. There was no telling how far her son would have gone. He was a hero and she would always carry that thought close to her heart. The silence that surrounded the house and crept into the room was heavy and the night was becoming chilly. She felt alone. Sadao had urged her to move into Seattle to live with them. It was customary for elderly widows to live with their children. But she was adamant. Enough of American ways had rubbed off on her to make her independent and strong minded.

"Nobody else live here but me," she said aloud. "No stranger move in. Tomoyuki and me work too hard, live here too long. I die here."

She watched a detective program uncomprehendingly and dozed with Kuro lying on her lap asleep. After the program was over she rose wearily and guided her footsteps toward the bedroom. Squirming into a nightgown, she climbed into bed and was soon fast asleep, thinking of the next Sunday when she knew they were sure to come. #

Kyutaro Abiko

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the transaction of farm land purchases in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. This was possible because the Alien Land Law had not yet been enacted and Japanese could still buy land in those days.

Abiko also started the Nichi Bei Kinyusha, a savings and loan company, and became the manager of it about the same time he started the newspaper. In 1903, the Kinyusha was expanded and re-named "Nichi Bei Bank" under the State Banking Law of California. It seems, however, that even though Abiko participated in the formation of the bank and helped in the management, he stayed in the background, more or less, and did not assume any official position. Kenzo Uyeda was the president of the Bank.

After having paved the way for the Nichi Bei Kangyosha and the Nichi Bei Bank, finally in 1906, Abiko was able to procure the first parcel of land for the Yamato Colony in Livingston, Merced County in Central California. In November of the same year Tajiro Kishi and Nobutomo Minabe were sent there as the initial settlers of the Yamato Colony.

In 1907, the Beikoku Shokusan Kaisha (American Land and Produce Company) was set up to purchase additional land and started to parcel out the land by soliciting subscribers locally and even from Japan. Kenzo Uyeda, who had been fully supporting Abiko's projects for a long time, became the owner of over half of the total acreage. In those days, those persons like Uyeda who put out their money for the purchase of land, were not doing so for mere investment purposes. They were doing so with the sincere wish to assist in the financing for the establishment of the Yamato Colony. They themselves did not necessarily go there to become settlers. In the "Inaka Dayori" (Rural News) column of the Shin Sekai Shimbun, another Japanese newspaper (The New World) in San Francisco, dated July 25, 1908, the names of Uyeda and Koike can be seen among the nineteen landowners of Yamato Colony. The landowners and their acreages are listed as follows: Kyutaro Abiko (73 acres); Jitsutaro Koike (130 acres); Kenzo Uyeda (1,045 acres). However, as evidenced by their addresses which are listed in the San Francisco section of Nichi Bei Year Book of 1910, it becomes obvious that the above three persons were merely landowners and not settlers.

As one of the requirements of becoming a settler of this colony, one had to be a Christian first of all. For this reason in later years there were incidents where the settlers were at odds with those of Buddhist faith on occasion, and it may very well be said that this Yamato Colony was consistently implanted with the Abiko spirit, which in turn had been deeply rooted in Christian faith. It was nothing other than the indomitable pioneer spirit of the Yamato Colony founders that turned the desert-like wilderness covered with sagebrush into a beautiful farmland. Dr. Jiro Tsuda, a younger brother of Umeko Tsuda (of whom we will speak later), who had come to America after graduating from the Hokkaido Agricultural College and was in charge of the farming techniques at the Yamato Colony described the Colony as follows:

"The soil at Livingston is finer and more microscopic than that which can be found in Japan and that it penetrates to the skin through whatever a person is wearing. When the wind blows, the soil comes storming on to you. There has been undescribable painstaking effort placed in the reclamation of the Yamato Colony. The success or failure of this colony cannot be determined in a mere five to ten years from now. We will, however, be satisfied if the people, or rather the Japanese people, in the future would recognize that there did exist the efforts and dream towards the founding and establishing a Utopia for the 'Yamato Minzoku' (Japanese race) in this area of Livingston."

And the Colony at Cortez

The "Zaibei Nipponjin Shi" (History of the Japanese in America), published by the Japanese Association of America in 1940, gives a good description of the Colony reclamation. The following is an excerpt from it:

Yamato Colony is established along the Merced River at Livingston in Merced County, which lies half way between Stockton and Fresno. The principal figures in establishing the Colony were Kyutaro Abiko, Kenzo Uyeda, Umetaro Minabe, Giichi Minejima and Otosaburo Noda. The first settlers there (in November 1906) were Tajiro Kishi and Nobutomo Minabe. The acreage of the Colony is divided into three sections and the total acreage is 2,600 acres. In the early stages, the leaders were Giichi Minejima and Otosaburo Noda and those who also played an important role were Nobutada Sato, Kiyoichi Naka, Seinosuke Okuye, Tajiro Kishi and Umetaro Minabe.

At the end of 1907, the year after the Yamato Colony was established, only a few Japanese had settled there. This consisted of 17 households of which there were 22 men, 4 women and 4 children. Four years after its inception, the Colony organized the Yamato Colony Association in 1910, with Giichi Minejima as its first president and exerted efforts to improve the administrative matters within the village and also with the neighboring community. Even though the founders of the Yamato Colony were intellectual leaders of the day, due to lack of preparation in terms of money and material, they experienced much hardship. Moreover, those who came to settle in the Colony were not necessarily persons with ample money. With limited funds for farming, they would first of all make a partial payment on the land, build their living quarters and barns, plant peaches and grapes and then wait three to four years for the harvesting. This being the case, their funds would be tied up the first year or so without any crops to produce income. Consequently, even though the settlers had land on which to farm, they were unable to make a living and were in an impoverished condition.

Around this time, it was by chance that Kiyoichi Naka's wife Masuko planted a few eggplants. The result was unexpectedly good, and with the taste and quality being outstanding, the eggplants were very well received at the market in San Francisco, So, from the following year on, many of the Japanese settlers started planting some eggplants and were thus able to supplement their income. Eventually as they continued to struggle through, their main crops of grapes and peaches began bearing crops and the farmers were able to feel some relief. Since the Yamato Colony was originally established by people of the intellectual class among the Japanese in the United States, they were able to establish their ideal firmly at the Yamato Colony from its early stages and they put into practice their internal and external policies accordingly. As for their internal policy, religion was encouraged and for this reason a church was built on a piece of land set aside for this purpose. The villagers all gathered there every Sunday for spiritual enrichment.

With regards to their farming industry, anticipating peach and grape crops three years after the establishment of the Colony, the villagers organized a cooperative association and built within the S.P. railroad station compound a cooperative packing-house for the produce they had raised. Here they set up and shipped carloads under the association's name to various destinations.

With the untiring efforts of the settlers, the Yamato Colony was able to overcome a very difficult exploratory period.

Between 1915 and 1922, they were favored with a boom of the First World War. The market price for the produce was high and all the farmers were able to enjoy a good income, making it possible for most of them to pay up on their land. Their life-style improved to the extent that they had even better living conditions than some of the white people in the area.

In this way they eventually expanded their strength into the neighboring area. With respect to this expansion the "Zaibei Nipponjin Shi" further indicates:

The Yamato Colony extended its strength to the neighboring district of Cressey and over twenty Japanese families have settled there permanently. The total wealth of the entire Yamato Colony, Livingston and Cressy both combined, is $1,099,000, which breakdown is as follows: land value $714,000; Building $113,300; Live-Stock $15,000; Furniture and farm tools $80,000; Machineries $15,000; Art objects $10,000——.

Abiko expanded his plan of establishing Japanese settlements further out to the nearby town of Cortez. One of the first steps he took to bring this about was to select a person of broad understanding who would have full responsibility for public relations between the Colony and outside community. The Japanese settlers would then simply engage in farming and stay away from the white people's business in town. This policy evidently proved effective in the Colony's successful expansion to the neighboring districts. With respect to this, the "Zaibei Nipponjin Shi" states:

The Cortez Japanese Colony is located seven miles to the north-west of Merced River which flows through the Yamato Colony in Livingston. It lies only five miles to the north of the city of Turlock and it is adjacent to the Delhi Colony which used to be under the control of the State of California. The Santa Fe railroad runs through the center of the Colony, which has plenty of water and rich soil. Kyutaro Abiko, the principal figure of the Yamato Colony in Livingston, earlier in 1919 established the California Land Company with Nobutada Sato and an American by the name of Spencer. The land company then contracted a land purchase of two thousand acres around the Cortez railroad station with Yoshinobu Shimanouchi as its manager and subdividing the land, placed thirty Japanese families there within six months. Within three years the number of families increased to fifty and, in addition to fruit and grape crops, they also began planting annual crops such as strawberries, asparagus, eggplants and watermelons.

From its inception, the operation of this Colony has moved along much more smoothly than that of the original Yamato Colony. The farmers have put tremendous efforts into their orchards and vineyards and since the results of their work turned out to be so exemplary, all the white farmers in the neighboring state-operated colony in Delhi envy and praise the diligence and efficiency of the Japanese. Even the engineers of the State Agriculture Bureau, when conducting courses on farming and also in their training program on orchard pruning, bring the white farmers to the Japanese colony on field studies.

Whereas California's government-operated colony of 6,000 acres in Delhi was discontinued after five years of operation due to poor management, the neighboring Japanese Cortez Colony turned out to be a model farm community, having built a church, started a school, organized a cooperative association, built their own Colony Hall, etc., within a few years. The settlers have also blended in with the surroundings and made progress in various aspects in their own character building and in their business and education. Noting such achievement, we must say that they are one of the most outstanding of all the Japanese farming villages in California.

With painstaking efforts of the settlers and with its appropriate internal and external policies, Yamato Colony was able to attain remarkable success and even after World War II, the project has been taken over and carried on successfully by the Nisei. Presently many non-Japanese in the area have joined and it has grown into an active farm cooperative encompassing the entire Livingston area. It owns many fine buildings such as a business office building, a packing plant and a separate sweet-potato packing plant. It must be said that the Abiko spirit has thus far splendidly grown and borne fruit. As to the Abiko's ideal, his leadership and his influence, Mr. Toyoji Konno, who had lived in Livingston after returning from the wartime relocation camp, wrote twenty some years ago in his manuscript entitled "My admiration for Mr. Kyutaro Abiko, a pathfinder and a man of foresight":

Mr. Abiko was the only person with farseeing intelligence who, by setting aside his own self-interest, had exerted his efforts and striven for many young men—I am heartily grateful to him for having worked so untiringly to persuade the Japanese to settle permanently in America rather than staying here as temporary immigrants.

In planning a project, Mr. Abiko always approached it with the spirit of Christianity. For this reason, when he purchased the land for he Colony, he immediately selected a site for the church building in a central location. It was with the greatest joy that Mr. Abiko saw his ideal become a reality when the church was finally erected.

Financially, Mr. Abiko was never well off. I have seen and heard of him placed in difficult situations on many occasions . . .

Around the time that the Cortez Japanese Colony was started, World War I veterans developed a colony in neighboring Delhi under the auspices of the State of California Agriculture Department. However, they were forced to abandon their project for lack of productivity after a few years. On the other hand, the Japanese Cortez project gradually made progress due to the hard work and perserverance of the fellow settlers. And when it succeeded, Mr. Abiko was overjoyed and expressed to us his happy feelings at the time. We people of Japanese descent must never forget the concern and anguish he experienced ever since the anti-Japanese problems started to appear around the time the Colony was founded, especially when the Alien Land Law was enacted. Let us remember the long and painful struggle he endured on our behalf. The change of times has finally made California's Alien Land Law unconstitutional and it has been abolished.

Not only that, the Japanese are now eligible to gain citizenship and acutely reminded of how different conditions were in the past, I think of how happy Mr. Abiko must be, sleeping in his grave. The first generation Japanese in America have left behind a history of anguish and struggle and are dying increasingly every year. The era has now changed to that of the Nisei and Sansei with the ideal of Mr. Abiko becoming a reality.

There is an episode about the naming of Yamato Colony. Giichi Minejima, wrote a very humorous article "The Derivation of the Name of Yamato Colony" in the September 1, 1910 issue of the Hokubei Noho (North American Agricultural Journal):

Just to give a name to this Colony was not an easy task. Generally speaking, naming something is not an easy thing. Even in naming your child, you cannot come up with a good name easily, though you may have been thinking of it for some time before the birth of the child.

It is not surprising that the naming of the Colony was a laborious process considering the fact that this was a colony full of the hope of founding a New Japan in the heart of the central valley of California. When all the paper work for the land transaction had been completed and we were ready to submit the blueprint to obtain approval from the Commissioners, we discovered that we must have a name for the Colony.

The two of us, Mr. Kyutaro Abiko and I, in the parlor of the Central Hotel in Merced, pondered the problem for half a day saying "What shall we name it? What shall we do?" But try as we might, we could not come up with a striking good name. Finally at our wit's end, we decided to consult our comrades in San Francisco by telegram. In response, some suggested naming it the "Sunset Colony" or "Rising Sun Colony". However, both of those names sounded too much like a laundry and did not quite meet with our approval. Therefore, retiring upstairs to our room after dinner, we continued with our deliberation until midnight, thinking hard, puffing on cigarettes (this was Minejima, since Abiko did not smoke) and creating a pile of twisted paper-strings (this was Abiko who got into the habit of making twisted paper-strings ever since, as a boy, he had to help make candlewicks in his family notions supply business). However, we still could not arrive at a suitable name.

Inasmuch as this was the time when anti-Japanese issues had just started heating up, it would not be good to come up with a name that would offend the opposition. We might name it Washington Colony, but that would sound too much like a black colony. Still thinking of this and that, a thought about sweet-potatoes came into my mind by chance. Then I thought about the Yam Station. Yam is the general term for all sorts of potatoes and this Yam Station was a Santa Fe railroad station located about three miles away from one corner of the Colony. It might be that it was named this because this particular area was well known for producing good sweet potatoes. On the opposite side of the Colony from the station, there was the town of Atwater which was again about three miles away from the Colony. All of a sudden, I shouted out, how about putting together 'YAM' and 'AT' of Atwater and naming it 'YAMATO'? Mr. Abiko, who had been racking his brains feverishly, approved of it at once and said that name would be easy for white people to pronounce, and most of all, it would sound very good from the standpoint of race. (Yamato is an old name for Japan.) Thus, it came to be named the YAMATO COLONY. It might seem that anyone could have come up easily with a name like Yamato, but, as you can see, it was not that easy. The naming has a very long story to it.

This is indeed, a story with a lot of humor. Whether it is a true story or just a story that was made up by Minejima and Abiko, we do not know. But it is very likely that both of them who are no longer living are laughing about this somewhere up there.

A Cousin of Tokugawa

With the *Japanese American News*, the Nichi Bei Kangyosha and the Beikoku Shokusan Kaisha having been established and their management making headway in one way or another, it seems Abiko finally had come to the point of having some time to look around and think about himself. He was already past the age of forty, still a bachelor. Around this time in 1907, Umeko Tsuda, the founder of the Tsuda Women's College in Tokyo, had stopped over in San Francisco, on her tour round the world. She was accompanied by her younger sister Yonako, who had been adopted as a young girl by their aunt.

While in San Francisco, the Tsuda sisters took up lodging less than two blocks away from where Abiko was then living at Steiner and Vallejo streets. This very chance of living near one another, must have given Abiko and Yonako the opportunity to meet and get to know each other. At any rate, when Abiko went back to Japan two years later in the spring of 1909, he married Yonako Tsuda Suto, who was then twenty-nine and teaching at her sister's Tsuda Women's College. This wedding ceremony took place in April of the same year at the Reinanzaka Church in Tokyo. Shortly thereafter, Abiko returned to America with his bride. In the following year of 1910 their son Yasuo was born.

Yonako was born in 1880 as the fifth daughter of Sen Tsuda, a retainer of Masayoshi Hotta, who was an influential member of the Council of Elders of the Tokugawa Shogunate government. Sen Tsuda was one of farsighted leaders of the Tokugawa regime in its closing years. He had studied the Dutch and English languages and culture and had participated in the treaty negotiations when Townsend Harris arrived at Shimoda in 1856. This very likely allowed him to have his second daughter Umeko, only seven years old then, selected as the youngest of the five girls to study abroad at the government expense. This group, the first girl students ever to study abroad, came to the United States in 1871, escorted by Ambassador Tomomi Iwakura and his party. After studying in America for ten years, Umeko returned to Japan, but made another trip to study and graduate from Bryn Mawr College near Philadelphia. She then devoted herself to the education of women, founding the Tsuda Women's College in Tokyo in 1900. Yonako, sixteen years younger than Umeko, was assisting her sister by teaching at the College before she married Abiko. All the members of the Tsuda family were baptized Christians and it is said that the name Yonako was taken from the Bible (feminine for John).

There is an interesting sidelight to Abiko's marriage: Hajime Hoshi, the founder of the Hoshi Pharmaceutical Company, came to the United States in 1894. After graduating from Columbia University, he returned to Japan temporarily in 1902 for the first time. During that visit, Hoshi was introduced to Yonako Suto

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by Dr. Inazo Nitobe, a leading pioneer Christian and the founder of Doshisha University in Kyoto. This eventually led to their engagement and Hoshi presented Yonako with an engagement ring purchased with the money his parents had given him as gift for the happy occasion. Yonako was twenty-two years old at that time. This engagement lasted a few years, but was broken off for reasons that are not entirely clear.

This story about Yonako and Hoshi is revealed in the biography of Hoshi entitled "Meiji, My Father and America" written by Shin-ichi Hoshi, son of Hajime Hoshi. The biography also reveals that when Hoshi first arrived in America, he had become a member of the Fukuin-Kai in San Francisco and stayed there as a boarding student for some time. This was when Abiko was most active as a leader in the Fukuin-Kai serving as its president. Hoshi, having just arrived in America as a complete stranger, was obviously totally dependent on the old-timers like Abiko in the Fukuin-Kai. As it happened Abiko came to marry Hoshi's exfiance. Was it a mere coincidence for the paths of these three to have had crossed in such a way?

Yonako's family had yet another interesting story on her mother's side: When the Tokugawa Shogunate era, came to a close, the heir to the main lineage of the Tokugawa family was chosen from the Tayasu family to succeed Yoshinobu Tokugawa, the last *Shōgun* of the Tokugawa regime, and the person who later came to be known as Prince Iesato Tokugawa was named the successor. Iesato was born to the Tayasu family, one of the three important branch families (Tayasu, Hitotsubashi and Shimizu) called the *Go-San-Kyō*. They were closely related to the main Tokugawa family, ranking high in line to succeed and head the Shogunate.

Iesato's mother Takako was an elder sister of Sen Tsuda's wife Hatsuko. This makes Prince Iesato Tokugawa, who later became the President of the House of Peers, a cousin to Yonako. It is, therefore, quite understandable that the "Japanese Who's Who in America", published in 1922 by the Japanese American News, presented the splendid calligraphy of Prince Iesato Tokugawa on its very first page.

It might be noted here too, that the head letterings of Kyutaro Abiko's monument in the Japanese Cemetery at Colma in the suburbs of San Francisco was also done by Prince Tokugawa.

With such an impressive family background it is not surprising that Mrs. Yonako Abiko became quite influential, particularily in the latter half of her husband's life. After her husband's death, Mrs. Abiko assumed the presidency of the Japanese American News and continued on with the management of the newspaper in spite of being confronted with its employees' strikes and other difficult situations.

At the outbreak of the War between the United States and Japan in 1941, all the Japanese newspapers were ordered closed. However, in San Francisco, the Japanese American News alone was re-opened to serve as the medium of communication to the Japanese people. The paper released government orders and instructions relative to the Japanese evacuation from the West Coast. Also, in order to minimize the feelings of unrest and anxiety among the people, it carried as much of current events as was permitted. The paper continued its publication until May of 1942 when the Japanese evacuation was completed, with Mrs. Abiko as President, Yasuo Abiko as Vice President and Shichinosuke Asano as the Chief Editor.

April, 1899—First Issue

No one can deny that Abiko's distinguished service lay in the fact that he fought anti-Japanese issues, using the Japanese American News as a tool and he contributed greatly to the betterment and uplifting of the people in the Japanese community. Toward this end he hired many able young men, nurturing and encouraging them.

Abiko published the first issue of the Japanese American News in April of 1899 and in order to compete with the "Shin-Sekai" (The New World), which was then run by Hachiro Soejima, he put it out as an eight-page daily newspaper, appointing to his staff Minotaro Kawasaki (a director of the Haight YMCA), Minoru Yoneda (formerly with the Japan Herald and later with the Asahi Shimbun in Japan) and Yamato Ichihashi (who later became a Stanford University professor).

Not long afterwards he opened up a branch office in Sacramento, which turned out to be the first branch office of any Japanese newspaper ever to be established in the United States. He put Bunzo Washizu in charge of the office. Washizu, a fellow countrymen of Abiko from Niigata, was a good writer and a great asset to the newspaper. He used his pen-name "Shakuma" after professing openly, "I am a person of only one inch of good and a "Shaku" (Japanese equivalent to 1 *foot*) of "Ma" (*Evil* or *Devil*). I sometimes do a little bit of good."

In those days many sorts of newspapers and mimeographed magazines began to appear in the Japanese community. Among them was a magazine called "Ago Hazushi" (Jaw-Breaker), published in 1896. This was published by Washizu and a group to which he belonged called "Ryozanpaku" (Gathering of ambitious men), a name taken from the Chinese classic. The magazine carried anonymous satirical cartoons sketched by ambitious Japanese artistic-types living in San Francisco.

The third issue of the magazine included a caricature of an American lady who was connected with the Fukuin-Kai (Gospel Society). She filed a suit against the magazine and Washizu was sentenced to nine months in jail. Because of that, obviously the magazine had to be discontinued. This was the first of incidents of indictments against Japanese publications in America.

Prior to his imprisonment, Washizu started another weekly called "Taiheiyo (Pacific Ocean), which might be called the successor to "Ago Hazushi", in association with Yonejiro "Yone" Noguchi, who later became a famous poet, but because of his imprisonment, this also was discontinued after only three issues.

In 1930, Washizu published his book, "Zaibei Nipponjin Shikan" (Historical Observation of the Japanese in America). In a chapter titled "Ganso Shirabe" (Research on the originators or founders of anything considered significant in America.

Washizu also wrote a serial article of about 100 installments in the *Japanese American News* in 1922 titled "Rekishi Inmetsu No Tan" (Lament Over Destruction of History), noting many significant people and events of the Japanese in America, hoping to preserve some of the historical data that were gradually being buried, forgotten or destroyed.

This is precisely the same condition about which we are presently concerned and are seeking to alleviate.

Having thus lined up an able staff, the *Japanese American News* started to publish its content and purpose marked by Abiko's Christian ideal of love and justice. So compelling was Abiko's idealogy that even a person like V. S. McClatchy, wealthy owner of both the Sacramento and the Fresno Bee and leading figure of anti-Japanese forces, was forced to listen to his arguments. (This matter of Abiko's longstanding debate with McClatchy will be treated at greater length in a later chapter).

Abiko's philosophy was no less evident in his treatment of his staff and in his instructions to them. First and foremost they were charged to do their utmost to bring about a greater understanding of the Japanese among the Americans. But his zealous young reporters, working out in the field, would sometimes become involved in heated arguments on the subject of the Immigration Law which even led to fist fights on occasion.

Abiko was not reluctant to delegate responsibility to his staff. Seldom did he put his own pen to paper. He would first of all issue appropriate guide lines to his reporters. Then he would have them gather information and write an article, after which he would read over their copy and edit it. Apart from news writing, young reporters were each assigned a specific subject to study and to report back to him.

Beside the *Japanese American News*, the Japanese language newspaper, Abiko also established the "Pacific Press". This was his English language medium for putting across his points of argument to the American people, so that they might gain a better understanding of Japan, then on the brink of the Russo-Japanese War. This was also to serve as a vehicle of bringing harmony between the whites and the Japanese living in the United States at a time when anti-Japanese problems were smoldering and were gradually popping up here and there in flames. To head the Pacific Press, Abiko engaged the services of Kiyoshi Kawakami. Kawakami was an outstanding scholar of English literature, who later moved to Washington, D.C. and came to take an active part in the affairs of Japan and the United States prior to the outbreak of the War between the two countries. Also, as Kawakami's right-hand man, Juji Kasai (elder brother of Kenji Kasai of the Nikko Kasai Securities Co.) was hired. He was already an eloquent speaker in English and later went back to Japan to become a member of the Japanese Diet.

Personalities-Nichibei Staff

As was the case with Juji Kasai, many men who were in one way or another affected by Abiko, later went on to become prominent in Japan. Among them were Tamotsu Murayama (Japan Times), Minoru Yoneda (Asahi Shimbun), Toyoji Chiba (Manchurian Railway), Ekisui Kiyose (Diet member), Shinroku Tanomogi (Diet member and NHK president), Isamu Inouye (Writer) and Teisuke Ohira (Yamagata Shimbun). Although these men were obviously talented and capable in their own right, it seems more than something of a mere coincidence that they had all come under the influence of Abiko to some degree.

Beside those mentioned above, well known personalities such as Yamato Ichihashi, Kakujiro Hakuyo Murayama, Yoshinobu Shimanouchi, Seiichi Sagitani, Hibutsu Murai, Junzo Akashi, Hachiro Shishimoto, Kyuin Rokkei Okina and Chuji Kyokko Yamanaka sought advice and direction from Abiko. Through these people, Abiko freely disseminated his ideas and viewpoints. And by taking a brief look at Abiko's association with a few of them, we are offered further insights into his character.

(1) SEIICHI SAGITANI came to America in 1905 at the age of twenty-four and shortly thereafter started to work for the *Japanese American News*. Around then, Shusui Kotoku, a socialist leader in Japan came to San Francisco and sought out my uncle Shigeki Oka. Kotoku had studied under Chomin Nakae, a great scholar, when he was still living in Tosa (Kochi Prefecture), his native country.

Coincidentally, Abiko had also studied under Chomin Nakae in Tokyo prior to leaving for the United States. And feeling greatly indebted to Nakae for what he had taught him, Abiko had hoped that some day he could show his gratitude to his former teacher.

As circumstances would have it, he was informed by Sagitani that Kotoku, a leading disciple of Chimin Nakae, had come to San Francisco. With the idea of repaying his former teacher through Kotoku, Abiko offered to pay Kotoku monthly rental of $25 in exchange for which Kotoku would edit the Sunday edition of Abiko's paper. Kotoku accepted the offer and stayed on under the title of associate editor for nearly a year, after which he returned to Japan. A few years thereafter in 1911 he was arrested, tried and found guilty as the ringleader of the famous incident of high treason known as the "Daigyaku Jiken", for plotting the assassination of Emperor Meiji and was executed.

When Abiko returned to Japan in 1909, leaders in Christian circle such as Danjo Ebina and Masahisa Uemura, having been greatly impressed with Abiko's activities in America, started procedure necessary to have Abiko recommended for a decoration by the Emperor. This was cut short, however, when the Ministry of the Imperial Household intercepted the proceeding, contending that it would be absurd to confer a decoration on Abiko on grounds that he had supplied funds to Kotoku during his stay in America.

Eventually, however, truth of the entire affair came to light and in 1928 Abiko was conferred a decoration of Order of Sacred Treasure 5th Class.

As for his part, Sagitani, a man of thorough integrity, felt responsible for the whole thing. He had, after all, introduced Kotoku to Abiko, and although Abiko himself had mentioned nothing of the incident, Sagitani felt compelled to tender his resignation which he did and went to Mexico. A few years later when he returned to San Francisco, Abiko assigned him to head the Sacramento branch office of the paper.

(2) KYUIN OKINA, attached to the *Japanese American News* at one time, in his long reminiscent piece, "Mr. Kyutaro Abiko and I," recalls his first impressions of Mr. Abiko:

"I first met Kyutaro Abiko when I was invited to his house for dinner, along with Kyokko Yamanaka and his wife. With a large, sturdy hand, one that suggested it had worked at just about everything, Mr. Abiko shook my hand. I saw him as a plump man with greying hair and a mustache. A gentle smile played around the corners of his eyes. He impressed me as a person of fine intelligence.

Far into the night, we listened to him talk on his favorite subject—the Yamato Colony. I did not fully understand all that he said regarding the philosophy and intent behind the Colony, having just come to San Francisco from Seattle where I had been living a student's life.

But Kyokko Yamanaka, on the other hand, having been at the Colony for six or seven years and having written newspaper editorials daily in full accord with his employer, Mr. Abiko, understood him readily. He was kind enough to fill me in on those things I did not understand. I left Mr. Abiko's house that night feeling that there was something quite remarkable about him."

(3) TAMOTSU MURAYAMA, whose father, Kakujiro Hakuyo Murayama, also contributed articles to the *Japanese American News*, was fortunate enough to have close contact with Abiko in his latter days.

Murayama was an active newspaperman for over thirty years, having gone to Japan before World War II and worked for the Domei Tsushin and then for the Japan Times for many years after the War. He also served as an active Director of the Japan Boy Scouts Federation.

From among his writings, we are able to infer that Murayama was a great admirer of Abiko. Abiko, he says, was a conscientious employer, who treated his employees well even if it meant, at times, that he had to content himself with eating very little. He was a man of strong self-discipline, never touching smoke nor drink nor indulging in idle talk.

Moreover, Abiko always chose to stay out of the limelight, content to remain backstage. He made it a point to encourage young newsmen and to foster the development of their talents.

One of Abiko's favorite expressions, according to Murayama, was "The Nisei are coming up," by which he meant that, some day in the future, the Nisei would begin emerging in the mainstream of American life. It was at once his hope and his firm conviction. Abiko deeply loved Japan and, at the same time, held a great respect for America. Murayama recalls the time he was called into the President's office one day shortly after he had begun working for the newspaper. Abiko said to him:

"According to the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, Japanese born in the United States are given the rights of American citizens. This Amendment came into being as a result of the Civil War after which the slaves were emancipated. You should study President Lincoln's ideas on justice and equality and their historical background. Anti-Japanese elements are now saying that the children of the Japanese should not be allowed to become U.S. citizens. In short, they are saying that the Amendment does not apply to the Japanese because Lincoln did not even know of the existence of the Japanese in 1860. It behooves us to study Lincoln's humanitarian principles now, to prepare ourselves thoroughly against the onslaught of anti-Japanese aggression."

Murayama was understandably impressed with Abiko's depth of knowledge, his know-how. Not only was he a great publisher, humanitarian and thinker, he had a kind of political wisdom that came from practical experience.

A dominant strain that runs through these various writings about Abiko, as we have seen, is one which speaks of his commitment of service to the Japanese in the United States.

Adding his voice, SHIRO FUJIOKA writes in his noted book, "Ayumi no Ato" (The Footsteps), published in 1957:

"Two outstanding figures emerged simultaneously in the Japanese community in San Francisco: Kinji Ushijima, (who was known as George Shima) the "Potato King" and Kyutaro Abiko. They came to be respected as the two greatest leaders in the Japanese community, the former as an entrepreneur and the latter as a man of religion. Whereas Ushijima put his entire efforts into potato growing, Abiko devoted himself to the guidance of young people, including students, beginning with his work at the Fukuin-Kai.

"Abiko later expanded his work into farming when he established the Yamato Colony. His main purpose in this was to convince the Japanese to settle permanently in the United States.

"Along with this, Abiko persistently emphasized, in writings and in speeches, the necessity of elevating the condition of the Japanese in the community. He was also unflagging in his efforts to point out the valid claims of the Japanese in the United States to the white Americans . . ."

Concerning the students referred to above, Abiko not only guided and sustained young men who had come to American from Japan, but made arrangements for self-supporting students in poor circumstances in Japan, to come to the United States under his sponsorship. He would arrange for them to attend school while they worked part-time at his newspaper, firmly convinced that these able, industrious students would one day turn out to be useful, productive men.

An interesting sidelight to this is that Abiko was faced with the problem of contending with the Immigration Office which, of course, prohibited foreign students from working. Whenever the problem came up, Abiko would appeal to Washington D.C. with amazing success, arguing that the students were "receiving practical training" in journalism and were "studying" social science. On occasion, because the appeal sometimes took several years, the student in question would have completed his schooling and gone back to Japan before the ruling was handed down.

Many of these young men, whom Abiko sponsored, encouraged or sustained, eventually demonstrated their abilities and distinguished themselves in various fields in the United States and Japan.

One such person is Shichinosuke Asano, present Board Chairman of the Nichi Bei Times in San Francisco. Asano joined the *Japanese American News* in 1920, became its editor-in-chief in 1934 and served in that capacity until May 1942, at which time the Japanese were evacuated from the West Coast.

Another is Howard Imazeki, now President of Hokubei Mainichi. Imazeki had been with the *Japanese American News* around 1930.

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Duncan Ikezoe was also with the *Japanese American News* at one time—from 1931 until shortly after the outbreak of the War in 1942. He presently serves as the President of Nichi Bei Times.

The *Japanese American News*, then, with Abiko in command, served as a valuable training ground for budding journalists. True, much of their later achievements must be attributed to their own native abilities; at the same time, it does not seem too much to say that Abiko's guiding hand had a great deal to do with their success.

The Newspaper

When Kyutaro Abiko arrived in America in 1885, only about a thousand Japanese were living throughout the United States. The majority were students who came to study. The remainder came to the New World, in the prime of their lives, as it were, with great hopes of gaining an education or making a fortune. However, about the only types of work they could find when they first arrived in America were as school boys, farm hands or as manual laborers in other occupations. Some opened grocery stores or other kinds of small shops and businesses.

But from about 1892 many Japanese immigrants in Hawaii began moving to the mainland with the intent of working here temporarily, then returning home. The population of these so-called "Dekasegi Imin" (Temporary Immigrant Laborers) reached its peak just after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. As a consequence of this sudden rise in the immigrant population, problems such as gambling, prostitution, blackmailing and extortion began to appear in the Japanese community, and the reputation of the Japanese began to suffer. At the same time, the hardworking, industrious habits of the Japanese immigrants, working in various fields, began to arouse jealousy and hard feelings in the white population. All of these factors gradually crystallized into an anti-Japanese hostility which was to prevail for years to come.

It was at the point when these feelings were beginning to stir, that Abiko came to feel strongly the necessity of finding a means of sensitizing the Japanese to events that were swirling around them, of encouraging more prudent behavior, and of establishing some sort of cohesion within the Japanese community. He decided to use the newspaper to achieve these aims. In the inaugural editorial of the first edition of the *Japanese American News*, Abiko put forth his basic philosophy and his motives for publishing the paper. Here is the editorial in part:

"The population of the Japanese on the Pacific Coast has recently passed the one-thousand mark, our fellow countrymen having landed here in large numbers on each ship from Japan. This started to arouse jealousy and fear among the white laborers here. In the meantime, when we look at the actual situation of the Japanese here in America, we see that it is almost impossible for us to pool our resources inasmuch as we are scattered far and wide. It makes it difficult for us to have close and friendly contact with one another as well. At this point, we have come up with a scheme to attempt a spiritual binding of the Japanese, horizontally, here in America. It is for the very purpose of establishing good communication between our fellow countrymen and to increase friendly relationships amongst one another that we publish this daily newspaper, "Nichi Bei" (*Japanese American News*).

The aims of the *Japanese American News* are:

"1) To establish spiritual ties of the Japanese living on the West Coast, and to prevent the diligent efforts of our fellow countrymen from going to waste.

"2) To study and explore new fields of enterprises for the convenience of the Japanese in the cities and in the country, and to urge able countrymen from Japan to come to the United States.

"3) To protect the rights of the Japanese here in the United States and, at the same time, to apply firm sanctions against those recalcitrants who corrupt public morals or degrade and discredit the honor of the fellow Japanese in the United States.

"4) To report world affairs to the Japanese in America and, at the same time, attempt to inform countrymen in Japan the actual conditions in the United States, especially as regards to those Japanese living here."

This editorial is, in fact, a statement of Abiko's principles, beliefs and aims, to which he stalwartly devoted himself to the end of his life. The Sacramento branch of the newspaper, the first branch office ever established by a Japanese newspaper, was for the very purpose of facilitating communication among the Japanese living in widespread areas. Later, other branches were opened in places like Fresno, Los Angeles, San Jose and Stockton. And correspondents were dispatched to distant places, even as far away as Colorado.

The Los Angeles branch office was eventually expanded into an affiliate sister paper in 1922. It was called the *Rafu Nichi Bei* (Los Angeles *Japanese American News*.) There, in Southern California, a tremendous population growth had taken place after the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, and Abiko felt it necessary to publish a newspaper in Los Angeles to provide an alternative to the other language newspapers—especially the "Rafu Shimpo," a leading paper in that city. It had been a fortunate circumstance that the *Japanese American News* had published the "Japanese Who's Who in America" in 1922, for they had made a profit. With these proceeds, Abiko bought out the *Hokubei Hochi*, and existing Japanese newspaper in Los Angeles, and launched the *Rafu Nichi Bei*.

Setting up a network of newspapers in this manner enabled Abiko to keep his ear to the ground as far as Japanese in the United States were concerned. Moreover, the newspaper could be a medium through which he could voice his opinions and ideas, always motivated by the guiding principle of uplifting the morals and moral attitudes of these fellow Japanese.

Anti-Japanese Discrimination

The sudden increase in the population of the Japanese in America from around 1890 to 1900 led to the growth of anti-Japanese sentiment. In 1893, the San Francisco Board of Education banned Japanese students from public schools, and resolved that they must be enrolled in segregated schools for the Chinese. One of the reasons given for this action was that Japanese student were not paying taxes. Another was that they were over the "normal" school age and their presence in the same classroom with small school-age children, especially girls, would have adverse moral effects on the children.

The Japanese community was naturally angered by this blatant discriminatory act. And speaking for them, Japanese Consul Chinda, Yokohama Specie Bank Branch manager Nabekura, and a few others, including Abiko, went before the Board to voice their protest of this unjust treatment and indignity. This resulted in a rescinding of the resolution.

The anti-Japanese movement, however, intensified year by year, the formation of the Asiatic Exclusion League in San Francisco being a striking case in point. Organized by the American Federation of Labor, the League was dedicated to the proposition of barring further immigration of the Japanese. The rationale for it ran something like this:

1) It is difficult for two separate and distinct races to assimilate into one culture and to live harmoniously in the same domain.

2) The Japanese compete against the whites by working longer hours at lower wages.

3) The living standard of the Japanese is low.

4) Japanese sent the money they earned here to their home country and do not contribute to the American economy.

5) The Japanese are too nationalistic, not in accord with American politics and are lacking in elements for assimilation.

6) Japanese stick to their peculiar culture and this will have a bad influence on American culture.

7) Japanese crowd together, live among themselves and do not change their peculiar customs.

8) To allow such nationals to enter the country will only increase racial problems in America.

Anti-Japanese sentiment, which had largely been based on economic considerations, took on a distinct political color after the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05.

In 1907 (thirteen years after the incident of barring Japanese students from public schools), elements hostile to the Japanese persuaded the San Francisco Board of Education to order expulsion of all Japanese children from public schools and attempted to have them transferred to schools set up for Orientals. This led to a vigorous protest by the local Japanese and the Japanese Government and created diplomatic strains in the U.S.-Japan relationship.

A message from President Theodore Roosevelt was quickly dispatched to the Mayor of San Francisco denouncing the action. The incident was finally settled by the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement in which Japanese in Hawaii were restricted from entering the United States mainland, in exchange for which, all school-aged children of Japanese descent would return to public schools.

The intensity of anti-Japanese agitation increased, however, and Japanese laundries, hotels, and restaurant owners sustained untold economic damage.

In 1913, the Alien Land Law, obviously aimed toward the Japanese, was enacted to prevent the Japanese from owning land in California. At the same time, the Japanese lost the legal right to gain U.S. citizenship.

In 1924, the Immigration Law was passed providing for the total exclusion of "all aliens ineligible to citizenship," which, of course, meant the Japanese.

As might be expected, this series of events increasingly aggravated tensions between the Japanese and the outside community here in the United States and, Abiko, putting his newspapers in the vanguard of protestation against these discriminatory acts, used his *Japanese American News* and the Pacific Press in English to appeal to the consciences of the American people. And, on occasion, he himself went to the Immigration Office to challenge the officials with well thought-out arguments as to the injustice of such treatment. They, of course, had no rebuttal.

There is little doubt that the passage of the Immigration Law became one of the main underlying causes of the eventual war between U.S. and Japan. This, along with the "5-5-3 ratio" assigned to England, the United States and Japan, respectively, for the possession of warships, and other disadvantageous decisions imposed in Japan at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, fairly asked for a conflict.

McClatchy-Abiko Letters

Defending the Immigration Law, V.S. McClatchy, a leading figure of anti-Japanese agitation and publisher of both the Sacramento Bee and the Fresno Bee, wrote a long letter in 1924 to Abiko addressed to "The President of the *Japanese American News*, which has the largest circulation of all the Japanese newspapers outside of Japan." Abiko responded with a letter in sharp rebuttal.

Since these letters represent two distinct views of the Immigration Law by two leading figures of the time, they are of historical value and are therefore presented here in summary.

McClutchy argued that the Immigration Law was being enacted as a defensive action, means to see that the United States remained "American." Mistakes were made, he went on to say, in the previous naturalization and immigration policies and in the Gentlemen's Agreement. Thus, the new immigration law was introduced as a solution. The flaw in the Gentlemen's Agreement, he said, was that immigration of the Japanese from Hawaii had been stopped, but their numbers had continued increasing in the United States owing to the fact that permanent residents could still send for their relatives (wives, children and other) from Japan. The Law, he argued, was aimed at all foreigners without citizenship, not at the Japanese in particular, and there was no intention of slighting Japan. What obstructed the road to what Japan desired of the United States was not the new Immigration law but the naturalization and immigration policies which had been in existence for a long time.

Concluding his letter, McClatchy warned that continued protesting with a lack of understanding of the true intentions of the United States would certainly damage relations between the two countries.

In response to McClatchy's letter, Abiko declared that the future of peace of the world depended greatly on the peace over the Pacific Ocean, the area over which the United States and Japan together held responsibility. There were two ways to go about achieving reconciliation and better understanding of the problems of the Japanese in America, he said. One would be to leave matters to take its own course and resolve itself in some way; the other would be to pull back and find a basis for developing mutually advantageous relations between the two countries. The latter would seem to be the more productive, for the Japanese could not set aside the disagreement between the two nations under presently existent conditions. That would do intolerable injury to their racial pride, and they would suffer in the eyes of the world.

Moreover, the Japanese who resided in California planned to live there permanently, Abiko continued, and they had every intention of bearing their share of the heavy daily burden of all Americans. They were already doing their share towards the development of California.

Another important consideration, Abiko went on to say, was that the ones who would be greatly hurt by the Immigration Law would be the Japanese students who, anxious to receive an education in the United States, would willingly work their way through colleges. After having received their education here, they would return to their country to become leaders with liberal ideas in the future and would contribute greatly to relations between U.S. and Japan.

Abiko said that he also considered it unreasonable to deny the parents of American-born Japanese children, citizens by birth, the right to apply for citizenship. It was proper and right to grant citizenship to those Japanese who intended to live in the United States permanently and who worked diligently towards the development of this country. The revision of the naturalization law, he said, should naturally lead to the nullification of the California Alien Land Law and, as a consequence, the benefit would not only accrue to the Japanese but to California as a whole.

The key to the problem which threatened world peace, Abiko believed, lay in the hands of McClatchy and his colleagues who understood well the critical importance of the problem. And he genuinely hoped that a just and amicable resolution to the problem of maintaining peace between the two great nations on either side of the Pacific Ocean would be found.

Abiko concluded his letter on a solemn note:

"As Japan is destined to take the leadership of the East through the cooperation of Americans, likewise America is destined to take the leadership of the world through the cooperation of the Japanese. The responsibility of the two countries, therefore, is very great. From this point of view, the breach of friendship between the United States and Japan is a world catastrophe of the highest degree. Whether we can avert it or not depends on our attitude on the Japanese here."

But, just as Abiko had feared, the Immigration Law worked as a pivotal point on which relations between U.S. and Japan took a drastic turn for the worse, leading directly towards the outbreak of the War between the United States and Japan. And in order to cope with the hostility here, Abiko attempted to deflect and thus weaken the attack by advocating that the Japanese in America assimilate into American life and learn American ways of thinking. This was called the "assimilation movement" or the "Americanization."

The great contribution Abiko made to guide the Japanese in America through his newspapers to change their idea of staying in America as temporary workers to that of settling down and assimilating into American life. It should go down in posterity as one of the highlights of the many contributions made by this outstanding man.

In Defense of Picture Brides

The extent to which Kyutaro Abiko expended his energies on behalf of his fellow Japanese went quite beyond the usual bounds of responsibility assumed by newspaper editor-owners. While it might be argued that the time and circumstances demanded such action, it is as valid to submit that Abiko was, in his time, the right man in the right place to grapple with the hard issue that constantly confronted the Japanese.

In an interesting article entitled, "My Impressions of Mr. Abiko and My Memory of the Incident of the Banning of the Japanese Picture Brides," Junzo Akashi, a reporter for the *Japanese American News* reveals a clear case in point. He writes:

It was 1920. American sentiment towards Japan had reached a new low. Inevitably this feeling was transferred to the Japanese in America, placing them in an untenable position: on the one hand, they were being treated as "discarded people" by the Japanese government and, on the other, they were being persecuted by the people of the United States. The worst situation existed in California, the epicenter of anti-Japanese sentiment. Rumor had it that anti-Japanese Land Law had been introduced in the California Legislature that year, and that the lawmakers were attempting to expel the Japanese from California altogether. Miserably cornered from years of suppression and discrimination suffered at the hands of the people of California, the Japanese, nevertheless, struggled to prevent the introduction of the Bill, which they saw as a deathblow. But their forced isolation had rendered them powerless, and their last hope remained with the government of their mother country.

The Japanese government, however, could not interfere in this, since it was a matter of an internal political problem of another country. Consequently, they merely ordered the Consul General stationed in San Francisco to act with prudence. The Consul General, in turn, in informal negotiations with the anti-Japanese legislators, offered to prohibit, voluntarily, the further entry of "picture brides" into the United States in exchange for which the legislators would bury the Alien Land Law bill.

It should be mentioned that "picture brides" had been entering the country by means of a generous loophole in the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, which had been designed to halt, with few exceptions, the immigration of the Japanese. Totally barring the entry of these picture brides presented a serious problem for the Japanese immigrants for it meant that marriageable men, far outnumbering the women, would be unable to send for spouses.

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The immigrant population was well aware of the seriousness of the problem. They deplored it, denounced the incompetence of the Japanese government and grieved over the future of the Japanese in America. But all this exchange of words amounted to nothing in the long run. The general trend was for them to succumb to the deeply-rooted tendency of servile dependence on the bureaucracy.

But the *Japanese American News* took an unequivocal stand against the Consul General's proposal from the beginning—this, in contrast to the position taken by the New World (*Shin Sekai*), which firmly approved it and supported the Consul General. Under the direction of President Abiko, the *Japanese American News* held an emergency staff meeting. Taking a broad view of the issue, they decided that, in order to protect the future of the Japanese in America, they would take a stand against the Consul General who, they felt, represented the interests of the Japanese government. The staff writers would move together collectively in that direction. Immediately, their editorials began to focus on the indecisiveness of the Japanese government, the ignorance of their diplomatic policy toward America, and, on the Consul General who, they said, was directly responsible for bringing about the present deplorable state of affairs. The newspaper was made quite lively by these daily editorial columns.

Reacting to these zesty editorials, the Japanese held meetings, large and small, in various places, to voice their indignation against the Consul General. And their support of the position taken by the newspaper became louder day by day.

The Consul General, for his part, remained impassive in the beginning. But, as the situation became more serious and impossible to tolerate, a few reactionaries who supported him began to counterattack, resorting to all sorts of measures—threats, conciliation, bribery, rumor-mongering. Further, they attempted to throw a cold blanket over the opposition by using the *Shin Sekai* newspaper, having the paper, for instance, print the dictum: 'Those who do not go along with the policy of the Japanese government are disloyal to the Empire of Japan and those who do not obey the order of the Consul General, who represents the Japanese government, are unpatriotic to Japan.' The *Shin Sekai*, however, could not continue writing with impunity as if it were a Japanese government bulletin. They know it was to their economic disadvantage to go against the general opinion of the Japanese population. Thus, they used excuses, and took every opportunity they could to gain approval among the readership. They did manage to retain some approval and support of their editorials by a few narrow-minded and stubborn flunkeys of the bureaucrats, or by those who were in league with the Consul General and his suppressive methods.

Meanwhile, the *Japanese American News* was fighting with full force under Abiko's leadership. At public meetings, resolutions against the barring of picture brides as well as for the expulsion of the Consul General were unanimously passed. Immediately after one such meeting, the Consul General made the rash statement to a reporter from the *San Francisco Examiner* that all those present at that meeting were Communists. The *Examiner* printed the statement the following day, along with an item on the issue of the picture bride.

Considering that the *Examiner* had long been known for its anti-Japanese bias, this was a relatively fair report. The paper even went as far as to be rather critical of the arrogant attitude of the Consul General. It was, naturally, absurd and ill-advised for the Consul General to foist the label "red" onto the entire body in attendance at this meeting, which consisted of the majority of the Japanese in San Francisco. They became understandably outraged and quickly arranged a second community meeting in which the Consul General was denounced for his inflammatory remarks. They also passed a resolution demanding the recall of the Consul General and that he make a public apology.

If these demands were not met, they would file suit in the United States Courts in the name of all the Japanese residents in America. Copies of the resolution were sent to the government of Japan and to the Japanese ambassador in Washington, D.C.

Inasmuch as this incident had developed beyond proportion, the Japanese government was left with little alternative but to recall the Consul General. When this was completed, that problem was settled. But on the question of the emigration of the picture brides, the battle was lost. This last narrow path left for the Japanese to emigrate to the United States was closed. To top it off, the Alien Land Law, decidedly anti-Japanese in intent, passed in the California Legislature.

All during this difficult time, though he fought tenaciously against these anti-Japanese measures, Abiko remained calm and self-possessed, able to handle the issue at hand objectively and decisively. In all of it—running the *Japanese American News*, guiding and advising the people—his primary and basic concern remained the welfare of the Japanese in America.

To Be Concluded

Our hope of bringing it all for one reading fell short by a few brief chapters that remain.

Chūō Gakuin

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As Take descended into the yard, Yoichi came to her, holding his bloody left hand with his right. Shrapnel had passed through his left wrist at the joint, leaving a hole. It appeared that if he released his grip his dangling left hand might drop to the ground.

"Sensei," he said, indicating his injury. She was later to say of him, "He was so brave! He was so brave!"

Nakagawa and Hosoi took Yoichi to Queen's Hospital. The Hospital turned them away - he was not in their district. So they took him to the Japanese Hospital. There two doctors immediately came to assist him but declared amputation necessary. They operated immediately, amputating at the middle of his left forearm.

She went to the teachers' room. Sawajirō Ozaki, president of the board of directors, came and told those there, with a grave air, "A terrible thing has happened."

He went his way. Soon he and all the alien board members, as well as the male teachers, would be interned, most being aliens.

The mother of Masako rushed in, weeping. She had heard the news. She clung to Take, "Give Masako back to me!" Her friends led her away.

The Japanese broke off their attack at 10 and returned to their carriers. In the second wave, the high-level bombers had attacked the Air Force base at Hickam Field and the Naval Air Stations at Kaneohe. The dive bombers struck at the warships, concentrating on the ships putting up the stiffest fire, for these had been least damaged by the first wave. Because of the increased resistance it suffered higher casualties than the first wave, losing six fighters and 14 dive bombers.

All told, the Japanese had sunk or seriously damaged 18 ships, destroyed 188 planes and damaged 159. They lost 29 planes - nine fighters, 15 dive bombers and five torpedo planes. In addition, an Advance Expeditionary Force lost one large submarine and all five midget submarines. Personnel lost: 55 airmen, nine crewmen on the midget subs and an unknown number on the large submarine.

The Americans lost 2338 killed and 1143 wounded among military personnel. As for civilian casualties there is more to be said.

When Yoshito Hirasaki fled Chūō Gakuin, he reached his home at 30 S. Kukui St. safely. There an anti-aircraft shell fell on the house, killing him and seven members of his family.

There were other Chūō Gakuin students, who had not attended the Sunday class, who were killed or maimed by anti-aircraft fire. When the Japanese planes returned to their carriers, Vice-Adm. Chūichi, Nagumo, in direct charge of the fleet, ordered it to leave for Japan. But even after the Japanese departed American fire continued.

Between 9 and 9:30 a.m. the next day, American fighter planes, P-40s, sighted four fishing boats about two miles off Barber's Point, Oahu. One was the Kiho Maru, captained by the aforementioned Sutematsu Kida, 54, father of the Kida children who had attended the Sunday class at Chūō Gakuin. Also aboard was his son, Kiichi, 21, Kiho Uehara, 29, and Seiki Arakaki, 21.

The Kiho Maru had been out at sea since December 4, flag-line fishing between Kewalo Basin and Kahe point. Seeing columns of smoke rising from Pearl Harbor the preceding morning, and the whole island blacked out the preceding night, the crew realized that something untoward was happening. But they were without a radio and only learned of the attack when another sampan, equipped with a radio, pulled alongside and delivered the news.

At daybreak, the Kiho Maru headed toward Diamond Head, Oahu. It had just met three other fishing boats when the P-40s appeared, each picking a target, and attacked.

A plane strafed the Kiho Maru from the stern, circled to its left and strafed the port side and made a final run strafing from the bow. Two bullets tore through Arakaki's left leg just below the knee. Bullets struck Kida in chest and leg. As he lay on the deck, a cape he wore, coated with linseed oil, burst into flames. Bullets hit his son Kiichi in jaw and back. Bullets hit Uehara in the back. Only Arakaki survived. The score for the other boats were three dead, five injured. The children of one of these injured, Tetsujirō Yamamoto, were students at Chūō Gakuin.

Anti-aircraft fire did a half-million dollars worth of damage to Honolulu. Almost all at the hands of those from whom they had a right to expect protection, 68 civilians died; 35 were wounded.



Rev. Takie Okumura, founder of Chuo Gakuin.

Shortly before 4 p.m., December 7, Gov. Joseph B. Poindexter turned over his powers as civilian governor to Gen. Short. Giving himself the title of Military Governor, Short closed all schools. Chūō Gakuin was never to reopen.

The striking success of the attack spurred an immediate search for scapegoats on whom to pin the blame. The most obvious target was the resident Nikkei, confounded by the local officialdom and press with the enemy. They were accused of cutting arrows in the canefields to direct the enemy to targets the enemy could see from miles away. They were accused of attempting to poison the water supply. Captured airmen were said to be wearing rings of Honolulu's McKinley High School. A milk truck was said to have entered Schofield Barracks, where its sides were pushed off to reveal Japanese machine-gunners.

The Pearl Harbor Committee, headed by Justice Owen J. Roberts, charged Short with "dereliction of duty" and errors of judgment. Never granted the court-martial he demanded, always maintaining his conscience was clear, he retired in 1942. Likewise charged with dereliction of duty, Kimmel retired in 1942. But in 1946, a Congressional Committee, which found many causes for the Pearl Harbor debacle, cleared him of the charge.

The Tokyo Yomiuri Shimbun published the December 5 interview with Mori in the next day's paper, replete with reference to flowers. In the light of hindsight, the suspicion seems absurd that the Japanese Imperial Navy sought the aid of a Honolulu physician and newspaper correspondent, by phone call, on the eve of hurling a surprise attack at Pearl Harbor.

Ultimately the FBI would report there had been no proven case of espionage or sabotage by any Hawaii resident of Japanese ancestry. And though hatred of the enemy embraced hatred of Chūō Gakuin, its directors, faculty and students, those charged with waging and winning the war viewed this school, and similar schools, differently.

To successfully wage war against Japan, Japanese linguists were needed. But in America there were only a handful of Caucasians fluent in Japanese. Of necessity the military turned to the alumni of the Japanese language schools for help.

Reasons of security have withheld from these linguists the recognition that is their due. But Gen. Charles Willoughby, chief of staff of Intelligence, has said they may have shortened the war in the Pacific by as much as two years.

The Japanese Hospital had prudently changed its name to Kuakini Hospital.

With the internment of President Ozaki, Attorney Robert K. Murakami became acting president of the Chūō Gakuin Board of Directors. Meeting with the other American-born directors, he acted to dissolve the school before the assets could be seized by the Alien Property Custodian. The directors donated the remaining assets to the Hawaii Veterans Memorial Fund.

* * *

After the war, the site of Chūō Gakuin eventually came under the Urban Renewal program of the City-County of Honolulu. The City-County demolished the now dilapidated buildings and absorbed the area into Foster Botanic Garden.

Only the two gold trees that had flanked the entrance to the concrete building of the school remained to mark the site of Chūō Gakuin. Yet two other monuments to Nikkei history had been placed there. The first, a reduced replica of the Kamakura Buddha was presented by the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture to commemorate the centennial of the first Japanese immigrants to Hawaii. The second is a granite sculpture, presented to Honolulu by its sister-city Hiroshima, commemorating the 75th anniversary of the arrival of the first Japanese immigrants. It seemed to me that Chūō Gakuin also merited a monument.

Years after our marriage, when my wife's reminiscences of her experience at the tragic end of Chūō Gakuin resulted in "No Place Beneath the Rising Sun," dreamed up on our kitchen table, we submitted it to Pacific Citizen. It appeared in the 1961 Holiday Issue. In 1970, I included it in an anthology of my stories of Hawaii, *Hawaiian Tales*. From here it found its way into other anthologies of short stories, including an inexpensive paperback, *Ethnic American Short Stories*, edited by Katherine Newman and published by Washington Square Press.

I tried promoting the placing of a plaque to commemorate Chūō Gakuin, using *Ethnic American Short Stories* and a reprint of an article I had written about Chūō Gakuin for the Pacific Citizen 1977 Holiday Issue. But I made little progress until I went directly to Honolulu Mayor Frank F. Fasi.

A Nisei of Italian ancestry, and married to a Nikkei, Mayor Fasi indicated immediate action and delivered it.

After Mayor Fasi endorsed the project, many persons came to help, particularly personnel of the City and County Dept. of Parks and Recreation. A temporary wooden plaque, such as those seen at historic sites in Japan, was erected between the gold trees. The inscription, in both Japanese and English, reads:

SITE OF JAPANESE
CENTRAL INSTITUTE

THE FIRST JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL ON OAHU, FOUNDED APRIL 13, 1896, JAPANESE CENTRAL INSTITUTE (CHUO GAKUIN) OCCUPIED THIS SITE FROM 1899 THROUGH Dec. 7, 1941.

THE GOLD TREES TO LEFT AND RIGHT OF THIS PLAQUE FLANKED A BUILDING ENTRANCE.

THE TRAGIC END OF THIS SCHOOL, DURING THE JAPANESE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR, IS MEMORIALIZED IN THE SHORT STORY, "NO PLACE BENEATH THE RISING SUN," BY TAKE AND ALLAN BEEKMAN.

So in this beautiful garden, October 22, the guests began assembling. Most were gray-haired. One, Steere Gikaku Noda, had attended Chūō Gakuin in 1899. Nevertheless, there were young persons present.

Yoichi Sakai is now an auditor in Springfield, Va., but his parents , Chiseyo and Kenichi Sakai were on hand. There were representatives of the family of Masako Arakaki. Mr. and Mrs. David K. Teragawachi were there.

Under the leadership of Bandmaster Kenneth Kawashima, the Royal Hawaiian Band played many Japanese songs. A soloist sang the School Song of Chūō Gakuin, last heard here 39 years before. The band rendered *Usagi no Dansu* (Bunny Dance), which the children were singing when the anti-aircraft shell snuffed out the life of the school.

Mayor Fasi went to the microphone and told how in his native Connecticutt, during his boyhood, there had been many foreign language schools, including German and Italian. No one had thought of interning the officials of those schools.

Hiroko Arakawa, a sister of the slain student, presented the mayor with a carnation lei. Both the mayor and Parks Board Director Ramon Duran pledged that a more substantial monument would be installed.

Take introduced the other speakers.

Former Circuit Court Judge Robert K. Murakami explained why and how the directors had disposed of the property of Chūō Gakuin in a way that enables the people of Hawaii to still benefit from it.

Attorney Suyeki Okumura, son of the founder of the school, thanked the dedication committee on behalf of the Okumura family.

Thus is the memory of Chūō Gakuin enshrined in a unique and beautiful garden visited by residents and tourists - both from the West and from Japan. Many will have read the story commemorating its end before visiting the garden; others will make a point of reading the story afterward. And the thousands of alumni, many now leaders in Hawaii, will have a tangible base from which to spin their reminiscences of long ago. #

NISEI IN JAPAN: by Barry Saiki

The Tracing of an Identity

Tokyo

IT WAS MY father's inordinate pride in the family name that first made me aware of the desire to trace our genealogy. For Americanization, he most often signed his name as "S-a-i-k-i", but he would always pronounce his name as "Saeki", "Saheki" or "Sayeki".

At various times he pointed out that our surname was also the name for the southern portion of Hiroshima Prefecture, or what is known as Saekigun. This "gun" or county extended from southwest of Hiroshima City, along the coast to the border with Yamaguchi Prefecture. It included the famous Itsukushima Shrine at Miyajima (circa 811 A.D.)

During the year that our family spent in Japan in the 1920s, my parents' villages were interesting but not unduly impressive. Dad's village was called Ogata (now part of Otake City), located a few miles northeast of the famous Kintai Bridge in Iwakuni, Yamaguchi, and several miles southwest of Miyajima.

The Saekis were longtime residents, with the two main branches of the family owning sizable shares of the farm land. Dad, being the only child of a junior branch, had enough land to support a family of five, as well as hereditary clamming rights along the beach. Impelled by the departure of his friends and desirous of increasing the family estate, he had joined the migration to Hawaii and then to California in the early 1900s. Until his death, he was to retain a deep sense of obligation that he would some day have to return to his village to maintain the family line.

On my mother's side, the



The Itsukushima Shrine

Matsuokas lived in a coastal village of Itsukaichi, just a few miles southwest of Hiroshima City. Six of the seven children were daughters, with mother being the eldest. Five of the sisters married and migrated to either Hawaii or California, while the sixth married a bank employee in Tokyo. The remaining uncle inherited the small family farm and the oyster and clam rights. The periodic remittances sent by the Stateside sisters were to help him care for his family of seven children in the prewar years.

Three generations earlier, the Matsuokas had been a lesser retainer of the Lord Asano of Hiroshima. When the Meiji Restoration led to the dissolution of the feudal samurai class, most of the Asano retainers became farmers. He too had pride in his family line.

MUCH LATER, when I revisited Japan as a member of the Occupation Forces I was to learn more about our forebears. My sudden visit to Ogata in the fall of 1948 was warmly received. The sons of the two main lines of the Saeki clan had died during the war. Our closest relatives were the second and third cousins. But to the Nittas, Oroshibas, Emoris, Hiroses and the Kadanis, the stateside Saekis were the only descendants still retaining the Saeki name.

People along the Sanyodō were more ready in ventures to foreign lands.

According to the Emoris, who had survived the Hiroshima atom bomb, a Saeki Sukesaburo was the head of a check point at Ogata in the 16th century. Ogata then had a castle and served as an important way station on the coastal road called the Sanyodo. The Sanyodo road started from Shimonoseki and skirted along the coast of the Inland Sea through Yamaguchi, Hiroshima, Okayama, Hyogo, Osaka to Kyoto. From Kyoto, the road to Edo became the Tokaido, made famous by the woodblock prints of Hiroshige in the 19th century.

In fact, from the 6th to the 17th century, the Sanyodo was the most important highway in Japan; for, on this route passed the foreigners and foreign goods, that were landed in the Kyushu ports, as they moved up to the capital in Kyoto. Even after Tokugawa had moved the capital to Edo, the Sanyodo was heavily trafficked by people and goods (Chinese and Dutch were allowed to trade through Nagasaki). The road was also taken by the processions of Kyushu daimyos as they moved to and from Edo, under the hostage system of control "sankin kotai" initiated by Tokugawa.

During the Tokugawa Era, "Saeki-gun" was called "Saeki-kori" and Hiroshima Prefecture consisted of the provinces of Aki and Bingo. Saeki covered the southwestern portion of Aki.

As yet, there is no confirmation as to whether the family assumed the name of the "kori" or gave the family name to the district, on or about the 15th and 16th centuries. A possible theory stems from the meaning of the name itself. The kanji for "Saeki" comes from "sasaeru" and "haku", which mean to assist or support the lord. "Haku" which is read "eki" in combination form comes from an old Japanese ranking for nobility.

In the 12th century, Aki was placed under the control of Hiromoto Oe (1145-1225), who originated from the Kyoto area. He may have been the "haku" who accorded a key vassal with the name of Saeki or who named the "kori" as Saeki. The 11th generation of Oe family became known as Motonari Mohri (1497-1571), who gradually expanded his territory, with the help of his son Takamoto (1523-1563) and grandson Terumoto (1553-1625) from Hiroshima until the Mohris dominated all of southern Honshu, including Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Shimane, Tottori and Okayama. They even made forays into Kyushu. Terumoto built Hiroshima Castle in 1591 and became one of the five "tairo" (first ministers) of Hideyoshi Toyotomi.

Subsequently, for not supporting Tokugawa, the Mohris lost eight of the ten provinces, retaining Suwo and Nagato (now Yamaguchi). Hiroshima, Mohri's home province, was first turned over to Lord Fukushima and then to Lord Asano (the main line of Asano). The junior line in Okayama later became the Lord Asano, for whom the 47 Ronins gained vengeance). Asano was a Tokugawa adherent and an in-law.

Significantly, more than 260 years later, the two leading clans that led to the downfall of the Shogunate were the Choshu (Mohris of Yamaguchi) and the Satsuma (Shimazus of Kagoshima) samurai in 1868.

Indications are that the Saekis were vassals of the 16th century Mohris and later the Asanos, because other records also show that one of the lesser Mohri daimyos ruled a small "kori" named Saeki in Oita Prefecture, probably in deference to the Mohri's home province in Hiroshima.

WHAT IS MORE significant about this personal historical research is that most of the Japanese emigrants to the United States in the early 20th century came from the prefectures of Hiroshima, Yamaguchi and Okayama, with sizable numbers from Kyushu. Some writers have said that this was because of the overpopulation in these areas; however, the real reason may be more historical.

A study of Japanese history reveals clearly that almost everything that came into Japan from the 6th to the 19th century were through the ports of Kyushu and that these foreign people and products moved along the Sanyodo to the capital. For untold centuries, the people along the Sanyodo had observed these groups and processions as they passed through their villages. They were accustomed to seeing strange sights and curious about from whence they came.

So when the opportunity to travel overseas came, from a previously isolated Japan, the people along the Sanyodo were more ready to take chances in the ventures to foreign lands. Also, it should be noted that the U.S. immigration records show that almost all immigrants to both the U.S. and Hawaii were farmers. However, many may have been descendants from the samurai class, which turned to farming after the Meiji Restoration.

If the old village records or temple papers have not been destroyed, our PC readers may be able to trace their identities. #

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Eugene David Oda Memorial Awards

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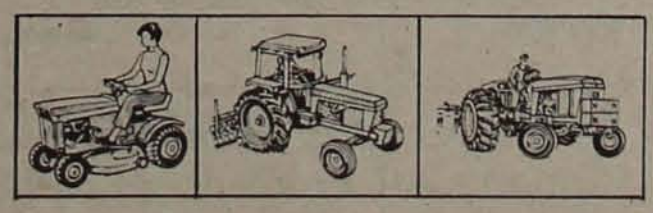
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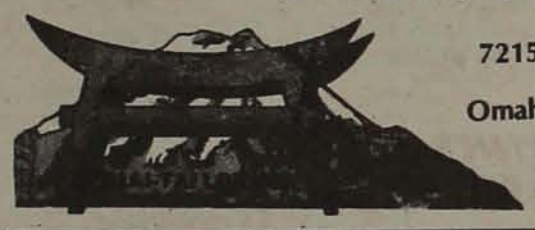
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The Ethics of Whaling

Interest has been renewed concerning the ethics of killing cetaceans. Several major writers of U.S.-Japan relations are preparing to come out with articles.

Recent front page illustration and an article in the International Wildlife magazine started a great deal of comments both in U.S. and Japan.—CLU.

By CLIFFORD L UYEDA

It has been a decade since I became involved in the controversy of whaling. Scores of books were read, as well as hundreds of articles and reports. Whales were observed from shores, from ships and from a blimp hovering directly over them. Numerous conferences both domestic and international on the subject were attended here and abroad.

One begins with a simple fact that during this past century the once great whale population has been reduced to a mere fraction of the former number.

The United States has been primarily responsible for this plight. We were the greatest whaling nation on earth. In the mid-ninteenth century, only slightly over one hundred years ago, the United States had over 700 whaling ships at sea. We finally gave up whaling in 1971 because it had become commercially unprofitable.

Many other nations have continued whaling, hoping to derive whatever economic profit that is obtainable. The profits have not been much due to the severely reduced whale population. Then why is there such a controversy?

The controversy is more on principle than economic, whether nations have the right to tell others to stop whaling merely because some are no longer whaling. This is how it is perceived by the whaling nations.

* * *

History, life style and the principle of free enterprise are all invoked to justify continued whaling. The United States in spite of being a principal proponent of a total moratorium on commercial whaling still allows its Alaska Eskimos to take right whales, one of the most endangered species of whales. It is called "aboriginal subsistance." Some question whether Eskimos are still aborigines. Their "traditional" whale hunt is already gone. It is done more for sport and money than for food, using modern hunting weapons.

The Soviet Union and Japan are the two major whaling nations. The Soviets account for 50% and the Japanese 25% of the world whale catch. The Russians take whales primarily for oil, the Japanese for oil and food.

The Japanese consume less than one pound of whale meat per individual per year. To the Japanese who argue that objections to their eating whale meat is comparable to the Japanese complaining of Americans eating beef, it can be pointed out that Americans consume over 115 pounds of beef per individual per year. Clearly there is no comparison as a source of dietary proteins. Whales are also wild creatures of the open sea whose number are not subject to short term manipulations by man as are domestic animals.

Whale oil is unique among animal oils. It is a liquid wax, a type difficult to synthesize commercially. For decades the only source was the sperm whale. In 1975, 20,000 sperm whales were killed to supply the industry, the military and the space programs. Its major use has been in lubricants for extreme pressure situations.

Now there is a plant substitute for whale oil, equal to or superior in quality. It is a liquid wax extracted from jojoba, a plant native to the Sonoran desert of southwest United States and northern Mexico. Dr. Thomas Miwa, a Nisei born in Honolulu, is one of the foremost names in jojoba research. In the numerous discussions I had with Dr. Miwa,

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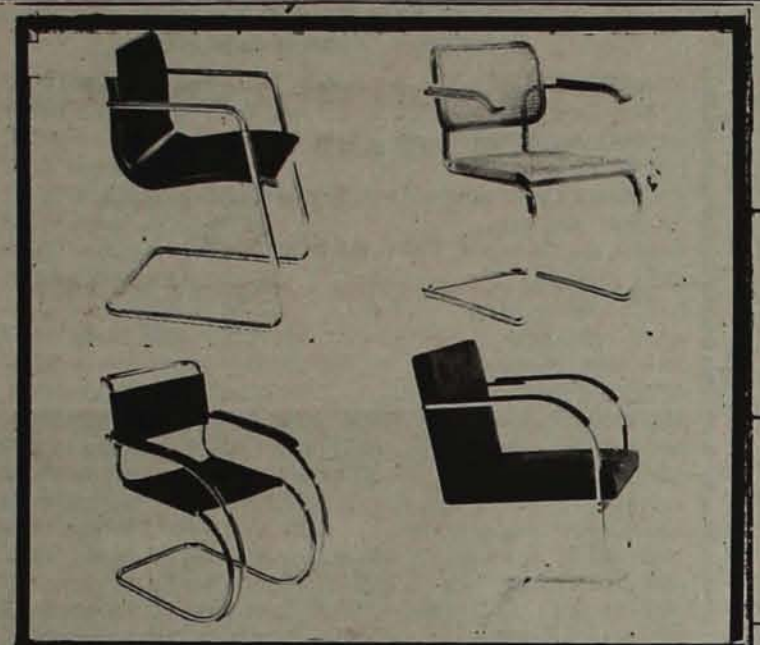
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Continued from Page 83

he calls jojoba a superplant which can become a new basic feedstock to the chemical industry. Dr. Miwa has also been one of the principal advocates for establishing jojoba plantations in the southwest Indian reservations.

* * *

Whaling as an industry is an infinitesimal part of the industrial complex of any whaling nation, and not a very profitable one. Japan's entire whaling industry gives employment to only a couple of thousand individuals. While whaling as an industry is insignificant when compared to other enterprises, its concept as one of the renewable resources of the sea is at the foundation of misunderstanding and mistrust among nations.

What are the attitudes toward marine life in Japan? Japan for centuries has depended upon the sea for survival. Marine resources have been a source of food for its people. These, however, have been mostly non-mammals—fish, shell fish, sea weeds, etc. The Japanese do not have any special positive or negative feelings toward marine mammals because they are relatively scarce and only an incidental part of the vast marine life as the Japanese forage for food from the sea.

In general the Japanese people see whale as a giant fish rather than as mammals. Whale meat is sold in fish markets. The Japanese character for "whale" incorporates a symbol for fish rather than a radical for mammal.

The Japanese reactions to world wide, especially American, protests against whaling are understandable. Their first reaction was surprise. Surprise because it was the United States that encouraged



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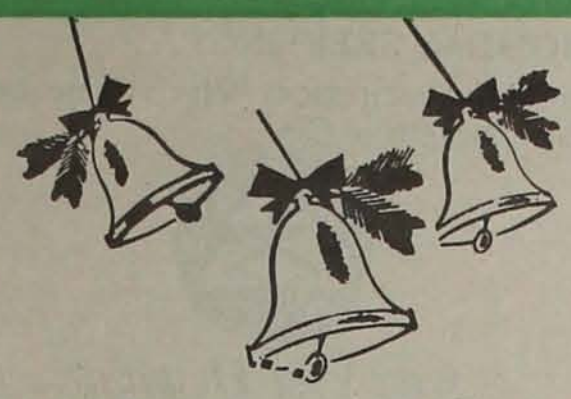
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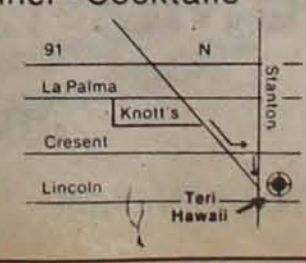
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Greenpeace Foundation Photo

Members of a conservation group, Greenpeace, approached Soviet whaling vessels in a past protest effort.

Uyeda

and subsidized Japanese whaling immediately after World War II. Surprise then turned to protest because it seemed that America was banning whaling only after it became commercially unprofitable for herself. Protest then turned to anger because there seemed to be a double standard. America at one time was the most important whaling nation in the world, and she was primarily responsible for the depletion of the great whale populaton.

A blanket boycott of Japanese goods to pressure Japan to end whaling was a simplistic approach. If many Japanese companies are conglomerates that can be traced indirectly to the whaling industry through lending institutions, there are also many American companies similarly invested in the Japanese whaling industry. Why aren't these American companies then also boycotted by Americans?

We can also imagine how the Americans would react if the Japanese advocated boycotting all American products because the American tuna industry is responsible for the death of thousands of dolphins each year.

* * *

For the Japanese Americans there was another problem. The Save-the-Whale campaign soon took on an ugly racist overtone. The boycott campaign unleashed vicious racism not only against the Japanese people but Japanese Americans also became targets.

Here in the United States, Japanese American activities were harassed by poster-carrying conservationists; Japanese American children were being accused in schools as "whale killers;" and Japanese American merchants were picketed by whale conservationists.

The bilateral U.S.-Japan trade is in excess of $40 billion, and the benefits are bilateral. During the latter half of 1977 the major conservation organizations such as the National Audubon Society, Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, National Wildlife Federation and others withdrew their support of the boycott tactic. Because of this the Japanese media began openly discussing the whaling problem. Much credit goes to the American conservationists who abandoned the impractical and abrasive blanket boycott tactic and instead chose to cooperate with Japanese conservationists and the Japanese people to understand the plight of the great whales.

If not by boycott what other options are available to the Americans to more clearly focus their protests? Here we have to be pragmatic. A holier-than-thou attitude has never accomplished a thing in inter-

—Turn to Page 92

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Monterey's Men of the Sea

Monterey Peninsula JACL chapter president John Gota has been writing about the Issei pioneers, their families, and their roles in developing the local fishing industry in recent issues of the chapter newsletter. The series will continue with stories about the Issei who were small truck farmers. These historical narratives add a valuable dimension to chapter newsletters.—Ed.

By JOHN GOTA

After the U.S. imposed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the number of Japanese immigrants sharply increased. One of them was Otosaburo Noda who had settled after 1895 in Watsonville. He, with Sadanosuke Sugano and a Mr. Imashiro, came to Monterey as lumberjacks for the Pacific Improvement Club (the 17-Mile Drive is its main attraction today), but noticing the abundance of fish in Monterey Bay, they started a fishing colony with 67 fishermen who had come from Wakayama, Japan.

Noda, impressed with the large number of red abalone, asked Japan to send a professional person. Fishery expert Gennosuke Kodani, graduate of Keio University, was sent. (He and his wife Fuku had nine wonderful children: Hideo, George, Seizo, Fusako, Kuniko, Takeko, Yoshiko, Satoko and Eugene.)

Kodani first started the abalone fishery in Pacific Grove in 1896. A year later he moved to the now famous Point Lobos area. With skin divers (called *Ama*) he caught and dried the abalone to ship to Japan. Because the water around the Monterey Peninsula was so cold, Kodani invented and used the helmet gear diving method. He went into partnership with Alexander McMillan Allan and together they founded the Point Lobos Canning Company in 1902, where they canned steamed abalone.

In 1904, the famed restaurateur "Pop Ernst" Doelter on Fisherman's Wharf invented the gourmet prepared abalone steaks. This revolutionized the whole abalone history and a new industry was born. Due to the hardships encountered in America, from the original 67 Japanese fishermen, only two remained permanently, Gennosuke Kodani and Tajuro Watanabe, Sr. The rest returned to Japan.

To give you an idea how important the impact of the abalone industry was to the livelihood of the Japanese community in Monterey, following are the names of the boat owners and their BOATS.

Yagoichi Okumura, (children Takeshi, Eizo, Shoji, Minoru, Toshiki, Yuriko, Sanaye, & Mitsie), HARVARD; Sanchiro (father) & Taminosuke Kageyama (son), E.S. LUCIDO; Sanchiro's children, Tom, Masao, Giichi, Mary, Jin & Isaac; Taminosuke's wife Norma and their children, Ken, Seiji, and Yoe.

Gennosuke Kodani, OCEAN QUEEN; Eijiro Shimizu, UTAH; Teijiro Sumi, IBUKI; Yakichi Takabayashi, GENEVA; Ikutaro Takigawa (operated by Ryosuki Sakino), KIKUMI; Toichiro Takigawa, STANDARD; (wife Shizuki & children, Kazue, Tomo, Satsuki & Mitsuko.) Kumaichi Takeoka (children: Toshiko, Kay & Mune), (unknown);

Gensaburo Nishiguchi, NERIED; Sekisaburo Hattori (wife Tama, children Koji, Yoneko, Aiko, Yoshiko, Nobuyoshi & Takashi), TANAMI; Jack Hamaguchi, OLD TOM; Unnosuke Higashi, NEW MONTEREY; Hikoichi Masumoto, KUSHIMOTO; Kantaifu Ryono, SUWA; Tajuro Watanabe, (children Junko & Reiko), EMPRESS.

Research into the naming of boats can be very interesting. Some boats have Japanese names and others English. Sekisaburo Hattori who was born in Shinoda Miwa-machi, Kaibu-gun, Aichi Prefecture had a boat named TANAMI, so the previous boat owner must have been from Tanami, Kushimoto-machi, Omuro-gun, Wakayama Prefecture. Hikoichi Masumoto was from Shinomesaki Kushimoto, Wakayama Prefecture, so he named his boat KUSHIMOTO. Kandaifu Ryono was a believer in the Suwa Shrine so named his boat SUWA. Eijiro Shimizu worked as a railroad man in the state of Utah and named his boat UTAH. Sanchiro Kageyama was from Matsu-machi, Shimone Prefecture but he bought his boat from an Italian fisherman, E.S. Lucido and named his boat E.S. LUCIDO. Tajuro Watanabe's boat at forty-eight feet was the largest in the abalone fleet and he proudly named it the EMPRESS.

In the 1920s and 1930s each boat brought in about 300-400 dozen of abalone in a few days trip. The record catch was by Toichiro Takigawa who had 300 dozen in one day. Roy Hattori was the first Nisei diver and he discovered an unknown abalone species which was named after him.

* * *

Fisherman's Wharf prior to WW2 was a scene of piscatorial delight accompanied by the odorous smell of fresh sea creatures. It was the gathering place of townspeople mingled with visitors. Some passed through holding their noses and others with gawky eyes marvelled at the many species of fish caught in the Monterey Bay and vicinity. Industrious Issei comprised 75% of fish markets on this fascinating wharf.

Starting from the left side of Fisherman's Wharf as you enter, here is a list of the businesses that existed then:

(1) "The Pilot" Seafood restaurant run by that colorful Greek, George "Sonny Boy" Vellis.

(2)"Mike's Seafood" owned by a Sicillian, Mike Bommarito.

(3) "American Fish Market" owned by Jack Swain and later by the wine loving Chinese, Soo Tin. Howard and Ed Low got their start with Soo Tin and later established one of the largest fish wholesalers "The Regal Fish Co."

(4) "Central California Fish Co." owned by Jack Tamaki Hamaguchi (now Shabu Shake's "Fisherman's Grotto") Japanese American employed by Central Calif. Fish Co., Hamaguchi's wife, Elsie, Hajime Ernie Takamoto, Bob, Susumu, Toyoki Takamoto, Kaz Oka, Kaz Sugano, Masao Kageyama, Masao Yokogawa, Noboru Tabata, Yoshikazu Higashi, Dick Sasaki and Sumiji Tamaki.

(5) "New Fish Market & Delivery", owned by Ryuzo Hayase and his wife Hatsuyo, with the help of sons, Tsutomu (Tom) and Satoru (Sat).

(6) Mike Hazdovac' fish Market & Delivery (a Yugoslavian) Ichiro "George" Gota and his wife, Yone, Monterey Fish Market & Truck Delivery.

(7) Coast Abalone Processors-joint venture of Ikutaro Takigawa and Tonnosuke Esaki. Ikutaro's wife was Aki and Tonnosuke's Fusano. Takigawa's sons are Toichiro and George. Esaki's sons, Teruo and Haruo.

(8) Critchlow's Marine Machine Shop & Drydock. (site of the present Abalonetti Restr).

(9) A Paladini Fish Co & Abalone Processors (a branch of the same firm in San Francisco).

(10) Joe Rappa Net Tanning Co., (a Sicilian) sons Horace & Anthony now have "Rappa's Seafood Restr." These establishments made up the left side of the Wharf.

Whether you walked on the left or right side of Fisherman's Wharf, one had to always be on the alert to the bombings of the friendly seagulls flying above.

Establishments on the right side were:

(1) World famous "Pop Ernst Seafood Restaurent" owned and operated by Ernst Doelter, a German, who originated the famous abalone steaks.

(2) Calif. State Fish & Game office, run by Capt. Ralph Classic.

(3) Monterey Fishermen's Union and Cooperative Wholesalers—managed by Bruce Ferrante & Joe Crivello.

(4) "International Wholesale Fish Co.," managed by Monk Loero and his right hand man Frank Balesteri. The International Abalone Processors were within this corporation and managed by Sekisaburo Hattori and his wife Tama.

(5) "Western Wholesale Fish Co.", run by a Mr. d'Acquisto (to the Japanese nicknamed "Hanataka-san") This is where Cerrito's "Neptune Table" restaurant is. This same plant harbored Juinchi Oda's abalone processing plant. His first wife was Ayako, and their children were Chiho, Michi, Mie and Kengo. With the passing of his wife, Ayako, Mr. Oda's second marriage was with Lorraine Maki Kawai, who bore him a son, Tsuneo Larry. Next came

(6) "Vito Bruno's Fish Market", later acquired by John Cutino (now Peninsula Fish Co.)

(7) Canepa Fish Co., owned by Steve Canepa, managed by Louis Menedez, Sr., and whose son Louis Menedez, Jr. now runs the "Golden Tee" restaurant at the Monterey Airport.

(8) "Pacific Mutual Wholesale Fish Co.", the biggest fish dealers at that time, owned by Ikutaro Takigawa, the first president of the Monterey Japanese Association. The following worked for Pacific Mutual: Jim Takigawa, George Takigawa, Tom Sogimoto, George & Haruo Esaki, Shigeo Honda, Toichiro Takigawa, Kiyoshi Takigawa, and Futokazu Sakino. Lou's Fish Grotto is now where Pacific Mutual Fish Co. was.

(9) Higashi Fish Company & Abalone Processors was owned by Unosuke Higashi, who with his wife Yukiye, also operated the Higashi Hotel & Azuma Tei Restaurant-now "Angelo's Restaurant."

(10) Todd Pile Driving Co. The pile driver was steam driven and looked like a guillotine, and a fascination to all the youngster.

On the fingerling to the right was Hal Higashi's Signal Oil Station (Unosuke Higashi's younger brother). Archie Sanchez operated the Associated Oil Co. marine fuel outlet. Jack Napoli operated the Standard Oil Co. fuel dock; Jack Balbo, the Shell Oil Co. fuel dock.

Last but not least were the colorful boat skippers who operated their pleasure crafts to take sport fishermen fishing. They had their boats tied up along side of the wharf and the skippers were Sam Balesteri on his boat "The Sea Wolf." The "Two Brothers" run by the Duarte brothers and the originator of commercial sport fishing. Gaetano Arcoleo with his boat, "The Pleasure". Arcoleo's sons Frank and Cris, and grandsons still carry on the family tradition.

* * *

Issei who had delivery routes, in their panel trucks, to places like the Salinas valley, San Benito county, Santa Clara county, etc were:

Yoshito Yamahara, carpenter by trade and one of the few Issei volunteers during World War One in the U.S. Army. His wife is Mitsuye and children, Keiko, Shigeki, David and Gary. Rozo Tanaka and wife Yoneko, whose children are; Masaji, Shigeru, Tomio, Setsuo (Herb) and Morio. Ryuzo Hayase: Ichiro, Fumio, Yoneo Gota, associated with Monterey Fish Market. Shigeo Honda, wife Mamie Shizuyo and children Stanley, Richard, Sylvia and Sachi: Paul Anstratenko, wife Vera, children Natasha, Peter & Olga; A Mr. Katahira, who had a daughter named Elsie. Toichiro Takigawa who delivered sardine bait to the San Francisco Bay area and the delta.

To end this series on Monterey's colorful Fishman's Wharf, I would like to mention the Nisei girls that I remember who worked there:

Aiko & Yoshiko Hattori, Sachi & Yoshi Higuchi, Tazuko & Tayeko Kawamoto, Fumiyo Enokida, Emma Sato, Fusako & Yeiko Gota, Koyomi Tanaka, Sachi Sugano, Kimiko & Nobuko Higashi, Michi Inazu, Toshiko Takeoka, Narae Tani, Mamie Honda, Elsie Hamaguchi, Hideko Takigawa, Hatsuko Maeji.

The hardy women: Saka Saiki, Yone Gota, Hatsuyo Hayase, Haruno Enokida, Aki Takigawa, Mrs. Yokoyama, Yae Tanaka, Koharu Enokida, Fusano Esaki, Yaeno Yokogawa. Misao Yamate, Chisono Kawamoto, Yuka Sasaki, Yeiko Watanabe, Yoshiko Gota, Natsue Kawasaki, Tama Hattori, Taruno Kuwatani, Vera Anistratenko, Yuki Kato, Haruyo Higuchi, Same Oka, Etsu Shiozaki, Koyuki Manaka, Taka Kageyama, Shika Tsuouchi, Tama Tabata, Yoshie Tabata, Tsune Okumura, Tamiye Miyamoto, Mitsuru Nishiguchi, Nobue Suzuki, Kin Takigawa, Shizuko Takigawa, Yukiye Higashi, Toku Yoshida, Fude Matsuba, Kotaru Oyama, Tome Maegi, Tsuru Narasaki, Mrs. Minemoto, Mrs. S. Oyama, Mrs. Marumoto.

Who's Who of Issei who were a part of the fishing legend.

This closing chapter, "Men of the Sea", is written in collaboration with my old time friend and classmate, Mr. Giichi Kageyama. Giichi was born in the same month and year as I, in the old pueblo of Monterey. We share many common memories of stout hearted Japanese fishermen who made their living from the sea.

* * *

At the turn of the 20th century, the Issei helped to develop Monterey's famed fishing industry. The Japanese contribution to this industry was history in itself. The following information recounts the days of "Lampara, Half Ring Boats" operators and their families.

The boat THAD #1 was operated by a group of seven Issei partners. They were:

Sichiro Kageyama-wife Taka, children Tominosuke, Masao, Giichi, Mary, Jin and Isaac. Tarazo Kuwatani-wife Taruno, children George, Hiroko, Henry, Kiku, Jimmie, Sachi, Yae, David, and Bobby. Yasumatsu Manaka-wife Koyuko, children Rinzi, Emma, Ostune, Mary, Tim & Rookie. Iwagusa Tabata-wife Yuki, sons Noboru & Tadashi. Kametaro Takiguchi-wife Sasayo, children, Bob, Paul, Lilian, Anna & Grace. Hichimatsu Ono-children Henry & Tomoye.

The partners were very devoted Christians and therefore named their boat, "THAD", short for Thaddeus, a disciple of Jesus. The THAD #1 was wrecked in a vicious storm in 1919, but THAD #2 followed (which was too small) and THAD #3 was the last. These three boats were all captained by Iwagusa Tabata, the foremost pioneer net fisherman.

The fishing boats CRESCENT BAY #1 and CRESCENT BAY #2 were owned by Rokumatsu Ono. He operated a ships chandlery & grocery store and had a daughter named Tatsuko. Rokumatsu's brother Hichimatsu Ono captained the Crescent Bay #1.

The boats OHIO #1, OHIO #2 & OHIO #3 were operated by: Tomekichi Manaka-wife Kin, children Frank, Hiroshi, Nobuko, Katsumi, Kazue (Casey), Harry, Royal (Louie), Yuriko (Lily), Grace (Satoko) and William (Osamu). Tomekichi was a big strong man, 5'10" 190 lbs. and the whole fishing colony knew him as Big Manaka. His eldest son Frank carried on the family tradition and became one of the foremost leaders in the Pacific coast fishing industry.

I just read a history of the Tomekichi Manaka family titled "Reunion '79" written by Harry Manaka, and would like to inject a few excerpts from it; "For Mama and Papa, who raised their children to open their hearts to joy and sorrow, their eyes to see the little things, and their minds to seek the answers. Through their example, we realize these treasures of life are to be shared with love and respect. This was thei igift to all of us."

Also Harry wrote this precept which he had heard his mother quote many times: "We are like bamboo. When the wind blows, we bend, but as we bend, our roots grow deeper and we grow stronger. And when the wind stops blowing, we stand even taller."

Yasumatsu Manaka, familiarly known and loved as "Shorty Manaka" for obvious reason, captained the boat WESTERN (which was wrecked) and later built the boat Y. MANAKA. His eldest daughter Emma is married to Ken Sato, one of the three owners of Consolidated Factors, importers & exporters of seafood products.

The five Shiozaki brothers operated the fishing vessel MARIA, captained by Seigoro Shiozaki. His brothers are Seibe, Sesuke, Kiyoshi & Tadao.

The boat MISHIMA was owned by Tokumatsu Owashi-wife Hisae, children Harumi, Fumiko, Haruko, and Norio. Tokumatsu later operated one of the first purse seiners, the ROBIN.

Saichiro Kageyama ran the boat IKOMA, meaning white horse, and the E.S. LUCIDO. Saichiro was one of the leaders instrumental in organizing the famous annual Monterey El Estero Church Salmon Dinner.

S. Oyama operated the boats S. OYAMA and TOKIWA. His children are Yonezo, Riichi, Yasuko, Momoye, Shigeo and Shigemi. The other day while visiting Moss Landing harbor, I saw the double ender boat YONEZO which also belonged to the family and still in existence.

S. Watanabe operated the boat SUCCESS. It was too bad that this boat never lived up to its name; it should have been named the Failure because it was always a hard luck vessel and one day I had the frightful experience of seeing the Success blow up due to a gas explosion. Stanley had no children, so I was fortunate in being treated like his son. Later, when Watanabe fished a purse seiner called the SENORITA, I was one of the crew members.

Mr. Komure ran the boat GENEVA (not the purse seiner, 'Geneva').

He had two daughters whose name slips my mind, but his sons were Arinori, Sadanori, Mitsunori and Yutaka (This last name doesn't rhyme with the others, I wonder why?)

Which reminds me of a story about a man who had four children named Eeney, Meeny, Miney and Yoneo. He was asked "Why Yoneo?" He replied, "Because I didn't want any Moe."

The boats NORMANDY and AKEBONO were operated by Capt. Kikumatsu Narazaki. Wife Haru, children Tsuruye, Isamu & Joseph. Kikumatsu was one of the earlier pioneer fisherman. His son Isamu was later a radio operator on a purse seiner.

The boat UBUYU MARU was run by Matsusaburo Kawasaki. Wife-Natsue and two daughters Shizuko & Fumiko. Prior to fishing in Monterey, Matsusaburo worked in the apple orchard around Seattle, Washington.

Ryusuke Akedo operated the SUCCESS #1. His wife was Toku and their only child was a son named Kuniichi. Kuniichi married Hatsuko Maeji; her father, Ryusuke, came to Monterey laying rails for the Southern Pacific Railroad.

All these forementioned sardine boats had lighters or barges to lead their catches. The barge's hold capacities were about 50 to 60 tons of fish. The going rate was about $8.00 a ton. Every boat had a skiff to carry crew members from fisherman's wharf to their boat moored offshore. Each boat carried a crew of eleven fishermen.

* * *

During the off season, many fishermen went to work on a farm and returned as men of the sea when the sardine season opened again.

The following are the names of the off season jig boats and the fishermen who fished for salmon, rockcod, mackerel, albacore, etc.

Boat IZUMO—Saiichiro Kageyama. MARYLAND—Tominosuke Kageyama. EMMA—Yasumatsu Manaka "T K M" (abrev. for Torazo Kuwatani, Monterey) IOWA—Katahira. N T—N. Tabata. S. OYAMA—Yonezo Oyama. CHIBA—Tajuro Watanabe. GRACE—Kametaro Takiguchi. C.C.K.—Chutaro Kato. Y.Y.—Yoshito Yamahara. FUJI—Totaro Yokogawa, wife Yaeno, children Masao & Yoshiharu.

There were other jig boats whose names are forgotten but these are the fishermen who fished them:

Kikumatsu Narazaki, Goramatsu Miyamoto, Marumoto, Fujimoto, Takamoku, Nakaji, (sons Yoshio & Shigeru), Matsushita (son Shiro & daughter Mitsu) Ishimatsu Enokida (wife, Koharu, children Ishio, Isoko & Toshio) Katahira, Ichiro Gota.

"Give a starving Boy a fish and He may not go Hungry for one meal. Teach Him how to fish and He will never go hungry again."

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Saga of Will Adams

Continued from Page 54

ous old *daimyo*, and plans proceeded to build the Dutch trading post that everyone hoped would be in full operation there in a year or two. As part of these preparations, chief merchant Jacques Specx made another trip across the country the following year to see the retired *Shōgun*, and, on his way stopped off at Osaka to make a courtesy call upon Hideyori, son of the former ruler, now 18 years old.

Hideyori had been a potential source of trouble to old Ieyasu all these years. The young prince still commanded the loyalty of an impressive number of followers, most of whom regarded Ieyasu's claims to the title of *Shōgun* as somewhat shaky. This entire matter was to reach a bloody and tragic climax within a few years, and the situation had an important bearing on Ieyasu's maneuvers to conduct foreign relations and commerce with other nations.

If there was to be another great battle (and Ieyasu must have realized that this was close to unavoidable), Ieyasu would want modern arms, primarily cannon. Japanese gunmakers had not yet learned most of the secrets of arms-manufacture, and European weapons were vastly superior. The Portugese had been hesitant in supplying them. The Dutch seemed willing to do so, but it would take time for them to deliver anything. The Spaniards held some promise, and perhaps Ieyasu could do business with them. With Ieyasu's permission they set up a small trading post at Uraga, which is still a superb and well-protected harbor near Edo, or Tokyo.

Will began to spend more and more time in Hirado. Matsuura, who at 70 years of age could still appreciate the curve of a female neck, made sure that his foreign friends were well-entertained and arranged for the establishment of a number of brothels and drinking houses in Hirado. Tolerant of the sacred as well as the profane, old Matsuura permitted Christians to worship without hindrance in Hirado and often gave refuge to missionaries who were persecuted elsewhere.

In Hirado, Will Adams took a mistress. He had, of course, his wife in England, and the lovely Kadenoyu at his estate on the Miura Peninsula, but he was apparently still a vigorous man. He kept his mistress in Hirado well in the background, and his new Dutch friends were scarcely aware of her existence even after she had borne Will a son. By now, as a matter of fact, Kadenoyu had borne two children for Will: a boy named Joseph and a girl named Susanna. Although Will probably failed to realize it, he was becoming more and more tied to the land of Japan every day.

But he was not quite forgotten in England. On April 4, 1611, three ships of the East India Company departed England under the command of Capt. John Saris with instructions to go to Japan, find Will Adams there, and set up an English trading post. Saris was also authorized to bring Will home, if Will should so desire.

7: The Ships from Home

Sea travel was a chancy thing in Ieyasu Tokugawa's day, and there was no way of knowing in what month, or even in what year a ship destined to call at a certain port might arrive. Ships were also the only means of communication between nations far apart from each other on the globe, so that news of an intended arrival usually came in the form of a vague rumor, if it came at all.

For several years now, both Will Adams and the officials of the *Shōgunate* had supposed that an English ship might make its way to Japan soon. Old Ieyasu, in semi-retirement in Suruga, while his son, Hidetada, held the title of *Shōgun* in Edo, hoped that such a ship would appear, because, from his standpoint, the more Europeans he could deal with, the beter.

Uyeda

Continued from Page 83

national relations other than resentments.

I believe there has to be two approaches. First, we must make it possible to replace lost products and jobs through negotiations. The United States by the length of our coastlines control thousands of square miles of the ocean. Certain fishing rights can be negotiated within the 200 mile limits. Second, we must educate the Japanese people's attitude toward marine mammals, especially cetaceans.

It's true that Japan has been engaged in whaling for a thousand year, as have many other nations on earth. It's true that at one time whale meat was an important source of protein in a Japanese diet, especially during the lean years immediately following the Second World War. It's also true that the United States used to be the most notorious whaling nation in the world. The names New Bedford and Nantucket are synonymous with whaling.

All that has now changed. Many species of whales are commercially extinct. The blue whale was at the brink of biological extinction as well. All due to overhunting and for short term profit and in complete disregard for the survival of the species.

* * *

Are whales any more special than any other endangered species? I believe they are. Whales are special creatures because of their size, their brain capacity, because of their capabilities from which we can learn and profit, and because in spite of their size they have never threatened mankind. There are many examples of intelligent and compassionate actions between cetaceans and humans, and between cetaceans.

Some have questioned the significance of their anatomically and histologically advanced brain. Dr. John Lily of the Human/Dolphin Foundation believes that having no hands and cut off from the need for building, the cetacean intelligence is not for the same purpose as ours. Their insights may be fuller and more complete than ours. Until we break the present communication barrier we will not know the answer.

Being depleted to a mere fraction of their former num-

—Turn to Page 100

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Continued from Page 5

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REDRESS

Continued from the Front Page

When the Senate agreed to drop an anti-busing rider, an item which President Carter had vigorously opposed, it opened up the movement for funding the commission.

The Washington Office indicated without the leadership and legislative skill of Senators Inouye, Matsunaga, Hayakawa and Representatives Mineta and Matsui and bipartisan leadership in both Houses, the funding would not have been forthcoming this year. Likelihood for adoption of the continuing resolution on Monday was indicated by informed sources.

In San Francisco, JACL national redress chair John Tateishi was "elated by this news—a complete turn-around within a week" and expressed his gratitude to the Nikkei congressional members for being the prime movers in the current effort to fund the commission.

Appropriation of funds for the commission would provide the White House with the opportunity to announce its three nominees to the Commission.

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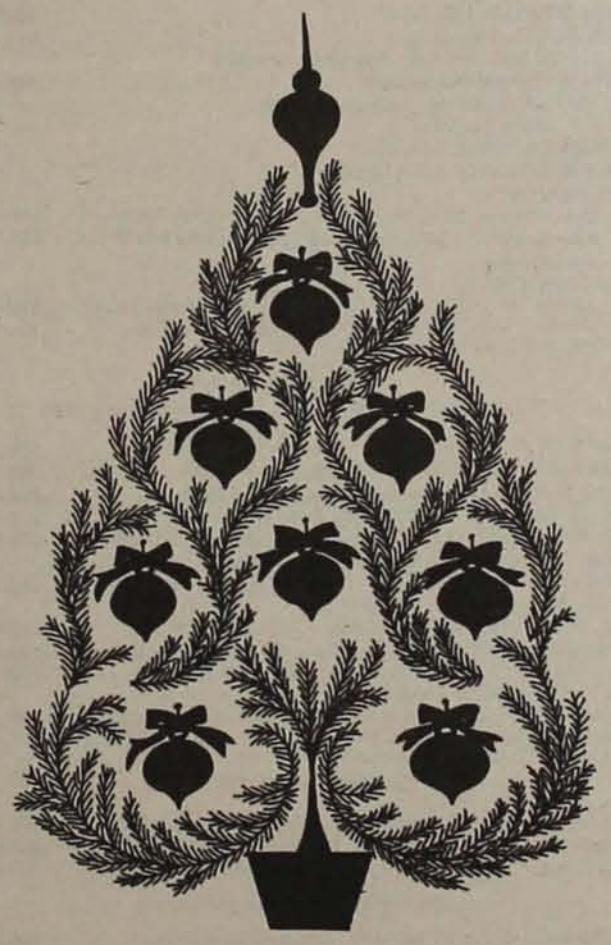
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Saga of Will Adams

Continued from Page 92

There was first of all, the matter of trade. Ieyasu felt that his kingdom would benefit if the Europeans were in competition with each other. And second, there was the matter of European firearms. Ieyasu knew that a showdown with the forces supporting young Prince Hideyori couldn't be put off much longer, and he was anxious to collect all the weapons he could find. The Portuguese, who had traded with Japan through their Nagasaki colony for well over half a century, hadn't supplied much in the way of firearms; the Dutch and the English might do better, and competition might force even the Portuguese to change their policies.

Although gunpowder had originated in the Orient, and had been known and used in Japan for many years, European technology had managed to produce superior firearms. Japan's warriors had been much intrigued with these firearms since seeing the guns of the first Portuguese who had been shipwrecked in southern Kyushu in the 1540's. As other Portuguese arrived, their guns were quickly copied and made in Japan. One Kyushu noble had been presented with a Portuguese cannon as early as 1551. Several nobles, according to Japanese historical records, adopted Christianity in the early missionary period for the sole purpose of learning the secrets of gunnery from the Portuguese. In time, there was a small gun-foundry at Nagasaki, where Portuguese-trained Japanese cast their own cannon, although those made in Europe were always preferred.

The Portuguese also manufactured cannon at their foundries in Goa, India, and Macao, on the Asian mainland. For this they used a great deal of Japanese copper. The Japanese acquired their cannons in various ways, some nobles buying them, others receiving them as presents, still others getting them through salvagers who lifted the artillery from shipwrecked vessels. We have remarked before that some of the guns from Will Adams's ship may have been used at Sekigahara, but the military science of that day regarded cannon as more useful in siege operations than in the field. It hadn't yet occurred to anyone to make two-wheeled cannon, which would have been much more maneuverable in the field, and artillery usually moved on clumsy four-wheeled foundations. This had a bearing on Ieyasu's sudden desire for cannons, for it seemed evident that the approaching showdown with Hideyori's supporters, centered upon Osaka Castle, would develop into a siege operation.

* * *

In this early summer of 1613, an English ship named the *Clove*, under the command of Capt. John Saris, was already approaching the shores of Japan. With Saris was a former grocer, Richard Cocks, who had been selected by the London East India Company to remain in Japan as chief trader if a trading post could be established there. Also aboard the *Clove* was a crew of 75 Englishmen, one Spaniard, one Japanese, and five Southeast Asians —probably Malayans.

Will Adams, who was carrying out his various trading enterprises from his townhouse in Edo, and from his estate on the Miura Peninsula, knew that an English ship must arrive eventually. He had sent numerous letters to England, over the years, and though some had been lost or misdirected, several had filtered through. Will had also received at least one notice from the East India Company that a ship would be sent. He had asked the director of the company to give money to his wife in England, promising to repay it whenever Englishmen should arrive in Japan, and it is interesting to note that this money was, eventually, scrupulously repaid.

The East India Company officials who dispatched the *Clove* to Japan had no way of realizing it, but they could not have chosen a person worse than Capt. John Saris as an intermediary to deal with Will Adams. Portly, and with a self-important cast to his shoulders, John Saris was the very picture of an English merchant-admiral, and well aware of it. He was an experienced trader, having spent several years as chief of the English post at Bantam, on the island of Java in present-day Indonesia, and he was also a qualified ship's captain and navigator. Intelligent and able, Saris was nevertheless something of a snob and a chauvinist as far as things English were concerned. It's likely that he had preconceived notions of what Will Adams would be like. Adams was an Englishman, wasn't he? Very good. Loyal to the King, of course (James I was on the English throne by now), and quietly comfortable in the knowledge that as an Englishman he was inherently superior to persons of other races and nations. So Saris must have thought.

But for all his devotion to King, country, and the joy of making a profit, John Saris was very much a man of the world. From his travels in the exotic Orient he had amassed a collection of pornographic objects and pictures over which he and his cronies would occasionally chuckle. (There is, on record, a letter of reprimand from the East India Company to Saris concerning this collection.) In the main cabin of the *Clove* he had hung a painting of nude Venus, attended by Cupid, a work of art he had taken from a captured Spanish ship. Over the years, Saris had heard rumors of salacious pleasures to be found in Japan, and he was looking forward to them.

The *Clove* dropped anchor in Hirado harbor at three o'clock in the afternoon, June 11, 1613. Some 40 galleys, each with 10 to 15 oarsmen, rowed out to meet the ship, the old *daimyo*, Matsuura with them, plus his 22-year-old grandson who was gradually succeeding him as ruler of the area.

Boarding the ship, Matsuura was as amiable and unendingly curious as ever, and Saris liked him from the start. The Englishman invited his distinguished callers into his cabin, had a banquet prepared, and called for entertainment by the ship's musicians. Saris then tendered letters from King James, which Matsuura received with pleasure, but tucked away for the time being, saying he would not open them until Will Adams appeared and could translate them for him. Saris, meanwhile, wrote a letter to Will, announcing his arrival, and this was dispatched to Edo by messenger.

The next day townspeople trooped aboard the ship, bringing their children, and marveling at all they saw. Among the visitors was a small delegation of Japanese Christian women. When they saw the huge picture of the nude Venus and Cupid hanging on the bulkhead, they immediately sank to their knees and folded their hands in prayer. Saris stared, astonished, until he finally learned they had thought it a picture of Jesus and his mother.

In the days that followed, vigorous old Matsuura supplied Saris with the kind of robust entertainment he himself liked, at one point bringing a number of actresses and entertainment girls aboard the ship. The crewmen of the Saris ran rather wild through the brothels and taverns of Hirado, upsetting many a table and breaking many a delicate screen; Saris was eventually forced to discipline several of them. But in addition to all this revelry, Saris was able, as the weeks passed, to do business with Matsuura, and to lay the foundations for the trading post he now definitely meant to establish at Hirado.

* * *

On July 21, 1613, 48 days after Saris had arrived, the long-awaited Will Adams finally appeared. Traveling by horse part of the way, and then by galley on the Inland Sea, Will had taken only 17 days to cross Japan, which was something of a record for those days.

Saris fired a three-gun salute as Will was rowed toward the *Clove;* he came forward to greet him affably, then paused for just a moment in surprise when he saw before him not quite the proper Englishman he had expected, but a tall, rawboned, sunbrowned man all decked out in Japanese silks, and with two *samurai* swords thrust into his *obi* (sash). He had the tact to say nothing about the costume, and brought Will into the cabin for food and drink.

Will was vaguely disturbed by the attitudes, all unspoken, he sensed in Capt. John Saris. Saris seemed annoyed that he'd had to wait so long for Will's arrival, even though Will had taken extra pains to get to Hirado quickly. In a subtle way, Saris addressed Will with the air of a natural superior. Will, with the rank of a Japanese nobleman, was used to more nearly equal treatment, if not a polite touch of deference. It also seemed to Will that Saris dwelt a bit too long on the preliminaries, telling with a grin and arched eyebrows of the pleasures he'd enjoyed in Hirado and trying to learn whether he could expect more of the same throughout the rest of the country.

Then there was the business of the presents. It was an occasion for an exchange of gifts, of course, and Saris dipped into the ship's stock of trade goods to find for Will a fine Turkish carpet, several rolls of cloth, a shirt, stockings and a hat, direct from London, all in the latest style. Will in turn, presented Saris with a lacquered ointment box, a choice *objet d'art*, in the Japanese view, to be admired for its elegant simplicity of design. Ieyasu himself might have appreciated it as a worthy gift. Saris was unimpressed, and afterward wrote testily in his diary that he doubted if the box was worth more than a few shillings—a shilling of that time being roughly equivalent to perhaps today's ¥100 (30¢) piece.

* * *

There followed several days of conference in which Saris listed his cargo and explained his mission, while Will summarized the general situation in Japan. He said that it would be necessary for Saris to call upon Ieyasu and give costly presents both to him and to the key members of his court. Saris frowned upon hearing this, but finally agreed to adhere to this custom of the country. By this time Saris wished that he could deal with someone other than Will, of whom he disapproved, but he also knew that there was no one else with Will's special qualifications.

To add to Saris's irritation, Will did not join him in the nightly revels in Hirado, but always disappeared mysteriously around dusk, slinking, as Saris understood it, to the arms of some mistress he kept in the vicinity. Saris didn't so much disapprove of a man's keeping a mistress as making such a great secret out of it.

Matsuura now furnished Saris with a fine galley of 50 oars for the trip to Suruga and Edo. He provided 60 men to act as an escort, and insisted on giving Saris money to pay for his journey, but Saris told the chief merchant to credit this to the *daimyo*'s account against future purchases. In addition to Saris, Will, and the men of the escort, there were 17 persons in the traveling party, among them several merchants, a tailor, a cook, a surgeon's mate, a Japanese interpreter, and two sailors. The galley was decorated with colorful banners and streamers, and Matsuura, with swarms of Hirado townsmen, stood on the shore and waved goodbye as everyone departed.

The odd thing was that so far neither Will nor Saris had discussed Will's possible return to England.

That matter was still on Will's mind—though things were happening now to change his mind.

* * *

8: Negotiations at the *Shogun's* Court

As Will Adams and Capt. John Saris journeyed eastward from the port of Hirado in Kyushu to the great city of Edo (Tokyo) in the summer of 1613, neither man discussed Will's proposed return to England at great length. Will Adams and John Saris had rubbed each other the wrong way, almost from the first moment they met, and it wasn't easy for them to hold any kind of discussion calmly and rationally.

Saris had definite instructions from the London East India Company concerning Will Adams. In his sailing orders was the following passage:

"...and if at your departure from Japan the said Will Adams shall importune you to transport him into his native country to visit his wife and children, we pray you then to accommodate him with as convenient a cabin as you may, and all other necessaries which your ship may afford him...."

Will, however, had by now explained to Saris that he was under Ieyasu's command not to leave the country except, perhaps, to take an occasional voyage to other parts of Asia in the *Shōgun's* service. But this restriction might be lifted, Will thought, now that the *Shōgun* seemed ready to enter into trade negotiations with England.

Saris, meanwhile, had some reason to hope that Will might be persuaded to stay in Japan, where he could use his influence at court for the benefit of the English trading post that would soon be built.

It is likely that Will, in his own mind, was finding it agonizing to decide what he would do—remain in Japan or return to England. In Japan he held the rank of a noble; in England he would be a penniless mariner again. In Japan he had earned a valuable reputation as a shipbuilder, ship's captain, and even as a trader. In England, he'd have to start all over again—and he was now nearly 50 years old.

The problem reached down into the heart, too. Here in Japan Will had his Japanese wife, Kadenoyu, and his two children, Joseph and Susanna. He was deeply fond of them. But, 15 years before, he had also loved his wife in England, Mary Hyn Adams, and Deliverance, his daughter who would have been perhaps 6 years old when he had left.

Because we have only Will's two letters—sent out in the hope that they would reach England—to indicate what Will felt about the family he had left behind, it is difficult to say with certainty what his sentiments were, now that a chance to return to England seemed likely. The letters contain a few cursory lamentations over their separation, but these strike even the modern reader as something Will felt he was expected to say, rather than any heartfelt cry of anguish. The letters tell at great length how he came to Japan, how he prospered there, and go on to describe Japan as a country where English trade might be profitable. In one letter he says briefly that he asked Ieyasu whether he might leave Japan "to see my poor wife and children, according to conscience and nature." Toward the end of the letter he mentions them again, briefly.

It may be, then, that Will was torn between returning to his family in England—which is the way his own countrymen would expect him to act—and remaining in Japan to finish the life he had already built for himself here. It is possible that as Will and Saris proceeded eastward to the *Shōgun's* court, Will had not yet made up his mind whether to stay, or to return to England. It is possible that Will was finding this inability to make a decision a fairly agonizing thing in itself.

* * *

John Saris, meanwhile, was enjoying a grand tour of southern Honshu via the Inland Sea—a journey as lovely and picturesque in those days as it is now. Will acted as his enthusiastic guide, often enough to the point where Saris, anxious to reach court and finish his business there, became somewhat irritated. The procession visited Osaka, where Saris was impressed with the splendor of the castle and surprised at the size of the military establishment that surrounded young Hideyori here.

Although Saris does not mention Japan's internal political affairs in the journal he kept—which is our principle source of knowledge concerning the trip to court—it is quite likely that Will Adams told him how Hideyori was the son of the former ruler, and how some nobles in Japan still felt that Ieyasu had usurped his way to power, and would be inclined to support Hideyori in another bid for control of the kingdom. It didn't take an expert in court-intrigues to see that as long as young Hideyori lived, and could command the loyalty of certain nobles and their troops, he was a definite threat to the dynasty that had now been established by Ieyasu Tokugawa.

Old Ieyasu was still a power in the land. His son, Hidetada, held the title of *Shōgun*, and lived in the castle at Edo, but if foreigners such as the English wanted to trade with Japan they had best see Ieyasu in his retirement castle at Suruga, on the way to Edo.

As he entered the outskirts of Suruga (then a city in present-day Shizuoka Prefecture), Saris ran into dramatic evidence that there could be violence, too, in this picturesque kingdom. The highway leading into the town was lined with T-shaped crosses in which hung the corpses of persons convicted of various crimes; the bodies had been "hewn again and again" by passing *samurai* testing their swords. The heads of numerous other victims were displayed on posts, "all of which," Saris wrote in his journal, "caused a most unsavory passage to us."



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Uyeda

Continued from Page 83

ber, and with substitutes available for every item supplied by their body, there is no moral or compelling economic reason for hunting them at this time. The argument that they are for food seems the weakest of all reasons for continued hunting. There are hundreds of other, less expensive ways to substitute for their protein.

We need a new attitude toward whales. Not commercial, but an ethical one. Man is too willing to ruthlessly eliminate any living creature for profit. Man has exterminated over 100 species of mammals. It is frightening. It is our moral obligation to prevent the extinction of others. Man is the only mammal that can do this, both exterminate and save. I cannot think of a more dull, depressing and terrifying place than an earth inhabited only by man.

The time is long overdue for man to reconsider the ethics of killing cetaceans. It is no longer a time for continued rationalization for slaughtering cetaceans. The time is for recognizing the need to peacefully share the ocean resources with them. It is the only solution.

There is also a great need to learn more about the one frontier on this earth we have failed to explore and to understand, the world of the oceans which cover three-quarter of the earth. We have no direct experience of living in the sea. The cetaceans know a great deal about this world. They are willing and able to teach us. We must stop killing them and start learning from them.



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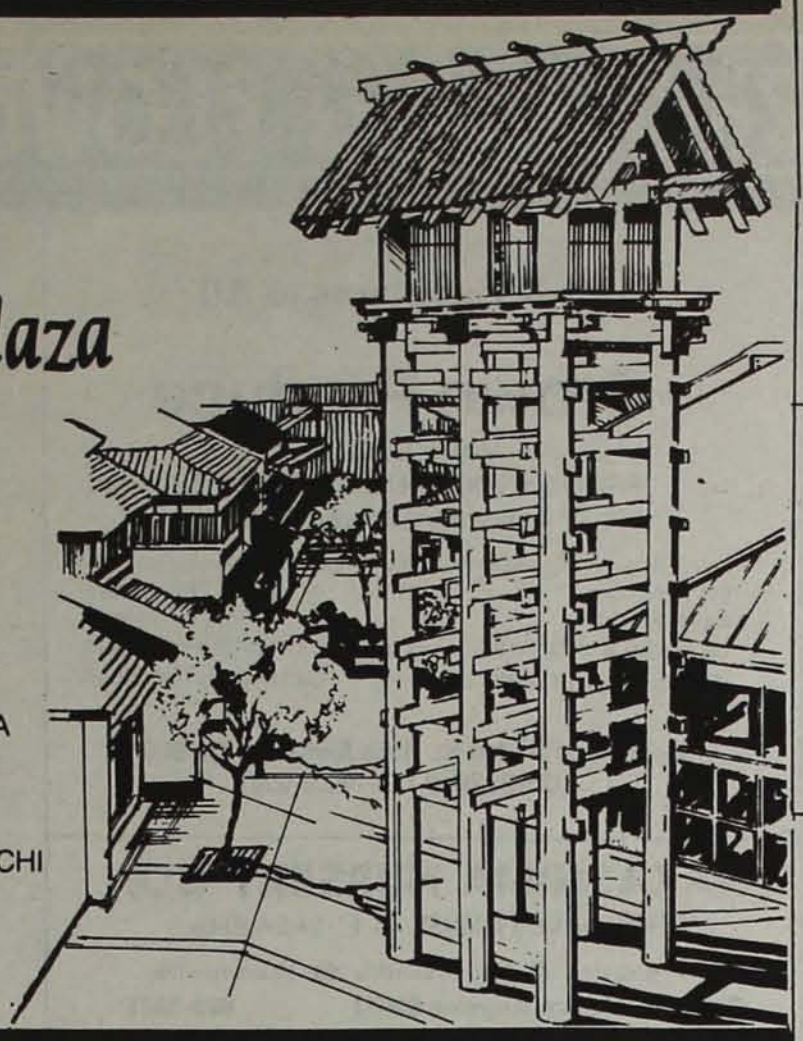
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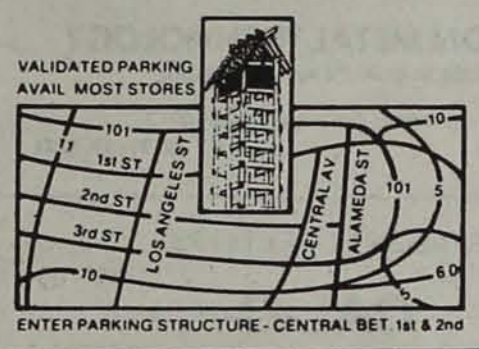


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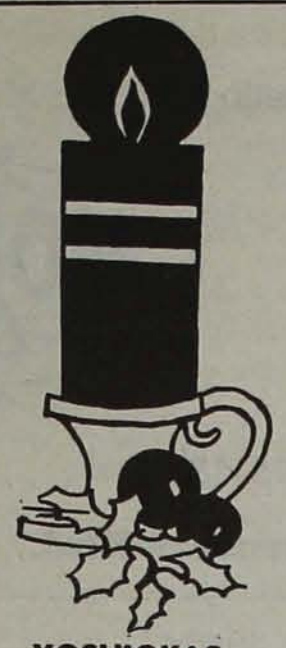
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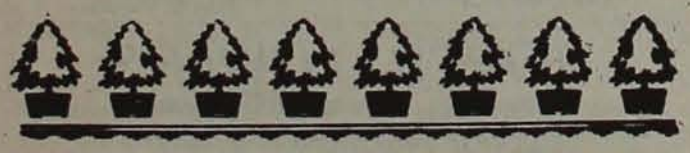
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Meltzer exhibit

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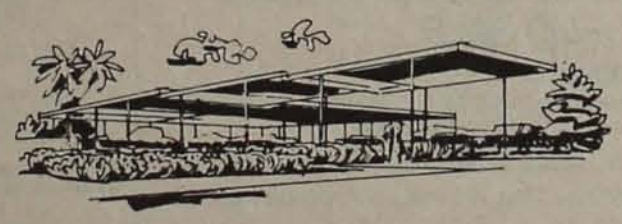
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NIOSH conference slated in March

WASHINGTON—The National Conference on Occupational Health and Safety Issues Affecting Minority Workers will be held March 4-6, 1981 here at the Shoreham Hotel.

The conference will bring together a wide and diverse representation from academia, industry, labor, governments, civil rights advocates and health care professionals, to discuss and document recommendations for the development of a comprehensive policy by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) and other governmental agencies.

According to Ronald K. Ikejiri, Washington JACL Representative, who is also a member of the Conference Advisory Committee, the results of the conference could have a great impact on the Asian/Pacific American workers, as part of the ethnic minority work force in the United States.

Those interested in participating may contact the Washington JACL Office, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, Suite 204, Washington, D.C., (202) 223-1240, for further information and conference application.

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Deaths

Mrs. Sugino Ushijima, 91, 407 Ridge Gate Rd, Orinda, Ca 94563, died on Dec. 2 after a lengthy illness. She was born in Fukuoka-ken and came to the United States in 1909 and spent most of her life in the East Bay area. Mrs. Ushijima was active for many years in the Alameda Buddhist Church and a 16 year member of the 1000 Club. Surviving are s: Henry, George, Harry, James, 14 gc, 11 ggc.

Fukai appointed

CARSON—Gardena City Councilman Mas Fukai and Assistant Chief Deputy to Supervisor Kenny Hahn, has been appointed to the Advisory Board of California State University Dominguez Hills. The University is located in the City of Carson and currently enrolls 8,000 students from over 135 cities and places of residence throughout Los Angeles and Orange Counties.

1000 Club

Year of Membership Indicated.
* Century ** Corp L-Life

Dec 1-5, 1980 (40)

Chicago: 3-Dorothy S Ito, 24-Richard M Nomura, 8-Jun Oishi, 19-Henry Ushijima*, 8-Tom Watanabe.
Cincinnati: 8-Joji George Buyo.
Detroit: 19-Louis Furukawa, 25-Isao Sunamoto.
Diablo Valley: 4-Noboru Nakamura, 3-Robert Yoshioka.
Downtown Los Angeles: 29-Judge John F Aiso, 13-Yoneo Narumi, 23-Tom K Taira, 20-Harry Yamamoto.
Fowler: 23-Kazuo Hiyama.
Fresno: 6-Makoto Hata, 6-James Iwatsubo, 37-Dr Henry H Kazato.
Gresham-Troutdale: 28-Kazuo Kinoshita.
Marysville: 4-Robert H Inouye.
Milwaukee: 9-Thomas T Sasaki.
Monterey Peninsula: 17-Mickey N Ichiuji.
Oakland: 18-James G Nishi.
Placer County: 20-Harry Kawahata.
Pocatello: 24-Hero Shiosaki.
Puyallup: 21-Miyo Uchiyama.
Reedley: 15-George Y Kiyomoto.
Sacramento: 20-Frank M Daikai, 19-Tom Furukawa, 16-Edwin S Kubo.
Salinas: 25-George Higashi.
San Francisco: 13-Dr Lawrence T Nakamura.
San Jose: 30-Yoshio Katayama.
Seattle: 7-Kawaguchi Travel Service Inc*.
Sequoia: 21-Dr Hunter T Doi.
Snake River: 9-Mary Nakamura, 23-Jack H Ogami.
Washington, DC: 25-Dr Toru Iura.
National: 3-Frank Iritani, 11-Brian R Kashiwagi.

CENTURY CLUB*

7-Kawaguchi Travel Service (Set), 1-Henry Ushijima (Chi).

SUMMARY (Since Dec. 31, 1979)

Active (Previous total) 1,969
Total this report 40
Current total 2,009

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January Cooking Class
Conducted by Matao Uwate
Sushi: WED: 7-9 p.m.—Jan. 7, 14, 21, 28
Lesson 1—Atsuyaki & Futomaki; Lesson 2—Inari & Oshizushi; Lesson 3—Edomae Nigiri; Lesson 4—Chirashi-Zushi.
Gourmet: SAT: 10-Noon.—Jan. 10, 17, 24, 31
Lesson 1—Shabu Shabu; Lesson 2—Steamed cooking; Lesson 3—Yose-nabe; Lesson 4—Tempura.
Ample amount of samples served for late snack or lunch!
Classes are held at Zenshuji Temple, 123 S. Hewitt St., Los Angeles.
Fee is $100 for each class and payable in advance, no refund.
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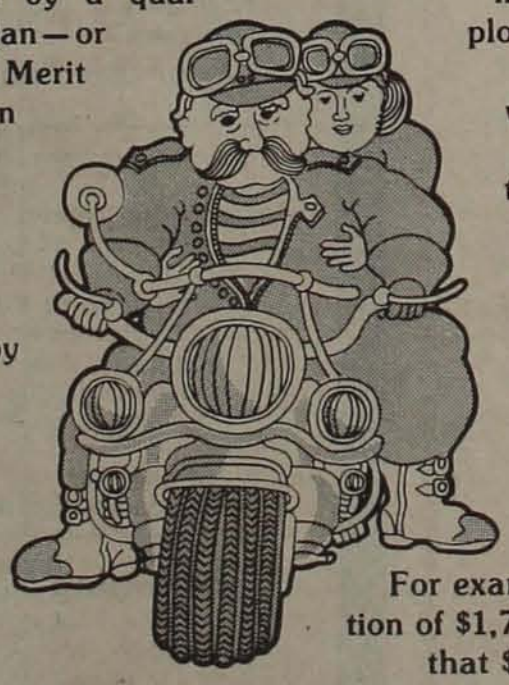
MISSING PERSON
Anyone knowing the whereabouts of YOSHIRO ISHIGE (age 72), please contact his brother, Min Ishige by collect call at (415) 334-0374.

Season's Greetings and Best Wishes for a healthy and prosperous New Year
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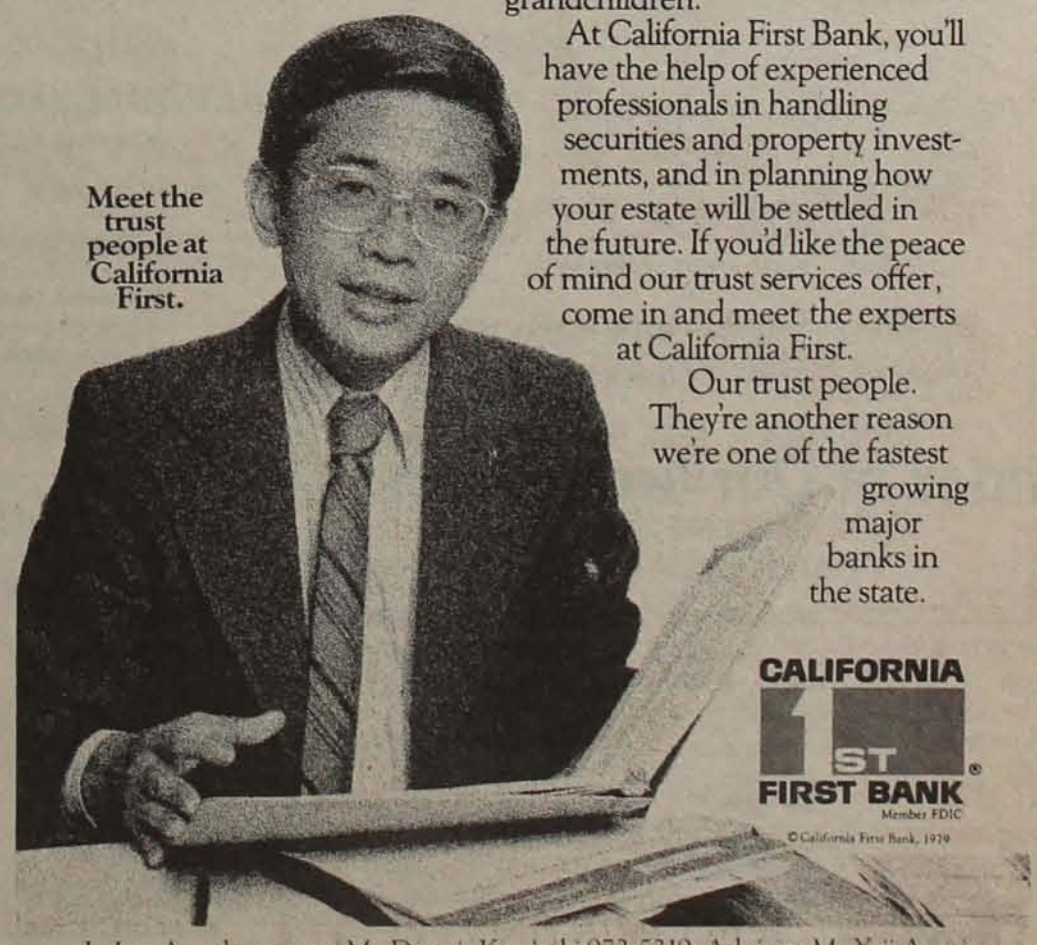
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In lieu of sending Holiday Season cards, these people are sharing in the JACL—Holiday Issue Project, sending greetings to JACL friends across the country through this special section and the savings to a JACL project.

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San Diego 92117

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HOKOYAMA
Kristin

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Los Angeles 90066

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FUKEI

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Seattle, Wash. 98117

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San Francisco, Calif 94115

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Jack K. Ozawa

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Holiday Greetings to Our JACL Friends

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Sumner, Wash. 98390

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SAKAI

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KONO

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Plano, Texas 75023

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Joe & Toshi Kadowaki

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Sylvania, Ohio 43560

Holiday Greetings to Our JACL Friends

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Moses Lake, Wash. 98837

Holiday Greetings to My JACL Friends

George & Chiyo
IKEDA

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San Mateo, Ca 94403

Holiday Greetings to Our JACL Friends

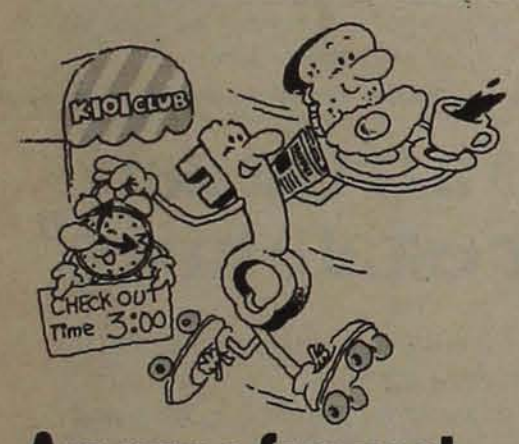
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KAWAGOE

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